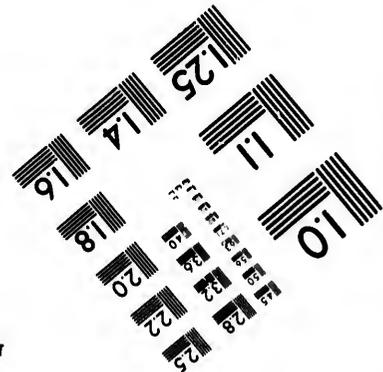
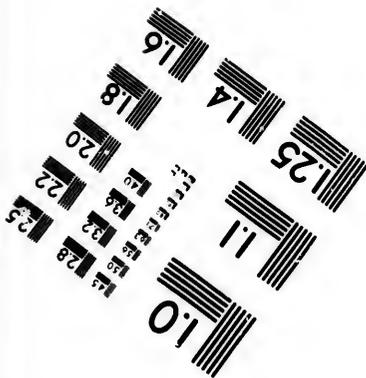
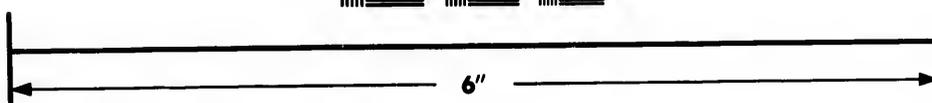
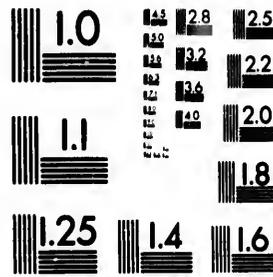


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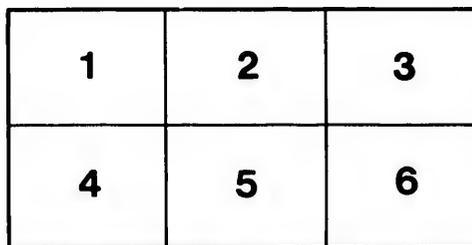
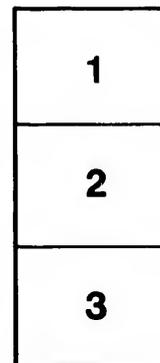
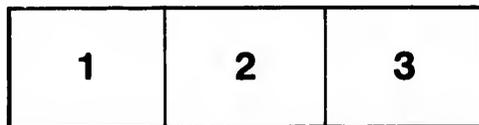
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TO THE

MERCHANTS

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.



AS the original Design of Dedications was either gratefully to acknowledge Assistance, or modestly to desire Protection, so both these Motives, GENTLEMEN, concur in leading me to this Address. If there be any Thing in the following Sheets, that is either New or Entertaining, Useful or Instructive, which, from the general Approbation the Work has met with, I have Reason to hope there is, I must confess it, in a great measure, due to the kind Communications I have received from Persons concerned in Trade; and as the main Point I have had in View, has been the setting the History and Advantages of Commerce in a true Light, I presume that I could not have inscribed this Performance to more proper Patrons. I have endeavoured likewise to avoid the Faults for which most modern Dedications are censured, which are a mean Attention to Interest, or the Vanity of placing great Names and high Titles in the Front of Books. It is true, I address myself to the richest Body of Men in this, or perhaps any other Nation, but without any farther Expectation than meriting their Favour and Acceptance. I have also chosen the greatest and most considerable Body of Men undignified with Titles; but with no other Ambition than that of procuring a good Reception for my Book, by those

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who must be allowed to be the best and most proper Judges. Such, GENTLEMEN, are truly and sincerely my Inducements to this Application, which I have the greater Reason to flatter myself, will not be unsuccessful, because I am confident you will meet with nothing that is dictated by any other than a public Spirit in the Volume which I present.

We are taught, that the Separation and Dispersion of Mankind over the Earth, was owing to the just Displeasure of their Creator upon their attempting to lay the Foundations of an universal Monarchy, which must have been destructive of their own Happiness. But Reason and Experience shew, that we owe that Connexion, which, at present, reigns between Countries far remote from each other, and that kind Intercourse subsisting between different and distant Nations, to a Spirit of Commerce. Trade, by the Divine Favour, has effected what Ambition vainly endeavoured; and the Desire of carrying on mutual Traffick has overcome that Evil, which produced the Separation of Mankind; I mean the Confusion of Tongues. The Desire of reciprocally communicating the Fruits of various Soils and different Climates, is that Principle of Unity, which agreeable to the Will of GOD, makes all the Inhabitants of the several Regions of the Globe, appear in these later Ages, what, in the earliest Times they were, but one People, and of one Language. Such are the wonderful, such the happy Effects of Commerce, considered in this general Light, and as conducive to the common Benefit of the human Species.

In particular Countries, Plantation was the Effect of Necessity; Men were forced to till the Ground, that they might eat, and to invent the Arts relating to Vesture and Building, that they might secure themselves against the Inclemency of the Weather. In this they acted but as other Animals do, and by a kind of natural Instinct: But when Necessities were thus attained, they had Time to exercise the Faculties of their Minds, and to look abroad for greater Conveniencies. This produced Trade, which is peculiar to our Species, and the primary Characteristick of rational Beings; by the Help of Trade, Conveniencies multiplied apace, and Men appeared in their proper Sphere, not as bare Inhabitants of the terraqueous Globe, but as the Sovereigns of Earth and Sea. Sovereigns not in Right of superior Force, for Strength would never have given them Dominion over other Creatures; but from superior Wisdom, which appeared in nothing more than in the Invention of Shipping, as might be demonstrated at large, if the Self-Evidence of the Fact did not supercede the Necessity of any Demonstration.

In proportion as the Art of Navigation grew and was improved, the Commodities that were derived from it increased; the Labour of Mankind was greatly diminished, and their Delights augmented; whatever was wanted in one Country, was easily, safely, and in the Quantities that were requisite, brought from another. Knowledge and useful Arts were continually improved, great Discoveries daily made, and those Works easily and fully accomplished in succeeding Times, of which the former had despaired.

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despaired. By this means Posterity was encouraged to undertake still greater Things; and the farther this Art was extended, still the greater and more Benefits accrued therefrom: So that such as distinguished themselves by their Talents for Politicks, soon perceived how necessary it was to encourage Navigation in all its Branches; and this Necessity established, sooner or later, almost under every Government, this Maxim, *That whoever was Master at Sea, must be Master at Land likewise.*

But, at present, we will meddle no farther with Naval Power, as designing only to shew, that it derives its Being from, and can never subsist otherwise than by Commerce. Yet it is not the Sea only that is indebted to Trade; on the contrary, there is nothing contributes so much to the thorough Cultivation of Countries, as appears plainly from ancient and modern Histories, which shew that it is capable of rendering the most barren Soil fruitful, and the most desert Places pleasant. The following Sheets explain this sufficiently, with respect to the ancient Republick of *Tyre*, to which, if Nature denied most Things, Traffick brought all; as also in regard to *Palmyra*, which, by its Trade, became a Paradise, though seated in a Wilderness. And the same Thing may be said of the Province of *Holland* at this Day. But, without travelling abroad, the Truth of this Observation may be sufficiently known from the amazing Alteration which our Application to Trade has made in our own Country, with respect to the Improvement and Value of Land in the last and present Century. This is a Thing so apparent, and so certain, that, as on the one hand, it does the greatest Honour to the Mercantile Part of our People; on the other, it demonstrates the great Consequence of Trade to the whole Nation: So that there can be no Division of Interest in this respect, that of Land and Trade being reciprocal, or rather the self-same Thing.

To Commerce we owe our Wealth; for though Labour may improve, though Arms may extend, yet Commerce only can enrich a Country. It is this that encourages People, not barely to labour for the Supply of their own Wants, but to have an Eye to those of other Nations, even such as are at the greatest Distance. It is this that establishes and extends Manufactures, and while it employs all Ranks of People, provides suitable Rewards for their several Employments. It is this, and this alone, that can excite and encourage universal Industry, by providing, that all who take Pains, shall reap Profit, and that what raises the Fortunes of Individuals, shall prove at the same Time, and in the same Degree, beneficial to Society; so that an Application to their private Interests, in their several honest Employments, has, at the same Time, all the Effects, and is, in reality, the truest Testimony of publick Spirit.

Hence arises another great Advantage, which is the equal and just Distribution of Property, a Thing that Legislators have attempted in vain, tho' by attempting it, they have sufficiently shewn, how material, and how requisite it is, under all Governments. But Commerce performs this effectually, and tho' it may sometimes raise particular Fortunes to an envied Point of Greatness, yet this Envy, which can
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be said in no other Case, is productive of good Consequences; for it heightens that Spirit of Industry, which can alone diffuse Wealth; and therefore we see, that a few very rich Merchants, in one Age, produce a Multitude of moderate Fortunes in the next. Thus the Evils created by Trade, are corrected by Trade, which, as it is the only natural Way of acquiring Riches, so whatever temporary Inconveniencies attend it, disappear of themselves, if we do not through Impatience interpose, but suffer Nature to take her Course.

We may easily conceive from hence, that as Riches and Commerce, so Commerce and Liberty are inseparable; for if the Property attained by the former, be not secured and preserved by the latter, Trade will quickly decay; as on the other hand, such as have acquired Fortunes by long and hazardous Voyages abroad, or by hard Labour in a constant Course of Industry at home, will naturally have just Notions, and consequently set a true Value upon Freedom, which they will likewise be the more ready, and the more able to defend. So that on the Whole, we may safely affirm, that the greatest Differences between Nations, arise chiefly from the Degrees, and the Nature of their Commerce, and according as it is, either little or large, extended or confined; the People are Civilized or Rude, Rich or Poor, Powerful or Weak, Brave or Base, and finally, Free or Slaves: So from Reason we ought to judge, and so from Experience it appears.

The great End of Voyages and Travels is, to enquire into, and obtain Satisfaction as to these Particulars, and the principal Design of such Collections as this is, to represent them freely and fairly to the World: In doing this, I have used all the Care and Diligence that was in my Power, and have never let slip any Opportunity of recommending the Encouragement, Extension, and Protection of Trade, as the surest Means of making us a great, wealthy, powerful and happy People; of all these, GENTLEMEN, as I conceive, you must be the principal Instruments, I thought I had, in some measure, a Right to expect your Patronage, of which, if you shall think this Work worthy, it will fully answer the Wishes, and gratify the Ambition of,

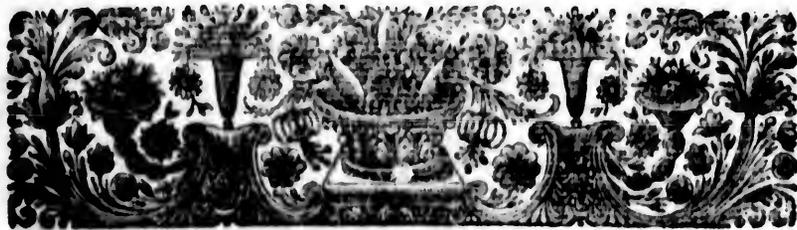
GENTLEMEN,

Your Obedient and Devoted

Humble Servant,

Shire-Lane,
Decemb. 3, 1745.

The AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E.



HE peculiar Pleasure and Improvement that Books of Voyages and Travels afford, are sufficient Reasons why they are as much, if not more read than any one Branch of polite Literature: It may not therefore be amiss to inquire a little into the Sources of that Satisfaction and that Increase of Knowledge, which have so justly recommended Books of this sort to the universal Favour of Readers of every Taste.

The Mind of Man is so formed, as scarce to admit of Amusement without Instruction; and though it may frequently happen, that the latter is imperceptibly conveyed, yet is this so far from being an Evil, that, in Truth, it is a very considerable Advantage. If we are delighted with the strange Things that are presented to us in Voyages and Travels, that Delight, when strictly examined, will be found to arise from learning what we knew not before; and, consequently, is a rational Pleasure. It is therefore a very happy Circumstance in this kind of Reading, that it charms us by a perpetual Variety, and keeps alive that Thirst of Inquiry, which we are apt to lose, when too closely confined to severer Studies.

An Instance will easily convey the Force of this Observation, and, at the same time, convince the Reader of the Truth of it. When we read in the Account of Countries, in the Neighbourhood of *Hudson's-Bay*, that numerous *Indian* Nations pass their Time in Hunting, and other Exercises, in spite of that Cold, the very Description of which chills us here; and that they are able, even in the most rigorous Seasons, to make greater Journeys, in a much shorter Space of Time, than we can do in a warmer Climate, and when our Roads are best; it appears wonderful, and, at the first Sight, almost incredible. But then our Curiosity being prompted to inquire more narrowly into their Customs, Dress, and Manner of Travelling, we come to be satisfied, not only that the Fact is so, but why it is so; and thence discover the Folly of that Opinion which so long prevailed, that these frozen Regions were the wide Wastes of Nature, and, from their very Situation, absolutely uninhabitable. Again, when we learn, that at *Peru* it seldom or never rains, this astonishes us; but when we are likewise informed, that, by the hanging of thick Clouds continually over the People's Heads, they are so effectually defended from the Heat of the Sun, that the Climate is more temperate in *New* than in *Old Spain*, we are at once satisfied as to the Fallhood of the before-mentioned Opinion with respect to the Torrid Zone; and thus a modern Reader of Travels becomes, without Trouble or Fatigue, better acquainted with the true State of Things, and the real Condition of the Universe, and its Inhabitants, than the wisest of the ancient Philosophers with all their Study and Thinking. But, will any Man say, that the Knowledge we thus acquire, is the less certain, or the less valuable, for the Ease with which it is obtained? Or will any Idolater of the Antients assert, that their Ignorance or Mistakes were at all lessened by the Pains they took to reason themselves into Notions which Experience shews us to be false? No, certainly, the Facility on one Side is an undoubted Advantage, and their Toil and Labour an additional Misfortune on the other.

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P R E F A C E.

We must however allow, that some Degree of Reflection is necessary, to profit by this Kind of Reading, and that therefore the Benefits received by it, will be in proportion to the Capacity and Attention of the Readers. But what of this? If a small Degree of Reflection will do much, if a moderate Attention will do all, and if a Method can be devised to excite such a Spirit of Reflection, and preserve such a constant Attention from every Reader; what kind of Literature deserves so great Encouragement? Yet there is nothing easier than to demonstrate this to the Satisfaction even of the most stubborn Critic. For, without affecting to play with Words, what Way so likely to convey universal Knowledge, as exhibiting a complete View of the Universe? In other Branches of Learning, we may arrive at the Knowledge of abstruse Things, but in none can we come at what is more useful. *Homer* opens his *Odyssey* with observing, that Travel had made *Ulysses* the wisest Man of his Age; and the great View of that excellent Writer is, to insill Wisdom pleasantly by a poetical Description of that Hero's Travels. Can there be any thing more satisfactory, with respect either to Reason or Authority, than this? Can any Man doubt, that the seeing different Countries, considering the several Humours, Customs and Conditions of various Nations, and comparing them with each other, and our own, is the readiest Way to Wisdom? Or can we suspect, that the Reputation of *Homer*, and his Poem, would have subsisted so many Ages, if it had been built upon a false Position.

This Kind of Knowledge, of all others, most opens and enlarges the Mind. Some Studies ingulph and swallow us up, so that we have no longer Attention for any thing else; and this is that learned Distemper which the World calls Pedantry. But the Reading of Voyages and Travels is not only free from this Disadvantage, since it contains a perpetual Variety of Subjects, but is in Truth the best Cure for Pedantry; since, if a Man can be once induced to entertain himself this way, he must necessarily see the Folly of pursuing any single Scheme of Science too far. The Utility therefore, as well as Pleasure of this Course of Reading, cannot be disputed. But there is another Objection that presses more closely; and it is this, that the pretending to grasp the whole Circle of Science in this Way, by perusing the Voyages and Travels into and through all the Countries in the Globe, is altogether as endless, though, perhaps, a less tedious Method of acquiring Knowledge, than any hitherto proposed. Yet I venture to affirm, that even this Objection may be likewise answered, and the Truth of the contrary Proposition made most evident: which is the second Part of the Talk I undertook to perform.

This Humour of Despairing on the remote Prospect of Hardships, and supposing Difficulties at first Sight to be inturmountable, has often proved a Bar to great and generous Undertakings. If *Columbus* could have been discouraged by such a Prospect, or diverted from his Purpose by the Encounter of many Difficulties, he had never succeeded so far as he did in his Project of Sailing round the Globe. Or if his Example had frighted *Magellan* from contemplating his Reasons from the Consideration of his Fate, the Tour of the Globe might have been yet unmade. But since we see that these magnanimous Men were not only capable of forming such vast Designs, but also of carrying them into Execution, it ought surely to encourage us in our Labours of another Kind; because it must convince us, that, with like Steadiness and Application, something of the same Sort may be performed in this Way, if a right Method be taken.

In order to come at this Method, it is requisite to consider what we would avoid, and what we would obtain. As to the former, we can easily discern, that the running through a Multiplicity of Books, most of them incumbered with Matters foreign to our Purpose, and all of them, from their very Nature, subject to tedious Repetitions, is what we ought to be most afraid of. Every Writer of Voyages and Travels pursues a particular Plan, which, however agreeable to his Purpose, must be wide of ours; for while he aims, either at a copious Detail of his own Adventures, or at a general Display of his Learning and Discoveries, we desire to hear no more than what relates to the Point, illustrated by such Circumstances as may enable us to conceive it fully, and come at it with Pleasure; hence it appears, that a voluminous Collection of different Voyages and Travels, though the best in their Kind that can be met with, and digested in the best Order that can possibly be invented, will scarce answer this End, because the very Perusal of them will cost more Time than most People have to bestow; and the comparing, collecting, and digesting their Contents, would demand such a Degree of Labour and Circumspection, as very few Readers would be inclined to afford,

P R E F A C E.

afford. To obviate therefore these Difficulties, a Way must be found to reduce the Bulk of such a Collection within reasonable Bounds; and, at the same time, due Care must be taken to preserve the Substance and Spirit, when the superfluous and unnecessary Parts of their Relations are thrown out of the Way.

If this could be done, and a sufficient Number of the best Writers thus collected, and fitted for general Use, drawn into a Body in a natural and easy Order, so that what they deliver should follow in such a regular Progression, as that every Relation might appear in its proper Place, adding new Light to what went before, and preparing us for what ought to come after; I think there is nothing hard in apprehending, that a Work, thus digested, would answer the great End proposed, and produce a System of this Sort of Literature as regular and useful, and, at the same time, as pleasant and entertaining, as could be expected.

This great *Library of Voyages and Travels*, as it was originally contrived, came pretty near the Method which I have laid down; but then, as it was published in Two Volumes, it was compiled likewise in Two Parts; so that the Scheme is actually repeated, and, like Dictionaries, improved at different Times; there is a kind of double Alphabet, which renders each of the Volumes a distinct Work from the other. This might be, and, I dare say, was necessary, under the Circumstances in which that Work was composed; but this Inconveniency is now avoided. As this Collection is intended for a complete Body of Voyages and Travels, the Two Volumes have been reduced into their natural Order, and all the Parts so disposed, as to bring them into their proper Places. It was, besides, highly requisite to revise them, both with regard to Matter and Style; and therefore they have not only been compared with the several larger Works, from which they were originally taken, all Omissions supplied, and Errors corrected, but the Proprietors having been at great Expence in procuring such Helps as either were not, or could not be had, when the first Edition was published, this is so far augmented and improved, as to become, in some measure, a new Work.

The Reader will here meet with a complete System of Relations, drawn up by Eye-witnesses of what they deliver, with a proper Account of the Credit due to each; the particular Merit of his Accounts, their Deficiencies, and the Means by which they have been supplied from others. He will likewise see how succeeding Times have improved the Discoveries of past Ages; how the Spirit of Industry, in searching after useful Truths, and extending Commerce, has fled from Place to Place, and now adorned one Nation, and then another. He will perceive that what was deemed absurd and impracticable in one Age, has nevertheless been attempted and perfected in the next; and he will likewise see, that some great and noble Undertakings, which were long ago proposed, and in part fulfilled, have since fallen back into Obscurity; from whence, however, they may very probably be drawn, by the Virtue and Spirit either of the present Generation, or of Posterity. He will find whatever relates to useful Points clearly explained, and sufficiently insisted upon; and, at the same time, find enough preserved of the Fortunes and Adventures of particular Persons to satisfy his Curiosity, without carrying him too far out of the great Road, after Matters of less Consequence.

By these means, it is hoped that this Library will appear agreeable to his Expectation, and capable of answering every End he could have wish'd; but that it may do this the more effectually, and that he may never be at a Loss about its Application, it may be proper, besides the common Helps of Tables and Indices, to give a short Description of the Manner in which its several Parts are ranged, so that he may have recourse immediately to whatever he wants, and know where to bring in whatever Improvements his own future Reading and Experience may furnish. Besides, by recollecting what has been already laid down, and comparing it with what we are now going to propose, he may form a proper Judgment of the Nature and Value of this Library, and of the Pleasure and Profit that may be reaped from it; so as to be under no Doubt as to its Worth, or how far it comes up to what we have promised for it. All this, I say, he sees at one View, and is enabled to make as ready a Use of upwards of *Six Hundred Volumes*, the Substance of which are included in these *Two*, as if he was only at the Pains of finding out and taking down the Author he desired to consult.

P R E F A C E.

The Method in which these Voyages and Travels are now digested, is so natural and easy, that it is impossible it should be either mistaken or forgot. In the first Place, we give an Account, in order of Time, of the most remarkable Voyages that have been made round the Globe; which afford us an Opportunity of inserting a great Variety of useful and curious Observations. We then enter into a distinct Recital of the Voyages made by several *European* Nations, for discovering and settling the Commerce of the *East* and *West Indies*, without which the subsequent Accounts could not be easily or clearly understood. We pursue next the common Division of the Globe, and, beginning with the Voyages that have been made to *Siberia* and *Greenland*, go on to a Recital of what has been observed by Travellers of the greatest Name, in all the Northern Parts of *Europe*, and so through the Middle, Southern, and Eastern Countries, to the Frontiers of *Asia*. This leads us to give an Account of that Part of the World, and of all the Voyages made to its Maritime Coasts, as well as the Travels of such as have had an Opportunity to pass through its Inland Provinces. The like Care we take with respect to *Africa*, and therein consider at large the Trade upon its several Coasts, and the Manner in which it was formerly, and is at present, branched out amongst several *European* Nations. Last of all, we pursue the same Method in relating the Voyages to, and Travels throughout *America*, so as to give the Reader full Satisfaction as to the first Discovery, original Settlement, past and present Condition, Commerce and Importance, of all the *Spanish*, *English*, *French*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch* and *Danish* Colonies in that Country, together with all that can be known with Certainty as to the *Indian* Nations, which inhabit those Parts of it that are hitherto unhabited.

It will appear from hence, that the Design of this Undertaking is much more perfect in its kind than the Scheme of any Collection of Voyages hitherto offered to the Publick; for whereas They relate only to a few Countries, and are not disposed according to any regular Method, Ours will comprehend all, and in an Order which gives them a perfect Connection. If we had followed Chronology wholly, it would have intirely changed our Plan, and, instead of a Collection, it would have been a Chronicle of Voyages and Travels. If, on the other hand, we had paid no regard to Time, this would have created great Confusion, and rendered the Whole perplexed and unintelligible. But as Things now stand, all these Difficulties are avoided. We treat first of the Circum-Navigators, for this plain Reason, that as the Whole is greater than any of its Parts, so, among Travellers, those are certainly to be placed in the first Class, who have made the Investigation of the whole Globe their Aim, rather than the Discovery of particular Parts, and upon the same Principles we place the Discoverers of the *East* and *West Indies* next to the Circum-Navigators; because their Purpose was next in point of Importance. These general Heads being fixed, all the component Parts follow in order of Time; so that, after perusing a whole Chapter, the Reader is possessed of the intire History of that Point, sees when it was first started, How, by Whom, and at what Time presented, and in what Situation it stands at present.

I have now given the Reader all the Helps in my Power, towards the perfect understanding what is intended in the following Work; and from the Hope of his candid Reception of my Labours, I borrow that Degree of Confidence which is necessary to prosecute so arduous an Undertaking; and, provided I enjoy This, I shall think all my Care and Pains extremely well bestowed, since, to farther useful Knowledge is certainly a laudable Ambition.





THE

INTRODUCTION.

HERE are very few Points as to which the wise Men of Antiquity, and the best Judges among the Moderns, are so clearly agreed as in the Advantages that result from Travel, and the Benefits that arise from seeing the World. It is very evident from ancient Writers, that the greatest and most celebrated Philosophers thought it requisite to visit distant Nations, in Search of Wisdom. The Design of one of those excellent Poems composed by *Homer*, whose Reputation is, at once, the most extensive, and that of any Poet's, was to shew that useful and universal Science was never attained in this Way, of which he gives us an illustrious Example in the Character of *Ulysses*, who is the Hero of that Work. In later Times, travelling is become a Part of Education, and a necessary part of a liberal Education, by instructing those in Men who have already acquired as much as can be acquired from Books. But these Advantages are confined to a very few, by which I mean, such as have it in their Power, either to indulge their Inclinations in visiting foreign Countries, or who, moved by the Advices of their Friends, take this Method of improving their Talents, by adding Experience to what they have learned in Schools. But, as to the Bulk of Mankind, though they stand as much in need of the Benefits drawn from Travel, as those who move in the sublimer spheres of Life; yet, by their Circumstances, they are disabled from this Manner of accomplishing themselves, or of obtaining the Knowledge they want.

But, because thus precluded one Way, does it follow that they shall attempt it no other, or because they cannot travel themselves, must they derive no Advantage from the Travels of others? That would be a hard Thing indeed, since Men reap the Benefits of History, and thereby gain the Benefit of Experience from Ages far beyond those in which they live. If unconfined by Time, why should they be confined by Space; if we may improve from the Knowledge of what was done by Men before us, why may we not inform ourselves, by enquiring into what those Nations do who live far from us? One is as rational, and not at all more difficult than the other; and there is this Advantage attends travelling upon Paper, that we may go whither, and in what Company we please. This is a very singular and a very useful Circumstance: for, very frequently, even great Travellers do not see what they seek. Their Inclinations would carry them one Way, but, perhaps their Fortune and Condition in the World will carry them another; but this can never happen in Books. We may add to this another Consideration; that there are many Voyages, which however a Man may be inclined to make, yet, in his whole Life-Time, he may never meet with any Opportunity of making: I will instance only in two. The first is a Voyage round the World; of which, in the first Book of this Collection, we have given a compleat and particular Account; from whence it appears how few of those Voyages have been made in a long Course of Time: Yet, I presume to say, that there are none, either of great Use, or so entertaining. It is from these Voyages, that the greatest Discoveries have been made, and, which is more, the Possibility discovered of making still greater Discoveries than hitherto have been made, as the Reader will be convinced, by perusing that Part of this Collection. My second Instance is in Voyages to *Japan*, which is now out of the Power of almost any Man to make, who is not a Native of a particular Country; and even those who make them with far less Advantage now than they did formerly.

But this is not the only Benefit that results from Reading beyond actual Sailing or Travelling; for in the latter, we are bound to one particular Course, and confined to the Fruits of a Single Excursion, whereas, by the Help of a Collection of Voyages, we reap all the Advantages that result from the Experience of different Men, who have lived in different Countries, and in different Ages. We can, in this Way, sail with *Columbus* and *Magellan*, with *Drake* and *Le Maire*, as well as with *Rogers* or Admiral *Aspin*. In like manner we can, in this Method, go to *Japan* with the *Portugueses*, and the *English*, as well as with the *Dutch*, and thereby derive to ourselves that Experience which was reaped in past Ages, and from which we are absolutely precluded in the present. To us, in this Way, it is the same Thing, whether good or ill Fortune attend the Voyages, since, to an intelligent Reader, as to an able Philosopher, it is much the same with respect to Instruction, whether

the Experiment succeeds or not. For Instance, Commodore *Roggevine's* Expedition turned to no Account, with respect to the View upon which it was made: but as to us it is, to the full, as useful as if it had succeeded, and we are as much satisfied, that the Scheme upon which that Voyage was founded, is just, right, and agreeable to Truth, as if the Persons who made the Voyage, instead of losing their Ship, and returning Beggars, had brought home with them half the Treasure of the *Indies*.

The Accidents to which Men are liable, who undertake such Voyages, are so many, so unavoidable, and often of such a Nature as to deprive those who make them, of much of the Experience which they might otherwise have reaped from them: But we run no such Hazards in Books, and there is nothing necessary to render them as useful to us as possible, but a Resolution of attending to, and reflecting upon what we read. But some speculative Men may object, that these Arguments prove too much, and if such mighty Things may be done by Reading, it is a weak and foolish Thing to travel any other Way than upon Paper. The Fallacy however of this Objection, will be easily perceived, if we reflect upon how many different Motives Men travel, besides that of bare Observation, which, generally speaking, falls in accidentally, and is rarely the Ground upon which Men make Voyages by Sea, or spend their Time in passing through different Countries: So that as Books have some Advantages, and those very considerable too, yet it does not follow from thence that they have all the Advantages derived from visiting foreign Countries. There is a wide Difference between that Treasure which we lay up in our Mind, and the Wealth that passes into our Purse; and yet the general Word Profit may include both. But what demonstrates not the Fallacy only, but the Falseness of the Remark before-mentioned, as if the reading Voyages would extinguish the Desire of undertaking them, is the Evidence of Experience, which is directly opposite thereto; for as the Inclinations of Boys who are born in maritime Towns, naturally lead them to Sea, so there is nothing excites Men more strongly to visit distant Countries than reading good Accounts of them; for it is a very natural, as well as a very just Conclusion, that if so much Pleasure result from the Perusal of Voyages and Travels, there must be still a greater in Travelling itself.

But thus much, indeed, is true, that there cannot be either an easier or a safer Cure for boundless Curiosity than this Sort of Reading, which from thence, instead of Study, is become an Amusement; from which another Objection has started up directly of justice to the former, and that is, the Danger of kindling a wild and ungovernable *Humour* in the Minds of young People, by putting such kind of Books into their Hands. This may be, and I doubt really is true of Voyages and Travels, read purely to kill Time and to divert, by the Strangeness of their Recitals. Yet one may ask, whether this Mischief be found in Books alone, and not in the Things themselves? Do not young People often make long Voyages without Thought, and travel many Years to no Purpose? But was this ever alledged as a just Reason why Folks should never go abroad at all; or, if not, why should it be a good Objection against Reading? But, granting it were so, I will venture to say, that this, and every other Mischief, is guarded against by Collections of this Nature, in which Care is taken to inform and to instruct, as well as to entertain and amuse. It is the Advice of the great Lord *Bacon*, that young Men should never be sent into foreign Countries but under the Care of some able Tutor, who may be able to correct their Extravagancies, restrain their Impetuosity, and oblige them to make such Observations as would otherwise escape them; and all this, that at their Return, they may not be barely able to tell what they had seen, but show, by their Behaviour, and their Conversation, how much they have improved by their foreign Excursions.

Now let us apply this Advice to Reading. It is very possible for young People to spend a great deal of their Time that way to very little Purpose; and it was from a Foresight of this that Collections of Voyages were devised by grave and discreet Men, as the proper Remedy for this Evil. It was what *Ramus* intended by his large and noble Collection, the most complete in its Kind, and for the Time in which it was made, that is extant in any Language. He undertook to draw into one Body, the best and most useful Voyages and Travels, that before his Time had been published, and he has enriched them with such curious and useful Prefaces, Observations and Remarks, as has, in the Opinion of the best Judges, rendered them an invaluable Treasure. The same Plan was pursued by Mr. *Ibsen* in *French*, and in a much greater Extent by the Authors of some *Dutch* Collections; from all of which we have borrowed, and to whom we therefore readily own our Obligations.

To make these Reflections the clearer, it may not be amiss to observe, that we have in our own Language, as good and as bad Collections as ever were made; one Instance of each may suffice. Mr. *Hackitt* was an able, ingenious, diligent, accurate, and useful Compiler, and his Collections are as valuable as any Thing in their Kind. On the other hand *Parolan's* Pilgrims are a very voluminous, and for the most Part a very trifling and insignificant Collection: His Manner, for I cannot call it Method, is irregular and confused, his Judgment weak and pedantick, his Remarks often silly, and always little to the Purpose. This shews, how much depends upon the Care and Skill of the Collector, who, on the one hand, is to provide what may entertain and please, and on the other is to be careful, that Knowledge and Instruction be conveyed together with Pleasure and Amusement.

But as in Travelling it is requisite, that the Person who is to be improved, should not go absolutely raw out of his own Country, but should carry with him, or rather in him, a Tincture of the Sciences, that he may be the more capable of Improvement: So in reading of Voyages there are certain rules with Pleasure or with Profit. But as the former, to these he in a very narrow Compass, for the Science is often conveyed with great Difficulty, yet this hinders not that it may be conveyed in a short Time, and with great Ease, and this barely by tangential Truths that are necessary in their just and

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It has been a Thing usual in Books of this Nature, to take it for granted, that the Reader was as well skilled as the Writer in the Sciences requisite to be known, in order to the true Comprehension of the Work; we chuse, however, to avoid that Supposition, and to endeavour, within the Compass of this Introduction, to lay down all the Principles upon which the following Structure is raised; so that there shall be no Necessity of having recourse to any other Book, to come at the Meaning of this; but the Terms being sufficiently explained here, we shall be able to proceed, when we come to the Body of the Work, without any Danger of being misunderstood. We do not indeed intend here to lay down Systems of Geography, natural or civil History, or Politicks, but to explain each of those Sciences as far as is expedient for the Use we have made of them in the Composition of this Treatise. Cosmography is that Science which describes this Globe, and the rest of the solar System; Geography teaches the Knowledge of the whole Earth, as Hydrography does of the Water.

By Geography, we understand the particular Description of a Kingdom, Province or Country. Topography descends more minutely to describe smaller Places, Cities, Towns, Castles, &c. These are all originally *Greek* Words, which for their Significancy have been made free of all Languages, and their Meaning, when once well known, can never be forgot. By the first of them, we are taught to conceive, that the World, on which we live, is a terraqueous Sphere, or in plain *English*, a Ball of Earth and Water; through this Ball, if you suppose a Spindle to pass, it will be what the Learned call the Axis of the Globe, and the Extremities of this Axis are its Poles, one of which is the arctic, or north Pole, and the other the antarctic, *i. e.* opposite to the north, or south Pole. The Equator is an imaginary Circle, passing round, or rather, over the Globe, at an equal Distance from each Pole, and consequently dividing the World into two equal Parts, whence it has its Name. It is likewise called the Equinoctial, because, when the Sun is in this Line, which is twice a Year, *viz.* in the Months of *March* and *September*, the Days and Nights are every where equal, and from the singular Utility of this imaginary Circle, it is stiled by Way of Eminence *the Line*.

The Zodiac is another imaginary Circle, which passes cross the Equator, and is distinguished, or divided into twelve Signs, six of which, *viz. Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo*, are on the North of the Equator, and therefore called northern Signs; the other six, *viz. Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces*, are on the South of the Equator, and are therefore called southern Signs. Within the middle of the Zodiac runs a Line called the Ecliptic, which is the Path of the Sun, and from thence we derive the Word Ecliptic, or Failure of the Sun's Light to the Earth; and when the Earth intercepts the Sun there, the Moon is eclipsed, or fails of reflecting to us that Light which it receives from the Sun. The Obliquity, or Digression of this Circle from that of the Equator, occasions the Diversity of Seasons; for the northern Part of the World has its Midsummer when the Sun is in *Cancer*, and the southern Part enjoys the same Blessing, when the Sun is in *Capricorn*.

Hence it is, that two imaginary Circles are supposed parallel to the Equator, passing through the Point in which the Sun advances farthest North and South, and are stiled the Tropics of *Cancer* and *Capricorn*, from the *Greek* Word *Tropos*, which signifies Conversion, or turning back. The Meridian is another great Circle passing through both Poles, and over any given Place on the Globe, and is called the Meridian, because, when the Sun reaches this Circle, it is Mid-day, or Noon, to all who live under it. The Horizon is a great Circle, which cuts the Meridian, and divides the Globe in half, *viz.* into an upper and lower Hemisphere, and it being the Line which terminates the Sight, the Sun is said to be set, when he sinks below it, and to rise, when he mounts above it.

As but one Meridian is represented on the Globe, tho' there are various, the Sun making Mid-day earlier or later to different Parts, as they lie more East or West, so there is represented but one Horizon, called the rational, or true one, tho' the sensible Horizon is various, as the Limits of the Sight vary at every Step. These Definitions, tho' they appear a little obscure at first, yet being twice or thrice read over, their Meaning will be sufficiently plain, or if the least Doubt remains, it will be absolutely taken away by the following Remarks, as to their Utility.

The principal Thing in Geography, is to have a perfect Knowledge of the Relation which any Empire, Kingdom, Province, District or City, hath to any other Place, or to the World in general: Now, it was impossible, that this Knowledge should ever be acquired, if some Method had not been found to mark every particular Point upon the Globe, so that it might be found without Difficulty or Uncertainty. This is performed by knowing the Latitude and the Longitude of Places, without a clear Comprehension of which, it is impossible for the Reader to conceive perfectly the Description of any Country, yet to it is, that among the numerous Books that have been written on the Science of Geography, there are very few that have made this Matter so clear, as that a Person of an ordinary Understanding might be able fully to embrace it. As it concerns, however, my Undertaking in the highest Degree, that there should be no Mistake in this Matter, I shall labour to make it so plain, with respect not only to finding the Latitude and Longitude on Maps, but to the conceiving the Use of it so clearly, as to be able from thence, to judge how all Parts of the World lie, from their Latitude and their Longitude being known, which is indeed the great Thing aimed at, and when once acquired, the bare reading of this Book with Attention, will render a Man a perfect Geographer, without farther Study or Pains.

We will begin with the Latitude of Places, and shew what is meant by that, and how far it is of Use in distinguishing any Place on the Globe. The Latitude of any City is its Distance from the Equator, which is reckoned on the Meridian, and as every Circle is supposed to be divided into 360°, so a fourth Part of the Meridian 90°, must be always included between the Equator and either of the Poles. Hence arises the Distinction between North Latitude and South Latitude, that is to say, the Number of Degrees counted on the Meridian from the Equator towards the arctic Pole, is stiled North Latitude, and thus *London* is said to lie 51° 32' North, as on the other hand, the Number of De-

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degrees counted on the Meridian towards the Antarctic, is filed South, and thus the City of *Lima*, which is the Capital of *Peru*, lies in $12^{\circ} 6'$ South.

It is easy to discern, that by knowing the Latitude of a Place, we know its Distance from both Poles, and from the Equator; but it is very evident, that knowing the Latitude of a Place, is very far from pointing out to us the Part of the Globe in which it lies, because, numberless Places lie at the same Distance from the Equator, or, which is the same Thing in other Words, lie under the same Degree of Latitude; it is requisite therefore, to have some other Mark, or Means of Distinction, and this is furnished by the Longitude, which is reckoned upon the Equator itself from a first Meridian.

Ptolemy, who was the first Geographer that made use of this Manner of computing, laid down the first Meridian, as passing through the *Canary Islands*, and in order to keep as close to this as possible, *Louis XIII.* of *France*, by an Edict dated *April 25, 1634*, directed all the *French Geographers*, to place their first Meridian in the Island of *Ferro*, the most western Island in the *Canaries*. According to this Computation, the City of *Paris* lies in the Longitude of $20^{\circ} 30'$, that is so far East from the first Meridian, and as the Latitude of this City is $48^{\circ} 45'$, the exact Situation thereof upon the Globe is fully and clearly determined. This Regulation of the first Meridian, was confined to *France* only, and has even there been long out of Date. The *Dutch Maps* generally place the first Meridian at the Pike of *Teneriff*. The *Arabians* fix theirs at the Straits of *Gibraltar*. The old *Spaniards*, would needs have it at *Toledo*, because they said *Adam* was the first King of *Spain*, and the Sun at the Time of its Creation was placed in the Meridian of *Toledo*.

Here, in *England*, we generally reckon the first Meridian that of *London*, and instead of counting, as the old Method was, from the West to the East, we reckon both Ways: For Example, we say, that *Oxford* lies in the Longitude of $1^{\circ} 17'$ West from *London*, whereas the City of *Warsaw* in *Poland*, lies in the Longitude of $20^{\circ} 55'$ East from *London*. In like manner, the *French Geographers* reckon their Longitude from *Paris*; for Instance, *Frezier* fixes the Longitude of *Lima* in *Peru* $79^{\circ} 45'$ West, by which he means, that the Difference of the Meridian of that City from the Meridian of *Paris* is so much. I hope by this Time, the Meaning of these Terms is so well fixed, that with respect to the Use made of them in this Work, the Reader can never be at a Loss, or in any Danger of falling into Mistakes about them.

There are, however, two Questions that have been moved with respect to Latitude and Longitude, which, for Satisfaction of the Reader, I shall examine. The first is, why, since the Circumference of the Globe is every Way equal, the Distance towards North and South, should be filed Latitude, or Breadth, whereas that from West to East is called Longitude, or Length? The Answer to this is, that in measuring the Latitude, we make use only of a Quadrant, or a Quarter of a Circle, so that the Latitude of a Place cannot exceed 90° , whereas in counting the Longitude, the old Geographers made use of a whole Circle, and the modern Geographers use the Semi-circle, so that one Place may lie in the Latitude of 180° East or West from the first Meridian. The other Question is, why we reckon the Latitude from the Equator towards the Pole? And the Answer to this is, because the middle Part of the Earth was first settled, and the Extremities of it, towards the north and south Pole, are not yet fully discovered, and it was most natural to reckon from the known to the unknown; or, because the Equator, and the Poles being two fixed Points, it was natural to measure from one to the other, and the Distance between them, being as we said, but a Quarter of a Circle, it was called Latitude, in Distinction to Longitude, which was at first measured round the Globe, afterwards round half of it only.

The different Temperature of the Air, and the different Length of Days, in the several Parts of the World, have occasioned the Distinctions of Zones and Climates, which are of very great Use. The Word *Zone*, if strictly taken, is no more than a Girdle, and the Reason that it is made use of, is, because the several Zones are distinguished by Circles that pass round the Earth. Geographers reckon five, *viz.* the torrid Zone, the north temperate Zone, the south temperate Zone, the north frigid Zone, and the south frigid Zone. The torrid Zone is that Part of the terrestrial Globe which lies between the two Tropics; the north temperate Zone is that which lies between the Tropic of *Cancer* and the arctic Circle; the south temperate Zone lies between the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and the antarctic Circle; the north frigid Zone lies within the arctic Circle, and the south frigid Zone within the antarctic Circle.

The Ancients were of Opinion, that the torrid and frigid Zones were absolutely uninhabitable, the former on account of its prodigious Heat, the latter, by reason of their excessive Cold. But Experience has shewn, that they were mistaken, and with respect to the former, the Length of their Nights, the Freshness of their Dews, the Constancy and Regularity of the Winds, the Height of the Mountains, and the great Quantity of Vapours exhaled by the Sun, render its Heat very supportable to its Inhabitants; on the other hand, the Inclemency of the frigid Zone, is so far moderated by the Length of Time, that the Sun remains in their Horizon; that the Inhabitants are able to live very cheerfully, and to great Abundance as in warmer and more temperate Climes; but then the People are more hardy, capable of greater Fatigue, and prefer that Liberty which they enjoy in an erratic Kind of Life, to all the Pleasures that are tasted in other Countries, and for this Reason they have a stronger Passion for the Places of their Nativity than any other Nations whatever.

The Ancients finding that this Division of the Surface of the Globe into five Zones, was too general; and, as they supposed several of these to be uninhabitable, that it was subject to many Inconveniencies, they had recourse to another Invention, the most useful in need of any they introduced into this Science; and this was their distinguishing the World into Climates. A Climate may be defined a certain Space of the Globe, in which the longest Day exceed, by half an Hour, the longest Day in the Climate behind it towards the Equator, and fall short, by half an Hour, of the longest

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Day in the Climate before it towards the Poles. In other Words, two Cities are said to lie in different Climates when the longest Day in the one exceeds the longest Day in the other by half an Hour. The old Geographers reckoned but seven Climates, from the Mistake they made in imagining only a small Part of the Earth to be inhabited; but the Moderns have corrected this Error, and carried the Distance of Climates to its utmost Perfection. They reckon twenty-four between the Equator and the Arctic Polar Circle, each of which increases by half an Hour in the longest Day; and as the longest Day under the Line consists but of twelve Hours, so it is plain, that in the twenty-fourth Climate, or under the Polar Circle, the longest Day consists of twenty-four Hours; from hence to the Pole they reckon but six, each of which differs in the Length of its longest Days a Month: So that under the Pole, if it was habitable, the Day and the Year would be the same thing, the former consisting of six Months, and the Night of as many.

By this Distinction into Climates, we have an Opportunity of looking round, and comparing the several Countries of a like Temperature at once. By it we are enabled to judge how far one Country is preferable to another in its Products and Commodities, how far the Culture of the Fruits of one Country may be pushed by Art in another, what Commodities may be expected in a new-discovered Land, and a Multitude of other curious Particulars that must immediately occur to every Man of tolerable Understanding. To further such Reflections, and to enable the Reader to possess himself at once of all the Advantages hinted at above, I shall lay down a Table of the twenty-four Northern Climates, which more immediately concern us; and when he has contemplated these with due Attention, I persuade myself he will discover many more useful Circumstances than I am able to mention. For when the human Mind is once put into the right Tract of Enquiry, a small Degree of Diligence and Penetration will conquer all Difficulties, and open a Path to such a Field of Knowledge, as cannot but attract a generous and inquisitive Spirit.

A TABLE of CLIMATES, from the Equator to the Polar Circle.

I. This commences at the Equator, and ends in the Latitude of $8^{\circ} 34'$: At its Extremity the Day is twelve Hours and an half. Within this Climate lie the *Moluccas*, the *Maldives*, *Malacca*, *Sonatra*, and other smaller Islands in the *East-Indies*.

II. Extends from $8^{\circ} 41'$ to $16^{\circ} 43'$. The longest Day in this Climate consists of thirteen Hours. In it lie *Abissinia*, or *Ethiopia*, the Kingdoms of *Aden*, *Siam*, *Corromandel*, and the Island of *Ceylon*.

III. Reaches $16^{\circ} 43'$ to $24^{\circ} 14'$. The longest Day here is thirteen Hours and an half. Within this Climate are the Kingdoms of *Meccka*, *Arabia-Felix*, *Bengal*, *Mexico* in *North-America*, and *Tenquin*.

IV. Takes in from $24^{\circ} 14'$ to $30^{\circ} 47'$. The longest Day in this Climate is fourteen Hours. In it lies the famous Island of *Ormuz* in the *Persian Gulph*, *Agra* the Capital, and a great Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, *Foebu* in *China*, *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the *Canary-Islands*.

V. Extends from $30^{\circ} 47'$ to $36^{\circ} 30'$. The longest Day is fourteen Hours and an half: In which Climate lie the Territory of *Babylon*, *Tunis* in *Barbary*, *Nisbia* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, *Nankin* and *Pekin* in *China*, *Rhodes*, and *Ispahan*, with the Country adjoining in *Persia*.

VI. Commences in $36^{\circ} 30'$, and reaches to $41^{\circ} 22'$. The longest Day here is fifteen Hours. In it lie *Lisbon*, and the best Part of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, *Palermo* in *Sicily*, *Madrid* in *Spain*, the best Part of *Greece*, *Asia-Minor*, the *Persian* Provinces on the *Caspian-Sea*, *Mexico*, the intended Capital of that Empire by the *Shah Nader*, Part of *India*, and *Great Tartary*, *Corea*, and *Japan*. In *North-America*, a Part of *California*, the Kingdom of *New-Mexico*, the *French* Provinces of *Louisiana*, *Spanish Florida*, *Georgia*, Part of *South-Carolina*, the *Bahama-Islands*, and the *Azores*.

VII. Reaches from $41^{\circ} 22'$ to $45^{\circ} 29'$. The longest Day fifteen Hours and a half. In its Bounds are comprehended *Biscay*, and all the Northern Provinces of *Spain*, the Southern Provinces of *France*, *Milan*, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Belgrade*, *Constantinople*, the *Black-Sea*, *Georgia*, the *Caspian*, the Sea of *Arch*, *Great-Tartary*, *Tangut*, *Land of Yeddo*. In *North-America*, *Nova-Albion*, and the hitherto undiscovered Part of the Continent, the Sources of the *Mississippi*, the Lakes and Country of *Illinois*, *Boston* in *New-England*, and *Port-Royal* in *Nova-Scotia*.

VIII. Extends from $45^{\circ} 29'$ to $49^{\circ} 1'$. The longest Day sixteen Hours, under which Climate lie *Paris* and the middle Provinces of *France*, *Vienna*, *Hungary*, *Crim-Tartary*, *Great-Tartary*, Part of the Land of *Yeddo*, the Company's Land, and other Discoveries by the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*. In *North-America*, a vast unknown Continent, the *Upper-Lakes*, *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia*, and *Newfoundland*.

IX. Commences at $49^{\circ} 1'$, and ends at $51^{\circ} 58'$. The longest Day sixteen Hours and an half. In this Climate lie *London*, *Rouen*, *Amiens*, *Prague*, *Frankfort*, *Cracow*, the Southern Provinces of *Muscovy*, and both *Tartaries*. In *North-America*, Part of *Canada*, the *Streights of Bell-Isle*, and some of *Newfoundland*.

X. Beginning at $51^{\circ} 58'$, and reaching to $54^{\circ} 29'$. The longest Day seventeen Hours. In this Climate are contained *Dublin*, *Amsterdam*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Warsaw*, Part of the *Russian* Territories, both *Tartaries*, and in *America*, Part of *New-France*.

XI. Extends from $54^{\circ} 29'$ to $56^{\circ} 37'$. The longest Day seventeen Hours and an half. In this Climate we find *Edinburgh*, *Copenhagen*, *Wilna* in *Lithuania*, *Smolenski* in *Russia*, and both *Tartaries*.

XII. Begins from $56^{\circ} 37'$, and reaches to $58^{\circ} 26'$. The longest Day here is eighteen Hours. In this Climate lie *Gottenburg* in Sweden, *Riga* in Livonia, several Provinces in *Muscovy*, and both *Tartaries*.

XIII. Begins at $58^{\circ} 26'$, and extends to $59^{\circ} 59'$; the longest Day in it being eighteen Hours and an half. Within this Climate lie the City of *Stockholm*, the famous Port of *Revel* in Livonia, the Heart of the *Russian* Dominions in Europe and Asia, the Middle of *Great Tartary*. In America, Part of the River of *St. Lawrence*, *New South-Wales*, on the Coast of *Hudson's-Bay*, *Terra de Labrador*.

XIV. Commences at $59^{\circ} 59'$, and ends at $61^{\circ} 18'$. The longest Day under this Climate is nineteen Hours. Within it we find the *Orkney-Islands*, a great Part of *Norway*, Sweden, *Russia*, *Great Tartary*, *Butten's-Bay*, *Hudson's-Straits*, and some other Places in that Neighbourhood.

XV. Comprehends from $61^{\circ} 18'$ to $62^{\circ} 25'$; the longest Day being nineteen Hours and an half. In this Climate lie the City of *Bergen* in Norway, several Parts of *Finland*, and many Provinces of the *Muscovite* Empire in Europe and Asia, and the most Southern Parts of *Greenland*.

XVI. Begins at $62^{\circ} 25'$, and ends at $63^{\circ} 23'$. The longest Day is twenty Hours. The most remarkable Place in this Climate is *Perma-Welick*, a Town in *Muscovy*.

XVII. Commences at $63^{\circ} 23'$, and ends at $64^{\circ} 16'$. The longest Day is twenty Hours and an half. Under this Climate is Part of *Finland*, *Russia*, *Tartary*, particularly that of it to the N. W. discovered by the *Russians* in the Year 1726.

XVIII. Extends from $64^{\circ} 16'$ to $64^{\circ} 55'$. The longest Day is twenty-one Hours. In this Climate is the City of *Drontheim* in Norway.

XIX. Comprehends all between $64^{\circ} 55'$, and $65^{\circ} 25'$; the longest Day being twenty-one Hours and an half. The City of *Tobolski*, which is the Capital of *Siberia*, lies in this Climate.

XX. Begins at $65^{\circ} 25'$, and extends to $65^{\circ} 47'$. The longest Day is twenty-two Hours. In this Climate is the Town of *Vijlum* in Finland.

XXI. Extends from $65^{\circ} 47'$ to $66^{\circ} 6'$. The longest Day is twenty-two Hours and an half. In this Climate lies the Port of *Terna* in *Botnia*, so often mentioned by *M. Murpoutis*, in his Account of the Expedition of the French Academicians, for determining the Length of a Degree under the arctic Circle.

XXII. Reaches from 66° to $66^{\circ} 20'$. The longest Day is twenty-three Hours. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Catenburg* in *Muscovy*.

XXIII. Commences at $66^{\circ} 20'$, and extends to $66^{\circ} 28'$; the longest Day being twenty-three Hours and an half. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Skalbet* in the Island of *Iceland*.

XXIV. Comprehends from $66^{\circ} 28'$ to $66^{\circ} 31'$. The longest Day is twenty-four Hours. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Hala* in *Iceland*.

Here ends the Climate of Days, that is the twenty-four Climates, that are distinguished by the different Length of Days. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a short and easy Rule for finding the Climate, in which any Place lies, without the Assistance either of Globes or Tables; and this may be done with so much Ease, that I think it impossible either to mistake the Rule, or to meet with any Difficulty in making use of it. The Rule is this: Subtract 12 Hours from the longest Day, and double the Remainder, which will give the Climate the Place is in. For Example, the longest Day at *Paris* is 16 Hours; subtract 12 from thence, there remains 4; double the Remainder, and it shews the Climate wherein the City of *Paris* lies.

Besides the Climates distinguished by Days, there are yet six other northern Climates, which are distinguished by Months. And, as the Knowledge of these is of some Consequence, we shall likewise give a concise Account of them.

I. Commences at $66^{\circ} 31'$, and ends at $69^{\circ} 45'$. In this Climate, the longest Day consists of a compleat Month; in it lies the *Muscovite Lapland*.

II. Reaches from $69^{\circ} 45'$, to $73^{\circ} 37'$; the longest is of two Months, or sixty-two Days Continuance. In this Climate lies *Greenland*, which is a Country so excessive cold, that the Sea upon its Coasts is almost perpetually frozen.

III. Begins at $73^{\circ} 37'$, and extends to $78^{\circ} 30'$. In this Climate the Day is three Months compleat; in it lies *Zembla Australis*.

IV. Comprehends from $78^{\circ} 30'$ to $84^{\circ} 5'$. The longest Day in this Climate takes in four Months; in it lies *Zembla Borealis*.

V. Extends from $84^{\circ} 5'$, to the very Pole; the longest Day here consists of five Months, or one hundred fifty-five Days compleat. In this Climate lies *Spitzbergen*, which we call *Greenland*.

VI. Immediately under the North Pole, where there is six Months Day, and six Months Night; but whether there be any Land, or whether, if there be Land, it is at all inhabited, remains, and probably will ever remain a Question. These Points of Geography have, as I observed before, something in them, at first Sight, very dry and unpleasant; but by the frequent Perusal of them, or having often recourse to them, as they lie here in the Introduction, the Reader will soon enter into the full Extent of their Use, and apply them with Pleasure in the Perusal of the Work. I will not detain him with the Definitions of Continents, Islands, Capes, Promontories, Seas, Bays, &c. because these, I think, are generally understood, and where-ever I mention them, shall be rendered plain, as not to need any Reticence elsewhere.

Thus much may suffice upon this Subject, and tho' it lies in a narrow Compass, yet the Reader will find it not only useful, but every way sufficient to explain the Terms of Art borrowed from that

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Science, and made use of in this Book. As to Navigation, Care has been taken to avoid, as much as possible, making use of such Terms in that Art, as are not commonly understood; and rather than do this, and thereby introduce a Multitude of harsh Words, and difficult Phrases, we have chosen to express Things more at large, so as to render them perfectly plain, even to ordinary Understandings. We may say the same Thing with regard to natural History, wherein we have studied chiefly Perspicuity, and thereby the Information of the Reader, which we conceived would be more acceptable, than if from a vain Affectation of Learning, we had used Words familiar in the Schools, and no where else. It is proper, and even necessary, to mention these Things, that what was purely the Effect of Choice, may not be attributed to any other Cause. It is one Thing to write expressly upon a particular Science, and another to mention occasionally Things that relate to that Science, and our Business in this Collection is, not only to convey all the Instruction we can, but likewise to convey it in the easiest and plainest Manner we may, as not affecting to be thought learned, but desiring to make Knowledge as familiar as possible.

With this View, we have insisted largely on the Policy of Countries, in order to shew, both the Nature of several Kinds of Government, and their Effects, more especially in the *East*, the Spirit of which seems hitherto but indifferently understood. We have also had Occasion to represent very fully the four ancient Empires, the Influence they had on the Manners of Mankind, which we have likewise shewn, is not yet wholly effaced. By pursuing this Method, we flatter ourselves, that many great Advantages have been gained, and that the Reader will perceive, that what he has perused in this Volume, will throw a prodigious Light on what follows in the next, more especially with regard to the fundamental Principles of true and lasting Dominion.

The Power attained either by Policy, or Arms, is but of short Continuance, in comparison of what is acquired by Trade. If we reflect on the Reason of the Thing, it will appear, that Commerce is founded on Industry, and cherished by Freedom. These are such solid Pillars, that whatever Superstructure is erected upon them, cannot easily be overthrown by Force, but must be ruined by Sap: This too we find justified by History and Experience. The ancient Kingdom of *Tyre* owed its extensive and lasting Power to its Commerce, and all the Accounts we have of the Progress of *Alexander's* Army agree in this, tho' hardly in any Thing else; that the Destruction of *Tyre* cost him more than the over-running the *Persian* Empire, tho' the Territories of the former scarce entered into Comparison with the prodigious Dominions of the latter. *Carthage*, the most formidable Enemy of *Rome*, stood likewise indebted to Trade for that Strength which was so long reputed invincible, and which had always proved to be, if the Virtues necessary to a State, supported and ever subsisting by Commerce, had not been greatly impaired by that Luxury which her Riches induced before she was attacked by her formidable Enemy. The History of the middle Ages likewise shew the Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa* rising to an amazing Height, by the diligent Prosecution of foreign Trade, and Maritime Power, and sinking again into a low Condition, and that not to much by a superior Force of foreign Enemies, as by the Negligence of those Arts, and Diminution of those Virtues by which their Empire was attained.

According to the present System, Wealth is the Source of Power, and the Attainment of Wealth can only be brought about by a wise and happy Attention to Commerce. This it was that enabled the *United Provinces*, not only to shake off the Dominion of *Spain*, but to raise themselves into the first Rank among the Powers of *Europe*. If we pursue this Thought a little farther, we shall find, that the peculiar Advantages which the little Province of *Holland* possesses in this respect, has rendered her in some measure the Mistress of the other Six; and if we go farther into Things, we shall discover such a Degree of Wealth and Power in the City of *Amsterdam* alone, as might put her upon a Level with some Kingdoms. I shall but just mention the *Dutch East-India* Company, which, in a distant Part of the World, not only gives Laws to barbarous Nations, but has trampled upon those Powers that were terrible to the states at home. It is indeed wonderful, that Truths so evident as these, should for a long Time escape not only vulgar Observation, but the penetrating Eyes of the profoundest Politicians.

By degrees, however, Experience has made almost all Nations sensible of the Importance of Trade, which is the Reason we see it pursued now with so much Ardour in every Corner of the *European* World. This being the Case, whoever would have a competent Knowledge of the Weight and Influence of any People, must be well acquainted with their Character and Circumstances in this respect; and yet this is a Point unaccountably neglected by almost all the Writers who have undertaken to set before their Readers the present State of Kingdoms and Commonwealths. They mention it, we must confess, but superficially; they throw it amongst a Groupe of inconsiderable Particulars; and if they just take notice of a principal Port, or two, in any Country, they think they have done all that is requisite in regard to an Affairs, the Knowledge of which is of much more Importance than most of those on the copious Explication of which they value themselves.

As our Business lay in a great measure with Authors that dealt not much in Reflection, we have, in the first Part of this Work, endeavoured to supply that Defect, in order to render it as systematical as possible; and in the succeeding Volume we shall, for the same Reason, be more sparing on that Head, and leave Things more to the Readers own Observation, taking care, however, to supply them with proper Materials, for the ranging of which, in order to extract from this Collection a general History of Trade, a very few Rules may suffice, which, for that Reason, we shall here lay down, being thoroughly persuaded, that as they will be found both proper and useful in their Application, so they will be found even here both natural and agreeable.

The only Means, by which we can arrive at distinct and accurate Notices on this Head, is by following that plain and natural Method, which the Nature of Commerce in general points out. We must

must first examine what the natural Commodities are of the Country, the Trade of which we consider; the Quantity, Value and Demand for these Commodities in other Parts; and the Manner in which they are disposed of by the Natives of the Country where they are found. This is the first Step in the History of Commerce. The next is the Enumeration of their Manufactures, whether they are of their own Commodities, or of those imported from abroad: And with regard to this Head we must attentively consider the Number of the People employed, the Nature of their Employments, and the Effects which their Industry produces to themselves and to the State. The third Head in this Enquiry should be the Sea-Ports in the Country under our Consideration, the natural and artificial Conveniences of each of them, and the particular Advantages and Disadvantages attending them, in point of Situation and otherwise.

These three Things thoroughly and fully understood, we may, with tolerable Certainty, judge of the Probability or Improbability of their becoming considerable by their Commerce in Naval Power, since a Nation blessed with these Conveniences will be able to conquer almost any Difficulties, and for a Nation deficient in these Respects, it will be in a manner to no Purpose that she struggles, because whatever the Power or Policy of one Administration might gain her, must be lost by the new Turn of the next; since whatever is unnatural, or contrary to the Genius of a People, can never last long. The fourth Head will be the Number and Nature of their Shipping, and the Seamen employed on board them: For the Wealth and Power of a Nation is much affected by various Circumstances attending these. For Instance, *Spain* and *Portugal* derive great Riches from Commerce: And yet, by their Management of that Commerce, are far from being considerable, either by the Number of their Shipping, or of their Seamen, which is owing to their ill Policy, and to that ridiculous Distinction, between the Wealth of the Prince and the Wealth of the People; a Distinction that can serve no other Purpose than keeping the one weak, and the other poor.

The last Point that merits Examination, is that of Colonies or Plantations; with regard to which, we are to enquire, not how many, or how powerful they are, so much as how they contribute to the Wealth and Grandeur of their Mother State. There is in this something so commendable in the *Dutch*, that I cannot forbear speaking of it. The common Phrase for *Holland* in all their Colonies, is *Fatherland*, which is an Expression so pathetic, so full of true Patriotism, and so expressive of filial Affection, that we may from thence discern the true Use of Colonies, which is, to feed and support the Country from whence they are derived. In this respect we excel the *Spaniards*, and the *Dutch* excel us: For there is a Conformity between the Interest of that State and of all her Plantations, which is discerned no where else, and which is the true Source of the mighty Power and immense Wealth of that flourishing Republick.

So much for the commercial Part of our Work; let us now turn to the History. The original Settlement and subsequent Changes that have happened to every Nation, are the Subject of their History. This must be tolerably well known, to have an adequate Notion of their Concerns; but at the same time, there is no sort of Occasion for entering too deeply into this, in order to an Acquaintance with their present Circumstances. There cannot, certainly, be either a more useful, or a more pleasant Study, than the general History of all Nations. But then this requires much Leisure, the Knowledge of many Languages, and great Abilities; a great statesman, an accomplished Scholar may, indeed, apply himself to this sort of Study, in order to attain to the Excellence at which he aims. But the general Knowledge of the World, which is requisite to every Man, who would make a tolerable Figure in it, does not require any such laborious Course of reading; but may be acquired, by affording a reasonable Attention to a few of the most remarkable Facts. In this Work therefore, without totally omitting the ancient History, we shall treat of it so concisely, as to connect it with, and yet leave sufficient Room for the Modern. The Spring of Action in one Age, seldom rises higher than the Transactions of that which went before it; and therefore it imports us more to be perfectly acquainted with what has fallen out within these last hundred Years, than with what was done many Centuries ago, tho' the Actions of those Times might be of greater Extent than in these.

It was from a strict Attention to this, that we have taken so much Pains to enquire into, and set forth the State and Condition of the several trading Companies subsisting in *Europe*, the Nature of whose Commerce brings them within the Compass of this Part of our Work, as hoping thereby, not only to lay the Foundation of a competent Stock of Knowledge for the present, but to open to the industrious and intelligent Reader, a clear and easy Method of registering and preserving whatever shall occur of the like Nature in later Books. The same Care has been taken with regard to the Division of this Work in both Volumes, so as to render it not only as perfect as possible, by digesting therein whatever has been hitherto published of superior Value, and distinguished Worth, but also leaving the Road open to future Continuators, without any sort of Necessity of new modelling, or recomposing the whole; so that it is hoped, such as are possessed of the Work, need never find themselves obliged to purchase another Collection falling within the same Space of Time, but may be furnished with all they want, by proper Supplements, as future Discoveries are made, or new Books of Voyages and Travels are published, in our own, or in other Languages.

Another Advantage that will result from the plain and easy Method we have made use of, and which is fully described in the Preface, is, that as this Work will be perfect for the present, without any Supplement, so any Supplement that shall be made hereafter with Judgment, will likewise be perfect in its kind, and be a compleat Work in itself, and thereby totally remove an Inconvenience that has hitherto attended all Collections of this Sort, from their not being properly digested. Thus we have completed the first Part of this Introduction, which is intended to enable the Reader to understand all that is contained in the following Sheets, with respect to the Names and Descriptions of Countries, without having recourse to other Books for Instruction; it remains that in the second Part, we the y

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how future Discoveries may be made by a farther Improvement of those Helps, and those Instruments, which have rendered the modern Navigation so much superior, in Accuracy, as well as Extent, to the Navigation of the Ancients.

This leads us to speak more particularly of the Properties of the Magnet, or Load-stone, the Discovery of which, if we may believe the learned *Kircher*, was originally owing to the Sagacity of an *Engliffman*, but which have most certainly been better explained, and thereby rendered more and more useful, by several of our industrious Countrymen. There have, indeed, been Attempts made to shew, that the Ancients were acquainted with that wonderful and singular Property of this Stone, which our learned Countryman, *Dr. Gilbert*, calls its Verticity, or Power of pointing to the North; and it has been likewise asserted, that it was commonly known in the *East*, before it came to be practised in these Parts of the World; both which Opinions, in the Body of this Work, we have shewn to be but indifferently founded. The first Treatise upon this Subject, of any great Consequence, was written by a Person who stiled himself *Patrus Peregrinus*, who, if *Kircher* be not mistaken, and *Sturmius* likewise, was no other than our learned Friar *Roger Bacon*; but he this as it will, it is in a manner agreed, that this Property of the Magnet was reduced to Practice about the Year 1300, that is, about six or eight Years after Friar *Bacon's* Death, by one *John Gota* of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

After this great and most useful Discovery was known to *Europe*, there were soon many inquisitive Heads, that employed their Thoughts about making farther Enquiries into the Nature of this celebrated Stone; so that in some time its Variation, or Deflection from the true Meridian, was discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*. The Declination (as it was at first called, whereas now the Variation often passes by that Name) or rather, the Inclination of the Needle, was first discovered by our Countryman *Robert Norman*, which is a surprising Property; whereby it always dips under the Horizon, when placed upon a Pin like a Compass, except in such Places as are just under the Equator, and there it keeps always parallel to the Horizon exactly; and he found the greatest Inclination at *London* to be $71^{\circ} 50'$. *Dr. Wallis*, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 276, thinks that the Discovery of this Dipping of the Needle is owing to Mr. *Blagrave*, or some other *Greshamite*; and he describes this Property to be a Direction of Altitude above the Horizon; so that, if it be duly poised on a Horizontal Axis, it will point to a determinate Degree of Altitude, or Elevation above the Horizon; and he says truly, that of this Discovery, though made so long ago, there hath not yet been any considerable Use made.

The Variation of the Variation is another considerable and very surprising Property of the Load-stone; that is, that the Magnetick Needle, in its Horizontal Position, doth not always retain the same Variation or Declination from the true Meridian, in the same Place, and at all Times, but doth successively vary in its Declination or Variation from Time to Time. This was first discovered by Mr. *Gilibrand*, about the Year 1635; tho' *Sturmius* saith, that this was taken notice of also by *Helvetius*, *Azzout*, *Petit*, *Folckamer*, and others, much about the same Time: So that our *English* Nation has had a very considerable Share in the Discoveries which have been made about the Magnet, and its wonderful and useful Properties. To make this Matter the clearer, and to reduce the Facts necessary to be known, within a narrow Compass, we will present them to the Eye of the Reader in the Form of a Table.

The PROPERTIES and PHÆNOMENA of the Magnet or Load-stone, from the best Authors.

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

II. That these Poles, in divers Parts of the Globe, are diversly inclined towards the Earth's Centre.

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

IV. If two Magnets are spherical, one will turn or conform itself to the other, so as either of them would do to the Earth; and that, after they have so conformed, or turned themselves, they endeavour to approach to join each other; but, if placed in a contrary Position, they avoid each other.

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

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

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

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

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

X. That Steel receives Virtue from the Magnet sooner than Iron.

XI. A Needle touched by a Magnet will turn its Ends the same Way towards the Poles of the World as the Magnet will do.

XII. That neither Lead, Stone, nor Needles touched by it do conform their Poles exactly to those of the World, but have usually some Variation from them; and this Variation is different in different Places, and at different Times in the same Place.

XIII. That a Load-stone will take up much more Iron, when armed or capped, than it can alone, and that tho' the Iron-key, or Ring, be suspended by the Load-stone, yet the magnetical Particles do not hinder the Ring or Key from turning round any Way, either to the Right or Left.

XIV. That the Force of a Load-stone may be variously increased or lessened, by the various Application of Iron, or another Load-stone to it.

XV. That a strong Magnet, at the least Distance from a lesser or a weaker, cannot draw to it a Piece of Iron adhering to such lesser or weaker Stone; but if it comes to touch it, it can draw it from the other; but a weaker Magnet, or even a little Piece of Iron, can draw away, or separate a Piece of Iron contiguous to a greater or a stronger Load-stone.

XVI. That in our North Parts of the World, the South-Pole of a Load-stone will raise up more Iron than the North-Pole.

XVII. That a Plate of Iron only, but no other Body interposed, can impede the Operation of the Load-stone, either as to its Attraction, or directive Quality. Mr. Boyle found it true by Glasses sealed hermetically; and Glass is a Body as impervious as most are to any Effluvia.

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

EXPERIMENTS on the Load-stone, by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; in his own Words.

I. Mr. Boyle found that by heating a Magnet red-hot, it could be speedily deprived of its attractive Quality.

II. If a Load-stone be heated red-hot, and then cooled, either with its South-Pole to the North, in a horizontal Position, or with its South-Pole downwards in a perpendicular one, it will change its Polarity, the South-Pole becoming the Northern, and *vice versa*.

III. By applying the Poles of a very small Fragment of a Load-stone to the opposite vigorous ones of a good large Magnet, Mr. Boyle found he could speedily change the Poles of the Fragment, but he could not effect it in a Fragment that was considerably bigger, tho' he tried many Hours.

IV. He observed, that well tempered and hardened Iron-Tools, when heated by Attraction, Turning, Filing, &c. they would, while warm, attract the Filings or Chips of Iron and Steel, but not when cold; yet, says Mr. Mazarin, I remember once to have seen myself, and tried, that a Piece of a File, which was in the Hands of Mr. Yarrrell, the Spectacle-Maker, did retain such attractive Quality, that it would take up and keep suspended the Key of a Cabinet, or Escritoire, and needed no Friction to excite this magnetical Virtue.

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

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

VII. Mr. Boyle found, that, by heating of English Oker red-hot, and placing it to cool in a proper Posture, it plainly gained a magnetic Power.

VIII. The same noble Gentleman found, that an excellent Load-stone of his own, having lain almost a Year in an inconvenient Posture, had its Virtues so unpaired, that he, at first, thought that somebody had spoiled it by Fire.

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

X. Dr. Potter, and Mr. Boyle, both found that after a red-hot Iron had gained a Verticity by being well heated and cooled North and South, and then also hammered at the Ends, the Virtues would immediately be destroyed by two or three blows of a strong Hammer, smartly given, about the Middle of it.

XI. Mr. Boyle found, that by drawing the Back of a Knife, or long Piece of Steel-Wire, &c. over the Pole of a Load-stone lazily once, or divers Times, beginning the Motion from the Equator,

tor, or Middle of the Stone towards the Pole, the Knife or Wire will accordingly attract the End of a poised magnetical Needle: But if you take another Knife or Wire, and thrust it leisurely over the Pole towards the Equator, or Middle of the Equator, this Knife shall repel, or drive away the same End of the Needle, which the former Knife would attract, which Experiment makes it very probable, that the Operation of the Magnet depends on the Flux of some fine Particles, which go out at one Pole, then round about, and in again at the other.

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

This Table of Facts, and List of Experiments, have been very exactly transcribed, that the Reader might see as much as either Reason or Experience can teach concerning the wonderful Nature of this Stone, and the various Circumstances which attend the Exertion of that Faculty by which it becomes of such infinite Benefit and Advantage to Mankind. Without knowing these Circumstances, there would want many Grounds for enquiring into, and discovering, as perhaps there are still wanting, sufficient Grounds for fully explaining the Nature of Magnetism, that is to say, with such Clearness, as may satisfy the Understanding, and such Certainty, as may take away all Fear or Deception or Mistake in Practice. If this Doctrine of Magnetism was merely a Point of Natural Philosophy, it would be idle for me to spend to much Time about it; but as it is, in Fact, the great Secret which must sooner or later disclose the Perfection of that Science to which Books of this Nature belong, I mean the Knowledge of the intire Globe upon which we live, it becomes a most necessary Part of this Introduction, because the most valuable Voyages contain several Particulars relating to this Matter, which are in Danger of appearing either trivial or tedious, if their Use and Importance be not fully shewn.

The several Hypotheses that have been devised by speculative Men, in order to explain this Matter, have hitherto proved not only erroneous and unsatisfactory, but by being for a Time judged otherwise, have hindered such Enquiries as might have turned to the Benefit of Mankind; for, as Lord Bacon long ago observed, Ignorance is not near so great an Hindrance to Knowledge, as the Conceit of Knowledge: Thus, for Instance, *Karcker's* Notion of magnetical Fibres in the Earth, might make a Man fancy he could account for the Verticity of the Load Stone. Again, *Mr. Bond*, a Countryman of our own, advanced something very plausible about the Variation; for he supposed there were two magnetical Poles, which terminated an Axis inclined to that of the Earth, from whence it would follow, that under the same Meridian, the Variation must be the same, and therefore as Experience shews the Conclusion false, it follows, that his Account of the Matter could not be true. *Dr. Gilbert*, our Countryman likewise, and whose Labours on this Subject can never be enough commended, guarded against this Error, by the Opinion which he advanced, which is indeed very curious, and very ingenious, but at the Bottom likewise unsatisfactory. He thought that the Earth itself being in all its Parts magnetical, and the Water not, the Needle would consequently turn towards the Earth wherever it lay, as to the greater Quantity of magnetical Matter; but to mention one out of a Multitude of Instances that might be given, it is certain, that on the Coast of *Brazil* the Needle turns quite the contrary Way, which is sufficient to destroy this Notion.

The famous *M. Des Cartes* invented another Scheme less liable to Contradiction; for he conjectured, that Iron and Load-stone, hid in the Bowels of the Earth, and the Bottom of the Sea, might be the Causes of the Variation of the Needle; but if this were true, how should the Variation of that Variation be accounted for? We know from Experience, that here at *London* the Variation in one hundred Years has altered sixteen Degrees, and something more, for which none of these Notions account at all, and therefore the famous *Dr. Halley* took quite another Method; that is to say, he took the only right Method, by first collecting a large Table of Observations, and from thence endeavoured to raise a Theory.

By this Means he went much farther than any of his Predecessors, and his Scheme was this, that the Globe was a Magnet, having four magnetical Poles, two near each of the Poles of the Equator, and that the Needle was always governed by the nearest of these Poles. His Discourse upon this Subject was extremely well received, both at home and abroad, and perhaps, if it had satisfied its Author, it might have satisfied every body else; but the ingenious Gentleman who devised it, having a much greater Regard to Truth than Fame, and to the general Advantage of Mankind than his own particular Reputation, soon saw that his Scheme, tho' much better contrived, was at the Bottom as fallacious as the rest; for he considered, that no Magnet had any more than two Poles, whereas the Earth had visibly four, and perhaps more; and he likewise observed, that, according to his former Notion, these Poles shifted their Place, which, according to the Laws of Nature, and the particular Structure of the Magnet, was improbable and absurd.

He farther observed, that this Variation was regular, and had a certain Period, tho' not hitherto perfectly discovered; for, here at *London*, in the Year 1580, it was observed to be $11^{\circ} 15'$ East. In 1657, there was no Variation at all. In 1672, he observed it himself $2^{\circ} 30'$ West; and in 1692, he observed it to be exactly 6° West; so that in one hundred and twelve Years it had changed 17° . To this it may not be improper to add, that in fifty-three Years, which have since elapsed, it has varied 11° more to the West. At *Paris*, in 1550, the Needle varied 9° East. In 1706, there was no Variation at all; and since that, its Variation has increased to 14° West. The most northern Promontory of *Africa* was, by the *Portuguese*, about the Year 1600, called the *Cape d' Agulhas*, or *Cape Needles*,

Needle, because there they found no sensible Variation; and yet, in 1691, a very curious Observation being made there, the Needle was found to vary 11° West. At the Island of *St. Helena*, in the Year 1600, the Variation was found 8° to the East, which gradually declined to the Year 1667, when *Dr. Halley* himself observed it there, and found the East Variation no more than 40'; and in 1692, it varied 1° West.

Having thus given the Reader as clear and historical an Account of this Matter as we could, we shall next give him the same Gentleman's Reasonings thereupon in his own Words, because it is impossible to say any Thing better, or more agreeable to Truth, than what he has delivered upon the Subject, as there is very great Reason to doubt whether we shall soon see a more satisfactory Theory raised for the Service of Mankind, than that which this able and ingenious Person has given us. After therefore laying down at large these several Observations, and many more which we have omitted, as tending only to prove what we apprehend is sufficiently proved by the Observations already set down, and the subsequent Experience we have had of the same Thing; he proceeds thus:

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

" Now, considering the Structure of our terraqueous Globe, it cannot be well supposed, that a very " great Part thereof can move within it, without notably changing its Centre of Gravity, and the Equi- " librium of its Parts, which would produce very wonderful Effects in changing the Axis of diurnal " Rotation, and occasion strange Alterations in the Sea's Surface, by Inundations and Recedents thereof, " such as History never yet mentioned; besides, the solid Parts of the Earth are not to be granted " permeable by any other than fluid Substances, of which we know none that are any way magnetical; " so that the only Way to render this Motion intelligible, and possible, is to suppose it to turn about " the Centre of the Earth. And there is yet required, that this moving internal Substance be loose, " and detached from the external Parts of the Earth wherein we live; for otherwise, were it fixed " thereto, the Whole must necessarily move together.

" So then, these external Parts of the Globe will be reckoned as the Shell, and the internal Nucleus, " or inner Globe, included within ours with a fluid Medium between, which, having the common Co- " centre and Axis of diurnal Rotation, may turn about with our Earth, each twenty-four Hours only, " the outer Sphere having its turbinating Motion, some small Matter, either swifter or slower, than the " internal Ball, and every Minute's Difference in Length of Time, and in many Repetitions, will be- " come sensible; the internal Parts will by degrees recede from the external, and, not keeping Pace " with one another, will appear gradually to move either Eastward or Westward, by the Difference of " their Motions.

" Now, supposing such an internal Sphere to have such a Motion, we shall solve the two great Diffi- " culties we encountered in my former Hypothesis; for if this external Shell of Earth be a Magnet, " having its Poles at a Distance from the Poles of the diurnal Rotation, and if the internal Nucleus be " likewise a Magnet, having its Poles in two other Places, distant also from the Axis, and these latter, " by a gradual and slow Motion, change their Place in respect of the external, we may give a rea- " sonable Account of the four magnetical Poles, I presume to have demonstrated before, as likewise the " Changes of the Needle's Variations, which till now have been unattempted.

" The Period of this Motion being wonderfully great, and there being hardly an hundred Years since " these Variations have been duly observed, it will be very hard to bring this Hypothesis to a Calculus, " especially since tho' the Variation do decrease and increase regularly, in the same Place; yet in dif- " ferent Places, and at no great Distance, there are found such casual Changes thereof, as can no ways " be accounted for by a regular Hypothesis, as depending on the unequal and irregular Distribution of " the magnetical Matter, within the Substance, within the external Shell, or Coat of the Earth, which " Defect the Needle supplies from the Position it would acquire from the Effect of the general Mag- " netism of the Whole. Of this, the Variations at *London* and *Paris* give a notable Instance; for the " Needle hath been constantly about 1° 30' more Easterly at *Paris* than at *London*, tho' it be certain, " that, according to the general Effect, the Difference ought to be the contrary Way, notwithstanding " which the Variations in both Places do change alike.

" Hence, and from some other Things of the like Nature, I conclude, that the two Poles of the external " Globe are fixed in the Earth; and that if the Needle were wholly governed by them, the Vari- " ations thereof would be always the same, with some little Irregularities on the Account I but just " above mentioned; but the internal Sphere, having such a gradual Translation of its Poles, does in- " fluence the Needle, and direct it variously, according to the Result of the attractive or directive Power " of each Pole, and consequently there must be a Period of the Revolution of this internal Ball, after " which the Variation will return again as before; but if it should in future Ages be observed otherwise, " we must then conclude, that there are more of these internal Spheres, and more magnetic Poles than " four, which at present we have not a sufficient Number of Observations to determine, and particularly " in that vast *Mare del Zur*, or *South Sea*, which occupies so great a Part of the Surface of the Earth.

" If then two of the Poles be fixed, and two moveable, it remains to ascertain, which they are that " keep their Place; and though I could wish we had Experience of another Century of Years to found " our Conclusions upon, yet I think we may safely determine, that our *European* Pole (which in the " precedent Discovery I supposed near the Lands-end of *England*, and about 7° therefrom) is that, which " is moveable of the two northern Poles, and that which has chiefly influenced the Variation in these " Parts of the World; for in *Hudson's Bay*, which is under the Direction of the *American* Pole, the " Change is not observed to be near so fast as in those Parts of *Europe*, tho' the Pole be much farther " removed from the Axis.

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" As to the south Poles, I take the *Asian* Pole, which I place about the Meridian of the Island *Celebes*, to be fixed, and consequently the *American* Pole to move from the like Observations of the slow Decrease of the Variation on the Coast of *Java*, and near the Meridian of the *Asian* Pole; tho' I must confess to have no Account of the Effects of the other beyond *Magellan* Straits.

" If this be allowed me, it is plain, that the six Poles are the Poles of this external Shell or Cortex of the Earth, and the other two the Poles of the magnetical Nucleus, included and moveable within the other. It likewise follows, that this Motion is Westward, and by Consequence, that the aforesaid Nucleus has not precisely attained the same Degree of Velocity, with the exterior Parts in their diurnal Revolution, but so nearly equals it, that in three hundred sixty-five Revolves, the Difference is scarce sensible. This I conceive to arise from the Impulse whereby this diurnal Motion was impressed on the Earth, being given to the external Parts, and from thence, in Time, communicated to the internal, but not so as perfectly to equal the Velocity of the first Motion impressed on them, and still conveyed, by the superficial Parts of the Globe.

" As for the Quantity of this Motion, it is almost impossible to define it, both from the Nature of this kind of Observation, which cannot be accurately performed, as also from the small Time these Variations have been observed, and their Change discovered. It appears by all Circumstances, that this Period is of many Centuries of Years, and as far as may be collected from the Change of the Place where there was no Variation, by reason of the Equilibrium of the two southern magnetical Poles, *viz.* from *Cape d'Agulhas*, to the Meridian of *St. Helena* (which is about 23° in ninety Years) and of the Place where the westerly Variation is in its *Azime*, or greatest Deflection, being about half as much, *viz.* from the Isle of *Diego Rios*, to the south-west Parts of *Madagascar*, we may with some Reason conjecture, that the *American* Pole has moved Westwards 46°, in that Time, and that the whole Period thereof is performed in seven hundred Years, or thereabouts; so that the nice Determination of this, and of several other Particulars in the magnetick System, is reserved for remote Posterity. All that we can hope to do, is, to leave behind us Observations that may be considered in, and to propose Hypotheses, which After-ages may examine, amend or reject. Only here I must take Leave to recommend to all Masters of Ships, and other Lovers of natural Truths, that they use their utmost Diligence to make, or procure to be made, Observations of these Variations in all Parts of the World, as well in the North, as south Latitude (after the laudable Custom of our *East-India* Commanders) and that they be pleased to communicate them to the *Royal Society*, in order to leave as compleat a History, as may be, to those that are hereafter to compare all together, and to complete and perfect this abstruse Theory."

There has not hitherto appeared any thing more curious, or more correct, upon this Subject, than the foregoing admirable Discourse of the late learned Dr. *Halley*, whose great Abilities and indefatigable Diligence, have done the greatest Honour to this Nation, and fully supported that Reputation which we had before acquired, of having done more in respect to magnetical Discoveries, than any other Nation in *Europe*. His Theory indeed, is at once so sagacious, and so ingenious, and withal, is delivered with so great Modesty, such wise Precautions, and so laudable a Regard to Truth, that one may justly affirm, it deserves much higher Respect, and a more attentive Consideration, than is usually due to Attempts of this Nature; and, if after longer Experience, and a more particular Knowledge of the Facts relating to the Variation in different Places, it shall appear capable of solving all the Difficulties, with which this Subject has been hitherto burthened, Posterity will, without doubt pay that due Veneration to the Memory of this Great Man, which his vast Abilities and singular Penetration have merited.

But supposing there should be such Deficiencies discovered in his second Theory, as this candid and ingenious Man himself discovered in his first; yet, before this can be done, we must have such Tables of Observations collected, as must enable us to form a better Theory, or, which is still of greater Value, enable us to come at the Thing itself; or, in other Words, we must be in a Condition to assign the true Period of Variation at any given Place: For, till this can be done, it will be simply impossible to say, whether Dr. *Halley's* Theory will account for these Appearances or not: And if once, whether by Experiment, or Theory, a Method be found to establish a certain Knowledge of the Period of Variation, the great End for which it is sought, will be attained, that is to say, the easiest Way of discovering the Longitude will be found.

As I look upon this to be the principal Advantage that would result from our having a perfect and certain Knowledge of the Variation of the Needle, it is on this Account that I have insisted upon it so largely, because this is the Thing which, of all others, we most want, towards compleating the Science of Navigation, which, though greatly improved by the Moderns, and therefore much superior to the Navigation of the Ancients, yet, as we before observed, it is still deficient in many Points, and more particularly in this.

At the same Time that I mention this, I must take Notice of another Thing, which, at first Sight may seem to be a Paradox, but, at the same Time, is an indisputable Truth, and withal a Truth of the highest Importance. The Thing I mean is this, that the Defects of modern Navigation, though disadvantageous to the Science, in respect to Practice, are, however, so far from being disadvantageous when considered in a speculative Light, that they are really and strictly so many Excellencies therein, when we compare the State of that Science now, to the State it was in amongst the Ancients; for it was their Misfortune to have so high an Opinion of their own Knowledge, as to charge upon Nature; or, to speak more like a Christian, upon the Conduct of Divine Providence, those Defects which were only in themselves. Thus, for Instance, they conceived, contrary to Truth, the greatest Part of the Globe to be uninhabitable; and from this Notion, pronounced those Discoveries impossible, which by the Industry of succeeding Ages have been made: Whereas with respect to

the Deficiencies confessed by the Moderns, they are really so many Points of Knowledge, as to which the Ancients had not the least Conception; and though we have not hitherto attained them, which is a Misfortune; yet we know what they are, and, in some measure, how they may be attained, which is a great Felicity.

As for Instance, we know the great Importance of discovering an easy and certain Method of finding the Longitude; and this in our own, and other Nations, has induced the Publication of great Rewards for the making of such Discovery. And if this Method were carried farther into Practice, and smaller Sums were offered for intermediate Discoveries, I do not at all doubt that much greater Things might, in a few Years, be attained, than were formerly reached in whole Ages.

There are, indeed, several Methods by which the Longitude may be discovered, besides this; and because it is impossible that the Reader should enter into the true Merit of such a Discovery as this would be of to the Theory of magnetical Variations, without having a competent Notion of those Methods, I shall venture to discourse of them here, as I have done of other Things in an easy and familiar Way. The only Method the Romans had of settling the Distances of Places, and thereby tracing Descriptions or Maps of Countries was, by actually measuring them; and by this Means that Map or Description of the World, which was depicted from *Agrippa's* Tables in the Reign of the Emperor *Augustus*, in a Portico erected for that Purpose, was made. It is generally believed, that the celebrated Itinerary ascribed to the Emperor *Antoninus*, was extracted from thence. A Work wonderfully exact and worthy of the greatest Commendation, considering the Time in which it was made. But *Ptolemy*, the Geographer, as we have before observed, was the first who introduced the Method of fixing the Distances by Longitudes and Latitudes, which has been since followed, as being both easier and more exact than the former. It is, however true, that there are many, and those very great Mistakes in the Geography of *Ptolemy*; as, for Instance he places the *Peruvians Islands* under the same Meridian, and yet gives them several Degrees of Longitude; and in point of Latitude, he is at least ten Degrees out in his Computation. He speaks of a City in *China*, lying in the Latitude of three Degrees South, whereas we now certainly know that the most Southern Part of *China* lies in twenty Degrees North-Latitude. He has so described the great Island of *Tigrahanni*, that it is in a manner impossible to determine, at least with Certainty, whether it be *Ceylon*, *Siam*, or *Borneo*. Hence some very judicious Persons have doubted whether the introducing Astronomy has been of any Use to Geography, or whether on the contrary, it has not contributed to embarrass and perplex that Science, by which it is rendered much more uncertain than if the old plain geometrical Method had been still followed. But, in Answer to this, it may be very truly affirmed that the Errors of *Ptolemy* do not arise from his Use of astronomical Principles, but from his following bad Memoirs, and the great Inaccuracy of the Observations made in those Times for want of good Instruments.

The Moderns, who, without question, have discovered much better Methods of making Observations, have, consequently, been able to correct these Errors, and establish a new Way of discovering the Longitude with Certainty, which is that of Eclipses. To set this Matter in a clear Light, and in as few Words as possible, I shall have Recourse to an Example. As soon as it was certainly known that an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon was observed earlier at *Stockholm* than at *Paris*, it followed that *Stockholm* must lie East from *Paris*. When farther Observations had determined that an Eclipse was observed an Hour sooner at *Stockholm* than at *Paris*, it followed, from the same Principle, that *Stockholm* lay 15 Deg. East of *Paris*; so that, agreeable to the Edict of *Louis XIII.* which fixed the East Meridian in the Island of *Forme*, and consequently the City of *Paris* in the Longitude of 20 Deg. 30 Min. the true Longitude of the City of *Stockholm* was found by this Observation to be 35 Deg. 30 Min. To make this still plainer, let us take another Example. It has been found, that an Eclipse has been observed in the Island of *Caienne* three Hours and an half later than at *Paris*; in whence it is evident, that Island must lie 52 Deg. 30 Min. West from *Paris*, and that is the Reason. The Equinoctial being divided into 360 Deg. and making one Revolution every twenty four Hours, there must consequently be fifteen Degrees allowed to an Hour, upon which the Calculation is grounded.

As this Method of ascertaining the Longitude of Places, by the Observation of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, contributed greatly to the Improvement of Geography; so this very Method has acquired much greater Perfection since we have fallen into a Way of observing the Eclipses of the Satellites of *Jupiter*, which the most learned Persons have pronounced to be, of all others, the shortest, easiest, and most certain Method of fixing the Longitude. In order to this, there is nothing more requisite than to have Tables very exactly adapted for these Eclipses to any given Place, and by observing several of these Eclipses carefully at any other Place, the Difference in point of Time, will be known, which when divided by Degrees and Minutes, the Difference of Longitude between the two Places will be known; and so we shall know how far one is East or West from the other. I must not, however, disguise, there having been some Objections made to this Method, notwithstanding the Sentiments of so many great Mathematicians in its Favour, particularly by the celebrated *Riccioli*, in his reformed Geography, who declares, that he will never consent to the Method of fixing the Longitude by Eclipses, unless it shall appear, that it agrees exactly with the Differences found by geometrical Methods, that is, by plain Measuring, which, tho' in small Distances, it may do, yet in greater, it has been known to fail. The Inferences made from hence, appear at first Sight, to be clear, and so strong, that they seem to be conclusive, and to throw us back into that Degree of Uncertainty, from whence this Method promoted us to have it.

But, upon mature Consideration, we may, perhaps, suggest a Solution of this Difficulty, which may prove satisfactory, and thereby bring Things once more to Rights. In order to this, I must take

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Notice, that the Objection is founded in a Fact, and that Fact again, upon a Supposition, that the Earth is a perfect Sphere, which, however, some able Men have doubted, and assigned very probable Reasons for their Doubts. Sir *Iaac Newton* thought the Earth a flat Spheroid, and Mr. *Cassini* believed it to be a long Spheroid. It is plain enough, that if either of these great Men were in the Right, this would alter the Distances of Places, that have the same Longitude and Latitude, and consequently, take away the Grounds of this Objection; yet, instead of introducing any Certainty, would beget still greater Incertainties; for, it must be allowed, that if the latter of these Conjectures had been taken for Truth, while the former really was so, then in a Course of one hundred Degrees of Longitude, the most expert and cautious Seaman must have committed an Error of two Degrees, which shews the Importance of this Enquiry. His most Christian Majesty being informed perfectly as to this Matter, in the Days of Cardinal *Pleury*, when the Arts of Peace were his Care, resolved, that at his Expence, this Point should be put out of Dispute, by causing two Degrees to be measured, one at the Equator, and the other under the polar Circle, which has been accordingly done, and thereby the Truth of Sir *Iaac Newton's* Conjecture fully proved. Hence we have great Reason to expect, that the Figure of the Earth will very soon be perfectly known, and the different Lengths of Degrees digested into accurate Tables, so as to be shewn by bare Inspection, and then we have the greatest Room to hope, that as the foregoing Objection took rise from Facts falsely stated, it will, by the true stating of Facts, be entirely taken away.

One Thing more we shall observe before we quit this Subject, and it is this, that the several Methods of finding the Longitude before-mentioned, depend upon astronomical Observations, and those too, very nice and exact, which at Sea it is very difficult, at any Time, and very often impracticable to make; whence arises the Necessity of finding out some other Way of discovering the Longitude, for which hitherto nothing has bid so fair as a perfect finding out the Variation of the magnetic Needle, which being adjusted to a Table of Longitudes, they would then reciprocally shew each other. This, however, we can never hope, till such Time as the Princes of *Europe*, laying aside their Jealousies and Animosities, unite in the generous and pious Design of promoting the common Advantage of all their Subjects, by encouraging the Study of those *Sciences*, which being perfectly understood, would open a Way to many concealed Branches of Commerce, which might make the Inhabitants of their respective Dominions as rich and happy as themselves could wish: whenever this true and laudable Ambition shall take place of that false and feigned Ambition which now rules them, we may expect to see those great Events, and we may reasonably hope to see them first take place, at least, in part, in that Nation, where this blessed Change, so agreeable to the Maxims of Reason, the Laws of Nature, and the Doctrines of the Christian Religion shall first appear.

We are not, however, to hope this until such Time as the Minds of Men are, in some measure, cured of certain Prejudices which prevail but too generally at present. For Instance, while it is possible for any Nation possessed of or veiled with the Power of improving Commerce and Maritime Force, to be induced to imagine that any thing else is more worthy her Study and Regard: For with respect to extensive Commerce, we may safely venture to assert, it is the one Thing necessary in Politicks; and if we study and pursue this, all Things else will be added unto us. It is a ridiculous Thing for such a Nation to complain, that her Commodities lie upon her Hands, that her Manufactures decay, that Numbers of her People are idle, that Multitudes are poor, and that her Condition grows daily worse and worse. I say, such Complaints are ridiculous, because it is in our own Power to redress all these Evils, by minding her own Interest, and applying herself to that Thing which alone well minded, must certainly and absolutely cure them all: But the most ridiculous Complaint that can be made in a trading Nation is, against Smuggling; for that plainly proves that she has minded her Business so little, that her Neighbours have got the Start of her, since it is impossible that foreign Commodities should be bought cheaper in one Country than another, unless the Laws of that other Country are so framed, as to oppress and discourage Trade.

The Remedy of all these Evils, is very soon found, and very easily applied, if once Mens Eyes are opened, and their Hearts enlarged; for if the Understanding be clear, and the Will right, a Nation, like a private Family, soon alters its Condition, and recovers, by a prudent Management, what was lost through want of Attention. The great Engine in both Cases is, Industry, and Industry rightly applied. By Industry, with respect to a Nation, we must mean Application to Trade, as in private Life, we mean Application to Business; for, both in publick, and in private Life, Men may be industrious, that is to say, may be active, eager and diligent, not only to no Purpose, but to bad Purposes; for Instance, the Gamester takes as much Pains to acquire Money, as the Tradesman, but with this Difference, that the more he labours, the worse he deserves, and the richer he grows, the greater his Infamy. Yet why is he infamous? Not surely because he seeks Wealth, but because he seeks it in a dishonest Way, in a Way, which though useful to himself, is destructive to his Neighbours, in a Way inconsistent with Society, and which truly renders him an Enemy to Mankind. But after all, is not Usury, or the Art of making Money beget Money, of the same Prejudice in Publick, as Gaming in private Life, and ought not the Maxims in Government which encourage the one, to be as universally condemned, as those that tolerate the other.

Let any Man, who considers the Consequences of both, speak what his Heart dictates, and he must say they ought; for if the bare Possession of Money, will produce Money; and if by watching the Necessities of the Publick, Men can grow as soon, and as certainly rich, as by applying themselves to Trade, it follows, that where-ever this happens, the Idle will eat the Bread of the Industrious, and those Men be at the Head of a Society, who are Enemies to Society, in Practice at least, if not in Principle. And now let me have Leave to ask, Wherein the Man who betters his private Fortune, without advancing the Stock of the Publick, is better than a Gamester?

But

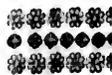
But Examples are better understood, and move more than Precepts. Let us look Abroad then for one, since it might be inconvenient to look at Home. The State of *Genoa* was once a most rich and powerful Republick, possessing large foreign Dominions, and prodigious Wealth in her own Coffers; it was this, that enabled her Subjects to build and plant, so as to establish, in the most barren Part of *Italy*, a City, which is still deservedly stiled *Genoa* the Proud. But how did she acquire her Fleets, her Dominions, and her Riches? If we look into her History, we shall find, by the very same Method, that these Blessings were acquired, and may be acquired in other Countries, that is to say, by Industry and Trade. But is she now possessed of them? Alas! No; from being the greatest, she is of late become the most contemptible State in *Europe*. And how has this Change been wrought? By forgetting her true Interest, by suffering the Wealth her Trade had produced, to corrupt the Manners of her People, by running into Luxury and Idleness, by entering into endless Negotiations, and fruitless Alliances; and finally, by these two fatal Steps, dealing in Money instead of Goods, her Merchants becoming Bankers, and preferring Funds and negotiable Debts to Manufactures and staple Commodities; by neglecting her natural naval Strength, and depending upon her Allies; by engaging in other People's Quarrels, and thereby wasting her own Strength, and by preferring the pernicious Arts of Politicks to the noble and generous Arts of Commerce: Such have been the Causes of her Fall; and may her Fall prove a Warning, not a Precedent!

I call the Arts of Commerce noble and generous, because they extend to all Mankind. If we draw Gold and Spices from warmer Climates, we carry them Things more valuable, because more useful. What is it that constitutes the Splendor and Luxury of *Mexico* and *Lima*, but the richest Commodities, and the finest Manufactures of *Europe*; and what renders opulent those Countries which furnish these Commodities and Manufactures, but the Silver of *Mexico*, and the Gold of *Peru*? Does not that Change in point of Cultivation, Magnificence in Building, and great Increase in Shipping, which, within these two last Ages, has happened in the old World, arise from the Discovery of the new? Why then do we not pursue this Track? Why not prosecute new Discoveries, at least, why not enlarge our Commerce by the Invention of new Branches? The common Answer is, because the Thing is impossible. Idle, ridiculous, and impious Assertion! Have we not Wool; have we not Cloth; are there not naked Nations enough in the World, who would gladly be covered; and was there ever a Nation yet found, that wanted Cloaths, and at the same Time wanted wherewithal to pay for them.

The Negroes on the burning Coast of *Africa*, have Ivory and Gold; the Inhabitants of the frozen Coasts of *Hudson's Bay*, send us Furs and Skins. The very *Laplanders* pay for what they want, and consequently, the more Wants any People have, the more it concerns us to find them out; besides, is not this falling back to the Errors of the Antients? Did not they fancy the same Thing, and were not they mistaken? Should not this put us upon a different Conduct? Surely it ought. We have Commodities, we have Manufactures, we have Shipping, we have Seamen, we have Merchants, what can we possibly want, if we have the Will to employ those as we ought? Methinks I hear some modern Sceptick cry, This is very fine, indeed; but where, which Way shall we search; would you have us Freight and Man our Ships, and then turn them a-drift, in hopes that Chance may bring them to some new World? No, the following Sheets will shew, that the Means of Finding are very well known; that the Methods of extending Commerce are natural and easy, and which is more, in a Manner certain; so that there is no need of employing Chance, the very Skill we have, will do the Business. It may, indeed, be requisite to remove ill-judged Prohibitions, and to break down illegal Exclusions; illegal, because the Terms upon which they were granted, have not been complied with; these may be, and indeed will be requisite, and therefore they ought to be done.

We see in a Time of War, what Encouragement for Privateering has produced, and can any reasonable Man doubt, that in Time of Peace, like Encouragements would not produce as strong a Spirit of Discovery? Most certainly they would. Let us maintain Trade, and there is no doubt that Trade will maintain us. Let our past Mistakes teach us to be wise, let our present Wants and Difficulties revive our ancient Industry. Let the Perusal of this Collection excite our Hopes, and dispel our Fears, and then the present Age may become as much the Admiration, as it is now in Danger of becoming the Scorn of Posterity. We want not Capacity, we want not Power; but we want Will; and therefore we want Vigour; let us supply this Deficiency, and all will be well. In fine, let us deserve, and we shall certainly succeed; for that divine Maxim will be found true in worldly as well as spiritual Affairs, *If we search, we shall find, if we knock, it will be opened.*

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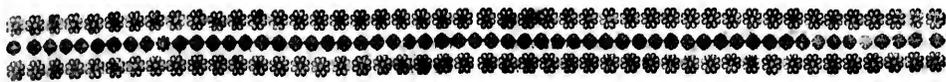


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C H A P. I.

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A NEW
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 of all the
KNOWN WORLD
 laid down according to
 Mercators Projection
 Exhibiting all the late
 Discoveries & Improvements
 The whole being
 collected from the most authentic
 sources
 By
 Emanuel Bowen



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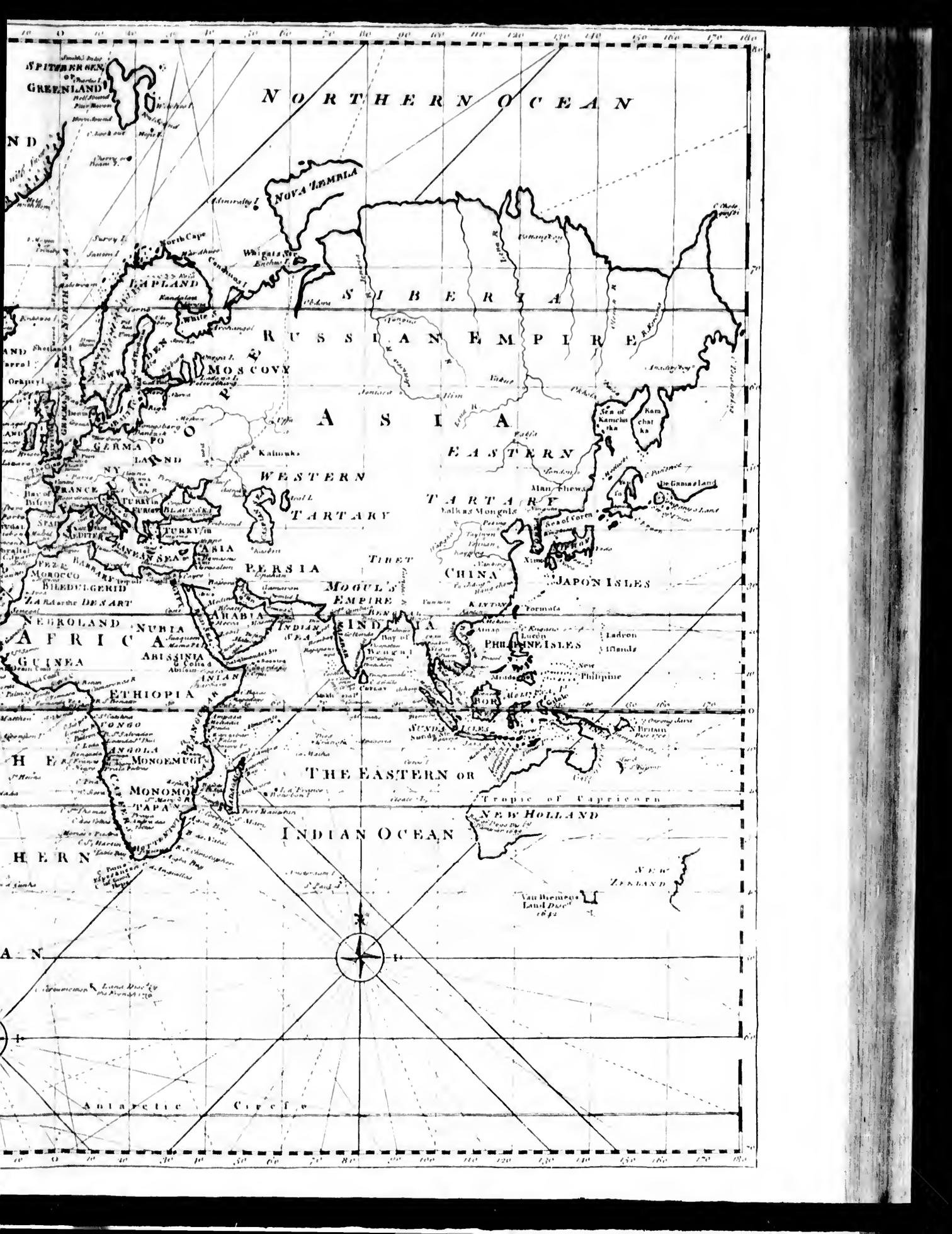
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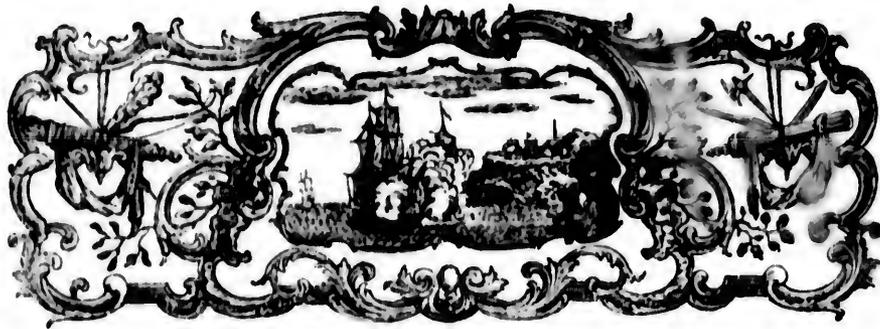


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Vol. I.



Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

Or, A Complete COLLECTION of

VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

B O O K I.

An Account of the Circum-Navigations of the GLOBE, and of the Discoveries of the *East* and *West Indies*.

C H A P. I.

The HISTORY of the CIRCUM-NAVIGATORS.

S E C T I O N I.

1. *The perfect Knowledge of the Globe due to Modern Inquiries.* 2. *Reasons why the Navigation of the Antients was imperfect.* 3. *They knew not with Certainty the Figure of the Earth.* 4. *Understood Astronomy but indifferently.* 5. *And were ignorant of the Use of the Needle.* 6. *The Moderns have overcome all these Difficulties.* 7. *Many of them have surrounded the Globe.* 8. *Introduction to the History of these Circum-navigations.* 9. *Our Reasons for including that of Columbus in their Number.*

THE accurate Knowledge of this Globe of Earth and Water in general, and of many of its Parts in particular, is owing to the superior Skill of the Moderns in Mathematical Sciences, and ought therefore to be considered as one of the noblest Trophies of the Force of human Understanding; I mean with respect to Reasoning right upon Principles once laid down, however those Principles might be discovered by Accident, or by Thought. I would not be understood to insinuate any thing to the Prejudice of those ancient Sages, who may with great Justice be titled the Fathers of Science; but only assert a Truth which may be incontrovertibly proved, that the Glory of discovering the terraqueous Globe, and bringing Navigation almost to Perfection, is due to the Moderns.

2. It is clear, that the Antients were under an absolute Incapacity of making great Discoveries by Sea for many Reasons, but particularly for these Three; First, That they had no just Notion of the Figure of the Earth; Secondly, They were very indifferent Astronomers, especially with regard to the practical Part of that Science; and, Thirdly, They were able to make no Voyages of Consequence for want of knowing the wonderful directive Property of the Loadstone.

3. With respect to the Figure of the Earth, almost every eminent Philosopher was of a different Opinion: *Pythagoras* the Father of the *Greek* Philosophy believed, that it floated upon the Water like a Bowl; and *Anaximander* would have it, that it resembled a Column or Stone Pillar; *Democritus*,

otherwise a very great Man, thought it hollow, like a Dish; and *Anaximenes* taught, that it was flat, like a Table, and sustained by the inferior Air. *Leucippus* described it as approaching nearest the Figure of a Drum. In succeeding Times, *Lactantius* and *Augustine* thought the Earth infinitely extended downwards, grounding this Notion upon the Scriptures, or rather seeking Assistance from them, in Support of their Opinion. It is most evident from this Diversity of Sentiments, that they could draw no just Conclusions, either as to the Parts of it that were then undiscovered, or of the Means of discovering them; in order to which, nothing was so necessary as having true Notions as to the Figure of the Earth, or at least such Notions as came near the Truth.

4. In regard to Astronomy, they were likewise much at a Loss. *Hipparchus* was the first who made a Catalogue of the fixed Stars, and he flourished about 150 Years before *Christ*. About 300 Years afterwards the famous *Ptolemy* corrected his Tables, and established a System which lasted many hundred Years, though there were great Errors in his Calculations; which were in part rectified by the famous *Tycho Brahe*, who flourished not much above 100 Years ago. I say nothing of later Discoveries, because they have been made by the Help of the Telescope, an Instrument as little known to *Tycho Brahe* as to *Hipparchus*; and yet the former has not been found to err much above Two Minutes, even by the best modern Astronomers, whereas *Hipparchus* often failed half a Degree in Longitude and Latitude; and every body knows how far such Imperfections must affect that Science, when applied to Navigation.

5. But the great Imperfection of the antient Navigation was the not being able to solve that necessary Problem, the finding in any Place the Four Cardinal Points, and such intermediate ones as were necessary; without doing which, it was simply impossible to sail far. Now the Antients had no certain way to find the North and South Points at any time, and therefore durst not trust themselves into the wide Ocean, but coasted only along the Shores, that they might by some Signs know where they were. In the Day-time they were able to find the North and South, or a Meridian Line, by the Sun's Rising and Setting; and besides this they had three other Methods. 1. By the Stars at Night, particularly the Little Bear, and the Star in its Tail, called the Pole Star, which was much famed with Antiquity, and served to shew them the North, and thereby all the other Points; for, turning their Face to it, the East was on the Right, the West on the Left, and the South behind; and they had a Circle with the Points on it, and, bringing the North and South Point to the Meridian Line, the other Points were seen at once. Another Method they had was by knowing the Situation of the Shores, and of one Promontory from another; for when one Point was thus known, either from the Maps, or by Observation and Experience, they could in Sailing find the rest; but then they could not go far from the Shores, which directed them as to these Points; for they could not at all times see the Sun and Stars for that End. A third Method they used was by observing the Points they had run in, for knowing how they first directed the Ship, and how much they turned again their Course from that Point, they knew the other Points. From whence the Reason appears of their imperfect and dangerous Sailing; viz. their not knowing the Points in the wide Ocean, so as to tell how to steer. This third Method, by observing the Ship's Course, is of no Use when the Ship is turned to a great many Points by the Violence of the Winds and Waves. Such were their Methods of finding the Meridian Lines, which were so imperfect, that they durst never trust themselves in the vast Ocean; and therefore it is no Wonder that they never knew *America*.

6. These defects are all remedied, and many other Advantages gained, by the Application of that wonderful Property in the Loadstone, of turning its Poles nearly to the North and South. This enables the Mariner to steer boldly, and with Certainty, to quit the old Method of coasting, and to force a Passage to the most distant Parts of the Globe, by the shortest and speediest Way imaginable. By these Helps the *Portuguese*, in the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century, made prodigious Discoveries towards the East, and thereby gave a Beginning to that Series of Voyages and Travels, by which the World in general, and every considerable Portion of it in particular, have been fought out and discovered. From whence it plainly appears, that all Parts of the Globe are inhabited; that there is not that mighty Disproportion between the Quantities of Land and Water, which there was formerly supposed to be; and that the Products of the Torrid and Frigid Zones

are rather more rich and valuable than those of temperate Climates.

7. In speaking of the great Men by whom, and of the several Methods by which, these Discoveries have been made, it is but just to give the Circumnavigators the first Place; since the Aim of their Voyages was general, having relation to the Whole, and making us sensible, that as the new System was highly reasonable in Theory, so the Reasonings deduced from it were easily reduced to Practice. The Tour of the World seems to be one of the sublimest Enterprizes within the Compa's of human Ability; and, if it could have been achieved in former Ages, would have been celebrated in a manner worthy the Undertaking by the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

But, as it was not, it seems to require in a particular manner our Care and Attention, especially since we are furnished with abundance of authentic Relations, which fully enable us to shew how this great Design was first conceived; how far carried into Execution by the first Inventor; how it was afterwards prosecuted, and what additional Discoveries have been made by each succeeding Circumnavigator.

8. This seems to be the more requisite, because hitherto, notwithstanding the numerous Collections we have, there has never yet been any tolerable Account given of this Matter; nay, I think it may be safely affirmed, that there never was so much as an Endeavour made of this Kind, at least in that Extent in which we propose it. For our Intention is to give a succinct Account of all the Circumnavigations, of which sufficient Memoirs can be procured, from the very first Attempt down to the present Times, distinguishing the Causes, Consequences, and most interesting Circumstances in every Voyage, and pointing out the several Improvements in the natural Order of Time in which they occurred, taking notice also of what yet remains to be perform'd by such as the Industry, Success, and Fame of others may inspire with a generous Thirst of Emulation.

9. In order to this, we are next to speak of that illustrious *Genoese*, who first framed an Idea of the Possibility of the thing, and then formed to many just and powerful Arguments in Support of his Notion, as brought over to his Opinion the most able and learned Men of his Time, even before he had demonstrated by his first Attempt, that it was not possible only, but practicable; and this too in spite of the many Prejudices that were raised against it. In treating of his Project, and of the Pains it cost him before he could engage any of the Princes of *Christendom* to enable him to undertake the Execution of it, we shall insist more largely; because, though it is a Story that has been often told, yet are there many Circumstances relating to it, which have been hitherto so imperfectly represented, as to take much from the Merit of that great Man, whose Steadiness and Felicity in performing, were not more admirable than his Wisdom and Penetration in contriving, to glorious an Action.

SECTION II.

The Voyages of DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

1. The Family and Character of Columbus.
2. The Stories told to his Prejudice by the Spaniards.
3. Facts which refute these Calumnies, and prove his Project to be the Effect of Study rather than Information.
4. Requested by the *Genoese*, and afterwards by the King of *Portugal*.
5. Propos'd to, and accepted by King Henry VII. of England, though too late.
6. Columbus joins their Catholic Majesties.
7. The many Difficulties he met with before his Proposals were accepted.
8. He undertakes his First Voyage in the Autumn of 1492.
9. His Crew become mutinous, and charge him to promise to return, if, in Three Days, they discover no Land.
10. His Arrival in one of the Islands called *Lucayas*.
11. Sails from thence to *Cuba*.
12. Returns to Spain; his Reception there, and subsequent Voyages.
13. The Causes of his Troubles.
14. His Fourth Voyage, Return, Usage, and Decaise, May 20. 1500.
15. Remarks on his Conduct, and the remarkable Story of Columbus's Egg.
16. His original Design mistaken, or overlook'd, until reversed and prosecuted by Ferdinand Magellan.

1. *Christopher Columbus*, or, as the Spaniards call him, *Cristobal*, was descended of an antient Family in the Territory of the State of *Genoa*. But as to the Time when,

or the Place where he was born, they could not be exactly determined by his Son *Don Ferdinand*, who wrote his Life, and therefore it would be Time lost for us to inquire about

about them, setting down to reckon the Fact for the Sea, but and began both when he was ve for their Skill. Parts; where Coasts of *Guinea* tract of a Me of competent in the Mathem

9. His strict probably to the People, tempted *Spaniards*, indeed he did them, e their Country with a View to hied by the Mo to be a Point th flatter myself, th or mine ill belie our *Martin Pin Terroza*, had t hundred and fu and there took by Man's Hand out Iron, which hind. *Pedro* had likewise seen the like *Pedro* wrought in the great Canes, w Two Gallons of upon; which be the Well, and supposed, that brought them o. he *Azores* ha well Winds b *Juan*, certain P of *Hores*, with and quite a diffe driven also by t related, that be believed he law had lued to the Juence to diste ten every Year had Forty Year there observed t not far off, as *B riner* told him d which is sup *Vesajo* had ob an *Island* *Di R* turn from *C Madera*, for w no Discovery t the greatest Str that in the Ye the County of *Columbus*, in th from whence he his great Und many Years tr thence to *Made carried out to*

* *Werra*, Oris The People, addi the "inventum Me" inemine oport the true Intention conversed with, b when e rightly, and that whiover of the Matter, a targe that this M

about them. We shall content ourselves therefore with setting down only Certainties; among which we may reckon the Facts following: That he had an early Passion for the Sea, studied Navigation with the utmost Industry, and began both to trade, and make Charts for Sea Service, when he was very young. The Fame of the *Portuguese*, for their Skill in Maritime Affairs, brought him to those Parts; where he married, settled, and traded to the Coasts of *Guinea*. He had, throughout his Life, the Character of a Man sober, temperate, grave, and devout, of competent Learning in other respects, and very studious in the Mathematics.

His first Application to these Sciences, joined very probably to the many Relations he had heard from Sea-faring People, tempted him to think of making Discoveries. The *Spaniards*, indeed, who, notwithstanding the great Services he did them, envied his Reputation, because he was not their Countryman, have circulated abundance of Stories with a View to make the World believe, that he only profited by the Mistortunes of other Men; and, as this seems to be a Point that has never been thoroughly understood, I flatter myself, that the Reader will not think either his Pains or mine ill bestowed in clearing it up. They tell us, that our *Martin Vincent*, a Mariner, who vied the *Azores* or *Terceras*, had told him, that he was once carried four hundred and fifty Leagues to the West of Cape *St. Vincent*, and there took up a Piece of Wood or Timber, wrought by Man's Hand, and that, as far as he could judge, without Iron, which he imagined had come from some Western Island. *Pedro Correa*, who had married his Wife's Sister, had likewise informed him, that at *Puerto Santo* he had seen the like Piece driven thither by the Western Winds, wrought in the same fashion; and, besides, he had seen great Canes, which, in such Knot, might contain above Two Gallons of Water, which he also sent to him to look upon, which being unlikely to grow in the known Parts of the West, and having read of such growing in *India*, he supposed, that some long and violent Western Winds had brought them thither from thence. The Inhabitants also of the *Azores* had told him, that strong West and North-west Winds had brought by Sea, upon *Saragoja* and *Laval*, certain Pine-trees; Two dead Men also on the Coast of *Flores*, with larger Faces than are usual in those Parts, and quite a different Look; and Two Canoes another time, driven also by the Wind. *Antonio Lema*, of *Madeira*, had related, that being carried in his Caravel far Westward, he believed he saw Three Islands: And another of that Island had told to the King of *Portugal*, in the Year 1484, for Licence to discover certain Lands, which he swore he had seen every Year over against the *Azores*. *Diego Velazquez* had Forty Years before been carried far into the West, and there observed the Seas and Winds such as if the Land was not far off, as he affirmed to *Columbus*. And another Mariner told him of Land he had seen far West from *Iceland*, which is supposed to be *Newfoundland*. *Pedro de Vesajo* had observed the like in his going for *Ireland*; and *Venent Diaz*, a *Portugal* Pilot, had hinted, in his Return from *Guinea*, he saw an Island in the Height of *Madeira*, for which also Search was afterwards made, but no Discovery followed. The Last, however, upon which the greatest Strefs is laid, remains yet untold, and is this: That in the Year 1484, one *Alonso Sanchez*, of *Huesca*, in the County of *Niebla*, died by the Mouth of *Christopher Columbus*, in the Island of *Tercera*, and left him his Papers, from whence he acquired those Lights that directed him in his great Undertakings. This *Alonso Sanchez* had for many Years traded from *Spain* to the *Cannaries*, and from thence to *Madeira*; in his last Voyage from whence he was carried out to Sea, and, after Nine-and twenty Days Sail-

ing, arrived at a certain Island, supposed to be *Hispaniola*, where he landed, and took an Observation. He kept an exact Journal of all the Occurrences; and, after a tedious Voyage back, in which he lost Twelve out of Seventeen of his Men, he came to *Tercera*, where he and the other Five soon after died of mere Fatigue.

3. But that all this, or at least the far greatest Part of it, and particularly the last-mentioned Tale, is pure Invention, appears from hence; that *Columbus* had perfected his Scheme, and actually offered it to his Countrymen the *Genoese*, in 1484. The Reasons he went upon were these: That the Figure of the Earth being spherical, it was highly probable, that the Continent on one Side was balanced by an equal Quantity of Earth on the other. That the *Portuguese* having already discovered, first Islands, and then a vast Track of Country, by sailing East, it was highly likely, or rather in a manner certain, that, by sailing West, it was equally possible to reach other Islands, and the other Side of that Continent; that this would be a new Discovery, of equal Value with that which then made so great a Noise; and that there was the greater Certainty of it, since it had been observed in the *Cape de Verde* Islands, that the Winds blew for a certain Season from the West, which must be owing to a great Track of Land on that Side. It is evident enough from these Reasons, that his Project was to sail round the World, and to the very best Writer on this Subject: lays it down; which is the Reason that we place him among the Circumnavigators: For though he did not himself surround the Globe, yet he was, for aught we know, the first who thought it practicable, who attempted it, and who pointed out the Way by which it was afterwards effected, as will be shewn in its proper Place.

4. The State of *Genoa* rejected his Proposal, as being beyond their Power, and likely to draw upon them the Re-entment of several Princes. He next proposed his Scheme to the King of *Portugal*, *John the Second*, in whose Dominions he had resided for some Years: Commissioners were appointed to treat with him, who, when, by provoking with Objections, they had drawn out of him all they could, advised the King to fit out a Vessel, and to send it to try if the thing was practicable; whereby they meant to rob *Columbus* both of the Honour and Advantage resulting from the Discovery. The Design miscarried, through the want of Courage and Conduct in Persons employed; but *Columbus*, finding out the Trick, was exceedingly incensed, so that though the King of *Portugal* would have treated with him a second time, being himself a better Judge of such Projects than any other Prince of his Age, yet he declined it, and resolved to apply elsewhere.

5. This was in 1485. In the same Year, having fully instructed his Brother *Bartholomew* in his intended Project, he sent him into *England*, with Directions to apply himself to *Henry VII.* who was justly reputed one of the wisest Monarchs in *Christendom*, in hopes that he would embrace a Proposal manifestly tending to his Profit; and in the mean time he prepared himself to go into *Spain*, on the same Account. *Bartholomew Columbus* was so unfortunate as to fall into the Hands of Pirates, who stripped him of all he had. On his coming into *England* in this poor Condition, he fell ill of a Fever; and, when he recovered from that, he spent some time in making Maps, and telling them, before he put himself into such an Equipage as enabled him to address himself to the King. This however he did in 1488. was well received, and actually entered into Agreement with that Prince, in the Name, and on the behalf, of his Brother, several Years before he closed with their Catholic Majesties, as his Son tells us in his Life. By virtue of this Agreement, it should seem that our Title to the new World is prior to that of *Spain*. This

* *Huesca*, *Orissa*, *Genova*, *San Basilio*, *P. Martyr*. — The Royal Commentaries of Peru. *Pizarro's* Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1542. — The Author here meant is *Pedro Vesajo*, who wrote at the very Time, and in a manner from *Columbus's* own Mouth. In his XXXII Epistle, addressing himself to Two of *Columbus's* Partners, he uses these Words: "Attollite mentem, sapientissimi duo senescentes; addite novum nomen nomenque. Meministis *Columbum* figuram insulæ in castris apud Reges, de percurrendo per occidentales Antipodes, novo Terrarum Hemisphaerio nomen nomen oportet. Quia de re subitum aliquando actum est. Nec in vestro, ut arbitror, consilio rem hic agere potest est." This demonstrates the true Intention of this great Man, and evidently shews, that he did not derive his Notion from the hearsay Evidence of such Seamen as he conversed with, but from the Consideration of the Globe itself, and the Harmony, observed throughout in what was perfectly known, from whence he rightly inferred, that the want of such Harmony in any Point of View, was an Argument, that the Whole was not merely discovered; and that whatever was requisite to establish that Harmony, was most likely to be the Part concealed. — There is another Account given of this Matter, viz. that Care was taken the Design should miscarry, in order to discredit *Columbus*, because it was not the Interest of the *Portuguese* that this Method of Discovery by the West should be pursued. — He that

is arguing in their own way; and, if they plead the actual Discovery of the Islands in Bar to us, I shall hereafter shew, that we may plead the same thing with respect to the Continent against them. But the Business is now to prosecute, in few Words, the Story of *Columbus*.

6. On his going into *Spain*, he first conferred with one of the ablest Pilots in that Country, whose Name was *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, who readily apprehended the Force of his Arguments, and agreed to go with him, in case he could bring his Design to bear. He next address'd himself to a *Franciscan Friar*, *Juan Perez de Marchena*, famous for his Skill in Cosmography, whom he likewise brought over to his Opinion, and to whose indelible Labours he was much indebted for all the Success he met with in the Prosecution of his Design. By this learned Monk he was recommended to the Two greatest Noblemen in *Spain*, *Don Henriquez de Guzman Duke of Medina Sidonia*, and *Don Lewis de Cerda Duke of Medina Celi*, who might, if satisfied with his Proposals, have employ'd him on their own Accounts. But they were so dissident of him as an *Italian Projector*, and one who had already treated with several Potentates on this Subject, that they would not consent to his Desires, or undertake the Expedition at their own Expence. Yet the Gravity of his Behaviour, the Strength of his Arguments, and the Uprightness of his private Life, induced them to shew him great Respect, and even to countenance his Application to their Catholick Majesties, *Don Ferdinand*, and *Dona Isabella*, who were then engag'd in driving the *Moor* out of *Spain*, and who, of all Princes, were most likely to encourage so noble and generous an Undertaking. His old Friend Friar *Juan Perez de Marchena* assist'd him also in this Application, and furnish'd him with Letters of Recommendation to the Queen's Counsellor, Friar *Ferdinand of Talavera*, a Man of great Learning and Probity, and one who had the Ear of their Majesties to a great Degree, by whom he was very kindly received, and promis'd all the Assistance he could expect for the furthering him in his Applications; in which the Counsellor kept his Word religiously, and never left loitering on his Behalf, till he brought the Matter to bear.

7. It was in the Year 1486, that he began his Negotiations with their Catholick Majesties; which he did by presenting to them a Petition, setting forth the Nature of his Design, the Advantages that would flow from it, and the Reward he expected, in case he succeeded. The Singularity of the Project, join'd to the plain Appearance of the Man, whose Circumstances were distressed, did not contribute to his meeting at first with so much Favour as he expected. However *Columbus* persisted in his Applications, and even procur'd some, who were near the Person of the King, to present him with a Discourse of his, in which his Project was more largely explain'd, which yet wrought no great Effect. There were however some grave and thinking People, who had a better Opinion of *Columbus's* Design; and amongst these was *Don Alphonso di Quantaniglia* Auditor of the Revenue, who very kindly supplied his Necessities, entertain'd him constantly at his Table, and encouraged him still to remain about the Court, though he grew visibly uneasy at the Usage he receiv'd at being scornfully treated as a Foreigner, us'd with Contempt on the score of his Poverty, and often upbraided with the Vanity of his Projects; which bore sometimes to hard upon him, that he twice resolv'd to quit a Court where he had been so ungratefully treated, intending, the first time, to have gone over to *England*, to see what Success his Brother *Bartolomeo* had met with, and proposing, at last, to offer his Discovery to the Crown of *France*. But his Friend the Auditor, with great Difficulty, restrain'd him; and, having procur'd him Admission to *Don Pedro di Gonzalez di Mendoza* Cardinal Archbishop of *Toledo*, who reach'd his Discourses, his Affairs began to have a better Aspect: And Queen *Isabella* intercell'd herself warmly on his Behalf. Two Obstacles only remained to be overcome: The first was, the finding Money for defraying the Expences of this Expedition; which, though it amounted to no great Sum, yet were their Catholick Majesties Treasures to much exhausted, that some Writers say, the Queen offer'd to

pawn her Jewels to make up the Money. However this was soon removed; for *Don Lewis di St Angelo*, an Officer in the Revenue, advanced the best part of it. The other Obstacle was *Columbus's* Demands, which were thought very high, he insisting to be Viceroy and Admiral of the Countries and Seas he should discover, and to have the Tenth of the clear Profits that should redound to their Majesties from his Labours; which at last he obtained, and the Articles of Agreement were sign'd at the little Town of *Santa Fe*, in the Kingdom of *Grenada*, on the 17th of April 1492.

8. These Preliminaries being thus adjust'd, the necessary Preparations were made for his Voyage. In order to this, he had Three Vessels assign'd him, the Admiral, call'd, before he had her, the *Gallega*, but by him nam'd *Santa Maria*, a Carrack, or Ship with a Deck. The Second was call'd the *Pinta*, command'd by Captain *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, his Brother *Francisco Martinez Pinzon* being Master. The Third was nam'd *Ninna*, of which *Juan Vanez Pinzon* was Captain and Master, who furnish'd one half of *Columbus's* Share of the Expence, which, by the Agreement, was to be a Fourth of the Whole. These Two were Caravels or Carvels, that is, Vessels without Decks; and all Three Ships carried about 120 Men: *Herrera* indeed says but Ninety, in which he not only disagrees with other Historians, who write from good Memoirs, but also from *Peter Martyr*, who wrote at the very Time the thing happen'd, and from his own Knowledge. All Things being ready by the latter End of July, *Columbus* repair'd in Person to *Pales*, where he embark'd on board the Admiral of his little Fleet, and, having a fair Wind, put to Sea on Friday the 3d of August 1492. The next Day the Rudder of the *Pinta* prov'd loose, which they fasten'd as well as they could with Cords, which however did not preterve it long; and this determin'd them to put into Port. Some of the Seamen would have interpret'd this as an ill Omen; but *Columbus* told them, No Omen could be evil, where People went upon a good Design. He likewise took a great deal of Pains to instruct them in the Principles of Navigation, and to give them right Notions of the Undertaking in which they were embark'd, in order to keep up their Spirits.

9. On the 11th they had Sight of the *Canaries*, where they stay'd till September the 6th, restelling themselves at the Isle *Genera*; but went off then for fear of the *Portuguese*, who had mann'd out Three Caravels to take them. September the 7th they lost Sight of Land, and with it their Courage too, a great many of them taking their Leaves of him, and expecting to be soon in another World. *Columbus* comforted these Cowards as well as he could; and, to do it effectually, was oblig'd to cheat them in his Reckoning, making them believe they were not so far from Home, as indeed they were. On the 14th they took notice of the Variation of the Compass, which was the first time that Phenomenon had fallen under Observation. On Sunday the 16th they saw Grass and Herbs floating on the Water, and some small Animals, Grasshoppers, alive among them, which made some of them believe they should see dry Land once more, and that quickly. The 16th and 20th these Prelages continued; besides which, they saw some Sea Fowl; all which, put together, considerably rais'd their Expectations. All this while the Wind favour'd their Voyage; but on September the 22d it came cross at S. W. And now the *Spaniards* began heartily to repent them of their rash Attempt, in venturing so far from Home; and therefore expecting to become a Banquet to the Fishes in a very little time, they storm'd at their Admiral, upbraiding him that he had brought them thither, not sparing the very King and Queen themselves in their Passion, as Persons too easy and credulous; charging them with Indiscretion in listening to such wild Proposals, and sacrificing their Subjects, at the Motion of a *Genoese*, upon such trivial Occasions. As for *Columbus*, they told him plainly, That if he would not tack, and make homewards again, he should go overboard without more to do; for they were resolv'd to shift for themselves, and save their own Lives, if they could. The Admiral return'd them good Words for bad, and answer'd these insolent Threatnings of the Rabble

These Circumstances are collected from the Historians before mention'd, but especially *Herrera*, and *the Life of Columbus*.

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* This occurs in Page: "It is observ'd by him, nor peck'd Ocean, which is VOL. I.

with fair Promises of great Rewards, upon Condition of a little more Patience. And though he made shift to cheat them into a little good Humour, by crying out Land, on the 25th of September, yet that Calm was quickly succeeded by a more outrageous Storm than before: The Result of which was, that after some farther Trials Columbus was forced to promise to return, if they discovered no Land in Three Days time, this being the utmost Space that the mutinous Sailors would allow him.

10. The first of those Days he found, by the Sun-setting, that Land was near; upon which they contracted their sails; and the very same Night they saw Light. About Two Hours after Midnight, *Rodrigo de Triana*, one of the Company, discovered Land: This was on *October* the 12th, 1492, which they found to be an Island of Fifteen Leagues Compass, and is one of the *Lucayas*, called by the Inhabitants *Guahani*, or rather *Guahabani*; but by them *San Salvador*, being about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Here they went ashore, and, having sung *Te Deum*, they took solemn Possession of the Place, in the Name of their Catholic Majesties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Isabella*. The Natives thought them to be very strange People, and much more wondered at their Ships, which they believed to be great Animals. The *Spaniards* gave them Caps, Beads, and other Toys, which they paid themselves for in more valuable Things. These People were naked, of a middle Size, well-proportioned Bodies, their natural Complexion of an Olive, but painted with other Colours, according to their Fancies. They knew not the Use of Iron, nor the Make of Weapons, but innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their Isle abounded with Parrots, besides which they scarce saw any other Animals; they trucked for Cotton-yarn, and told the *Spaniards*, that the Gold they wore in Rings at their Nostrils, came from the South, where they would find a Prince whose subjects were very rich therein.

11. On the 15th of *October* they went to another Island, Seven Leagues from thence, which they called *Sra. Maria de la Concepcion*. The 17th they went to *Ferdinand*, the Women of which Place had only short Cotton Coats, from the Navel to the Mid-thigh, to cover their Nakedness. After this they came to another Isle, which they called *Isabella*; of which, as of all others, they took solemn Possession; and, in all these Places, carried it justly and honestly towards the Natives. They proceeded hence to *Cuba*, which the *Indians* told them, afforded Gold and Pearl, besides other rich Commodities. Two *Spaniards*, and as many *Indians*, were here sent to search the Country; and, lighting on an *Indian* Town of about fifty Houses, they were well treated there, the *Spaniards* being honoured with Incense as they went along, as if they had been Deities; which the simple *Indians* indeed did almost believe, tho' Experience soon made them wiser. Here they saw Cotton grow of itself, with several Sorts of strange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* most minded, was the Gold which they saw the *Indians* wear in their Noses, about which they were curious to ask Questions: To which the *Indians* honestly answered, *Cubanacan*, that is, they had it out of the Midst of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* thus King, (by cause of that Term) can) that they had talked of the Great Chan of *Cathay*. *Alonso Pinzon* hit Columbus here, who quickly afterwards went himself in quest of *Hispaniola*, which the Natives at that time called *Hayti*. They took here a woman, a Native of the Island; and, treating her well, she became a servicable Agent on their Behalf, with the rest of the Natives: So that, at last, there was a very good Correspondence established between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* there, the King of the Place inviting Columbus to come ashore. A Fort was built upon this Island, to maintain the *Spaniards* Pretensions and Authority, in which Thirty-eight Soldiers were left: And, after this Business done, Columbus made Provisions for a Voyage homeward, charging the *Spaniards* to carry it obligingly to the *Indians* and their King.

12. He sailed on *Wednesday* the 17th of January; and tho' he met with great Storms in his Passage, yet he arrived

on the 15th of *February* 1493, at the Island of *St. Mary*, one of the *Azores*, and soon after returned to *Spain*, where he was very kindly received by the King and Queen, who caused him to sit in their Presence, the highest Honour a Subject could receive in *Spain*. It is to be observed, that, on his Return from this first Voyage, Columbus himself was of Opinion, that the Countries he had discovered, were Islands on the other Side of the Continent to which the *Portuguese* traded; and thus it was that determined him to bestow on these Islands the Name of the *West Indies*. To preserve the Memory of this Discovery in case he had been shipwrecked, he, in his Passage Home, wrote an exact Account of every thing, wrapt this Memorial in a Cerecloth, and put it into a Barrel, which he threw into the Sea. From the same Motive, after he came back to *Spain*, he drew a very exact Chart of his Discoveries, and left it with his Sons. The Success of this first Voyage engaged their Catholic Majesties to send him back in the Autumn of the same Year, with a Squadron of Eighteen Sail, very well equipped, with which he made farther Discoveries, which served to confirm him in his former Opinion, that he had really found a new Passage to the *Indies*. But in his third Voyage he gained some Knowledge of the Continent, and, hearing that there was a Sea on the other Side, he readily owned his Mistake, declaring, at the same time, it was his Opinion, that there was a Passage from these North Seas into those on the South, and from thence it might be very possible to sail to the *East Indies*. This was certainly the highest Proof that could be given of his Sagacity and Penetration, and fully justifies our placing him at the Head of the Circumnavigators; since it is evident from thence, that such a Passage round the Globe was the Thing he principally sought and intended. With good Reason, therefore, did the ingenious Mr Boyle observe, that we are little less indebted to Columbus for the Discoveries made after his Death, than for those made by him while living, since they all followed from the Principles by him laid down, and were the Improvements of that Doctrine, which first, with great Prudence, he devised, and afterwards executed with wonderful Success. We may likewise hint, that some of those Discoveries in the Art of Navigation, which are thought of much later Date, were not unknown to him, particularly the constant Motion of the Sea from East to West, of which he took notice in his first Voyage, and explained from thence the Difference between the Time spent in going out, and in returning Home.

13. There never was, perhaps, a Man better qualified for the great Designs he undertook, than *Christopher Columbus*; but the Gravity of his Behaviour, and the severe Discipline he maintained while it was in his Power, raised him Enemies amongst a mutinous, licentious Crew; and these Disputes occasioned Appeals from both Parties to *Spain*; whereupon one *Franis Bobadilla* was sent over to inquire into these Matters, and to do Justice, according to the Light in which Things should appear to him. This Man, to gratify a Bishop, who had taken some Pique to Columbus, caused the Admiral to be seized, together with his Brethren, put them in Irons, and sent them in that Condition into *Spain*.

14. They arrived at *Cadix* the 27th of *November* 1500, and as soon as their Catholic Majesties were informed of the Treatment the Admiral had met with, they ordered him to be set at Liberty, expressing great Concern for his Sufferings, especially the Queen, who was his very sincere Friend; but it was a good while before he could procure a new Governor to be sent to *Hispaniola*, which at last, however, he did. When he had carried this Point, he solicited Leave to make a fourth Voyage for Discoveries, which, with much ado, he obtained. It was in this his last going into the *West Indies*, that he first saw the Continent, lying some time at Anchor at the *Bajimentos*. This was in 1502. Some farther Discoveries he made on the same Coast; but before he could thoroughly inform himself of the State of the Country, he was obliged to alter his Course, and steer for *Hispaniola*. Some time he remained there, but at length, new Disputes and Disorders

* This occurs in a Treatise of his, intituled, *Some Considerations touching the Experience of the Sea in general*, wherein he has this remarkable Passage: "It is obvious how much Europe is beholden to Columbus for the Discovery of many Countries in America, which were not discovered by him, nor perhaps till long after his Death, because he had informed us knowingly, that there were unknown Regions beyond that vast Ocean, which sever the old World from the new."

arising, he resolved to return back into *Spain*, in order to give their Majesties the best Account he could of those Parts, that this Discovery might be made as advantageous to them as possible. It was towards the latter End of the Year 1504, that he came, for the last time, into *Spain*, where the first News he met with, was that of the Death of Queen *Isabelle*, which struck him to the Heart, inso-much that his Health apparently declined thenceforward. He did not, however, fail to apply himself to the Court, where he met with very indifferent Usage; for though he was treated with great Respect, and had many fair Words given him, yet the Sente he had of the King's Coldness, and of the Ingratitude of the *Spanish* Courtiers, made such an Impression upon him, as, after a few Months Illness, broke his Heart; this happened on the 20th of *May* 1506, at *Madrid*. As soon as the Court was informed of his Death, Orders were given for his being buried with the utmost Pomp and Splendor. But the Admiral himself had given some Directions concerning his Interment, which served to perpetuate the Memory of his ill Treatment; for he ordered the Irons which he had worn, to be put into his Coffin with him.

15. After his Death, that Spirit of Envy in a great measure ceased, which had pursued him while living, and which he had resisted with a generous Resolution. Of this there cannot be a nobler Instance, than in the famous Story of the Egg. After it was once perceived at Court, that the King was cold towards him, many of the Nobility affected to lessen his Merit, by insinuating that he was rather fortunate than wise, and that his Success was more owing to good Stars, than to good Courtiers; to which Notions the *Pinçons* contributed not a little, by giving out, that it was through their Skill and Perseverance that the Discovery was made. *Columbus* was one Day given to understand as much, when invited to a public Dinner at Court; and, after having patiently endured this sort of Raillery for a long time without a Word of Reply, he at last ordered an Egg to be brought him; and, shewing it to the Company, asked, If there was any body who would undertake to let it upright upon its keller End? To which they unanimously answered, That it

was impossible; and that he could not do it himself: Upon this he gravely cracked the Shell, and, by striking it gently on the Table, enlarged the sharp End of the Egg, till it stood upright: They fell a laughing at this, crying out, that any body might have done as much: "I do not doubt it," replied he, and yet none of you thought of it; and thus it was that I discovered the *Indies*. I first conceived the Design of steering that Course, and now every miserable Pilot can find his Way thither as well as I. There are many Things that appear easy when once performed, which before were thought impracticable. You ought to reflect on the Scalls I sustained on the fore of my Design, before I put it in Execution. It was then a Chimera, a Dream, a Delusion; and now it is what any body might have thought of, and put in Execution." The King, when he was told this Story, was extremely pleased, commended *Columbus* highly, and made no Difficulty of declaring, that he admired the Grandeur of that Spirit, which, at the same time, he endeavoured to bring down.

16. This singular Circumstance of the Egg brings us naturally to the Close of this Section, by inciting us to observe, that what happened to his Discoveries in his Lifetime, fell out with respect to the Improvement of them after his Decease: For whereas *Columbus* always pursued a settled Plan, and, in every one of his Four Voyages, prosecuted his original Design of finding a Passage to the *Indies* by the West, the Particulars of which are constantly remarked by *Peter Martyr*, all those who succeeded him, and were employed by their Catholic Majesties to perfect his Discoveries, were led by no other Guide than their Avarice, and had no other Instructions than that what they received from the Reports of the *Indians*, who, to be rid of them, were continually sounding in their Ears the Riches of distant Countries; at last, however, a Gentleman of *Portugal*, who had studied as well as practised Navigation, resolved to prosecute what *Columbus* had begun, to resume his great Design of surrounding the Globe; and was so happy as to effect this at his first Voyage, though he did not live to reap the Reward of his Discovery.

SECTION III.

The Voyage of FERDINAND MAGLIANES, or MAGELLAN, from the South Seas to the East Indies.

1. *The Country and Character of Ferdinand Maglianes, or Magellan.*
2. *His Reasons for quitting the King of Portugal's Service.*
3. *His Proposals accepted by the Emperor Charles V. Manner of putting them in Execution.*
4. *Arrives on the Coast of Brasil, and is compelled to winter in Patagonia.*
5. *An Account of the Patagonians, their Manners, &c.*
6. *Further Account of them, and the manner in which Two of them were made Prisoners.*
7. *Called by the Admiral Patagonians, which Name they retain.*
8. *Magellan sails from Port St. Julian, and discovers the Straights that bear his Name.*
9. *Description of the Ladrones, now called the Marian Islands, and their Inhabitants.*
10. *Account of the Island of Zamal, and its Inhabitants.*
11. *Discovery of the Island of Butuan, its Products and People.*
12. *Various Islands described.*
13. *They arrive at Zubut, and are kindly entertained.*
14. *Description of the Island of Mautan.*
15. *The unfortunate End of Ferdinand Magellan.*
16. *The Island of Chippit described.*
17. *An Account of the great Island of Borneo.*
18. *Their Arrival at Cimbubon, and that Island described.*
19. *Discover the Frauds of the Portuguese in relation to this Navigation.*
20. *Description of the Island of Timore.*
21. *Their Arrival and Admission to trade at Gilolo.*
22. *Prosecute their Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.*
23. *Arrive after many untoward Accidents at Seville.*
24. *The Reward of Sebastian Cano, who brings the Ship Home.*
25. *The Importance of the Discoveries made by this Expedition.*
26. *A Day lost in the passing round the Globe, and the Reason of it.*
27. *Many great Seamen attempt passing the Straights of Magellan without Success.*

FROM the Time of the Discoveries made under the Catholic King's Commissions, the *Portuguese* were excessively jealous of their Possessions in the *East Indies*, till at length the Pope interpolated, and by a Bull, which had a decisive Authority among Princes of his own Communion, decreed all Countries discovered in the East to *Portugal*, and all such as were found in the West to *Spain*: Yet this rather smothered than extinguished the Flames of Contention, both Princes continuing to listen willingly to any such Proposition, as tended to aggrandize one at the other's Expence; and this begat another Mitchell, which

was, that such enterprising Men as were not gratified at one Court, immediately thought of applying themselves to the other; which, whether a greater Inconvenience to these Princes, or Advantage to *Europe* in general, is not easy to be resolved. Amongst those who took this Method of raising their Fortunes, the most remarkable was the famous *Ferdinand Maglianes*, commonly called *Magellan*. He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Portugal*, and, having, from his Youth, addicted himself to maritime Affairs, he acquired a very great Skill, both in the Theory and Practice of Navigation. He seemed, indeed, to be formed by Nature

Book I.

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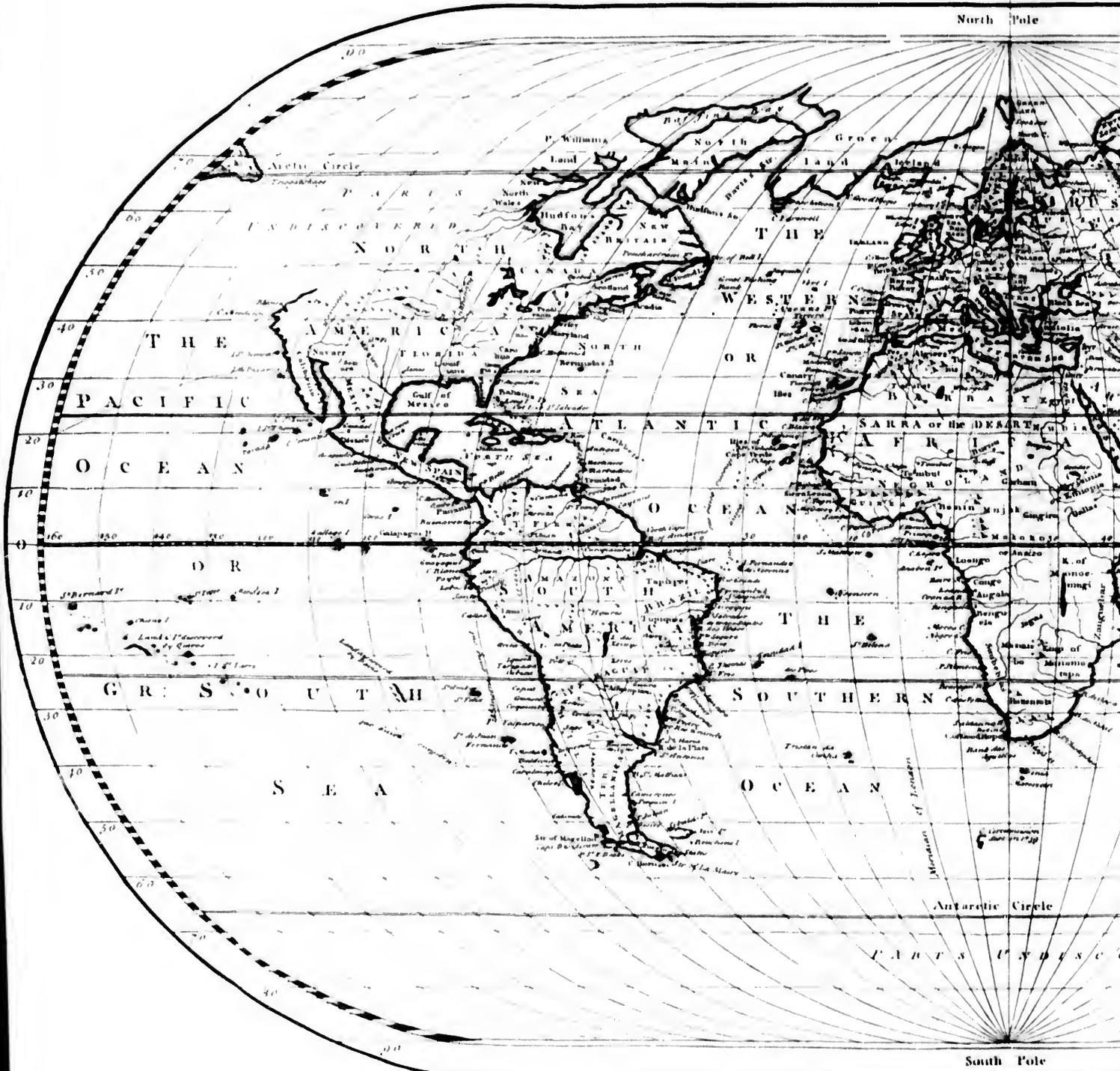
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Chap. I.

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Magellan and *Spain*, & W
the Sack of *Rome* by

ture for great Exploits, having all the Qualities requisite to compose a truly great Man; for, with a Courage which no Danger could allright, he possessed a Calmness of Temper, and a Sweetness of Disposition, which engaged such as conversed with him to esteem and love him. He was naturally eloquent, either in proving what he asserted, or in drawing others from their own Opinions. But, above all, he had a Steadiness of Soul, and a Degree of manly Resolution, which not only enabled him to vanquish the greatest Difficulties, but withal gave such an Air of Success to whatever he promised or undertook, as drew all who heard him to confide in him. These extraordinary Talents, as they would have distinguished him in any Station of Life, so they were remarkably useful in that, by which he acquired immortal Reputation^b.

2. Don Ferdinand Magellan had served with great Credit in the Indies, under the famous Albuquerque, and thought he merited some Recompence for those Services. The Great, however, differed from him in Opinion, and treated all his Applications, not with Coldness only, but with Contempt, which, to a Man of his Spirit, was intolerable. He therefore associated himself with Men of like Fortunes; that is to say, Men of Merit that were neglected, particularly one *Ruy Falero*, a great Astronomer, whom the Portuguese, out of Hatred, have represented as a Conjuror; and, in Conjunction with him, retired to the Spanish Court, and made Propositions, and new Discoveries, to Cardinal Ximenes. The Portuguese Embassador, who was a Man of Parts, employed all the Pains imaginable to defeat their Design. He solicited the Court to deliver them up as Fugitives; he got some Persons to inform the Ministry, that Magellan was a bold talkative Man, one ready to undertake any thing, but who wanted Capacity and Courage when it came to Performance. But understand he caused Application to be made to Magellan himself, offering him Pardon, and great Rewards, if, desisting from his present Purpose, he would go back, and serve his own Prince. All this, however, signified very little; for these People expressed themselves to the Spanish Ministry, who were now very able Judges in these Matters, in such clear Terms, and with so much Probability as to the Discovery they proposed, that they were immediately received into Favour, made Knights of the Order of St. James, and had their own Terms granted them.

3. The Grounds they went upon were these: That the Position laid down by Columbus, of the Possibility of coming to the East Indies by sailing West, was certainly true, though he had not brought it to bear; and that such as desired that great Man's Notion, were not so well skilled in Navigation as he; that, without Question, it was very possible to sail from the South Sea, which was but just then heard of, to the Molacca Islands; and that it was very probable a Passage might be found into those Seas, through the *Rio de la Plata*, or some other Opening upon that Coast; that, in case this could be done, Spain might reap the Profit of both Indies, since this Discovery being made from the West, would fall expressly under the Words of the Pope's Bull. In consequence of these Proposals it was agreed, that the Undertakers should have the Twentieth Part of the clear Profits; that the Government of any Islands they should discover, should belong to them and their Heirs for ever, with the Title of *Adelantades*; and that, further, the Crown should furnish them with Five Ships, and Two hundred and Thirty-four Men, with Provision for Two Years. This Fleet of theirs consisted of the *Trinidad*, which was the Admiral, having on board *Stephen Gomez*, a Portuguese Pilot; the *Santa Victoria*, commanded by Don *Lewis de Mendoza*; the *St. Antonio*, under Don *Juan de Caribagena*; the *St. Lages*, of which Don *Juan Serrano* was Commander; and the *Concepcion*, under Don *Gaspar de Quixada*. The Number of their Men, according to some Authors, was 237: But most Writers make them 200, among whom there were Thirty Portuguese, and upon these the Admiral chiefly depended. In point of Skill he greatly relied on Don *Juan de Serrano*, who left the King of Portugal's Service in the same manner that Magellan

himself had done, after having served many Years in the Indies, and some Part of the Time in the Moluccas, of which they were now going in Search. Great Hopes were conceived of this Voyage, from the known Experience of the Commanders: But the Secret of it remained closely locked up in the Bosom of the Admiral, who declared no more to the rest, than that he was fitted out to discover new Countries, which, as it implied in the Opinion of his Companions; that they were going to fetch Home Gold, and other Riches, filled them with swelling Expectations, so that they left *Seville* with the most cheerful Courage.

4. They sailed from *Seville* the 10th of August, A. D. 1519, and October the 3d arrived between *Cape Verd*, and the Islands of that Name; they spent a great deal of Time about the Coast of *Guinea*, and by tedious Calms, which lasted Seventy Days, were to long labouring to cross the Line. But when they had done this, and the South Pole appeared above the Horizon, they held on their South Course, and came upon the Main of *Brazil*, about that Part of it which lies in 22 Degrees. They observed it to be all one continued Track of Land, higher from the *Cape St. Augustin*, which is in this Part of the Country. They found good Store of Fruits, Sugar-canes, and divers Sorts of Animals, out of all which they had liberal Entertainment. Having made 21 Degrees more of South Latitude, they fell in with a Country inhabited by a wild Sort of People: They were of a prodigious Stature, fierce, and barbarous, made a horrible roaring Noise, more like Bulls than human Creatures; and yet, with all that mighty Bulk, were so nimble and light of Foot, that none of the Spaniards or Portuguese could overtake them. Here was a fine River of fresh Water, that had Seven Islands in the Mouth of it, and was full Seventeen Leagues wide in that Part. The biggest of those Islands yielded them some Jewels, and they gave it the Name of *St. Mary*. They continued coasting along this Track of Land towards the South Pole, and met with a Couple of Islands full of Seals and Penguins, that, in an Hour's Space, they could have laden all the Five Ships. The Penguins are a black, heavy, unwieldy Fowl, extremely fat, covered over with a sort of Down instead of Feathers, and armed with a Bill like a Raven's; they maintain themselves altogether out of the Waters, eating nothing but Fish: Their next Advance was to 49 Degrees South Latitude; here they were shut up by hard Weather, and forced to take up their Winter Quarters for no less than Five Months.

5. They passed their Time in this Place but very unpleasantly, and for a long time believed, that the Country was uninhabited: But at length they were undeceived as to this Point; for a Savage of the neighbouring Parts came up to give them a Visit; a brisk jolly Fellow, very merrily disposed, singing and dancing all the Way as he came: Being got to the Haven, he stood there, and threw Dust upon his Head; which they observing, sent some ashore to him, who making the like Signs of Peace, upon that Assurance he came along with them to the Ship, without any thing of Fear or Scruple. His Bulk and Stature was such, as would easily show him the Character of a Giant; the Head of one of their middle-sized Men reached but to his Waist, and he was proportionably big: His Body was formidably painted all over, especially his Face; a Couple of Stags Horns drawn, one upon each Cheek, and great red Circles about his Eyes; his Colours were otherwise mostly yellow, only his Hair was white. For his Apparel he had the Skin of a beast clumsily sewed together, but a Beast as strange as that was that wore it, every way unaccountable, neither Mule, Horse, nor Camel, but something of every one, the Parts of the first, the Tail of the second, and the Shape and Body of the last. 'Twas an intricate Suit, all of one Piece from Head to Foot: As his Breast and Back were covered with it above, so his very Legs and Feet were wrapped up in the same beneath. The Arms that he brought with him were a Bout Bow and Arrows; the String of the former was a Gut or Sinew of that monstrous Beast; and the latter, instead of Iron Heads, were tipped with sharp Stones. The Admiral made him eat and drink, and

^b The utmost Pains has been taken to give this Expedition in the clearest manner possible, by comparing all the different Relations of the Portuguese, and Spanish Writers; but, after all our Care, we cannot but regret the Loss of the large History of it by *P. Martyr*, which was burnt in the Sack of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon.

he enjoyed himself very comfortably on Ship-board, till he happened to peep into a great Looking-glass, that was given him amongst other Toys: This put him into a Fright, which he could not easily recover; so that, darting back with Violence, he tumbled a Couple of the Men, that stood by him, to the Ground. However, this Giant tared to well amongst them, notwithstanding the Fright by the Looking-glass; that quickly after they had the Company of more; particularly one came, and made himself mighty familiar, carried it pleasantly, and with so much good Humour, amongst them, that our Europeans were also pleased with his Company. He gave them a Sight of one of those Beasts whose Skins they wear; but we have, in this Account, nothing of any particular Description of it added, to justify or disprove the former Surmises about it.

6. The General was desirous of making some of these gigantic People Prisoners; and, in order to it, his Crew took the following Method: They filled their Hands with Toys, and little Things that pleased them, and, in the mean time, put Iron Shackles upon their Legs, which they thought were very fine Play things, as well as the rest, and were pleased with the jingling Sound of them, till they found how they were hampered and betrayed: But then they fell a bewailing like Bulls, and implored the Help of *Satan* in that Extremity; they cried aloud for his Assistance, but he did not come to deliver them; and what Power it is they give that Name to, they best know. To desire his Help in Misery, implied some Notions conceived of his Goodness and Compassion; and 'tis not to be imagined, that they would thus crave Relief of an evil Spirit that used to vex and afflict them. It must be owned, that they report very strange Things of horrid Forms and Appearances frequently seen amongst these People; of horned Demons with long Shag Hair, throwing out Fire both before and behind; but these seem to be Dreams or Fables. This Account goes further as to the Inhabitants, and reports, that most of these People wear the same Sort of Apparel that the first appeared in, that is, the Skins of the fore-mentioned Beast: They go with their Hair short; yet that there is, they tie up with a Cotton Lace. They have no fixed Habitations, but certain moveable Cottages, which they carry from one Place to another, as their Fancy leads them; and the very same Materials which they use for the Defence of their Bodies, they use also for the Defence and Covering of these Cottages: What Flesh they eat, they bestow no Ceremony of dressing upon, but devour it fresh and raw as it comes to their Hands: Besides which, they have a certain sweet Root amongst them, called *Capar*, which is a considerable Part of their Food. They add also, that they are extremely jealous of their Women; but they don't tell us they saw any of them.

7. Amongst them the Practice of Physic is reduced into a very narrow Compass, and takes in no more than Vomiting and Phlebotomy: These Two Evacuations must answer all Varieties of Cures and Purposes; and, where this won't do, the Disease is incurable in that Land. Their way of Bleeding is to give a good Chop with some Edge-Tool or other in the Part that is affected, be it Leg, or Arm, or Face. But though 'tis odd to use a Chopping-knife instead of a Lancet, for letting Blood, yet it is more so, to thrust an Arrow, a Foot and an half down the Throat, to procure a Vomac. No doubt but this will prick the Fibres, and set a Man a reaching to some Purpose. These Folks are very strong: When they made the Attempt of taking some of their Prisoners, one alone very near tired the utmost Force of Nine of their Men that were employed to master him; and though they had him down, and bound his Hands tightly, yet he freed himself from his Bonds, and got loose, in spite of all their Endeavours to hold him. And, proportionable to their Strength, is that also of their Appetite: One of them eat up a whole Basket of Ship-Biscuit at a Meal, and drank a Bowl (they don't say how large) of Water at a Draught; but any thing of this kind is not to very strange, considering the large Carcases they have to maintain. One thing of them (which is something singular) is not to be omitted before we leave them; and that is, that, by reason of the vehement Cold, they truss themselves up so very close and tight, that the Genitals in the Men are not to be discovered,

lying hid intirely within their Bodies. The Admiral gave these People the Name of *Patagons*, and took notice of these few common Words: They call Bread, *Capar*; Water, *Ob*; Black, *Amel*; Red, *Checke*; Red Cloth, *Chevan*; *Siebes*, and *Cheleul*, are the Names of Two Beings they pay a religious Respect to; of which the former is the Supreme, the latter an inferior one: But whether they are proper Names, or only their Terms for a higher and subordinate Power in general, is not certain.

8. The Port they stay'd in these Five Months was called Port *St. Julian*; of which, as of the whole adjoining Country, they took solemn Possession, and left a Cross erected in Token of it; because it was the Beginning of *October* by that time they got up to the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and they were detained so long by the Calms, that they made it *December*, before they crossed the Line. But the main Reason of their staying so long here, was a Conspiracy that broke out among their Crew, not only some of the common Men, but some of the Captains also, and particularly Captain *Mendoza*, upon whom the General chiefly depended. The General acted in this Affair with great Spirit and Courage; for, having subdued the Conspirators, he brought them to a Trial for plotting against his Life, hanged *Leons de Mendoza*, and some few, who were most guilty; and left Captain *Juan de Caribegena*, and some others, who were not quite so deep, amongst the *Patagons*. The Weather growing fine, and the Crew once more brought into Subjection, *Magellan* thought it high time to pursue his Course; which accordingly he did, till he arrived in 51 Degrees 40 Minutes South Latitude. Here they found a convenient Port, and met with good Provisions of Fuel, Fish, and fresh Water; they lingered away at this Place Two Months more, and then came to 52 Degrees South Latitude, where they discovered the Entrance into the Straights. They found them about 110 Leagues in Length, and as for the Breadth very uncertain, in some Places very wide, in others not more than half a League over; the Land on both Sides high and uneven, and the Mountains covered with Snow. When they came to the End of it, they found an open Passage into the great Ocean. *Magellan* was surpris'd at the Sight, with a Joy that exceeded all common Bounds; for this was the happy thing he looked for, and now he was able to demonstrate his sailing round by the West. The Point of Land from whence he first saw this desirable Prospect, he called, in Memory of it, *Cape Desiderate*; but it seems it was not so desirable to all the rest of the Company; for here one of the Ships stole away, and sail'd homeward by herself. They entered the *Pacific* Sea, for to they called it, *November* the 28th, A. D. 1520, and in this wide Ocean they sail'd Three Months and Twenty Days, without Sight of Land. The Miseries they endured for want of Provision, a good Part of this Time, were such as are seldom heard of; the fresh Water they had on board stunk, and was very loathsome; all their Bread was gone, and nothing left to eat but Pieces of Skins, and Bits of Leather. Nature will make any Shift, though ever so hard, to bear herself out in a Distress, when 'tis possible to be done; and the poor Seamen here, rather than starve, fell very greedily to work upon those dry tough Pieces of Leather that were about the Ropes of the Ships. But it being impossible to eat them, till they were some way softened, and fitted for chewing, they laid them asleep in salt Water for some Days, and then made the best of them, as long as they lasted. But then again, what with this impure sort of Feeding, which was but scanty too, and the daily Impoverishment of their Spirits wanting better Recruits, their Number shortened apace: Some died outright, others fell into pining Sicknefs, others had their Gums grew quite over their Teeth on every Side; by which means being totally unable to manage those tough Solids they were forced to feed upon, they were past all Help, and so miserably starved to Death. Their only Comfort, under all these cruel Circumstances, was a Constancy of fair and good Weather. The Winds blew them smoothly and gently along, and, while they were thus exposed, the Sea was calm and quiet too, and by this got the celebrated Name of *Pacific*. In all this Time they saw nothing but Two uninhabited Islands, that gave no Prospect of any Relief. The Needle of their Compass varied sometimes,

and, at others, forced to quicken. The South Pole Star near it, as small Stars, and Distance; betwixt large or bright ones of the Circle at least the Distance of 20 Degrees another. They sail'd in having made, a rude from their words the Equator and were got to for the Cape, of *Cottigare*; but count of the Land and came to 52 Degrees.

9. *March* 6. being then in 11 Longitude from on shore to be fatigues of the but the thieves be quiet. While the other would Ships, so that selves in any manner deliver themselves therefore with one of the Islands some of the In might awe their Disposition, but still: For which Stay there, but I enjoy more Safety not the least they every Man does Inclination: Nay cheating Disposition should be any that would never favour honesty, a never bear to be saw do the very before their Eyes Manners will not establish a perpetirely naked, Modesty which People, to best that Distinction exposed to view Heads and Beards reaching down selves all over with Complexion is red; and some Palm-tree, upon better favoured all wear Cover-tree; their Hair trail upon the careful, industri much better rather paltering abroad the Palm-tree goes towards the built of Timber Fig-leaves, and Their Beds are and the Leaves Blankets: They

and, at others, moved so irregularly, that they were often forced to quicken it with a fresh Touch of the Load-stone. The South Pole they found to have no very remarkable Star near it, as the North has: There are Two Clusters of small Stars, and are separated from each other at a small Distance; between those are a Couple of Stars, not very large or bright, which discover themselves, by the Smallness of the Circle they describe, to be pretty near the Pole, at least the nearest of any that are discernible. At the Distance of 20 Degrees from the South Pole they saw an Island of exceeding Height, called *Cipangur*, and at 15 Degrees another as high, the Name of which is *Sumbdit*. They sailed in one Gulph at least 4000 Leagues; and, having made, by their reckoning 170 Degrees Longitude from their first Departure, they found they drew towards the Equinoctial. When they had passed that Line, and were got to 13 Degrees North Latitude, they designed for the Cape, called by the old Geographers the Cape of *Cottigare*; but this they missed, going upon that old Account of the Latitude of it, which places it thereabouts, and came to understand afterwards, that it lies in 12 Degrees.

9. *March 6.* they fell in with a Cluster of Islands, being then in 12 Degrees North Latitude, and 146 Degrees Longitude from their first setting out: Here they went on Shore to breathe and refresh a little after all the fatigues of their tedious Voyage through the South Sea. but the thievish People of those Islands would not let them be quiet. While they were reposing themselves ashore, the other would be pilfering and stealing things out of the Ships, so that 'twas impossible for them to enjoy themselves in any measure, till they had taken some Course to deliver themselves from these Disturbers. They marched therefore with a small Party, pretty well armed, up into one of the Islands, burnt some of their Houses, and killed some of the Inhabitants; but this Correction, though it might awe them for the present, yet could not mend their Disposition, but they that were Thieves, would be Thieves still: For which reason they resolved to make no longer Stay there, but find out some other Place where they might enjoy more Safety and Quiet. Amongst these People there is not the least show of any Order or Form of Government, but every Man does what is agreeable to his own Humour and Inclination: Nay, considering how universally that thieving, cheating Disposition prevails, 'tis next to impossible there should be any thing of that kind; for the governing Part would never fail to transgress the Laws of Justice and common honesty, as much as the rest; and the Inferiours would never bear to be curb'd and punished by those that they saw do the very same things, and set such an Example before their Eyes; so that the general Corruption of their Manners will necessarily keep them all upon a Level, and establish a perpetual Anarchy among them. The Men go intirely naked, not discovering any thing of that common Modesty which obtains amongst the most barbarous People, to bestow some Covering upon the obscene Parts: That Distinction indeed ceases here, all Parts being equally exposed to view. Their Hair is very black, both on their Heads and Beards; the former being generally very long, and reaching down to their Waists. They anoint themselves all over with the Oil of the Cocoa, but their natural Complexion is Olive: They colour the Teeth black and red; and some of them wear a Bonnet, made of the Palm-tree, upon their Heads. The Women are much better favoured than the Men, and more modest too; they all wear Coverings made of the inner Bark of the Palm-tree; their Hair black, thick, and long, and ready to trail upon the Ground: They commend them for very careful, industrious Housewives, spending their time at a much better rate than the Men do; for whilst these are pilfering abroad, the others are making Mats and Nets of the Palm-tree at home; but, of both Sides, the Work goes towards the Furnishing the House: Their Houses are built of Timber, covered over with Boards, and large Fig-leaves, and divided into several Apartments: Their Beds are the Palm-mats, laid one upon another; and the Leaves of the same are instead of Sheets and Blankets: They have no Weapons but Clubs, and long

Poles, upon which they put Heads of Horn: Their Food are Coconas, Bananas, Figs, Sugar-canes, Fowl, and Flying-fish: Their Canoes are oddly contrived and patched up; yet will they sail with them at a very great rate: The Sails are made of broad Date-leaves sewed together; instead of a Rudder, they use a large board, with a Staff at the Top; and may when they will, make the Stem the Forecalle, or the Forecalle the Stem: They are always painted over, either black, or white, or red. Some one Colour, and some another, as they like. These People are mightily taken with any little thing that is new, and agreeable to their Humour: When the Spaniards had wounded several of them with their Arrows, nay, pierced them almost through and through, these being strange Things to them, they would pull them out of their Wounds, and holding them in their Hands staring at them till they dropt down dead; and, after all, though they had been so roughly handled, yet they would follow the Ships, as they were going away, to gaze at them, so that they had at one time 200 of their Canoes pressing about them, as near as they could, to behold those wonderful Contrivances.

10. *March 10.* they landed upon the Island of *Zamal*, which is 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones*; and the next Day they went ashore at *Humana*, an Island not inhabited, yet well deserving to be so: Here they found Springs of delicate clear Water, abundance of Fruit-trees, Gold, and white Coral. The Admiral called it the Island of *Good Signs*. The Inhabitants of some of the neighbouring Islands came up to them not long after, a People of much Humanity, and good disposition; very fair and friendly in their Carriage, and appeared to be mighty well pleased at their coming among them: They came laden with Presents of Fish, and the Wine made of the Cocoa-tree, and promised other Provisions in a little time. Since the Cocoa-wine is mentioned, it may not be amiss to shew the various Uses these People put that Fruit to; by which it will appear how very serviceable a thing it is, and how many of the Conveniences of Life are furnished by it: The Cocoa is the Fruit of a certain Tree like a Date, and supplies them at once with Bread, Oil, and Vinegar, and with Physic too. The Wine is drank from the Tree itself, but all the rest are made from the Fruit; they cut off some Part of a Branch of the Tree, and fasten to the remaining Piece a good large Reed, into which drops a Liquor, like white Wine in Colour and Appearance, and of a Taste gratefully tart: A good Quantity of this, thus drawn forth, and put in a Vessel, as called their Cocoa-wine, without any farther Preparation. The Fruit, which is as big as a Man's Head, has Two Rinds; the outermost of which is green, Two Fingersthick, and full of Strings and Threads, and of these they make all the Cords they use about their Boats; under this Rind there is another, or rather a Shell, being considerably thick and hard; this burnt and pulverized, is used as a Remedy for several distempers: To it adheres the Kernel, which is white, and of the Thickness of a Finger; it has a pleasant taste, almost like an Almond; and, when it is dried, they make it into Bread: In the Middle of this Kernel there is a Hollow, full of a pure limpid Water, and that of a very cordial and refreshing Nature: It will sometimes congeal, and lie like an Egg within the Shell. When they would make Oil, they leave the Fruit to steep in Water, till it putrefies: and then set it over the Fire, and boil it to an Oil; and the Vinegar is only the same Water, exposed for some time to the Sun, which turns it into a Vinegar, like that of white Wine. Lastly, if they mix the Kernel, together with the Water that is lodged in the Cavity of it, and then strain it through a Cloth, they make a good Milk of it. The Cocoa trees resemble the common Date-trees in all but this, that they are not so rugged and knotty as they are. They will hold out very well 100 Years; and two of them will maintain a Family of Ten People with Wine very plentifully, provided they are used by turns, and each Tree, having been drawn Seven or Eight Days, be allowed as many to recover again, before any more be taken from it. With this Care such a Number of People may drink as much as they will, and the Trees bear them out. But to return to our Con-

¹ These Islands were called by *Magellan*, *Islas de los Ladrones*, and, in the Latin Relations of his Voyage, *Insula Latronum*.

cerns between this People and them: According to their Promise, they came again with other Provisions, and enter'd into a farther Degree of Familiarity and friendly Correspondence with them; they invited the Admiral into their Barks, and were reciprocally invited aboard the Admiral's Ship, where a great Gun being discharged to entertain them, it put them into such a Fright, that they were all ready to leap overboard; but good Words and Presents brought them to themselves again, and with much ado they were persuaded to keep out of the Water. The Name of their Island was *Zubua*, of no very great Compass, but considerable for its Products: They had all manner of Spices in their Barks, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Ginger, and Mace, and several Things made in Gold, all which they carry'd up and down and sold for Merchandise: They were without Apparel, but yet dressed at a more costly Rate than the *Europeans*, that had it: They had Earrings of Gold in each Ear, and several Jewels, fastened, with Pieces of Gold, to their Arms; besides, they had Daggers, Knives, and Lances, that were all very richly ornamented with the same Metal: But though they had nothing of any Garment on, yet they had something of a Covering before, and that of a sort of Cloth very ingeniously made out of the Rind of a Tree that grows amongst them. The most considerable Men are distinguished from the common People by a Piece of silken Needle-work wrapped about their Heads. They are gross-bodied, broad and well-set, of an olive Colour; and this Hue they maintain by a constant Unction of their Bodies with the Oil of Cocoa. They departed from this Isle *March* the 25th, A. D. 1521. and directed their Course between the West and South-west, sailing between the Isles *Cernal*, *Huinungban*, *Hibuffan*, and *Ibarian*.

11. *March* the 28th, they came to the Isle of *Butuan*; the King of which, and the Prince his Son, gave them honourable Entertainment, presenting them with considerable Quantities of Gold and Spices. The Admiral, in Return, presented the King with Two Vests of Cloth, one red, and the other yellow, made after the *Turkish* Fashion; and some of his Courtiers with Knives, Glasses, and Beads of Crystal. The Admiral sent Two of his Company ashore along with him, of which *Antonio Pigafetta*, who wrote this Relation, was one. When they were landed, the King and his Attendants all lifted up their Hands to Heaven, and then towards the Two Christians, in which Ceremony these also followed them; and this Custom they observed in drinking too. His Majesty's Palace was like a Hay-loft covered with Palm and Fig-leaves, mounted so high upon great Timber-posts, that they were forced to use Ladders to get in. Though they are no Christians, yet, at their Meals, they always make the Sign of the Cross, sitting in the same manner with their Legs as Tailors do. At Night, instead of Candles, they burn the Gum of a certain Tree wrapped up in Palm-leaves: The King and Prince, having entertained them in their several Palaces, and given them noble Presents, dismissed them, but not without new Admiration, and a firm Persuasion now rooted in their Minds, that they were above the Rank of common Mortals, having seen so many strange Things among them; and especially *Pigafetta's* writing, and reading what he had written, which were Mysteries they could not comprehend. In the Isle of *Butuan*, as they fitted the Earth of a certain Mine, they found great Lumps of Gold, some as big as Nuts, others as large as Eggs; of which Metal were all the King's vessels for his Table made. The King himself was a very comely Person, His Hair black and long, his Complexion olive, his Body perfumed with sweet Oils, of *Storax* and *Benjamin*, and painted with divers Colours; he had Rings of Gold in his Ears, and on every Finger Three; his Head was wrapped with a silken Veil, and a Piece of Cotton wrought with Silk, and Gold covered his Body to the Knees. He wore a long Dagger by his Side, with a Haft of Gold, and a Scabbard of fine carved Wood. His Country, it seems, is so rich, that one of his Subjects offered a Crown of massy Gold, with a Collar, for Six Threads of crystal Beads: But the Admiral would not permit such Bargains as these, that they might not appear to be too fond and covetous of their Gold. The People are of an active and sprightly Nature;

the Men quite naked, except a Covering of Paint; but the Women go clothed from the Waist downwards, and both wear golden Ear-rings: They are always chewing *Arecca*, and say, they cannot live without it; this is a Sort of Fruit like a *Peas*, cut in Quarters, and rolled up in the Leaves of a Tree called *Betele*, which are almost like Bay-leaves. As for religious Rites, they had, as far as they observed, no other in Use amongst them, but only to lift up their Faces, and Hands joined together, to Heaven, and call upon their God *Abba*. The Admiral caused a Banner, in which was the Portraiture of the Cross, and a Crown of Thorns with Nails, to be brought forth, and publicly revered by all his Men in the King's Presence, telling his Majesty, it should be set up in some high Mountain in his Country; not only for a Token of good Entertainment for Christians in that Place, but also for his own and Nation's Security and Defence; since, if they devoutly prayed to it, it would infallibly protect them from the Mischief of Lightning and Tempest, as well as from other Evils: This the poor Prince promised to do, knowing no better, and glad to be so defended from Thunder-bolts.

12. At their Departure from hence, this King's Pilots brought them to the Isles of *Zelon*, *Zabus*, *Messana*, *Caleyban*, of which *Zabus* is the best, and has the best Trade. In *Messana* they found Dogs, Cats, Hogs, Hens, Goats, Rice, Ginger, Cocoa, Millet, Panic, Barley, Figs, Oranges, Wax, and Gold, in great Plenty: This Isle lies in 9° 40' of North Latitude, and 161° of Longitude from their first Meridian. They stayed here Eight Days, and then sailing to the N. W. passed by the Isles *Zelon*, *Bobol*, *Cambu*, *Barbai*, and *Caleyban*, in which last Isle there are Bats as big as Eagles, and that taste, when dressed, like a Hen; there are also Stock-doves, Turtle-doves, Popinjays, and a certain Sort of Fowl like Hens, which have little Horns, and lay their Eggs a Cubit's Depth in the Sand, where the Sun's Heat hatches them. From *Messana* to *Caleyban* is about 20 Leagues sailing to the West; and from *Caleyban* to *Zabus* about 50 Leagues, to which they now directed their Course, having the Company of the King of *Messana*, who, out of pure Friendship, went along with them; the Admiral having by many Services secured his Affection.

13. *April* the 5th, about Noon, they entered the Port of *Zabus*; and, coming near the City, fired all the great Guns, which put the Place into a very great Conternation: But all this Apprehension of Danger from the Ships was quickly removed, by the coming of their Embassador to the Town, who assured the King, that it was customary with them to discharge their Cannon, whenever they came in to any great Ports; and that it was a Piece of Respect they always paid to the Governors of Towns: He told him, how mighty a Prince they were Servants to; and that their Design was to find out the *Moluccas*; that they only came to visit him by the Way, hearing of his Fame by the King of *Messana*; and desired him to furnish them with Victuals for the Commodities they had brought. The King bid them welcome; but told them, that it was a Custom there for all Ships that came to pay Tribute; and that he expected the like Acknowledgment from them. This the Embassador positively refused, telling him, that his Admiral was the Servant of so great a King, that as he had never yet, so he would not now begin to make that Acknowledgment to any Prince in the World; and withal, that if he would accept of Peace offered to him, well; if not, he should quickly have his Flanks full of the War. A certain *Portuguese*, that stood by, told the King, that these were the *Portuguese* that had conquered *Calcut* and *Malacca*; and therefore advised him to have a care how he provoked them. Upon this Consideration, the King concluded to refer the Matter to his Council, and to give them an Answer the next Day, leading them in the mean while Wine and Victuals. The King of *Messana*, who was a very potent Prince, went next ashore, and acted very generously on their Behalf with the King of *Zabus*; the Effect of which was, that the King, instead of demanding, was now almost ready to pay Tribute himself; which they not at all insisting upon, but desiring only Liberty to trade, he cheerfully granted it, and offered to seal the Covenant

Covenant of Peace, this, the King's Nephew, came sent, and consulted them to do, after some all afterwards be influenced the v. verthally received found the King's Mat made of D. bafine Cotton at Veil of Needles Chain, as also fl. him several Port. full of Date-wine at his Palace: a. ters sing and dan. niards dying, th. in his Land: T. That since he, a Devotion, much be so, in affordi. These People ex. another, keeping Their Houses ar. so that they go. tain Sort of Wat. which they call swallow down ali. Bird; by which m. is afterwards fou. Skin of this Fo. Spaniards had a People, they give and half each) fo. all sorts of Provi. thole Princes was Ordinance being the King beforeh. King of *Zabus* w. nando; the forme and the latter h. named *John*, an. sides the Princes of inferior Rank. were broken, an. the Admiral enga. Morning and Ev. the same time, w. ter the Prince's her Body covered with a sort of a tr. Maf's end, in. miral's Ship, in. were discharged. became Christian. would not obey th. Spaniards therefo. upon the Ruins. tageous Effects of embraced it, a ve. King of *Zabus*'s. The Admiral, it. diate Recovery, and break all his. actions say, that. perticly recover. initiated into the. 14. Not far. Inhabitants of w. vering over the P. great and final. being pierced fo. as they please, of the Houfe. The critics to the S. they spread a Cl. certain Platters w.

Covenant of Peace and Friendship with his Blood. After this, the King of *Mejiana*, the King of *Zubut*, and his Nephew, came on board the Admiral, brought him Presents, and confirmed the League. The Admiral persuaded them to embrace the Christian Faith, which they did, after some religious Conferences, with Pleasure, being all afterwards baptized. This Example of the great ones influenced the whole Island, so that Christianity was universally received there. When they came to the City, they found the King in his Palace, sitting upon a sort of fine Mat made of Date-leaves, having no Apparel but a Bombastine Cotton about his Waist: About his Head he had a Veil of Needle-work, and about his Neck a very costly Chain, as also stately Jewels in his Ears: He had before him several Porcelain Vessels, some with Eggs, and others full of Date-wine. The Prince entertained them likewise at his Palace: and, for their Diversion, made his Daughters sing and dance naked before them. One of the *Spaniards* dying, they desired Leave of the King to bury him in his Land: To which the King replied very graciously, That since he, and all his, were at the King their Master's Devotion, much more should a few Feet of his Ground be so, in affording a Burying-place to one of his Subjects. These People exercise Justice in their Dealings with one another, keeping to the Use of Weights and Measures. Their Houses are made of Timber, raised high upon Posts, so that they go up by Stairs to them. They talk of a certain Sort of Water-lowl in this Country, as big as a Crow, which they call *Lughan*, which the Whales sometimes swallow down alive, and have their Hearts eaten up by this Bird; by which means many of them are killed, and the Bird is afterwards found alive in the Carcase of the Whale: The Skin of this Fowl is black, but the Flesh good. The *Spaniards* had a very advantageous Bartering with those People, they giving them Ten Pesos of Gold (a Ducat and half each) for Fourteen Pounds Weight of Iron, besides all sorts of Provisions for very Trifles. The baptizing of those Princes was performed with very great Solemnity, the Ordinance being all discharged; which the Admiral told the King beforehand, to prevent his being surprized. The King of *Zubut* was named *Charles*, and the Prince *Ferdinando*; the former of those Names being the Emperor's, and the latter his Brother's. The King of *Mejiana* was named *John*, and the *Moorish* Courtier *Christopher*: Besides the Princes and great Men, there were Five hundred of inferior Rank baptized at the same time. All the Idols were broken, and the Cross set up in divers Places, which the Admiral engaged them to pray very devoutly before, Morning and Evening: The Queen was baptized too at the same time, with Forty of her Ladies, and her Daughter the Prince's Wife: She was young and handsome, her Body covered with a white Cloth, and her head adorned with a sort of a triple Crown made of Date-leaves: After Mass was ended, the King and Court dined in the Admiral's Ship, in Honour of whom all the great Ordinance were discharged. In Eight Days time most of the Island became Christians, except one Village of Idolaters, who would not obey the King's Command in this Matter: The *Spaniards* therefore burnt the Village, and erected a Cross upon the Ruins of it; and, to shew the good and advantageous Effects of Christianity amongst the People that had embraced it, a very miraculous Cure was wrought upon the King of *Zubut*'s Brother, upon his receiving Baptism. The Admiral, it seems, pawned his Head for his immediate Recovery, if he would submit to this sacred Rite, and break all his idols. And they who record these Transactions say, that the Admiral did save his Pawn, the Prince perfectly recovering of his Malady soon after he was thus initiated into the Christian Religion.

14. Not far from *Zubut* lies the Isle of *Matban*, the Inhabitants of which go quite naked, except a slight Covering over the Pudenda, at which Part all the Males, both great and small, hang certain Gold Rings, the Skin being pierced for that Purpose: They take as many Wives as they please, one of which only has the Government of the House. They use very odd Ceremonies in their Sacrifices to the Sun; they begin with ringing Bells, then they spread a Cloth upon the Ground, upon which are set certain Platters with Honey, Rice, and roast Fishes. The

Sacrifice they offer is an Hog, and the Managers of the Ceremony are Two old Women, who sing and dance about the Animal, and sound Trumpets made of Reeds. They mumble out certain Prayers to the Sun; and, after several antic and ridiculous Gestures, they pour a Cup of Wine upon the Hog: One of the venerable Priestesses strikes the fatal Blow with a Lance, and then puts a lighted Lamp into the Creature's Mouth, which continues burning all the Time of the Ceremony: The other dips the Reed Trumpet in the Blood, and with her Finger beinsears her Husband's Forehead, and then the Foreheads of the rest of the Men who assist at the Sacrifice: When they have done, they disrobe themselves of their priestly Attire, and fall to eating the Honey, Rice, and Fish, in which only Women partake with them: As for the Flesh of the Hog, that is not to be touched, till the Two Priestesses have craved a Blessing on it. As for their Funerals, their Ceremonies are almost as extravagant as those of their Sacrifices: When a Man of Figure dies, all the chief Women go to his House, and carry Boughs with Pieces of Cotton in them, which they fasten about the Corpse; they find it clothed in white Cotton, fanning themselves with Branches of Palm, the Room being incensed with Myrrh and Storax all the while: Then a Person comes, and cuts off the Hair of the Deceased by little and little; and, at the same time, his chief Wife lies upon his dead Body with her Face, Hands, and Feet to his, crying and lamenting while his Hair is cut off; but she changes her Funeral Notes into a merry Song when the other has done cutting: The Ceremony lasts Five Days, after which they inclose the Corpse in a Dormitory built of Wood, and made very fast on every side.

15. This Isle of *Matban* was governed by Two Kings; one of which refusing to pay Tribute to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral went out to reduce him. The *Indian* had between Six and Seven thousand Men furnished with Bows and Arrows, Darts and Javelins, which Army the Admiral attacked with Sixty of his *Spaniards*, armed with Coats of Mail and Helmets. The Battle was for a long time doubtful: At last the Admiral's Heat and Courage carrying him too far amongst the Barbarians, he was there first wounded with a poisoned Arrow, and afterwards thrust into the Head with a Lance, which ended the Life and Actions of this noble Commander. About eight or Nine of his Men were slain, and about Fifteen of the Enemy, besides many wounded. The *Spaniards* would very willingly have redeemed the Body of their Admiral, but the *Indians* would not consent to it upon any Terms. This, however, was but the Beginning of their Misfortunes; for the King, as he had embraced their Religion without understanding it, abandoned it upon this Change in their Circumstances; and made Peace with his Rival, notwithstanding one of the Articles insisted on was, that all the Strangers should be instantly put to Death. The barbarous Monarch was sensible enough, that by Force he should never be able to execute this infamous Article, and therefore he had recourse to Fraud. With this View, he invited all the *Spaniards*, that were on Shore to a sumptuous Entertainment; and there in the midst of their Feasting, he directed them to be most cruelly murdered, reserving only *Don Juan Serrano* alive, in order to have procured a Supply of Artillery and Ammunition by way of Ransom for him. With this Demand of his the *Spaniards* would willingly have complied, but found so much Prevarication and Treachery in his Management, and, at the same time, were so much intimidated by the Fate of their Companions, that they resolved to break off the Treaty, and put to Sea. The unfortunate *Serrano*, when he saw them about to weigh their Anchors, threw himself on his Knees; and, in the most moving Terms, begged of them not to leave him in the Hands of so base a People: But their Fears, or rather their Care for their own Preservation, made them deal to his Intreaties, especially when, on a Muster, they found their whole Force consisted but of Eighty Men, that their Ships were in a miserable Condition, and that, in order to have a Probability of returning Home, it would be necessary to destroy One Ship, to make use of her Stores and Materials in repairing the other Two. What the Fate was of *Serrano*, after their Departure, is not known; but it is certain, the

Loss of him proved a very great Hindrance to the Voyage, since, next to the Admiral, he was the bravest Man, and the best Seaman, they had, one of the Projectors of this Voyage, and who, if he had lived to return, would have animated the Imperial Court to future Expeditions.

16. A little before the Admiral's Death, they received News of the *Moluccas*, the discovering of which this Way, was the great End of their Voyage: So that now leaving *Matban*, they sailed to the Isle of *Babol*; and here they burnt the *Conception*, furnishing the other Two Ships with the Men and Ammunition of it. Directing their Course from hence to the South West, they came to the Isle *Parilogbon*, inhabited by *Blacks*: From hence they came to *Chipipi*, which is a large Isle, and it is about 50 Leagues from *Zubut*, in 8 Degrees of North Latitude, and about 170 Degrees of Longitude from their first Stage. It abounds in Rice, Ginger, Goats, Hogs, Hens, &c. and the King of it gave them a friendly Reception. In Token of Peace he marked his Body, Face and Tip of his Tongue, with Blood, which he drew out of his Left Arm; and the *Spaniards* followed him in that bloody Ceremony. Sailing from hence about 40 Leagues, between the West and South West, they came to *Cagbaian*, a very great Island, but not well inhabited: The People are *Moors*, Exiles from *Borneo*, rich in Gold, and for their principal Weapons, use poisoned Arrows, which is practised also in most of the Islands. Steering West and North West 25 Leagues, brought them to *Puluan*, a very fruitful Island, lying in the 9° 20' of North Latitude, and 179° 20' of Longitude, from their first Departure: It yields much the same Products as *Chipipi*, besides very large Figs, Battatoes, Coconas, and Sugar-canes. The like Ceremonies also were here used in Token of Friendship between the King and the *Spaniards*, as were at *Chipipi*: The People go naked, use poisoned Arrows, and are mighty Lovers of the Sport of Cock-fighting: They make a sort of Wine here of Rice, which is very intoxicating, but otherwise better than that of the Palm.

17. The famous Isle of *Borneo*, to which they came next, is a very large and rich Island: It lies in 5° 5' of North Latitude; the chief City contained no less than Twenty-five thousand Houses. The King was a *Moor*, a Prince of very great Power, kept a magnificent Court, and was always attended by a numerous Guard. He sent the Captains several Presents, and ordered a Couple of Elephants, trapped with Silk, to be led forth to bring the *Spaniards* Messengers and Presents to the Palace: He has Ten Secretaries of State, that write his Affairs in Barks of Trees: His Household is governed by Women, who are the Daughters of his chief Courtiers: His Subjects pay him their Reverence, by lifting up their Hands closed Three times over their Heads, then lifting up their Feet one after the other, and lastly kissing their Hands: They chew a great deal of the Beetle in this Country, and drink a Rice-juice called by them *Arac*. The Country affords Camphire, which is the Gum of the Tree *Capar*; also Cinnamon, Ginger, Myrobalsans, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar, Cucumbers, Melons, plenty of Fowl and Beasts, and whatever can be expected in that Climate.

18. Leaving *Borneo*, they came to the Isle *Cambulou*, which lies in 8° 7' of North Latitude: Here they stayed Forty Days caiking their Ships, and taking in fresh Water and Fuel. In the Woods of this Isle they found a Tree, the Leaves of which, as soon as they fall on the Ground, move from Place to Place, as if they were alive. They resemble Mulberry-leaves, and on the Sides of them there are certain Fibres produced, that seem like little Eggs. If they are cut or broken, there is nothing like Blood comes forth, but, if they are touched, they suddenly spring away. *Pigafetta*, from whom we take the Account, tried this, keeping one of these Leaf-Animals in a Dish for Eight Days*. The Isle abounds with Ostriches, wild Hogs, and Crocodiles. They took here a Fish, headed like a Swine, with Two Horns; its Body all one intire Bone, and something like a Saddle on its Back. They sailed from hence by the West towards the South-east for the *Moluccas*, and in their Way found the Sea full of Weeds and Herbs. This was near certain great

Mountains. This Course brought them to the Isles of *Solo* and *Tughina*, which afforded very fine Pearl: From hence it was that the King of *Borneo* got a Couple of Pearls, as round, and very near as big, as a Hen's Egg.

19. They came next to harbour in the Isle *Serangani*, reputed to yield both Gold and Pearl; and here they pressed Two Pilots for their *Molucca* Voyage. They passed the Isles *Ceana*, *Canida*, *Cabiao*, *Camuca*, *Cabalu*, *Chias*, *Lipan*, and *Nuzza*; and came to a fair Island, called *Sanger*, in 3° 20' of North Latitude, which Isle had Four Kings. Having passed Five other Islands, they at last espied a small Cluster of Five Islands, which their Pilots said were the *Moluccas*. This was the 6th of November, and the 27th Month after their Departure from *Spain*. They tried the Depth of the Sea, with their Plumbet, about these Islands, and found it no less than 102 Yards; which shews, that the *Portuguese* designed none else should come thither but themselves, when the told they World, that those Seas were so shallow, that there was no sailing there, besides the other Dangets of Rocks and Shelves, and continual Darknets.

20. November 8. before the Sun-rising, they entered the Port of *Tiridore*, which is one of the Chief of the *Moluccas*. The King was a *Moor*, but, notwithstanding the Prejudices of his Religion, so extremely fond of the *Spaniards*, and so much devoted to the Service of their Master, that he bid them come ashore in their own Country and Houses, called them his Brethren and Children; nay, in Compliment to them, changed the Name of his Kingdom from *Tiridore* into *Cassia*. These *Moluccas* are Five in Number, *Ternate*, *Tiridore*, *Mutir*, *Macebian*, and *Bacbian*; of all these *Ternate* is the chief, and the King of it was once Lord of all the rest. *Mutir* and *Macebian* were then Commonwealth, but *Bacbian* a Monarchy. The Clove-trees here are very tall, and as big about as a Man; the Boughs large in the Middle, and sharp at the Top; the Leaves like those of Bay-trees, and the Bark of an olive Colour. The Cloves grow in large Clusters at the Tops of the Boughs; at first they are white, red when they come to Maturity, and grow black by after drying; the Leaf, Bark, and Wood, being green, is as strong as the Clove itself: They gather them twice a Year, in *June* and *December*; and, if they don't take them in time, they grow very hard. Every Man has his own peculiar Trees, but they bestow but a little Husbandry upon them. They have also in this Isle a sort of a Tree, the Bark of which, being steeped in Water, may be drawn out in small Fibres to the Fineness of Silk; and of this the Women make a sort of Aprons, which is all the Covering they make use of.

21. Near *Tiridore* lies the great Isle *Gilolo*, which is divided between *Moors* and *Heathens*: The Two Kings of the *Moors* have contributed themselves very liberally to the peopling of the Island, the one of them having 600, and the other 650 Children. The *Pagans* were more able-minded in these Matters, as well as less superstitious in other respects, than the *Moors*; yet they report of them, that they adore the first thing they see in the Morning. In this Isle there is a sort of Reed grows as big as a Man's Leg, and full of a very limpid Water, which makes a wholesome Drink. November 12. a public Warehouse was appointed in the City for the Sale of their Merchandize: The Exchange at the following Rates; for Ten Yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, every Bahar being four Canters, and Six Pounds, and every Canter 100*lb*. Weight: For Fifteen Yards of a meaner Cloth, they had in *Cambre* one Bahar: For thirty-five drinking Glasses, one Bahar: For Seventeen Cathyls of Quicksilver, one Bahar. They brought all sorts of Provisions daily to their Ships, and a sort of fresh Water, which springs out of the Mountains where the Cloves grow. It is hot when it comes out of the Spring, but very cold when it has stood awhile in some other Place. They received here a very singular Present for the King of *Spain* from the King of *Bacbian*, which was a Couple of dead Birds, about the Bigness of Tortles, with very little Heads and Legs, long Bills, Two or Three long Feathers, parti-coloured at their Sides, instead of Wings; their whole Bodies besides of one Colour.

* This Account is not only improbable, but incredible: Yet I have retained it, because, on the Credit of *Pigafetta* it has been taken into several Treatises of Natural History

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and that near a Tawny; they never fly, but when the Wind blows to help them; the *Moors* fancy they come down from Paradise, and therefore call them the Birds of God. As for all the *Moluccas* in general, their Products are Cloves, Ginger, Rice, Sagu-bread, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Popenjays, white and red Figs, Almonds, Pomegranates, Oranges, and Lemons, and a sort of Honey which is made by Flies less than Ants; besides Sugar-canes, Oil of Cocons, Melons, Gourds, and a Fruit which they call Camulical, which is extremely cold. The Natives of these Islands were all *Heathens*, the *Moors* having not had Footing there above Fifty Years before the *Spaniards* came. The Isle of *Tiridore* is in about 27 Minutes North Latitude, and 170° Longitude, from their First Meridian, and about 9° 30' from the *Archipelago*, in which are the *Ladrenes*, and run to the Quarters of South-west and N. N. E. *Ternate* is in Four Minutes of South Latitude; *Maur* is directly under the Equinoctial; *Machian* is in Fifteen Minutes of South Latitude; and *Bacbian* in One Minute; and this Isle is the biggest of all the *Moluccas*. When they departed from hence, they had the Kings of several Islands attending them in their Canoes. They were conducted by them to the Isle of *Mare*, and there this Royal Company took their Leaves of them, not without great Sorrow. In this Isle they left a leaking Ship behind them, giving Orders, if it could be repaired, for its Return into *Spain*.

22. They directed their Course to the South-west from *Mare*, being now more in Number than Forty-six *Spaniards*, and Thirteen *Indians*. They passed the Isles of *Chacouan*, *Lagoma*, *Sicos*, *Grogbi*, *Cupbi*, *Sulucio*, *Lumata*, *Tunctum*, *Baru*, *Ambon*, *Budia*, *Celarari*, *Benata*, *Ambalao*, *Banden*, *Zorobus*, *Zolot*, *Mocunamor*, *Galian*, and *Mallua*, besides many others possessed by *Moors*, *Heathens*, and *Cambals*. They layd at *Mallua* Fifteen Days, repairing their Ships. It lies in 8° of South Latitude, and 169° 40' Long. according to their Reckoning. There grows a vast deal of Pepper there, both long and round; the Leaves of the Tree like Mulberry-leaves, and climbing like Ivy. The People are pretty *Cambals*; the Men wear their Hair and Beards put up in Canes; and, for Weapons, use only Bows and Arrows. *January* the 25th, 1522, leaving *Mallua*, they arrived at *Tuna*, which is Five Leagues distant between the South and South west; here they found Ginger, the Wood of white Sanders, divers Fruits and Beasts, Gold, and plenty of all sorts of Provisions: The People of the *Moluccas*, *Java*, and *Lozen*, fetch their Sanders from this Island. It lies in 10° South Latitude, and 174° of Longitude. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and have among them, which is also common to all the Isles of the *Archipelago*, the Dilemper we call the *Veneral Disease*. Sailing a long Courte from hence between the West and North west, they came to the Isle of *Eude*, which yields great Store of Cinnamon. In this Track of Sea there is a long String of Islands lying in Order, behind one another, as far as the *Greater Java*, and the Cape of *Malacca*. About half a League from this *Greater Java*, lies *Java the less*, which is full as big as the Isle of *Madagascara*. *February* the 11th, sailing from *Tuner*, they got into the great Sea *Lantabidid*, and steered away between the West and South west, leaving the North Coast on their Right Hand, taking care not to sail too near the Shore, lest the *Portuguese*, who were seated at *Mallua*, should chance to discover them; and, on this Account, they directed their Courte without the Isle of *Sumatra*. And, that they might pass the Cape of *Good Hope* more securely, they sailed about 42° towards the South Pole, waiting in those Parts Seven Weeks for the Wind. The Cape of *Good Hope* they observed to be in 34° 15' of South Latitude, and 160 Leagues from the Cape of *Malacca*.

23. But, having pass all Dangers of the Cape, being smartly pinched with Hunger and Sickness, some of them were for putting in at *Mozambique* for a little Refreshment; but the major Part of the Company concluding, that the *Portuguese*, who were there, would prove but untoward Physicians for their Dilemper, they resolved to sail homewards: This they did in a Courte towards the South-west, for the Space of two Months, without touching anywhere; in which time they lost Twenty one Men of their

Company, the Remainder being upon the Point of starving. They came in good time, under this Necessity, to *St. James*, which is one of the *Cape de Verde* Islands, and there they were forced to throw themselves upon the Mercy of the *Portuguese*; so that, venturing ashore, they opened their miserable Case to the *Portuguese*, who were so generous as to relieve them: the first, and so barbarous as to detain them Prisoners the next time they came for Food. Those in the Ship, finding their Companions (Thirteen in Number) stopt by the *Portuguese*, and having no mind to bear them Company in Prison, made all the Haste they possibly could away; and, the Wind filling their Sails, they came *September 7.* into the Haven of *St. Lucar*, near *Seville*.

24. The Person who commanded this Vessel, which had the good fortune to return, was one *John Sebastian Cano*, a Native of the Town of *Guetaria*, in *Biscay*, a Man of great Spirit, and equal Fortune, whose Success in this respect was very nobly rewarded by the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, who, to perpetuate the Memory of so glorious an Exploit, gave him for his Arms the Terrestrial Globe, with this Motto, *Primus me circumdedit*; that is, *Tbou first surroundedst me*. Some Critics have remarked, that, instead of *circumdedit*, it should have been *circumvisit*, or *circumnavigit*; but this was a kind of Exactness unworthy of so great an Emperor. The new-discovered Streights were for a while called the *Streights of Victoria*, from the Ship that returned; but they soon lost that Name to assume another, which seemed much better to become them, I mean that of their Discoverer *Magellan*; which they are always like to bear, and thereby perpetuate the Memory of that worthy Man, who, in point of Courage and Conduct, shewed himself every way equal to the great Talk he undertook, and who, though he did not live to come home in the *Victoria*, ought to be considered as the sole Author of the Discoveries made in this Expedition, since the Course failed after his Death had nothing in it new, but was what the *Portuguese* had often done before.

25. By this remarkable Expedition, the Skill and Penetration of the great *Columbus*, who first formed an Idea of the Possibility of performing it, received new Lustre, and the World in general new Light. It was now no longer a Question, to be disputed by Arguments, whether the World might be circum-navigated; this Voyage put it, as a Fact, out of Dispute. One of *Magellan's* Companions therefore, *Antonio Pigafetta*, a Native of *Vicenza* in *Italy*, to whom we stand indebted for the best Account extant of the whole Voyage, had Reason to conclude his Relation thus: "These were Mariners, who surely merited an eternal Memory, more justly than the *Argonauts* of old, who sailed with *Jason*, in Search of the Golden Fleece, into the Region of *Colchis*, and entered the River *Phasis*, from the Sea of *Pontus*. The Ship too undoubtedly derived far better to be placed among the Stars, than their Ship *Argo*, which, from *Greece*, discovered that great Sea: For this our wonderful Ship, taking her Departure from the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and sailing Southwards through the great Ocean towards the *Antarctic* Pole, and then turning West, followed that Courte so long, that, passing round, she came into the East, and thence again into the West, not by sailing back, but proceeding constantly forward; so compassing about the Globe of the World, until she marvelously regained her native Country *Spain*, and the Port from which she departed, *Seville*."

26. This remarkable voyage took up Three Years and Thirty-seven Days; for they departed *August 10.* 1519, and returned *September 6.* 1522. One thing however was discovered in it by Experience, which Reason has taught to explain, though by Reason it could hardly have been found out; for, on their Arrival at the *Moluccas*, they found themselves a Day mistaken in their Reckoning, which was not owing to any Negligence in them, but to the Courte they sailed; for it is now a Truth, justified by Practice, as well as agreeable to the Principles of Geography and Navigation, that such as sail East, till they come back to the Place they left, have seen the Sun rise, pass the Meridian, and set, once more than their Countrymen they left behind them; and consequently gain a Day; and that

in like manner, such as sail Westward round the Globe, lose a Day; which alters their Account, both with respect to the Day of the Month, and of the Week. *Magellan's* Crew could not avoid taking notice of so strange a Circumstance, though they knew not how to account for it; and yet modern Geographers explain it very naturally, and very precisely: From whence it is evident, how much Practice is improved by Learning and Study; for this intirely depends upon the diurnal Circumvolution of the Sun, which may begin at any meridian Circle, and so go round till it comes back to the same Meridian. This being once conceived, the Whole becomes immediately plain; since such as sail Eastward, advance to a Meridian which the Sun reaches sooner than he did that they left, and therefore they begin to count their Day so much the sooner: For Example, if they sail Fifteen Degrees, they will begin the Day and Hour sooner, and this Anticipation still increases as they go Eastward; and, being once come to the opposite Meridian, their Day begins Twelve Hours sooner; and, having gone round, they begin the Day Twenty-four Hours sooner than in the Place they came to, where it is Mid day to both, when the Sun is in the South. And to they that go West, will have the Sun later in their Meridian by a whole Hour, if they sail Fifteen Degrees to the West, which postpones the Day an Hour for every Fifteen Degrees, which comes to Twenty-four Hours in sailing round. Since we are upon this Subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that they may differ a whole Day in some Places very near each other: For Instance, let us

suppose a *Spanish* Ship to arrive at the *Philippine* Islands, and, at the same time, a *Portuguese* Ship at *Macao*, a Port of *China*, possessed by that Nation, and under the same Meridian as some of the *Philippine* Islands: It may happen, that the *Portuguese* may keep *Easter*, while, with the *Spaniards*, it is still *Lent*. We may easily apprehend this, if we consider, that the *Portuguese*, sailing East, arrive a Day sooner at *Macao*, than the *Spaniards*, who came West, arrive at the *Philippines*; and thus, under the same Meridian, it is very possible they may differ a Day in their Reckoning.

27. Another Circumstance that served to heighten the Reputation of *Magellan*, was the Difficulty that other able Seamen met with in following his Course. The first that made that Attempt, were Two *Genese* Ships in 1526. but without Effect. *Ferdinand Cortes*, the Conqueror of *New Spain*, sent two Ships, and 400 Men, in 1528. to discover the Way to the *Moluccas* through the Streights, but without Success. *Sebastian Cabot* tried it also by Commission from *Don Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, but could not do it. *Americus Vesputius* was sent by the same Prince, but could neither find the Streights, nor the River of *La Plata*. *Simon Alvarado*, a *Spaniard*, attempted it likewise with several Ships, and 144 Men; but came back without performing it, his Men having mutinied. All these several Attempts, as well by the *Spaniards* as other Nations, were made before the Expedition of *Sir Francis Drake*: An Account of which is to be our next Subject.

SECTION IV.

The Voyage of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE round the Globe.

1. *The Family and Character of Sir Francis Drake.*
2. *His Two first Expeditions against the Spaniards, and Resolution to sail through the South Seas.*
3. *His Strength when he sailed, A. D. 1577. on this Expedition.*
4. *His Adventures in the Cape de Verd Islands.*
5. *Description of the Islands of St. Iago, and Del Fogo.*
6. *Their Arrival on the Coast of Brazil.*
7. *Trade with the Inhabitants of the Country at the Mouth of the River La Plata.*
8. *Continue their Voyage to the Streights of Magellan.*
9. *Misfortune at the Island of Mocha.*
10. *Plunder the Town of St. Iago, on the Coast of Chili.*
11. *Other rich Prizes taken on that Coast.*
12. *A rich Spanish Vessel called the Cacatuago taken, and Guatulco plundered.*
13. *They sail Northward to the Coast of California.*
14. *Description of that Country, and its Inhabitants.*
15. *Their Course to the Moluccas, and Transactions there.*
16. *Description of several Islands.*
17. *Account of Java Major, and their long Run to Sierra Leona.*
18. *Departure from thence, and safe Arrival in England, in Sept. 16. 1580.*
19. *Clamours raised against him on his Return.*
20. *Queen Elizabeth dines on board his Ship at Deptford, and confers on him the Honour of Knighthood.*
21. *Recapitulation of Things most observable in this Voyage of Sir Francis Drake.*
22. *A concise Account of his Actions to his Death.*
23. *The Consequences of his sailing round the Globe to Us, the Spaniards, and other Nations.*

IT has been observed of most of the Heroes of Antiquity, that they were of a dubious Decent; which gave an Opportunity of frequently tattering them upon their Gods. And in this, as well as in many other respects, *Sir Francis Drake* resembled these ancient Heroes. The learned *Camden* tells us, that he was the Son of a Clergyman, who, in the Time of *Queen Elizabeth*, became Vicar of *Upton*, on the River *Medway*. But the industrious *John Stowe* says, that he was the eldest of Twelve Brethren, all Children of *Edmund Drake*, of *Tarstock*, in the County of *Devon*, Mariner, and that he was born in the Year 1540^m. The only way to reconcile these Accounts, both of which I believe are true, is to suppose that *Edmund Drake*, being a zealous Protestant, suffering much for his Religion in the Days of *Henry VIII.* and, having likewise a competent Share of Learning, was ordained Deacon in the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*, and settled at *Upton*. As for our Hero, he received the Christian Name of *Francis*, from his Godfather *Francis* Earl of *Hereford*. But it does not appear, that he obtained any great Benefit from that Nobleman's Patronage in his Youth; for I find, that, as soon as he was able, he was sent to Sea, Ap-

prentice to the Master of a small Bark trading to *France* and *Zeland*, who, having a great Affection for the Law, and being himself a Bachelor, when he came to die, left him his Bark. At the Age of Eighteen *Mr. Drake* was made Purser of a Ship, which went to the Bay of *Biscay*; and at Twenty he made a Voyage to the Coast of *Guinea*. In all these Voyages he distinguished himself by his extraordinary Courage, and by a Sagacity very unusual in Persons of his Age. His laudable desire of Glory induced him to venture all that he had in the World in a Voyage to the *West Indies* in the Year 1565. but in this he had no Success. In 1567. he served under his Kintman *Sir John Hawkins*, in the Bay of *Mexico*, but was still unfortunate, returning from thence rich in point of Fame, but, as to his Circumstances, in a manner undone. These Disappointments served only to heighten his Relentment; and therefore he made Two Voyages more into those Parts, the first in 1570. with Two Ships, the *Dragon* and *Swan*, the second in 1571. in the *Swan* alone, purely for the sake of Information, and that he might qualify himself for undertaking something of Importance in those Parts, which by his Courage and Perseverance, he brought to bear.

^m In his Annals of *Queen Elizabeth*, A. D. 1575. where he says, that he had these Particulars from *Sir Francis Drake's* own Mouth. —
ⁿ In his History of *England* p. 58ⁿ where he says nothing of *Mr. Edmund Drake's* being Vicar of *Upton*, and yet shows abundance of Care in collecting the Dates and Facts. —
^o This Account has been compared with all hitherto published, particularly *Mr. Fincher's*, who was Captain during the Voyage.

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2. His Character being now sufficiently established, he found now ready to venture Part of their Fortunes in a Voyage he proposed; for which having made all Things ready, he sailed *May* the 24th, 1572, in the *Pasca of Plymouth*, which was of no greater Burden than Seventy Ton, having for his Consort the *Swan*, of two hundred and fifty Ton, commanded by his Brother *John Drake*, with Seventy-three Men and Boys, and Provisions for a Year. Such was the Preparation he made for attacking the King of *Spain* in the *West Indies*, which he believed he had a Right to do, in order to make Reprisals for what he had suffered by his Subjects. In this Voyage he sacked the famous Town of *Nombré de Dios*, and soon after saw from an high Tree, the *Soub Seas*; which Sight inflamed him with a violent Desire of carrying an *English Ship* thither, an Attempt never made, perhaps never thought of, before that Time. In this Expedition he acquired immense Riches for his Owners, as well as himself; being a Man of such Generosity, that he scorned to take even those Advantages, which any other Man would have considered as his Right; of which we have a very remarkable Instance in his Behaviour, on a Present made him by a Captain or Prince of the *Free Indians* inhabiting the Isthmus of *Darien*, who, in Return for a Cutlafs presented him by Captain *Drake*, gave him Four large Wedges of Gold, which he threw into the common Stock: "My Owners, said he, gave me that Cutlafs; and it is but just they should have their Shares of its Produce." His Return to *England* was as fortunate as his foreign Expedition; for, in Twenty-three Days, he sailed from the Capes of *Florida*, to the Isles of *Sicily*; and, arriving at *Plymouth* on *Sunday August* the 9th, 1573. in Sermon-time, the News of Captain *Drake's* Return being carried into the Church, there remained few or no People with the Preacher, all running out to observe the Blessing of God upon the dangerous Adventures of the Captain, who had spent One Year, Two Months, and some odd Days, in this Voyage. The Wealth he had thus acquired, he generously spent in his Country's Service, equipping no less than Three Frigates at his own Expence, which he commanded in Person, and with which he contributed greatly to the Reduction of the rebellious *Irish*, under the Conduct of that worthy Nobleman *Walter Earl of Essex*. After his Death, he chose for his Patron Sir *Christopher Hatton*, at that Time Vice-chamberlain to the Queen, and afterwards Chancellor of *England*: By his Interest, notwithstanding great Opposition, Captain *Drake* obtained the Queen's Commission for that Voyage, which he had so long meditated.

3. He was no sooner thus provided, than his Friends contributed largely towards this glorious Expedition; and Captain *Drake*, on his Side, applied with equal Diligence to the getting every thing ready for accomplishing his Undertaking; and, with this View, equipped Five Ships, viz. the *Pelican*, called by him afterwards the *Hind*, Admiral, Burden an hundred Tons, *Francis Drake* Captain General, the *Elizabeth*, Vice-admiral, Eighty Tons, *John Winter* Captain; the *Marigold*, a Bark, of Thirty Tons, *John Thomas* Captain; the *Swan*, a Fly-boat, of Fifty Tons, Captain *John Chester*; and the *Christopher*, a Pinnace of Fifteen Tons, Captain *Thomas Moon*. These Ships he manned with One hundred and Sixty-four able Men, and furnished them with such plentiful Provision of all Things necessary, as so long and dangerous a Voyage seemed to require, withal stowing certain Pinnaces aboard in Pieces, to be set up as Occasion required; neither did he omit to make Provision also for Ornament and Delight, carrying for this Purpose with him expert Musicians, rich Furniture, all the Vessels for his Table, and many belonging to his Cook-room, being of Silver, with divers Utensils of all sorts of curious Workmanship, whereby the Civility and Magnificence of his native Country might, among all Nations, whither he should come, be the more admired. These are Circumstances which shew how much this Gentleman had the Honour of this Nation at Heart, and with what generous Principles he was endowed; for which, however, some Writers have not scrupled to tax him with Vanity; so easy a Thing it is, for Men of little Minds to blait the noblest Purposes by their own base Suggestions! All Things being thus adjusted, Captain *Drake* sailed out

of *Plymouth Sound* *November* the 5th, 1577. about Five in the Afternoon; but by a fearful Storm, wherein they sustained some Damage, he was forced to put back again; when, having, in few Days, supplied all Defects on the 13th of *December*, the same Year, with more favourable Winds, he once more hoisted his Sails and put to Sea: He avoided, as much as he could, falling in too early with the Land; and, the Wind favouring his Design, they made none, till the 25th of the same Month they fell in with *Cape Cautin*, on the Coast of *Barbary*, and, on the 27th, came to the Isle of *Magador*, lying One Mile distance from the Main, between which and the Isle they found a very safe and convenient Harbour. Here the Admiral directed a Pinnace to be built, having brought, as we observed, the Hulks of Four ready framed from *England*. While they were upon this Work, some of the Inhabitants came to the Water-side, shewing Flags of Peace: Upon which the Admiral sent out his Boat to know their Minds: One of his Men stayed as a Pledge amongst them, and Two of their Company were brought a Shipboard. They told him by Signs, that the next Day they would furnish his Ships with good Provisions, which Civility he rewarded with Linen Cloth, Shoes, and a Javelin, Things very acceptable to them; and so they departed. The next Day they came as they had promised, and one of the Men, whose Name was *Fry*, leaping out of the Boat amongst them, thinking to have leaped into the Arms of Friends, made himself the Prisoner of those perfidious Wretches, who, threatening to stab him if he made any Resistance, presently mounted him a Horseback, and carried him up into their Country; from whence, however, after Examination, he was sent safely back into his own.

4. The Pinnace being finished, they set Sail *December* the 30th, and *January* the 17th they arrived at *Cape Blanco*, where they found a Ship at Anchor within the Cape, having only Two Mariners in her: The Ship they took, and carried her into the Harbour, where they stayed Four Days; in which time the Admiral mustered his Men ashore, to prepare them for Land as well as Sea Service. Here they took of the Fishermen such Necessaries as they wanted, and also one of their Barks of about Forty Ton, leaving behind them a little Bark of their own. They left this Harbour *January* the 22d, carrying along with them one of the *Portuguese* Caravels, which was bound to the Isles of *Cape de Verd* for Salt; the Master of the Caravel assured the Admiral, that in one of the *Cape de Verd* Islands, called *Maya*, there was a good Store of dried Cabritos, or Goats, which were every Year made ready for such Ships of the King's as called there. They came to this Place *January* the 27th; but the Inhabitants would drive no Trade with them, the King's Orders having positively forbid it: Yet the next Day they went to take a View of the Island, the Admiral sending out a Company of Men for that Purpose. They marched towards the chief Place of the Isle, and, having travelled through the Mountains for three Days, they came thither before Day-break: They found that the Inhabitants were all run away, but, as for the Country, by the manuring, it appeared to be more fruitful, than the other Part of the Island. They rested themselves here a while, and banqueted upon delicious Grapes, which were in their Prime even at that Season of the Year which is the Depth of Winter with us in *England*. This Island is stored with Goats, wild Hens, and Salt, which Nature makes ready to the Inhabitants Hands: It is brought together in great Quantities upon the Land by the flowing of the Sea, and the Heat of the Sun kerns it. The People have no more to do, but to gather it into Heaps, and sell it to their Neighbours, which they do and reap great Profit from it. They found here also *Cocoa-trees*, which bear no Leaves nor Branches but at the Top; the Fruit grows in Clusters, and each *Cocoa* is as big as a Man's Head: Having satiated themselves with these Fruits, they marched farther into the Island, and saw great Store of Cabritos; but they could take none of them, though, if they had pleased, they might have furnished themselves with some that were old, dead, and dried, which the People had laid out on purpose for them: but, not caring for the Refuse of the Island, they returned to their Ships, with an Account of what they had seen.

5. *January* the 21st, they went from hence, and failed by the Isle *St. Iago*: in passing by which, the People discharged Three Pieces of Cannon at them, but without doing Mischief. The Island is fair and large, inhabited by *Portuguese*; but the Mountains are possessed by the *Moors*, who, to deliver themselves from Slavery, fled to these Places of Refuge, where they have fortified themselves. Before this Island they saw Two Ships under Sail, one of which they took, and found to be a good Prize, laden with Wines: The Admiral retained the Pilot, but discharged the Ship and the Men, giving them some Victuals, a Butt of Wine, and their wearing Cloaths*. The same Night they came to the Island *Del Fuego*, or the *Burning Island*, which is inhabited by *Portuguese*: On the North Side there is a sort of *Vulcano*, that is continually belching out Smoke and Flame: On the South Side lies a very delightful Island, full of Trees ever green and flourishing, and refreshed with cooling Streams, that pour themselves out into the Sea. Here was no convenient Road for their Ships, the Sea being too deep, that there was no possibility of fixing an Anchor thereabouts. Leaving these Islands, they drew towards the Line, being sometimes becalmed for a long time together, and, at others, beaten with Tempests. They had continually great Plenty of Fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and Flying fishes, some of which dropt down into their Ships, and could not rise again, because their finny Wings wanted Moisture.

6. From the first Day of their Departure from the Islands of *Cape Verde*, they sailed 54 Days without Sight of Land; and the first which they saw was the Coast of *Brazil*, in 35° of South Latitude. *April* the 5th, the barbarous People on Shore, having discovered the Ships, began to use their accustomed Ceremonies, in order to raise a Storm to sink their Ships: For this purpose they made great Fires, and offered some Sacrifices to the Devil; but at present, it seems, he was not able to serve them. *April* the 7th, they had Lightning, Rain, and Thunder; in which Storm they lost the Company of a little Bark, the *Christopher*; but the 11th they found her again; and the Place where all the Ships, that were dispersed in the Search of her, met together, the Admiral called *Cape Joy*, and here every Ship took in fresh Water. The Country hereabouts was fair and pleasant, the Air sweet and mild, the Soil rich and fruitful. The Inhabitants seemed to be only some Herds of wild Deer, no others being to be seen, though they discerned the Footsteps of some People in the Ground. Having weighed Anchor, and run a little farther, they found a small Harbour between a Rock and the Main, where the Rock breaking the Force of the Sea, the Ship rode very safely. Upon this Rock they killed several Seals, keeping them for Food, and found them wholesome, though not pleasant.

7. Their next Course being to 36° of South Latitude, they entered the great River of *Plate*, and came into between 53 and 54 Fathom of fresh Water; but, finding no good Harbour there, they put out to Sea again. Sailing on, they came to a good Bay; in which Bay were several pretty Islands, one of which was Rock'd with Seals, and the others, for the most part, with Fowls, so that there was no want of any Provisions, or of good Water there. The Admiral being on Shore in one of these Islands, the People came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free to trade: But their Custom was not to take any thing from any other Person, unless first throw down on the Ground. They were comely strong bodied People, very well of Foot, and of a brisk lively Constitution. The *Margale*, and the *Christopher*, being sent to discover a convenient Harbour: returned with the happy News of such an one, into which they went with all their Ships. Here the Seals abounded to that degree, that they killed more than 200 in an Hour's Space. The Natives came boldly and confidently about them, while they were working on Shore; their Faces were painted, and their Apparel only a Covering of Braith Hair (with the Fur on) about their Waists, and something wreathed about their Heads. They had Bows an Ell long, but no more than Two Arrows apiece. They seemed to be not altogether destitute of martial Discipline, as appeared by the Method they ob-

ferred in ordering and ranging their Men; and they gave sufficient Proof of their Agility, by stealing the Admiral's Hat off from his very Head; which was a brave Prize among them, one taking the Hat, and another the gold Lace that was on it; neither of which could ever be got from them again. They were the Nation which *Magellan* called *Patagons*.

8. Having dispatched all Affairs in this Place, they sailed; and, *June* the 20th, they anchored in Port *St. Julian*, so called by *Magellan*. Here they saw the Gibbet on which *Magellan* had formerly executed some of his mutinous Company: And here also Admiral *Drake* executed one Captain *Doughty*, the most suspected Action of his Life. After which Execution, *August* the 17th, they left *St. Julian's* Port, and the 20th fell in with the Strait of *Magellan*, going into the *South Sea*. The 21st they entered the Strait, which they found to lie very intricate and crooked, with divers Turnings; by which means, shifting about so often, the Wind would sometimes be against them, which made their Sailing very troublesome, and not only so, but dangerous too, especially if any sudden Blasts of Wind came: For, though there be several good Harbours about, and fresh Water enough, yet the Sea is so deep, that there is no anchoring there, except in some very narrow River or Corner, or between the Rocks. There are vast Mountains, covered with Snow, that spread along the Land on both Sides the Straights; the Tops of which mount up in the Air to a prodigious Height, having Two or Three Regions of Clouds lying in Order below them. The Straights are extremely cold with Frost and Snow continually: Yet the Trees and Plants maintain a constant Verdure, and flourish notwithstanding the seeming Severity of the Weather. At the South and East Parts of the Strait there are various Islands, between which the Sea breaks into the Straights, as it does into the main Entrance: The Breadth of it is from one League, where it is the narrowest, to Two, Three, or Four Leagues, which is the widest; and the Tides rise high through the Whole.

9. *August* the 24th, they came to an Island in the Straights, where were Penguins, a sort of Fowls as big as Geese, that could not fly; and they were in such Multitudes, that they killed 3000 in less than one Day. *September* the 6th, they entered the *South Sea* at the Cape or Head Shore. And the 8th they were driven by a Storm back from that Entrance more than 200 Leagues Longitude, and 12° to the South of the Strait; from the Bay they were driven Southwards of the Straights, in 57° of South Latitude, where they anchored among the Islands, finding good fresh Water, and excellent Herbs. Not far from hence, they entered another Bay, where they found naked People, ranging from one Island to another in their Canoes, to seek Provisions. These traded with them for such Commodities as they had. Sailing Northward from hence, they found Three Islands, *October* the 2d, in one of which was such Plenty of Birds, as is hardly credible. *October* the 2th, they lost the Company of the Ship, in which was *Mr. Winter*. Being now come to the other Mouth of the Straights, they put away towards the Coast of *Chili*, which the general Maps place to the South-west, but they found afterwards to lie to the North-east and Eastward; so that those Coasts were either not fully discovered, or at least not faithfully described. They proceeded still in the same Course, till, upon the 29th of *November*, they came to the Isle of *Mocho*, where they cast Anchor, and the Admiral, with Ten Men, went ashore. The People that dwelt there, were such as the extreme Cruelty of the *Spaniards* had forced from their own Habitation to this Island, to preserve their Lives and Liberties. They carried themselves at first very civilly to the Admiral and his Men, bringing them Potatoes, and Two fat Sheep, promising also to bring them Water; for which they received some Presents. The next Day Two Men were sent ashore with Barrels for Water; and the Natives, having them at an Advantage, presently seized them, and knocked them on the Head. The Reason of this Outrage was, because they took them for *Spaniards*, whom they never spare when they fall into their Hands.

* The Reason of taking these Ships was, that at this Time *Portugal* was annexed to the Crown of *Spain*.

10. Continuing the Coasts of it mistaking them, there was a great trial rewarding conducted them. Port *Val Parizo* Men they had in and Three Negro have been Friends invited them to they, resolving first immediately board under Hatches, to ing how they were swam to the Tower coming of the E presently quitted might quickly de in the whole Tow titled the Town Chalice, Two C in the Town also of Cedar wood. General then have one, whom he directed his Cou

11. As they w Opportunity to e at *St. Iago*, they l *St. Iago*, which amount Ducats: So, cont the Haven of *Coco* Admiral sent Four the *Spaniards* hap being resolved, to Revenge upon for of 300 Horse, a *English*; and, at Guns, made a Sh teen coming bac going again on Sh put out a Flag of to be no greater them, and to w called *Tarapaxa*, niard asleep upon lying by him, wh They did not thi taking the Silver far from hence, *mani*, and an *Ind* with very fine S Bags (containing They delivered Burdens, and lo which, the *Indi on*. They saild South Latitude Barks, which, Wedges of Silver They took no b belonged to them all gone on Sh They did not att for it: So, putt little Bark laden Admiral took, and where he could

12. *February* which lies in 11 the Haven, four Anchor, with all their Masters be aming the Co full of Rials of all which Plate of the Silks and

* This, I must Vol. I.

10. Continuing their Course for *Chili*, and drawing near the Coasts of it, they met an *Indian* in a Canoe, who, mistaking them for *Spaniards*, told them, that at *St. Iago* there was a great *Spanish* Ship laden for *Peru*. The Admiral rewarding him for his Intelligence, he very readily conducted them where the Ship lay at Anchor, which was Port *Val Parizo*, in $33^{\circ} 40'$ of South Latitude. All the Men they had in her were no more than Eight *Spaniards*, and Three *Negroes*; and they, supposing the *English* to have been Friends, welcomed them by beat of Drum, and invited them to drink some *Chili* Wine with them. But they, resolving first to secure their Prize, and then drink, immediately boarded the Ship, and, driving all the *Spaniards* under Hatches, took Possession. One of the *Spaniards*, seeing how they were served, desperately leaped overboard, and swam to the Town of *St. Iago*, to give them Notice of the coming of the *English*; upon which, all the Inhabitants presently quitted the Town, and ran away, which they might quickly do, there not being above Nine Households in the whole Town. The Admiral and his Men entered, riddled the Town and the Chapel, taking out of it a silver Chalice, Two Cruets, and an Altar-cloth. They found in the Town also a good Cargo of *Chili* Wine, and Boards of Cedar-wood, all which they carried to their Ships. The General then having fet all the Prisoners on shore, except one, whom he reserved for his Pilot, he left *St. Iago*, and directed his Course for *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*.

11. As they were now at Sea, and had both Leisure and Opportunity to examine the Particulars of the Booty taken at *St. Iago*, they found 25,000 Pezoes of pure Gold of *Baldovina*, which amounted to somewhat more than 37,000 *Spanish* Ducats: So, continuing their Course to *Lima*, they put into the Haven of *Cuzumbo*, which lies in $29^{\circ} 30'$ S. L. Here the Admiral sent Fourteen Men ashore to fetch Water: But the *Spaniards* happening to spy this small Company, and being resolved, for the Glory of their Nation, to undertake Revenge upon to daring an Enemy, they, with an Army of 300 Horse, and 200 Foot, attacked these Fourteen *English*; and, after some Dispute, by the Help of their Guns, made a Slaughter of one of them, the other Thirteen coming back to the Ship. After this, the *English* going again on Shore to bury their dead Man, the *Spaniards* put out a Flag of Truce: but they, believing their Fidelity to be no greater than their Courage, did not care to trust them, and to went off. From hence they came to a Port called *Tarapasa*, where, being landed, they found a *Spaniard* asleep upon the Shore with Eighteen Bars of Silver lying by him, which came to about 4000 *Spanish* Ducats: They did not think fit to disturb the *Spaniard's* Repose, but, taking the Silver, left him to take out his Nap. Not far from hence, going ashore for Water, they met a *Spaniard*, and an *Indian* driving Eight *Peruvian* Sheep, laden with very fine Silver, every Sheep having Two Leather Bags (containing Fifty Pounds Weight each) on his Back. They delivered the poor Animals from their irksome Burdens, and lodged the Bags in their own Ships: After which, the *Indian* and *Spaniard* were permitted to drive on. They sailed hence to *Arisa*, which is in $8^{\circ} 30'$ of South Latitude; and, in this Port, found Three small Barks, which, being riddled, yielded them Fifty-seven Wedges of Silver, each weighing about Twenty Pounds: They took no Prisoners in the Barks; for the Men that belonged to them, fearing no Strangers coming thither, were all gone on Shore to make merry amongst themselves. They did not assault the Town, having not Strength enough for it: So, putting out to Sea again, they met with another little Bark laden with Linen Cloth, Part of which the Admiral took, and to let her go, disclaiming to hurt others, where he could do himself no good.

12. February the 13th they came to the Port of *Lima*, which lies in $11^{\circ} 50'$ South Latitude; and, having entered the Haven, found there Twelve Sail of Ships lying tall at Anchor, with all their Sails down, without Watch or Guard, their Masters being all drinking and carousing ashore: Examining the Contents of these Ships, they found a Chest full of Rials of Plate, great Store of Silks and Linen; all which Plate they carried to their own Ships, and Part of the Silks and Linen. The Admiral here had notice of

another very rich Ship, called the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards *Paita*, which they pursuing thither, found her, before their Arrival, gone for *Panama*: But, however, though they missed their intended Prize, another (which they took in their Pursuit of her to *Panama*) paid them the Charge of their Voyage: For, besides the Ropes, and other Tackling for Ships, which they found in her, she yielded them Eighty Pounds Weight of Gold, together with a fine Crucifix of the same Metal, richly adorned with Emeralds; all which, with some of the Cordage, they seized: But, resolving still to proceed in the Pursuit of the *Cacafuego*, the Admiral, to encourage his Company, promised, that whoever first saw her, should have his Gold Chain for a Reward; which fell to the Share of Mr. *John Drake*, who first descried her about Three o'Clock. About Six o'Clock they came up with her, gave her Three Shots, struck down her Mizzen, and boarded her. They found her full as rich and valuable as she was reported to be, having aboard her Thirteen Chests full of Rials of Plate, Eighty Pounds Weight of Gold, a good Quantity of Jewels, and Twenty-six Ton of Silver Bars. The Place where this Prize was taken, was called Cape *San Francisco*, about 150 Leagues from *Panama*, and in 1° of North Latitude: Amongst other rich Pieces of Plate, which they found in this Ship, they met with a couple of very large Silver Bowls gilt, which belonged to the Pilot of her: The Admiral, seeing these, told him, that he had Two fine Bowls, but he must needs have one of them; which the Pilot yielded to, not knowing how to help himself; and, to make it look less like Compulsion, he presented the other of them to the Admiral's Steward. The Pilot's Boy (when they went away) told the Admiral, that his Ship, and not theirs, should now be called the *Cacafuego*, since it had gotten all the rich Lading of the *Cacafuego* in it, and that theirs might be stiled the *Cacaplata*; which Jest of the Boy's made the Company very merry. After this, having intirely ransacked the *Cacafuego*, they cast her off; and, continuing their Course to the West, they met with a Ship laden with Linen Cloth, *China* Dishes, and Silks of the same Country; the Owner of it was a *Spaniard*, then on board, from whom the Admiral took a Falcon, wrought with massy Gold, with a great Emerald set in the Breast of it; besides this, chusing what he liked of the Wares aboard this Vessel, and seizing the Pilot for his own Service, he turned off the Ship. This Pilot brought them to the Haven of *Gustulco*, the Town adjacent to which had but (as he said) Seventeen *Spaniards* in it: Having, therefore, put to Shore, they marched directly to the Town, and so up to the public Hall of Justice, where they found a Court sitting, and a Judge ready to pass Sentence upon a Parcel of poor Negroes, that were accused of a Plot to fire the Town: But the Admiral's coming changed the Scene of Affairs at this Court; for he, being Judge himself, passed Sentence upon them all, both Judges and Criminals, to become his Prisoners; which Sentence was presently executed, and they all carried away to the Ships. Here he made the Chief Judge write to the Townsmen, to keep at a Distance, and not pretend to make any Resistance: So the Town being cleared, they ransacked it all over, finding no other valuable Plunder than about a Bushel of Rials of Plate; only one of their Company took a rich *Spaniard* flying out of the Town, who paid him for his Trouble in pursuing him, with a Gold Chain, and some Jewels. Here the Admiral setting ashore some *Spanish* Prisoners, and his old *Portuguese* Pilot, whom he took at the Island of Cape de *Verd*, departed hence for the Island *Cunno*: While they lay here, a certain *Spanish* Ship, bound for the *Philippine* Islands, came in their Way, which they only lightened of a Part of the Burden of her Merchandize, and so discharged her.

13. The Admiral, now chinking he had, in some measure, revenged both the public Injuries of his Country, as well as his own private Wrongs, upon the *Spaniards*, began to deliberate upon his Return home: But which Way he should take, was the Question to be resolved: To return by the Streights of the *South Sea* (and as yet no other Passage had been discovered) he thought would be to throw himself into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who

^P This, I must own, is a very coarse Forecastle Joke, turning on the Words *Cacafuego* and *Cacaplata*, that is, *Fortfire* and *Fortplate*.

would probably there wait for him, with a far greater Strength than he could now cope with; for he had at this time but one Ship left, not strong, though it was a very rich one. All things therefore considered, he resolved to go round to the *Meluccas*, and to follow the Course of the *Portuguese*, to get Home by the Cape of Good Hope: But, being becalmed, he found it necessary to sail more Northerly to get a good Wind; upon which Design they sailed at least 600 Leagues, which was all the Way they made from April 16. to June 3. June 5. being got into 43° of North Latitude, they found the Air excessive cold; and, the further they went, the Severity of the Weather was more intolerable; Upon which Score they made toward the Land, till they came into 35° North Latitude, under which Height of the Pole they found a very good Bay, and had a favourable Wind to enter the same. Accordingly here they had some Correspondence with the People of the Country, whose Houses lay all along upon the Water-side. They sent the Admiral a Present of Feathers, and Cawls of Net-work, who entertained them with much Kindness and Liberality, that the poor People were infinitely pleased. Though the Country be cold, yet they do order the Matter in the heating their Houses, as to live out of Danger of starving; for they surround them with a deep Trench, upon the outmost Edge of which they raise up great Pieces of Timber, which close all together at the Top like the Spire of a Steeple; their Bed is the bare Ground, strewed with Rushes, and their Fire-place in the Middle, about which they all lie. The Men go naked, the Women wear a close Garment of Bulrushes, dressed after the manner of Hemp, which, fastened about their Middles, hangs down to their Hips, and upon their Shoulders they have a Deer's Skin; but their very good Qualities make Amends for their ordinary Dress and Figure, being extremely dutiful to their Husbands. The Admiral had, quickly after, another Present from them, which was Feathers, and Bags of Tobacco; a considerable Body of them waiting upon him at the same time: They were all gathered together at the Top of an Hill, from whence their Speaker harangued the Admiral, who lay below in his Tent pitched at the Bottom of the Hill: When this was ended, they left their Weapons, and came down, offering their own Presents, and, at the same time, civilly returning these which the Admiral had made them. All the while, the Women who remained above, possessed with a mad Fury, tore their Hair, and made dreadful Howlings, which is the common Music at their sacrifices, something of which Nature was then solemnizing: But whilst these above were serving the Devil, the Men below were better employed, attending very diligently to Divine Service, then performed in the Admiral's Tent. These Circumstances, though trivial in themselves, are of Consequence in ascertaining our first Discovery of *California*.

14. The News of the *English* being there, having spread about in the Country, there came Two Ambassadors to the Admiral, to tell him, that the King was coming to wait upon him, and desired a Token of Peace to assure his late Conduct. The Admiral having given this, the whole Train began to march towards them, and that in very good and graceful Order: In the Front came a very comely Person, bearing the Sceptre before the King, upon which hung Two Crowns, and Three Chains of a very great Length: The Crowns were made of Net-work, and artificially wrought with Feathers of many Colours, and the Chains were made of Bones. Next to the Sceptre-bearer came the King himself, a very comely proper Person, shewing an Air of Majesty in all his Deportment; he was surrounded by a Guard of tall martial-looking Men, who were all clad in Skins: Next to these came the common People, having to make the finer Shew painted their Faces, some white, some black, and some of other Colours, and all with their Arms full of Presents, even the very Children not excepted. The Admiral drew up all his Men in Line of Battle, and stood ready to receive them within his Fortifications: At some Distance from him, the whole Train made a Halt, and kept a profound Silence, at which Time the Sceptre-bearer made a Speech of half an Hour long: This being ended, the same Officer, of a Speech-maker, became a Dancing-master, and, at the same time, struck up a Song,

in both which he was followed by King, Lords, and common People, who came singing and dancing up to the Admiral's Tents. Being all set down there, (after some Preliminary Compliments) the King made a solemn Offer of all his whole Kingdom, and its Dependences, to the Admiral, desiring him to take the Sovereignty upon him; and professing, that he himself would be his very loyal Subject. And, that this might not seem to be mere Compliment and Pretence, he did, by the Consent of his Nobles there present, take off the illustrious Crown of Feathers from his own Head, and fix it upon the Admiral's; and, at the same time, investing him with the other Ensigns of Royalty, did, as much as in him lay, make him King of the Country. The Admiral accepted of this new-offered Dignity, as her Majesty's Representative, in her Name, and for her Use; it being probable, that from this Donation, whether made in jest or in earnest, by these *Indians*, some real Advantages might hereafter redound to the *English* Nation and Interest in those Parts. The common People dispersed themselves up and down every-where amongst the Admiral's Tents, expressing an Admiration and Value for the *English*, to the Degree of Madneis and Profaneness, coming before them with Sacrifices, which they pretended to offer with a profound Devotion to them, till they, by Force, kept them back, expressing their utmost Abhorrence of them; and directed them to the Supreme Maker and Preserver of all Things, whom alone they ought to honour with religious Worship. The Admiral and his People travelled to some Distance up in the Country, which they found to be extremely full of Deer, which were large and fat, and very often 1000 in a Herd. There was also such a vast Plenty of Rabbits, that the whole Country seemed to be one intire great Warren; they were of the Bigness of a *Barbary* Coney, their Heads like those in our Parts, their Feet like a Mole's, and their Tail resembling that of a Rat; under the Clun of each Side is fastened a Bag, into which the Creature injects what Food it gets Abroad, and preserves it for a Time of Necessity. The Flesh of them is a valuable Dish among the Natives, and their Skins afford Robes for the King, and all the great Men. The Earth of the Country seemed to promise very rich Veins of Gold and Silver, there being hardly any digging without throwing up some of the Ores of them. The Admiral called it *Nova Albion*, partly in Honour to his own Country, and partly from the Prospect of white Cliffs and Banks, which it yields to them that view it from the Sea. At his Departure hence, he set up a Monument with a large Plate, upon which were engraven her Majesty's Name, Picture, Arms, Title to the Country, the Time of their Arrival there, and the Admiral's own Name. In this Country the *Spaniards* had never set Footing, nor did they ever discover the Land by many Degrees to the Southward of this Place.

15. Sailing from hence, they lost Sight of Land till *October 12.* upon which Day in the Morning they fell in with certain Islands in 8° of North Latitude; from whence they met a great Number of Canoes coming laden with Cocons, and other Fruit: These Canoes were hollowed within with a great deal of Art, and looked smooth and shining without like burnished Horn; the Prow and Stern both yielded inwards, Circlewise; on each Side of them lay out Two Pieces of Timber, about a Yard and an half long, more or less, as the Vessel was bigger or less; they were of a considerable Height, and, for Shew, set out in the Inside with white Shells: The People that were in them, had the lower Part of their Ears cut round, and stretched down a considerable Way upon their Cheeks, by the Weight of those Things they hang in them. They seemed to design their Nails for Weapons, letting them grow a full Inch in Length. Their Teeth are as black as Pitch; and they have a way to preserve them, by eating of an Herb, with a sort of Powder, which they ever carry about with them for that Purpose. *October 18.* they came to several other Islands; some of which appeared to be very populous, and continued their Course by the Islands of *Tagulada*, *Zelon*, and *Zeworra*; the first of which had good Store of Cinnamon, and the Inhabitants of all of them were Friends to the *Portuguese*. The Admiral, without making any Delay, steered the same Course till *November*

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the 14th, they fell in with the *Moluccas*, and, intending for *Tiridore*, as they coasted along the Island *Mutyr*, which belongs to the King of *Ternate*, they met his Viceroy, who, seeing the Admiral's Ship, without Fear came aboard him. He advised the Admiral by no means to prosecute his Voyage to *Tiridore*, but to sail directly for *Ternate*, because his Master was a very great Enemy to the *Portuguese*, and would have nothing to do with them, if they were at all concerned with *Tiridore*, or that Nation, who were settled there. The Admiral, upon this, resolved upon *Ternate*; and early next Morning came to an Anchor before the Town: He sent a Messenger to the King with a Velvet Cloak, as a Present, and to assure him, that he came thither with no Design, but purely that of trading in his Country. The Viceroy also by this time had been with the King, and disposed him to entertain a very favourable Opinion of the *English*; which wrought so far, that the King returned a very civil and obliging Answer to the Admiral's Message, assuring him, that a friendly Correspondence with the *English* Nation was highly pleasing to him; that his whole Kingdom should be open to them, and whatever it yielded should be at their Service; and, more than that, that he was ready to lay himself, and his Kingdom, at the Foot of so glorious a Princess, as was the Queen, whom they served, and to make her his Sovereign, as well as theirs: And, in Token of this, he sent the Admiral a Signet, carrying it, besides, with a very great Respect to the *English* Messenger, who went to Court, and had been received there with much Pomp and Ceremony. The King, having a mind to make the Admiral a Visit on Ship-board, sent beforehand four large Canoes, filled with the most highly dignified Persons about him; they were all dressed in white Lawn, and had an exceeding large Umbrella of very fine pertumed Mats (borne up with a Frame made of Reeds) spreading over their Heads, from one End of the Canoe to another; their Servants, clad in White, stood about them; and, without these, were Ranks of Soldiers placed: In Order, on both Sides their martial Men, were placed the Rowers, in certain well-contrived Galleries, which lay Three of a Side all along the Canoes, and were decently raised one above the other, each Gallery containing Eighty Rowers. These Canoes were furnished too with all warlike Provisions, and the Soldiers well accoutred, having all manner of Weapons, both offensive and defensive. Rowing near the Ship, they all paid their Reverences to the Admiral, in great Order, one after another; and told him, That the King had sent them to conduct him into a safer Road than that he was in at present. Soon after came the King himself, attended by Six grave ancient Persons: He seemed to be much pleased with the *English* Music, and much more with the *English* Generosity, which the Admiral expressed to the full in very large Presents made to him, and his Nobles. The King promised the next Day to come aboard again; and that same Night sent them in Store of Provisions, as Rice, Hens, Sugar, Cloves, a Sort of Fruit they call *Frigo* and *Saga*, which is a Meal they make out of the Tops of Trees, melting in the Mouth like Sugar, but tasting like a sour Curd; but yet, when made up into Cakes, will keep so as to be very fit for eating at Ten Years End. The King came not aboard according to his Promise, but sent his Brother to excuse him, and withal to invite the Admiral ashore, and to be a Pledge for his safe Return: The Admiral declined going himself, but sent some Gentlemen of his Retinue, in Company of the King's Brother, and kept the Viceroy till then Return. They were received ashore by another Brother of the King's, and several of the Nobles, and conducted in great State to the Caille, where there was a Court of at least One thousand Persons, the principal of which was the Council, to the Number of Sixty, very grave Persons, and Four *Turkish* Envoys, in scarlet Robes and Turbans, who were there to negotiate in Matters of Trade between *Constantinople* and *Ternate*: The King came in, guarded by Twelve Lances, a glorious Canopy, embroidered with Gold, being carried over his Head. He had a loose Robe of Cloth of Gold hung about him, his Legs bare, but Shoes of Cordovan upon his Feet; he had Circlets of Gold wreathed up and down in his Hair, and a large Chain of the same Metal about his

Neck, and very fair Jewels upon his Fingers. A Page stood at the Right Hand of his Chair of State, blowing the cool Air upon him with a Fan Two Foot in Length, and One broad, curiously embroider'd and adorned with Saphires, fastened to a Staff Three Foot long, by which the Page moved it. He kindly received the *English* Gentlemen, and, having heard their Message, sent one of his Council to conduct them back to their Ships. He is a potent Prince, and has Seventy Islands under him, besides *Ternate*, which is itself the best of all the *Moluccas*. Religion, and that of his Country, is *Mabometanism*. They observe new Moons, and Fasts, as the Followers of *Mabomet* do; in which Fasts, though they mortify the Flesh by Day, yet they pamper it as much in the Night.

16. After this, the Admiral, having dispatched all his Affairs here, weighed Anchor, and put off from *Ternate*, sailing to a little Island Southward of the *Celebes*, where they staid Twenty-six Days. This Island is extremely woody; the Trees are of a large, high Growth, straight, and without Boughs, except at Top, and the Leaves something like our *English* Broom. Here they observed a Sort of shining Flies, in great Multitudes, no bigger than the common Fly in *England*, which, skimming up and down in the Air, between the Trees and Bushes, made them appear as if they were burning. Here are Bats also as big as Hens, and a Sort of Land Cray-fish, which dig Holes in the Earth like Combs, and are so large, that one of them will plentifully dine Four Persons. Setting Sail from hence, they designed to have run for the *Moluccas*; but, having a bad Wind, and being amongst a Parcel of Islands, with much Difficulty they recovered the Mouth of *Celebes*; where, being not able, for contrary Winds, to continue a Western Course, they altered to the Southward again; which they found very hazardous, by reason of the Shoals that lie thick among the Islands. This they proved by a dangerous, and almost fatal Experiment, on Jan. 9. 1579. when they ran upon a Rock, in which they stuck fast from Eight at Night to Four in the Afternoon of the next Day. In this Distress, they lightened their Ship upon the Rocks of Three Ton of Cloves, Eight Pieces of Ordnance, and some Provisions; very quickly after which, the Wind chopping about from the Starboard to the Larboard of the Ship, they hoisted Sail; and the happy Gale, at that Moment, intirely disengaged them from the Incumbrances of the Rock. February 18. they fell in with the fruitful Island *Baratene*, having, in the mean time, suffered much by Winds and Shoals. The People of it are of a comely Proportion in their Bodies, but of a far more beautiful Disposition of Mind, being very civil and courteous to Strangers, and punctually just in all their Dealings. The Men cover only their Heads, and the Pudenda; but the Women, from the Waist, down to the Foot: Besides which, they load their Arms with large heavy Bracelets, some of Bone, and others of Brass and Horn, weighing, the least of them, Two Ounces apiece; and of these they have on Eight or Ten at a time. Linen Cloth is a very good Commodity here; these People being fond of it, to make Girdles and Rolls for their Heads. The Island affords Gold, Silver, Copper, Sulphur, Nutmeg, Ginger, Long-pepper, Lemons, Cucumbers, Cocons, Frigo, Sago, &c. particularly a Sort of Fruit, in Bigness, Form, and Huik, resembling a Bayberry, hard, but pleasantly tasted, and, when boiled, is soft, and of good easy Digestion; in short, (except *Ternate*) they met with no Place that yielded greater Plenty of all Comforts for human Life, than this Island did.

17. Leaving *Baratene*, they sailed for *Java Major*, where they met with a courteous and honourable Entertainment likewise: The Island is governed by Five Kings, who live in perfect good Understanding with each other. They had once Four of their Majesties on Ship-board at a time; and the Company of Two or Three of them very often. The *Javans* are a stout and warlike People, go well armed, with Swords, Targets, and Daggers, all of their own Manufacture, which is very curious, both as to the Fashion and Temper of the Metal. They wear *Turkish* Turbans on their Heads; the upper Part of their Body is naked; but, from the Waist downwards, they have a Pintado of Silk, trailing on the Ground, of that Colour

which pleases them best. They manage their Women quite after another Rate than the *Malesians* do; for these latter will hardly let a Stranger see them, whereas the former are so far from that Nicety, that they will very civilly offer a Traveller a Bedfellow. And, as they are thus civil and hospitable to Strangers, so they are pleasant and sociable among themselves; for, in every Village, they have a Public Houle, where they will meet, and bring their several Shares of Provisions, joining all their Forces together in one great Feast, for the keeping up good Fellowship amongst the King's Subjects. They have a way peculiar to themselves of boiling Rice; they put it into an earthen Pot, which is of a conical Figure, open at the greater End, and perforated all over. In the mean time, they provide another large earthen Pot full of boiling Water, into which they put this perforated Vessel, with the Rice, which swelling, and filling the Holes of the Pot, but a small Quantity of Water can enter. By this sort of boiling, the Rice is brought to a very firm Consistency, and, at last, is caked into a sort of Bread; of which, with Butter, Oil, Sugar, and Spices, they make several very pleasant Kinds of Food. The *French Disease* prevails among them in this Island; but, instead of fetching out the Poison by a Salivation, they do it by a sort of Perspiration through all the Pores of the Body, and that by sitting naked in the Sun for some Hours, whose scorching Rays open those Passages, and give free Vent to the noxious Particles to discharge themselves. The Admiral here had News of some great Ships that lay not far off, so, not knowing what they might prove, he would stay no longer. From hence they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first Land they fell in withal, neither did they touch at any other till they came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the Coast of *Guinea*. They passed the Cape *June 18.* and, by the Measure of the Voyage that Way, found how much the *Portuguese* had abused the World in their false Representations of the Horrors and Dangers of it. *July 22.* they arrived at *Sierra Leona*, where they found great Store of Elephants, and Trees that had Oysters fastened to them, upon which they lived and multiplied, with which, and with the Lemons that grew there, they were much refreshed.

18. After Two Days Stay, which they spent in wooding, watering, and taking in Retirements, they sailed from thence. *July 25.* they found themselves under the Tropic of *Cancer*, being then 50 Leagues off the nearest Land. On the 22d of the same Month, they were in the Height of the *Canaries*, but, being sufficiently stocked with all Necessaries, they made no Stay there, but continued their Voyage to *Phynwick*, where they arrived on *Monday September 26.* 1580. but, according to their Account, it was *Sunday*, the Cause of which different Computation we have before explained. In this Circum navigation of the Globe he spent Two Years, Ten Months, and a few Days. The Report of his Return was very soon spread through the Kingdom; and, as that was an Age when Virtue might be said to be in Fashion, it made a great Noise, especially among such as affected to distinguish themselves either as the Patrons of Arms, or Arts, all of them striving to express their Sense of his Worth, by the Praises, and other Testimonies of Regard, which they paid to *Captain Drake*. And of the Epigrams, Songs, Poems, and such-like Performances, in Commendation of him and his Ship, several Collections were made, which extended his Fame still farther, though few or none of them can be truly said to approach in any Degree the Worth of their Subject, which might not perhaps be so much owing to the want of Genius in Poetry, as to the want of a competent Skill in other Sciences necessary to enable them to form proper Descriptions for the Illustration of their Poems; which has made me often wonder, that some modern Writer has not endeavoured to reach the Character of the *English Homer*, by displaying in Verse the Labours of *Sir Francis Drake*.

10. It was not, however, reasonable to expect, that so bold and brave an Action, attended like wise by such vast Applause, should pass altogether unconfuted; and therefore we need not be surpris'd, that there were many who endeavoured to give a wrong Colour to this gallant Action. They gave out, that his surrounding the Globe served only to amuse

common Minds, and that the main Business of his Voyage was Plunder, of which, they said, he had acquired enough to exempt the Nation from Taxes for Seven Years; That as there was no War proclaimed against *Spain*, it was a dangerous Thing to own such an Adventurer, since the Public might come to pay dear for the Prizes he had taken: That our Merchants had great Effects in *Spain*, and therefore Reason to doubt, that a Handle might be taken to seize our Merchants Goods to make good his Depredations. These Objections really weigh'd much with some People, and others thought fit to countenance them, though they did not believe them. The *Spanish* Embassador also attacked him by very warm Memorials, his Party styling him the Master Thief of the unknown World. The Friends and Patrons of *Captain Drake*, however, who found themselves wounded through his Sides, took abundance of Pains to vindicate his Conduct; alledging, on his Behalf, that he had the Queen's Commission to justify his making Reprisals; that the more Wealth he had brought Home, the more the Nation was oblig'd to him; that the *Spaniards* had already done us very great Injuries, and therefore they had more Reason to fear us, than we them; that, in fine, if the King of *Spain* had a mind to seize our Merchants Effects, the Public would do well to receive this *Indian* Treasure by way of Equivalent; and that, if they did not, it would break the Spirit of that sort of Men, who were otherwise most like to break the Spirits of the *Spaniards*. Such were the Reasonings on both Sides, while the Thing remained in Suspense, as if *Queen Elizabeth* intended to hear every body's Sentiments, before she decided the Merits of so great a Cause.

20. Things remained for a considerable Time in this Situation, during which *Captain Drake*, no doubt, was extremely uneasy, as not knowing, whether, after all his Toils Abroad, he might not be declared a Pirate at Home. There is, however, Reason to believe, that the Queen delayed disclosing her Sentiments from Motives of true Policy, as inclining to see what Effects this Conduct of hers might have had upon the Court of *Spain*, which was certainly withheld from meddling, so far as was otherwise intended in her Affairs, by the Hopes of drawing to great a Treasure out of her Hands; and, to keep them in this Hope, she very artfully consented to part with some small Sums to *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Agent. At last, when Things were come to a Crisis, the Queen threw off the Veil at once, and Notice being given to *Captain Drake* of her Intention, she, on the 4th of *April 1581.* went on board his Ship at *Deptford*, where she was magnificently entertained; and, after Dinner, was graciously pleas'd to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *Captain Drake*; telling him, at the same time, that his Actions did him more Honour than his Title. There was a prodigious Croud attend'd her Majesty upon this Occasion, to that they broke down the Bridge laid from the Shore to the Ship, by that time she was got on board it; yet of 200 Persons, who by this Accident fell into the *Thames*, not one was either drowned or hurt, which her Majesty was pleas'd to attribute to the Fortune of *Sir Francis Drake*. After this public Approbation of the Sovereign, all Ranks of People redoubled their Congratulations; and *Sir Francis Drake* himself is said thenceforward to have given for his Device the Tetraqueous Globe, with this Motto, *Tu primus circumdedisti me*, i. e. *Thou first encompassedst me*; but not excluding his former Motto, *Divino Auxilio*, i. e. *By the Help of God*. Henceforward the Reputation of *Sir Francis Drake* was continually increasing, till he came to be considered as a kind of Oracle in Maritime Affairs, both by the Country and the Court.

21. I have dwelt the longer upon these Circumstances, not only because they have a near Relation to the Affair before us, and a still nearer to the Man, of whom we are writing, but also because I have found them scarce taken notice of by any of those who have undertaken to record his Exploits. I shall next point out some of the most remarkable Advantages that arose from his successful Execution of this noble Undertaking, that the Benefit of this kind of Reading may appear; and that whoever peruses this Work, may be satisfied we do not barely transcribe the Writings of Authors, who have gone before us in this Way, but are inclin'd to add our Endeavours, to render these Re-

lations

lations not only in the first Place was so fortunate tempted to perse out the Way to himself. The deed, but had sudden Death, Hopes. But attempted, and the first Comma not conceive, leaving only to on the contrary, consider, that a Consequence to this, we need of Voyages for any in *Holland* Circum-navigati his Voyage were well furnished with now boast, that World, as well for the Reputati first setting out, Country as much by providing ev the Eyes of For the Country from him to proceed wards themselves of North Latitu Certainty even at us of the Counti Possession of it, *Albion*, was very turn much to ou be discovered by dispute with us probably the nea Principles; since Discoverers, and as good a Right *Indies*. The fan itself in his Beha Nations with wh thence Testimo long after his *Captain Drake*, received very relp from the Mage count's, I have a that he did not b and Discoveries, are still preferre pable of records have employ'd then have know found a Passage look for such a why he quiret, call, was, that h and thought, th at that Time, a covery any fur to was pit and rea that, from that then made, in a is very unaccou right, not to m veries upon this it ought to hav tims given us ourselves, whiel he expected to to the *Ladrones*, count it a Dis of Seas. But that

lations not only more entertaining, but of greater Use. In the first Place it is worthy of Remark, that our Hero was so fortunate, as fully to achieve what others only attempted to perform. The great *Columbus*, who first pointed out the Way to others, lived not to become an Example himself. The famous *Ferdinand Magellan* went farther indeed, but had the Misfortune to be snatched away by a sudden Death, in the midst of his Discoveries, and of his Hopes. But *Drake* happily accomplished what he bravely attempted, and gave his Country the Honour of producing the first Commander who sailed round the Globe. We must not conceive, that this Honour is a mere empty Sound, serving only to gratify the Vanity of our Nation; for it is, on the contrary, a very solid Benefit, as will appear, if we consider, that a Reputation of this sort is of very great Consequence to a trading Nation. To be convinced of this, we need only look into the celebrated Collection of Voyages for the Establishment of the *East India Company* in *Holland*; where, speaking of *Oliver Van Noort's* Circumnavigation, it is said, that though the Profits of his Voyage were small, yet the Company were extremely well satisfied with the Event, because the *Dutch* could now boast, that a Subject of theirs had sailed round the World, as well as *Drake* and *Candlish*. It is, indeed, much for the Reputation of *Sir Francis Drake*, that, even at his first setting out, he seems to have had the Honour of his Country as much at Heart, as his own Fame or Fortune, by providing every thing in his Ship which might strike the Eyes of Foreigners, and fill them with Admiration of the Country from whence he came. The same Spirit led him to proceed farther North in *America*, than the *Spaniards* themselves had done; that is to the Height of 38° of North Latitude, beyond which we know nothing with Certainty even at this Day. The Description he has given us of the Country and People is very exact; and his taking Possession of it, and bestowing on it the Name of *Nova Albion*, was very prudent, and may some time or other turn much to our Account; since, if ever a Passage should be discovered by the North-west, the *Spaniards* can never dispute with us the Possession of this Country, which is probably the nearest to that Passage, even upon their own Principles; since they must allow us to have been the first Discoverers, and first Possessors, which gives us altogether as good a Right to that, as they have to any Part of their *Indies*. The same Generosity and public Spirit, displayed itself in his Behaviour to these People, and to all the other Nations with whom he conversed; of which we have authentic Testimonies in the Letters sent by *Indian Princes* long after his Decease, speaking highly in the Praise of *Captain Drake*, and acknowledging, that they had conceived very respectful Sentiments of the *English Nation*, from the Usage they had met with from him. I must confess, I have always looked upon it as a great Misfortune, that he did not himself leave us an Account of his Voyages and Discoveries, because, from the Letters of his which are still preserved, it appears, that he was much more capable of recording his own Exploits, than any of those who have employed their Pens on that Subject: We should then have known, upon what Grounds he expected to have found a Passage back by the North; for, that he really did look for such a Passage, is certain; and the only Reason why he quitted the Coast of *California* to sail to the South-east, was, that he found the Weather grew extremely cold; and thought, therefore, that, in the Circumstances he was at that Time, it would be imprudent to pursue that Discovery any further in a Season so advanced. This surely was just and reasonable in him; but how it comes to pass, that, from that Time to this, no farther Attempts have been made, in a Way that gave to early such great Hopes, is very unaccountable. The *Spaniards* are certainly in the right, not to make, or at least not to publish, any Discoveries upon this Coast for many Reasons; but, undoubtedly, it ought to have been our Business to have pursued the Hints given us by *Sir Francis Drake*, and to have searched ourselves, whether there was, or was not, such a Passage as he expected to meet with. In his Course from *California* to the *Ladrones*, he made no Discoveries; unless we account it a Discovery, that he met with no Islands in those Seas. But that he made his Passage in Sixty eight Days,

shows him to have been a very able Navigator, which also appears from many other Incidents in this long Voyage, which, however, he performed in much shorter time than the *Spaniards* who sailed with *Magellan*; for, whereas they were Sixteen Months in their Passage from *Tiridore* to *Seville*, he arrived at *Plymouth*, from the same Island in the *East Indies*, in Ten Months. On the Whole, therefore, we may truly affirm, that this Voyage round the World, by *Sir Francis Drake*, was, in all its Circumstances, perfectly well conducted; and that as he made the best Use possible of the Lights he received from others, so he left by his Prudence and Discretion, a great and glorious Example to succeeding Times. Here, strictly speaking, we ought to conclude our Account of this illustrious Person; but, as the Reader may probably expect, and will certainly be well pleased, to find a concise Detail of his succeeding Actions, it may not be amiss to indulge his Curiosity, by finishing with the personal History of *Sir Francis Drake* this Relation of his Voyage round the World.

22. The War with *Spain* being still prosecuted by the Queen his Mistress, we find him, in 1585. General by Land and Sea, in an Expedition to the *West Indies*, in which he took the Cities of *St. Jago*, *St. Domingo*, and *Carthagena*, as also the Fort and Town of *St. Augustin*; and returned with great Glory, as well as great Advantage; the Profits of this Expedition amounting, all Charges deducted, to 60,000 *l.* of which 20,000 *l.* was divided amongst the Seamen, and 40,000 *l.* came clear into the Pockets of the Undertakers or Adventurers. In 1587. he had the Command of another Fleet, with which he sailed into the Bay of *Cadix*, and from thence to the River of *Lisbon*, where he destroyed 10,000 Ton of *Spanish* Shipping, which had been drawn together for invading *England*. He likewise brought Home a very rich Prize, called the *St. Philip*, which, as the Writers in those Times say, was the first Carrack ever taken and brought into *England*. In 1588. he was by the Queen's Commission, appointed Vice-admiral of the *English Fleet*, fitted out against the great *Spanish Armada*; in which Service he performed even more than was expected from his former Actions, taking, in the Beginning of the Fight, Two very large Men of War, the first commanded by the Vice-admiral *Oquendos*, the latter under the Command of *Don Pedro de Valdez*, who defended himself gallantly a long time, and surrendered at last on the Reputation of *Sir Francis Drake*, as appears by the Compliment paid him by *Don Pedro*, when he delivered him his Sword, which was to this Effect: That they were all resolved to have died fighting, if they had not fallen into his Hands, whose Felicity and Valour was so great, that *Mars* the God of War, and *Neptune* the God of the Sea, seemed to wait upon all his Enterprizes, and whose noble and generous Courage had been often experienced by his Foes. *Sir Francis*, to requite these *Spanish* Compliments with real *English* Kindness, set him at his own Table, and lodged him in his own Cabin, sending the rest of his Company to *Plymouth*. *Drake's* Soldiers were well recompensed with the Plunder of his Ship, wherein he found 55,000 Ducats in Gold, which they joyfully shared amongst them. He did, besides this, many great Things in that memorable Battle, and particularly distinguished himself by advising the Use of Fire ships, though I dare not say, as some have done, that he invented them upon this Occasion. The next Year he was Admiral of a great Fleet sent to *Portugal*, in order to restore *Don Antonio* to his Kingdom; but this was a conjunct Expedition; and, it seems, even *Sir Francis Drake* had not Fortune enough for himself, and a General, so that it ended but indifferently: However, the *Spaniards* received great Damage, the Compliment of an Invasion was returned, and it was put intirely out of their power to make, as they boasted they would, another Attempt of that Nature: In the Whole, therefore, *Sir Francis Drake* spoiled no less than Three *Spanish* Invasions. In 1595. he ventured on another conjunct Expedition to the *West Indies*, in which he performed great Things; but, aiming at still greater, and not meeting with his usual Success, the Thoughts of it broke his Heart in the Harbour of *Porto Bello*. January 28. 1595. where his Body, in a Laden Coffin, was committed to the Sea, under a general Discharge of all the Cannon from the Fleet.

In his Person, he was but low of Stature, yet extremely well-made, his Complexion fresh and fair, his Eyes large and lively, his Hair of a light Brown, and his Countenance open and cheerful: He was naturally eloquent, expressing gracefully what he conceived clearly; very knowing, not only in his own Profession, but in all the Sciences relating to it; so that he was able to discharge every Office in a Ship, even that of a Surgeon; just to his Owners, kind to his Seamen, loyal to his Sovereign, and remarkably merciful to his Enemies. His many glorious Exploits justify his Title to extensive Fame, which, when we remember that he died at Fifty-five, will convince us, that he shewed the utmost Ardour in the Pursuit of Glory.

23. The Fame of this Voyage, the Wealth brought Home by Sir Francis Drake, and the Hopes of rivalling him in Credit and in Wealth, inspired Numbers of young People, of all Ranks and Conditions, with a Desire of trying their Fortunes at Sea, in such manner as their Abilities would permit. Men of Families and Estates fitted out Vessels at their own Expence, and filled them with their own Dependents; others, in a lower Situation of Life, chose to hazard their Persons, as little Officers, on board such Ships as these, or in some of the Queen's Men of War; and to such a Height at last this Spirit grew, that honest John Stow, whose Industry was never surpassed, and whose Integrity was never called in question, tells us, of his own Knowledge, that, toward the latter End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, there were many Lads, from Eighteen Years old to Twenty, capable of taking the Charge of any Ship, and navigating her to most Ports in Europe, or the Indies. The Spaniards were so alarmed, not only by the Courage and Conduct of Sir Francis Drake, as an Admiral or Commander in chief, but by his Skill also as a Seaman, that they ordered no Draughts to be made, no Discourses to be written, of their Discoveries in America, for fear of the falling into his Hands. But what most surpris'd them, was his hindering and passing, with so much Ease, the Streights of Magellan, which hitherto had been out of their Power; and therefore they immediately resolv'd to send and discover that Streight perfectly, by Ships from Peru. One Pedro Sarmiento, who was look'd upon as the very best Seaman in the Spanish Service, was sent for this Purpose from Lima; and actually pass'd from the South into the North Seas, and thence to Spain, where he inform'd the King, that it was very possible to plant a Colony in those Parts, and to fortify the Streights in such a manner, as to prevent any other Nation from passing them. This Project was so well relish'd by Philip the Second, and appear'd to him to be a Matter of such Importance, that he resolv'd immediately to carry it into Ex-

ecution. With this View he fitted out a Fleet of Three, and twenty Sail, with 3500 Men on board, under the Command of Don Diego Flores de Valdez; and appointed Pedro Sarmiento, with 500 Veterans, to settle in the Streights. This Fleet was extremely unfortunate; and it was between Two and Three Years, before Sarmiento, with his People, arriv'd in those Streights, and on the North Side near the Entrance, built a Town and Fort, call'd *Nombro de Jesus*, where he left 150 Men; but his great Settlement was Fifteen Leagues farther in the Latitude of 53° 18' in the narrowest Part of the Streights; and this he call'd *Ciudad del Rey Felipe*: It was a regular Square, well fortified with Four strong Bastions, properly furnished with Artillery; and, in all respects, one of the best contriv'd Settlements that was ever made by the Spaniards in America. Here Pedro Sarmiento left Four hundred Men, Thirty Women, and Provisions for Eight Months, and then return'd into the North Seas. These Transactions happen'd in the Years 1584, 1585, and 1586. But, notwithstanding all this Care, the Project came to nothing. Don Pedro Sarmiento, after many fruitless Attempts to succeed and relieve his Colony, was taken by an English Vessel, and sent Prisoner to London. The Spanish Garrison, having consumed all their Victuals, died most of them of Hunger, in their Houses in Philip's City; and Three-and-twenty only quitted it, and endeavour'd to get to the Spanish Settlements by Land, but are suppos'd to have perished in the Attempt. It will not be amiss to observe, that Sarmiento fell into Discredit with his Master, for deceiving him as to the Breadth of the Streights, which he asserted were not above a Mile over; whereas the King had certain Information afterwards, that they were a League broad: and therefore his Fortifications would have proved ineffectual for the Purpose he intended. But, however this might be, it is certain, that if Sarmiento's Report had been true, and the City and Citadel of Philip could have commanded the Streights, it would have done little or no Service to the Spanish Cause, since another Passage into the South Seas was soon after discovered without going near those Streights. The Nature and Expence, however, of this Settlement, is an ample Testimony of the Sense the Spaniards had of Sir Francis Drake's bold Undertaking, and of the Consequences that must attend it. Their Fears, in this respect, were fully justified by the Event; for not only our Nation, but the French and Dutch, began to think of imitating his Example, and following Sir Francis Drake into the South Seas. The first Instance, however, of the Kind, was that of a Countryman of our own, whose Voyage, as next in Order of Time, we shall now proceed to consider.

SECTION V.

Sir THOMAS CANDISH or CAVENDISH's Voyage round the World.

1. The Reason why Gentlemen of Family and Fortune undertook such Expeditions.
2. Mr. Candish's First Voyage to Virginia with Sir Richard Greenville, in his own Ship the *Tyger*, in 1585.
3. His Preparations, Strength, and setting out on this Voyage round the World.
4. Their Departure from the Cape de Verd Islands, and Arrival on the Coast of Brazil.
5. Agreement between Magellan's and Mr. Candish's Account of the Patagons.
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24. The Island of St. Helena described.
25. Departure from thence, and safe Arrival in England.
26. His Reception on his Return.

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and Letter to Lord Hunſdon. 27. Observations upon his Voyage. 28. Other Circumſtances of his Life, and the Occaſion of his undertaking a Second Voyage. 29. A conſiſe Account of that Voyage, his unfortunate Attempt at the Magelanic Straights, and Death through Grief.

IT was the conſtant Policy of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, to encourage, as much as poſſible, the Flame of public Spirit in the Boſoms of private Men, by ſhewing, upon all Occaſions, the greateſt Readineſs to honour all thoſe who did remarkable Service to their Country, though ſhe was very ſparing of any ſuch Marks of her Favour upon other Occaſions. By this wife Conduſt, and by her frequent Diſcourſes in Public on the Glory reſulting from an active Life, the excited many of the young Nobility, and Gentlemen of eaſy Fortunes, to hazard their Perſons and Eſtates for the public Service; making the Want of Fame to be as much a real Neceſſity, as the Want of Wealth; uning thereby the Rich, who deſired Honour, and the Indigent, who fought a Living, in the very ſame Purſuits. Thus it was brought about, that, in her Reign, ſuch Men were of moſt Uſe to their Country, as, under other Reigns, are ſcarce of any Uſe at all: For, when it was once diſcerned, that Merit only could recommend a Man at Court, thoſe were moſt ready to expoſe themſelves in generous Undertakings, whole Situation in the World would, at any other Time, have excuſed them from ſuch Labours and Fatigues. Thus the Earls of Cumberland and Eſſex, Sir Richard Greenſille, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, and many other Perſons of like Rank, employed great Sums of Money, and expoſed their Perſons to the greateſt Dangers, in equipping Squadrons againſt the Spaniards, making Discoveries in diſtant Parts of the World, planting Colonies, and ſuch-like Undertakings, which were the Glory of thoſe Times, and the Wonder of ours. Amongſt theſe, no Man diſtinguiſhed himſelf more, than the Gentleman of whom we are now to ſpeak, whether we conſider the Expence he was at, the Difficulties he went through, or the Succes of his Exploits, all of which were due to that Greatneſs of Mind, and ardent Thirſt of Reputation, which taught him to deſpiſe Danger, and to embrace Fatigues, at an Age, when other Men are not only fond of Pleaſures, but think too, that the Season of their Lives is a ſufficient Excule for the Luxury in which they live.

2. Thomas Cavendiſh, of Trimley, or Tremley, in the County of Suffolke, Eſquire, was a Gentleman of an honourable Family, and large Eſtate, which, lying in the Neighbourhood of Ipfwich, a Place then of very great Trade, gave him an early Inclination to the Sea; which, as ſoon as he arrived at Age, he gratified, by converting Part of his Lands into Money, and equipping a ſtout Bark, called the *Tiger*, of the Burden of 120 Tons, in which he accompanied Sir Richard Greenſille, in his Voyage to *Virginia* in 1585. in which he went through many Dangers and Difficulties, without any Profit; but, at laſt, returned ſafe to *Falmouth*, on the 6th of *October* in the ſame Year, which however, did not diſcourage him from undertaking ſtill greater and more hazardous Expeditions; For, having in this Voyage ſeen a great Part of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, and converſed with ſome who had ſailed with Sir Francis Drake through the South Seas, and round by the *Eaſt Indies*, he began to be very deſirous of undertaking a like Voyage, as well for repairing the Lols he had ſuſtained by this Expedition, as to emulate that great and fortunate Officer, who was by this Time raiſed to the higheſt Honours of his Profeſſion. As ſoon, therefore, as he returned home, he applied himſelf to the Preparations expedient for the accompliſhing his Deſign, and either ſold or mortgaged his Eſtate, to make up the Sum neceſſary for building and equipping Two ſuch Ships as were requiſite for the Voyage; and, though ſuch kind of Matters uſually take up a good deal of Time, yet ſo eager, and ſo impatient, was Mr. Cavendiſh, that, in the Space of a Month, his Carpenters were at work upon the laſteſt Ship, and, in Six Months more, his little Squadron was intirely finiſhed, and completely furniſhed with all Things neceſſary.

3. The laſteſt Ship was called the *Deſire*, of the Burden of 140 Tons; the leſſer was named the *Content*, of about 60 Tons; to theſe he added a Bark of about 40 Tons, called the *Hugh Gallant*, all ſupplied at his own Expence, with Two Years Proviſion, and manned with an Hundred and Twenty ſix Officers and Sailors: ſome of which had ſerved under Sir Francis Drake, but moſt of them Men of Experience; and with whom, for their better Encouragement, he entered into a fair Agreement with reſpect to the Proportion in which all Prizes ſhould be divided amongſt them. He was likewiſe very careful in providing Sea Charts, Draughts, Maps, and ſuch Accounts as could be obtained of Voyages already made into thoſe Parts which he intended to viſit. He likewiſe procured, by the Favour of his Patron the Lord Hunſdon, then Lord Chamberlain, a Commiſſion from Queen Elizabeth: And thus, completely Maſter of all that he wanted, he ſet out from *London*, July 10 1586. for *Harwi-b*, where he embarked on board the *Deſire*, and ſailed for *Plymouth*, where he arrived the Eighth of *July*, and continued there waiting for ſome of his Company till the 21ſt, when he hoiſted Sail for his intended Voyage. On the 25th of the ſame Month died one Mr. *Hope*, of a Wound he received in a Duel he fought during their Stay at *Plymouth*. The next Day they fell in with Eight Ships from *Spain*, well manned, one of which attacked the Admiral; but Mr. Cavendiſh gave her ſo warm a Reception, that ſhe was glad to ſteer off; and the reſt, deterred by her Example, continued their Courſe, and gave him no Diſturbance. The Admiral did not continue the Chace, becauſe it grew dark, and he was afraid to loſe his Conſorts. On *Auguſt 5*, they fell in with the *Iſland of Portorico*, where they met with nothing remarkable, ſailing thence to *Cape Blanco*, and ſo to the *Coaſt of Guiney*, with which Navigation Mr. Brewer, who was on board the Admiral, was very well acquainted. Here the Men began to complain much of the Scurvy, and therefore the Officers reſolved to put ſome of them on Shore for their Recovery, as ſoon as an Opportunity offered with Safety. *Auguſt 23*, they made *Sierra Leona*, and, the 25th, fell in with the South Side of it, where they had Five Fathom Water at the loweſt; and for about Fourteen Leagues at the South-weſt, all the way running into the Harbour, they had from Eight to Sixteen Fathom. Here they ſpoiled a Town of the Negroes, who killed one of their Men with a poiſoned Arrow. *September 3*, ſome of them went up with the Boat Four Miles within the Harbour, where they caught plenty of Fiſh, and, going on Shore, they got ſome Lemons, ſeeing ſome Buffaloes too as they were returning. The 6th, they went out of the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, and ſtaid one Tide, Three Leagues from the Point of the Harbour's Mouth, the Tide there flowing at South-weſt.

4. They Seventh they departed from one of the Iſles of *Cape Verde*, which is Ten Leagues from the Point of *Sierra Leona*; and the ſame Day they anchored Two Miles off the Iſland, and, landing, found only Plantanes upon it. The Eighth, one of the Boats went out, and founded. At the Eaſt End was a Town, to which the Negroes reſort ſometimes, as by their Proviſions left there appeared. There is no freſh Water on all the South Side, at leaſt that they could find; but on the North, there is in Three or Four Places. The whole Iſland is a perfect Wood, except a few ſmall Spots, where ſome Houſes ſtand; and theſe are encompassed round with Plantane-trees, the Fruit of which is excellent Food. The Place is ſubject to Storms of Rain and Thunder in this Month of *September*. They left this Iſland on the 10th; and, on the laſt of *October*, ſailing Weſt South-weſt, about Twenty-four Leagues from *Cape Frio* in *Braſil*, they fell in with a great Mountain, which had a high round Top, ſtanding aloft like a little Town. *November 1*, they went in between the Iſland &

* *Hackluit, Fur-Pelts, Monſon, Comden, Straits, &c.* — See *Straits, Monſon, and The Harveſt of the Reign of Elizabeth*, a MS formerly belonging to Mr. *Le Neve*.

Sebastian and the main Land, where, carrying their Things on Shore, and erecting a Forge, they built a Pinnace, and repaired whatsoever was out of Order, which Work detained them till the 23d. Upon the 26th, they fell in upon the Coast of *America*, in $47^{\circ} 16'$ North Latitude, from which Place they ran along the Shore, till they came into 48° , finding it a very steep Beach all along.

5. *November 27.* they came to an Harbour, into which the Admiral first entered, calling it, on that Account (from the Name of his Ship) *Port Desire*. Near this Harbour there are an Island or Two, very full of Seals, and another as well stock'd with grey Gulls. The Harbour itself is very convenient for trimming and graving of Ships, because of the considerable Ebbing and Flowing of the Water there. Here the Savages wounded Two of their Company with their Arrows, which are made of Canes headed with Flints. A wild and rude sort of Creatures they were; and, as it seem'd of a gigantic Race, the Measure of one of their Feet being eighteen Inches in Length: When any of them dies, he is buried in a Grave of Stone upon the Cliffs by the Sea Side, all his Darts being fastened about his Tomb, and his Treasures of Shells laid under his Head. This Description agrees very well with that of *Magellan's*; though some Pauses has been taken to represent that as fabulous; perhaps, for want of understanding it. He left this Country the Name of *Potagema*, and gave the Inhabitants that of *Potagens*; by which he meant to signify, that they were Five Cubits, or Seven Feet and an half high, which, if we consider, that the *Portuguese* are not commonly very tall themselves, we need not wonder that they stul'd them Giants. As to this Circumstance of the Footstep, if we take the usual Proportions of human Bodies, in which the Foot is between a Fifth and Sixth of the whole Body, then the Account given us here by Mr. *Carandish*, agrees very exactly with that of *Magellan*; and, as will be shewn hereafter, is not falsified by any of our subsequent Travellers.

6. *December 28.* they left *Port Desire*, and anchored near an Island Three Leagues to the Southward, and kept along the Coast South-west and by South. The 30th they came to a Rock, (much like the Eddy-stone at *Plymouth*) lying about Five Leagues from the Land, and in $48^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude; and, founding, they had Eight Fathom rocky Ground within a Mile of it. They kept on coasting South South west, and found great Store of Seals all along the Coast. *January 2.* they fell in with a great white Cape in 52° , and had Seven Fathom Water within a League of the Shore. The 3d, they fell in with another great Cape in $52^{\circ} 45'$, from which Cape there runs a long Beach, about a League to the Southward, and reaches to the Opening of the *Magellanic* Strait: Under this Cape they anchored, and lost their Anchor in a very great Storm, which rag'd violently for Three Days together.

7. *January 6.* they put into the Straights which they found in some Places Five or Six Leagues wide, and in other Places considerably more narrow. The 7th, between the Mouth of the Straights and the narrowest Part of it, they took a *Spaniard*, who was left there with Twenty-three of the same Nation; and these were all remaining of four hundred, left Three Years before in these Straights. The same Day they pass'd the narrowest Part of those Straights, where the *Spaniards* shew'd them the Hull of a small Bark, suppos'd to be one left by Sir *Francis Drake*. The Mouth of the Straights is in 52° South Latitude, and 'tis from thence to the narrowest Pass Fourteen Leagues, and the Course is West by North; also from this narrowest Pass to *Penguin* Island is 10 Leagues, and the Course is West South west, and a little to the Southward. Here in *Penguin* Island they anchored the 8th Day, and kill'd and salted great Store of *Penguins*. *January 9.* they left this Island, and sail'd South South west to *San Pedro del Rio Felipe*, or King *Philip's* City, built by the *Spaniards*. It had four Forts, or Balthons rather, and each Fort had one cast Piece in it, which were all buried, and the Carriages left standing in their Places: They dug for these Pieces, and recover'd them all. The City had several Churches in it, and seem'd to be very well contriv'd, especially as to its Situation, which was in the most happy Place in all the Straights, for

the Conveniencies of Wood and Water. But miserable was the Life which this forlorn Remnant of *Spaniards* had lived there for the Space of Two Years, having hardly any thing but a few Shell-fish to support Nature withal, except they had the good Luck to take a Deer, at any time, that came down from the Mountains to drink. Their Design in coming to this Town, was to fortify these Straights, so that all other Nations, besides themselves, should be debarred of a Passage into the South Sea: But, besides the Badness of the Climate, the Barrenness of the Soil, and the Inclemency of the Weather, the *Indians*, their most implacable Enemies, broke in upon them by frequent and furious Expeditions; and by these means they were reduced to the last Extremities, all their Stores brought out of *Spain* being spent, and no more to be gotten abroad, the Country either not affording it, or the *Indians* falling upon them, and hunting the *Spaniards*, while they hunted a few Deer for the Preservation of their Lives: At last they died like so many Dogs, in their Houses, in great Numbers; and the Stench of the putrefying Carcasses infecting those that survived, they were forced to quit the Town with one Consent, and go rambling upon the Sea Coasts, living upon Leaves and Roots, and Sea Herbs, or what Animals they at any time happily caught. They determin'd to march on to the River of *Plata*, and were, in this their miserable Progress, met by the *English*, as was before observed. The Admiral nam'd this Place (for the Scarcity of all Necessaries here) *Peru Fumus*: It lies in 52° South Latitude. The 14th, they left this Place, and ran 5 Leagues South-west to Cape *Forward*, which Cape is the Southernmost Part of the Straights, and lies in the Latitude 54° . From this Cape, sailing West by North Five Leagues more, they put into a Bay, which they call'd *Mussel Cove*, from the Store of Mussels found there. The 21st, they left that Place, and sail'd North-west and by West, 10 Leagues to a fair sandy Bay which the Admiral call'd *Elizabeth Bay*. The 22d, they departed from *Elizabeth Bay*, and, about 2 Leagues off, found a good River, in which the Admiral towed up the Boat for the Space of Three Miles: There was a pleasant champagne Country that lay about the River; but, except this, all near the Straights was craggy and mountainous, inhabited by a strong, well made, but a very brutish sort of Savages, who, it was said, had eat up many a *Spaniard*, and would fain have made a Meal upon *English* Flesh too, but that they fail'd of bringing them into their Trap: The Admiral, finding the Plot they had laid to betray him, made his Men salute them with their Harquebusses, which did Execution upon several: So, leaving that River, they sail'd to *St. Jerom's* Channel, which was 2 Leagues off. From this Channel they sail'd Westward about 3 or 4 Leagues, to a Cape which is on the North of it; from which Cape, to the Mouth of the Straights, the Course runs North-west, and North-west by West; and the Distance from thence, to the Entrance into the South Sea, is about 34 Leagues; so that the Length of the whole Straights is 90 Leagues. 'Tis farther observable, that the Entrance of the Straights into the South Sea is in near the same Latitude with the Passage out of the North Sea into the Straights, which is $52^{\circ} 40'$ South Latitude; and here between the fore-mentioned Cape and the Mouth of the Straights, they were forced to lie in Harbour till *Febr. 23.* the Reason of which Confinement was, the stormy Winds, and excessive Rains that poured down with such Fury from the Mountains, that they were brought into extreme Danger thereby, being no less distressed for want of Food, than by the Badness of the Weather, which hardly permitted them to land, and range the Country for a Supply. As they lay here in the Straights, they observ'd (which had also been discover'd by the *Spaniards* before) that there were Harbours on both Sides the Shore, at every Mile or Two Miles Distance, tolerably convenient, at least for small Ships.

8. *February 24.* They entered the South Sea, observing on the South side of the Entrance a very high Cape, with a low Point adjoining to it; and on the North Four or Five Islands, lying Six Leagues off the Main, with much broken and lunk Ground about them. *March 1.* they had a great Storm at Night, in which they lost the Company of the

Hugh Gallant, but Leagues from the Four Days, and and beaten by the ready every Morning made a Shift to be of her Crew; came in between she met the Admiral had, during the the life of *Magellan* some of the *Companions* the *Indians* met with their Bows and District of *Aracani* and consequently had been divers pose, the Inhabitants themselves, than they) could and these despera *arais*, gave them to give the other chor, and ran u where they had Island itself lies Hogs, Hens, and that live here are that they dare themselves. A Disciples, yet the Christians. The twenty or Eighty, welcomed by them to a Place, *arais*; round about nish'd with good any in *England*. Stores with suffi sides, good Store fish and Maiz, visited the two p ment; and the clearly, that the (as they hitherto very free with the telling them, the *Aracani*, they mu but the Admiral tion, it being g prosecuted not a Voyage.

9. The 15th, failed all that D The 19th, they and anchored un 30th, they came Latitude; and t Fifty or Sixty N Country Seven o vast Herds of and Comes, Part well flock'd with velle; as far as t any remarkable a whale upon the in good Order Party of 205 H and that upon t escaped from the ders, though t but kept at a Di Disturbance. the bolder, for land at work watched the O fight, when the down Two but making a Shift t Vol. I.

Flagb Gallant, being then in 49° South Latitude, and 45 Leagues from the Land. The Storm continued Three or Four Days, and the *Flagb Gallant*, having sprung a Leak, and beaten by the Storm, in Seas far from all Help, was ready every Moment to sink to the Bottom: However, she made a Shift to hold out, by the great Labour and Pains of her Crew; and, on the 15th in the Morning, she came in between the Isle *St. Mary* and the Main, where she met the Admiral and the *Content*, which Two Ships had, during the Storm, secured themselves Two Days at the Isle of *Mocha*, in 38° South Latitude. At this Place some of the Company, well armed, went ashore, where the *Indians* met them, and gave them a warm Reception with their Bows and Arrows. These *Indians* were of the District of *Aranco*, which, being a Country rich as Gold, and consequently very tempting to the avaricious *Spaniards*, had been divers times invaded by them, but to no Purpose, the Inhabitants having always bravely defended themselves, that their Enemies (though better provided than they) could never boast of being their Conquerors; and these desperate Men, mistaking the *English* for *Spaniards*, gave them that Entertainment which they always used to give the other. After the *Mumith* they weighed Anchor, and ran under the Well Side of *St. Mary* Island, where they had good Riding in Six Fathom Water. The Island itself lies in $37^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, and abounds in Hogs, Hens, and divers sorts of Fruits: The *Indians* that live here are in such absolute Slavery to the *Spaniards*, that they dare not to much as kill a Fowl or a Swine for themselves. And though the *Spaniards* have made them Disciples, yet they use them more like Dogs, than Men or Christians. The 16th, the Admiral went ashore with Seventy or Eighty Men well armed; they were met and welcomed by Two *Indians* of Quality, who conducted them to a Place, where was a Chapel built by the *Spaniards*; round about which were several Storehouses, furnished with good Wheat and Barley, as clean and fair as any in *England*. They provided themselves out of the Stores with sufficient Quantities of Corn, and laid in, besides, good Store of Hogs, Hens, Potatoes, dried Dogfish and Maiz, which is *Gunny* Wheat: The Admiral invited the Two principal *Indians* aboard to an Entertainment; and the Wine having opened their Eyes to see clearly, that the Admiral and his Men were no *Spaniards*, (as they hitherto supposed them to be) they began to be very free with them, and to talk largely of the Gold Mines, telling them, that, if they would go across the Country to *Aranco*, they might get as much Gold as they cared for; but the Admiral, not perfectly understanding the Information, it being given partly by Signs, which were obscure, prosecuted not that Adventure, but went on with his Voyage.

17. The 16th in the Morning, they left this Place, and sailed all that Day North North east, about 10 Leagues. The 19th, they ran in with the Land at East North east, and anchored under an Island called the *Conception*. The 23rd, they came into the Bay of *Quintero*, in $33^{\circ} 50'$ South Latitude; and the last Day of that Month, a Company of Fifty or sixty Men, well furnished, marched up into the Country Seven or Eight Miles: In their March, they saw vast Herds of wild Cattle, with Horses, Dogs, Hares and Conies, Partridge, and other Fowl; many fine Rivers, well stocked with all sorts of wild Fowl; but, having travelled as far as they could for the Mountains, and without any remarkable Adventure, after refreshing themselves a while upon the Banks of a pleasant River, they returned in good Order to their Ships at Night: Yet was there a Party of 200 Horse abroad that Day to have taken them, and that upon the Information of the *Spaniards* that had escaped from them the Day before; but these valiant Soldiers, though they saw them, durst not make any Attack, but kept at a Distance, and to let them go off without any Disturbance. But the next Day, April 5, they were a little bolder, for some of the *English* being ashore, and very hard at work filling Water, the *Spaniards* (who had watched the Opportunity, and were then very eager to fight, when they saw their Enemies very busy) poured down Two hundred Horse from the Hills upon them, making a Shift to kill some few of them, and take a small

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Number of them Prisoners: But the glorious Victory of the *Spaniards* had a sudden Period set to it, by the coming of Fifteen *English* more, who soon changed the Fortune of the Day, not only rescuing their own Company, but killing Twenty-four of the *Spaniards* upon the Spot, and driving the rest up the Mountains again. After this, they rid in the Road, and watered there, in Spite of the *Spaniards*, till the 5th Instant, when they left this Bay of *Quintero*, putting in at a small Island, about a League from the Bay, which is full of Penguins and other Fowl: They provided themselves with what Store they wanted, and so sailed away North and North by West, in order to prosecute their Voyage.

10. The 15th, they came to *Moro Moreno*, which lies in $23^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, under the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and has an excellent Harbour, which is made so by an Island, which gives a Ship Entrance at either End of it. Here the Admiral went ashore with Thirty Men, and was met by the *Indians*, who brought fresh Water and Wood on their Backs: They are a simple sort of People, and live alter a wild and savage manner, and in very great Awe and Dread of the *Spaniards*; they brought the Admiral and his Company to their Houses, which lay about Two Miles from the Harbour; these were composed only of a few Rafters laid across, supported by Two or Three Forks stuck in the Ground, with Boughs spread over them: Their Beds were the Skins of wild Beasts, laid upon the Floor; and their Food little else but raw stinking Fish. When any of them die, they bury them with all the Goods and Arms that belong to them, as Bows and Arrows, and their very Canoes: These Canoes of theirs are very artificially made, being formed of Two Skins like Bladders, which are blown full at one End with Quills: A Couple of these, being made fast together with the Sinews of some wild Beast, and then put into the Water, swell and pull up at that rate, that they are as firm and tight as can be. They make nothing of venturing to Sea in these Boats, and lading them with great Quantities of Fish, Part of which goes for Tribute to the *Spaniards*, and Part is kept to stink for their own eating.

11. May 3, they came into a Bay, where are Three little Towns, *Parava*, *Cbincha*, and *Pisca*, which latter Place lies in $13^{\circ} 20'$ South Latitude; they landed here, and took some Provisions of Wine and Bread, Hens and Figs, out of some of the Houses; but they could not get ashore at the best of the Towns, the Sea ran so extremely high. They made themselves Masters of Two rich Ships by this time, laden with Sugar, Melasses, Maiz, *Cordovan* Skins, *Montego de Poro*, Packs of Pintadoes, *Indian* Coats, Marmalade Hens, &c. One of them, which had the best Lading, would have yielded 20,000 *l.* had there been Opportunity to have made a Sale: And of all this, they took as much as they could conveniently bestow in their Ships, burning the rest with the Vessels, and setting all the People in them ashore. The 26th, they came into the Road of *Paita*, which lies in $5^{\circ} 4'$ South Latitude; the Town itself is well built, very neat and clean in all Parts of it, and contains about 200 Houses. The Admiral landed here with Sixty or Seventy Men, had a Skirmish with the Inhabitants, the Issue of which was, that the *English* beat them quite out of the Town, and forced them up the Hills, from whence they played with their small Shot upon them; but would not venture a fair Battle out of their mountainous Retuges. When the *English* had possessed themselves of the Town, they marched after the Enemy up the Hills; and, after some Dispute, obliging them to retire still further, till it came to a thorough and complete Route, they seized all their Baggage, which they had brought with them out of the Town, and lodged there for Security up and down in the Mountains. Here was plenty of all sorts of Household-stuff, Storehouses full of all sorts of Wares, and 25 *lb.* Weight of Silver in Pieces of Eight. They set the Town on Fire, and burnt it to the Ground; and also to the Value of 5 or 6000 *l.* in Goods, together with a Bark lying in the Road; and so, leaving the *Spaniards* the Blaze of their flaming Houses and Goods, to light them down from the Mountains at Night, they went hence, and directed their Course to *Puna*.

17. *May 13.* they arrived at the Isle *Puna*, which lies in 1° South Latitude, in the Harbour whereof they found a large Ship of 250 Ton, riding at Anchor with all her Furniture, which they sunk, and so went ashore. The Lord of this Isle is called the *Cafique* of *Puna*; he was an *Indian* born, but, having married a *Spanish* Woman, and being resolved to be of his Wife's Religion, he made his Subjects follow his Example. He had a sumptuous and well-contracted Palace near the Sea side, with curious Gardens adjoining to it, and fair Prospects, both to the Water, and up into the Country. He kept all the *Indians* of the Island in continual Drudgery, their Work being to make Cables, such Plenty of which are made by those labouring *Indians*, that the South Sea is mostly furnished from hence. The Island is near as big as the *Isle of Wight*, and has a great Share of the Blessings of Nature; for, though it does not yield Mines of Gold and Silver, yet it affords those Things that are far more necessary for human Life: There is excellent Pasture-land here, and Variety of useful Animals to be maintained by it, as Horses, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, that are very tame, and yield abundance of Milk, besides very good Fowl, Pigeons, Turkeys, and Ducks, of a large Size. The *Cafique* had Orchards that yield most Sorts of useful Fruits, as Oranges, Lemons, Figs, Pomgranates, Pom-pions, Melons, Cucumbers, Radishes, &c. with divers Sorts of odoriferous Plants, as Rosemary, Thyme, &c. one of them set round with Trees that bear the Bombasin Cotton, the Tops of which grow full of Pods, out of which the Cotton itself rises. In the Cotton lies a Seed, of the Bigness of a Pea, and in every Pod there are Seven or Eight of these Seeds, which, if the Cotton be not gathered when 'tis ripe, take root, and produce a new Plant. *May 29.* the Admiral went to a little Island close by *Puna*, into which the *Cafique* had conveyed all the valuable Furniture of his Palace, and other Moveables, necessary both for House and Ship. These Stores being all discovered, they took or plunder'd what they thought fit out of them, and conveyed it into their Ships. They burnt the Church also, which stood hard by the *Cafique's* Palace, and brought away the Five Bells that were in it. *June 2.* 100 *Spaniards* assaulted them, killing and taking Prisoners Twelve of the *English*, and losing forty six of their own, in that Encounter. The same Day, going ashore again, with Seventy Men, they met with a Party of 100 *Spaniards*, armed with Muskets, and 200 *Indians*, with Bows and Arrows, and, having intirely put them to Flight, they made Havock of their Fields and Orchards, and burnt Four great Ships upon the Stocks, as also the Town itself, which they left a mere Heap of Rubbish. This Town had no less than 300 Houses in it; besides which, there were Two or Three Towns in *Puna*, that contained 200 Houses each, so that it was the very best settled Island on all this Coast.

13. *June 5.* they weigh'd out of the Road of *Puna*, and sailed to *Rio Dulce*, where they watered; and, the 12th, passed the Equinoctial, continuing a Northerly Course all the rest of the Month. *July 1.* they had Sight of *Nueva Espanna*, being Four Leagues distant from the Land, and in 11° North Latitude. The 9th Instant they took a new Ship of 120 Ton, in which was one *Michael Sanchez*, a *Protestant*, and Native of *Marseilles*; a very skilful Coaster in the South Seas, whom the Admiral took for his Pilot; and he gave them the first Hint of the great Ship *Anna Maria*, which they took afterwards coming from the *Philippine* Islands; they took all the Men, the Sails, the Ropes, &c. out of this Ship of *Sanchez's*, and then set her on Fire. The 14th they took a Bark that was going to give the Alarm all along the Coast of the Arrival of the *English*, but all the Men were gone out of her. The 26th they came to an Anchor in the River *Cepalita*; and the same Night, with Thirty Men in the Pinnace, rowed to *Agatule*, Two Leagues from the River; and in 15° 40' North Latitude, they made a Descent upon them, and burnt both the Town and Custom house, which was a large and fair Building. Here were laid up 600 Bags of Anile, (for the Dying of Cloth) and 400 of *Cacaos*, every Bag

of the former being worth Forty, and of the latter Ten Crowns. These *Cacaos* serve amongst them both for Meat and Money. They are like Almonds, though not altogether so pleasant; they afford both Food and Drink, and pass in Trade instead of ready Money, 150 of them being in Value equal to a Rial of Plate.

14. The 28th, they set sail from *Cepalita*, the Searunning so high there, that they could not fill Water; and reached *Agatule* the same Night. The next Day the Admiral went ashore, with Thirty Men, marching Two Miles into the Woods, where they took a *Mesizo* belonging to the Custom-house of that Town, and a considerable Parcel of Stuffs with him, and carried both the Master and the Goods away to their Ships. *August 24.* the Admiral and Thirty Men went in the Pinnace to the Haven *Puerto de Natividad*, which lies 19° North Latitude, where *Sanchez* had informed them would be a Prize; but, before they came thither, she was gone Twelve Leagues farther to fish for Pearls. However, here they took a *Mulatto*, that was sent to give Notice of the *English* all along the Coast of *Nueva Galicia*, together with all his Letters; and burnt the Town, and Two Ships of 200 Ton that were then building there, and so returned to their Ships. The 26th, they came into the Bay of *St. Jago*, where they watered at a good River, that yielded them great Store of Fish, and some Quantity of Pearls: This Bay is in 19° 18' North Latitude. *September 2.* they left *St. Jago*, and the 3d Day came into the Bay of *Malacca*, lying a League to the Westward of Port *Natividad*, and a very good Place for Ships to ride in. The same Day the Admiral, with about Thirty Men, went ashore to an *Indian* Town called *Acatlan*, which lies Two Leagues from the Road. It consisted of Twenty or Thirty Houses, and a Church, which they demolished, and went aboard again that Night. The 4th, they left the Bay of *Malacca*, and sailed along the Coast. The 8th, they came to the Road of *Cbatalla*, which is Eighteen Leagues from the Cape *De los Corrientes*, having met with fair Winds, and fine Weather.

15. The 6th in the Morning, the Admiral sent out Forty Men, (with *Sanchez* for a Guide) who, marching Two Leagues through the Woods, and desert Places, lighted of Two or Three Families, some of which were *Indians*, others *Spaniards*, and one *Portuguese*, all which they brought to their Ships. The Admiral made the Women fetch Plantanes, Lemons, Oranges, and other Fruits; and, for a Reward, set all their Husbands free again, except one *Sembiano*, a *Spanish* Carpenter, and *Diego*, the *Portuguese*, whom he retained. The 11th, they arrived at the Island *St. Andrew*, a very woody Place, and yielding vast Store of Fowl and Seals, and a sort of Serpents, (or Lizards rather) called *Iguanes*, which have Four Feet, and a sharp long Tail, but are very good Meat. Leaving *St. Andrew's* Island, they came the 24th into the Road of *Messatlan*, which lies under the Tropic of Cancer. This River is large within, but much barred. There is great Store of fresh Fish in that Bay, and good Fruits up in the Country. The 27th, they departed from *Messatlan*, and came to an Island, which is a League to the Northward of *Messatlan*, where they heeled their Ships, and new built their Pinnace, and found a little Island a Quarter of a League from it, on which are Seals. They found upon this Island where they heeled their Pinnace, fresh Water, by digging Two or Three Feet deep in the Sand, where no Water, or Sign of Water, was before to be perceived; otherwise they must have gone back Twenty or Thirty Leagues to water. But God raised one *Florez*, a *Spaniard*, who was a Prisoner with them, to make a Motion to dig in the Sands: Their General, having had Experience once before of the like, commanded to put this Motion in Practice; and, in digging Three Feet deep, they found very good and fresh Water. So they watered their Ships, and might have filled 1000 Tons more, if they would. In this Island they stay'd till the 9th of *October*, and then sailed for Cape *St. Lucas*, which is on the West Side of the Point of *California*, whither they fell in on the 14th of the same Month, observ-

* It had been more advisable to have treated these People well. These wanton Acts of Cruelty have been the Ruin of all our Expeditions into the South Seas. — * That is, which made into Chocolate. It is right to leave such Delinquents, because they are Proofs of a Writer's Iniquity and Avarice.

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18. *November*

ing, that it had very much the same Appearance with the *Nocies* at the *Ile of Wight*, which had been before taken notice of by Sir *Francis Drake's* People, and has been confirmed by all who have sailed thither since. Within this Cape there is a very large Bay, called by the *Spaniards* *Aguada Segura*; into which Bay there falls a fine fresh-water River, and on the Banks of it there are commonly a great Number of *Indians*, who inhabit there during the Summer Season. Into this Bay they came, watered in the River, and remained there till the 4th of *November*, the Winds continuing all that time to hang Westerly. They waited here for the *Acapulco* Ship.

16. *November* 4. the *Defire* and the *Content* went beating up and down upon the Headland of *California*, which lies in $23^{\circ} 24'$ North Latitude; upon which Day, in the Morning, one of the Admiral's Company, going up the Top-mast, spied a Sail beating in from the Sea with the Cape; which he presently signified to the Company, with the joyful Exclamation of, *A Sail, a Sail!* The Admiral, having put all Things in Readiness, set forward in the Pursuit of her; and, having chased her Three or Four Hours, in the Afternoon came up with her, and saluted her with a Broad-side, and a Volley of small Shot. They found her to be the *St. Anne*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral of all the South Seas, and of 700 Ton Burden. Having boarded her, they found all Things in a good Posture of Defence; the Sails were laid close upon the Poop, the Mid-ship, and the Forecastle. All the Men stood close under Fights, which the Captain had raised, provided with Targets, Javelins, Swords, and great Stones, which they threw into the *English* Ship, and at them that had boarded theirs, forcing them to retire with the Loss of Two Men, and Four or Five wounded. But the Admiral, making a fresh Attack with his great and small Shot, raked them through and through, killing and wounding great Numbers, as the Ship was full of Men; yet they stood very tightly to their Business. But the next Broadside reduced them to the last Extremity, boring such wide Holes for the Water to pour in, that they saw they must either yield or sink. Wheretupon, hanging out a Flag of Truce, they desired the Admiral to save their Lives, and they would yield their Ship, with all the rich Cargo, into his Hands. This he granted, but commanded them presently to strike their Sails, to hoist out their Boat, and come aboard; which was accordingly done by the Captain, the Pilot, and one of the chief Merchants. They told the Admiral what they had aboard, which appeared to be worth fighting for, since there were 122,000 Pieces of Gold, rich Silks, Satins, Damasks, Musk, with divers other Sorts of Merchandize, and all manner of Provisions, almost as acceptable as their Riches.

17. This Prize thus gloriously obtained, on *November* the 6th, they put into the Harbour *Puerto Seguro*, where all the *Spaniards*, both Men and Women, to the Number of 150, were set ashore, the Admiral having chosen a very fruitful Spot for them to live upon; and, besides, gave them good store of Wine and Victuals, with the Sails of their Ship, and some Planks, to build them little Houses in the Country. The Owners thus disposed of, the next thing was to share the Booty they had brought; and here this ungrateful Work of Distribution quickly involved the Admiral in the ill Circumstances of a Mutiny, every Man having a sharp Appetite to the Gold; but no Man ever thinking he had enough. This Feud and Avarice appeared most violently in the *Content*. But all was quickly and quietly comprorised by the candid Behaviour and Generosity of the Admiral. *November* 17. being her Majesty's Coronation-day, they discharged all their Ordnance and small Shot in both their Ships, and at Night continued the Celebration of the Festival with Fireworks. The Admiral reserved of the Prisoners in the *Spanish* Ship, Two *Japanese* Boys, and Three that were Natives of the *Ile of Manilla*, a *Portuguese* that had been in *China* and *Japan*, and a *Spanish* Pilot of perfect Knowledge in all the Parts between *Acapulco* and *Nueva Espanna*, to the Islands of *Ladrones*. This *Acapulco* is the Haven from whence they set out for the *Philippines*, as the Islands *Ladrones* are their stated Places of Refreshment.

18. *November* 19. the Admiral, having discharged the

Captain of the *St. Anne* with a noble Reward, and sufficient Provision for his Defence against the *Indians*, fired the Ship itself, having to the Quantity of 500 Tons of Goods in her, and saw her burnt quite down to the Water's Edge. And now this great Business being happily accomplished, which they had so long attended upon, they set Sail very cheerfully for *England*. But they had the Misfortune to lose the *Content*, their Vice-admiral. She staid some little time behind them in the Road; and they, expecting she would overtake them, went on before, but never had her Company again. However, pursuing their own Voyage, they directed their Course to the Islands *Ladrones*, which are distant from this Haven of *Aguada Segura*, near 1800 Leagues. And this took them up about Forty-five Days, viz. from *November* 19. to *January* 3. Upon this Day, early in the Morning, they had Sight of one of the Islands *Ladrones*, called *Guam*, which lies in $13^{\circ} 40'$ North Latitude; and, sailing with a gentle Gale before the Wind, came up within Two Leagues of the Island: Here they saw Sixty or Seventy Canoes full of Savages, that brought Cocoas, Plantanes, Potatoes, and fresh Fish, to exchange for some of their Commodities. They gave them some Pieces of old Iron, which they hung upon small Cords and Fishing-lines, and so let it vere to the Canoes; and, by the same Method, they got back to their own Ship what the Savages offered in Exchange. After the Traffic was ended, they came crowding with their Canoes about the Ship, and thrust in so close, some of them, that the Ship broke Two of their Canoes, though the Savages themselves were none of them drowned, the Water being almost as natural to them, as to the Fishes that live there: And so they continued following the Ship, and would not leave the Company of it, till the Harquebusses were discharged at them, though 'tis ten to one if they killed any of them; for, they are so very nimble, that they drop immediately into the Water, and dive beyond the Reach of all Danger, upon the least Warning in the World. They were very large Men, extraordinary fat, of a tawny Colour, and wear their Hair mighty long for the most part; though some have it tied up in Knots upon the Crown, like the wooden Images that stand at the Head of their Canoes. These Canoes were very artificially made, considering that no edged Tool was used about them; they are about Seven or Eight Yards in Length, and half a Yard in Breadth, and their Heads and Sterns were both alike: They are made with Rafts of Canes and Reeds on the Starboard Side, and have both Masts and Sails; which latter are made of Sedges, and that either square or triangular. They have this excellent Property, that they will sail as well against as before the Wind.

19. *January* 14. by Break of Day, they fell in with a Head-land of the *Philippine* Islands, called *Caba del Spirito Santo*. The Island itself is large, high in the Middle, and depressed to the East and West Parts, and running a great way into the Sea Westward: It lies in 30° North Latitude, and it is distant from *Guam* 110 Leagues, and about Sixty from *Manilla*, which is the chief of the *Philippines*. It is a woody Island, and its Inhabitants are mostly Heathens. They spent Eleven Days sailing to this Place from *Guam*, having some foul Weather, and scarce bearing any Sail at all for Two or Three Nights. *Manilla* is inhabited by *Spaniards*, who live there to the Number of Six or Seven hundred Persons. It is an unwall'd Town, and of no great Strength, though it has vast Riches in Gold, and several good Commodities; it has a constant yearly Correspondence with *Acapulco*, in *Nueva Espanna*, besides Twenty or Thirty Ships from *China*, and the Trade of the *Sangueloes*, which is very profitable. These *Sangueloes* are *Chinese* Merchants, very sharp and sensible Men in all Matters of Trade and Merchandize, extremely ingenious in mechanical Contrivances, and the most expert Embroiderers in Silk and Sattin that are in the whole World; they work any Form of Beast, or Fowl, or Fish, in Gold, Silver, or Silk, with all the just Proportion and Colour in every Part, and giving it all the Life and Beauty that an excellent Painter can do, or Nature herself bestows on the living Original: And 'tis plain, that these Men must bring a very gainful Trade to *Manilla*, since they made no more of Gold than they did; for, as they brought great Quantities

Quantities of that precious Metal along with them, so they exchanged it there Weight for Weight for Silver.

20. The same 14th Day in the Evening, they entered the Straights, between the Island *Luca*, and the Island of *Cambea*. The 15th, they fell in with the Island of *Capul*, passing a very narrow Streight between that Island and another, in which the Tide was considerably great, and a Edge of Rocks lay on one Side them off the Point of *Capul*, but they pass'd without Danger. Within the Point was a fair Bay, and a good Harbour, in Four Fathom Water, within a Cable's Length of the Shore. About Ten in the Morning they came to Anchor, and presently a Canoe rowed up to them, in which was one of the Seven chief *Casiques* of the Island; they pass'd for *Spaniards* with these People, who, according to their usual Way of trading with them, came and brought their *Cocoas* and *Potatoes* roots to the *English* in like manner. They gave them a Yard of Linen Cloth for Four *Cocoas*, and as much for about a Quart of *Potatoes*, which, in that Island, are very sweet and excellent Meat, either roasted or boiled. The *Casique* that came aboard them had his Skin streaked, and painted full of very strange Devices all over his Body; they kept him with them, and desired him to lend some of his *Indian* Servants, that managed his Canoe, to go and fetch his other Six Brother *Casiques* to the Ship too. The *Casiques* very quickly came a cording to his Request, and with them a large Train of the People of the Island, who brought vast Numbers of Hogs and Hens, and a whole Market of *Cocoas* and *Potatoes*, and now the *English* had nothing else to do for all that Day but to deal with these People, who sold to them just as they did to the *Spaniard*, viz. Eight Knives of Plate for a Hog, and One for a Hen. Here a just Execution was perform'd upon a *Spaniard* that taken in the great *St. Anne*, who had plotted to betray them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for which he was hanged. They lay about this Island of *Capul* for about Nine Day, being all the while well furnished with fresh Victuals, good Water, and Wood. The People of the Island are all *Pagans*, and are said both to worship and converse with the Devil; they go almost naked, and are of a tawny Complexion. The Men wear a square Piece of Linen, woven out of Plantain-leaves, about a ear Waist, and another coming down their Backs, and to under the Twist, which is fasten'd to their Girdles. The Rite of Circumcision is in Practice here amongst them, besides which, the Males undergo another Operation, which is far from being common, and scarcely practis'd any where else, except in *Pegu*. They make a Perforation quite through the Gians of the Penis with a Nail of Tin split in the lower End, and riveted, which they order to as to take out, and put in again, as they have Occasion. They invented this for a Prevention of a certain unnatural Crime, which the Men of the Island were it seems horribly addicted to; and it was done at the humble Petition of the Women, who had the Case before the Magistrates, and obtained this Remedy. On the 23d, the Admiral summon'd all the *Casiques* of this Island, and of One hundred more, which had paid him Tribute, to appear before him; and here he discover'd himself and his Company to them, telling them, that they were *English*, and the greatest Enemies the *Spaniards* had in the World. At the same time he generously gave them back in Money the Value of all the Tribute he had received, and which was paid by them in Hogs, *Cocoas*, *Potatoes*, and the like. This unexpected Favour of the Admiral surpris'd the whole Assembly of *Casiques*; they admir'd his Bounty and Generosity, and engag'd to assist him with all the Forces of their respective Dominions, whenever he would begin a War with the *Spaniards* in those Parts; and so, not less pleas'd with finding them to be *English*, than with the Kindness they had received from them, having row'd about the Ship a while with their Canoes to give them some Diversion, they took Leave, the Admiral giving them a Gun at their Departure.

21. June 24. they set Sail, and ran along the Coast of *Manilla*, steering North-west between that Island and the Island *Malait*; and, in the Islands thereabouts, they perceived the *Spaniards* to keep a strict Watch, making great Fires, and calching their Pieces all Night long, having

taken the Alarm of their coming. The Island *Panama* is a plain level Country in many Places, affording very tall and straight Trees for the making Ship-masts, and besides, several Mines of very fine Gold, which are in Custody of the *Indians*. To the Southward of it lies the Island of *Negrees*, a very large Island, almost as big as *England*, and in 9° North Latitude. It appeared to be the most Part of it low Land, and very fruitful; the People are neither Slaves to the *Spaniards*, nor any other Nation, but their own intire Masters. June 29. at Six in the Morning, they set Sail, pulling through the Streight between *Panama* and *Negrees* Island, when, having made about Sixteen Leagues, they found a fair Opening in the Streight, tending South-west and by South; about this Time their Boat, which they had sent out before them in the Morning, came up to them again, in which the Admiral sent a *Spaniard* Prisoner ashore, with a Message to his Captain, who commanded a Ship that lay at *Panama* the Night before. The Message was to this Effect: That he should be sure to provide good Store of Gold against the Admiral came that Way again, for he intended to make him a Visit at *Manilla*, which, being a long Voyage, would deserve good Entertainment; and farther, that he had certainly come now and weigh'd some of his golden Bags in an *English* Pair of Scales, but that he wanted a bigger Boat to land his Men upon the Island. February 8. they lay in the Morning the Island *Batoevina*, which lies near *Colo*, and is in 10° North Latitude. The 14th, they fell in with Eleven or Twelve small Islands, flat and low, and almost quite sunk into the Sea; they lie near the *Moluccas*, and are in 30° 10' South Latitude.

22. March 1. having pass'd the Straights of *Java* *Meyer* and *Minor*, they anchored under the South-west Parts of *Java* *Major*, where they saw some People fishing in a Bay under the Island; the Admiral sent out the Boat to them, in which was a Negro, that could speak the *Moresio* Tongue, which is much used in *Java*; but they, being frighten'd at the coming of the Boat, got ashore, and run away into the Woods; yet one of them came to the Sea Side, when the Negro called, and directed them to find fresh Water, and carried a Message from the Admiral to the King, certifying him, that he was come thither to traffic for Victuals, or any valuable Commodities that his Island afforded. March 12. there came Nine or Ten of the King's Canoes, as full laden with all Sorts of Provisions, as they could swim. They brought them Oxen, Hogs, Hens, Geese, Eggs, Sugar, *Cocoas*, Plantains, Oranges, Lemons, Wine, and Aqua Vitæ. Two *Portuguese* that came to see them, and to inquire about their King *Antonie*, then in *England*, gave them a large Account of the Manner and Customs of these People. The King of that Part of the Island was a Man of whom his Subjects stood in exceeding Awe, and who exercis'd to absolute a Power over them, and all they had, that no Man dur'd so much as make a Bargain without his Leave, and, if any did presume to do it, he paid for it with his Blood. This Prince had One hundred Wives, (as his Son had Fifty who may possibly be very happy as long as he lives, but cannot be to any longer, for, he being dead, the Body burn'd, and the Royal Athes laid up in an Urn, within Five Days after this, the Tragedy of his Wives began and end'd, they all of them go to an appointed Place, where, when they are come, the favourite Wife throws a Ball out of her Hand, which, where it rests, marks out the Place of their Death: Being come thither, they turn their Faces to the East, and, with their Daggers, fix themselves to the Heart, as I, taking out Half an Ounce of their own Blood, to smear their Bodies with it, and thus they die. This barbarous Sacrifice of themselves to the Ghost of their dead Husbands are the Queens of *Java* oblig'd to make, by the Custom of their Country. The Men of this Island are very good Soldiers, hardy, valiant, and desperate, to the last Degree; they think at nothing that their King commands them to do, be it attended with ever so great or certain Danger; Should he bid them plunge a Dagger into their Breasts, or leap off from a Precipice, or into a Den of wild Beasts, they immediately do it; because the Anger of their King is as certain Death as the Point of a Sword, or the Teeth of wild Beasts. They are of a

tawny Complexion; naked; but the men and few more naked. After that they sent the *Java* and received a whenever they them, the Admiral Pieces of Ordnance. they sail'd all the rest of the travelling the *Africa*, making of the Stars, and Bearing and P

23. May 11. North and West that bore West Cape of *Good* Leagues from it they flood off to the Wind coming 17th and 18th thick and hazy Land again, west short of the Cape. This Cape falls right over it from each other and the Ground the Cape of *Good* Cape *Falbo*. Hope, observing and, at the *W* Hammocks apply into the Sea, yet this Cape of *Charts* 2000 Le ing, they found up just Nine W

24. June 8. or Eight Leagu had just a Glim they could not all Night; w they flood in the Harbour; a Water, in a g Island; Two of This Island lies between the the Coast of *G* between 5 and Here they wen had a fair Caut and a Cross of hung with pain Virgin, and the ble: The Valle pleasant, so full that it appears deny; there are and *Pougrana* Eye with Bloss Trees are very ral curious W Boughs, and b is a sweet cryr tle into many the several Tree: There den; for what taken care to itle affords which are m Turkeys too b as big as ours white: There Goats; they a Vol. I

tawny Complexion, like the rest of the *Indians*, and go naked; but their Women are of something a better Hue, and shew more Modesty than their Men in the Use of Apparel. After this Relation of the *Portuguese*, having contented the *Javans* for the Victuals they had brought them, and received a Promise from them of good Entertainment whenever they came again, they took their Leaves of them, the Admiral making them a Present of Three great Pieces of Ordnance at parting. The next Day, viz. *March 16.* they sailed away for the Cape of *Good Hope*, and spent all the rest of *March*, and the whole Month of *April*, in traversing the vast Ocean between *Java* and the Main of *Africa*, making many Observations as to the Appearance of the Stars, the Weather, the Winds and Tides, the Bearing and Position of Lands.

23. *May 11.* one of the Company spied Land, bearing North and North by West, and about Noon they saw some that bore West of them, which they believed to be the Cape of *Good Hope*, they being then about Forty or Fifty Leagues from it: But, by reason they had a scanty Wind, they stood off to the South-east till Midnight, and then the Wind coming fair, they hawl'd along Westward. The 12th and 13th Days they were becalmed, and the Sky was thick and hazy; but the 14th it cleared up, and they saw Land again, which proved to be Cape *Falso*, which is short of the Cape of *Good Hope* Forty or Fifty Leagues. This Cape *Falso* is very easy to be known; for there lie right over it Three very high Hills, but a little Distance from each other, the highest of which is the middlemost, and the Ground is much lower by the Sea Side; besides, the Cape of *Good Hope* bears West and by South from this Cape *Falso*. *May 16.* they discovered the Cape of *Good Hope*, observing the Head-land to be considerably high, and, at the Westerly Point, a little off the Main, Two *Hammocks* appearing, and Three others lying further off into the Sea, yet Low-land between them towards the Sea. This Cape of *Good Hope* is made in the *Portuguese* Sea Charts 2000 Leagues from *Java*, but, by their Reckoning, they found it to be 1850 Leagues, which took them up just Nine Weeks in their Run.

24. *June 8.* by Break of Day they came within Seven or Eight Leagues of the Island of *St. Helena*, which they had just a Glimpse of; but, having little or no Wind, they could not reach it that Day, but stood off and on all Night; the next Day having a pretty good Wind, they stood in with the Shore, (the Boat being sent before to the Harbour) and came to an Anchor in Twelve Fathom Water, in a good Bay, under the North-west Side of the Island, Two or Three Cables Length from the Shore. This Island lies in the main Sea, as it were in the Midst between the main Land of *Africa*, and that of *Brazil* and the Coast of *Guinea*. It lies in 15° 48' South Latitude, and between 5 and 600 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Here they went ashore, and entered the Church, which had a fair Chancel leading to it; a Frame with Two Bowls, and a Cross of Free-stone adjoining to it; within, it was hung with painted Cloth, having an Altar, with the blessed Virgin, and the Story of the Crucifixion, pictured in a Table: The Valley where the Church stands is extremely pleasant, so full of fine Fruit trees, and excellent Plants, that it appears like some very fair and well cultivated Garden; there are long Rows of Lemon, Orange, Citron, and Pomegranate, Date and Fig-trees, that present the Eye with Blossoms, green Fruit and ripe all at once. The Trees are very nicely trimmed, and distinguished by several curious Walks, which have the Protection of their Boughs, and by them are made cool and shady. There is a sweet crystal Spring rising at a Distance, that diffuses itself into many pretty Rivulets, all thro' the Valley, watering the several Parts of it, and refreshing every Plant and Tree: There is hardly any empty Space in this great Garden, for what Places Nature has left unoccupied, Art has taken care to fill up to some Advantage. The Island itself affords great Store of Partridges and Pheasants, which are much larger and fairer than ours; there are Turkeys too both black and white, with red Heads, about as big as ours, and their Eggs much the same, only quite white: There is also great Plenty of Cabritos, or wild Goats; they are as big as an Ass, have a Horle's Mane,

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and a Beard that reaches down to the very Ground: They go sometime together in a Herd, that reaches a full Mile in Length. Here are also vast Herds of wild Swine, that keep chiefly upon the Mountains, as the *Cabritos* do; they are fat, and so very wild, that a Man can never come at them, except they be asleep, or rolling themselves upon their miry Beds.

25. *June 20.* having taken in all Necessaries here, they set Sail for *England*, and hawled away North-west and by West. 'Tis to be observed, that the Wind is commonly off the Shore at *St. Helena*. On *Friday August 23.* they sailed East and East by South, for the Northernmost of the *Azores*. The 29th, at Four after Midnight, they fell in Sight of the Island *Flores* and *Corvo*, lying in 39° 30' North Latitude, and so sailed away North-east. *September 3.* they met with a *Flemish* Vessel, that came from *Lisbon*, and told them the joyful News of the total Defeat of the *Spanish Armada*. *September 9.* having had the Winds Farewel in a most violent Storm, that carried away most Part of their Sails, they arrived at the long desired Haven of *Plymouth*. As there never had been any Voyage of this Consequence attended with such an uninterrupted Series of Success, as appeared plainly from the Difference of Time in which it was performed, *Magellan's* Voyage having taken up Three Years and a Month, *Sir Francis Drake* upwards of Two Years and Ten Months, and this less than Two Years and Two Months, we need not wonder, that a young Gentleman like *Mr. Candish*, whose Soul was intirely possessed with an Appetite for Glory, should adventure upon some extraordinary Methods of displaying his good Fortune. Some Accounts indeed, tell us, that he went so far, as to bring his Ship into the Harbour of *Plymouth* under a Suit of Silken Sails, which, if true, I conceive may be thus accounted for. We are told by *Mr. Candish*, in his own Relation, that, just before his Arrival, he met with a violent Storm, which tore all his Sails to Pieces; in which Distress, he might very probably make use of some of those he had taken in the South Seas, or in the *East Indies*, but most probably of the former, which being made of what is called *Silk Grass*, having a very strong Gloss, and a most beautiful Colour, might easily deceive the Eyes of the Vulgar, and pass upon them for Sails of Silk. This, however, is certain, that though he might be vain and expensive in such Matters, yet all came fairly out of his own Pocket; and those who went abroad with him, from a Prospect of raising their Fortunes, had not the least Reason to complain, since he came to a fair and full Distribution of the Value of the Prizes, which gained him universal Credit and Esteem; of which we shall quickly afford the Reader a remarkable and very convincing Instance.

26. To shew, however, his Duty and Diligence, as well as to discharge respectfully the Obligations he was under to his Patron, he wrote, the very same Day that he arrived at *Plymouth*, to the Lord *Hunsdon*, then Lord Chamberlain, *Queen Elizabeth's* near Relation, and great Favourite; which Letter, equally remarkable both for Style and Matter, the Reader will probably be well pleased to see, especially as it is very concise, and yet contains some Particulars not to be found elsewhere.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Hunsdon, &c.

Right Honourable,

AS your Favour heretofore hath been most greatly extended toward me, so I humbly desire a Continuance thereof; and though there be no means in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my Services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your Honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your Honour to make known unto her Majesty the Desire I have had to do her Majesty Service in the Performance of this Voyage; and, as it hath pleased God to give her the Victory over Part of her Enemies, so I trust, ere long, to see her overthrow them all: For the Places of their Wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their Wars, are now perfectly discovered; and if it please her Majesty, with a very small Power, she may take the Spoil of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to

suffer

“ suffer me to circumsail all the whole Globe of the
 “ World, entering in at the Streight of Magellan, and
 “ returning by the Cape de Buena Esperanza. In which
 “ Voyage, I have either discovered, or brought certain
 “ Intelligence of, all the rich Places of the World that
 “ ever were known or discovered by any Christian. I
 “ navigated along the Coast of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nueva*
 “ *Espanna*, where I made great Spoils; I burnt and sunk
 “ Nineteen Sail of Ships, small and great: All the Vil-
 “ lages and Towns that ever I landed at I burnt and spoiled:
 “ and, had I not been discovered upon the Coast, I had
 “ taken great Quantity of Treasure. The Matter of most
 “ Profit unto me, was a great Ship of the King’s which
 “ I took at *California*, which Ship came from the *Philip-*
 “ *pines*, being one of the richest for Merchandize that ever
 “ passed those Seas, as the King’s Register, Accounts, and
 “ Merchants did shew; for it did amount in Value to ***
 “ in *Mexico* to be sold; which Goods (for that my Ships
 “ were not able to contain the least Part of them) I was
 “ enforced to set on Fire. From the Cape of *California*,
 “ being the uppermost Part of all *Nueva Espanna*, I na-
 “ vigated to the Islands of *Philippines*, hard upon the Coast
 “ of *Cina*, of which Country I have brought such Intel-
 “ ligence, as hath not been heard of in these Parts: The
 “ Stateliness and Riches of which Country I fear to make
 “ Report of, lest I should not be credited; for, if I had
 “ not known sufficiently the incomparable Wealth of that
 “ Country, I should have been as incredulous thereof, as
 “ others will be, that have not had the like Experience.
 “ I sailed along the Islands of *Moluccas*, where, among
 “ some of the Heathen People, I was well intreated, where
 “ our Countrymen may have Trade as freely as the *Portu-*
 “ *gals*, if they will themselves. From thence I passed by
 “ the Cape of *Buena Esperanza*, and found out, by the Way
 “ homeward, the Island of *St. Helena*, where the *Portugals*
 “ used to relieve themselves; and from that Island God
 “ hath suffered me to return into *England*: All which Ser-
 “ vices, with myself, I humbly prostrate at her Majesty’s
 “ Feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her Reign
 “ among us; for, at this Day, she is the most famous
 “ and victorious, Prince that liveth in the World. Thus,
 “ humbly desiring Pardon for my Tedioufness, I leave
 “ your Lordship to the Tutition of the Almighty.

Your Honour’s most Humble to command,

Plymouth, this 24th of
September 1588

THOMAS CANDISH.”

27. There were many Circumstances in this Voyage, besides the wonderful Felicity of it, that deserve to be considered: As, for Instance, the passing a second time into the South Seas, not only after it was known, that the *Spaniards* were excessively alarmed by the former Passage of Sir *Francois Drake*, but also that they had received Succours from *Spain*, and had actually fortified themselves strongly in the South Seas. The nice Search he made into, and the exact Description he has given us of the Streights of *Magellan*, are very noble Proofs of his Skill and Industry, and of his Desire, that Posterity might reap the Benefit of his Labours. The Attack of the *Acapulco* Ship, considering the small Force that Captain *Candish* had with him, was a noble Instance of true *English* Bravery, which was justly rewarded by the Queen with the Honour of Knighthood. His Account of the *Philippines*, and his Descriptions of several Places in the *East Indies*, are very clear and curious, and at that time must have been very useful; but particularly his Map and Description of *Cina*, which gave great Lights at that time. Day. We may add to all this, the Care he took in the Instruction of his Seamen, many of whom afterwards distinguished themselves, by navigating other Vessels in the same stupendous Courte, and thereby filling all the known World with the Fame and Reputation of *English* Seamen. It is not, therefore, at all surprizing, that we find the best Judges, both in our own and other Nations, bestowing very high Praises upon this worthy Gentleman, who shewed, in the whole Conduct of his Voyage, the Courage and Discretion of a great Commander, with all the Skill and Diligence of an able Seaman, of both which

he has left us the strongest Testimonies in his accurate Accounts of his Expeditions.

28. The Wealth he brought from so successful a Voyage, must have been very considerable. One of our ancient Writers says, it was sufficient to have purchased a fair *Earldom*, which is a general Expression, the Meaning of which cannot be determined with any Certainty: But whatever the Sum was, which he acquired with so much Hazard, and with so great Honour, it is certain, that he did not make to prudent a Use of his good Fortune as might have been expected; for in the Space of Three Years Time the best Part of it was spent, and the rest of it he determined to lay out in a Second Expedition. We need the less wonder at this, if we consider what the Writers of those Times tell us with respect to his great Generosity, and the prodigious Expence he was at in procuring and maintaining such People as he thought might be useful to him in his naval Expeditions, upon which his Mind was continually bent. Such Things require the Revenues of a Prince; and, as he looked upon this Voyage round the World as an Introduction only to his future Undertakings, we may easily conceive, that what the World took for Extravagance, might appear to him in the Light only of necessary Disbursements, which, instead of lessening or running out, he proposed should have laid the Foundations of a more extensive Fortune. Neither was this, when all Circumstances are considered, arath or improbable Expectation; since there were many Examples in that Reign of very great Wealth obtained by this very Method by which he hoped to increase his Estate: Besides, it very clearly appears by his Will, that he did not die in Debt, but left behind him very considerable Effects, notwithstanding all the Expences to which he was put, and the many Misfortunes he encountered in his Second Expedition to the South Seas. Add to all this, that, from the happy Successes of his former Voyage, and the superior Strength with which he undertook the next, he had very good Reason to believe, that the Profits of this Enterprize would have fully compensated the Charges to which it put him, and have enabled him to have spent the Remainder of his Days in Quiet, in case he had returned to his native Country as happily as he did before. But without spending more Time in such kind of Reflections, which, however, are not unnecessary, considering the Character and Reputation of the Person they concern, let us now proceed to an Account of that unfortunate Voyage, which shall be the more concise, because we shall have an Opportunity of entering into many particulars of it in another Place, where we shall give the Reader a large Account of the curious Travels, and surprizing Adventures, of Mr. *Antony Knevet*, who was the Companion of Sir *Thomas Candish* in most of his Misfortunes, and who left the World a very copious and distinct Account of that memorable Voyage.

29. The Ships which he fitted out at his own Expence for this Voyage, were the Gallion *Leicester*, which was Admiral, the *Reebuck*, Vice-admiral, the *Desire*, the *Dunty*, and the *black Pinnace*; with which Squadron he sailed from *Plymouth*, August 6 1591. On November 29. they fell in with the Coast of *Brazil*, where they took the Town of *Santos*, and burnt that of *St. Vincent*; and then continued their Voyage for the Streights of *Magellan*, meeting thenceforward with nothing but Storms, Disappointments, and Misfortunes, various Accounts of which are still preserved, but the most copious is that of Mr. *Candish* himself, addressed to Sir *Trostram Gorges*, whom he made sole Executor of his last Will; wherein he affirms, the Misfortune happening thus: “ The running away of
 “ the Villain *Davis* (says he) was the Death of me, and
 “ Decay of the whole Action, and his only Treachery in
 “ running from me, the utter Ruin of all.” He complains also of Mutinies; and that, by South-west, and West South-west Winds, he was driven from Shore Four hundred Leagues, and from 50° to 40°. That he was taken with Winter and Storms in the Streights, and such Frosts and Snows in *May*, as he never saw the like, so that in Seven or Eight Days, Forty died, and Seventy sickened. *Davis* in the *Desire*, and his *Pinnace*, left him in the Latitude of 47°, the *Reebuck* kept with him to Thir-

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ty-six; Captain *Barker*, transgressing his Directions, was slain with Five-and-twenty Men on Land, and the Boat lost; and, soon after, Twenty-five others followed the like Fortunes; Ten others by the Cowardice of the Master of the *Roebuck*, forsaken at *Spirito Santo*, which stole away with Six Months Victuals for an hundred and Twenty Persons, they being but Forty-six. At *Sebastians* happened another Mutiny by Treachery of an *Englishman* (whose Name was *Mr. Knivet*, and other sick Persons, were let on Shore): Intending again for the Straights, he was beaten up and down those tempestuous Seas, and came within Two Leagues of *St. Helena*, but could not attain it; and, in his last Epistle, professed he had rather have put himself on an Island, if he could have found one, which the Charts place in 8°, than return; and was scarce able to hold a Pen when he wrote this. Soon after the writing of this Letter, he died of mere Grief. The *Black Pinnace* was lost, but the *Desire* arrived July 11. 1597. at *Bee-baven* in *Ireland*, after having suffered incredibly. The Admiral's own Ship also returned, but what became of the *Roebuck* I cannot find. It is very certain, that the Misfortune of this Voyage was, in some measure, prejudicial to the *English* Trade; for, upon the Return of *Mr. Candish's* Ships, abundance of able Seamen were turned abroad in the World to get their Livings as they could; and the Ruin of *Mr. Candish* having thrown a Damp on these sort of Undertakings here, those Seamen went into other Countries; and, as Knowledge is a portable Commodity, made the best Market of it they could in *Holland* and elsewhere. Amongst the rest, one *Mr. Melish*, who had been a Favourite with *Mr. Candish*, and had been his Companion in all his Voyages, offered his Service to the *Dutch East India Company*, which was then in its Infancy; and his Proposals being accepted, he was employed as Pilot in the Expe-

dition, of which I am next to speak. I have dwelt the longer upon these Points, from a Principle which, I hope, will not expose me to Censure, I mean a Jealousy for the Honour of the *British* Nation. I would not, however, have any of my Readers suspect, that this Principle will ever carry me too far, or betray me into Prejudices against Foreigners: I shall always endeavour to do them Justice, without doing Injustice to ourselves; for in this I am clear, that, with respect to the Underkings of single Persons, we have excelled all Nations. *Columbus* had the Support of their Catholic Majesties; *Mageellan* was fitted out by the Emperor *Charles V.* and both were encouraged with a Prospect of great Rewards; whereas *Sir Francis Drake*, and *Sir Thomas Candish*, undertook their Expeditions at their own Expence, and on their own Risques. What they performed, the Reader has seen. With regard to collective Bodies, or trading Companies, I must as freely acknowledge, that the *Dutch* seem to me to have had the Advantage of all Nations, not only in respect to the Wisdom shewn in their Undertakings, but also in their Steadiness and laudable Concern for the public Interest in the Pursuit of them; but that they were more early, or more fortunate, than we, in their Discoveries, I absolutely deny; they were so far from being our Masters in that Point, that in reality we were theirs; and this, I think, is a Matter of too great Consequence not to be fully insilled on. I will, therefore, freely own, that the bare Amusement, or even the Instruction, of my Readers, is not all I aim at: What I farther propose, is attempting to restore that glorious Spirit, which formerly distinguished our Nation, and which I am firmly persuaded, if set in its proper Light, may be some time or other revived; and then I do not doubt, but some future Writer may record the Actions of as great Heroes as *Drake* and *Candish*.

SECTION VI.

The Voyage of OLIVER VAN NOORT (the first attempted by the Dutch) round the World.

1. The Rise of the Dutch Company which formed the Design Oliver van Noort was sent to execute.
2. The Nature of this Project, and the Preparations for it.
3. Their Departure from Holland for the South Seas, September 13. 1598.
4. Arrive on the Coast of Brazil, after meeting with many Misfortunes.
5. Enter the Straights of Magellan in a sickly Condition.
6. Account of the Savages inhabiting these Straights.
7. Meet with Captain de Weert, who sailed in the Fleet fitted out by Verhagen.
8. Inclemency of the Weather in these Parts.
9. Enter into the South Seas, and cruise on the Coasts of Chili.
10. Account of the Indians on this Coast, and their Rebellion against the Spaniards.
11. Continue cruising on the Coasts of Chili and Peru, where they miss a vast Booty in Gold.
12. Their Course for the East Indies, and Arrival at the Ladronos.
13. Their Arrival at the Philippines.
14. Engage the Spaniards off Manila; and, after an oblique Dispute, sink their Admiral.
15. Arrive in the Port of Borneo, and trade with the Inhabitants.
16. The Danger of sailing in these Seas without having an experienced Pilot.
17. Their safe Arrival in Holland, August 26. 1601.
18. Remarks on this Voyage, and the Accounts we have of it.
19. The Reason of adding the Voyage of Captain de Weert.

THE Inhabitants of those Countries, which are now Ruled the *United Provinces*, found themselves, after their Separation from the *Spanish* Monarchy, extremely at a Loss how to supply the necessary Expences, which so long and vigorous a War, as the Struggle for their Liberties occasioned, constantly required. This gave them the more Uneasiness, because their Enemy *Philip II.* carried on the War against them, rather by the Length of his Siege, than by the Force of his Arms; and yet these Riches were derived from a Commerce prohibited to the People of this Country, even if they had submitted themselves again to the Yoke of *Spain*. The Sense therefore of these Difficulties, joined to the mighty Advantages that might be certainly reaped by overcoming them, induced the Government and People of *Holland* to prosecute Trade in general, and all Attempts to establish a Commerce with either the *East or West Indies* in particular, with the greatest Vigour. Among other Inducements to this Course, the Progress made by their Neighbours the *English*, did not a little encourage them; for they saw, that even private Persons, and with a small Force, were able to

disquiet the *Spaniards* exceedingly, at the same time that they acquired great Riches to themselves. Another Cause of their attempting such Expeditions, I mean of interfering with the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, was their failing in their first Scheme of finding another Passage to the *East Indies* than that with which those Nations were acquainted, I mean by the North-east, which they often endeavoured with great Hazard and Expence, though without Success. Their first Voyages to the *East Indies*, proving more fortunate than even themselves expected, tempted them to proceed still farther, and to aim at distressing their Enemies likewise in the South Seas, which hitherto none but the *English* had done. We are not to imagine, however, from hence, that the distressed States of *Holland* were already become so powerful at Sea, as to act offensively against the Catholic King; for that was not at all the Case: But, what they had in View was, granting such Power and Authority to any of their Subjects, who were inclined to venture upon Expeditions of this Nature at their own Risque and Expence, as might enable them to conciliate their private Advantage, and the public Good, by fitting out

out Squadrons for these distant and hazardous Voyages: A Policy, which, however it might spring from Necessity, they conducted with such Wisdom and Address, that the King of Spain soon found himself more distressed by the Armaments of the Dutch Merchants, than by all the Forces employed by the States of Holland. A plain Proof, that the shortest Way to render any Government powerful, is to interest the People in general in its Support; for this raises by degrees such a Spirit, and that Spirit produces such unthought-of Consequences, as no Art or Force are able to oppose. After this Introduction, we come naturally to speak of that Company of Merchants, at whose Expence the Expedition was undertaken, which is to be the Subject of our present Discourse.

2. About the Beginning of the Year 1598, some very eminent Merchants of the Low Countries, among whom the principal were Peter van Beveren, Hugo Gerritz, and John Bennick, formed a Design of sending some stout Ships through the Straights of Magellan to cruise in the South Seas upon the Spaniards, to which they were chiefly incited by the Reports of many English Seamen, who had served under Drake, Candish, Hawkins, and other enterprising Officers, in those Parts. The End of this Expedition was the common one of cruising on the Spanish Coasts, and obliging the Enemy of Peace to bear the Expence of those Wars in which he obliged other People to engage against their Wills, as also to gain Experience; and, if it should be found practicable, to continue their Voyage to the Philippines, and so by the Cape of Good Hope, round the World. As the Success of this important Project depended, in a great measure, on the Capacity of the General, for so in those Days the Dutch, and indeed most other Nations, called the Commander in chief, either by Land or Sea, they took care to provide themselves with a Person of established Character, as well in point of Conduct as Courage, whose Name was Oliver van Noort, a Native of Utrecht, in the Flower of his Age, and who had a strong Passion for Glory. To this Man they communicated their Scheme, which he readily embraced; and their Terms being speedily settled, they proceeded to equip two stout Vessels, the one called the *Maurice*, the other the *Henry Frederic*, and Two Yachts, called the *Concord*, and the *Hope*, manned by 248 Persons of all Ranks. Of this little Fleet Oliver van Noort, in the *Maurice*, was Admiral, James Claesz, of *Vijenda*, was Captain of the *Henry Frederic*, and had the Title of Vice-admiral; Captain Peter van Lint had the Command of the *Concord*, and John Huiscroep, of the *Hope*. These were all Men of Experience, capable of maintaining their Authority upon all Occasions, and who were themselves interested in the Success of the Voyage, a Precaution then, and ever since, taken by the Dutch in such Cases, to prevent their Expeditions suffering from the private Views, or want of Heartiness, in their Officers; which is often the Case among other Nations, and for which this Method of theirs perhaps is the only Cure.

3. When all Things were in Readiness, and the Crews of their respective Vessels absolutely complete, the Proprietors presented a Petition to the Board of Admiralty at Rotterdam, upon which, all Parties concerned were summoned thither; and, on the 28th of June 1598, the Rules and Regulations for their Government in this Expedition, which had been drawn up for them by the Company, and then revised and approved by the Stantholder Prince Maurice, and the Board, were publicly read to them, and every Man sworn to their Observance. These kind of sailing Orders the Dutch call *Arschivriets*, and never suffer them to take place till they had received this kind of Sanction from the State, and then they become the Laws of the Voyage, which whoever breaks, must suffer the Penalties mentioned in them. This is another Circumstance worthy of Remark, and a very great Proof of the Attention paid by that Republic to the Commerce of their Subjects, as well as a Check upon others, who might attempt to abuse their Authority. On the 13th of September 1598, the *Maurice* and the *Concord* sailed out of the Port of Goeree; and the *Henry Frederic*, and the *Hope*, having joined them from Amsterdam, they continued their Voyage together for Plymouth, where their English Pilot Mr. Melijb, who had

been the Companion of Sir Thomas Candish's Fortunes, was to take in his Apparel, and other Necessaries. On the 21st, they sailed from Plymouth, the Wind blowing a fresh Gale at North-east. The next Morning, when they were out of the Chanel, they perceived that the Vice-admiral's Shallop was missing with Six Men, which gave them a good deal of Concern, inasmuch that they had some Thoughts of returning to Plymouth; but an English Privateer coming up with them, soon cured them of their Pain, by assuring them, that these Six Men were lewd, good-for-nothing Fellows, who embarked for the Sake of what they could get, and had taken this Opportunity to run away with the Boat: Upon which it was resolved, not to trouble themselves any further about them. Some Jealousies, however, at that Time, sprung up, as to the Capacity and Conduct of their Vice-admiral, which were quickly increased by his losing his other Shallop, which he had in Tow, with a Man in her, and which, notwithstanding all the Care that they could take, was actually lost, which Piece of Carelessness occasioned much murmuring and Discontent amongst the Seamen, which the Vice-admiral daily increased by his haughty Behaviour, and by his Contempt for Advice, which, however, no Man wanted more than he.

4. On the 4th of October they met a small Fleet of Dutch, English, and French, which were coming from Barbary, and gave them an Account of the horrible Pestilence raging there, which had swept away 250,000 Persons in a very short Space. On the 6th, they came between Teneriff and the great Canary. November 3, they had Sight of the Coasts of Guinea. December 4 they came off Cape Palma, which lies in 32° 30' North Latitude. The 10th, they had Sight of Prince's Island, which lies 1° of North Latitude. They sent their Boats before to make some Discovery of the Isle, where, having entered with a Flag of Truce, they were met by a Negro, bearing the like Sign of Peace. They demanded only a Supply of Provisions, which was granted in very fair and friendly Terms; but, while they were settling this Point, a Party that lay in Ambuscade surprised them in a Moment, and cut off several of them, amongst which was the brave English Pilot Captain Melijb. The Portuguese pursued them to their Boats, which they very bravely attacked, killing the Admiral's Brother, and were very near taking all the rest Prisoners. In Revenge of this Outrage, it was concluded in a Council of War, to attack the Castle, which Experiment being tried, and found too hazardous, they took their Revenge in burning all their Sugar-houses. And so, having provided themselves with fresh Water, they set Sail on the 17th. The 25th they reached Cape Gonfalo: where the Wind generally blows from the Land at Night, and from the Sea in the Day. Here they found Two Dutch Ships, which informed them of the Misfortune of Captain Steekagen, who was lost, with most Part of his Company, upon Prince's Island, as they had like to have been; as also of the Voyage of Peter Verbagen, who had entered the River of Congo, and, putting in at this Place, had here buried Thirty-eight of his Company, and was gone some time before for Ancebon. January 1, 1599, they passed the Island Ancebon, which they found in 27° South Latitude; and the 28th of the same Month they had the Sun in their Zenith. The 5th they reached Cape St Thomas, upon the Coast of Brass, which lies 22° South Latitude. The 6th, they passed the Fair Cape, and in the Evening Cape Iris. On the 9th, they came to Rio Janeiro. After some Loss of Time, and Company too, by the Treacheries of their grand Enemy the Portuguese, they went to St. Sebastian, where the Comforts of a good Harbour, fresh Water, and plenty of Wood, attended them; but no Fruits were to be had at that Season.

5. March 14, a dreadful Storm surpris'd them, the Fury of which parted the Vice-admiral, and the *Hope*, from the rest of the Fleet; but they had the good Luck to meet them again on the 17th. And now the Scurvy increased amongst them, which together with the Approach of Winter, made them resolve to put in at St. Helena; but, missing that, they concluded upon the *Ascension*, or some other Island, that was capable of giving them a tolerable Entertainment. But hard Fortune brought them to a very barren and desolate

barren and desolate they had nothing which they knew therefore quick put off to Sea have reached the Continent of B to land there, lies in 21° 15' pais, and as much afforded them in Food Plums, which the 10th, they Latitude, which September 20. 15th and Peng South of this 50,000 (which of their Eggs, their sick Co the 5th, and, like Stags and some of whole teen Eggs serve the Count the Boats, not having a mind small Ramble who killed T These Savage armed with S headed with S 6. The 29th the 24th, they and plain, an England. The Straights, and by Tempests lost their Attention (worse of their Calar so far, that it Commencement Way into the South-west for Straights to be half a Mile Men upon T who bid Desipons at them fiance, pursue bony defense upon the Sp Wives and Mothers, w themselves an their own Bo kelves. But taking of fo them, which Boys, having lugeuce; Th Castelle, an kels Island w with Penguin their Cloth but these Ca with Oilrich were distig distant Reli the Kennel which Peop breathed, and up with a St with a Peng the latter th of Penguin also a Fourt

barren and desolate Island in 20° 30' South Latitude, where they had nothing but a few Fowl, (called *Malle Meuwen*) which they knocked down with their Clubs. Having therefore quickly had enough of this barren Place, they put off to Sea again; and the First of June, thinking to have reached the *Ascension*, they found themselves on the Continent of *Brasil*; but the *Portuguese* not suffering them to land there, they sailed to the Isle of *St. Clara*, which lies in 21° 15' South Latitude; it is about a Mile in Compass, and as much distant from the Continent. The Island afforded them little else but Herbs. But what it denied them in Food, it paid in Physic, yielding a sort of four Plums, which in Fifteen Days cured all their Sick. June the 10th, they sailed for Port *Desire*, in 47° 40' South Latitude, which (after much bad Weather) they reached September 20. They furnished themselves with Store of Fish and Penguins in an Island that lies Three Miles to the South of this Place. Of the latter sort of Creatures they took 50,000 (which were as big as Geese) with a vast Quantity of their Eggs, that proved good and refreshing Meat to their sick Company. They went up the River *October* the 5th, and, going on Shore, found Beasts in the Country like Stags and Buffaloes, with a Multitude of Ostriches, some of whose Neils they lighted on, in which were Nineteen Eggs. The 20th, the Admiral went ashore to observe the Country, leaving Orders with them that guarded the Boats, not to stir a Foot from their Charge; but they, having a mind, it seems, to see the Country too, took a small Ramble, and fell into an Ambuscade of Savages, who killed Three of them, and wounded the Fourth. These Savages were very tall portly Men, painted, and armed with short Bows and Arrows, which latter were headed with Stone.

6. The 29th, they sailed from hence; and, *November* the 24th, they made *Cape Virgins*, where the land is low and plain, and, by its Whiteness, yields a Prospect like *England*. They made many Attempts to have entered the Straights, and were as often frustrated, being beaten back by Tempests of Wind, Rain, Hail, and Snow. They lost their Anchors, broke their Cables; Sickness and Contention (worse than any Disease) were added to all the rest of their Calamities; and all these retarded their Progress so far, that it was very near Fifteen Months (from the Commencement of the Voyage) before they could make their Way into the Straights. They observed the Land to lie South-west from the *Cape Virgins*, and the Mouth of the Straights to be about Fourteen Miles Distance from it, and half a Mile in Breadth. *November* 25, they saw some Men upon Two Islands that lay near the *Cape Nassau*, who bid Defiance to the *Hollanders*, and took their Weapons at them; but they landing, notwithstanding this Defiance, pursued the Savages to a Cave, which they stubbornly defended to the last Man, dying every one of them upon the Spot. The *Dutch*, being got in, found their Wives and Children in that dark receptacle; and the Mothers, who expected nothing but present Death to themselves and their Infants, covered the little ones with their own Bodies, resolving to receive the first Stab themselves. But the *Dutch* did them no more Injury than the taking of Four Boys and Two Girls of their Number from them, which they brought on Ship-board. One of the Boys, having learnt to speak *Dutch*, gave them this Intelligence; That the greater of these Two Islands was called *Castemma*, and the Tribe that inhabited it *Enoo*; that the less Island was called *Taher*; and that both were well stor'd with Penguins, whose Flesh was their Food, and the Skins their Clothing; and, as for Habitations, they had none but these Caves: That the adjoining Continent abounded with Ostriches, which also served for Food: That they were distinguished into Tribes, which had their several distinct Residences, the *Kemenates*, that dwelt in *Kaefay*; the *Kennekin*, in *Karamoy*; the *Karunks*, in *Morrina*; all which People were of the common Size, but broader breasted, and painted all over; the Men tying the Pudenda up with a String, and the Women covering those Parts with a Penguin's Skin; the former wearing long Hair, and the latter shaven; but both Sorts naked, except a Cloak of Penguin skins, reaching to the Waists: That there was also a Fourth Tribe of them, called *Turmenen*, that dwelt

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in *Coin*; and these were of a gigantic Stature, being Ten or Twelve Feet high, and continually at War with the other Tribes.

7. The 28th, they passed over to the Continent, and saw some Whales at a Distance, having Sight too of a very pleasant River, about which are very delicate Trees, and Store of Parrots: Upon the score of this pleasant Prospect, they called this *Summer Bay*. The 29th, they set Sail for Port *Famine*; here the Land tends so far to the South, that the Islands of *Pantagons*, and *Terra del Fuego*, seem afar off to meet together. They found no remaining Tokens here of the late famous *Philip's City*, but a Heap of Stones, to shew, that once there had been a Building. The *Magellanic Straights* are in Breadth here about Four Miles; the Hills on both Sides of which are vastly high and deep, and all the Year long covered with Snow. Here, at Port *Famine*, they cut down Wood to make them a Boat, and found the Bark of the Trees to be hot, and, in Taste, biting like Pepper. Having no good Watering here, they left this Place, (doubting, indeed, whether it were Port *Famine* or no) and, after Two Miles past, found a good River. This was *December* the First. The next Day they doubled *Cape Froward*, with some Danger, by reason of unsafe Anchorage, and contrary Winds; so passing Four Miles farther into a large Bay, they anchored there. Here was a Plant like *Sneeze-wort*, good against the Scurvy; and another, which caused Madnes, making some that tasted it almost distracted for a time. Here they had a Sight of *Sebahian de Weert's* Ship, who was one of *Verbagen's* Company, with which another of the same Fleet had been driven back out of the South Sea. He told them he had spent above Five Months in the Straights, and had but Thirty-eight left out of One hundred and Ten Men, and, not being able to endure the Storms of the South Sea, was forced to put in there, while the rest of the Fleet held on their Course.

8. *January* 2, 1600, they set out again, directing their Course to *Maurice Bay*, which they observed to extend very far Southward, and to receive several Rivers into it; in the Mouths of which were vast Quantities of Ice, that seemed never to melt all the Year round: For though this was near the Midsummer Season in that Southern Climate, yet the Ice was so thick, that at Ten Fathom Sounding they could not reach the Bottom of it. The Land also seemed to be an Heap of broken Islands, which the Height of the Mountains made appear like one firm and continued Piece. Here they had the Distresses of Hunger, and continual Rains, and the Loss of Two of their Company, who were killed by the Savages as they were picking Mussels, which were their chief Sustainance. Having weathered out many Storms which endangered them in *Menisse Bay*, and some Encounters too with the Savages, they set Sail on the 17th, and were driven by a Storm into *Goose or Penguin Bay*, Three Miles distant, and receiving the Name from the Multitude of that Sort of Fowl found there; of which they observed, that they could both dive and swim very well, but not fly at all. Here the Vice-admiral, for divers Crimes, was condemned by a Council of War to be turned ashore, there to shift for himself amongst the wild Beasts, and wilder Inhabitants of the Country; which was executed accordingly.

9. *February* the 1st, they entered another Bay, which they called *Popish Bay*, and in which they run many Hazards. On the 27th, they saw at a Distance a huge Mountain of Ice in *Penguin Bay*; but the next Day, viz. the last of *February*, they bid adieu to all those dismal Prospects, and passed *Cape Desire* into the South Sea. Their Company was now 147, but quickly lessened by the Loss of the Ship of the Vice-admiral, whom they dropt. *March* the 12th, expecting her in vain, they sailed to the Island *La Mosha*, which is about Six Miles from the Continent, and lies in 38° South Latitude. It is remarkable for an high Mountain in the Middle of it, that cleaves at Top to make Way for a Course of Waters into the Valley underneath it. Here they barter'd Knives and Hatchets for Sheep, Hens, Maize, Bartulas, and other Fruit. They went to see the Town, which consisted of about Fifty Houses of Straw, where they were entertained with a four sort of Drink called *Cier*, which is made of Maize steeped in Water, and

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and is the choice Liquor used at their Feasts. Polygamy is much practis'd amongst them, and they buy as many Wives as they can keep; so that a Man that has a good many Daughters, may chance to get an Estate by them, especially if they prove handsome. If one Man kill another, the Kindred of the murdered Person are his Judges and Executioners; for they have no Laws, nor public Magistrates, to keep up any Form of Justice amongst them: But yet a Man may possibly buy off his Punishment too, by making a Drinking-bout of Ciel. They make their Cloaths of the Wool of a very large sort of Sheep, which Creatures they also use to carry Burdens. They would not sell any of these, though they did of another Sort, not much differing from the common. *St. Mary's* Island lies Eighteen Miles from hence in $37^{\circ} 15'$ South Latitude. Here they met with a *Spanish* Ship that was carrying Lard and Meal to *Arava* and *Conception*, which they chased and took. The Pilot of this Ship told them, they could not get back to *St. Mary's* Island because of the South Winds, and that there were Two Men of War waiting for their coming in *Arava*: Upon which Information, they concluded to sail to *Val Paraiso*, and, by that means, quite lost their Vice admiral, which might have otherwise come up to them at last. Besides, they concluded, that she missed the Island *St. Mary*, upon the wrong placing it in *Plancius's* Map, as high as 35° , when indeed it lies in $37^{\circ} 15'$. And this Error they themselves had fallen into, had not Captain *Melish* set them right by his Observations. And it farther confirmed them in their Resolutions not to sail back to *St. Mary's* Island, to hear of the Misfortune of *Simon de Cordes* there, who was in a friendly manner invited ashore, and then butchered by the *Indians*, together with Twenty-three of his Men, the treacherous *Spaniards* endeavouring to get his Two Ships into their Hands, and sending Intelligence to *Lima*, and all the Country about, of the Arrival of the *Dutch*, and the Names of their Captains and Commanders. For these Reasons, they bent their Course to *Val Paraiso*, where they took Two Ships, and killed some *Indians*, but the *Spaniards* were all gone. This *Val Paraiso* lies in 33° South Latitude; and, up in the Country, about Eighteen Miles distant, lies *St. Iago*, a Town that affords good Store of red Wine and Sheep, which they kill only for the Suet, with which alone they lade many Vessels. Here they received Letters from the Captain of the *Flying Hart*, one of *Verhagen's* Company, who was treacherously taken by the *Spaniards*; which hard Fate, he informed them, he had avoided, had he not been misguided by the wrong placing of *St. Mary's* Island in the Map.

10. At *St. Iago* they intercepted some Letters, which gave an Account of the Wars between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in *Chili*: The former, being, it seems, in Rebellion, had sacked the Town of *Baldivia*, putting vast Numbers of the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and carrying off many Troops of Captives: They burnt the Houses and Churches, and struck off the Heads of the Popish Images, crying, Down go the Gods of the *Spaniards*. They crammed their Mouths with Gold, and bid them satisfy themselves with that, for the Sake of which their Votaries had made so many barbarous Sacrifices amongst them. Besides all this, they laid close Siege to the City *Imperiale*, and almost starved the *Spanish* Garrison there. The valiant *Indians* that undertook this Action were about 5000, of which 3000 were Horse, 100 Shot, and 20 Corlets, all which Furniture were *Spanish* Plunder. They so mortally hate the *Spaniards*, that they rip up the Breasts of all they overcome, to have the Pleasure of tearing out their Hearts with their Teeth; and it adds very much to the Taste of their Liquor, to drink it out of a Cup made of a *Spaniard's* Skull. They are for the most part very stout and skilful Soldiers, and commit all their military Affairs to the Management of one supreme General, whose Orders they continually obey: But their Method of Election to this Honour is something odd; for he that carried a Timber Log on his Shoulders the longest, and with the least Degree of Weariness, was saluted General by the Army; several in this Trial bore it for Four, Five, Six Hours; but, at last, one carried it Twenty-four Hours outright, and was General at this time. All this Country of *Chili*, from

St. Iago to *Baldivia*, is one of the most fertile and delightful Spots in the World: There are all sorts of Cattle and Fruits, Gold Mines in abundance, an Air sweet and wholesome to that Degree, that it is itself Lite and Medicine, and excludes the Use of all other Physic.

11. April 1. they entered the Bay *La Gaesco*, and left it the Seventh following. The 11th, they came into a great Bay, called *Moro Garcia*; Ten Miles from which is *Moro Moreno*, from which the Shore runs to *Arica*; and all this Tract, up to *St. Francis's* Hill, is very much subject to South Winds, though in the adjoining Sea they are very variable and uncertain. The 20th, the Air was all darkened with an *Arcual*, which is a Cloud of Dust raised so thick, that a Man cannot see a Stone's Cast from him; they are brought off from the adjacent Shores, and are very common in those Parts. The 25th, they were within View of the famous City of *Lima*, and now they came to understand the Value of the Treasure which the Malice of the *Spaniards* had robbed them of, and which otherwise they had found in those Ships they took at *St. Iago*. This Discovery was thus made: *Nicolas Peterjon*, who was Captain of the Prize, acquainted the Admiral, that a Negro he had on board, whose Name was *Emanuel*, had informed him, that there was a great Quantity of Gold on board the Ship, to the Amount, as he believed, of Three Tons, with which he was the better acquainted, because himself had helped to carry a great Part of it on board. The Admiral, upon this Information, examined his *Spanish* Pilot very closely, who at first refused to own any thing; but another Negro, whose Name was *Sebastian*, having admitted the Fact, and acquainted them with some farther Circumstances, the *Spanish* Pilot at last owned, that they had on Board Fifty-two Chests, containing each Four Arches of Gold, and, besides this, 500 Bars of the same Metal, weighing from Eight to Ten and Twelve Pounds apiece; all which, together with whatever private Stock any of the Ship's Company had, the Captain caused to be thrown over-board the Night he was first chased, amounting in the Whole to about 10,200 lb. Weight of Gold, and, from its Fineness, worth about 2,000,000 of Pieces of Eight. The Admiral, upon this, ordered the Ship to be searched, and then the Prisoners, but to very little Purpose; for, except a single Pound of Weight of Gold-dust, tied up in a little Bag, in the *Spanish* Pilot's Breaches, there was not a Grain to be found. The Prisoners owned, that all this Gold was brought from the Island of *St. Mary*, where the Mines were discovered about Three Years before, and that there were not, on that Island, above Three or Four *Spaniards*, and about 200 *Indians* armed only with Bows and Arrows.

12. September 5. they had Sight of the *Ladrans*; and, the 16th, came to *Guana*, which is one of them; an Island Twenty Miles in Extent, and yielding Fish, Cocones, Bananas, Sugar canes, which the *Indians* brought in a great Number of Canoes up to their Ships. Sometimes they met with Two hundred of these Canoes, with Four or Five Men apiece, which would come all hollowing together, *Hero, Hero*, that is, Iron, Iron, and with very Eagerness run their Canoes upon the Ships, and overturn them, Goods and all. They were very sly, subtle sort of People, honest with good looking to; but otherwise they would sell a Man a Basket of Cocoa shells, with a little Rice a Pop, for a Basket of Rice, and whip a Sword out of the Scabbard, and so skip into the Water, and away to the Bottom, whither a Man must go after them, if he mean to have Satisfaction: And the Women were as good at these Rogueries as the Men; they would steal as impudently, and dive as well to hide it.

13. The 17th, they sailed for the *Philippines*; on the 20th, they met with Ice, yet were then in 3° North Latitude: On October 10. they came to *Bayla* Bay, a very fertile Land; at which Place, by pretending that they were *Spaniards*, they got Store of all necessary Provisions for their Ships. The *Spaniards*, who are Lords here, make the *Indians* pay Ten single Reals a Head for every one above Twenty Years old. These poor Creatures are mostly naked, and mark their Skins with Figures so deeply impressed, that they never wear out. Being discovered, but after having obtained their Ends, they sailed for the

Streight

Streight of *Mam* they observed, when the Gull of *Wir* Masts and Sails, any thing they them went ashore of Water, after Flux. The 24th sailed by the *Ma* passed the *Ma* near which they cover, bottomed which is Eighty to carry, and go

14. November Provision for *Ma* them this Intellig great Ships, that and a *Dutch* Ship the Town was w secure the Ships Trade from *Chin* every Year from Things, between that Two Ships with Iron, and they took Two *B* were the *Spanis* as it happened, room of it. The *dere*, right again Miles Distance, a Island, by which Island *Luffon* is but a Cluster of small Trade, than to the it enjoys. Lying Expectation of one of them: She spent Twenty-five her was something Chimney, and her the Sails being m the Cables of *Str* bald, except one Mode of that Co one laden with C with Hens and R Ships returning. ing commenced a ing overpowered Circumstances, t *Spaniards*, and She was just upon *mb* Admiral, (wh Day) when her o very resolute Pul all, if they did n at a better Rate Rage, Fear, and other Way, toug time, they clear Admiral, and at more than Five by Wounds, th Thirty-five. But dreds that pensil and knocked on greatest Loss the which encounter by her; which v but Twenty five *ards* and *Indians*.

15. From here of the Isle of that and lies in 5° N $14^{\circ} 40'$, and, i Island 180 Miles putting into a gr

Streight of *Manilla*; all the Track approaching to which, they observed, was waste, barren, and rocky. Here a sudden Gull of Wind from the South-east carried away their Masts and Sails, and treated them with more Fury, than any thing they had before met with. The 23d, some of them went ashore, and eat Palmitos, and drank good Store of Water, after which they were seized with the bloody Flux. The 24th, they entered the Streight itself, and sailed by the Island in the Midst; and, in the Evening, passed the Island *Capul*, Seven Miles within the Streight, near which they found Whirlpools, as far as they could discover, bottomless. They now crowded Sail for *Manilla*, which is Eighty Miles from *Capul*, wanting both Wind to carry, and good Maps and a Pilot to direct them.

14. November 7, they took a Junk of *China*, laden with Provision for *Manilla*: The Master of this Vessel gave them this Intelligence; that there werethen at *Manilla* Two great Ships, that came every Year from *New Spain* thither, and a *Dutch* Ship also, that was bought at *Malacca*; that the Town was walled about, and there were Two Forts to secure the Ships that ride there: That there was a vast Trade from *China* thither, no less than 400 Ships coming every Year from *Canton*, with Silk and other valuable Things, between *Easter* and *December*; and particularly, that Two Ships were shortly expected from *Japan*, laden with Iron, and other Metals, and Provisions. The 15th, they took Two Barks laden with Hens and Hogs, which were the *Spanish* Tribute, but became Meat for the *Dutch*, as it happened, who sent them a few Linen Bolts in the room of it. They passed the Islands *Bankingie* and *Mindora*, right against which is the Isle *Lou-bon*, at Two Miles Distance; and, between them both, is another smaller Island, by which there is a safe Passage for Ships. The Island *Luffon* is bigger than *England* and *Scotland*, and has a Cluster of smaller Islands about it: It is more beholden to Trade, than to the Happiness of its own Soil, for the Riches it enjoys. Lying at Anchor in 15° North Latitude, in Expectation of these *Japan* Ships, December 1. they took one of them: She was of Fifty Ton Burden, and had spent Twenty-five Days in the Voyage. The Form of her was something strange; her Fore-part being like a Chimney, and her Furniture very agreeable to her Shape; the Sails being made of Reeds, the Anchors of Wood, and the Cables of Straw. The *Japanese* aboard her were all bald, except one Tuft of Hair left behind; and this is the Mode of that Country. The 9th, they took Two Barks, one laden with *Cocoa-wine* and *Aqua Vitæ*, and the other with Hens and Rice. The 14th, they met with the *Spanish* Ships returning Home from *Manilla*, upon which Meeting commenced a very smart Engagement: The *Dutch*, being overpowered by Multitudes, were reduced to very bad Circumstances, their Admiral being boarded once by the *Spaniards*, and almost got intirely into their Possession. She was just upon the Point of yielding herself to the *Spanish* Admiral, (who had pressed her very hard almost all the Day) when her own Admiral, seeing all was lost without a very resolute Push, threatened to blow up Ship, Men and all, if they did not beat the *Spaniards* off again, and fight at a better Rate: The *Dutch*, at this, hurried on with Rage, Fear, and Despair of preserving themselves any other Way, fought to its good Purpose, that, in a little time, they cleared their own Ship, boarded the *Spanish* Admiral, and at last sunk her. This Action cost them no more than Five Lives, and Twenty six more endangered by Wounds, the whole Company left being now but Thirty-five. But of the *Spaniards* there were several Hundreds that perished, partly in the Fight, and partly drowned and knocked on the Head after the Fight was over. The greatest Loss the *Dutch* had was that of their Pinnace, which encountered the *Spanish* Vice Admiral, and was taken by her; which was no strange Thing, considering she had but Twenty five Men to fight against Five hundred *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

15. From hence they set Sail for *Borneo*, the chief Town of the Isle of that Name, which is 180 Miles from *Manilla*, and lies in 5° North Latitude, as *Manilla* does in about 14° 40'; and, in their Way to it, passed by *Bolutan*, an Island 180 Miles long. The 26th, they came to *Borneo*, putting into a great Bay, Three Miles in Compass, where

there was good Anchoring, as also good Fishing in a neighbour River, and the Fishermen very ready to barter their Fish for Linen Cloth. The Admiral, by a Messenger, craved Leave of the King to trade there; but he, suspecting them to be *Spaniards*, would come to no Terms with them, till his Officers had searched, and found the contrary; so they traded here for Pepper with the *Patannees*, a Sort of People of a *Chinese* Original. The *Borneans* and they were fond of *China* Linen; but that, which came out of *Holland*, was a mere Drug. In the mean time the *Borneans* laid a Plot to surprize their Ship; and, to effect it, *January* the 11 1601. they came up to them with an Hundred Prows, and, pretending to bring Presents from the King, would have boarded them; but the *Dutch*, smelling what those Presents were, desired them to keep from their Vessel, or they should be obliged to make them do so with their Shot, which Resolution of theirs the *Borneans* seeing, desisted from the Attempt. *Borneo* is the greatest Island in the *East Indies*. The capital City, bearing the same Name, contains 3000 Houses; but stands in a dirty, marshy Soil; so that they may go in their Prows from one Houfe to another. The Inhabitants all go armed from the Noblesman to the Fisherman; and the very Women have so much of the Soldier in their Composition, that, if they receive any Affront, they presently revenge themselves with Dagger or Javelin upon him that gives it. This a *Dutch* Man had like to have proved to his Cost; for, having some Way disguised one of these *Bornean* Viragoes, she set upon him with a Javelin, and had dispatched him, if she had not been prevented by main Force. They are *Mabometans* in point of Religion, and so very superstitious therein, that they'll sooner die than taste any thing that comes from a Swine; neither will they keep any of those Creatures about them. The better Sort of them have a Covering of Linen from the Waist downwards, and a Cotton Turban on their Heads; but the common People go all naked. They chew a great deal of Beetle and Aracca in this Island, which is also a mighty Fashion in many other Parts. The *Dutch*, seeing little Hope of profitable Trade here, sailed for *Bantam*, not extremely well pleased either with the Country, or its Inhabitants.

16. *January* the 4th in the Night, Four *Borneans* came to the Ship, with a Design to have cut their Cables, and so to have brought the Ship aground; but, being discovered, and pelted with Shot, they marched off, leaving their Prow behind them; which the *Dutch* took instead of their own Boat lost at *Manilla*. The next Day they met with a Junk from *Japan*, bound for *Manilla*, which informed them of a great *Dutch* Ship forced by Tempests into *Japan*, all the Company of which, by *Famine* and *Sickness*, were dead, to Fourteen; that they came first to *Bongo* in 34° 40' North Latitude, and afterwards, by the King's Order, removed to *Atenza* in 36° 30'; that they were there in a safe Harbour, and had liberty to trade, and build a new Ship; which done, they might dispose of themselves as they pleased. By this Account, they doubted not but this Ship was *Verhagen's* Admiral; so, dismissing the *Japanese* Vessel, they went on, and passed the Line a Third time, sailing in no little Fear and Danger for want of a Pilot, and good Charts. The 16th, they took a Junk of *Jr.*, and in her a skillful Pilot, who came in good Time to save them from Shipwreck, which otherwise, in all Likelihood, had been their Fate in those Seas; for now they had but one Anchor left, and the Cable of that almost worn out; and, besides, had so many Shoals and Islands about them on every Side, that it was an easy Matter for a Ship, a Stranger there, to have miscarried. Some of these Islands were *Binta* and *Crisfata*, which yield Diamonds, that are sold at *Manilla*. The 28th, they came to *Jortan* upon the Isle of *Java*, where they had News of *Dutch* Ships at *Bantam*. The City consists of about 1000 Timber Houses. The King commands a considerable Part of that End of the Island, and had lately conquered *Bilambuan*, a little Island, that lies just by the South-east of *Jortan*. They are said to be *Mabometans* in the Country thereabouts, tho' the *Pagoels* in *Ule Rill* seem to argue some Kind of Mixture of the *Indian* Superstition with that of *Mabomet*, or at least a Toleration of it in the Whole amongst the common People. Their chief Priest is an old Man of 120,

who

who has a good round Family of Wives; and the old Man lives on nothing but the Milk, which he sucks from his Wives Breasts. Sailing hence, they saw a great Portuguese Ship of 600 Ton stick on the Shoals. She was going to Ambina, on a Design of ingrolling all that Trade to herself, and was thus stopped by the Way; at least, this was the Account the Portuguese gave of her, tho' the General suspected, that she actually put to Sea in order to cruise for them; and therefore they were the less concerned for her Misfortune, and the less careful in assisting her Crew, consisting originally of 6 or 700 Men, of which many were still on board her, and in Danger of perishing.

12. February the 5th they passed the Streights between Balamboa and Baty; and, leaving Java North-east from them, on the 11th they found themselves in 13° South Latitude, and then directed their Course to the Cape of Good Hope. On the 18th they had the Sun vertical at Noon, being then in 11° 20'. and here a Calm began that lasted Eleven Days. March the 11th they came into 24° 45'; and the 24th into 28° 10'. April the 1st they made 30° 50'; and the 19th (having been considerably retarded between cross Winds and Calms) they were forced to lessen their Measures of Water; but the 24th at Night they saw a Light like Fire about Four Miles to the North-west, Land now being near; whereas they reckoned themselves 200 Miles from the Cape, and not being aware of their Approach to any other. The 25th they were in 34° 35'; and now the Calms gave them Liberty to mend their Sails. At Night they saw another Fire, and the next Morning Land, bearing North-easterly. The 27th they came into 34° 40', and within Six or Seven Miles of the Land. May the 2d, they made 35° 15'; and the next Morning saw, between the East and North, something like the End of an Island, about Six Miles off, by which they fancied themselves near the Cape. And then they directed their Course to St. Helena, where they arrived the 26th, and refreshed themselves with good Water, Fish, and some Flesh; but no Cabritos, nor Fowl, (which are both hard to be taken) nor Oranges, could they meet with here. They left this Island the 30th, and June the 14th passed the Line the Fourth Time. The 16th they met with Six Dutch Ships bound for the East Indies, James Heemskerck Admiral. These had fought Thirteen Spanish Ships near the Salt Islands, and had lost both their Pinnace and Vice-admiral, the former taken by the Spaniards, and the latter gone from them; but they hoped secure. July the 8th they came into 27° North Latitude, and met with Store of the Weed *Saragossa* floating in the Water. The 13th they were in 32° 30', and then had Fifteen Days Calm, and a very weedy Sea. The 22d they were driven to a very short Allowance of Bread, and that worm-eaten too, their Stock being almost spent. August the 1st they made 40° North Latitude, and left the Island Flores which comes about Forty-five Miles to Westward. The 18th Three Ships of Embden met them, and exchanged Bread and Flesh for Rice and Pepper with them, and withal shewed them, that they were not so near England as their Master had told them, who had promised to make the Lizard the next Day. On the 26th of August, about Noon, they arrived safely before the City of Rotterdam, where they were received with the utmost Joy, as

having performed so perilous a Voyage as cost them near Three Years Time.

18. The Company, at whose Expence General van Noort had been fitted out, were extremely well pleased with his Conduct through the whole Affair, tho' attended with no great Success to them; for his Returns were far short of what had accrued from former Expeditions; but the Glory of sharing with the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, the Honour of making new Discoveries, and even of surrounding the Globe, made the Dutch better pleased with General van Noort, than with any of their Navigators: Yet it is apparent, that he met with greater Difficulties, and performed his Voyage more slowly, than our English Captains had done, tho' assisted by many Lights, which they wanted, as well as much better furnished at his first setting out. One thing is extremely remarkable, which is the rigorous Discipline observed throughout the Voyage, and which was felt not only by inferior Seamen, for such Faults as either the Meanness of their Temper might prompt, or the Sharpness of their Miseries excuse, but by the Second Person in the Fleet, and who, in case any Accident had befallen the General, would have become the First of course. This Act of Justice was performed with much Solemnity and Circumpection: He was proceeded against for Breach of the Articles established and sworn to before they proceeded on the Voyage, had Time allowed him for his Defence, and, on a fair Hearing, was condemned to be deserted in the Streights of Magellan, having only a small Quantity of Provisions put on Shore with him; so that he was quickly destroyed by Hunger, or fell a Victim to the Rage of the Savages, who were implacable Enemies to Foreigners. The Dread of such a Punishment keeps those within due Bounds, whose Errors are most fatal in such Voyages. For want of a Power of this Nature, many great Undertakings have been overthrown, a Competition between Commanders being naturally attended with Factions in the Fleet; and then the Gratification of private Ends is constantly preferred to the Good of the Whole.

19. We meet, in this Voyage, with an Account of Captain de Weert's being found in the Magellanic Streights, and of his being left there by General van Noort, because he found it impracticable to stay for him. In the original Account of this Voyage, we meet with frequent References to that of de Weert's, who was one of the best Seamen in Holland, and lived to distinguish himself by many more successful Expeditions. It has been found necessary therefore by all who have attempted Collections of this Sort, to add this Voyage of de Weert, tho' he was no Circumnavigator, to that of van Noort, and, I think, with good Reason. First, because it is certain, that Captain de Weert was fitted out with an Intent, that he should have gone by the Streights of Magellan to the Indies; and next, because it is very difficult to find so good a Description of those famous Streights, as he has given us. From these Motives, I have been led to the Pursuit of the same Method; and I persuade myself, the Reader will be as well pleased to see the Firmness of an able Commander struggling with a long Series of Mistunes, as with the Felicity of other Captains, who have achieved, with less Difficulty, what, with equal Courage and Conduct, was attempted by him.

SECTION VII.

The remarkable Voyage of Captain SEBALD DE WEERT to the South Seas, and the Streights of Magellan, intended as a Supplement to the former Section.

1. The Occasion of this Voyage, and the Departure of the Five Ships from Holland June the 27th 1502
2. Their Arrival at the Island of Brava.
3. Their Disputes with the Portuguese Inhabitants of that Island.
4. The Death of their Admiral, and his Supercargo.
5. The Regulations that ensued upon these Accidents.
6. Shape their Course for the Island of Annobon.
7. They proceed to the Coast of Guinea, where their Vice-admiral falls sick.
8. They land, and are well received by a Negro King; but afterwards differ with him, and obtain Refreshments by Force.
9. Their Arrival at the Island of Annobon, and the injurious State of their Men.
10. The Difficulties they met with there, and Disputes with the Portuguese.
11. Proceed to the Coast of Brasil, and from thence for the Streights of Magellan.
12. The Difficulties they met with there, and a Description of the Coast.
13. Their Disputes with the Savages.
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14. *The Institution of a new Order of Knighthood of the Lion set free.* 15. *The Barbarity of the Savages of this Country.* 16. *They enter the South Seas, where they met with greater Storms than before.* 17. *Are obliged, by Strife of Weather, to put back into the Streights.* 18. *Suffer prodigious Hardships there for Nine Months.* 19. *A Female Savage and Two Children taken by them in an Island in those Streights.* 20. *They discover the Fleet under the Command of Oliver Van Noort, and resolve to join it.* 21. *Are obliged however to remain in the Streights, for want of Provisions.* 22. *Meatbats taken by them to subsist in those Streights.* 23. *They discover some small Islands without the Streights, which in Honour of their Captain, they call the Sebaldine Islands.* 24. *Arrive on the Coast of Guiney.* 25. *Come safely into the Maese, July, 13. 1600.*

THE Inhabitants of the *United Provinces* being very desirous of promoting, to the utmost of their Power, such Discoveries as might prove beneficial to their Navigation and Commerce, the City of *Rotterdam* procured Leave from the States to fit out Five *Rout Ships* for the Streights of *Magellan*. Of these the largest was called *The Hope*, of 500 Tons, which had 130 Men on board, *James Mashu*, the Admiral of this little Fleet, being aboard of her. The Second Ship, named *The Love*, (or *Charity*) of 300 Tons, had on board 110 Men, *Simon de Carles* Vice-admiral Commander. The Third, called *The Faith*, of 320 Tons, with 100 Men, was commanded by *Gerard Van Bueningen*. The Fourth was named *The Industry*, of 220 Tons, with 86 Seamen, *Jurian Boekholt* Captain. The Fifth was a Yacht called *The Merry Messenger*, of 150 Tons, and manned with 112 Men, under the Command of Captain *Sebald de Weert*. These Five Ships were well provided with all manner of Provisions and Ammunition, with Cannon, Money, Merchandize, and all Necessaries whatever for a long Voyage. The Pilot, upon whom they chiefly depended, was one *Willelm Adams* an *Englishman*, a Person of great Experience, and of whom we shall have Occasion to say much in another Place; and they had, besides him, Three *Englishmen* more on board the Admiral. June the 27th 1598 the Fleet sailed out of the Chanel of *Goeree*; but, the Wind being contrary, they were forced to lie at Anchor in the Downs upon the *English Coast* till the 15th of July. Then, the Wind being fair, they sailed again; and, having consumed Part of their Provisions, the Commanders were so provident, as to take in more, for fear of Want. On the 19th of July they were on the Coast of *Barbary*; and, towards the latter End of August, they arrived in the Harbour of *St. Iago*, which is one of the *Cape de Verd* Islands, where they remained till the 10th of September, notwithstanding the Country was very unwholesome, and their Pilots, particularly *Mr. Adams*, remonstrated strongly against their continuing there; which so much offended their Officers, fonder of Authority, it seems, than Safety, that they resolved never more to call their Pilots to Council; which seems to have been the Source of all their subsequent Misfortunes, and of that restless Spirit of Mutiny and Discontent, which possessed the Seamen on board their Fleet.

2. The 11th in the Afternoon, they were off the Island of *Brava*, which is desert; But, the Bottom being rocky, they could not latten the Anchors; so that they tacked all Night, till the next Morning, coasting along, they found some fresh Water; but it was very hard to be got, because the Bottom was not good. However, the Sloops of *Bueningen* and *Boekholt* landed with empty Casks, and filled them with Water, and retained safe on board, tho' it was in the Night, and the Ships were under Sail the mean time. Captain *de Weert*, embarking in the Admiral's Sloop, went into a little sandy Bay, where he landed; and, roaming about to find some fresh Water, he saw some *Portuguese* and *Negroes* coming to him. He spoke to them at a Distance, because they would not approach him, and desired them to shew him where there was fresh Water, and to tell him some fruit, if they had any. They told him, that the *Trenb* and *English* Ships used to come and fetch some fresh Water near that Place; but they were always under Sail. As to the Retirements, they had none, but they might find enough in the Island *del Fuego*; and that, if they had any, they durst not tell them without the Governor's Leave, who resided upon the Mountain. After that they retired. Captain *de Weert*, having viewed several

Places, found at last Four or Five little ruined Houfes. The Door of one of them being shut up with Stones, he broke it open, and found it full of *Turkey Wheat*. He staid himself in the Houfe, with Three of his Men, to keep it; and sent the Sloop on board, to give notice of it to the General, fearing the *Portuguese* would come in the Night to take it away; but, by good Luck, the small Ship belonging to the Bishop of *St. Thomas*, taken by the *Dutch* in *Praya*, being arrived in the Bay, and lying at Anchor, *de Weert* transported all the Wheat thither. They were all Night doing it, because there were but Eight of them to carry it; and, having no Sacks, they made use of their Breeches. They also took in the same Place Two great *Tortoises*, which had above 600 Eggs in their Bellies, and made many good Meals of them. The *Portuguese* and the *Negroes*, having Notice that same Night, that the *Dutch* were carrying away their Corn, came down the Mountain, and made a heavy Noise; but *de Weert*, who had but Two Fuzils, fired on them, and made them retire.

3. When the Wheat was on board the Ship, the Captain and his Men went to rest themselves. The next Day, *de Weert* landing again, the *Portuguese* came down to speak with him. They complained, that he had taken their Corn without Reason; that they had no Victuals, and were reduced to the Danger of starving with Hunger. The Captain told them, That he was very well informed, that this Wheat lay there near the Road, to be transported to *St. Iago*; that he could not believe, that, living upon the Mountain, they would keep their Provisions near the Shore; however, he was ready to pay for it dearer than they could sell it at *St. Iago*, provided they would shew him fresh Water; that they might easily excuse themselves to the Governor, and say, the *Dutch* had taken their Corn by Force, and so might keep the Money to themselves. The *Portuguese*, seeming to like these Reasons, promised the Captain to shew him a Place of fresh Water on the other Side of the Island, whether they would go, and make a signal with Fire; but they were not as good as their Words. *De Weert*, coming on board again, found the Admiral very sick, and the Council assembled; and that his Opinion was, not to stay any longer. He also resigned his Command to the Vice-admiral, and desired the whole Fleet to obey him, ordering, that his Ship should bear the Flag in the Day, and have the Light hung out in the Night. The Vice-admiral, having taken Advice of the Captains, was informed of the Quantity of Water that was in each Ship; and it was ordered, that those, that had the most, should give to the others; and that the Proportions of Victuals should be lessened: But, because they could not get fresh Water in Three or four Months Time, without a long Stay, the Seamen had Orders to gather the Rain-water, and be good Husbands of it. The Proportions of Wine were also abated, and, because the greatest Part of the Admiral's Ship's Crew were sick, they resolved that each Ship should take in Two or Three of them, and exchange them for the same Number of sound Men.

4. September 15. the Fleet sailed South east with a North-east Wind. The 22. the Admiral fired a Gun, and put up the Stern-flag, as a Signal for the Captains to come on board his Ship. There they found their Admiral very sick of a Burning Fever, and out of Hopes of Recovery. His Supercargo *Daniel Resseau* was also very sick; and both of them died the next Night.

5. The Loss of the Admiral was lamented by the whole Fleet. He was of a mild and sweet Temper, honest, careful, diligent, and very kind to the Seamen. He was pur

* This has been always esteemed one of the best written, and most curious, of all the *Dutch Voyages*; but what has been hitherto published hereof in our Collections, has been miserably imperfect: We therefore give it at large.

into a Coffin half-full of Stones, and thrown into the Sea, with the usual Ceremonies. The Council being assembled, they opened the Letters of the Directors, and other Parties concerned, which were ordered to be opened in such a Cafe; and found, that the Vice-admiral was to succeed the Admiral, if he should die; therefore he was acknowledged Admiral, and *Reuningen* Vice-admiral, *Sebauld de Weert* was made Captain of *Taaningen's* Ship, and *Derk Gornitz* *Clyma* Captain of the Yacht.

6. On the 28th, the new General, being on board his old Ship, gave the Signal to come to him, where all the Officers took the Oaths, and the Captains their Polls. The 29th, the General went on board the Admiral, and each Captain on board their new Ships. Such an Alteration did not please the Seamen, who were very well satisfied with their old Officers. After that, the Ships sailed South-east by South, and South-west, till *October 4.* at which Time they ran West South-west; and, the 6th, they Rood East South-east. The same Day the *Fidelity* made a signal to call the Captains on board her; but, the Wind being too strong, the Vice-admiral only went to visit him. The Scurvy raged to much among the Seamen, and especially on board the Admiral, that most of his Men were sick of it. This obliged the General to appoint a particular Day of Prayer in each Ship, to implore God's Mercy, and a happy Voyage. They were then in 1° 45' South Latitude. At length the Scurvy increased to much, that the Admiral had not Men enough to work his Ship. The other Ships were almost in the same Condition; therefore the Council resolved to stand in to some Island, in order to get fresh Provisions. Accordingly they steered toward the Island of *Anebon*, or *Nabon*, where they thought to find fresh Meat and Oranges. About Night, the Admiral, who sailed before, fired a Gun, to let them know he saw the Land, tho', according to the Opinion of all the Pilots, they ought to have been 30 Leagues off it. As soon as the Gun was heard, the Ships discovered Land, and anchored upon the Coast of *Mamongo*, in 3° South Latitude. There they lost the little Ship belonging to *St. Thomas*, with Eleven found Men, who were seen no more. Some thought they had deserted, others believed they run aground, and were drowned. But they heard afterwards, that, having sailed a long while in those Seas, they arrived at the Cape of *Lepes Gonzalez*, where they quitted their Ship, and went on board the Ship of *Baltazar Moucheron*, who was bound for *America*.

7. *November 4.* in the Morning, the Captains went on board the Admiral, and the Vice-admiral was commanded to land with his Sloop and Canoe to view the Country, and see whether he could find a good Road for the Ships: Approaching the Shore, he found the Sea breaking with such Violence, that the Sloop had much ado to go over the Waves, and rowed along the Shore all Night without discovering any thing but Trees. The next Day he returned on board the Admiral; and, after he had given an Account of what he had seen, they resolved to steer for Cape *Lepes Gonzalez*, situate in 20° South Latitude. They had anchored in a very bad Bottom, where the Ships were driven from their Anchors, and one of the Flukes of the Anchor of the *Faith* was broken. The 6th, at the Break of Day, they sailed again, coasting along, and calling Anchor every Night. On the 9th they arrived on the Coast of *Guana*, where they saw some Negroes and spoke to them: The *Dutch* gave them small Glass Wares, but, fearing to many Men, and being afraid, they ran away in the Night. The General, having found a convenient Place for the Sick, sent them thither, and each Captain had his own Quarter. Captain *Jacob* commanded the little Camp, and he had, besides the sick, some found Men to attend it. The next Day, the Admiral sent the Vice-admiral to wait on the King of that Country with some Presents, in order to procure Provisions. But he came back the 12th, and brought nothing but a Hen, and a few Plantains or Bananas; so that they were forced to be contented with a few Herbs they found in the Fields, as Cresses, Sea Parsley, some Apples without any manner of Taste, and such-like Victuals, they had indeed Plenty of Fish, and more than they could eat. The 23th, the Vice-admiral fell sick of a Burning Fever, that every body departed of his Life; however, after a long Illness, he recovered.

8. On the 23d, *Derk Erkinson's* Sloop came into the Road, the Pilot of which was a *Fremelman*, and had lived a long while with the Negroes, and in the Service of the King; so that he could speak a little of their Language. He promised the *Dutch* to obtain of the King all the Provisions they wanted; upon which, the General sent Captain *de Weert*, with Two Sloops along with him, to speak to the King. His Majesty, having Notice of the designed Visit, put himself in the finest Dress and Equipage he could to receive him: *De Weert*, being introduced to the King, found him, with his Attendants about him, sitting upon a Stool a Foot high, like a Shoemaker's Stool, and a Sheep's-skin under his Feet; he had a purple Cloth Coat, embroidered with false Gold without Lining, which looked like a Pilot's Watch-coat; he had no Shirt, no Shoes, no Stockings, but a kind of a Cowl or Cap upon his Head, which was yellow, red, and blue: He had his Face powdered all over with Ashes to appear whiter; but one might for all that see, that he was black. For a royal Ornament, he had about his Neck a Glass Bead Necklace; his Gentlemen sat round about him, their Skins were all over painted with Red, and their Heads covered with the Feathers of Cocks. By the King's Seat was another little Stool, covered with a Mat for the *Dutch* Captain, who, having saluted him after the Fashion of the Country, sat down by him. He told him, by his Interpreter, the Occasion of his coming thither; and complained that the Inhabitants, without any Pretence or Reason, had left their Habitations, and run away: That the *Dutch* were their Friends, and only came into his Country to trade fairly with them, inasmuch that they might safely return to their own Dwellings again: That the *Dutch* offered to make an Alliance with them, and with the King, whom they would visit often; that they would bring all Things the Inhabitants wanted, and desired them to let them have the necessary Provisions and Retirements, such as Fruits, Fowls, Sheep, and other Cattle, offering to give to the Natives in Exchange any of the Merchandize they had on board their Ships. The King, having heard, with great Attention, Captain *de Weert's* Speech, told him, That the *Dutch* were very welcome into his Country, and that he would order they should be supplied with all Necessaries they wanted. Then he brought *de Weert* into his Palace, which was more like a Cow-stall: There the King gave him a Kid, and a few Bananas, for small Pieces of Linnen Cloth and Iron. While they were preparing something to eat, the Captain's Five Trumpeters and Musicians sounded and played hoely. The King was mightily pleased at that; but *de Weert*, who was hungry, would have been better pleased to have had some Victuals. After a long while, the King's Wives brought, in a wooden Dish, some Bananas roasted, and dried or smoked Fish, or rather Pieces of a Sea-Horse, of which the King eat but toberly, and the Captain hardly tasted them, being not as yet used to such Victuals. Then they presented him Palm tree Wine, a sort of Drink that is very unpleasant to those that are not used to it. The King intreated *de Weert* several times to eat; the Dish being taken away, they served nothing else. The Captain was the more surpris'd at so slender a Feast, because he saw the King strong, and in better Health than those who live in Plenty of all Things, and eat the best of Victuals. *De Weert*, who was very hungry, told the King he would treat him with some of the Provisions he had brought with him: So the *Dutch* laid a Napkin, and served up a Piece of Bread, with smoked Beet, Cheese, and a Bottle of Sack. The King liked their Victuals so well, that he eat heartily, and drank to much, that he was obliged to go to sleep. In the mean while, the Captain took a Walk about the Town, which had not above 200 Houses in it. About Evening, not seeing the King, he thought to have returned on board his Sloop with his Men, in order to stay there all Night; but he saw a great Number of Negroes, armed with Bows and Arrows, who had possessed themselves of the Avenues, and would not let them go. The Captain who had no Arms but his Sword, was extremely surpris'd, and asked them what was the Matter: They told him, it was because one of his Men had committed some Disorder in a House: *De Weert* then desired them to show him the Man, and he would pay

nish him. But it was, they were Night, and take a Captain went to the King was not had an ill Design Sloop. The No his Palace naked not seem much him the Occasion to flay with him them, should have So he flaid in the groes, thinking that mit *de Weert* to ducted him into Night about him out of the House came to him, and in her Hands, covered to it like thing three times and beat at the Hand, which opened the Box upon the the meant by it, and the Negroes Brought some Bar exchange with the feeling he could not took his Leave of But, while he was to the Woods, and some Birds, which

9. The General poor Men Mourn Care of them, December 4. a Ship from the *Iles del* *Laurence Christian* Island. Some of well fell sick, therefore the Governor who died there.

8. the whole Creation *de Weert* felt Months a bed. Island of *Ambo* the Sicknes continued 20th, in the Afternoon The Admiral has *Derra* to go opposed them: as Friends, and to happy them; the Governor, the Day, and then the vilions.

10. On the 17th ashore; but they fish, who told them they would look having Advice of ashore under the Sergeant major; Two on the Left *Portuguese*, and thing out of the Fire, and, abandoning. The Sho all the Seal, though some Fruits, were and Oranges, who who fired them the same Month in the Highway prevent such Accidents and disarm'd to Command being

nith him. But it was only a Pretence; the true Reasoning was, they were afraid the *Dutch* would come in in the Night, and take away the King, and his Retinue. The *Dutch* Captain went back into the Palace; but they told him, the King was not there: Upon which, fearing the Negroes had an ill Design, he resolv'd to force his Way to his Sloop. The Noise awakened the King, who came out of his Palace naked, and quarrell'd with them, but they did not seem much concern'd at his Anger. *De Weert* told him the Occasion of their Dispute: The King desired him to slay with him, on Condition that his Men, or Part of them, should have the Liberty to go on board their Sloop. So he staid in the Town with Eight of his Men. The Negroes, thinking themselves not late enough, would not permit *de Weert* to be with the King; therefore they conducted him into another Houle, and kept a Watch all Night about him. The next Morning the Captain going out of the Houle to wait on the King, an old Woman came to him, and looked him in the face: She had a Box in her Hands, covered with loose Leather, which was fastened to it like the Leather of a Pair of Bellows, and, turning Three times round about him, muttered some Words, and beat at the same time the extended Leather with her Hand, which occasioned the flying of some of the out of the Box upon the Captain's Cloths; nobody knew what she meant by it, or what she intended to do; but *de Weert* and the Negroes laughed at her. At last the Negroes brought him Bananas, Two Goats, and Four Pullets, to exchange with the *Dutch*: The Captain took them, and, seeing he could expect nothing else from such a People, took his Leave of the King, and went on board again: But, while he was in the Town, some of his Men went into the Woods, and killed a wild Boar, Two Bulls, and some Birds, which were distributed to the Sick.

9. The General went ashore every Day to visit these poor Men Morning and Evening, taking an extraordinary Care of them, and supplying them with all Necessaries. December 4. a Ship named the *Ayore*, arriv'd in the Road from the *Isla del Principe*, and the next Day the Yacht of *Laurence Christian* came into the same Road from the same Island. Some of the Sick recovered, but many that were well fell sick, because the Air was very unwholesome; therefore the General, having lost Sixteen of his Men, who died there, resolv'd to quit the Country. December 8. the whole Crew came on board, and the same Day Captain *de Weert* fell sick of a Fever, which kept him Two Months a bed. The 27th, the Fleet sail'd towards the Island of *Annobon*, with a Design to land in it, because the Sickness continued and increased among them. On the 28th, in the Afternoon, they arriv'd under that Island: The Admiral having detain'd Two Sloops with Captain *Derrick* to go on Shore, the *Portuguese* and the Negroes oppos'd them: But *Derrick* telling them they were come as Friends, and only to buy Retirements, they promis'd to supply them; but it being too late to go and speak to the Governor, they desired the *Dutch* to slay till the next Day, and then they would certainly furnish them with Provisions.

10. On the 17th, in the Morning, they sent Two Sloops ashore; but they found a great many Men armed with Fusils, who told them, that, if they came near the Shore, they would look upon them as Enemies. The General, having Advice of it, arm'd all the Sloops, and sent them ashore under the Command of Captain *Bekbold*, and the Sergeant major; the Sloops made to the Shore in Order, Two on the Left Hand, and the rest on the Right: But the *Portuguese*, and the *Blacks*, who had carried away every thing out of their Huts in the Night, set them all on Fire, and, abandoning them, retired into the Mountains. The Shore being free, the Admiral order'd, that all the Sail should land: The Seamen, who longed to eat some Fruit, went about the Island to get some Bananas and Oranges, which are plentiful there: But the *Portuguese*, who spied them, killed some of them: And the 10th of the same Month they murdered one, whom they expos'd in the Highway to insult the *Dutch*. The General, to prevent such Accidents, forbid any Seaman to go alone and disarm'd to seek for Fruit without Leave: But his Command being not obey'd, to the great Prejudice of those

that slighted his Order, he caus'd a Gibbet to be set up, to fright those who should be so bold, for the future, as to disobey him. Then he sent a Party of his Men, well armed, who brought into their little Camp, Twenty-seven Head of Cattle, which Prize was more agreeable to them, than if they had taken some of their Enemies Prisoners; however, they were so careless, they lost the best Part of their Booty. The 24th, the Admiral detach'd another Party of 150 Men, with Orders to advance into the Country, and to the Mountain, where they found the *Portuguese* intrenched, who fell upon them, and put them in Disorder: However, the *Dutch*, losing no Courage, continued their March up the Mountain, and found Two Passages; upon which they divided in Two Companies, who got up to the Mountain by each of these Ways, with much Fatigue: Being advanced pretty nigh, the *Portuguese* shot at them, and threw down many Stones; Captain *de Weert's* Ensign, who led them, was kill'd with a Musquet-shot, and many more were wounded: but the *Dutch*, not discouraged, got up the Mountains, put the Enemies to Flight, and took the Fort, where they found a Ton of Biscuit hid under Grass, Two *Dutch* Cheeses, and some Earthen Pots full of Spanish Wine. They burnt the Two Houles that were near the Fort, which were full of Cotton; and, after this Expedition, returned to their own Camp.

11. The Air of the Island of *Annobon* being worse than that of *Guinea*, the Diseases among the Seamen encreas'd every Day; therefore January 2. 1599. they resolv'd to put to Sea; but, before their Departure, they buried their Dead, and burnt the Huts, and the Church. The next Day they sail'd for the Streight of *Magellan*, with a Design to stop nowhere else. The 22d, they pass'd the Shelves and Rocks of *Brazil*, call'd by the *Portuguese* *Abacoies*. January 9. one of the Vice-admiral's Seamen, who had several times broken open the Cook's Cupboard, and stolen Bread, was, by Council, condemn'd to be hang'd on the Bowprit Mast. About that Time the Sick began to be better, and they got to good Stomachs, that their Share was not sufficient. The 12th, the Fleet being near the *Rio de Plata*, the Sea appeared as red as Blood: They drew up some of the Water, and found Abundance of small red Worms in it, which leaped out of it like Fleas; some are of Opinion, that these Worms come out of the Whale's Belly in certain Seasons of the Year. Eight Days after, an English Seaman died strangely on board the *Fidelity*: He was eating very heartily, when, on a sudden, he fell down upon his Back, rolling his Eyes, foaming and speechless, and expired in that Condition. Two Days after, a young Man of *Ulrecht* fell sick of the same Distemper, and was like a Madman, biting, fighting, and scratching every body: He was carried into his Cabin, where he was Three Days and Three Nights without eating: The fourth Day he began to mutter some Words, and devour'd a Biscuit they gave him, but at last he died miserably; for he was so senseless, that he could not clean himself, or void his Excrements in a regular Way: and it being then very cold, the Moisture that was about him freez'd, and benumbed his Flesh, insomuch that they were forced to cut off his Legs.

12. April 6. the Ships got into the Streight; about Evening they cast Anchor under the least of the Two Islands of *Penguins*, Fourteen Leagues off the Mouth of the Streight; there they saw great Quantities of those Birds call'd Plungeons, because they dive into the Water to catch Fish: They killed Thirteen or Fourteen with Sticks, and could have killed enow for the whole Fleet, but that they would not lose Time, nor the Opportunity of the fair Wind. The 9th, they put to Sea again, and the next Day the General sent Fifty Men ashore, to see whether they could find any Inhabitants and Cattle; but, having walk'd about Three Leagues along the Sea Side, they found nothing. On the 13th, they arriv'd in a fine Bay, One-and-twenty Leagues off the Mouth of the Streight, call'd by the English, *Mussel Bay*, because of the great Quantities of Mussels found there. In that Place they provided themselves with fresh Water and Wood, which are there very plentiful. The 17th, they sail'd between Two rocky Coasts, and lay so close, and so high, that they thought

they should never get through. The Mountains were covered with Snow. The 18th, they cast Anchor in a Bay to the Northward in 54° Latitude, called the *Great Bay*: In the Middle of it are Three small Islands, the least of which lies to the Eastward, the Ground in that Bay is very good, and of a fine Sand. In these Places there grow a great Quantity of Trees, (Pimento) resembling Bay-trees, only they are a little higher, and the Bark is much bitterer, having as strong a Taste as Pepper. Here they saw abundance of Mussels, some of them were a Span long, and, when they were boiled, the Flesh of Three of them weigh'd a Pound. The Wind being contrary, the Ships lay at Anchor till the 23d of *August*, without taking the Sails off the Yards, that the Ships might be ready to set Sail. In the mean while they suffered much by the cold Weather; they lost above 100 Men, and, amongst others, Captain *Bechevit*, who was succeeded by *Batazar de Cordes*: Besides, the Storms were so frequent and violent, that the Ships could not lie at Anchor, and the Seamen were forced to be continually at work to keep them right: They were likewise obliged to go ashore in the Rain, Snow, and Hail, to get in some fresh Water, Wood, Mussels, and such other Provisions as they could find, which fatigued them extremely. The Scarcity of Victuals was so great, and the Climate so sharp, that they were almost starved with Hunger and Cold, the rough Climate rendering their Appetites so keen, that they were almost insatiable, and eat Roots and other Things raw, without staying to have them dressed. The greatest Part of the Seamen wanted Watch-coats, and other Cloathing, to support the Fatigue of the Watch, and the daily Work; for they had made no Provision of them, thinking to go into an hot Country, where they should have no need of them. To redress this Grievance, the General distributed to every one Pieces of Cloth; and all the Captains were ordered to be present, with a Cane in their Hands, when their Seamen eat their Meals, because many of them would sell their Share of Victuals at a great Rate, and, upon that Score, chose rather to be without it, and fill their Stomachs with raw Mussels, and green Herbs, which occasioned Dropsies, and reduced them at last to a languishing and dying Condition. But the Officers were so careful, and so exact, in distributing the Proportion of Victuals, that the 22d of *April* Two Seamen of the Yacht were condemned to Death for having stolen some Oil in the Hold of the same Yacht; however, there was but one of them hanged, and the other was whipt.

13. *May 7*: The Vice-admiral was detached with Two Sloops into an Island over against the *Green Bay*, to catch some Sea-dogs. He found seven Canoes, or small Boats, with Savages on board, that were Ten or Eleven Foot high, as well as he could observe, of a reddish Colour, and with long Hair. As soon as these Natives saw the Sloops, they ran ashore, and threw so many Stones at the *Dutch*, that they durst not come near the Sloops; when they saw that the *Dutch* durst not approach, they got into their Boats, and rowed with great Curiosity towards the Sloops. The Vice-admiral let them advance within a Musquet shot, and then commanded his Men to make a general Discharge, they killed Four or Five of them, which so terrified the rest, that they ran ashore again, then they pulled up, with their Harquebuses, which at last appeared to be a Span thick, but the Vice-admiral chose to let them alone, and to return on board. The 15th of the same Month, some Seamen went ashore to look for Mussels, Roots, Herbs, and such Victuals as they could find. Being separated one from another, a Company of Savages fell on a sudden upon them, killed Three, and wounded Two. They turn'd back the first Three, and were going to do the like to the fourth; Two of the Captains, who had not come to their Relief. These Savages were all naked, except one only, who had a Snake Skin about his Shoulder. They had wooden Axes in, which they threw with great Strength and Dexterity, the Point was like a Campion, tied to the Arrow with Sea-string, and would run to 20 into the Earth, that it was impossible to get it out. While the Fleet was in that Island, the General ordered the Sloop to be put upon the rocks to be there!

into a Pinnace: She was named the *Pojilion*, and the Second Pilot of the Admiral was Master of her. Captain *de West*, having no more Provisions for Broth, and being obliged to give Biscuit to make some, landed *July 17*: to catch Sea-dogs; while he was ashore, so great a Storm arose from the North-west, that he was obliged to stay Two Days and Two Nights without being able to come on board his Ship again, and could catch nothing.

14. *August 2*: the General ordered all the Officers and Seamen to Land; and, though the Snow was pretty thick upon the Shore, he would have the Minister to say Prayers, and make a Sermon, to thank God Almighty, that he had preserved them in so dangerous a Voyage, and to beg his Assistance for the Time to come. The great Sufferings they had endured in that Bay, then called the *Green Bay*, and the Loss of 120 Men, who died there, made them name it the Bay of *de Cordes*, because *de Cordes* was their Admiral, when they were afflicted with these Accidents: And, in effect, they went through the greatest Hardships in the World; for, besides Hunger and Cold, they were exposed to the Injuries of the Air, Winds, Rain, Snow, and Hail, till the 23d of *August*: Then they set Sail with a North east Wind, but the next Day the Weather was so calm, that they were obliged to put into a great Bay lying Southward. To perpetuate the Memory of so dangerous and extraordinary a Voyage into a Straight, into which no other Nation had yet ventured to sail with so great and many Ships, the General erected an Order of Knighthood, and made the Six chief Officers Knights of it. They obliged themselves by an Oath, never to do or consent to any thing against their Honour and Reputation, whatever Dangers or Extremities they should be exposed to, not excepting Death itself; or to do any thing prejudicial to the Interest of their own Country, or to the Voyage they had already begun. They also solemnly promised, they would freely expose their Lives against all the Enemies of their Nation, and to use all their Endeavours to prosper the *Dutch* Arms, and conquer the *Spanish* Dominions, from whence the King of *Spain* got so much Gold and Silver to make War against them in the *Indy Countries*, and oppress them. This Ceremony was performed ashore upon the latterly Coast of the Straight, as well as the Place and the Occasion would permit it, the Order was named the Order of the *Iron Pillar*. They also erected a Table upon a high Pillar, on which the Names of the Knights were written, and the Bay was called *The Bay of Knights*.

15. The 25th, they sailed out of that Bay, and pursued another little one a League off. There they were calmed again. Then the Admiral commanded the Sloop to go ashore with his Sloop, to remove the Table that was set up in the *Bay of Knights*, and transport it to a more convenient Place. But as he thought to double the Point of the Bay, he saw above eighty Savages sitting upon the Ground, not far from them; Eight or Nine Canoes, in each Boat; as soon as they saw the Sloop, they made a dismal Noise, and Signs to invite the Seamen ashore. The Captain, who had but a small Complement of Men returned on board the Ship. The Savages, seeing him, to his Surprise, ran as fast as they could across the Water along the Shore, halloving him, and making Signs to the *Dutch* to come ashore. The General, being informed of this Adventure, sent immediately Three Sloops, well armed to the Shore, but they found nobody: Yet they saw the Marks of the *Dutch* tents, for they had taken care of the Ground the Corps of the *Dutchmen* who had been there, and had barbarously dishigured them: And the Table, which Captain *de West* went to remove, was broken by the same Savages.

16. *September 2*: early in the Night, the Ships parted the Straight of *Moran*, and sailed into the South Sea with a fair Wind. The 23d and 24th, they sailed still with a North east Wind to the West North-west, and kept Six together, reckoning the *Pojilion* one, till the 25th of the same Month, at which time they had fine Weather. But it did not last long, for the Sea, which in the *Bay of Cordes* began to swell and rise to height, the Vice-admiral was forced to lie by, and hale his Ship

on board; and Captain *de West* was before, with Yacht, that he him to furl his *Fidelity*, that his Courte, that the Fog his Vice admiral with his Sails, immediately together. *Sept* but these Three Admiral gave the Two Yachts to after they discovered Joy. When the Pinnace, of him to send him they were sick: *de Cordes* went, Ships, viz. the their Carpenter. Then the Sea forced to furl her also, who was a like: But in the put up her Sails was seen by the being persuaded the lame. But, the Two first Ships the Two other Ships to have no Matter a few Seamen, and Dampnets of Fire Night and

17. On the 1st that the Two Ships sinking. The 6th Inch, and the *W Fidelity*, that the The other Ship a Leak, and for pump Night and At last, after a flopt it. There this deplorable the while, and the Seamen were distressed had Two of able Share of but was not sufficient Mussels in the them, so that the The 20th in the the North Side thought they were the Morning, the Land, were in the Ship towards the them, which the The *Fidelity*, that had not been long in time, the fact of the Leagues off the Westerly Wind off, the Two Ships again, to find. Then they did other Ships, which agreed together, they two Mountains another About Point of the Mountains the Currents were they anchored fair Weather to South of South

on board; and the *Fidelity* was obliged to do the same: Captain *de Weert* was sailing close after the Admiral, who was before, when an Accident happened in the great Yacht, that had the Wind of the *Fidelity*, which obliged him to furl his Sails, and lie by with the Yacht, and the *Fidelity*, that had lost her Sloop. The Admiral continued his Course, thinking the other Ships sailed after him, and that the Fog hindered the Watch from seeing them; but the Vice-admiral who followed them, was also obliged to furl his Sails; immediately after, the Fog was so thick, that they could not see one another, though they kept close together. September 8. the Two Yachts lost their Ships, but these Three kept together till the next Day, then the Admiral gave the Signal to sail with all the Sails, thinking Two Yachts were gone before. Two or Three Hours after they discovered them, and sailed for them, with great Joy. When they were joined again, *Dirck Geritz* lent the Pinnace, or the *Postilion*, to the Admiral, to desire him to send him his Carpenters; but he could not, because they were sick: However, those of Captain *de Weert* and *de Cordes* went, which proved a great Damage to their Ships, viz. the *Faith*, and the *Fidelity*; for they never saw their Carpenters again, the Wind blowing on a sudden: Then the Sea began to be so stormy, that the Yacht was forced to furl her Sails again, as well as the Vice-admiral also, who was a-head of the *Faith*, and the *Fidelity* did the like: But in the Night the Yacht and the Vice-admiral, put up her Sails again, without making any Signal that was seen by the Two other Ships, who continued to lie by, being persuaded that the Vice-admiral, and the Yacht, did the same. But, when the Day came on, the Captains of the Two first Ships were extremely troubled, at not seeing the Two other Ships: *De Weert* was very much concerned to have no Master with him, and but Two old Pilots, with a few Seamen, who were sick and weak through the Cold and Dampness of the Weather, though they had a good Fire Night and Day.

17. On the 16th, the North-east Wind was so violent, that the Two Ships were every Moment in Danger of sinking. The Gallery of the *Faith* cracked above an Inch, and the Waves of the Sea beat so much upon the *Fidelity*, that the Seamen were in Water above the Knees. The other Ship was in no less Danger: for she had sprung a Leak, and so full of Water, that they were obliged to pump Night and Day, and could hardly preserve her. At last, after an exact Search, they found the Leak, and stopp'd it. These Two Ships were Twenty four Hours in this deplorable Condition in the South Sea, spooning all the while, and going without Sails; besides that the Seamen were discontented, and grumbled, though each of them had Two Ounces of dry Fish a Day, and a reasonable Share of Biscuit. But they were so hungry, that this was not sufficient. They used to fill their Bellies with Mussels in the Streight, and could not brook the want of them, so that the Captains had much ado to pacify them. The 20th in the Night, they fell in with the Coast upon the North Side of the Streight by a Mistake; for they thought they were Twenty Leagues off the Land. In the Morning, the Crew of the *Faith*, discovering the Land, were in great Danger; for the Wind driving the Ship towards the Coast, they saw Two Rocks just before them, which they could not avoid, but by doubling them. The *Fidelity*, that was a great Way before, and now lay by, had not been so exposted, for, having discovered the Rocks in time, she sailed on the other Side. They were Three Leagues off the Streight when they saw the Land, and the Westerly Wind blowing so hard, that they could not bear off, the Two Captains resolv'd to get into the Streight again, to find a good Road, and stay for a fair Wind. Then they did not doubt, but they might overtake the other Ships, which could not be far gone, seeing they had agreed together, that, in case of any Accident, they should stay two Months in the Island of *Santa Maria* one for another. About Evening they arriv'd in the Southerly Point of the Mouth of the Streight, and were driven by the Currents Six or Seven Leagues off into the Streight, where they anchored in a very good Road, and had pretty fair Weather till the last of September: Then the furious Gulf of South westerly Wind, forced them to drop

Three Anchors. The Summer approaching, they were in Hopes of fairer Weather; but, for the Two Months time they staid there, they had scarce a fair Day to dry their Sails. They call'd that Bay the *Bay of Trouble*, because they endured therein for Twenty Days the greatest Trouble and Danger imaginable, being obliged continually to go ashore to fetch some sorry Nourishment, such as a few Birds, and some Mussels and Snails, that they found in the Rocks.

18. October 18. the Two Ships, not being able to subsist any longer in that Bay, sailed again a League farther into the Streight, where they found a better Bay than the last, and call'd Anchor upon the Coast. The 22d, they were in Danger of perishing by a violent Storm; but, about the Break of Day, a Calm succeeded. The constant Work of the Seamen was to go ashore to get some Victuals, when it was low Water, and to fetch in some Wood and fresh Water, when the Tide came in; so that they had no time to dry themselves, though they had a good Fire Night and Day: In a Word, during the whole Nine Months they spent in that Streight, they had scarce an Opportunity to take the Sails off the Yards to dry them, so frequent were the Returns of Rain and Storms. In so deplorable a Condition they waited for better Weather; but, in the mean time, were exposted to Wet, Cold, high Winds, and such other Inconveniences, which kept them continually at Work. But, after all, they did better by sailing into the Main, which was smooth, and where nothing was to be feared but Winds; whereas, if they had anchored in any Place, they would have been exposted to the Surges and violent Waves of the Sea, and the Anchors could not preserve them from imminent Danger. The chief Cause of the Seamen's murmuring was, that some of them gave out, that there would not be Biscuit enough for their Return into *Holland*, if they continued here longer. The Captain, having Notice of it, went into the Bread-room, and came out of it with a cheerful countenance; and told the Seamen, that there were Biscuit and Provisions enough for Eight Months, though, in Fact, there were not Provisions for above Four Months. But the Captain was resolv'd to stay rather a whole Year for the fair Weather, than to go; and, in Case the Weather should continue as bad as it was, he design'd rather to sail to the *East Indies* to look for the Fleet. At length, after they had staid in the Streight till the 2d of December, the Wind turned North-east, and immediately they weigh'd Anchor. But, being got ready to sail, they could not get off into the Main, because of the Whirlwinds rising between the Hills and the bottom of the Bay. The *Faith* was driven so near the Land, that one could step to the Shore from the Gallery, so that they were in great Danger, and would have certainly been lost, if the Wind had continued strong. The next Day the Storm was quite over, and, at low-water, the Two Ships got out of the Bay, which they call'd the *Cleje Bay*: But they went out insensibly; for, after that, they never call'd Anchor together, and that very Day they anchored Three Leagues farther under the Wind than they had done before, and at a League off one from another.

19. The 8th, they endured a more violent Storm than ever, the Wind was so strong, that the Waves were sometimes higher than the Masts, and the Storm lasted Two Days. On the 10th, the Wind sinking, Captain *de Weert* went into his Sloop, in order to board the *Fidelity*; but, having doubled the Point, he saw no Ship, or any Signs of a Shipwreck; so he went back, full of Sorrow. The next Day he row'd towards a Gulph, where he saw a Mast near a low Point. Then his Sorrow gave place to Joy; for he went on board the *Fidelity*, and told them what Apprehensions he had been under. He was obliged to leave his little Boat, to help to hale the Anchors and the Cables, which the *Fidelity* had lost. Then he took his Leave, in order to return to his own Ship; but he little imagin'd, that it was the last Farewel, and that he should never see Captain *de Cordes* again. The frequent Storms, and other Inconveniences, having discouraged the Seamen, who were out of Hopes of ever returning into *Holland*, and who thought they should starve for want of Provisions, Captain *de Weert*, the next Day, which was *Sunday*, invited them

all, but those that were sick, to a great Dinner of Geese, Ducks, and other Birds, that they had killed. While they were merry at Dinner, the Captain exhorted them to have Patience; and represented, that God Almighty never forsakes those, who put their Trust in him. He also thanked them for their Fidelity, and the Services and Hardships they had run thro' till now. This Speech proved very effectual; for the Seamen took Courage again, and rowed towards the Westerly Part of the Bay, to go ashore, and fetch some Victuals. As soon as they had doubled the Point, they saw Three Canoes, with Savages on board them; who, perceiving the Sloop, went immediately ashore, and scrambled up to the Tops of the Mountains, like Monkeys. The Dutch went on board the Canoes, and found only a few young Plungeons, wooden Grapples, wild Beast Skins, and other little Things of no Value, which they left in the Boats. Then they went ashore, to see whether the Savages had hid any thing. They saw, on the Foot of the Mountain, a Woman, with Two Children, who did what she could to run away; but she was taken, with both her Children, and carried on board, without shewing any Concern at all. She was of a middle Size, with a big Belly, of a reddish Colour; her Countenance was very fierce, and her Head was shaved, according to the Fashion of that Country: But the Men have long Hair, and never cut it. For Ornament, she had Snails Shells hanging about her Neck, and a Sea-dog's Skin about her Shoulders, tied under her Throat with Gut-strings. The rest of her Body was naked, her Breasts hanging down like Cows Udders. Her Mouth was wide, her Legs crooked, and her Heels very long. She would eat no boiled or roasted meat, and therefore they gave her some of the Birds they caught in the Canoes; which she took; and, having plucked the long Feathers, she opened them with Muffel-shells, cutting them first behind the Right Wing, and then above the Stomach. After that she drew the Guts out, and, having laid the Liver a little upon the Fire, eat it almost raw. She cleaned the Gizzard, and eat it quite raw, as well as the rest of the Bird. Her Children eat after the same manner, one was a Girl about Four Years old, and the other a Boy Six Months old, who had the greatest Part of his Teeth, and could go alone. She looked very grave and serious, while she was eating, tho' the Seamen burst out with laughing. After her Meal, she sat down upon her Heels, like an Ape; and, when she slept, she was all in a Heap, holding the young Infant between her Arms, with his Mouth to her Breast. They kept her Two Days on board, but, the 14th, the Weather being fair, the Captain sent her ashore again, and gave her a Crown, a Cap, and Glais-beads for a Necklace and Bracelets. He also presented her with a little Looking glass, a Knife, a Nail, an Awl, and other Toys of small Value, with which she was extremely pleased. They also clothed the Boy with a green Gown, and trimmed him finely with Glais-beeds of all Colours; but they carried the Girl to *Amsterdam*, where she died. The Mother was very much concerned at the keeping of her Girl: However, she went into the Sloop, without any Resistance, or any Noise to have the Girl again. They carried her ashore a League Westward off the Ship, to the Place she pointed at. There the Seamen found Fire, and some Arms and Usefils, which made them believe, that the Savages ran away at the Sight of the Sloop. When they were come on board again, a violent Storm arose on a sudden, that they were all frightened out of their Wits. The Surges of the Sea rose higher than the Masts, and tossed the Ship with such Force, that it was a Miracle she was not overturned, and split to Pieces. However, by the Grace of God, she got out of that Bay, which they called the *Unfortunate Bay*. The next Day about Evening, they cast Anchor in the Channel, but they were surpris'd to see the Anchor without a Buoy, but the Weather was so violent, that they durst not venture to put out one. This Accident obliged the Seamen to sail before the Wind into the Bay of Cordes, situated in the Middle of the Streight, and about Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues off the Place where they were, because they knew that Bay had a good Bottom for Anchorage. With this View they coasted along Southward, that they might be seen by the *Dutch*. When they got into the Mouth of the Bay, they fired a Gun, to give Notice to

the Captain, that they were come; and they imagined he had also fired another Gun, as a Signal of his hearing them. Upon this, the *Faib* continued her Course, thinking the other Ship followed her. Altho' they carried only a Foresail, the Strength of the Wind drove them so fast, that they were forced to fatten the Sloop to the Ship with Two great Hallers or Cables, to make their Course slower; but the rolling Waves broke the Two great Cables, and they never saw the Sloop again.

20. This was a great Loss, for the Seamen, having no Sloop, could not go ashore to get any Provisions. The next Day, December 16, they discovered a Sloop to the Westward, making towards them. Some of them thought it was Captain *de Cordes*'s Sloop; others imagined it the Sloop of a Ship belonging to the Fleet, that was come into the Streight, or an *English* Sloop; but others guessed better, thinking it was *Oliver de Noort*'s Sloop going to meet the *Faib*, which he had seen from behind a Point Three Leagues off that Place where he lay at Anchor. This unexpected Meeting was Matter of great Joy to the Seamen, who were in hopes, that the General was well. The Captain received with a great deal of Respect the Sloop's Crew, who were all vigorous, and in perfect Health, and who, amongst other things, told him, that they had catched above 2000 Birds in the great Island of *Penguins*. These Words made the other Seamen Teeth water, and every one wished himself in that Island. Many of them were bold enough to tell the Captain, that they must go thither, where they might as well stay for fair Wind, as in any other Place; and that it was but a League out of the Way. But the Captain declared to them, that he would not depart from the General. The next Day, the General himself came to visit the Captain; and, the Day following, the whole Fleet joined him. The 2d, the Wind turning to the South-west, all the Ships set sail. Having sailed Two or Three Hours, *de Weert* desired the General to lend him his Sloop, and Three or Four of his Men, to go before, and tell Captain *de Cordes* to get himself ready to sail with the Fleet. The General freely gave him his Sloop; and *de Weert*, rowing along a small Island, about which he had sailed before, perceived Two Fires; and, because he never saw any Savages in the Island, he thought some of Captain *de Cordes*'s Seamen were there: Therefore he went ashore, but met with nobody, and went aboard again, and joined the Fleet. His Ship was now become very foul, and could not follow the other Ships; and, for that Reason, when she was off the Bay of the *Knights* at Ebb-water, she was forced to sail back into the old Place. The next Day, she was exposed to the same Accident within a Cannon-shot of the other Ships, and that because she was to pass through a very narrow Channel, into which ran Two Currents, one from the East, and the other from the West of the Streight, which, meeting together made a rising Surge, that the Ship could not master. December 24, they tried again to double the Point, behind which the Fleet lay at Anchor; but they could not do it; for, when the Tide came in, it drove them into the same Place again. The Captain, seeing it impossible to double the Point with that Wind, resolved to stay till it changed, lest he should fatigue his Men too much: But the General, tho' the Wind was contrary, failed away, to look for a more convenient Road. Then *de Weert* lost Sight of the Fleet, tho' he was not far off, because he anchored behind a rising Ground *de Weert*, despairing to join the Fleet again, and seeing he could not submit without a Sloop, or a little Boat, ordered, that the Piece of a large old Sloop, which were in the Hold of the Ship, should be taken out, in order to build another, that very Day, which was *Christmas* Day, but, the next Day, the Wind being North, he put off the Work, in hopes of getting into the little Bay, which was a League farther than the Bay of the *Knights*, and in which he might build the Sloop with more convenience and Safety; but the Violence of the Wind forced him back again into the Bay of *de Cordes*, Five Leagues off, where, the 26th and 27th of the same Month, they endured to great a Storm, that the Seamen began to murmur again, particularly because they had been a Fortnight without eating Mussels, and had had nothing but a small Preparation of Bikout and Oil to subsist on. The Captain, seeing them to insolent, called them all together

in his Cabin, gave Advice as to what juncture. Some *Plata* with the *Portuguese* they her Chace; other in fresh Provisions impossible to get. The Pilot said, the Coast of *Guinea* known, having These different therefore he to without Captain he ordered that 1600. he went himself ashore

21. In the Point, he discovered *van Noort*; who and come to *de Cordes*, brother, and said, it was in the naked. The promised to send Captain sent his Pilots, for the the Fleet, he could desire him to Sloop came that he did not the Fleet, nor he could not *Weert* the more with Captain into the Island them, that the Wind was fair. Captain *de Cordes* upon which the passing by that these Words were

22. *January* Island of *Penguin* least Island; in eight healthy Men on board; great Quantities on board the could. In the Sea fo rose and was to full her, and call could not hear fine, she was that they expected In such an Ext their Lives; to their Ship again Provisions, and They were all one went into Sloop. In fine they found an gave them for again; but, before Night, So they pacified with some of few Birds had Water, that the Day-light was that one Side was quite rest Side was also of her with and, about they had been

in his Cabin, gave them good Words, and desired their Advice as to what was best to be done in this difficult Conjunction. Some were of Opinion, they should go to *Rio de Plata* with the Sloop only, and leave the Ship, telling the *Portuguese* they were forced to it, because the *English* gave her Chase; others were for failing into *St. Helena*, to take in fresh Provisions; but they did not consider, that it was impossible to get to that Island by the West. *John Outgetz* the Pilot said, they could not do better than to go upon the Coast of *Guinea*, or upon the Gold Coast, where he was known, having made Five Voyages into that Country. These different Opinions did not please the Captain; and therefore he told them, he could resolve upon nothing without Captain *de Cordes*'s Consent. In the mean time, he ordered that the Sloop should be built; and *January 1. 1600.* he went on board his new Sloops and steered her himself ashore for the better caulking of her.

21. In the Afternoon, having doubled the Southerly Point, he discovered the Two Sloops of General *Oliver van Noort*; who, being put back to the Bay of *Knights*, and come to see whether the *Faith* was still in the Bay of *de Cordes*, brought a Piece of Ice Three or Four Foot thick, and said, he had seen many much thicker, though it was in the Middle of Summer, and the Savages were all naked. The next Day the General returned back, and promised to send his Sloop in Quest of the *Fidelity*. The Captain sent his Sloop also with his Ensign, and one of his Pilots, for the same Purpose; and, as they were going by the Fleet, he charged them with a Letter for the General, to desire him to send him Biscuit for Two Months. The Sloop came back *January 5.* with the General's Answer, that he did not know whether he had Biscuit enough for the Fleet, nor how long he should be at Sea; and therefore he could not spare any. This Answer afflicted Captain *de Weert* the more, that he had no Hopes of meeting again with Captain *de Cordes*; therefore he resolved to return into the Island of *Penguins*, and make a large Provision of them, that he might be able to follow the Fleet, in case the Wind was fair. Before he sailed away, he writ a Letter to Captain *de Cordes*, which he left in the Foot of a Tree, upon which the General had writ the Date of his Fleet passing by that Place; and nailed a Board to the Tree, with these Words written upon it, *Look into the Foot of the Tree.*

22. *January 11. 1600.* the Ship sailed towards the Island of *Penguins*, and the 12th they anchored under the least Island; immediately the Captain landed with Thirty-eight healthy Men, leaving the Pilots and the other Seamen on board: Coming near the Shore, they saw prodigious Quantities of Birds; and, leaving only Three Seamen on board the Sloop, went to kill as many Fowl as they could. In the mean while, the Wind grew so high, and the Sea so stormy, that the Sloop was driven up the Shore, and was so full of Water before the Seamen could get into her, and cast so far upon the Rocks, that all the Seamen could not heave out the Water, or hale her to Shore; in fine, she was so much tossed by the Surges of the Sea, that they expected every Minute to see her split in Pieces: In such an Extremity the Seamen had no Hopes of saving their Lives; for they could by no means return on board their Ship again: They had no Carpenters, no Tools, no Provisions, and no Wood; that Island producing none: They were all over wet, and starved with Cold; for every one went into the Water to the Shoulders to draw the Sloop: In fine, at low Water, the Sloop being aground, they found an Ax, and other Tools, with Nails, which gave them some Hopes of returning on board their Ship again; but, it being impossible to draw the Sloop ashore before Night, they were forced to be quiet till the next Day: So they passed the Night in the open Air, and made Fires with some of the broken Planks of the Sloop, and eat a few Birds half-roasted, without Bread, and with so little Water, that they could not quench their Thirst: As soon as Day light was come, every one went to work so cheerfully, that one Side of the Sloop, which was the most damaged, was quite refitted before Night: The next Day the other Side was also refitted, and Four Men layed the Water out of her with Pails; then they laid her with 450 *Penguins*, and, about Evening, they went on board the Ship, after they had been Three Days ashore. While they were

catching the *Penguins*, they had found, in one of their Holes, a Savage Woman, who had hid herself there all the while the Seamen remained on the Island. When General *Oliver* landed in that Island, the Savages killed Two of his Men; upon which he destroyed them all but this Woman, who was then wounded, and shewed her Wounds to the Sloop's Crew. Her Face was painted; she had about her Body a kind of a Cloak, made of the Skins of Beasts and Fowls, neatly sewed together, which reached down to her Knees. Her privy Parts were also covered with a Skin; so that the Savages on the North Side of the Streight are more modest and sociable than those that inhabit the South of it. This Woman was tall and well proportioned, and her Hair was cut short; but the Men wear it prodigious long, as they saw by the Corpse of one of these that had been killed, who had fine Feathers on his Head, and about his Body. They make use of Bows and Arrows, at the End of which a hard Flint is inlaid very neatly: The Captain gave a Knife to that Woman, who, in Acknowledgment, told him, he would find a greater Abundance of Birds in the biggest of the Two Islands; so they left her where she was, though she wished to be transported to the Continent. They went to this Island, in order to get greater Numbers of these Birds, of which, in this Place, it may not be amiss to enter into a more full Description. The Penguin does not receive its Name from its Fatness, as the Author of the *Dutch Voyage* believed; and, to favour his Opinion, calls these Birds *Pinguins*, in order to make the Derivation from the *Latin* Word *Pinguedo*, Fatness, more apparent: Neither is the Conjecture of the Editor of the *French Voyage*, grounded on a Mistake of Sir *Thomas Candish*'s Sense, any better; for he supposes, that they were called *Penguins* by the *English*, because of their white Heads. The Truth of the Matter is, they were so called by the Savages; and because *Penguin* in the *British* (vulgarly called *Welf*), signifies white Head, and these Birds have white Heads, it has been argued from hence, that these Savages are descended from a Colony of *Britons*, supposed to be settled in *America* by *Madoc*, Prince of *North Wales*, about the Year 1170. I do not mean by this Remark to establish the Truth of that History, but barely to clear up the Meaning of the Word, and to shew how reasonable it is, in different Voyages, to preserve the different Orthographies of their Authors, because in many Cases, they may be of much greater Use than is commonly imagined. But to return now to the Birds, which gave Occasion to this Digression: The old ones weigh from Twelve to Sixteen Pounds, and the young ones from Eight to Twelve; they are black upon the Back, and white under the Belly; some have about their Neck a white Ring, so that they are almost half-white half-black; their Skin is much like that of the Sea-dog's, and as thick as the Skin of a wild Boar; their Bill is as long as the Bill of a Raven, but not so crooked; their Neck is short and thick, and the Body as long as a Goose, but not so big: Instead of Wings, they have Two Fins hanging down, and covered with Feathers, with which they swim with great Strength: They seldom come ashore but when they brood, and then they nestle Three or Four together in a Hole; they have black Feet, like those of a Goose, but not so broad; they walk upright with their Fins hanging down like a Man's Arm, so that, afar off, they look like Pygmies: They live upon nothing but Fish, and, for all that, they have not the rank Relish of Fish, but are extraordinary well taited: They make their Holes in the Downs as deep as Rabbit-borrows, and the Ground about it is so full of them, that you can hardly walk along without falling into those Holes up to the Knees. *January 5.* the Ship reached the great Island of *Penguins*, a League off the small one: There they found so great Quantities of them, that they might have furnished 25 Ships with them; for they took above 900 in Two Hours time. The next Day, while they were busy in salting them, a great Storm rose from the North-west, which carried the Ship out of Sight of the Island, and so great a way off, that the Captain was quite out of Hopes of making the Island again. Then he reduced the Proportion of Biscuit to a Quarter of a Pound to each Man a Day: However, the 17th of the same Month in the

Afternoon

Afternoon they made the Island again: But, when they were going to land, the Storm rose again with such Violence, that they refused to weigh Anchor, and get out of the Streight; but the Sea was so rough, that they could not do it: They were afraid, that the Captain would fly; at last the Ship's Anchor slipped; and, to save the Ship, they cut the Cable, and so they continued under Sail, not without great Sorrow for having lost their Anchor, because they had but one more left.

23. This sad Accident obliged the Captain to depart the Streight without Delay: Accordingly, *January 21. 1600.* he sailed out of the Mouth of the Chanel with a South-west Wind, chopping sometimes to East North-east, after having spent Nine Months in those Seas in a dangerous and dismal Condition. In the Afternoon, having got into the Main, they left the Sloop to drive into the Sea, because the stormy Weather had made her unfit for Service. The 24th in the Morning, they found Three small Islands to the Windward, which are not marked in the Map; they named these the *Sebaldivine* Islands: They are Sixty Leagues off the Continent, in $50^{\circ} 40'$. There was plenty of Penguins in those Islands, but they could catch none, because they had neither Sloop nor Boat. *February 1.* a Seaman, born at *Bruselles*, named *Nicolas Black*, was condemned to be hanged, for having stolen out of the Hold a Bottle of Wine, and a Bag of Rice: Upon the Point of his Execution, the Seamen interceded for him, and got his Pardon, on Condition that no Seaman, for the future, should beg any body's Life that should be guilty of such a Crime. On the 3d about Evening, the same *Nicolas Black* was accused of having made himself drunk, so that consequently he must have stolen the Wine; and was convicted of stealing not only Wine, but *Distils* also, more than he wanted for his Necessity, for which he was hanged, and his Body thrown into the Sea with a Rope about his Neck.

24. *March 15.* the Ship passed the Equinoctial Line; they began that very Day to distribute no more Wine, because they had but one Pipe left, which they kept for the Sick. The 28th, they saw the Cape of *Monte* upon the Coast of *Guinea*; but the Captain was very angry with the Pilots, because they had steered another Course than he designed: The Seamen on their Side, were also discontented with the Captain, who, having no Sloop nor Boat, and but one Anchor, would not land; but, being satisfied he had Biscuit enough for Four Months, at a Quarter of a Pound

a Day each Man, and Two Ounces of Rice, he caused them to tack about, and stand to the Sea. *April 1.* in the Night, they discovered some Fire, and thought at first 'twas a Ship; but, in the Day-light, they saw the Fire on Shore, and that they had run very near the Coast, being driven by the Currents. At that time their Penguins were all gone, in that, if God's Providence had not been exerted for them, they would have been forced to have been contented with a small Proportion of Biscuit and Rice; but, during Five Weeks that they steered along the Coast, without advancing much farther because of the calm Weather, they found Plenty of all sorts of Fish, both great and small. The Captain, being uncertain how long he should stay in that Place, and fearing that the want of Provisions would force him at last to land, ordered a small Boat to be built; which was finished, in Twelve Days time, by the Direction of *Outgerz*, the Pilot, who had formerly practised the Trade of a Ship-carpenter: But they had no need of her, for, the 24th of the same Month, the Wind being fair, the Ship sailed towards the *Apores* Islands.

25. *May 3.* they celebrated a public Thanksgiving; and, the 21st, they passed the Tropic of *Cancer*, catching every-where so great a Quantity of Fish, that they had enough both for salting and drying: But, when they were off the *Apores*, they found no more Fish; but were forced to eat those they had salted; and that new Food caused many Distempers amongst the Seamen, and especially the Scurvy: They were parched within, and so thirsty, that they could never quench their Thirst; and their Bodies were all over covered with red Spots like a Leprosy. The 7th, the Captain was informed, that some of the Seamen had stolen some Biscuit; but he durst not punish those that were guilty of it, because they were vigorous and healthy, and nothing could be done without them. *July 6.* the Ship got into the *English* Chanel; the Captain landed at *Dover* to buy an Anchor, and a Cable; but, finding none, he sailed the same Evening. On the 13th, while he lay at the Mouth of the *Maese* waiting for the Tide, with a Pilot on board, the Wind became contrary on a sudden, and forced him to go into the Chanel of *Goerze*, where a Seaman died, being the Sixty-ninth that died in the whole Voyage; the other Thirty-six who were alive, gave Thanks to Almighty God, who had preserved them from so many Dangers, and brought them safe Home.

SECTION VIII.

The Voyage of GEORGE SPILBERGEN, in Quality of Admiral of Six Dutch Ships, round the World.

1. The Occasion of the Voyage, and the Departure of the Fleet August 8. 1614.
2. Their Arrival on the Coast of Brazil.
3. Treacherously attacked, and a great many of their Men massacred by the Portuguese.
4. They take several Portuguese Prisoners, but could not procure the Discharge of their own Men in Exchange.
5. They pass through the Straights of Magellan into the South Seas.
6. They meet with the Spanish Fleet on the Coast of Chili.
7. A warm Engagement ensues, in which the Spanish Admiral, Vice-admiral, and another great Ship, were sunk.
8. They continue cruising upon the Coast.
9. The Account they received of the State at that Time of Peru and Chili.
10. They continue their Voyage to Acapulco.
11. Continue their Course from thence for the East Indies, and arrive at the Islands of Ladrones.
12. Proceed in their Voyage for the Moluccas.
13. Arrive safely at the Dutch Settlement at the Island of Machian.
14. Return from thence into Holland, and enter the Maese, July 1. 1617.
15. Remarks upon the Voyage.

THE Directors of the Dutch East India Company, having still very much at Heart the making an effectual Voyage through the Straights of Magellan to the East Indies, they in the Spring of the Year 1614. granted a Commission for this Purpose to *George Spilberg*, or *Spilbergen*, a Man of established Reputation for his Knowledge in maritime Affairs; and ordered Six Ships to be equipped for that Service, viz the *Great Sun*, the *Full Moon*, the *Huntsman*, a Yacht called the *Sea Mew*, all Four from *Amsterdam*, the *Arctus* of *Zeland*, and the *Morning Star* of *Rotterdam*. They were all equipped in the best manner possible, and the Admiral had, in a great

measure, the Choice of his own Officers, which, in long Voyages, is a Thing of the utmost Consequence, in order to prevent unnecessary Disputes. The Ships were ready a little after *Midwinter*, but the Admiral having declared his Opinion, that they should in case they failed then, arrive at an improper Season in the Straights of Magellan, the Directors thought proper to postpone the Voyage to the Month of *August* 1614. on the 8th, the Fleet sailed out of the *Texel*, with a strong Gale at South-east.

2. They continued their Voyage without any other remarkable Accident, than enduring several Storms and Tempests, till *October 3* when they found themselves in the

Height of *Monte Camaries*, and *Brava* and *Ferde* Islands, and even in full as standing in $14^{\circ} 30'$. On a Day of the Danger of the Sea, and in their Voyage with many H into the Clou Trees, but the 19th, the Coa eluded, that it been sent beto the Mouth of in the Opening Evening they therefore the 8 the 20th in the *Islands*, with Trees, in they anchored half a League, ing; in which caught many C On the 23d, they found Tw on a Rock. T for the Sick, w Admiral appou diers for their S of the *Portugu* Distance.

3. The Admi Signal for hold that the *Huntsman* go to take in The Admiral ga The *Huntsman* to an when he was ou thought proper Land, that it w the 29th, the in Water, and Island to cut W their Vessels we Hours went ha would have con aground, and They passed th under a Hut they reported, that they had b great Trampling the Shallops of *Huntsman*, were Ten Soldiers a Lieutenant to C was on board th unarmed, conti ing what their C ing a great No not been gone that were fired mital immedi Soldiers and Se Matter. They informed, that well arm murdered ever armed Shallops Sight of them, did not row ve doubling a race they they say Vol. I.

Height of *Madera* On the 10th, they lost Sight of the *Canaries*, and, on the 23d, they had Sight of the Islands *Brava* and *Fogo*. They observed, in passing the *Cape de Verde* Islands, that they were wrong placed in the Maps, and even in such as were in the highest Esteem in those Days, as standing in them in 17°, whereas they ought to be in 14° 30'. On December 9. 1614, the Admiral appointed a Day of Thanksgiving, for their having happily passed the Danger of Shoals of *Abrolhos*, which run very far into the Sea, and have been very fatal to the *Portuguese* Ships in their Voyages. On the 12th, they discovered the Continent of *Brazil*; the Coast appearing high at a Distance, with many Hills, having very sharp-pointed Tops rising into the Clouds, others broader and well covered with Trees, but the Land close to the Sea was all flat. On the 19th, the Coast appeared very high, and the Pilots concluded, that it must be *Cape Frio*; but the *Sea Mew* having been sent before to discover, reported, that they were at the Mouth of *Rio Janeiro*, which has Three little Islands in the Opening; and this gave them Hopes, that before Evening they should have Sight of the *Ilas Grandes*, and therefore the *Sea Mew* had Orders to lead as before. On the 20th in the Morning, they anchored in the Road of *Ilas Grandes*, between Two large fine Islands, covered with Trees, in Thirteen Fathom Water. On the 21st, they anchored at another Island, at the Distance of about half a League, where they diverted themselves with Fishing; in which they had good Success; and here they caught many Crocodiles, each of the Length of a Man. On the 23d, they anchored behind another Isle, where they found Two little Huts, and a Heap of Mens Bones on a Rock. The next Day they set up Tents on Shore for the Sick, which were all landed that Night, and the Admiral appointed Three distinct Corps de Garde of Soldiers for their Security, as being in continual Apprehension of the *Portuguese*, who, they knew, were at no great Distance.

3. The Admiral, on the 28th, hoisted a white Flag as a Signal for holding a Council; in which it was resolved, that the *Huntzman* should escort the Shallops that were to go to take in Water at a River about Two Leagues off. The Admiral gave express Directions to the Captain of the *Huntzman* to anchor as close to the Shore as possible; But, when he was out of Sight of the Fleet, he anchored as he thought proper, which was at such a Distance from the Land, that it was in a manner out of Cannon-shot. On the 29th, the Admiral's Shallop and Canoe went to take in Water, and a Body of Seamen were landed upon the Island to cut Wood: About Noon they brought as much as their Vessels would hold on board, and in Two or Three Hours went back to fetch more. In the Evening they would have come on board again, but their Vessels were aground, and they were obliged to stay for the Flood. They passed their Time but very indifferently all Night under a Hut erected by the Crew of the Yacht; and they reported, when they came on board in the Morning, that they had heard a confused Number of Voices, and a great Trampling of People, in the Woods. On the 30th, the Shallops of the *Moon*, the *Morning Star*, and the *Huntzman*, were sent to the Watering-place with Nine or Ten Soldiers under the Command of *Francis du Cbesne*, Lieutenant to Captain *Roxelana Phillips*, whose Company was on board the Admiral, as for the Seamen, they went unarmed, contrary to express Orders, and notwithstanding what their Companions had told them, of their hearing a great Number of People in the Wood. They had not been gone long from the Fleet, before several Cannon-shot were fired from the *Huntzman*, upon which the Admiral immediately ordered out Three shallops, full of Soldiers and Seamen, well armed, to see what was the Matter. There no sooner came on board, than they were informed, that five Canoes, full of *Portuguese* and *Melitzas*, well armed, had attacked the Three Shallops, and murdered every Man there was in them. The *Dutch* armed Shallops went in Pursuit, and soon came within Sight of them, and were not a little surpris'd, that the Men did not row very hard to get out of the Way. On their doubting a rocky Cape, they soon found the Reason; for there they saw Two stout Frigates riding at Anchor, to

which the Boats retired for Shelter, and the *Dutch* Shallops were forced to return to their Admiral with a dismal Account of what had befallen their Companions.

4. January 1. 1615, a Conspiracy of certain mutinous Persons, who were inclined to run away with the Ship, was found out; for which, Two were executed, being hanged up at the Yard-arm, and shot through with Six Muskets, and were afterwards buried on Shore, the Preacher having all the Night before laboured to fit them for a more happy Life; others were put in Irons, and distributed to different Ships. Before their Departure they called a Council, and therein gave Orders, that, if any Ship lost the rest, they should set up a Mark in *de Cordes* Haven, or some other usual Landing-place; and likewise fixed how long they should stay for each other, directing them after to wait on to *La Mocba*. They agreed to remove thence, for want of fit Provision for their Sick, to the Isle of *St. Vincent*: There the *Portuguese* delayed and shuffled with them, trifling away Time. On the 26th, they took a Bark with Eighteen *Portuguese*, whom they denied to exchange for fewer *Hollanders*, although they offered also many fair Manuscripts, Pictures, Plate, and other Things, taken in the Prize pertaining to the Jesuits. They found also, that Intelligence of their Coming had been given by some Traitors of their own Countrymen out of *Holland*. And, in the Beginning of February, they departed, freeing Four of their captive *Portuguese*, and detaining the rest; for one of which, also, another *Portugal* had offered himself, with several small Presents, pretending himself a Bachelor, and the other, his Kinman, to have a Wife and Children; but was not accepted. They burned the Prize, and some Buildings belonging to the *Portuguese*, and furnished themselves plentifully with Oranges and Pomecitrons. March the 7th, a cruel Storm distressed them in 52° 6', which continued several Days, and separated them: And, on the 21st, a worse Tempest happened amongst some mutinous Persons; and some of them (to still that Tempest) were cast into the Sea. It was the 28th before they entered the Streight, whence the Wind and Tide forced them out again. The Winds being contrary, some desired to winter in *Port Desire*; others, to hold their Course to the *Cape of Good Hope*, which was utterly impracticable.

5. April 2. they re enter'd, and anchored, because of Shoals, one of which they tounded the next Day a Quarter of a League, and found but Three Fathom Water. They saw here a Man of gigantic Stature climbing the Hills, to take a View of them. This was the Land called *del Fogo*, or *Fire*, which is the South of the Streight. The 7th, they went ashore, found no Men, but Two Ostriches, and a great River of fresh Water, with Store of Shrubs and sweet Blackberries. On the South Sides they found pleasant Woods, full of Parrots, in 54° the Mountains full of Snow. They called one Place *Pepper Haven*, the Bark of a Tree there being like Pepper. On the 16th, they conterr'd, and entered into Commerce, with the Savages, and gave them Sack, and certain Knives, for Pearls joined together: But some of the Company going on *May-day* ashore to take some Birds, they were surpris'd by the Savages, and Two of them slain. On the 6th, they passed into the South Sea, not without Terror, both from the Want that Day of Anchorage, and afterwards the dangerous Shoals and Islands between the Northern and Southern Shores, at the Mouth of the Streights opening into the Sea. They were welcomed into this *Pacific* Ocean by a terrible Storm, which they feared would have split them on the Sorlings (so for Likeness of those Isles to ours they called the Islands in that Sea a little without the Streights). These Streights are dangerous for high Islands, Shoals, and Want of Anchorage: Also tedious Storms attended their Ingrets and Egrets. On the 21st, they had Sight of *Chil* and *La Mocba*: This Island is low and broad to the North, full of Rocks to the South. On the 26th, they sent out Boats to try if it was possible to traffick with the People. The Governor and his Son dined with the Admiral, and seemed glad to see such Ships, and to well provided with Artillery and Ammunition against the *Spaniards*; as likewise did all the Inhabitants of *Chil*, at Sight of their mullering of their Soldiers. They exchanged Hatchets, Coral, and the like, for great Plenty of Sheep, of which

they had Two for one Hatchet, with g. at Courtesy: But they brought all to the Boat, nor would suffer any to go to their Houses, because of their Jealousy of their Wives, which exceeds even that of the *Spaniards*. One of those Sheep was of the Kind resembling a Camel, their Legs and Neck very long, Hair mouthed, and Bunch-backed, which they use for Carriage and Culture, as *Asses*. They had many Hens, and other Fowls. On the 27th, they set Sail; and, the 28th, came near the Shore, not far from the Island of *St. Mary*, broken and rocky. On the 29th, they came into Harbour, where a *Spaniard* came on board them, having a Petion, by way of Pledge, left for him on Shore: But, inviting them to Dinner on Shore, one of the Boats discovered a Body of Soldiers marching to that Place where they should have dined; whereupon they returned aboard with the *Spaniard*, whom they made Prisoner. The next Morning they went ashore with Three Ensigns: The *Spaniards*, at the Sight of them, set their Church on Fire, and fled. In the Skirmish, Two *Hollanders* were wounded, and Four *Spaniards* slain. Their Houses, built of Reed, yielded a good Flame. They found many Hens, and took 500 Sheep, with other Spoil. Here they had Intelligence of Three Ships which had departed thence in April to seek these *Dutch* Ships, manned with a Thousand *Spaniards*; the Admiral carrying Forty Brass Pieces of Cannon, the rest proportionable. Hereupon the *Dutch* were determined to seek them in the Isle of *Conception*, and after that in *Vaipariso*, and then on the Coast of *Arica*. The *Spaniards* also reported much of the like Preparation making in *Lama*. Having *Dutch* Gunners, they enacted certain Orders of military Discipline, how each Ship, and each Petion, should conduct himself in the Fight, if they encountered the Enemy; and resolved to die rather than yield.

6. June the 1st, they sailed thence, and passed not far from *Auraca*, a Town with 500 *Spaniards* in Garrison, which are continually disquieted by the Inhabitants of *Chili*. On the 3d, they approached the Isle *Quinquaruna*, near the Continent, and behind it came up to the Town of *Conception*; wherein, besides many *Indians*, were 200 *Spaniards*. On the 12th, they entered the safe and commodious Road of *Vaipariso*. There was a *Spanish* Ship, to which the Mariners set Fire, and fled. On the 12th at Noon, they were in 32° 15', and in the Afternoon came to the fair and secure Harbour of *Quintero*. They went ashore, and saw many wild Horses, which fled. Here they watered, and took many Fish; and for Wood, and other Things, found the Place very commodious. Every-where, on approaching the Coast, they found the People aware of them, which caused *Spanish* Preparations for unwelcome Entertainments, so that no Matter of Weight was effected. July the 2d, they came to *Arica*, in 12° 40', whither the Silver is brought from *Potosi*, and carried thence to *Panama*; but finding no Ships there at that time, they departed. On the 10th, they had a Calm, yet rainy Day, nor without Wonder to them, because the *Spanish* Prisoners had reported a perpetual Funnels of Weather in those Parts. On the 16th, they took a small Ship, with a small Quantity of Treasure, most of which was embezzled by the Mariners: They afterwards took out the Commodities, and sunk her. They had Sight of Eight Sail, which, as soon as he discerned them, the *Spanish* Master of the former Ship said were the Royal Fleet come out to seek the *Hollanders*, against the Opinion of the Council of *Peru*, which would rather had them stay: But *Roderigo de Mendoza*, the Viceroy's Kinsman and Admiral, cited of himself, said, 'that Two or three Ships would take us England, and much more those Hens of Holland, after making a Voyage, which had spent and weighed them. Now, it was sure they would yield to us at the very first Sight.' Whereupon the Viceroy gave him Leave to go and bring them bound unto him; and the Admiral *Mendoza* swore, he would never return till they were taken or slain. Thus he departed out of the Road of *Calao* on the 11th of July. The *Jesus Maria*, Admiral, carried Twenty four Brass Pieces, 400 Men, of all Sorts, and had cost the King, 150,000 Ducats. The Vice-admiral, *St. James*, 300 Men, the Captain *Abeares de Piger*, which had taken an *English* Ship in the South Sea before; this Ship had cost the King in 150,000 Ducats,

and was the fairest that ever was seen in the *Indies*. The *Carmalites*, of Eight Brass Pieces of Cannon, 200 Soldiers and Mariners, besides the Commanders, and their Retinue. The *St. James*, of equal Force. The *Rafary* had 150 Men, and Four Brass Ordnance. The *St. Francis* had no Ordnance, but Seventy Musqueteers, and Twenty Mariners. The *St. Andrew* had Eighty Musqueteers, and Twenty-five Mariners. The Eighth was sent after the rest, uncertain with what Furniture.

7. July 17, they came near each other in the Evening, and his own Vice-admiral sent Word to the *Spanish* Admiral, that, if he pleased, he might forbear to fight that Night, and begin the Attack next Morning. But *Roderigo de Mendoza* could not be so patient, but, about Ten of the Clock, set upon the *Great Sun*, in which the *Dutch* Admiral himself was; and they immediately exchanged mutual Broadsides. The *St. Francis*, being next, attacked the Admiral; but was forced to sheer off. She fell then on the Yacht, and by her was sent to the Bottom. At that Instant the Yacht was warmly attacked by the *Spanish* Admiral, and had soon followed to triumph over the *Francis*, her new Conquest, in the Chanel's Bottom, had not her Admiral succoured her with a Boatfull of Men, and caused the Vice-admiral to do the like. The Admiral's Boat, being mistaken, was, by a Piece of Cannon discharged from the *Huntsman*, sunk, one Man alone escaping. The next Morning, Five Ships sent Word to the Admiral, that they would do their best to escape; but the *Dutch* Admiral and Vice-admiral fell upon the *Spanish* Admiral and Vice-admiral, and an oblique Engagement ensued. The *Aeolus*, another *Holland* Ship, came in also. The Two *Spanish* Ships were fastened together, and gave greater Advantage. At last they forsook the Vice-admiral, and leaped into the Admiral, not finding therein above Fifty Persons alive, as, by their Confessions, after appeared. Mean while the Seamen hung out a white Flag of Peace, which was very often plucked in by the Gentlemen and Officers, chusing rather to die than yield. The *Dutch* pressing them, the Vice-admiral's Men returned again, and renewed the Fight, and the *Dutch* Vice-admiral was in great Danger, the *Spaniards* leaping into her out of their Admiral; but were repelled or slain, and the *Spanish* Admiral, not being further able to maintain the Fight, fled, and, by Benefit of Night, escaped the Pursuit of the *Dutch* Admiral; but her Safety was of short Continuance; for her Leaks were so many and great, that she went to visit the *St. Francis*, as also did another of them called the *St. Mary*. The *Dutch* Vice-admiral and *Aeolus* bestowed them to very briskly, that the *Spanish* Vice-admiral, paid Hope of escaping, set up a white Flag, and yielded. The *Dutch* Vice-admiral sent two Boats to bring the Commander aboard, but he refused, saying, he would stay that Night, except the Vice-admiral himself would fetch him, or send some Captain to remain in Pledge; and rather desired Death than Disgrace. One of the *Aeolus*'s Men, in this Time, had taken away the Flag, and the Boats departed, Ten or Twelve staying on board, contrary to Command, that they might be first in the Spoil. They did, together with the *Dutch*, what they could do in the Night to preserve the Ship from sinking, but, seeing their Labour vain, they lighted many Lights, and, with horrible Clamours, cried for Help; but it was too late, and they sunk together, in the *Hollanders* Sight. The next Morning, they sent out Four Boats, which found Thirty swimming on the Boards, crying for Mercy; which, to some of the crew, they threw, leaving the rest to the Mercy of the Sea, tho' some of the *Dutch*, against Command, in this Distress, murdered several of the *Spaniards*. Their Commander the Vice-admiral perished before of his Wounds. Forty *Dutch* men were wounded, and Sixteen slain, in those three Ships. In the rest Eighteen were wounded, and I wenty four slain. The same Day, they sailed for *Calao de Lama*; but were becalmed. The 20th, they passed by the Island, and lay in the Haven, Fourteen Ships in Motion near the Shore, but could not come nigh for the Shoals, and therefore went to the Road of *Calao de Lama*, to seek for the *Spanish* Admiral, which afterwards they learned, at *Peyta*, was sunk. From the Shore the *Spaniards* fired their great Ordnance, one of which carried a Bullet of Thirty-six Pound, and had almost sunk the *Huntsman*. They also saw on shore a great Army, in which

which the Vice Troops of Horse out of the Rear Mouth of the River Intent to take for they were better Bulk laden with Men all fled. The Fleet of *Panama* Country, where were also bound and avoid being them in the last Part the Matter and Ships, but caused lest Confusion, as happen. The 21 to the Road of *G* Place, with a large Oranges, Hogs,

8. August 3, thers. They passed Fifth of that Name Anchor near to who, after a few ing too strongly strange Sails, with Months a fishing which they distrust *Aeolus*, Morning their Ordnance, who found the Goods, fled to *Indians* on shore, of the *Spanish* Admiral swallowed by the also brought the the Commandant Town of *St. Michael* sent the *Hollanders* Citrons, with other Wildom, and Vir Parts. *Peyta*, town impregnable. The nattery, and made to which all the Cargoes pass by Rage of both Place. They took mous Size, in the Eagle; their Ne combed as a Col Three in Breadth

9. The learned *Chili*, and *Y de Mendoza*, Mar Office the King yearly Allowance 10000 Pielos, for *Christmas*, *Epiph* Rials and a half tam all the Court yearly, when he served with great without his Guardia Laneces and of Audiences in *Chili*. In their Civil and Criminal and are allowed residue in the *Lama*, situated in half in Length, 100,000 Inhabit It hath Four M

which the Viceroy himself was in Person, with Eight Troops of Horse, and 4000 Foot. They agreed to return out of the Reach of their Shot, and cast Anchor at the Mouth of the Haven, where they staid till the 25th, with Intent to take some of their Ships; but in vain, because they were better Sailors. On the 26th, they took a little Bark laden with Salt, and Eighty Vessels of Syrup: The Men all fled. They ordered, that, if they met with the Fleet of Panama, in regard they were in the Enemy's Country, where they could not repair their Losses, and were also bound to the *Mamillas*, they should act cautiously, and avoid being separated, which had much endangered them in the last Fight; and, if any Spanish Ship should yield, the Master and chief Officers should not leave their own Ships, but cause the Enemy to come in Boats aboard them, lest Confusion, as lately through Greediness of Spoil, should happen. The 27th, they set Sail. The 28th, they came to the Road of *Guarme* in 10° beyond the Line, a pleasant Place, with a large Port. Near unto it is a Lake of standing Water. They went on shore; but found the People all fled, who had left little Pilage, except some Hens, Oranges, Hogs, and Meal; which they took.

8. August 3, they dismissed some of their Spanish Prisoners. They passed between the *Ile Loubes*, (so called from Fish of that Name) and the Continent. The 5th, they cast Anchor near to *Peyta*. The 6th, they fit 300 Men aboard, who, after a few Skirmishes, returned aboard, the City being too strongly defended. They took an Indian Ship of strange Sails, with Six lusty Indians, which had been Two Months a fishing, and had many delicate Fishes dried, which they distributed through the Fleet. The 10th, the *Aolus, Morning-Star* and *Hungman*, battered the Town with their Ordnance, and sent a great Number of them on shore, who found the City forsaken, and the People, with their Goods, fled to the Mountains. They sent Five of their Indians on shore, to get Fruits, and to learn more Certainly of the Spanish Admiral; who brought Word of her being swallowed by the Waves, only Six cleaving. The Indians also brought the Letters of Captain *Gaspard Galdron* to *Paula* the Commandant's Wife of *Peyta*, who had fled to the Town of *St. Michael*, Twelve Leagues from Shore. She sent the *Hollanders*, in Commemoration of the Captives, many Citrons, with other Provisions. This Woman, for Beauty, Wisdom, and Virtue, was of singular Reputation in all those Parts. *Peyta*, towards the Sea, is strong, and, in a manner, impregnable. There were in it Two Churches, One Monastery, and many good Buildings, an excellent Haven, to which all the Ships of *Panama* resorted. Then their Cargoes pass by Land to *Lama*, because of the perpetual Rage of both Elements, the Wind and Water, in that Place. They took in the *Iland Loubes* Two Fowls of enormous Size, in the Beak, Wings and Talons not unlike the Eagle; their Necks somewhat like a Sheep; their Heads combed as a Cock; they were Two Ells in Height, and Three in Breadth, when their Wings were displayed.

9. The learned *Pedro de Madriga* of *Lima* said, that *Petru, Chilo*, and *Terra Firma*, were commanded by Don *John de Mendoza*, Marquis des *Montes Claros*, the Viceroy, which Office the King conferreth for Six or Eight Years, with a yearly Allowance of 40,000 Ducats, with an Addition of 1000 Pesos, for extraordinary Expences on the Feasts of *Christinas, Epiphany, St. Spirito*, and *Easter*, each of Twelve Rials and a half, because, at those Times, he is to entertain all the Counsellors of the Audience; 2000 Pesos also yearly, when he furnishes the Silver Fleet. The Viceroy is served with great Pomp in this Place, never stirring abroad without his Guard; and, if he goes into the Country, hath 100 Lances and 50 Miquelets attending. There are Courts or Audiences in *Panama, Quito, Charles, Lima*, one also in *Cuba*. In them are the King's Counsellors, to whom both Civil and Criminal Causes are committed, but with Appeal in Civil Causes to the *Oydors* (certain Commissioners), and in Criminal to the *Alcalds*. These all go in one Habit, and are allowed 3000 Pesos annual Pension. The Viceroy resideth in the City of Kings, or *Los Reyes*, called also *Lama*, situated in a pleasant Valley, extended a Mile and a half in Length, in Breadth Three-quarters, having above 100,000 Inhabitants, besides Merchants of other Places. It hath Four Market-places. There are 3000 Indian Art-

ficers dwelling in the *Cercado*. Here resideth the Archbishop *Bartholomew Lobo Guorero*, who had 60,000 Pesos of Revenue. The Cathedral hath Twenty-four Prebends, one Archdeacon, besides Schoolmasters and other Priests. There are Four principal Rectors, to each of whom are assigned 15,000 Pesos. Besides this Church of *St. John the Evangelist*, are Four others; one of *St. Marcellus*, with Two Pastors, and 1000 Pesos Revenue; the Second of *St. Sebastian*; the Third of *St. Anne*, with like Stipend; the Fourth is an Hospital of Orphans, with 500 Pesos. Monasteries there are of *St. Francis*, *St. Dominic*, and *St. Augustin*, and of our *Lady de las Mercedes*, each of which hath Two Cloisters of their own Order, that of *St. Francis* Three; viz. One of *bare-foot Friars* of our *Lady Guadalupe*. They have here Two Colleges of Jesuits, which the Spaniards call *Theatines*, both there and in *Europe*. In each chief Monastery are 250 Religious. There are Five Monasteries of Nuns, called of the *Incarnation, Conception, Trinity, St. Joseph*, and *St. Clare*. Our *Lady* also hath her Churches by the Titles of *Montserrat*, and *del Prado*, and *de Loretto*. They have Four Hospitals for the Poor; of *St. Andrew*, in which are 400 Sick; of *St. Anna* for the Indians; of *St. Peter* for the Ecclesiastics; of *Charity* for Women; another of *Sto. Spirito* for Sailors; and one of *St. Lazaro* for inveterate Diseases. There are 600 Priests, and 1000 Students. Allowance is given to Twenty-four in the King's College by his Majesty; to as many in *St. Torine's* by the Archbishop. There are also 200 Doctors in the Universities, of all Faculties. The Professors receive of the King 1000 Pesos Pension. The Two Professors of Civil Law have each 600 Pesos. There are 400 Masters of Art. Every Year they chuse a new Rector or Chancellor. In this City and Suburbs are above 20,000 Slaves. There are more Women than Men. The Indians are free, as well as the *Spaniards*, saving, that they pay every Six Months Two Pesos, a Hen, a Tanega of Eight Rials, and a Piece of Cloth or Cotton. They are bound to serve the King yearly in the Mines or Husbandry certain Days, beginning in *May*, and continuing their Service severally till *November*. Those of *Africa* bring to *Potosi* Beasts, Wheat, Meal, Mays, *Axcooca*, an Herb which they perpetually chew. They use for Carriages a certain Camel-fashioned Sheep. By this City the River runneth close to the Walls, which, by Showers, sometimes so swells, that it hath carried away the Stone Bridge of Nine Arches. Here is the King's Pontifical house, and his Treasury, the Court also of Inquisition, with Two Inquisitors, each of which also has 3000 Pesos Pension, and a Prison peculiar. The Two Notaries have 4000 Pesos apiece. Here is the Court or Office of the *Crescudo*, or the Popes Bulls, with Officers, and like Stipends. This City is Two Leagues from the Sea, hath Eight Companies of Foot, and as many Troops of Horse, in Garrison. The next Port is called *Calao*, in which are some 800 Inhabitants. From the City to *Potosi* are all Spanish Merchandize conveyed. *Potosi* is called *La Valla Imperial*, comprehending a great Mountain, in which are Silver Mines. Into them is a horrible Descent of 400 Steps into the Veins, which exercise about 20,000 Indians digging, and 100 more in carrying, grinding, and other Works of that Kind. This Place is so cold, that nothing grows within Four Leagues, but an Herb called *Ylbo*. Their Provision is all brought from *Africa*. A Pound of Bread is there worth Two Rials. The Haven of *Africa* is 180 Spanish Leagues from thence; but there are many Villages well inhabited by the Way. Not far hence is *Cebuquiza*, the Bishop wherof hath 30,000 Ducats Revenue. There are the like Monasteries to those at *Lima*; but not so full of Monks. At *Potosi* there are said to be 1500 Sharpers, who live by their Wits. Seventy Miles from thence is another Silver Mine, called *Erucio*. Near *Lima* is *Checoia Cboca*, another Mine, cold as *Potosi*, where dwell 5000 Spaniards. *Cuzco* is like to *Lima* hath 6000 Spanish Inhabitants, a Bishop, and Monks, and Two Colleges, with some 600 Students. *Arequipa* hath also a Bishop, 2000 Spaniards, and a Corregidor. The Capital of *Chilo* is *St. Iago*, where there is a Gold Mine. *Cajamarca* hath Store of *Bla. Billedia* is rich in Gold. In the Year 1599, the *Natives* of the Country killed the *Spaniards*, and made their Wives Prisoners, 800 in Number, whom they offered to exchange,

if they might have for each a Pair of Shoes, a Bridle, a Sword, and a Pair of Stirrups; but the King forbid Armour to be carried to them. They poured molten Gold into the Governor's Mouth, made a Cup of his Skull, and Pipes of his Shank-bones, in Memory of their Victory. *Aurora* hath near it a Fort, with a Spanish Garrison; but very poor. *Conception* is mentioned before. It hath 400 Soldiers to keep it, with some Ordnance.

10. Let us now, with our *Hollanders*, put to Sea, which they did August 21. but easily perceived the next Day the Strength of the Currents to be such, that, without a fair and stiff Gale, they prevailed little or nothing. On the 23d, they anchored before *Rio de Tumba*; for the Bar and Tide forbid them Entrance. They agreed to return to the Isle of *Coques* in 5° Southerly, to refresh themselves; but Storms, Rains, and Thunders, distressed them to September 13. that they could not find the Island; and in the mean time they grew very sickly. On the 20th, they had Sight of Land in *Nova Hispania*. They had 13° 30, and the Weather became again very tempestuous. October 1. after much bad Weather at Sea, they had Sight of pleasant Land; but the Sea wrought so, that they could not have safe Landing, and so beat off and on till the 11th, that they entered the Haven of *Atapalco* within Shot of the Castle, and, hanging out a Flag of Peace, Two Spaniards came on board, and they agreed to exchange Prisoners for Sheep, Fruits, and Provision; which was accordingly performed. On the 16th, *Michiel Hernandez* came a-board, to take a View of the Fleet, which had vanquished the King's. He was Nephew to the Viceroy of *New Spain*, and was kindly entertained by the Admiral. The Castle here was well defended with seventy Brass Guns, having had Intelligence of their coming Eight Months before. The 18th, they set Sail again; but, being becalmed, they did nothing of Moment, except the taking a Bark bound for Pearl-fishing; which they manned, and took into the Attendants of their own Fleet.

11. November 1. they anchored before Port *Selagues* in 19° North Latitude. Here they heard of a River, that yielded Variety of good Fish, and Meadows well stocked with Cattle, together with Citrons, and other Fruits, all which Conveniences they wanted; but the Company they sent, fearing a Surprise by the Spaniards, returned as they went, after a faint Engagement with the Enemy. On the 11th, they sailed for Port *Nativo*, where they furnished themselves with Necessaries, and from whence they parted on the 20th. The 28th, they had 20° 26' North Latitude; and there they concluded on the nearest Course to the Islands of *Ladrones*. December 3. to their no little Wonder, they saw two Islands at a great Distance in the Sea, and, the next Day, a mighty Rock in 19°, and fifty Leagues from the Continent. The 6th, they saw a new Island, with five Hills, that appeared like so many distinct Islands. The New Year came on with Dittempers, that proved fatal to many of their Company. January 3. 1610. they had Sight of the *Ladrones*, and the next Day they landed there. They set Sail for the *Manillas* the 26th, where they happily anchored February 9. Here the *Indians* refused to trade with them, because, they said, the *Dutch* were Enemies to the Spaniards; for which very Reason, some others would freely have transferred all the Trade and Riches of the Country to them. But, in *Capul*, to which they came on the 11th, the People were of a better Temper, giving them fat Hogs and Hens for very Trifles. This profitable Trade they left the 19th, passing from thence through the Straights towards the *Manilian* Port or Bay. The *Indians* of *Capul* wear long Coats like Shirts, and are noted for the extraordinary Respect they pay to all Clergymen, before whom they will prostrate themselves on the Ground, and take it for a mighty Honour to be admitted to kiss their Hands.

12. The 19th they anchored before the Island *Lusonia*, the principal of the *Manillas*, and in which is the City of *Mannia* itself. Here was a curious Fabrick, artificially erected upon the Tops of Trees, that looked like a Palace at a Distance, but what sort of Creatures were the Inhabitants there, they could not imagine. The 28th, they passed by the high and flaming Hill *Albaca*. The 24th, they saw the other End of the Straight, but the Calm would

not allow them to pass it. The 28th, they anchored before the Island *Mirabelles*, remarkable for its two Rocks, that lift their Tops a vast Height in the Air. Behind them the City of *Manilla* lies, and from hence they watch the coming of Ships from *China* to pilot them safe to the City, because of the great Danger of the Passage. March 1. they took several Barks, that were dispatched to gather in the Tribute paid to the City of *Manilla* from the adjoining Places. They had now Intelligence of a Fleet of twelve Ships, and four Gallies, manned with 2000 Spaniards, besides *Indians*, *Chinese*, and *Japoneze*, all which were sent to the *Maluccas* to drive out the *Dutch*, and reduce those Islands to the Obedience of the King of Spain: Upon this News they discharged all their Prisoners, and resolved to go after them. The 11th, they got in amongst so many Islands, that they hardly knew how to deliver themselves again, but their Spanish Pilot brought them out safe the next Day. The 14th, they rid at Anchor all Night before the Island *Paney*, by reason of the Shoals. The 18th, they sailed close by the Island of *Mindanao*; but, in the Evening, put off further into the Sea, because of dangerous Shelves thereabouts. The 19th, they came close to the Shore again, and bought Provisions of the Islanders at a very cheap Rate. The 20th, they reached *Caye de Cordera*, the Spaniards Watering place, in their Way to the *Moluccas*. Till the 23d they sailed no farther than just as the Tide forced them along, having a perfect Calm; but between *Mindanao* and *Yogamo*, a contrary Tide met and stopp'd them. The People here professed a great Enmity to the Spaniards, and offered the *Dutch* the Assistance of five of their Ships in that Quarrel. The 27th, they passed the Island *Sanguan*, and the 29th came to *Ternate*, in which the *Dutch* possessed the Town *Mocra*, where these unlooked-for Countrymen of theirs were made very welcome by them. The Straight of *Bouton* they observed to be full of Shoals, without which the Water is deep; On the East there is good fresh Water, and two Leagues to the West lies a very rocky Shore. April 8. *Cornelius de Vianca* went for *Banda*, and the Soldiers landed there after a very long and tedious Lite a Ship-board.

13. On May 2. they sailed with six Ships for *Macassar*, in order to prevent the Portuguese from lading Cloves. The Wind proving very fair, they soon arrived under Fort *Maurice*, which the Admiral immediately visited, as he afterwards did the Ports *Taffulor* and *Tabillola*, and so on till he came to the Fort of *Nabaca*. On the 12th, they received Intelligence from Mr. *Capleton*, who commanded Four English Ships, that the *Dutch* General, *John Dirckx Laam*, had sailed from the Island of *Banda*, in the Spring of the Year, with twelve Men of War, well manned, and a Body of Soldiers on board; with which Force he landed, April 10. on the Island of *Pulo West*, the richest of all the Islands in those Parts, of which he made himself Master with great Ease, and that the Inhabitants of the adjacent Islands, being summoned, submitted themselves immediately, and entered into a Treaty with him highly advantageous to the Company, inasmuch as it secured to them the sole Trade in the best Nutmegs in the *Indies*. On the 16th, the Governor of *Tidore* went to *Manilla*. On the 18th, the *Dutch* Admiral delivered seven *Dutch* Seamen out of the Prisons and Gallies of the Spaniards, where they had been confined no less than four Years. The Prisoners exchanged for these were a Monk, a Spanish Pilot, two Spaniards taken in the South Seas, and one that they brought from the *Manillas*. A few Days after, another *Dutchman* joined them, whose Name was *Peter de Vries*, he had been Prisoner among the Spaniards several Years, at first on board the Gallies; but, being an excellent Goldsmith, and having married a Spanish Wife, they gave him Leave to come on shore, and work at his Trade, allowing him, at last, so much Liberty, that he found means to escape, bringing his Wife away with him. This Man was of very great use; for, having an excellent Understanding, being perfectly acquainted with the Spanish Trade, and knowing exactly the Nature and Value of all the Commodities in the *Indies*, he gave the *Dutch* Governors better Intelligence, than it was possible for them to have obtained any other Way. They returned afterwards to *Macassar*, and proceeded thence to *Malaya*, whence they went upon

a Cruise. On May 12. they were soon after Twelve large *Dutch* Ships; and, as it was debated whether the one or the other of the Line was debated only, thing put in Execution of having several of the *Indians* Governor and *Real* was installed *Spilbergen* received to sail with the *Dutch* to the Island of *Java* to settle the Trade, as he thought *Japana* for a Supply *Jaccatra* (now *Batavia*) and where they took provide them with ing they did with the neighbourhood of *Den* from *Malacca*, in were, however, v prehensious, by c that Month, of b ol Poison, at Ma Accident, his Fle was returned to th so that Four Year nards had been at which exceedingly in the *Indies*; a Powers, when the ner, by attending the Support of G ploied at *Jaccatra* the mighty Incre small Space of Ti from the *Malacca* more from *Hollan* in those Countries manned, with few Supply of their G rich Ship from Y of Rials of Plata Goods taken out *Macao*. On the *Tonco* of *Horn*, had passed round Route was arrived that he did not u *India* Company, President, *John* to be confiscated. Ships in the Com here, how very fo Acts of Severity, founded about Fe upon them to br their Countrymen tent, I shall tran Voyage, giving tion of *Juques* le s be quickly bette whole *Dutch* Na was only due to t " of their long. " *Spilbergen's* Ex " Countries, no " They only pro " different from " dated; but the " cording to th " Months and " Straights to th " Winds all the " tige a single S " Vol. I.

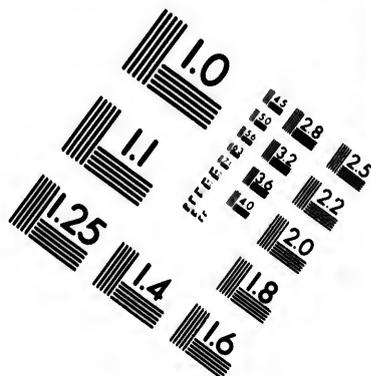
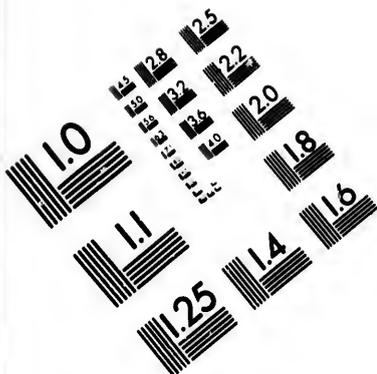
a Cruise. On May 30. they failed for that Purpose, but were soon after recalled, and found, on their Return, Twelve large Dutch Ships from *Ambona*, in the Road of *Malaya*; and, as they were then a very formidable Fleet, it was debated whether they should attack *Tidore*, or any other of the Enemy's Settlements in those Parts; but it was debated only, and, their Chiefs differing, there was nothing put in Execution. These Debates shewing the Necessity of having a Commander in chief, the Council General of the *Indies*, June 10. proceeded to the Election of a Governor and General, and the next Day *Laurence de Real* was installed in that Command. Soon after Admiral *Spilbergen* received this Governor's Orders and Commission to sail with the Two Ships, viz. the *Amsterdam* and *Zeland*, to the Island of *Java*, and City of *Bantam*, with Instructions to settle the Trade there, on such Terms, and in such manner, as he should think fit. On June 17. they put into *Japara* for a Supply of Provisions, and then proceeded to *Jaccatra* (now *Batavia*) where they arrived September 7. and where they found it necessary to careen their Ships, and provide them with double Shattlings, which, notwithstanding they did with great Caution, on account of the near Neighbourhood of *Don Juan de Syria*, who was expected to sail from *Malacca*, in order to cruise upon the *Dutch*. They were, however, very soon set at Liberty from these Apprehensions, by certain Intelligence, that came the last of that Month, of his dying suddenly, not without Suspicion of Poison, at *Malacca*; and that, in consequence of this Accident, his Fleet, which was before much weakened, was returned to the *Manillas* without performing any thing; so that Four Years Trouble and Expence, which the *Spaniards* had been at in order to equip it, were all thrown away, which exceedingly lessened their Reputation and Influence in the *Indies*; as will always be the Case of maritime Powers, when they suffer their Affairs to sink in this manner, by attending more to the amassing of Wealth, than the Support of Government. While they were thus employed at *Jaccatra*, they had the Satisfaction of perceiving the mighty Increase of the *Dutch Trade*; for, in that small Space of Time, there arrived no less than Four Ships from the *Maluccas*, laden with the richest Spices, and Four more from *Holland*, with very rich Cargoes; and, what in those Countries was of much greater Consequence, well manned, with several hundred Soldiers on board for the Supply of their Garrisons. There came in there also a very rich Ship from *Japan*, having on board a large Quantity of Rials of Plate, uncoined Silver, and other valuable Goods taken out of a *Portuguese* Prize, in its Passage to *Macao*. On the 26th, arrived there a Vessel, called the *Concor of Horn*, commanded by *Jacques le Maire*, which had passed round by the Straights of *Magellan*, and by that Route was arrived in the *East Indies*. But as it was known, that he did not make this Voyage on Account of the *East India* Company, or to much as by their Participation, the President, *John Peterfon Coen*, called his Ship and Cargo to be confiscated, and his Crew distributed amongst the Ships in the Company's Service. I cannot help observing here, how very soon exclusive Corporations begin to exercise Acts of Severity. This *East India* Company had not been founded about Fourteen Years, and yet they already took upon them to break the Spirits, and cramp the Trade, of their Countrymen: And, to shew this Spirit in its full Extent, I shall translate literally the very next Sentence in this Voyage, giving a very injurious Account of this Expedition of *Jacques le Maire*, with whose Merit the Reader will be quickly better acquainted, on purpose to possess the whole *Dutch* Nation with a Notion, that Encouragement was only due to the *East India* Company. " In the Courie " of their long Voyage, says the Author of Admiral " *Spilbergen's* Expedition, these People discovered no new " Countries, no new Nations, with whom we might trade. " They only pretended to have discovered a new Passage, " different from that through which Ships had hitherto " sailed; but there was little Appearance of this, since, ac- " cording to their own Account, they had spent Fifteen " Months and Three Days in their Passage from the " Straights to the Island of *Ternate*, though they had tar " Winds all the Way, and notwithstanding the vast Advan- " tage a single Ship has over a Fleet, where the quickest " Vol. I.

" Sailor must stay for the slowest. These pretended Makers " of Discoveries, therefore, who boasted of having found " out a new Streight, were very much surpris'd to hear, " that Admiral *Spilbergen* had waited so long at *Ternate*, " and arrived so much sooner, than they, notwithstanding " his Fleet was composed of such large Ships, and had " been so much and so often retarded, had fought so many " times, had been put back, slopt, and trafficked in so " many Parts, and yet came out but bare Eight Months " before them, and spent only a Year and Seven Months " in all their Expeditions, to the Time of their Arrival " in the *Moluccas*." There is a great Mixture of Vanity and Injustice in this Account; for though, without Question, great Commendation is due to Admiral *Spilbergen*, and his Voyage ought to be regarded as one of the most successful, all Things considered, that ever was undertaken by the *Dutch*, or any other Nation, yet there is less Reason sure for his undervaluing the Labours of another, or pretending to call in question a Fact that was so well attested, and which has been verified by future Experience, especially when the Man was under Misfortunes, which, as we shall presently see, had such an Effect upon him as to break his Heart.

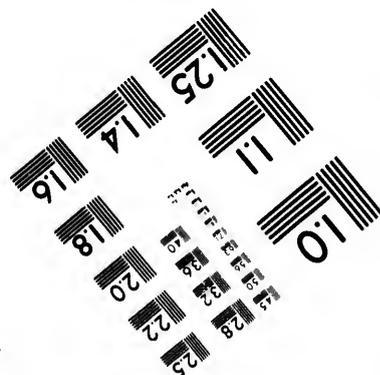
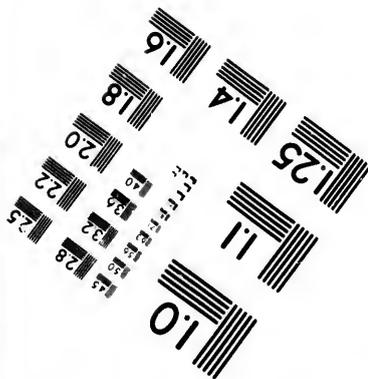
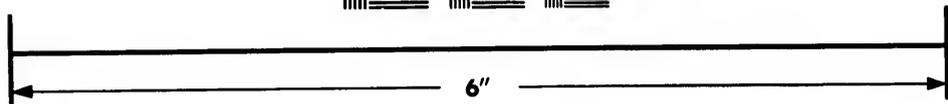
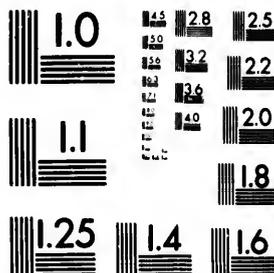
14. The Admiral on December 14. 1616. hoisted Sail at *Bantam*, in order to proceed for *Holland* with the Two Ships under his Command, of which the *Amsterdam* was of the Burden of Fourteen hundred, and the *Zeland* of Twelve hundred Ton. On the 22d of the same Month died *Jacques le Maire*, a Man justly renowned for his great Skill in the Art of Navigation, and for his excellent Temper, as well as unblemished Character. On January 1. 1617. the *Amsterdam* lost Sight of the *Zeland*. On the 24th, they anchored at the Island of *St Maurice*. On March 6. they doubled the Cape; on the 30th, they arrived at *St Helena*, where they found the *Zeland*, which had anchored there some Days before. On April 6. both Ships put to Sea; on the 24th of the same Month, they parted the Line; and on July 1. 1617. they arrived safely in *Holland*, having been out near Two Years and Eleven Months. Their Return was extremely grateful to the Company, the Directors of which bestowed the highest Commendation on the Admiral, who had indeed behaved with the utmost Prudence, and so conducted this Voyage, as that it contributed alike to the Advantage of the Company, his own Reputation, and the Glory of his Country. Multitudes of People resorted to see him, and his Ships; an Extract of his Voyage was immediately made public, and the *Dutch East India* Company may be said to have dated their Grandeur, in respect both to Reputation and Power, from the Day of his Return: The former, in some measure, resulted from his very act of surrounding the Globe; and the latter took Rise from their Conquests in the *Moluccas*, in which he not only assisted, but likewise brought Home the first Account.

15. It is observable, that this great Commander took the utmost Pains, not only to have an exact Account of his own Voyage drawn up, but to examine closely into what Discoveries had been made by others. On his Return to *Holland*, he published the Report of *Magellan*, with respect to the gigantic People that inhabit the Straights, and known to the World by his Name. Admiral *Spilbergen* said, that they had gone ashore in their Voyage, and had examined several Graves of those People that inhabit them; and always found their Bodies of the ordinary Size, or rather below it; and that the Savages they saw, from time to time in their Canoes, were likewise of the ordinary Size; but that they had one Day observed a Man on the Shore, who first climbed one Hill, then another, to look at the Fleet; and came at last to the Sea side for the same Purpose; so that he was seen by every body, and they unanimously concluded him taller than *Magellan* speak of; which confirms the Account given to *Oliver van Noert*, and *Sebauld de Weert*, by the Boy they took from the Savages, viz. that there are but Two Tribes of these Giants, and that the rest of the Savages are of the common Size. He likewise reported, that on the South Side of the Streight he had observed an open Passage into the South Sea; but, as his Instructions directed him to pass through the Straights of *Magellan*, he would not risque the Protection of this " Discovery.





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Discovery. Indeed some *Spanish* Writers have mentioned the same Thing, and all agree, that, by this new Passage, a Ship might come much sooner into the South Seas, than by that of *Magellan*. They place it, as well as he, about the Latitude of 54° ; and if the Reader is desirous of knowing the true Reason, why Admiral *Spilbergen* neglected this new Passage, which might have been attended with some Advantages, I believe it will not be difficult to assign it. The exclusive Privilege which the *Dutch East India Company* had so lately obtained, and of which they were so jealous, expressly mentioned the Streight of *Magellan*, and the Passage that Way to the *East Indies*; and therefore, if the Admiral had made a Discovery of another Streight, a Doubt might have arisen, whether this Passage fell within the Description of their Charter; and therefore his Masters might very possibly have thought the whole Merit of his Voyage cancelled by his making such a Discovery public. I must, for my own Part, confess, that I very much doubt whether we should have heard a Word of it, if *le Maire's* Voyage had not been soon after published, which made the concealing of it a Point of little Importance. To shew, however, that both he and the *Spanish* Writers were perfectly in the right as to Matter of Fact; and that the new Passage of *St. Barbara*, so much boasted of by the *French*, and said to be discovered by them in the Year 1713, is this very Passage; I shall cite a few Lines from Mr. *Frezier's* Voyage into the South Sea, in which we have the whole Story at large. I must first observe, that the *St. Barbara* was only a Tartan, commanded by one *Marcant*, and went from *France* on a trading Voyage into the South Seas; and now let our Author speak for himself. "On April 15, 1713, about Six in the Morning, says he, they sailed from *Elizabeth Bay*, steering South-west and South-west by South, they took the common Chanel for that of the River *Maffare*, and were standing to South-west on an Island, which they took for the *Dauphins*: Assisted by the Currents, which favoured them, and a good Gale at North-east, they ran along that Island; and, an Hour after they had passed it, they found themselves in a large Chanel, where, on the South Side, they saw no other Land, but a Number of small Islands among Breakers. Then perceiving they had mist their Way, they sought for Anchorage, to gain Time to send the Boat to discover where they were; they found a little Bay, where they anchored in Fourteen Fathom Water; the Bottom grey Sand, and white Gravel. The next Day, being May 26, they made ready at Seven in the Morning, and after making some Trips to get out of the Bay, which is open to the East South-east, they stood South and South by West, and South South-west, and at Noon were got in from between the Lands. They took an Observation with very fair Weather, and found $54^{\circ} 34'$ Latitude. This Observation was confirmed by that they took the next Day in Sight of a small Island, which bore East from them: According to the Globe, they found $54^{\circ} 29'$. That little Island was to the Southward of a great one, the South-east Point whereof was called *Black Cape*, because it is of that Colour. The little Island here spoken of, is a Rock shaped like a Tower of an extraordinary Height; close by which there is a smaller, much of the same Shape; by which it appears, that it would be impossible to miss that Chanel, if it were sought after by its Latitude, upon such singular Land-marks. The Ship's Crew say, that there is a good Bottom, and that great Ships may pass there without any Danger, the same being about Two Leagues broad. This Streight is perhaps the same as that of *Jeluckte*, which Monsieur *de Lasse* has laid down in his last Map of *Chili*: But as the *English* Memoirs, which he has been pleased to shew me, seem to place it South of Cape *Trouart*, it may be supposed, that they are Two different Streights. Perhaps also it

"is the same through which the Squadron of Monsieur *de Gennes* passed out in the Year 1696." The Latitude in which both these Passages are said to lie, shew them very plainly to be the same, and demonstrate, to every sensible Reader, the Danger of granting too extensive Powers to exclusive Companies. One thing more I shall remark on the History of this Expedition, and then proceed. The Defeat of the *Spanish* Armada in the *West Indies*, by this Squadron of *Dutch* Adventurers, is the clearest Proof of the great Superiority the free Spirit of a Republic will always have over the most refined Politics of an arbitrary Court. No Prince knew better than the King of *Spain*, the Consequence of his *American* Plantations, or had the Support of them more at Heart than he: And yet we see in how short a time the Subjects of the State of *Holland*, who, but very lately, were in a manner Slaves to the Crown of *Spain*, were able, on their own private Accounts, and without any other View than the Benefits that were to flow from the Courage and Conduct of their Commanders, to fit out Squadrons capable of proceeding, in an hostile Manner, to the *West Indies*, and of giving Battle to the greatest Strength, that, upon fair Notice of their Arrival in those Seas, the Officers of the Crown of *Spain* could draw together. This, when attentively considered, will appear to be a most surprising thing; inasmuch as that it makes it evident, there is nothing requisite to raise a maritime Power in any Country but Freedom, a wise and honest Administration of Government, and the People's having a moral Certainty, that they shall enjoy undisturbed what by their Labours they acquire. This encourages them to exert their utmost Force in such Armaments, to bear Disappointments with Patience, to repair them with Diligence, and to persevere, with unshaken Steadiness, in the Prosecution of what appears to be their own Interest, at the same time that it is acknowledged by the State to be the public Interest also. We may likewise learn from hence, how very soon a Maritime Power is raised, and how suddenly naval Force declines, when the Spirit, necessary to support it, begins once to decay. At the End of the Sixteenth Century, the *Dutch* had scarce learned the Way to the *West Indies*, and were obliged to have recourse to their *English* Neighbours for Pilots skilful enough to navigate their Ships; but, in the Space of Twenty Years, we see the same People sending thither powerful Squadrons, aiming not at Plunder, but at Conquest, defying and defeating that Maritime Power which had acquired such mighty Reputation by the Discovery, and such a prodigious Strength by the Possession, of both *Indies*. But Reputation will vanish, and Power must necessarily decline, when Men grow wanton with Wealth, and employ the Gifts of Providence for other Purposes than they were designed. As the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* lost their Virtue, and slackened their Industry, converting the Rewards of it to the Maintenance of an empty Magnificence, and effeminate Luxury, priding themselves in being absolute Masters of other Nations; instead of being active and free, they sunk alike in Credit and Dominion, that Poverty and Distress, for which they condemned the *Dutch*, proving the immediate Causes of their own Destruction, by the means of those whom they so much despised. These are Reflections which naturally arise from the reading such Relations, and happy are the People who make such Reflections in time. Luxury and Corruption are equally fatal to all; and, whenever we see them prevail, especially in a Nation which owes its Safety, Prosperity, and Grandeur, to Maritime Power, we may, without pretending to the Gift of Prophecy, venture to foretel, that such a Nation is not far from being undone. But it is time to quit Reflections, however just, to pursue the Thread of our History, which leads us to another Subject.

The remarkable V MA

1. The Rise, Progress, and Fall of the Republic in Holland, and the
3. The Unity and Liberty of the Republic, where they take in the
- of Africa. 6. Liberty of the Press, where by Accident a Sight of the State of the
- and the West, M
11. Description of the East India Company Without Grounds to make Prize of a
- and Traitors I
17. Discovery of the Green Island, and the
- Guincy. 20. Description of the East India Company
22. They pass the East India Company's
24. Account of the East India Company's

THE STATE having granted exclusive Commerce to its Subjects, except the free Trade to the Eastward, Westward through the Countries either known or unknown, Penalties, this Prohibition many rich Merchants Ships, and making it could not help thinking that Government should thus, against Passages which Providence had provided, a Number of these Merchants who then resided at London, with Business, and who were Part of that Wealth, were acquiring Fame as a Man applied himself to Westward a Man in easy Circumstances famous for his great Success in perfect Knowledge in the three there himself, in Pilot, and Supercargo, was, of Merchant. *le Maire* to this intelligence, he thought it possible to find Seas than by the Streights, this was possible, it was tries to the South of Commodities as either *Schouten* answered, that such a Passage might be confirmed what he called Southern Countries. Subject, they came at such a Discovery, from General could not into *East India* Company, covering Countries or from either of those in sequence of this *Agate* *Maire*, and his Friends, the *Le Maire* advanced *Schouten*, with sons, viz. *Peter* *Clemens* *Jansin* *Molenwert*, on the same Place; *Joh*

SECTION IX.

The remarkable Voyage of WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOV TEN, of Horn, and JAQUES LE MAIRE, round the World by a new Passage into the South Seas.

1. *The Rise, Progress, and true Design, of this Undertaking.* 2. *The strange Reports spread concerning it in Holland, and the Reasons which made it probable, that it was grounded upon Intelligence from England.* 3. *The Unity and Horn sail from the Texel, June 24. 1615.* 4. *Their Arrival on the English Coast, where they take in a Gunner and Carpenter.* 5. *Proceed, without any remarkable Accident, to the Coast of Africa.* 6. *Land at Sierra Leona for Refreshments.* 7. *They careen their Ships on King's Island, where by Accident the Horn is burnt.* 8. *They continue their Voyage cheerfully in the Unity, and have a Sight of the Sebaline Islands.* 9. *Discover the new Straights, and call the East Shore States Land, and the West, Maurice Land.* 10. *They discover Barneveldt's Islands, and pass round Cape Horn.* 11. *Description of the Islands of Juan Fernandez, and Dog Island.* 12. *An Account of the Island Without Ground, and of its Inhabitants.* 13. *Description of Water Island, and Fly Island.* 14. *They make Prize of a strange Bark, with a great many Indians on board it.* 15. *Account of Coco Island and Traitors Island, inhabited by Negroes.* 16. *An Account of Hope Island, and its Inhabitants.* 17. *Discovery of Horn Island, and a large Account of the Manners of the People.* 18. *Description of Green Island, and St. John's Island.* 19. *Arrive on the Coast of a Continent, which they take to be New Guiney.* 20. *Discovery and Description of Vulcan's Island.* 21. *A large Account of farther Discoveries.* 22. *They pass the Line a second Time, and leave the Coast of New Guiney.* 23. *Arrive safely in the East Indies.* 24. *Anchor in the Port of Jacatra, in the Island of Java.* 25. *Their Ship seized by their own East India Company, and their Effects confiscated.* 26. *Their Arrival in Holland, July 1. 1617.* 27. *Observations on this Voyage, and the Discoveries made therein.*

THE States General of the United Provinces having granted to the East India Company an exclusive Charter, prohibiting thereby all their Subjects, except the said Company, from carrying on any Trade to the Eastward beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or Westward through the Straights of Magellan, in any Countries either known or unknown, under very high Penalties, this Prohibition gave very great Distaste to many rich Merchants, who were desirous of fitting out Ships, and making Discoveries at their own Costs, and could not help thinking it a little hard, that the Government should thus, against the Laws of Nature, bar those Passages which Providence had left free. Amongst the Number of these Merchants, there was one of Amsterdam, who then resided at Egmont, very rich, well acquainted with Business, and who had an earnest Desire to employ a Part of that Wealth, which he had acquired by Trade, in acquiring Fame as a Discoverer. With this View he applied himself to William Cornelison Schovten, of Horn, a Man in easy Circumstances, and who was deservedly famous for his great Skill in maritime Affairs, and for his perfect Knowledge in the Trade to the Indies, having been thrice there himself, in the different Characters of Master, Pilot, and Supercargo, or, as the Phrase in those Days was, of Merchant. The great Question proposed by Mr. le Maire to this intelligent Man was, Whether he did not think it possible to find another Passage into the South Seas than by the Straights of Magellan; and whether, if this was possible, it was not highly likely, that the Countries to the South of that Passage might afford as rich Commodities as either the East or West Indies? Mr. Schovten answered, That there was great Reason to believe such a Passage might be found, and still stronger Reasons to confirm what he conjectured as to the Riches of these Southern Countries. After many Conversations upon this Subject, they came at last to a Resolution of attempting such a Discovery, from a full Persuasion, that the States General could not intend, by their exclusive Charter to the East India Company, to preclude their Subjects from discovering Countries on the South by a new Route, distinct from either of those mentioned in that Charter. In consequence of this Agreement, it was stipulated, that le Maire, and his Friends, should advance one Moiety towards the necessary Expence of the Voyage, and Schovten, and his Friends, the other. In pursuance of this Scheme, Isaac le Maire advanced his Part of the Money; and Cornelison Schovten, with the Assistance of the following Persons, viz. Peter Clementson, Burgermaster of Horn; John Tanjon Molenwert, one of the Schepen or Aldermen of the same Place; John Clementson Keis, Senator of the said

Town; and Cornelius Segetson, a Merchant of Horn; laid down the rest. It is certain, that so many People of Substance would never have embarked in such a Project, if they had so much as suspected, that the East India Company had a Right to confiscate their Vessels and Effects whenever they had it in their Power: And we shall hereafter see, that the States General themselves were of the same Opinion in a Case that has happened in our own Times, founded not only on the same Reasons, but on the very Discoveries that were made in this Voyage. As soon therefore as these Matters were adjusted, which was in the Spring of the Year 1615, the Company engaged in this Undertaking began to apply themselves to the carrying it into Execution, proposing to equip for that Purpose a larger and a less Vessel, to sail from Horn at the proper Season of the Year. And that all Parties might be thoroughly satisfied, it was determined, that William Cornelison Schovten, on account of his Age and Experience, should have the Command of the larger Ship, with the sole Direction of the Voyage; and that Jaques le Maire, the eldest Son of Isaac le Maire, should be the first Supercargo. The Company were so eager in the Prosecution of their Design, and so attentive to whatever might be necessary to promote it, that in the Space of two Months all Things were ready, and a sufficient Number of Men engaged for navigating both Ships. But, as Secrecy was absolutely necessary, the Seamen were articulated in general Terms to go wherever their Masters and Supercargoes should require; and, in Consideration of so unusual a Condition, their Wages were advanced considerably; which was a Circumstance of such Consequence, and there were in those Days so many adventurous Spirits, that they did not find it at all difficult to make up their intended Complement; which gave them an Opportunity of chusing none but experienced Mariners, on whose Skill and Fidelity they could depend; a Circumstance of the utmost Consequence in a Voyage of this Nature, where the Tempers of Men were sure to be thoroughly tried.

2. These extraordinary Preparations, but, above all, the mighty Secrecy that was observed, caused a great Noise not only at Amsterdam, but all over Holland, where People reasoned on the Intention of this Voyage, according to the several Degrees of their Capacity and Experience, some fancying they were bound to one Place, some to another; but the common People thought they hit upon their proper Title, in calling them the Gold-hinders; whereas the Merchants, who were better vested in such Matters, called them, with greater Propriety, the South Company, and indeed that was their true Designation; for the real Design of Isaac le Maire was to discover those Southern Regions,

to which few People had hitherto travelled even in Imagination; and which, by an unaccountable Indolence, remain, in a great measure, undiscovered to this Day. To speak the Truth, this was the Age of Discoveries, one Man's Success whetting the Wit of another; and perhaps this very Undertaking might spring from some Account that *Isaac le Maire*, who was the first Author of the Voyage, might have had from *England*. I do not say this, from a childish Fondness for our own Country, from any Prejudice against the *Dutch*, or Desire of robbing Foreigners of their due Praise; but I speak of what was then suspected, and I shall give the Reader my Reasons for it. I intimated, in speaking of *Sir Francis Drake's Voyages*, that it would have been happy for us, and for Posterity, if he had written an Account of them himself. *Sir Richard Hawkins*, who knew him well, tells us, that it was the Opinion of *Sir Francis*, that what was generally called the South Shore of the Straights of *Magellan*, was, in reality, no more than a Cluster of Islands, or broken Land. Nay, he goes farther, and affirms, that he heard *Sir Francis Drake* say, that, having passed the Straights, a Storm took him at North-west, and afterwards veered about to the South-west, continuing many Days with such Violence, that his Ship could carry no Sail: When the Storm was over, and he had an Opportunity of taking an Observation, he found himself in 50° of Longitude; from whence he justly conjectured, that he had been blown quite round the Straights; for, as we have observed more than once, both the Entrances of the Straights of *Magellan* are in the same Latitude, which is about $52^{\circ} 50'$. *Sir Francis Drake* was so strongly persuaded of this, that, finding it difficult to double the Southermost Island, he anchored under the Lee of it; and, going ashore with a Compass, he found the South Point of the Island, over which, laying himself flat upon his Breast, he hung for a Minute or two; and then, returning on board his Ship, told his Seamen, that he had been farther South than any Man had ever been before. It is very probable, that some of those who envied *Sir Francis*, made light of these Particulars when he first related them, and treated them as Travellers Stories are often treated; but *Sir Richard Hawkins*, who had been in those Straights, and was a very judicious Man, as a great Navigator, kept these Sayings in his Mind; and, after he had compared what *Sir Francis* said with the Appearance of those Straights, he readily concurred with him in Opinion. Yet, supposing this to be the Case, there was no less Merit in *le Maire's* Project, than there would have been without it, since it required great Sagacity to distinguish a true Report, in a case of this Nature, from a flying Tale; and besides, *Sir Francis Drake* never advanced any thing with regard to a Southern Continent, that was intirely guessed at by the Contriver of this Voyage, from the Laws of Nature, and a just Consideration of the Harmony, which is, in other respects, observed in the Distribution of Land and Water. In the Beginning of the Month of May 1615, the South Company drew their Men together; and, on the 16th of that Month, they were mustered before the Magistrats of *Horn*, took their Leave of their Friends and Relations, and prepared to embark on board their Ships.

3. The biggest of these Vessels was called *The Unity*, of the Burden of 360 Tons, carrying nineteen Pieces of Cannon, and Twelve Swivels. She had on board likewise a Pinnace to sail, and another to row, a Launch for landing of Men, and a Small Boat, with all other Necessaries whatever for so long a Voyage; and of this Vessel *William Cornelijson Schouten* was Master and Pilot, and *Jaques le Maire* Supercargo. The lesser Ship was called *The Horn*, of the Burden of 110 Tons, carrying eight Cannon, and Four Swivels, *Johannes Cornelijson Schouten* Master, and *Aris Clawson* Supercargo. The Crew of the former consisted of Sixty-five Men, and the latter of Twenty-two only. *The Unity* sailed May 25. for the *Texel*, where the *Horn* likewise arrived June 3. following, that being judged the properest Season of the Year for them to proceed on their Voyage. On June 14. they sailed out of the *Texel*, and, passing in Sight of *Dunkirk*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, anchored on the 17th in the *Dover*, when *William Cornelijson Schouten* went on shore at *Dover*, in order to get fresh Water, and

to hire an *English* Gunner, which accordingly he did, and that Day sent him on board. They sailed again in the Evening, and met with several large *Dutch* Ships laden with Salt. In the Night between the 21st and 22d, they were grievously ruffled by a Storm; which obliged them to put into the Isle of *Wight* for Shelter, where Captain *Schouten* endeavoured, if possible, to have hired a Carpenter, but without Success, which obliged them to sail on the 25th for *Plymouth*, where he arrived on the 27th, and there hired a Carpenter of *Maidenblack*. This shews the great Esteem that the *English* Artificers were then in; for it cannot be presumed, that Persons of such Knowledge in Maritime Affairs, as *Schouten* and *le Maire*, would have neglected hiring such necessary Officers as Gunners and Carpenters in *Holland*, if they had not believed it for their Interest to have *Englishmen* in those Stations; which strongly confirms what *John Stowe* tells us in his History, that, towards the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there were vast Numbers of Ship-carpenters here, who were esteemed the best Workmen in *Europe*, and were withal accomplished Seamen likewise; which is also taken Notice of by *Sir Richard Hawkins*, in his Observations.

4. On July 28. they sailed from *Plymouth* with a North North-east Wind, and very fair Weather. On the 29th, Captain *Schouten* made a Signal for all Officers to come on board; when it was resolved in a Council, to settle the Rate of their Sea Allowance in such a manner, as that the Men might have no Reason to complain, and their Officers be in no Apprehensions of their wanting Provisions during the Course of so long a Voyage. The Rate they fixed in the following Portions; viz. a Can of Beer a Man every Day, Four Pounds of Biscuit, half a Pound of Butter, and as much sweet Suet, for the Week, together with five large *Dutch* Cheeses, that were to serve them the whole Voyage. This was exclusive of Flesh or Fish; And we may, from hence, form some Notion of the Frugality the *Dutch* vintualled with in those Days, and from which they have deviated very little ever since. They likewise made the necessary Orders for the due Regulation of the Voyage, directing, that, in case of landing Men, one of the Masters should always command; that, in Ports where they went to trade, the Supercargo should go on shore, and have the sole Direction of the Commerce; that, on board, every Officer should be strict in the Execution of his Duty; but without putting unnecessary Hardships on the Men, or interfering with other Officers in their Commands; that none of the Officers should hold any Conversation with the Seamen, in relation to the Design of the Voyage, which being solely in the Breast of the First Captain and Supercargo, Conjectures must be fruitless, and might be dangerous; that any Embezzlement of Provisions, Stores, or Merchandize, should be severely punished; and, in case of their being reduced to short Allowance, then Offences of this Nature to be punished with Death; that the two Supercargoes should keep clear and distinct Journals of all Proceedings, for the Use of the Company, that it might plainly appear, how far every Man had done his Duty, and to what Degree the End of the Voyage had been answered. All these Rules were very exactly observed, and particularly the last; so that, from these Journals kept by the Supercargo, this Account has been taken. On July 8. being in the Latitude of $39^{\circ} 25'$, their Carpenter's Mate died. On the 9th and 10th, with a North North-east Wind, and a still Gale, they stood on their Course, without putting in to *Porto Santo*, or *Madera*, of which they had Sight on the 11th. The Reason was, that having, as they conceived, Victuals sufficient for the Voyage, they determined not to lose Time, by going needlessly on shore, especially since hitherto their Men were vigorous, and in good Health; which Resolution was founded on an Observation made by Captain *Schouten*, that many Voyages had been lost, by lingering in Port without any urgent Cause, when the Winds and Seasons were fair, and their Course might have been prosecuted without Delay. On the 12th, they had Sight of many of the Natives of those Islands in their Boats, following them at the Distance of about two Leagues, with Goats, Fowls, Fruits, and other Refreshments, which they usually carried on board Ships, that appear in Sight; but the *Dutchmen*, in pursuance of the Regulations they had established, did not slack

Sail,

Sail, but continued to they very readily put 5. On July 13. they and the grand *Canary* and a swift Current. Current following the *er*. The 20th in the Side of Cape *Verd*. South from there; for no fuller them to get Anchor all that Night on board them, with eight States of Iron to let the Cape *August* they saw the high Land of *Madagascar*, which Land of *Sierra Leona*, *Anne's* Island. This I all, that lies between C that the Point is very have landed, running Shallows of *St. Anne's* Fathom Water, it being lower to the East; so with a High water at 1 and at Night at Three *Jam Schouten*, in the E steering North North- which Course they were and got into Thirteen went to the Islands of and he all Three of a League from *Sierra* had shallow Water at muddy Ground. They which appeared to be all over wattle like a W other Inhabitants than to have any other. Go River there, the Mount Sands, and Cliffs of R it, yet, within, the W Breadth such too, as to find herself about, as the saw Tortoises, Crocod Sort of Birds, which They met with no Fru which they found, after Noon, they got above ward along to the Nor had Twelve and Fifteen ing, got about the Poi 6. On the 30th, be Current, they arrived be Road of *Sierra Leona*, w Water, a little from t The Village consisted o covered with Straw; willing to come aboard ashore, to secure their that came thither before them: So *Aris Clau* staid there amongst the for Lemons and Banan beads; and in the mean an Interpreter with them Here they had a good O with fresh Water, which from a very high Hill, their Barrels under the There were also vail W made Lemons for cheap Knives, they might ha drove away before the s at the Mouth of the Sea took an Antelope in the tos; and had good Suet Master brought in a gr Shape of a Shoemaker's

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Sail, but continued their Course; and the same Conduct they very steadily pursued through their whole Voyage.

5. On July 13, they sailed between the Island *Teneriff* and the grand *Canary*, with a stiff North North-east Wind, and a swift Current. About the 15th, the same Wind and Current following them still, they passed the Tropic of *Cancer*. The 20th in the Morning, they fell in with the North Side of *Cape Verd*. At Sun-rising the Cape lay West by South from them; so that the North North-east Wind would not suffer them to get beyond it; but kept them there at Anchor all that Night. The 25th, the *Moorish* Alcaid came on board them, with whom they agreed at the Price of Eight States of Iron for a Supply of fresh Water. They left the Cape August 1, and the 21st of the same Month they saw the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and also the Island of *Madrabomba*, which lies on the South Point of the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and North from the Shallows of *St. Anne's* Island. This Land of *Sierra Leona* is the highest of all, that lies between *Cape Verd* and the Coast of *Guiney*; so that the Point is very easy to be known. Here they would have landed, running up to the Point over the Baixos or Shallows of *St. Anne's* at Ten, Nine, Eight, Seven and Five Fathom Water, it being still deeper to the North, but shallower to the East; so that, in the Evening, they anchored with a High water at Four Fathom and a half soft Ground, and at Night at Three Fathom and a half. The 22d, *William Schovten*, in the *Horn*, led the Way off the Shallows, steering North North-east, with a North-west Wind; by which Course they were intirely disengaged from the Baixos, and got into Thirteen Fathom Water. From hence they went to the Islands of *Madrabomba*, which are very high, and lie all Three on a Row South-west and North-east, half a League from *Sierra Leona* to the Seaward. Here they had shallow Water at Four and Five Fathom, and soft muddy Ground. They anchored a League from the Island, which appeared to be very full of Bogs and Marshes, and all over walle like a Wilderness, scarce fit to entertain any other Inhabitants than wild Beasts, and indeed not seeming to have any other. Going ashore the 23d, they found a River there, the Mouth of which was so stopped up with Sands, and Cliffs of Rocks, that no Ship could get into it; yet, within, the Water was sufficiently deep, and the Breadth such too, as to give a Ship free Scope to turn and wind herself about, as the should have Occasion. Here they saw Tortoises, Crocodiles, Monkeys, wild Oxen, and a Sort of Birds, which made a Noise, barking like Dogs. They met with no Fruit but Lemons, some few Trees of which they found, after a tedious Search. The 29th about Noon, they got above the Islands of *Madrabomba* Westward, along to the North Part of the high Land, till they had Twelve and Fifteen Fathom Water, and, in the Evening, got about the Point.

6. On the 30th, being assisted both by the Wind and Current, they arrived before the Village, that looks upon the Road of *Sierra Leona*, where they anchored at Eight Fathom Water, a little from the Shore, in a very sandy Bottom. The Village consisted of about Eight or Nine poor Houses, covered with Straw; the Moors that dwelt there, were willing to come aboard, only demanding Pledges to be left ashore, to secure their safe Return; because a *French* Ship, that came thither before, had perditionously carried off Two of them: So *Mrs. Clawson* the Merchant went ashore, and staid there amongst them, driving a small Trade with them for Lemons and Bananas, which they exchanged for Glass Beads; and in the mean time they came on board, bringing an Interpreter with them, who spoke all sorts of Languages. Here they had a good Opportunity of furnishing themselves with fresh Water, which pouring down in great Quantities from a very high Hill, they had nothing to do but to place their Barrels under the Fall of the Water to receive it. There were also vast Woods of Lemon-trees here, which made Lemons so cheap to them, that, for a few Beads and Knives, they might have had 10,000. September 1, they drove away before the Stream, and anchored that Evening at the Mouth of the Sea, before a small River. Here they took an Antelope in the Woods, with Lemons and Palmitos; and had good Success in their Fishing. The 3d, the Master brought in a great Shoal of Fish, that were of the Shape of a Shoemaker's Knife, and as many Lemons as came

to 150 for every Man's Share. The 4th, they sailed from *Sierra Leona* early in the Morning, October 5, they made 4° 27' South Latitude; and, the same Day at Noon, they were strangely surpris'd with a very violent Stroke given to one of their Ships in the lower Part of it. No Adversary appeared, no Rock was in the Way to be encountered with; but, while this amused them, the Sea all about them began to change its Colour, and looked as if some great Fountain of Blood had been opened into it; this sudden Alteration of the Water being no less surpris'ing to them, than the Striking of the Ship; but the Cause both of the one and the other they were equally ignorant of, till they came to Port *Desire*, and there let the Ship upon the Strand, to make her clean; for then they found a large Horn, both in Form and Magnitude resembling an Elephant's Tooth, sticking fast in the Bottom of the Ship. A very firm and solid Body it was, and seem'd to be equally so all over, there being nothing of a Cavity, or a light and spongy Matter in the Middle of it, but all over as dense and compact a Substance, as that in the exterior Parts. It had pierced through Three very stout Planks of the Ship, and razed one of the Ribs of her; so that it stuck at least half a Foot deep in the Planks; and there was about as much that appeared without the great Hole up to the Place where it was broken off. And now the Riddle was completely solv'd, this Horn being the Spoil of some Sea Monster, that had thus rudely assaulted the Ship with that piercing Weapon; and, after the Thrust, not being able to draw it out again, had there broke it; which was attended with such a plentiful Effusion of Blood, as had discoloured the Sea to that Degree. Having now failed so far, that none in the Ships, but the Master, knew where they were, or whether they intended, upon the 25th, they discovered their Designs to the rest of the Company, of going to find out a new Southern Passage into the great *Pacific* Sea. This they had kept very close to themselves before, but now thought it Time to reveal the Scheme, there being no Danger of defeating it; and the Company appear'd to be very well pleas'd with it, hoping to light on some golden Country or other, to make them Amends for all their Trouble and Danger. The 26th, they made 6° 25' South Latitude, sailing the rest of that Month mostly Southward, till they had made 10° 30'. November 1, they had the Sun North of them at Noon. The 3d in the Afternoon, they had Sight of *Martin Vad's* Island, called *Ascension*, under 20°; and here they observ'd the Compass to vary to the North-east Twelve Degrees. The 21st, they came under 38° 25', and had a deep Water, whose Bottom they could not reach with their Lead. Here the Variation of the Compass was Seventeen Degrees to the North-east. December 6, they had a Prospect of Land, not very high, but flat and white; and, quickly alter, fell in with the North Side of Port *Desire*, and, that Night, anchored within one League and an half from the Shore, in Ten Fathom Water with an Ebb, that ran Southward as strongly as the Sea runs between *Flushing* Heads.

7. The 7th, keeping a South Course, at Noon they came before the Haven of Port *Desire*, which lies under 47° 40'. At the Entry of it they had very high Water; neither did any of those Cliffs appear, which *van Noort* had described, and which he left Northward in sailing into the Haven. If there were any, they were all under Water; but the Cliffs lay open and visible enough towards the South Point, which therefore might be those, which *Noort* intended. Upon this they went on, sailing so far Southward, as to miss the right Chanel. They came into a crooked Bay, where, at High-water, they had but Four Fathom and an half, and at Low but Fourteen Feet; by which means the *Unity* lay with her Stern fast aground, and, if a brisk Gale from the North-east had blown, the mist intalibly have been lost; but, the Wind blowing West from the Land, she recovered again. Here they found Plenty of Eggs amongst the Cliffs; and the Bay afforded them Mussels, and Smelts of Sixteen Inches in Length, and therefore they call'd it *Smelt-bay*. Their Shallop went to the *Penguin* Islands, and came back with 150 Penguins, and two Sea Lions. The 8th before Noon, they sail'd out of the *Smelt-bay*, and anchored just before Port *Desire*. The Shallop was employ'd before-hand to sound the Depth of the Chanel;

nel; which proving to be twelve or thirteen Fathom, they boldly entered, having a North-east Wind to carry them along; but, after a little more than a League's Sailing, the Wind began to veer about, and they anchored at twenty Fathom; but, the Bottom they were upon being only slippery Stones, and the Wind now blowing hard at North-west, their Anchors could not preserve them from driving away with that rough Wind upon the Southern Shore; so both these Ships were like to be wrecked together. The *Unity* lay with her Sides upon the Cliffs; but still kept the Water, and, by the Fall of the Sea, was gradually flidden down lower and lower into it; but the *Horn* struck, so as that her Keel was above a Fathom out of Water, and a man might have walked dry under it at Low Water. She was, for some time, obliged to the North-west Wind, that, by blowing hard upon her Side, kept her from falling over; but, that Support being gone, with the Wind that gave it, she sunk down upon that Side at least three Feet lower than the Keel: Upon which Sight they gave her over for lost; and yet the succeeding Flood, which came on with still Weather, set her upright again; and both she and her Companion got clear of that Danger. The 9th, they went farther into the River, and came to *King's Island*, which they found full of black Sea-mews, and almost covered over with their Eggs. A man, without straining to reach, might have taken between fifty and sixty Nests with his Hand, each of which have three or four Eggs a-piece; so that they were quickly furnished with some Thousands of them. The 11th, the Boat went in Search of good Water lower down the River, on the South Side; but found it all of a brackish unpleasent Taste. They saw Ostiches here, and a sort of beasts like Harts, with wonderful long Necks, and extremely wild. Upon the high Hills, they found great Heaps of Stones, under which some monstrous Carcasses had been buried. There were Bones of ten and eleven Feet long. In all Probability they were (if of rational Creatures) some Bones of the Giants of that Country. No Water was to be found here for several Days together; so that, tho' they had Plenty of good Fish and Fowl, they could meet with no Drink to wash it down. On the 17th, they laid the *Unity* dry upon *King's Island*, in order to clean her; which they performed very successfully. On the 18th, they likewise haled the *Horn* on shore for the same Purpose, and placed her about 200 Yards from the other Ship. On the 19th, a very dreadful Accident happened; for, while they were busy cleaning both Ships, in order to which it was necessary to light a Fire of dry Reeds under the *Horn*, it so fell out, that the Flame got into the Ship, and set it on Fire; and, as they were fifty Feet from the Water-side, they were forced to stand still, and see her burn, without being able to do any thing towards extinguishing it. On the 20th, at High-water, they launched the *Unity*, and the next Day carried on board her all the Wood, Iron-work, Anchors, and Pieces of Cannon, and whatever else they were able to save out of the *Horn*. On the 25th, some of the Sailors found certain Holes full of fresh Water, which was white and thick, but well tasted, a great Quantity of which they carried on board in small Casks upon their Shoulders. They met here with great Numbers of Sea-Lions; the young ones they eat, and found them pretty good Food. The Sea-Lion is a Creature as big as a small Horse; their Heads resemble Lions exactly, on their Necks they have long Manes of a tough strong Hair; but this is to be understood of the He-lions only: For the She-lion is without Hair, and not above half as big as the Male. They are a bold fierce Animal, not to be destroyed but by Mucket-shot.

8. January 13. they sailed out of Port Desire; but, having a Calm, they anchored before the Haven, till the Rising of the Wind invited them to pursue their Voyage. The 18th, being in 51° , they saw the *Schaldian* Islands; which they observed to lie in that Position and Distance from the Streight, that *de Weert* had determined. The 20th, being then in 53° , they observed the great Current, that runs South-west; and now they reckoned about twenty Leagues Southward from the *Magellane* Streights. The 23d, they had an uncertain shifting Wind, and the Water appeared white, as if it had been within the Land. They held their Course South by West, and the same Day saw Land,

bearing West and West South-west from them, and quickly after to the South. Then attempting, by an East South-east Course, to get beyond the Land, the hard North Wind, that blew then, constrained them to take in their Top-sails. The 24th, in the Forenoon, they saw land at Starboard, about a League's Distance, stretching out East and South, with very high Hills, all covered with Ice; and then other Land bearing East from it, high and ragged as the former. They guessed, the Lands they had in these two Prospects lay about eight Leagues asunder, and that there might be a good Passage between them, because of a pretty brisk Current, that ran Southward along by them. About Noon, they made $54^{\circ} 46'$, and then began to make towards the afore-mentioned Opening; but the succeeding Calm prevented it. Here they saw an incredible Number of Penguins, and such Shoals of Whales, that they were forced to proceed with a great deal of Caution, for fear they should run their Ship upon them.

9. The 25th in the Forenoon, they got up close by the East Land, which, upon the North Side, reaches East South-east as far as the Eye can follow it. This they called *States Land*; and to that, which lay West, they gave the Name of *Maurice Land*. They observed there were good Roads and sandy Bays, good Store of Fish, Penguins, and Porpoises, and some Sorts of Fowl; but the Land adjacent seemed quite bare of Trees and Woods. They had a North Wind at their Entrance into this Passage, and directed their Course South South-west; so that, going pretty briskly on, at Noon they made $55^{\circ} 36'$, and then held a South-west Course, having a good stiff Gale to blow them forwards. The Land, upon the South-side of the Passage, at the West End of *Maurice Land*, appeared to run West South-west, and South-west, as far as they could see it, and all very craggy uneven Ground. In the Evening, having a South-west Wind, they steered Southward, meeting with mighty Waves, that came rolling along before the Wind; and the Depth of the Water to the Leeward from them, which appeared by some very evident Signs, gave them a full Assurance, that the great *South Sea* was now before them, into which they had almost made their Way by a Passage of their own Discovery. The Sea-mews thereabouts were larger than Swans, and their Wings, when extended to the full Length, spread about the Compass of a Fathom. They would come and very tamely sit down upon the Ship, and suffer themselves to be taken by Hand, without any Endeavours to fly away. The 26th, they made 57° , and were there ruffled by a brisk Storm out of the West and South-west. The Water also was very high, and blue. They still held all this Day their Course to the Southward, but chang'd it at Night for a North-west one; in which Quarter they discovered very high Land. The 27th, they were under $56^{\circ} 51'$, the Weather very cold, with Hail and Rain, the Wind West and West by South. They went a Southern Course, and then crossed Northward, with their Main-sails. The 28th, they hoisted up their Top-sails, and had great Billows out of the West, with a West and then a North-east Wind, and therewith held their Course South, and then West and West by South, which brought them under $56^{\circ} 48'$.

10. The 29th, they had a North east Wind, and held their Course South-west, which gave them the Prospect of two Islands, beset round with Cliffs, and lying West South-west from them; they got up to them at Noon, but could not fall above them, and therefore held their Course to the North. They gave them the Name of *Barnesvelt's Islands*, and found their Latitude to be 57° South. Taking a North-west Course from hence in the Evening, they saw Land again, lying North-west and North North-west from them: this was the high hilly Land, covered with Snow, that lay Southward from the *Magellane* Streights, ending in a sharp Point, which they called *Cape Horn*, and lying in $57^{\circ} 48'$. They held their Course now Westward, in which Course they found a strong Current, that ran that Way too, yet had the Wind in the North, and great Billows rolling out of the West upon them. The 30th, the Billows and the Current still ran as before; and now they gathered a full Assurance from hence, that the Way was open into the South Sea; this Day made the Latitude of $57^{\circ} 34'$. The 31st, they sailed West, with

the Wind in the North, turning to the West at *Horn*, losing all Sight of the Islands, and blowing working out of the Water South Sea. February 2 well, they sailed with North-west. The 20 to the Southward, and there 12° Northward. a hard West Wind, U South; and the next U cery uncertain South-west Variation. The Current, and a hollow were forced to drive w

11. The 12th, the Streights, lying East secure of their happy n to good Fortune in times round the Comp sage had a Name gi Streights, though that been done to *William* the Streights were dis all the Time of their about the Southern ne Course of bad Weather Currents, all which, p tedious in these Streig and the Hopes of a with the auxiliary Cor off the Sense of all the ing Dangers of it. T titude, having fair We The 28th, they *Fernando*, to give their Refreshment; and th Evening they made bu Land, which, effectual *Marib* 1. they saw the the North North-east, under $33^{\circ} 48'$. Both smallest, to the West Place, but greater to th yet is well shaded with affair's Plenty of Hogs it such excellent Fishing, their while to come th vast Quantities of Fish East Point of this Har not as they should, to Sue of it, by which n convenience of not be Land to anchor. This found the Depth, whic and forty Fathom sand; lessened still to three l They spoke too of a ve Thickets, retrethed wit from the Hills, and V pleasant Places, all wh They brought good St of them Lobsters and saw a great many Sea successively, they tepe anchor close by the Lar ever Endeavours they c Men followed the Fish successively, that they with Hooks, in the sm went to fetch Water; t they determined to pu palled the Tropic of C their Course North-west and East South-east W North-west to the 15th then they changed their they made $15^{\circ} 12'$, a

the Wind in the North, and made 58°; but the Wind turning to the West and West South-west, they passed Cape Horn, losing all Sight of Land, and still meeting the Billows working out of the West, which, together with the Bluejets of the Water, made them quickly expect the main South Sea. February 2. a Storm blowing out of the South-west, they failed with their main Sails North-west and West North-west. The 2d, with a westerly Wind they failed to the Southward, and made 57° 58', the Variation being there 12° Northward. The 3d, they made 59° 25', with a hard West Wind, but saw no Signs of any Land to the South; and the next Day 56° 43', turning to and fro with very uncertain South-west Wind, and finding 11° of North-east Variation. The 5th, by reason of a strong westerly Current, and a hollow Water, they could bear no Sail, but were forced to drive with the Wind.

11. The 12th, they plainly discerned the Magellanic Straights, lying East of them; and therefore, now being secure of their happy new Discovery, they rendered Thanks to good Fortune in a Cup of Wine, which went three times round the Company. And now this new-found Passage had a Name given it, which was that of *Maire's Straights*, though that Honour (in Justice) ought to have been done to *William Schovten*, by whose happy Conduct the Straights were discovered. And 'tis observable, that all the Time of their Sailing through these Straights, and about the Southern new-found Land, they had a settled Course of bad Weather, a thick and foggy Air, and strong Currents, all which, put together, made their Sailing very tedious in these Straights. But the Joy of this Discovery, and the Hopes of a farther Improvement of it, together with the auxiliary Comforts of the Bottle, helped to carry off the Sense of all that tedious Voyage, and the mortifying Dangers of it. The 27th, they made 40° South Latitude, having fair Weather, and held their Course Northward. The 28th, they determined for the Island of *John Fernando*, to give their sick and weary Company a due Refreshment; and that Day they made 35° 53'. In the Evening they made but small Sail, fearing to fall upon the Land, which, effectually to avoid, they failed North-east. March 1. they saw the Islands of *Fernando* before them, to the North North-east, and about Noon got up to them under 33° 48'. Both these Islands lie very high; the smallest, to the Westward, is a very barren and rocky Place, but greater to the East; though it be full of Hills, yet is well shaded with Trees, and fruitful. The Island affords Plenty of Hogs and Goats, and all the Coast about it such excellent Fishing, that the *Spaniards* think it worth their while to come thither, from whence they transport vast Quantities of Fish to *Peru*. The Road lies on the East Point of this Island, and they shaped their Course, not as they thought, to the Eastern, but to the Western Side of it, by which means they were reduced to the Inconvenience of not being able to get near enough the Land to anchor. This made them dispatch their Boat to sound the Depth, which gave them an Account of thirty and forty Fathom sandy Ground, close by the Land, which lessened still to three Fathom, very proper to anchor in. They spoke too of a very lovely Valley, full of Trees and Thickets, retreited with Streams of Water running down from the Hills, and Variety of Animals feeding on those pleasant Places, all which they saw in this greater Island. They brought good Store of Fish along with them, most of them Lobsters and Crabs; and reported, that they saw a great many Sea-wolves. The two next Days, successively, they repeated their Attempt to come up and anchor close by the Land; but were still frustrated, whatever Endeavours they used to accomplish it. But still their Men followed the Fishing Trade, which they managed so successfully, that they took almost two Ton of Fish only with Hooks, in the small time that some of the Company went to fetch Water, finding the Island thus inaccessible, they determined to pursue their Voyage. The 11th, they passed the Tropic of *Capricorn* the second Time, holding their Course North-west. Here they had the general East and East South-east Wind, and held their Course North North-west to the 15th Day; and, when they made 18°, then they changed their Course, and failed West. April 3. they made 15° 12', and had then no Variation of the

Compass, but a considerable Variation of the Temper of their Bodies from a good State of Health, by reason of the Flux, which had seized the best Part of their Company. They saw a little low Island, 3 Leagues Distance, which they got up to at Noon: Here they heaved the Lead, but could find no Bottom, and therefore put out their Shallop; the Men that went ashore found nothing for Refreshment, but some Herbs that tasted like Scurvy-grass; but gave an Account of a very silent sort of Dogs they had seen there, that would neither bark nor snarl, nor make any Noise at all; for this Reason they called it *Dog-Island*: It lies in 15° 12', and they judged 925 Leagues distant from the Coast of *Peru*. The Ground is so low, that, at High-water, it seems for the most part to be overlowed, and has nothing round about it but a sort of Ditch, beset with Trees, between which the salt Water breaks in in several Places.

12. The 14th, they failed West and West by North; and the same Afternoon, they saw a large but low Island, reaching North-east and South-west a considerable Way: At Sun set, being about a League from it, an *Indian* Canoe advanced to meet them; the Men naked, with long black Hair, and their Bodies of a reddish Colour; they made Signs to the *Dutch* to come ashore, and called to them in their Language; and though they answered them in their own, the *Spanisk*, *Meluccan*, and *Javan* Tongues, yet the *Indians* understood them not; so that both Sides were in the Dark as to each others Mind: When they got up to the Island, and founded, they found no Bottom, neither was there any Change of Water, tho' they were within a Musket shot of the Shore: Here the *Indians* and they had another unintelligible Conference; but they would not be persuaded to come on board the Ship, by any Signs the *Dutch* could make to invite them to it; neither would the *Dutch* go ashore to them, though still they kept talking and pointing to one another, while neither Side understood what was spoke by the other. Leaving these People, therefore, to those that could understand them, they failed away South South-west, to get above the Land; and, having made that Night ten Leagues in a South South-west Course, the 15th in the Morning, they failed close along by the Shore, on which stood several of those naked People calling to them (as they guessed) to land; presently after, one of their Canoes came towards the Ship, but would not come near it, yet ventured to the Shallop, where the *Dutch* and these *Indians* fell to their Conferences again. The *Dutch* gave them Beads, and Knives, and several Things that pleased them, which Kindness emboldened them at last to come a little nearer the Ship; but still they would not go aboard her, but got back into the Shallop; neither had they any great Reason to be fond of their Company there, for they are a Parcel of light-fingered Fellows, and have much the same Degree of Conscience and Honesty as the People of the *Ladrones*: They love Iron, as the Inhabitants of those Islands do, and they love to steal it like them. The very Nails in the Cabin-windows, and the Bolts upon the Doors, could not keep their Places for them, but they would have them off: This they found to be true, by one of them who had cunningly slipped into the Ship, and pulled out all the Window-nails, which, for Security's sake, he had stuck into his Hair: Nay, they are so very impudent, that whatever they lay Hands on is their own, if the Owner does not recover his Right by Force. When the *Dutch* gave them some Wine, they drank the Liquor, and kept the Cup; so, when they threw out a Rope to bring them to the Ship, they would neither use the Rope, nor return it; and their Qualities are not more odd than the Figure they make; for, besides that they are all naked, (except the *Pudenda*, which is covered with a small Mat) their Skin is all over pictured with Snakes and Dragons, and such like Reptiles, which are very significant Emblems of their own subtle and mischievous Nature. The *Dutch*, having a Mind to try if any Thing were to be done with them, or to be gotten in the Island, sent their Shallop, with eight *Muqueters*, six Soldiers, besides other of the Ship's Company: They were no sooner landed, but thirty of those People rushed out of a Wood upon them, and with great Clubs and Slings, and long Staves, they would have seized the Shallop,

Shallop, and taken away the Soldiers Arms; but the Muskets being let fly amongst them, kept them from Robbery at that time. This Island they called the *Ile without Ground*, because they could not anchor there. It is not broad, but something long, and full of Trees, which they guessed to be Cocos and Palmits. It is a white sandy Ground, and lies in 15° South Latitude, and about 100 Leagues from *Dog Island*. Seeing nothing to be done here, they let Sail, and held their Course West to Seaward; here having but a slight Water, and no Billows, as the Day before out of the South, they guessed that Southward there was more Land.

13. The 16th, they came to another Island that lay Northward, and was about 15 Leagues distant from the other: This appeared to be all drowned Land, though, on the Sides, well set with Trees; and here also they found no Bottom for anchoring. It yielded them nothing for Food but a few Herbs, like those in *Dog Island*, with some Crabs, and other Shell-fish, which were well-tasted Meat: But it afforded them some good fresh Water, which they found in a Pit not far from the Shore. The Pottage, made of the Herbs they gathered here, proved very serviceable to those of their Company that were troubled with the Flux. They called this Island *Water Island*, because it supplied them with Water. They left it presently, and sailed Westward, making that Day 14° 46' South Latitude. The 18th, they came to another Island, lying to the South-west, about 20 Leagues distant from the last, and stretching out North-west and South-east a considerable Way. The Boat, being dispatched to sound the Depth, brought Word, that they had found a Bottom by a Point of Land, from whence they came to a gentle Stream of Water, at Twenty-five and at Forty Fathom, about a Musket-shot from the Land: This News of Water made them fend their empty Cask in the Boat, in hope to have it well filled; but after they had taken a great deal of Pains to land, and had been a good while beating up-and-down in the Wood to find some Spring or other to supply them, the Sight of a wild Man frightened them away, and put an End to their Inquiry after Water for that time: And quickly after they were got into their Boat, there came Five or Six more of those Savages, and shewed themselves upon the Shore; but, seeing they were gone off, presently retired into the Woods. But though they got clear of these more formidable Adversaries, yet there were others very troublesome that stuck very close to them, of which they brought many Millions along with them out of the Woods. These were a sort of black Flies, of which there were such prodigious Swarms thereabouts, that they came Home covered over with them from Head to Foot; their Hands and Faces so beset, that there was no seeing what Complexion they were of, their Cloaths intirely hidden by the Multitudes of those Animals crawling upon them, which did themselves compole another sort of Apparel; besides, their very Boat and Oars were all over in the same Dress as themselves; so that, when they came back, the Plague of Flies began to rage in the Ship, and every Man was busy to defend his Face and Eyes as well as he could: 'Twas the best Part of the Day's Work to be flapping the Flies away; and 'twas hard for a Man to open his Mouth, either to speak or to eat, without taking in a Mouthful of these Vermin at the same time. This dreadful Persecution lasted about Three or Four Days, in which time the Flaps did such Execution, that their Suffering was pretty well at an End, and few of the Flies left alive to torment them. They called this Island, for this Reason, *Fly Island*, and, by the Help of a Good Gale of Wind, left it as fast as they could.

14. The 23d, they were under 15° 4', and there again had great Billows out of the South, which continued also the next Day: Here they concluded, that the *Terra Australis*, which they sought for, lay yet 250 Leagues further. The 25th, the hollow Billows out of the South still continued, such as are commonly in the *Spanish Seas* out of the North-west. May the 3d, they sailed Westward, and made at Noon 15° 3'; and that Day they saw several great Dorrackets, which were the first they had seen in the South Sea. The 5th, they made 15° 20', and guessed they were 150 Leagues from the Coast of *Peru*: The

same Day they perceived a Bark coming towards them, which they went to meet, and gave her a Gun or Two, to make her strike; but those that were in her, either not understanding the Language of the Guns, or refusing to do what they commanded, the *Dutch* sent out their Shallop, with Ten Mulqueters, to take her; upon which she endeavoured to make her Escape, but the Shallop intercepted her; some of her Men, in a very great Fear, threw themselves overboard, and disposed of their Goods the same Way that they did their Bodies. When they had boarded her, those that were left made no manner of Resistance, but quietly resigned themselves to the Disposal of the Conquerors, who used them very kindly, dressing those that were wounded, and saving the Lives of some that had leaped over-board, and entertaining all of them in their Ship. There were, besides the Men, Eight Women, and several Children; so that the whole Number amounted to about Twenty-three. They were a cleanly neat sort of People, of a reddish Colour, quite naked, except the obscene Parts, which were covered. The Men had long curled black Hair, and the Women short, like the Men in *Holland*. The Bark they were in was of a very peculiar Figure and Structure; it consisted of Two Canoes fastened together, in the Midst of each of which were laid Two broad Planks of red Wood to keep out the Water, and several others went cross from one Canoe to the other, which were made very fast and close above, and hung a good way over on both Sides. At the End of one of the Canoes, on the Starboard-side, there stood a Mast with a Fork in the End of it, where the Yard lay; the Sail was made of Mats; and the Ropes of such Stuff as the Fig-frails in *Spain* consist of. They had no Compass nor Chart, nor any Furniture for the Seas, but only a few Fishing-hooks, the upper Part of which was Stone, and the other black-Bone, Tortoise-shell, or Mother of Pearl; They had no need to lade their Vessel with fresh Water, for they satisfied themselves with the Liquor of a few Cocos-nuts; and when that was spent, they had recourse to the great Ocean for supply, themselves, and their smallest Children, drinking the Salt Water very heartily. The *Dutch* sent them all back to their Vessel again, where the Women welcomed their Husbands with joyful Embraces, and thus happily freed, they sailed away to the South-east: But to return to our Discoverers.

15. The 10th, they held a West and South-west Course, and that Day saw very high Land on their Larboard, lying South-east by South, about Eight Leagues off; but, though they had a good Gale, they could not reach it that Day. The 11th, they came up with a very high Island; and, about Two Leagues Southward, with another much lower, and the same Day sailed over a Bank of Fourteen Fathom deep, and a stony Bottom, lying about Two Leagues from the Land, which being past, they could find no more Ground. About this Time, another of the same kind of Barks came up to them, which had (as they generally have) a loose Canoe in her, to put out upon Occasion. She sailed at that Rate, that few *Dutch* Ships could out-strip her; her Men steered behind with Two Oars, in each Canoe one; and, when they had a mind to tack, they towed before: But all these Vessels wind themselves, by only pulling the Oars out of the Water, and letting them go. Sending their Shallop to sound by one of the Islands, they were informed, that there was Ground, though shelvy, at 12, 14, and 15 Fathom, about a Cannon-shot from the Land; so they resolved to anchor there. The Negroes, indeed, by Signs, directed them to go to the other Island, and sailed thither before them; but they anchored at the End of the former Island at Twenty-five Fathom sandy Ground, a Cannon-shot from the Land. This Island lies in 16° 10'; It is one intire Mountain, and looks like one of the *Moluccas*, 'tis all covered over with Cocos-trees, for which Reason they called it *Cocoa Island*. The other Island is much lower than this, but longer, lying East and West: Being at Anchor, there came Three Ships, and Nine or Ten Canoes, which had Three or Four Men in each, about them; some of which had put out white Flags, in Token of Peace, as they did the like. The Canoes were flat before, and sharp behind, hewed out of the whole Piece

of red Wood, and came near the *Dutch* the Water, and swam Cocos and Ubes-roots and Beads, giving a small String of Beads for 180 Cocos; and aboard, that they sent their Shallop more convenient Pl just got out, was 1 Canoes, filled with great Clubs, that for Men; they, firing th at by the Savages, in done to sell Harm one of them was the making Sport with th Distance a little bette lully well proportione naked, thivvth, and Har; some wore it others platted and le 1 th, they came in th Binamas, Ubes roots was a great Contento to the Ship, and thol them before, since th they jumped into the holding Bunches of C uch Swarms, that th Staves: The *Dutch* b Cocos, which made bang Eighty-five in very much at the St of them crept down u of it with Stones, to of those Savages se Present, charging the quickly alter he cam Fashion, attended with a little Way from the aloud, and all his Co way of bidding Strar them with Drums an and surprised them. Honour that was don bowing their Heads, over them, which th cations. The King, for a Present; which of an old Hatchet, ru of Linnen Cloth, Thin with, and made man known from his Sub the Reverence they naked, so he had no gave him: He woul though the Prince h there. The 13th at a whole Armada of there himself in Perf and Forty five Canoe then Seven or Eight first to come only up by Signs, that they would tan have them should find much b But, notwithstanding some Mischief was t were their Suspicious themselves all round Side; and then, w a Gun, they gave th foremost in the Acti the *Dutch* Ship, th fore it were dashed Shock; the rest ca Vol. I.

of red Wood, and sailed exceeding swiftly. When they came near the *Dutch* Ship, they leaped some of them into the Water, and swam to it, having their Hands full of Cocoas and Ubes-roots, which they barter'd for Nails and Beads, giving Four or Five Cocoas for a Nail, or a small String of Beads, so that the *Dutch* traded that Day for 150 Cocoas; and this Trade bringing to many of them aboard, that they knew not how to stir in their Ship, they lent their Shallop to the other Island, to see for a more convenient Place to lie in; but the Shallop, being just got out, was presently beset by a vast Number of Canoes, filled with a mad Sort of People, armed with great Clubs, that forthwith boarded her, and attacked the Men; they, firing their Musquets upon them, were laugh'd at by the Savages, in that, with so much Noise, they had done so little Harm; but, at the next Discharge, when one of them was shot through the Breast, they had done making Sport with the Musquets, and learned to keep their Distance a little better for the Time to come. They were lusty well proportioned Men, and excellent Swimmers; but naked, they, and very fantastical in dressing of their Hair; some wore it short, others long, some curled, and others platted and folded up in several Fashions. The 1th, they came in their Canoes again, laden with Cocoas, Bananas, Ubes roots, Hogs, and fresh Water; there was a great Contention among them who should get first to the Ship, and those that were behind being shut out by them before, since they could not leap over their Heads, they jumped into the Water, and swam under the Canoes, holding Bunches of Cocoas in their Mouths, and climbed up the Side of the Ship like so many Rats, and that in such Swarms, that they were forced to keep them off with Staves: The *Dutch* bartered with them that Day for 1200 Cocoas, which made Twelve to every Man's Share, they being Eighty-five in Number. The Negroes wonder'd very much at the Strength of the *Dutch* Ship, and some of them crept down under it, and knocked at the Bottom of it with Stones, to try how strong it was. The King of those Savages sent a black Hog to the Ship for a Present, charging the Messenger to take no Reward; and quickly alter he came himself, in a large Ship of their Fashion, attended with Thirty-five Canoes: When he was a little Way from the Ship, he began to call and cry out aloud, and all his Company did the like, this being their way of bidding Strangers welcome. The *Dutch* received them with Drums and Trumpets, which mightily pleas'd and surpris'd them, and they, to testify their Sense of Honour that was done them, us'd all their Ceremonies of bowing their Heads, and clapping their Hands together over them, which they are accustomed to upon such Occasions. The King, out of his Ship, sent them a Matten for a Present; which Kindness they requited with the Gift of an old Hatchet, rusty Nails, Glass Beads, and a Piece of Linnen Cloth, Things which his Majesty was highly pleas'd with, and made many a fine Bow for. He was not to be known from his Subjects by any Ensign of Dignity, but the Reverence they shew'd him; for, as they were all naked, so he had no other Apparel; but that which Nature gave him: He would not be persuaded to come on board, though the Prince his Son did, and was well entertained there. The 13th at Noon, the Ship was surrounded with a whole Armada of Ships and Canoes, the King being there himself in Person; and in the Twenty-three Ships, there Forty-five Canoes, that compos'd the Fleet, no less than Seven or Eight hundred Men. They pretended at first to come only upon Design of Trade, and told them by Signs, that they were their very good Friends, and would soon have them sail to the other Island, where they should find much better Accommodation in all respects: But, notwithstanding all their fair Pretences, they suspected some Mischief was hatching by these Barbarians: Neither were their Sulpicions unjust; for they quickly began to call themselves all round the Ship, and inclos'd it on every Side; and then, with a great Outcry upon the Alarm of a Gun, they gave the Assault: The King's Ship was the foremost in the Action, and rush'd in with such a Force at the *Dutch* Ship, that the Heads of the Two Canoes before it were dash'd to Pieces with the Violence of the Shock; the rest came on as well as they could, and

showered in great Stones upon them: But the *Dutch* threw in such Quantities of Ball amongst them out of their Musquets, and Three great Guns loaded with Musquet-shot and Nails, that all those in the Canoes, that lay within Reach, were glad to leave them, and seek their Refuge in the Water. Being thus put to Rout, they disperis'd themselves, and shilted for their Lives as well as they could. These treacherous People were the Inhabitants of the lower of those Two Islands, which therefore they call'd *Traitors Island*.

16. They sail'd from hence the same Day, and held their Course West and West by South; and the 14th, came to another Island, about Thirty Leagues distant from the former. They call'd this *Hope Island*, because they hop'd here to meet with some Refreshment. But, finding no Ground at the Island, they lent out their Shallop to sound along the Shore, which returned with the News of a stony Bottom at Forty Fathom Water, about a Musquet-shot from the Shore, sometimes Twenty and Thirty Fathom, and at a little Distance again no Bottom at all. The *Indians* came hither with Ten or Twelve Canoes to barter; they brought a small Parcel of Flying-fish, for which they had Beads in Exchange; and whatsoever the one gave, or the other received, was convey'd on both Sides by a Rope let down by the Stern of the Ship. But these *Indians* went from this Trade presently to another which was worse, *viz.* robbing the Shallop, which they found employ'd in sounding at some Distance from the Ship: They offer'd to board her, and drag her away; but they in the Shallop, with their Guns, Pikes, and Cutlasses, gave them such an Entertainment, that, having seen Two of their Company killed, they were glad to hurry away as fast as they could; and, while these were beaten and maul'd upon the Water, their Friends stood and cried for them ashore. This Island was full of black Cliffs, that were green on the Top, was well stocked with Cocoa-trees, and several Sorts of Herbs. There were several Houses along the Sea-side, and a great Village close by the Strand. There was no convenient Anchoring here, it being extremely rough near the Island; for which Reason they left it, and sail'd away South-west, intending to pursue the Discovery of a Southern Continent.

17. The 18th, they were under 15° 5', where they had very uncertain West Winds; and now they began to consult about the further prosecuting of their Voyage. *William Schovten* the Master told them, that they were now at least 1600 Leagues Eastward from the Coast of *Peru*; and, as they had not yet discovered any Part of the South Land, so neither was there any Likelihood of doing it; that they had not much farther Westward than they first intended; and that, going on that Course which they had hitherto pursued, they should certainly fall Southward upon *New Guiney*, where, if they found no Passage, they must unavoidably be lost; since it would be impossible to go back Eastward again, by reason of the Easterly Winds, that blew continually. Upon these and other Accounts, he propos'd it, as the best way, to alter their present Course, and sail Northward, so as to fall Northward upon *New Guiney*. This Proposal, backed with so many good Reasons, was embrac'd by all the Company, so that they immediately determin'd to hold a North North-west Course. The 19th, their Course Northward, they had Two Islands at Noon about Eight Leagues distant from them, lying North-east by East, and that seem'd to be a Cannon-shot distant from each other. Upon this they steer'd North-east, intending to sail about the Land, having fair Weather, but a small Gale, to bring them along. The 20th, they continued still labouring to get to Land. The 21st, being about a League from the Land, they were visit'd by Two Canoes, to whom though they gave no manner of Provocation, yet they were rudely insulted by some of them, who began to halloo, and threaten to dart their wooden *Allagayes* at them; but, upon the Discharge of the Guns from the Ship, these bold Hectors began to scamper, and that in no little Haste and Confusion, leaving behind them Two of their Company dead, and a Shirt which they had stolen out of the Ship, and had now no Stomach to carry away with them. The 22^d, there came more of them to the Ship, but upon very friendly and

peaceable Terms, bringing Cucos, Ubes roots, and roasted Hogs, which they bartered for Knives, Beads, and Nails. These People were all as expert in the Arts of Swimming and Diving, as those in *Tatters Island*, and as well versed in Cheating and Stealing too, which they never failed to do, if an Opportunity were given them. Their Houses stood along the Strand, which were covered with Leaves at the Top, and had a sort of Perthoule of the same, to carry off the Water; they were Ten or Twelve Feet high, and Twenty five in Compts. They were furnished with nothing but a Bed of dry Herbs, an Angling-rod or two, and a great Club. These were all the Ornaments even of the Prince, and the King himself had no more. The *Dutch* found here good Conveniences for Watering. The 23th, they sent Three of the principal Men of the Ship to establish a Friendship with the *Indians*, and to be as Hostages amongst them, having in their room Six *Indians* of Quality on board, whom they made very welcome there, and the *Dutch* ashore had very great Respect paid them by the King: He made them a Present of Four Hogs, and, if any of his People came but near the *Dutch* Boat to disturb them while they were fetching Water, he would drive them away himself, or order some of his Men to do it: His Subjects all stood in very great Awe of him, and were fearful of having any of their Crimes made known to him; for one of them having stolen a Cutlars, and Complaint being made to one of the King's Officers, the Thief was pursued, and soundly drubbed for the Wrong he had done, and, besides, forced to make Restitution; and, more than that, the Officer signified, that he came off very well too; for, if the King had known it, he would certainly have had his Head off. These People were extremely frightened at the Noise of the Guns, and upon any Discharge, would fly like to many Madmen: Yet the King having a Desire to hear one of the great Guns let off, and being set under his Canopy, with some of his Courtiers about him, in great Order, upon the going off of the Gun, he leaped out of his Seat, and set up a Run into the Woods, with all his Courtiers after him, and no Persuasions of the *Dutch* could possibly stop them. The 25th and 26th, they went ashore again to barter for Hogs, but could get none, the *Indians* being reduced to some Streights themselves, having nothing but Cocoas, Bananas, Ubes-roots, and a few Hogs, left. Yet the King continued his wonted Respect and Kindness to them, and he, and his Lieutenant, pulled off their Crowns from their own Heads, and set them upon the Heads of Two of the Company. These Crowns were made of white, red, and green Feathers, which their Parrots and Doves supply them with; the Doves are white upon the Back, and black every-where else, except the Breast, and every one of the King's Council has one of these sitting by him upon a Stick. The 27th and 28th, they got all their Water on board, at which time the Master and the Merchant went ashore with the Trumpets, which proved a very diverting Music to the King. Here he told them of his War with them of the other Island, and shewed them several of the Caves and Thickets where they used to place their Ambuscades, and lay lurking for Advantages against each other: They plainly found, that he was fearful they had some Design upon his Country; for, to draw them from thence, he would soon have engaged them in a War with the King of the other Island; nay, he offered to hire them to be gone, telling them, that, if they would go in Two Days, he would give them Ten Hogs, and a good Parcel of Cocoas. Yet, notwithstanding his suspicions, he made them a Visit on Ship-board, praying when he entered the Ship, and praying in every Cabin he came into, as also he always did when any of the *Dutch* came ashore to him. His Men carried it with a mighty deal of Submission to them, kissing their Feet, and laying them cross their Necks, with all the Tokens of Awe and Fear that they could express. The 2⁹th was made a Day of Solemnity, by the coming of the King of the other Island to visit the King of this: He came with a Train of 30. of his naked *Indians*, that had Bunches of green Herbs tucked about their Middle, of which they prepare their Drink; and, that he might be sure to be welcome, he brought sixteen Hogs along with him. When these Two Princes were

within Sight of each other, they began to bow and scrape, and mutter out certain Prayers to themselves. When they met, they both fell down with their Faces flat upon the Ground, and, after several very strange Gestures used, they got up on their Legs, and walked away to the Seats provided for them, where, after they had chopt out some more of their Prayers, and bowed very reverently to each other again, with much ado they set down again under the King's Canopy: And now, to make the strange King the more welcome, a Messenger was dispatched to the *Dutch* Ship, to get their Drums and Trumpets ashore; to the Trumpets sounded, and a March was beat, to the very great Entertainment of the Two Kings: After this they prepared for a solemn Banquet; and, in order to it, began to make ready their Liquor, which they did in this slovenly Manner: There came into the Presence a Company of Fellows, with a good Quantity of Cana, (which is the Herb of which they make their Drink) each of which having crammed in a Mouthful of it, they began to chew together; having chewed it awhile, they put it out of their Mouths into a large wooden Trough, and poured Water upon it, and fell to stirring and squeezing of it, and, having pressed out all the Goodness, they presented it in Cups to the Two Kings. They were so civil likewise as to offer the *Dutch* some of it, who were ready to vomit at the Sight of the Preparation. As for the Eating-part of the Entertainment, it consisted of Ubes-roots roasted, and Hogs dressed after a very nice Manner. They had ripped up the Bellies, and taken out the Intraills; and then, putting hot Stones into their Bellies, and singeing off the outside Hair, without any farther Dressing or Cleaning, they were fit for the King's Table. They presented Two of these Hogs to the *Dutch*, with all the Form and Ceremony which they use to their Kings, laying them first upon their Heads, and then kneeling, with much Humility, let them at their Feet. They gave them, besides, Eleven more alive, for which they received a Present of Knives, old Nails, and Beads, as pleasing to them as far better Things. These People were of a dark-yellow Colour, strong and well-proportioned Bodies, so tall and big, that the largest amongst the *Dutch* would have been matched by the least of them. They wore their Hair, some curled, some trizzled, some tied up in Knots, some had it standing but upright, their Heads like Hogs-bristles, a Quarter of an Ell high. The King, and some of his Courtiers, had long Locks hanging down below their Hips, bound up with a Knot of two, but the Women were all cropped close, and, besides, very ugly Figures, being short and ill-shaped, and their Breasts hanging down to their Bellies like Satchels. Both Sexes were naked all to the *Pudenda*: They seemed to be a People wholly void both of Devotion, and all worldly Care and Prudence, living just as the other Animals do, upon what the Earth produces, without the Solicitations of Art and Industry: They neither sow nor reap, buy nor sell, nor do any thing for a Liveliness, but leave all to the Care of Nature, which it it fails at any time, they must starve: And they have as little regard to the Laws of Decency and Modesty, as to those of civil Prudence and Policy; for they will make use of their Wives openly in the greatest Assembly, nay, and before the King too, as much as they reverence him. This Island they called *Horn Island*, from the Name of the Town from whence they came; and the Bay where they anchored, *Unity Bay*, after the Name of the Ship; the Bay lies upon the South Side of the Land in a Dock under 14° 16'.

18. June 1. they sailed from hence, visiting no Land till the 2nd, when they made towards a very low Island, that lay South South-west and West from them, and in 40° 47'. Near it were several Sands, that stretched North-west from off the Land, as also Three or Four smaller Islands, very full of Trees. Here a Canoe came up to them, of the same odd Fashion with those before described, and the People in it much of the same Sort, only blacker, and armed with Bows and Arrows, which were the first they had seen amongst the *Indians* of the *South Sea*. They told them by Signs, that there was more Land, and good Conveniences for a Ship, to be had Westward, where their King dwelt, upon which Information they held a Western Course again. The 22nd, they sailed West, and West by North, under

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4. 4. and that Day saw at least Twelve or Thirteen Islands, and close by another, lying West South-west from them, and reaching South-east and North-west about half a League; but they left them a Larboard. The 24th, the Wind South, they saw Three low Islands a Larboard, lying South-west from them, the One very small, the other Two each of them Two Miles long, all very full of Trees. They called them the *Green Islands*. The Shore about was ragged and steep, and allowed no Anchoring. Another Island presented itself, with Seven or Eight Hovels upon it, lying West by North; which they sailed by the 25th, *St. John Baptist's Day*, and therefore called it *St. John's Island*. At distance, they saw very high Land to the South-west, which they thought to be the Point of *New Guinea*. They reached it by Noon, and, sailing along by it, and finding no Anchoring, sent the Shallop to sound, but no Bottom could be discovered. Here Two or Three Canoes of barbarous People assaulted the Shallop with their Slings; but the Guns greatly terrified, and quickly dispersed them. They were very black, entirely naked, and spoke a language quite different from the other. They kept Fires upon their Coasts all that Night; and some of them, in their Canoes, came lurking about the Ship; and tho' the *Dutch*, when they discovered them, did all they could to oblige them, yet they would understand none of the Signs they made for Provisions; but answered all with horrid Noises and Outcries. They anchored this Night at Forty-five Fathom, uneven Ground, in a Bay. About the Point of the Land, the Country was high and green, and afforded a pleasant Prospect, and lay (as they guessed) 1500 Leagues distant from *Papa*. The 26th in the Morning, there came Three Canoes up to the Ship, quite full of these Barbarians, and they as well armed, after their Manner, with Clubs, wooden Swords, and Slings. The *Dutch* treated them kindly, and gave them several Toys to procure their Liberty, or at least Peace and Freedom from any Disturbance by them; but these Savages were not to be conquered by kindnels, nor taught good Manners by any thing but the great Guns; for presently they assaulted the Ship with all their Force, and continued it obstinately, till the Cannon-shot had gone through Ten or Twelve of them. Then they began to fly to their old Refuge the Water, to dive and swim for their Lives; but the Shallop, pursuing them, knocked some on the Head, took Three Prisoners, and four of their Canoes; which made Ening for the Ship. And now they could understand Signs, and procure Hogs and Bananas for those that were Prisoners to ransom themselves; but, before, they did not know what the *Dutch* meant by their Signs: And, tho' the *Dutch* were so generous as to give One wounded Man his Liberty, yet they were so wise too as to let another in a better Condition at Ten Hogs Ransom; which undoubtedly was the full Value of him. This Island afforded a Sort of Birds, that were all red; and North of it lay another Island, of which they made no other Discovery, than only its Position to this. They concluded these People to be *Papooi*, because of their short Hair, and particular Diet of Beetle mixed with Chalk.

The 28th in the Evening, they set Sail from hence; and the next Day held a North-west and North-west by North Course, with a shifting Wind till Noon, and then a Calm. They had the Point of the Island in View till Evening, tho' they sailed along by the Land, which was full of Bays and Urangas, and reached North-west and North-west by West; and, the same Day, they saw Three high Hills more, that lay Northward from the greater One five or Six Miles, being then in 3° 20'. The 30th in the Morning, several Canoes of the black *Indians* came up to them; and, boarding the Ship by Permission, broke Staves over the *Dutch*, in Sign of Peace. Their Canoes were finer than the others, and themselves appeared more civil and modest, covering the *Pudenda*; which the others did not. They rubbed their Hair over with Chalk, affecting to have their black Locks powdered. They pretended to be so poor, that they came to beg, and not to bring any thing to the Ship; yet those Four Islands, from whence those *Indians* came, afforded good Store of Cocoas. June 1, in the Morning, they anchored between an Island Two Miles long and the firm Land of *New Guinea*; and quickly were surrounded with Twenty-five armed Canoes of the same Pro-

ple, who, the Day before, in Token of Peace, had broken their Staves over their Heads, and now came intending to break them upon them. The *Indians* were not tedious in their Ceremonies before they entered upon the Work they came about: Two of them fixed themselves upon Two Anchors that then hung out of the Ship, and, with their Girdles, began to tug the Ship, thinking to draw her ashore. The rest lay about the Sides of her, and gave a brisk Onset with their Slings, and other Weapons; but the everlasting Plague of these Savages, the great Guns, shattered Men and Canoes at that Rate, that they were forced to retire, with the Loss of Twelve or Thirteen killed, and a far greater Number wounded. After this Fight, they sailed peaceably along the Coast, having a good Gale, and holding a West North-west and North-west by West Course. The 2d, they were in 3° 12', and saw low Land a Larboard, and right before them a low Island. They sailed gently West North-west, with a slight Current of the Water East North-east. The 3d, they saw high Land, bearing West about Fourteen Leagues from the other Island, and in 3° 41'. The 4th, as they were passing by the Four Islands afore-mentioned, they had a sudden Prospect of Twenty-three others, great and small, high and low; most of which they left a Starboard, and only Two or Three a Larboard. They were some of them a League, some a Cannon shot distant from each other, and lay in 2° 30', little more or less. The 6th, with very variable, and some stormy Weather, they had in the Morning a very high Hill before them, bearing South-west; and thus they thought to be the Hill *Geemenoffi* in *Banda*; but a nearer Approach discovered Three Hills more like it, that lie to the North about Six or Seven Leagues Distance; and this Sight determined that Hill to be that of *Banda*. Behind it lay a large Track of Land East and West, reaching East South-east, of a very great extent, and very uneven.

The 20. The 7th in the Morning, they sailed towards those mighty Hills they had in Prospect the Day before, and found some of them to be *Vulcanus*; for which Reason they named the Island *Vulcan's Island*, there being to good a Representation of his burning Forge. The Island was well inhabited, and full of Cocoas; but there was no Convenience of anchoring there. The People were naked, and extremely fearful of the *Dutch*; and their Language to very different from all thereabouts, that none of the Blacks they had with them could understand them. There appeared more Islands to the North and North-west; but they held their Course to a very low one, that lay North-west by West from them; which they reached that Evening. The Water here they observed to be of divers Colours, green, white and yellow; which probably was the Effect of the Mixture of some Rivers, because it was far sweeter than the Sea-Water, and was full of Leaves and Boughs of Trees, some of which had Birds and Crabs fastened upon them. The 8th, they held a West South-west and West North-west Course, having on their Starboard an high Island, and another something lower on their Larboard. They reached the Land in the Afternoon the same Day, and anchored at Seventy Fathom, in a good sandy Bottom, about a Cannon-shot from the Shore. This Island was in 3° 40', and seemed to be an unhealthy Place, and yielded nothing considerable, except a little Ginger. It was inhabited by *Papooi*, whose ridiculous Fancies, in the Matter of Dreis, superadded to their own natural Deformity, made them appear little short of Monsters in human Nature. There were hardly any of them but what had something odd and strange, either as to Bigness or Position of their Limbs; but then the Strings of Hogs Teeth hung about their Necks, and their perforated Noises, with Rings fastened in them, together with short frizzled Hair, and very bad Faces, all put together, would have offended an Eye not extremely curious. Neither was the Beauty of the Hovels much greater than that of the Inhabitants, being all mounted upon Stakes Eight or Nine Feet from the Ground. The 9th before Noon, they anchored in a more convenient Bay, at Twenty-six Fathom, in a sandy Bottom mixed with Clay. There were Two Villages of the *Indians* near the Shore, from whence some of their Canoes brought Hogs and Cocoas; but held up both at to dear Rates, that there was no bartering with them. And now, though they had sailed so long by this new Land, yet they were

were unable to resolve themselves, whether it was *New Guinea*, or no. Their Charts did neither agree one with another, nor the Land they had in Prospect, which, for the most part, run North-west by West, sometimes more Westerly, and sometimes again more Northerly; yet, for all this Scruple (which they could not remove) they still held a West North-west Course along by the Coast, with a quiet, tho' and fort of Weather; and so, by the Help of the Stream, that set them about the West as it does all along that Coast, they made 258 the 12th at Noon.

21. The 13th and 14th, they kept sailing by the Coast, having sometimes very high, and at others very low Land in Sight of them. The 14th, pursuing the same Course, they reached two low Islands, about half a League from the main Land, about 254 South Latitude. Here they had good Anchoring from five and Six to Forty Fathom; and, seeing the Country well stored with Cocoas, the Boat and Shallop, well provided for an Attack, were dispatched, with Orders to land, and get some; but the *Indians*, it seems, had observed them, and accordingly prepared for their Entertainment when they landed; and they gave them, perhaps, the warmest Reception with their Bows and Slings, that ever they met with, wounding at least sixteen of them, and forcing them, notwithstanding their Mulquets, to retire. The 15th in the Morning, they sailed in between both the Islands, and anchored at Nine Fathom, in a very good Bay. The same Day, they landed upon the lesser Island, burnt some of the *Indians* Houses, and brought off as many Cocoas as made three to every Man's Share. The barbarous People became more gentle and good natured upon this Treatment; for the 17th they came to make their Peace with Offerings of Cocoas and Bananas, Ginger, and yellow Routs fitted for Saffron. They agreed to trust the *Dutch* to far as to come aboard their Ship, where the Quarrel was perfectly made up; and the Hearts of the *Indians*, won by a few Nails and Beads, which they gave them, were entirely true. The 18th, they continued bartering for Cocoas, Bananas, Cassave, and Papade: Of the Two former they got as much as came to Fifty Nuts and Two Bushels of Bananas a Man, of the Two latter not so much. Cassave and Cassave are also *East India* Commodities, and the latter particularly is admirably good in the *West Indies*, and far beyond that, which they met with here. The People made all their Bread of it, and baked it into large round Cakes for that Purpose. They called the Name of this oval Bread *Misa*, which was the most Eatable; the other oval against it *Julin*; and the farthestmost a very high one, and about five or Six Leagues from *New Guinea* *Arava*. These People had probably been visited by some *Europeans* before; for they had *Spanish* Jars and Pots amongst them; They were not surpris'd at great Guns, as the others usually were; nor so curious in looking into the Ship, as absolute Strangers to such a Thing must be supposed to be. The 21st, they sailed along by the Land North-west, and at Noon made 1113. The Stream drove them to a Cluster of Islands, where they anchored at Thirteen Fathom, with Storms of Rain and Thunder that Night. The 23d in the Morning, setting Sail from thence, six great Canoes overtook them a little from the Land, bringing dried Fish, Cocoas, Bananas, Tobacco, and a small Sort of Fruit like Prunes. *Indians* from another Island also brought Victuals and *China* Porcelain to barter. These People, like most of the Barbarians, were vastly fond of Beads and Iron work; but they were remarkably cunningly taught from those in the last Island by their large Size, and more orange Complexion. Their Arms were Bows and Arrows, and their principal Ornaments Galls Ear-rings of several Colours; and, by these, as well as other Signs, it appeared, that the *Dutch* were not the first *Europeans* which the People had seen. So that it is not to be considered as a Discovery.

22. The 24th, being under 105, they steered North-west and West South-west, along by a very pleasant Island, on which they bestowed their Mast's Name, and is that, which, in the Maps, is denominated by the Name of *Hen Island*; and, in the West Part of it they called *Cape of Good Hope*. The 25th, they lay in a long Track of uneven Land on their Embark, lying South and South-west by West. The 26th, they spied three Islands more, the Coast reach-

ing North-west by West. The 27th, they were under 257 1/4 and, having a Sight of much Land to the Southward, some very high, and some as low, they passed North-west along by it. The 28th at Night, they had an Earthquake, which shook the Ship at that Rate, that the Men ran frightened out of their Cabins, expecting to find her run aground, or bulged against some Rock; but, upon Trial, they found a Depth of Water, that was unathomable, and as plainly saw they were clear of all Danger of Rocks and Shelves; so that it was manifestly the Effect of a violent Concussion of the *Aerens*, and submarine Regions, which caused and propagated a Tremor all through the Water, and thus disturbed the Motion of the Ship. The 30th, they got into a great Bay, out of which finding no Opening, they returned to a Northern Course again. Here the Ship trembled again with loud and horrible Claps of Thunder; and the Lightning was so like to set it on Fire, that, in all Probability, it must have flamed, had not the Clouds, that furnished the pernicious Fire, afforded Water also in prodigious Showers of rain for the extinguishing of it. The 31st, with a Northern Course, in the Evening they passed the Equator a second time; and, being encompassed with Land all round almost, they anchored at Twelve Fathom good Ground, near a desolate Island, that lay close by the firm Land. August 1. they made 157 North Latitude; and, in the Evening, with a hard Stream, went close to the Land, and, because of the Calm, anchored, though in a shallow Water, and very rugged Bottom. The 2d, they drove along with the Stream West and West by North, with very rainy Weather. The 3d, being still becalmed, they steered as before, and found a Bank so far in the Sea, that they could scarce see the Land, being in some Places Forty, in others Twenty, and so to Twelve Fathom, sandy Ground, and the Stream there went West South-west. The same Day, they made 357 North Latitude, and saw several Whales and Lortoeses, with two Islands lying to the Westward of them. And now they guessed they were at the End of the Land of *New Guinea*, having sailed 280 Leagues along by the Coast. The Rains and Calms still continued.

23. The 5th in the Morning, several Canoes came up to them, bringing *Indian* Beans, Rice, Tobacco, and two Birds of Paradise. They bartered for One of these fine Birds, which was all white and yellow. The *Indians* spoke the *Ternate* Language, and some of them the *Spanish* and *Malayan*; which latter Tongue *Glaxen* the Merchant was well skilled in. They were all of them finely clothed about their Waists, some with loose Silks, others with Breches, and some filken Wreaths about their Heads, which were the *Molammedans* of the Company. All of them in general had Coal black Hair, and good Store of Gold and Silver Rings upon their Fingers. They bartered with the *Dutch* for Beads, and other Toys; but had much more mind for Linen Cloth. They appeared to be very fearful, and suspicious of them to that Degree, that they would not tell them the Name of the Country; yet they judged, that they were now at One of the Three Eatable Points of *Gilolo*, and that these People were Natives of *Tidore*; which afterwards they found to be true. The 6th in the Morning, they set forward, holding a Northerly Course, intending to sail about the Northern Point of *Gilolo*. The 7th, they saw the North-east Point of that Island called *Meratay*, which then lay South South-east from them. The 8th at Noon, they made 423 North Latitude, had there very stormy Weather, and a Current that ran Northward. The 9th and 10th, they had variable Winds and Weather, and made 3700. The 11th, they had a Prospect of the Point *Meratay* again, which they designed to have reached; but the Current drove them off from the Land Northward. The 13th, they made 258, the Winds continuing still to shift about, and the Rains falling pretty heavily; and this sort of Weather continued to the 17th. This Day, with much Toil and Trouble, they got under the Land, and sailed along by the Coast with fair Weather; and, in the Night, they saw several Fires upon the Land. The 18th, with still Weather, they continued driving by the Land, and at Noon were taken by two Canoes of *Ternate*, who, to shew their peaceable Intentions, hung out a white Flag. They informed them, that they came from the Village *Sappy*, where very lately had been an *English* Ship, as also a Pinnace of *Ambon*

Jaw, that had lain there Rice; and that some of the Day to the Road of *Saba* Bay, and anchored at a Cannon shot from *Ternate*, *Hens*, *Sago*, *Tortoise*, several of the Natives *English* and *Dutch* Ships had procured sufficient which News was executed almost all their S of public Rejoicing amounting to eighty-five Men, a further Apprehension of such Victuals. That there was no less than at *Ternate*. On August they entered, the Wind Island, which seemed went ashore, in order to attend a very high Mountain to very steep and rough their Attempt. They last ofity here, which was and of a great Length which, tho' it appeared Distance, they found, Reality, compell'd of anchored off the Coast evident had like to have Seamen going to catch *Ternate* suddenly rushed intending to have killed Net; but, the *Surgeon* *Indian* Soldiers stopped, which is a Sign of Peace them in a peaceable Manner of their Attempt was At the Request of the on board, where, having they were exceedingly to them Provisions and R

24. On the 14th, they for two or three Day Voyage. On the Sixteenth *Ternate* and *Tidore*. *Dutch* Ship, which *Spilbergen's* Voyage, as ten *Dutch* Ships under *Drukkan Lam*, of *He* Trade of his Countrymen it was expected would *Ternate*. The same Fathom sandy Ground Captain *Sebesten*, and in order to confer with them come thither in the *Pr* *Royal*, where they were by the Admiral *Steph* *venor* of *Ambon*, at On the 18th, they sold great deal of what they was burnt in King's *U* 1330 Reals; with Part General two Falls of Quantity of *Spanish* *W* *Bilicut*. On the 24th, mandated Leave of the *C* *Service*; which, at the readily granted. On the General, who treated them with Respect, and accompanied aboard with Colours flying *Bantam*. On the 29th Fourth time in that *V* they anchored in the *Re* at *Jacatra*, where they *English* Ships in the *Re* their Seamen died, which

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law, that had lain there Three Months for a Lading of Rice; and that some of them would conduct them the next Day to the Road of *Soppo*. The 19th, they failed into the Bay, and anchored at Ten Fathom, sandy Ground, about a Cannon shot from the Shore. They bartered here for Hens, Sago, Tortoise, and Rice. On August 19. they had several of the Natives on board, who reported, that an *English* and *Dutch* Ship had been lately in those Parts, and had procured sufficient Provisions for their Voyage home; which News was exceedingly agreeable to People who had spent almost all their Store; and therefore there was a kind of public Rejoicing among the Crew, which now consisted of Eighty-five Men, all healthy and vigorous, and who had no other Apprehensions, than such as arose from their Scarcity of Victuals. The next Day, they had an Account, that there was no less than Twenty *English* and *Dutch* Ships at *Ternate*. On August 25. they failed, and on September 1. they entered, the Wind being contrary, into the Bay of an Island, which seemed to be desert. Some of the Officers went ashore, in order to view the Country, and endeavoured to ascend a very high Mountain for that Purpose; but found it to very steep and rugged, that they quickly abandoned their Attempt. They saw, however, an extraordinary Curiosity here, which was a Worm as thick as a Man's Leg, and of a great Length. The Name of this Island is *Moro*, which, tho' it appeared one continued Track of Land at a Distance, they found, upon a closer Examination, was, in Reality, composed of several Islands. On the 5th, they anchored off the Coast of *Gilolo*, where a very unlucky Accident had like to have befallen them; for, some of the Seamen going to catch Fish unarmed, Four Soldiers of *Ternate* suddenly rushed out of the Woods, Sword in Hand, intending to have killed them, as they were drawing up their Net; but, the Surgeon calling out *Oran Hollanda*, the *Indian* Soldiers stopped, and, throwing Water on their Heads, which is a Sign of Peace in those Countries, approached them in a peaceable Manner, and told them, that the Reason of their Attempt was their taking them for *Spaniards*. At the Request of the Seamen, they were persuaded to go on board, where, having Beads and other Trifles given them, they were exceedingly well satisfied, and promised to bring them Provisions and Refreshments; which they did.

24. On the 14th, they failed; but, the Wind being slack for Two or Three Days, made no great Progress in their Voyage. On the Sixteenth, however, they had Sight of *Ternate* and *Tidore*. On the 17th, they spoke with a *Dutch* Ship, which gave them an Account of Admiral *Spilbergen's* Voyage, as also, that there was a Squadron of Ten *Dutch* Ships under the Command of the General *John Dirckson Lam*, of *Horn*, at the *Manillas*, to defend the Trade of his Countrymen against a great *Spanish* Fleet that it was expected would come shortly to attack them at *Ternate*. The same Evening they anchored in Eleven Fathom sandy Ground before *Malaya* in *Ternate*; there Captain *Schovten*, and *Jacques le Maire*, went on shore, in order to confer with the General *Laurence Real*, who was come thither in the Place of the deceased General *Gerard Roynb*, where they were well entertained by him, as also by the Admiral *Stephen Verhagen*, and *Jasper Janjon*, Governor of *Ambona*, and by the whole Council of *India*. On the 18th, they sold Two of their Shallops, with a great deal of what they had saved out of the *Horn*, which was burnt in *King's Island*, and received in ready Money 1200 Reals; with Part of which they purchased from the General Two Lalls of Rice, a Ton of Vinegar, the like Quantity of *Spanish* Wine, and about Three Ton of *Biscuit*. On the 23th, Eleven Men, and Four Boys, demanded Leave of the Captain to enter into the Company's Service; which, at the Request of the General, he very readily granted. On the 26th, they took Leave of the General, who treated them with the greatest Kindness and Respect, and accompanied their Captain and Supercargo aboard with Colours flying. On the 27th, they failed for *Bantam*. On the 29th, they passed the Line for the Fourth time in that Voyage. On the 16th of *October*, they anchored in the Road of *Japara*; and, on the 25th, at *Jacatra*, where they found Three *Dutch*, and as many *English* Ships in the Road. The following Night one of their Seamen died, which was the first they lost out of the

Unity, and the third that had died during the whole Voyage.

25. On the last of *October*, arrived *John Peterfon Koen*, of *Horn*, President for the *East India* Company at *Bantam*; and the very next Day he sent for the Captain, and both the Supercargoes, before the Council of the *Indies*. After a very little Discourse, he required them, in virtue of his Commission from the *East India* Company, to deliver up the Ship and Cargo immediately: The Captain and Supercargoes insisted, that the Seizure was unlawful, since they had not offended either against the Letter, or the Intention, of the Company's Charter; since, with respect to the former, they did not come into the *Indies* by either of the forbidden Passages, viz. the Cape of *Good Hope*, or the Streights of *Magellan*, but by a Passage of their own Discovery, which, in its Consequences, must be extremely advantageous to the Commerce of their Countrymen, and to the whole trading World: That, as to the latter, it could not be the Meaning of the States General, in granting that Charter, to deprive their Subjects of the Benefits resulting from new Discoveries, since that would have been inconsistent with the sole Design of granting the Charter, which, as the Charter itself expressed, was for promoting the Commerce of the Subjects of the Republic. But all they could say signified nothing; the President told them, that, if they thought they suffered wrong, they might seek Redress in *Holland*. "This, says the Author of the *Dutch* Voyage, was done upon Monday the 1st of *November*, after our Reckoning; but upon *Tuesday*, the 2d of *November*, by our Countrymen's Reckoning there. The Reason of the Difference of the Time fell out thus: As we sailed Westward from our own Country, and had with the Sun compassed the Globe of the World, we had one Night or Sun-setting less than they; and they that came out of the West, and sailed to the East thereby, had one Day or Sun-setting more than we, which makes the Difference; and so, as we made our Reckoning of the Time then with ourselves, and did the like with our Countrymen, that Week we lost the *Tuesday*, leaping from *Monday* to *Wednesday*, and so had one Week of Six Days. Our Ship being in this Manner taken from us, some of our Men put themselves into Service with the *East India* Company; the rest were put into Two Ships (that were to go home into *Holland*) called the *Amsterdam*, and the *Zeland*, their General being *George van Spilbergen*: The Master, *William Cornelison Schovten*, *Jacob le Maire*, and Ten of our Men, went with the General in the *Amsterdam*, the Master's Name *John Cornelison May*, alias *Menfcheater*; and *Avis Clauson*, and the Pilot *Clausterson*, with Ten others, in the *Zeland*, the Master's Name *Cornelius Rienlande*, of *Middleburg*, which set Sail from *Bantam* the 14th of *December*." In little more than a Fort-night, viz. the 31st of that Month, died *Jacques le Maire*, their Supercargo, chiefly of Grief and Vexation, on account of the disastrous End of a Voyage which had been so prosperous to that Time. He was extremely solicitous on account of his Journal, which he had taken the utmost Pains about, recommending it to the Care of his Friends, and desiring that a full Account of this Transaction might be fairly published, that not only their Countrymen, but the whole World, might judge of the Usage they had received.

26. *January* 1. 1617. they lost Sight of the *Zeland*. The 24th, they anchored under the Island *Mauricius*, and refreshed there for Six Days. *March* the 6th, they passed the Cape of *Good Hope*, as they guessed, but saw it not. The 31st, they were under the Island of *St. Helena*, and there found the *Zeland* at their Arrival. The 6th of *April*, having supplied their Ships with fresh Water, they set Sail together. The 24th, they passed the Equinoctial the Fifth time; and, the 28th, saw the North Star, which they had not seen for Twenty Months before. *July* the 1st, the *Amsterdam* came into *Zeland*, whither the Ship of that Name had come the Day before. Thus this Voyage round the World was performed in Two Years and Eighteen Days; which, considering the Difficulties they met with, the Nature of their Course, and every other Circumstance of the Voyage, was a very wonderful thing, and might, one would have thought, have induced the

States General to have relieved them from the Hardships to which the Pride and Avarice of the *East India Company* had subjected them. The Proprietors of the *Unity*, and the *Horn*, finding, that, notwithstanding they had carried their Point in respect to the Discovery of a new Passage to the *East Indies* to the South of the Straights of *Magellan*, they had lost their Ships and Cargoes, and, consequently, all the immediate Benefit they expected from it, determined, however, to follow the dying Advice of *Jaques le Maire*, and to publish an Account of the Discovery as soon as it was possible. In order to this, they caused the Journals of *le Maire* and *Clasfen* to be transcribed, examined, and compared; and then, drawing out of them such Points as seemed in any Degree obscure, they recommended them to the View of the Masters, and other officers of the *Unity*, for Explanation: And, having thus procured an authentic Relation of this most memorable Expedition, they published it the very next Year in *Dutch*, that every body in their own Country might read it. In the Year 1619, an *English* Translation of it appeared, which was dedicated to Sir *Thomas Smith*, then Governor of the *English East India Company*; in which Dedication, the Discovery is particularly recommended to his Consideration, with a View to the Use that might be made of it in favour of our Commerce. But, notwithstanding the Author of this Dedication certainly meant well, it does not appear, that his Book was considered in any other Light than as an historical Account of new Discoveries, whereas he certainly intended it for more important Purposes. Within the Comps of a few Years, it appeared in *French*, *Italian*, and *Latin*; and the Fame of these Navigators spread all over *Europe*, while the original Adventurers were contending the Point of Consecration with the *East India Company* in *Holland*. The Accounts of this Voyage, hitherto published in our Collections, have been all of them very short and imperfect, especially as to the Design of the Voyage, which we hope the Reader will here find thoroughly explained; which Pains we have rather taken, because, as we shall presently shew, there never was a Voyage that deserved it better. Other Discoveries, other Voyages to the *East Indies*, may be read for Amusement, or historical Instruction; but this should be regarded in another Light, since it points out to us a kind of Navigation capable of prodigious Improvement, and to which, perhaps, no Nation has a better Title than ourselves; since the *South Sea Company* seems to have been originally established for the Prosecution of those Discoveries which in this Expedition were begun.

27. There are few Voyages that deserve Remarks so much as this of *le Maire*, and yet it is not the easiest Matter in the World to make them. The Generality of Mankind imagine, that most great Discoveries are made by Chance, and that the ablest Seamen have been less indebted to Knowledge than to Fortune, for the Fame they have acquired by their finding out new Countries. But the elder *le Maire*, I mean *Isaac* the Merchant, actually discovered more in his Closet, than his Son did in his Voyage, though, in point of Discovery, it was far superior to any made in his Time. For the elder *le Maire*, from the Disposition of Earth and Water in the other Parts of the Globe, imagined, that there could not be a Fourth Part Water in the Southern Hemisphere. In respect to the Straights of *Magellan*, he saw they lay but in the Fifth Climate, whereas a great Part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *America*, lay as far as the Twenty-fourth; from whence he concluded, that there must be a Continent to the South of those Straights which stretched itself into a warmer Latitude, and made a very considerable Part of the World, though hitherto undiscovered; and this was the Foundation of his Project of finding out a new Passage to unknown Countries. But the Reader may possibly inquire, why, supposing there were such a Continent, it must be concluded another *Indies*: And, to answer this Question, I must observe, that the only way of guessing rationally at the Products of unknown Countries, is by considering the Climates in which they lie, and the Nature of those Countries that are well known, and lie in the same Climates. *Le Maire* very judiciously conjectured, that, if there was such a Southern Continent, the greatest Part of it must lie be-

tween Thirty and Thirty-six Degrees of Latitude; and, as he knew, that the Coast of *Barbary*, all *Syria*, the most fruitful and pleasant Provinces of *Persia*, the best Part of the *Indies*, all that was known of *Japan*, what had been hitherto discovered of *California*, *New Mexico*, and *Florida*, lay within the same Degrees of Northern Latitude, and that the best Part of *Cubli*, and the Countries about the River of *Plate*, lay in the same Southern Climate, he, with great Justice and Probability, inferred, that, if such a Country could be discovered, it must be extremely rich and fruitful, abounding with all the Commodities that are most sought, and best esteemed, in *Europe*. When he communicated his Thoughts to Captain *Schooten*, he not only concurred with him in Opinion, but furnished him with many other Reasons in Support of it, drawn from Experience, and the Knowledge he had of the Countries already discovered in the *East Indies*; so that, on the Whole, they were fully persuaded, that, if they could bring their Project to bear, Spices, Gold, and precious Stones, might certainly be brought from these Southern *Indies*. They reasoned, in this respect, on the very same Principles that *Columbus* had laid down in Support of his first Expedition; and, therefore, there never was a Voyage undertaken upon wiser or better Grounds than this, as, perhaps too, there never was a Voyage executed with greater Ability or Success; at which the early Discovery of the Straights of *le Maire*, and the going quite round the World with the Lots of four Men only, and one of these killed by Grief, are the strongest Instances. It is, indeed, very true, that no such Continent was discovered by this Voyage; and yet, when we consider the Matter fairly and maturely, this will be found no sort of Proof against the Truth of their Conjectures, but rather the contrary: For *Schooten* and *le Maire* did not pursue their Voyage as they intended, but ran nearer the Line, so as to make few or no Discoveries, but between Ten and Twenty Degrees of South Latitude; and the Countries they did discover were chiefly Islands, but Islands rich, fruitful, well inhabited, and well provided with Canoes, and other Vessels, all certain and infallible Marks of some adjacent Continent; so that, considering this was the first Voyage ever attempted from this Part of the World through those Seas, instead of wondering, that they made so small a Progress, we ought rather to be surpris'd, that with a single Ship, and with so small a Force, they were able to do so much. After all, *Columbus* did no more in his first Voyage than discover the Islands that lay off *America*; and therefore *Schooten* and *le Maire*, as they went on the same Plan, may be truly said to have met with as much Success. We cannot, therefore, but be sensible, that the Censure pass'd on this Discovery by the *Dutch* Writer of *Spilbergen's* Voyage, which we have taken notice of before, was equally cruel and unjust; for whereas he objected, that they had discovered no Countries or People with whom any Trade could be carried on, but barely a new Strait, the Fact is false, and they really discovered as much as could be reasonably expected: The only Wonder is, that this Discovery was not prosecuted, and that a nation so famous for Industry, and so well turn'd for all commercial Improvements, as the *Dutch*, should let slip so favourable an Opportunity as this offered for extending their Trade, especially at a Time when this seemed to be peculiarly cherish'd by the State. In order to solve this Difficulty, we need only reflect on the Hardships that were endured by the Persons who undertook this Voyage, and the Losses that were sustained by its Proprietors: These were more than sufficient to deter private Men from running the Risque of such another Expedition, because, besides all the Dangers inseparable from such an Undertaking, there was this invincible Obstacle of the *East India Company's* exclusive Charter, which, whatever became of them at Sea, was sure to overturn them on Shore; and, as to any public Prosecution of the Project, that too was scarce to be expected, since the State rarely reaps any Profit from Expeditions that would make private Men rich. But our Business here lies chiefly with the present Discovery. It may be wondered, why the People in the Islands are called Negroes, since it does not appear by subsequent Discoveries, that there are any such in those Parts. All that I can say in Answer to this is, that they are so

filed in the original Right I had to change that they might call the *Indians* of *America* much darker, though later Discoveries make Complexions, which in those Parts of var other: and, as all *America* much better skilled in *America* were at found out, it should be much Commerce a finding out. I say it at present, I shall offer present there is a Necessity cause the old ones seem. The second, that the great Quantity of our the most part clothed, And, thirdly, as they portion as such a Company advantageous Effect w Shipping. The only C if the *Dutch* have neg that we shall be able we shall very soon make so much neglected as Reason, that, being i Trade in the *East Indies* Spice Trade, they are venting other Nations

The Voyage of

1. The constant Progre... endeavouring to m... Victory of Peru, a...
3. His Description...
5. An Account of t... Antitrialia del Eip... Arguments offered... Memorial, in which... His Relation. 9. T... The Reasons why the... success of this sort... in more Policy, de...

1. AFTER the Sp... Peru, they w... more distant... famous *Christopher Colum...* them, and his Notions b... of the Victories were d... Master, enriching them... becoming the Patrons... View they frequently fir... West, and to the South... tries between the *East* an... of these Discoveries the... Spain, of which we shall... in another Place. But... by this means, made, th... was, the sinking of the... *Mendoza*, about the Year... the *Spaniards* had very... them all by express Order... *Sir Francis Drake* into the... was blown over, the Deliv... vived; and this Captain... Two Voyages for that... the Sixteenth Century; b...

filed in the original Voyage in Dutch, and I knew no Right I had to change the Expression. It is very possible that they might call these People Negroes in Opposition to the Indians of America, because their Complexions were much darker, though far enough from being quite black. Later Discoveries make these People have very different Complexions, which shews, that there are many Nations in those Parts of various Hues, that intermix with each other: and, as all Accounts agree, that these People are much better skilled in Navigation than the Inhabitants of America were at the Time that Country was first found out, it should seem, that People, who have so much Commerce amongst themselves, are worth our finding out. I say this for many Reasons, of which, at present, I shall offer but Three. The first is, that at present there is a Necessity of discovering new Trades, because the old ones seem to be most of them over-stocked. The second, that these Countries are like to take off a great Quantity of our Manufactures, the People going for the most part clothed, and are in a great measure civilized. And, thirdly, as they lie at so great a Distance, in proportion as such a Commerce increases, it must have a very advantageous Effect with regard to our Navigation and Shipping. The only Objection that can be made is, that, if the Dutch have neglected it, there is little Probability that we shall be able to thrive by it; and to this I say, we shall very soon make it appear, that the Dutch have not so much neglected as concealed it; probably for this Reason, that, being in Possession of a very beneficial Trade in the East Indies, and having the Monopoly of the Spice Trade, they are rather concerned about the preventing other Nations from falling into so beneficial a

Commerce, than inclined to pursue it themselves, as having less need of it than any other Nation in Europe. But, to put the Matter out of Dispute, and to shew, that whatever Reasons either the Dutch or Spaniards may have for endeavouring to conceal these Southern Lands, it is, however, a Matter worthy of our Consideration, to discover them, I shall, in the next Section, and by way of Appendix to this, give the Reader a very large Memorial of a Spanish Discoverer, who not only conjectured, that there were such Southern Countries, but actually saw, examined, and reported what he met with in them, and what might be expected from a Trade carried on with their Inhabitants. I must first advertise the Reader, that, tho' I place this Paper as an Appendix, yet, in point of Time, the Spanish was prior to the Dutch Discoverer; but then what he discovered was concealed for many Years, and never could come to the Knowledge of Isaac le Maire; though, since its Publication, it serves to demonstrate the Justice and Truth of his Conjectures. Another Reason for my bringing this Memorial in here, rather than postponing it until we come to treat of the Southern Parts of America, is, because it gives great Light to our subsequent Circumnavigations, many Passages in which would be scarce intelligible without it. It is certainly right to be very careful in respect to Method, especially in Works of such an Extent as this; but as this Rule is founded on the Necessity of making Things clear, by placing them in such a manner as that they may reflect Light upon each other, the very same Reason obliges us to dispense with the strict Prosecution of our Plan, when such a Deviation contributes more to the Reader's Information, than the contrary Practice would have done.

SECTION X.

The Voyage of Don PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS, for the Discovery of the Southern Continent and Islands.

1. The constant Practice of the Spanish Viceroy's in the last Age to make their Court to their Masters, by endeavouring to make Discoveries.
2. Don Pedro Fernandez de Quiros employed to this Purpose by the Viceroy of Peru, and afterwards solicits the Settlement of the Countries he discovered at the Court of Spain.
3. His Description of the Country and People.
4. The Beauty, Excellence and Wholsomeness of the Climate.
5. An Account of his taking Possession of this Fourth Part of the World, which he is pleased to call La Australia del Espiritu Santo, for the Use of the King of Spain, in the Author's own Words.
6. Other Arguments offered in Support of his Proposal, and their Effects.
7. The Substance of a larger Spanish Memorial, in which these Countries are more particularly described.
8. Demonstrative Proofs of the Truth of his Relation.
9. This Account of de Quiros confirmed by the subsequent Experience of later Discoverers.
10. The Reasons why the Spaniards have changed their Policy, and affect now to discourage Inquiries and Discoveries of this sort.
11. There are sufficient Motives to encourage other Nations to attempt what the Spaniards, in mere Policy, decline.

AFTER the Spaniards had conquered Mexico and Peru, they were very desirous of discovering more distant Countries; and the Projects of the famous Christopher Columbus being still talked of amongst them, and his Notions being daily better understood, many of the Viceroy's were desirous of obliging the King their Master, enriching themselves, and acquiring Reputation, by becoming the Patrons of great Discoveries: With this View they frequently fitted out Fleets to the North, to the West, and to the South, in hopes of discovering the Countries between the East and West Indies more perfectly; and of these Discoveries they sent over large Accounts into Spain, of which we shall have Occasion to speak copiously in another Place. But, of all the Discoveries that were, by this means, made, that which occasioned most Discourse was, the finding of the Islands of Solomon by Alvarez de Mendosa, about the Year 1527. concerning which Islands the Spaniards had very distinct Accounts, but destroyed them all by express Order from Spain, on the Coming of Sir Francis Drake into the South Seas; but, after that Fear was blown over, the Desire of finding those Islands was revived; and this Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros made Two Voyages for that Purpose, about the latter End of the Sixteenth Century; but the exact Time does not appear.

We know however, that he was patronized and protected by the Viceroy of Peru.

2. This Gentleman Don Pedro made a Voyage to Spain, where, in the Year 1609. he presented several Memorials to the Court, desiring Assistance for the Conquest and Settlement of these new-found Countries, in respect to which, he avers, that he had spent great Sums of Money in Fourteen Years Time, and had travelled 20,000 Leagues by Sea and Land, in order to bring this Discovery to bear. It is from this Memorial, of which there are still several Copies remaining, some larger, and some more concise, that we are enabled to give any Account of his Discoveries. In this Memorial, he first represents to his Catholic Majesty, that the Continent he desired to settle was equal in Bigness to Europe and the Lesser Asia taken together, lying all in the Torrid Zone, and therefore, in his Opinion, like to be extremely rich. He says, that it ought to be esteemed the Fourth-part of the Globe; but, in this respect, his Meaning is not very clear. The best Interpretation, that I have met with, is this; That he reckons Europe, Asia and Africa the First Part; the East Indies the Second; America the Third; and this new-found Country the Fourth. As for the Extent of it, he speaks partly from his own Knowledge, but mostly from Conjecture, having discovered only

only that Part, which lay in or near 15° South Latitude.

3. As to the People, he reports, that they were of various Complexions; some white, some black, some tawny: But is positive, that the Country he saw was very well peopled, and very well cultivated; the Inhabitants generally of a quiet and peaceable Disposition, having many Canoes, and other Vessels, in which they transported their Commodities from one Place to another. He describes very particularly the Plants, Trees, Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, of this Country, affirming, that it produced all Things necessary to human Life within itself, together with Gold, Silver, Pearl, Nutmegs, Maize, Ginger, and other Spices for Exportation, abounding likewise with vast Quantities of Sugar-canes, very large, and excellent in their Kind. He describes particularly the Bay of *St James* and *St Philip*, which, he says, is very large, as well as very safe and commodious. Another Haven he mentioned, to which he gave the Name of *La Vera Cruz*, capable, according to his Account, of holding 1000 Ships, with safe Anchorage every-where. This Haven, he adds, is in the Neighbourhood of Seven fine Islands, One of which he had viewed and surrounded, finding it about Fifty Leagues in Circumference; and this Haven, according to his Account, lies in 15° 40' South Latitude. He expatiates on the many Advantages that might arise from a Settlement there; and insists particularly on its being the properest Means for uniting the large Dominions, which his Catholic Majesty had already acquired, as well in the *East Indies*, as in *America*, as lying between both, and affording thereby an Opportunity of carrying on an easy and beneficial Trade with either: All which he offers to demonstrate at large to such Commissioners, well skilled in these Matters, as his Majesty should be pleased to appoint. But whether, in consequence of these Memorials, any such Commissioners were appointed, or whether, in pursuance of their being appointed, these Projects of Don *Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* were examined and approved, we have no kind of Proof.

4. After insisting on the Fertility of the Soil, the Convenience of the Ports, and their commodious Situation, he commends the Wholness of the Air, which he declares to be such, that, notwithstanding he had a considerable Body of Men, who, like himself, were Strangers to the Place, exercised, while they were there, with continual Labours, exposed constantly to the open Air, often hot, and sometimes exposed to the cold Dew; yet were none of them taken sick. As to the Natives, they found them strong, healthy, and many of them very old, tho' they laboured hard, and lay upon the bare Ground; which, as he very justly observes, is a pregnant Instance of its Wholness, since, if it were a moist, marshy Soil, like that of the *Philippines*, the Inhabitants would certainly raise their Dwellings upon Piles of Wood, as is usual in those Islands. He likewise takes notice, that Flesh and Fish were often kept there Two Days, and were perfectly sweet. The Fruits of that Country, gathered green, he carried back with him to *Mexico*, found, and well tasted. Besides all these Blessings, enjoyed by the Southern Continent in common with other fruitful Countries, he remarks the following Pterogatives, which distinguish it from, and render it superior to, any of the Provinces of either of the *Indies*, such as that there are no Thistles, Briars, or Thorns, that grow there; no Fens or Marshes; no Snow upon the Mountains; no standing Waters in the Fields or Meadows; no Serpents, or venomous Creatures of any Kind, in the Grass or Woods; no Crocodiles in the Rivers; no Worms among their Corn or Grain; no Gnats, stinging Flies, or any other Vermin whatever: For these Reasons, he makes no Doubt, that it ought to be preferred to all the Conquests made by the *Spaniards* in either of the *Indies*.

5. The Account he gives of his taking Possession of this fourth-part of the Globe is very remarkable, and therefore I shall give it the Reader in his own Words, which may serve as a Specimen of the whole Performance, and convince the Reader of the Expediency of giving him an Extract only of the rest. "Such, Sire, says he, in the Seventh Article of his Memorial, are the Greatness and Goodness of the Countries which I have discovered, of which I have already taken Possession in the Name of your Majesty, and un-

der your Royal Banner, as appeareth by the Acts, which I keep safely in my Power, whereunto I proceeded after this ensuing Manner: First, (Sire) we erected a *Crois*, and built a Church, in Honour of our Lady of *Loretto*. Then we caused Twenty Masses to be celebrated there; and our Troops made haste thither, to gain some Indulgences granted on *Whitsunday*. We also made a solemn Procession, and observed the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament, the which was carried in Procession, your Banneret being ever displayed, and marching before it, thro' a great Circuit of Countries, which were honoured with the Presence of the same. In Three several Places we set up our Title, in every One of which we prepared and erected Two Columns, with the Arms of your Majesty tricked and garnished thereupon; so that I may, with good Right, affirm, that, since this will challenge to be One of the Parts of the World, the Impreiss of *Pius ultra* is accomplished; and, because it stretched unto the Continent, whether it be forward or backward can be no great Matter. The Bounds of your Dominions are, with much Spaciousness, enlarged. Now, all this which I have performed, receiveth its Root from this faithful Zeal, which I bear unto your Majesty, that, to all the Titles, which you already possess, you may adjoin this, which I present; and that the Name of *La Australia del Espiritu Santo* may be blazoned and spread over the Face of the whole World, to the Glory of God, who hath revealed this Country, and hath given me the Grace to guide my Course thither, and to return to the Presence of your Majesty, before whom I present and prostrate myself with the same Affection and Zeal unto this Work, which I had before, and which hath grown up with me, as it were, from my Cradle; and, for the Nobleness and Worth thereof, I do still tender and cherish the same with the greatest Love that can be."

6. In order to give still greater Force to this Memorial, he observes at the Close, that if this new-discovered Southern Country should be fought for, and seized by any of the Northern Nations, Enemies to the Crown of *Spain*, and Heretics besides, his Catholic Majesty would not only lose the mighty Advantages before mentioned, but might likewise find himself terribly distressed in both the *East Indies* and the *West*, as might engage him to spend much more to recover, than was now necessary for the securing and settling this noble Country. He likewise observes, that the Gallies were on the point of departing; and that therefore it was necessary his Majesty should take some speedy Resolution, that he might be the sooner and better able to perform all that he had promised; the rather because this was the English Memorial he had presented, and the Fourteenth Month he had spent in the *Spanish* Court, without being able to obtain any satisfactory Answer. In Return to this, he is said to have had an Order to levy 1200 Men in *New Spain* for the Execution of this Project, and to receive 500,000 Pieces of Eight for the necessary Expences of his Undertaking. But, after all, the Affair came to nothing, tho' the *Spanish* Court had then to good an Opinion of it, that they ordered several of the Memorials he had presented to be printed at *Seville* in 1610.

7. But, besides these, there is still extant a large *Spanish* Memorial, in which the Substance of what we have before related is contained, with such other Circumstances, as seem to speak it his last Effort; and perhaps it was upon that Memorial the Order was made, which is before-mentioned. In that Memorial he says, that he discovered 20 Islands, the Names of which he mentions, besides the Country before described, in which is *Bahya de Sant Felipe y Sant Iago*, i. e. the Bay of *St Philip* and *James*; and *Puerto de la Vera Cruz*, i. e. the Harbour of *Vera Cruz*, where they staid with Three Ships Thirty-six Days. He believed they were all one Country, from their high and double Mountains, and by the Greatness of the River *Jordan*; which appeared from an Information lodged at *Mexico*, to which he refers. He says further, that, in the Isle *Taumaco*, which is 120 Leagues from *Mexico*, they staid Ten Days; and a Lord of that Island, who was called *Tamay*, a Man of Sense, tall and full-bodied; his Colour of a Sea-ware, or reddish; grey-eyed; with an high Nose; his Beard and Hair curled; of a grave Aspect; was of great Service to them, with his People,

in helping them and converted by *St James* were other Islands round about Sixty of them; They lay from South to the large Islands he mentioned; and, for Arms, and, pointing lying his Head upon would be Ten Weeks were People of all Colours and Cannibals; which next Day, he saw many in the same Account; Ibes, Fowls and Swine grunting, &c. to make expressions to them; and said, they had of them and might be depended upon; they took Food were drowned in (twice called *Pedro*, came to upon asking him Questions Times, he never contradicted himself. *Elayana*, greater than from it. He said it was Fruit. The Natives work Hair; yet some Melattoes, with half curled. In this Island Pearl of several Sizes, i.

8. He said farther, that there was another Island over Two, peopled with *Spaniards*, with red and another Island called *Tu Salago*, was a great Country who were fair, as a Country, full of Rivers and Canoes. He talked of other Advantages of that west thither in a great good Harbour, of a *St James*; that it was a might coast along that from *Acapulco* to *Mexico*. There, he said, are many Salago, with a stiff Gale called *Lansano*. It is full of Rivers; the Country is Natives some fair, and some *Blacks* *Pedro* and *Napone* said, that, in *Taumaco*, there been in many more Islands *Pedro*, where the People were him from thence some coloured Points. Upon said, the Points were of the Bay of *Philip* and *Jacob* heavy, some of which he their being assayed, the *Pedro* tone of these, he much of that Sort, which *Alonzo*. When he came he talked much of the *Pedro* and of the Variety of different them; and of other great them; which agrees exactly Judges, as well as the Exp

People, in helping them to Water. He came on board, and converted by Signs. He inquired of him, if there were other Islands round them, and if inhabited. He named above Sixty of them, and a great Country called *Manicula*. They lay from South South-east to North-east. To describe the large Islands he made large Circles, and smaller for the lesser Islands; and, for the great Country, he opened his Arms, and, pointing to the Sun, shutting his Eyes, and laying his Head upon his Hand so often, made out, that it would be Ten Weeks in sailing round them; in which were People of all Colours, some Friends, some Enemies, and Canibals; which he signified, by biting his Arm. The next Day, he saw many of his People in the Bay, who agreed in the same Account; and said, they had Cows and Buffaloes, Fowls and Swine; which they signified by crouching, grunting, &c. to make them sensible of what they would express to them; and, upon shewing them a Pearl, they said, they had of them; and in every thing told the Truth, and might be depended upon. When they sailed from *Taumaco*, they took Four of the Natives with them; Three were drowned in swimming, and the other, whom they called *Pedro*, came to *Mexico*; and, after learning *Spanish*, upon asking him Questions in different Companies at different Times, he never varied once in his Account, or ever contradicted himself. He was a Native of an Island called *Guayana*, greater than *Taumaco*, and Four Days Sailing from it. He said it was plain, and abounded more with Fruit. The Natives were most of his *Indian* Colour, with black Hair; yet some were white, with red Hair; some Mulattoes, with half-curl'd Hair; and some were woolly-headed. In this Island were many Kinds of Oysters, with Pearl of several Sizes, in shallow Water.

8. He said farther, that, Three Days sailing from *Taumaco*, was another Island, called *Guatopo*, greater than the other Two, peopled with some as white as the common *Spaniards*, with red and black Hair. He said, that, from another Island called *Tucopita*, at the Distance of Five Days Sailing, was a great Country called *Manicula*, inhabited by many who were fair, as well as Mulattoes. It was an high Country, full of Rivers, which could not be passed but in Canoes. He talked much of the Greatness, Fertility, and other Advantages of that Island; that he and other *Indians* went thither in a great Canoe or Periagua; and he saw there a good Harbour, of a straight Entrance than that of *Philip* and *James*; that it was betwixt four Rivers; and that they might coast along that Country more Days than in going from *Asapulo* to *Mexico*, without seeing the End of it. There, he said, are many Pearl-oysters. In Three Days Sailing, with a stiff Gale, from *Taumaco*, is another Island called *Lansiano*. It is low and plain, in which are great Rivers; the Country very fertile and populous; and the Natives some fair, and some Mulattoes. Near this are the Islands *Pilar* and *Napon*. In all these are Pearl-oysters. He said, that, in *Taumaco*, was a great *Indian* Pilot, who had been in many more Islands, and in one great Island called *Pear*, where the People were very warlike. He brought with him from thence some Fish-gigs, and Arrows which had coloured Points. Upon shewing him a Piece of Plate, he said, the Points were of that Colour. *De Quiros* says, that, in the Bay of *Philip* and *James*, were many black Stones, very heavy, some of which he carried to *Mexico*, in which, upon their being assayed, they found Silver. Upon shewing *Falco* some of these, he said, that, in *Taumaco*, there was much of that Sort, which they called *Teraque*; and also in *Manicula*. When he came to be well understood in *Spanish*, he talked much of the Populousness of their several Islands, and of the Variety of different Colours of such as inhabit in them; and of other great Countries South-east and West of them; which agrees exactly with the Conjectures of the best Judges, as well as the Experience of great Discoverers since.

9. It is a pretty extraordinary Consequence, that many People have drawn from the Negligence of the *Spaniards* in prosecuting the Discoveries of these Countries; which is, that they took these Relations of *de Quiros* for Fictions; and, upon this wise Foundation, will have us believe, that there are no such Countries as the Southern Continent or Islands by him described. This Opinion of theirs, however, is founded upon a false Fact; for his Proposals were not rejected at Court, but he met with such Delays on his Return to the *Indies*, that he died before he was able to undertake any thing. Add to this, that all who have navigated these Seas, or any Part of them, instead of confuting, have confirmed what he has delivered in relation to the Islands on this Southern Coast, and their Inhabitants. The Reader will hereafter meet with a Voyage round the World, undertaken for the Discovery of these Southern Countries by the *Dutch*, so lately as the Year 1721, wherein he will find, that they met with most of the Islands mentioned in *le Maire's* Voyage, and found the Inhabitants of other Islands, discovered by themselves, answer the Description given by *de Quiros* very exactly; for they were perfectly civilized, dwelt in wooden Houses, made use of earthen Vessels, had Flutes and Drums for Music, divided their Plantations regularly, and fenced them with Poles; all which Circumstances will be more particularly taken notice of, when we come to speak of that Voyage.

10. In the mean time, I shall conclude this Section with observing, that it has been now, for many Years, a settled Maxim in the *Spanish* Politics, not only to lay aside all Thoughts of prosecuting these Discoveries, but even to treat the Relations published of them by their best Authors as absolute Romances; and this with very good Reason: For, finding themselves so weakened, as to be no longer in a Condition to undertake any Expedition of this Nature to any great Purpose, and foreseeing, that, if they should establish themselves in Two or Three small Islands, it would only serve to encourage other Nations to dispossess them, and thereby gain not only the Settlements from whence they might be driven, but enable them to fix themselves in the Middle between their *American* Dominions and the *Philippine* Islands, to their inexpressible Prejudice, they very prudently forego a present Advantage, rather than run the Risque of such a future Inconvenience: Yet, however wise this Conduct may be in them, it is very wonderful, that other Nations should not see through it, especially at a Time like this, when an Attempt might be made at no very great Expence, and with very little Hazard, because, at all Events, our Ships might go safely round to the *East Indies*, as is evident by what has been so very lately done by Commodore *Anson*.

11. If a Project of this sort should ever come to be maturely weighed, there is no great Reason to fear, that we might find a Way to indemnify ourselves for the Loss of the *Assiento*, since, at the worst, if any Establishment could be made, either on this Southern Continent, or in some of the Islands near it, the *Spanish* Court, upon a Peace, would be glad to renew that Contract, in Consideration of our abandoning it, if that would content us; but, if we neglect this Opportunity, it is highly probable, that some other Nation will soon be before-hand with us, since there is nothing more certain, than that Schemes of this sort are daily thought of in Countries, where Commerce and Navigation are, as it were, in their Infancy, and where, as yet, the Tyranny of exclusive Companies is not known. But it is now Time to proceed in our History of Circumnavigations, and to shew how soon the Streights of *Le Maire* grew into Credit with those, who affected to doubt the Truth of their first Discovery, and who, very probably, would have buried it in Oblivion, if the Relation in our last Section had not put it absolutely out of their Power.

SECTION XI.

The Voyage of the Nassau Fleet round the Globe, under the Command of JACQUES LE HERMITE.

1. *The Motives which induced Prince Maurice, and the States, to undertake this Expedition.* 2. *An Account of the Strength of the Nassau Fleet.* 3. *Remarks on the Dutch Administration at that Time.* 4. *The Departure of the Fleet from Holland on April 9, 1623.* 5. *Accidents that befel them at their first setting out.* 6. *The Vice-admiral converts a Dutch Renegade.* 7. *A Mutiny punished on board the Overijssel.* 8. *The Fleet arrives in the Road of St. Vincent.* 9. *Description of the Islands of St. Vincent and St. Antonio.* 10. *They arrive in the Road of Sierra Leona.* 11. *A Description of Sierra Leona, and the Country thereabouts.* 12. *Anchor in the Road of Cape Lopes.* 13. *One of their Surgeons detected in poisoning several of their Men, for which he was beheaded.* 14. *Their Arrival and Transactions at the Island of Annobon.* 15. *Description of that Island.* 16. *Continue their Voyage for the Straights of Le Maire.* 17. *Their Passage through that Straight.* 18. *Observations on that Coast.* 19. *An Account of the Terra del Fuego, and its Inhabitants.* 20. *Their Passage into the South Sea.* 21. *Arrival at the Islands of Juan Fernandez.* 22. *Description of these Islands.* 23. *Disposition made for attacking the Spaniards.* 24. *Several Attempts made on the Port of Calao de Lima.* 25. *Reasons why these Attempts miscarried.* 26. *Other fruitless Attempts.* 27. *Death of the Admiral Jacques le Hermite.* 28. *They endeavour to treat with the Spaniards.* 29. *On the Refusal of the Spanish Viceroy to ransom their Prisoners, they hang them up at the Yard's-arm.* 30. *Several Disputes with the Spaniards.* 31. *The Town of Guayaquil taken by a Detachment from the Fleet.* 32. *They sail from the Island of Lima.* 33. *Make a fruitless Attempt upon Puna, which at last they burn.* 34. *Sail from thence for Acapulco.* 35. *Prosecute their Voyage from that Port to the East Indies.* 36. *Arrive at Guan, One of the Ladrones.* 37. *Proceed thence to Ternate.* 38. *The Fleet separates at Batavia.* 39. *The Admiral dies in his Passage Home, and his Ship arrives in the Texel, January 21, 1626.*

IT was observed very early, by the best Politicians in the United Provinces, that the most effectual Method of distressing his Catholic Majesty, would be the sending a Fleet into the South Seas, there to take the Ships of his Subjects, plunder the Coasts of his extensive Dominions, demolish the Strongest of his Fortifications, and thereby lay him open to the Insults of future Squadrons of smaller Force. But it was thought necessary for the Accomplishment of this great Design, that larger Ships, better manned, and provided with more authentic Commissions, than the Commanders of other privateering Squadrons, should be sent to execute this Commission. It was likewise resolved, that this great Fleet should not enter the South Seas by the Straights of Magellan, but through the new-found Straights of *Le Maire*, that they might be sooner in a Condition to act effectually against the Spanish Trade, and the Spanish Settlements. Prince Maurice, of Nassau, was then High Admiral of Holland, and at the Head of the Administration; and he concurred very heartily in this Design, advancing a considerable Sum of Money towards it himself, and affording it all the Countenance and Encouragement that was in his Power. In the Autumn, therefore, of the Year 1622, a final Resolution was taken by the States General, and their Stadtholder Prince Maurice, to put this important Design in Execution, by fitting out a Fleet, consisting of no less than Eleven Ships of War, besides smaller Vessels, and the necessary Instructions for this Purpose were given to the several Admiralties of Holland, and the East India Company, who appointed the following Commissioners to have the Care of arming and equipping that Fleet, *viz.* *Hugo Maas van Heij, Albert Joachimi, and Abraham Brunningh.*

By the Care and Industry of these worthy Gentlemen, all the necessary Preparations were forwarded with such Vigour and Diligence, that, by the Spring of the Year 1623, the Fleet was in a Condition to sail. The principal Officers were then appointed, and the Person made Choice of for Admiral was *Jacques le Hermite*, an able and accomplished Seaman, who had been long in the Service of the East India Company, was accustomed to an extensive Command, and had gone through the Hardships and Fatigues of several long Voyages. Their Vice-admiral was *Hugo Sinspennam*, a Man of a sweet Disposition, and generally esteemed equal in point of Prudence and Capacity, to the great Fault that was reported in him. The Ships fitted out by the Admiralty of *Amsterdam* were,

The Amsterdam, as Admiral, a Ship of 800 Ton, carrying 237 Men, commanded by Captain *Leenders Jacobson Steen*, having for Supercargo *Peter Wely*, *Engelbert Schutte* commanded the Soldiers on board, *Frederic van Kenegon* held the Post of Fiscal or Judge-advocate, *John van Warbeck* was Engineer of the Fleet, and *Justin van Vegelaar* Engineer extraordinary; she carried Twenty Brads, and Twenty-two Iron Cannon. 2. *The Delft*, as Vice-admiral, of the like Burden of 800 Ton, carrying 242 Men, her Commander Captain *Cornelius de Witte*, her Force Twenty Brads, and Twenty Iron Cannon. 3. *The Eagle*, of the Burden of 400 Ton, carrying 144 Men, commanded by Captain *Moyder Egbertson*; her Force Twelve Brads, and Sixteen Iron Cannon. 4. *A Yacht*, called the *Groenbound*, of the Burden of Sixty Ton, commanded by Captain *Solomon Willemson*, carrying Twenty Men, and Four Pieces of Brads Cannon. The Admiralty of *Zeland* equipped for this Expedition, 1. *The Orange*, of the Burden of 700 Ton, carrying 216 Men, having on board the Rear-admiral *John William Verscheer*, and under him was Captain *Lawrence John Quarynen*. The Admiralty of *Holland* fitted out, 1. *The Holland*, of the Burden of 600 Ton, carrying 182 Men, having on board *Cornelius Jacquet*, Counsellor to their Admiral, but commanded immediately by Captain *Marian Toll*; her Force consisted of Ten Pieces of Brads, and Twenty of Iron Cannon. 2. *The Marquis*, of the Burden of 300 Tons, carrying 160 Men, commanded by Captain *James Airmanjon*, having Twelve Brads, and Twenty Iron Cannon. 3. *The Hope*, of the Burden of 260 Ton, carrying Eighty Men, commanded by Captain *Peter Hermanjon Sobbe*, having Fourteen Iron Cannon. The Admiralty of *North-Holland* lent forth, 1. *The Constant*, of the Burden of 600 Ton, carrying 170 Men, commanded by Captain *John Eberhardz*; her Force consisted of Eighteen Brads, and Fourteen Iron Cannon. 2. *The King David*, of the Burden of 300 Ton, carrying Seventy nine Men, commanded by Captain *John Thomason*, carrying Sixteen Pieces of Brads Cannon. 3. *The Griffin*, of the Burden of 220 Ton, carrying Seventy-eight Men, commanded by Captain *Peter Cornelijon Hardekoop*, having Fourteen Pieces of Iron Cannon. The whole Force of this Fleet consisted in Eleven Sail of stout Ships, carrying 1027 Men, of which 700 were regular Troops, divided into 14 Companies, consisting of 120 Men each, and carrying 204 Pieces of Brads and Iron Cannon. The East India Company contributed largely to the Expence, their

does not appear, that was by far the most important against the Spaniards.

3. We must observe, that the History of this Expedition is so important, as far that by the Dutch, that much more than what is here related, being in fact rather the execution of the Executive Power of the Sovereignty. The King of the Netherlands, but the Neglect of the Captains for their Commissions, and Admiral, grant as well as in other Things, as well as serving the interests in the Disposition through the Difficulties of time, renders the to the great Men who great Men have arrived or intrigues, instead of Sea Affairs, the famous Min, who is not himself know how far another frequently happens, that, public, Commands are greatly to the public, he in a very narrow Circle as myself, a great deal of him, without my the untoward Accident the Overthrow of this likewise, to observe, my own Head, but of *de Witte*, the most eminent Writer of the Netherlands have thrown them in might not interfere with only to the Sense, but Historian of this Voyage proceed.

4. *The Nassau Fleet* consisted of Eleven Ships, and the Yacht, were informed, that in a very few Days Barrels of Water: which was the Reason it was resolved in Council, if possible, to *Hope* and the *Orange* had her Bow-ports closed in the latter afternoon, the whole of the *Hope*, the Captain would needs take a rest of the Fleet, in consequence was in great Danger of being in Peril for her Assistance, and taking out the gut oil, a Fleet. *May 2* they they hired the *Eagle*, following in order to be Spices being left to have entered, half and to Sea. On the 8th, but the Wind dying without the *Neddes*, in *Graveland*, the latter and the former on the

In the Night betwixt having given Order sailing, by some Acc

does not appear, that they equipped any Ships. This Fleet was by far the most considerable that had been hitherto sent against the Spaniards in the *West Indies*.

3. We must observe, in order to the perfect understanding the History of this remarkable Voyage, the most important far that ever was undertaken into those Parts by the *Dutch*, that the Government of *Holland* differed much from what it was before, or what it has been since, being in fact rather a Monarchy than a Republic, the Prince of *Orange* doing all, but in the Name of the States; the executive Power, under colour of Necessity, and upon Pretence of taking care of the Public, having usurp'd the Sovereignty. The Reader may very well wonder at seeing such an Introduction as this to a Voyage round the World; but the Necessity of the Thing must excuse it. Most of the Captains, and other Officers, stood indebted for their Commissions to Court Favour; Prince *Maurice*, a Land Admiral, granted them; and he had in View in this, as well as in other Things, the establishing his own Power, as well as saving the State. There is a certain Ruggedness in the Dispositions of Men, who are best suited to go through the Difficulties of such Commands, which, at the same time, renders them very unfit for making their Court to the great Men who bestow them, especially if those great Men have arrived at their Stations by Birth, Interest, or Intrigues, instead of Service. For it is with respect to Sea Affairs, the same as with regard to other Affairs, no Man, who is not himself versed in them, can pretend to know how far another understands them; and hence it frequently happens, that, without any ill Intention towards the Public, Commands are bestowed in such a manner, as turn greatly to the public Prejudice. These Reflections, which lie in a very narrow Compass, will save the Reader, as well as myself, a great deal of Trouble, because they will enable him, without my Assistance, to account for most of the untoward Accidents which happened in, and proved the Overthrow of this Expedition. It may not be amiss, likewise, to observe, that I do not make these Remarks of my own Head, but on the Authority of the famous *John de Witte*, the most celebrated Statesman, the most accurate Writer of the Nation, whom they concern; and I have thrown them into a separate Paragraph, that they might not interfere with a Relation, in which I keep not only to the Sense, but use the very Words of the original Historian of this Voyage, to which we may now safely proceed.

4. The *Nassau Fleet*, as it was called, sailed from the *Goeree* on April 29, 1623, consisting of the Admiral, Nine Ships, and the Yacht. In the Evening, on the 30th, they were informed, that the *Eagle* had sprung a Leak; and that, in a very few Hours time, they had pumped 3000 Barrels of Water: About the same time, the *Orange*, which was the Rear Admiral, joined them. On May 1, it was resolv'd in Council to put into the *Isle of Wight*, in order, if possible, to stop the Leak in the *Eagle*. The *Hope* and the *Orange* running foul of each other, the former had her Bow-sprit very much damaged, and the Mizzen-mast of the latter came by the Board. In the Afternoon, the whole Fleet anchored at *Portsmouth*, except the *Hope*, the Captain of which, out of pure Vanity, would needs take a Course different from that of the rest of the Fleet, in consequence of which, he run ashore, and was in great Danger of perishing; but the Vice-admiral going in Person with all the Shallops of the Fleet to her Assistance, and taking out the Guns, lightened the Ship so, that she got off, and the Night following joined the Fleet. May 2, they anchored under *Coxes Cattle*; there they laid the *Eagle* on shore, and found the Leak to be owing merely to bad Management in Building, such Spikes being left between the Seams, that a Knife might have entered, flat and all. By the 6th, she was fit to put to Sea: On the 8th, they sailed from the *Isle of Wight*; but the Wind dying away, they were forc'd to anchor without the *Needles*, in order to wait for the *Orange* and *Greenland*, the latter of which joined them on the 9th, and the former on the 4th.

In the Night between the 13th and 14th, the Admiral having given Orders for firing a Gun, as a Signal for sailing; by some Accident or other in the charging, it

burst, blew up part of both Decks, demolished all the Cabins that were near it, and sent Numbers of the Seamen's Chests into the Air. It was a Gunner's Mate who fired it, and who was so lucky as to escape without the least Hurt; but another of the Gunner's Crew, who was near him, had his Arm broke in Two Places, and died soon after. The 20th, they were in the Latitude of 40 40', and the same Day the Admiral gave Orders, that the Ships should extend themselves, but so as not to lose Sight of him, in order, if possible, to meet with the Plate Fleet, but were every Night to return to the Flag. On the 30th, it was resolv'd in Council to keep as near as possible the *Spanish Coasts*, in order to take some Prizes, that they might be the better inform'd as to the Situation of Things, when that Plate Fleet was expected, and what Course it was like to hold, that they might regulate their own Proceedings accordingly.

6. On the 31st, they spoke with Three *Turkish* Corsairs, who inform'd them, that they had been chased by Six *Spanish* Men of War off Cape *St Vincent*. In the Evening they spoke with Two other Corsairs, of which One was so far engag'd in the *Dutch* Fleet, that the *Concord* oblig'd her to bring to, and the Captain of her was order'd on board the Admiral. On June 1, the same Captain return'd, and demand'd from the Admiral the Restitution of Five Slaves, which he said were carried off by the Vice-admiral's Shallop, when he board'd him; assuring him, at the same time, that he had purchased these Slaves at *Algiers*: But when this Matter came to be examined, and the Five Slaves were produced, they prov'd to be honest *Dutch* Sailors, who assert'd, that there were others likewise on board the same Ship, that had been taken on board Merchantmen bound for the *Levant*. As, in consequence of the Treaties subsisting between the States General and the Regency of *Algiers*, these Slaves ought to have been set at Liberty, they sent for the rest from on board the Ship, and charged the Captain with a Letter to the *Dutch* Consul at *Algiers*; but he could not be persuaded to think this a reasonable Equivalent for so many able Seamen, which, however, he was oblig'd to part with, and they were enter'd on board several Ships, and were allow'd present Pay. On the 14th, at Break of Day, they chased Ten Sail of Ships, with armed Shallops, of which they took Four, Three of them small Barks, and the other a little Ship. On board this last, there were some Prisoners of Distinction; amongst the rest a Priest, and a *Spanish* Nobleman, whose Name was *Augustino Oforio*. This little Squadron was homeward-bound from *Fernambuco*, laden with Sugar; where they took in the *Spanish* Nobleman, who had relid'd long at *Peru*, and who had travelled by Land to *Buenos Ayres*, in order to meet with this Passage Home. On the 7th, while they were chasing a *Turkish* Corsair, the Prizes lay a little behind, which being perceived by another Corsair, he attempted to carry them off; and had certainly done it, if the Vice-admiral, perceiving his Design in time, had not bore down upon them immediately. The Corsair had, at that time, a Christian Slave at the Helm, who took his Opportunity to run the Ship on board the *Dutch* Vice-admiral, into which himself, and many of the Slaves, leaped as soon as they could. It so happened, that the Captain of the Corsair was a *Dutch* Renegade, whose Name was *Henry Hermanson*, a Native of *Encluyen*, who followed them quickly, and demand'd that they should be restored: But the Vice-admiral, instead of listening to his Request, expostulated with him on the Folly of deserting his Country and Religion; and this had such an Effect, that he sent for all that belonged to him from on board the Privateer, and agreed to go along with the Fleet, which gave no small Uneasiness to the *Laws*, who, by this means, lost Seventeen good Men, and their Captain.

7. On the 8th, a Council was call'd on the Report of this Captain, that there were no less than Fifty *Spanish* Men of War in those Seas. In this Council it was strongly argued, that, as their Ships were deep-laden, so that it was impossible to make any Use of the lower Fire of Guns, without removing many Things that were necessary for the Voyage, which must be likewise greatly retarded, in case they remained longer upon that Coast, a Resolution was thereupon taken to bear away immediately for the *Road*

Sofia, where there were several *Dutch* Ships, in order to put on board them the Merchandise taken in the Prizes, that it might be immediately transported to *Holland*. On the 12th, they came to an Anchor in that Road, where they found the *Overyffel*, a *Dutch* Man of War, and Three other Vessels of the same Nation, and Two other Ships, One *English*, and One *French*. The Captain came on board the Admiral the next Day, and informed him, that his Ship's Company had mutinied, and had deprived him of his Command. The Admiral immediately ordered the Authors of this Disturbance to be put in Irons on board his Ship, directing, at the same time, the *Overyffel* to take the best Part of the Sugar on board, and to prepare for her Return to *Holland*. It was resolved also to send back with her the Yacht called the *Greyhound*, on account of her heavy sailing, and to keep the little *Spanish* Ship in her Head, on board which were put the Captain of the Yacht, and his Crew. They likewise resolved to keep another of the *Spanish* Vessels, because she was new, well built, and a good Sailor, and because they were but indifferently provided with Yachts. On the 18th, the Prisoners from on board the *Overyffel* were examined; and, the Captain having desired Seven Officers of the Fleet to assist him, they were brought to their Trials on the 21st, when Four, who were fully proved to have formed a Design of running away with the Ship, were hanged at the Yard's-arm; and Three more, who were deep in the Mutiny, but not the Authors of it, were first Keel-hawed, and then put on board the Fleet to serve without Wages. To speak the Truth, however, one great Cause of this Mischief was, the Captain's not knowing well how to maintain his Authority. On the 24th, the Fleet sailed out of *Sofia* Bay, consisting now of Sixteen Sail; and, in the Evening, the *Overyffel*, the *Greyhound*, and the Two Barks, quitted the rest, in order to return to *Holland*.

8. On July 5. the Fleet anchored in the Road of *St. Vincent*, which is extremely safe and commodious; and, as it was well known, that the rainy Season would not commence there in a Month, and that it already began to rain at *Sierra Leona*, it was resolved to disarm the Ships here, and to do every thing that was intended to be done there, except taking in Water, which could not be done, because the Hoops of their Water-casks were bad, and there was no Wood in that Neighbourhood to repair them. The Rear-admiral was thereupon ordered to go to the Island of *St. Antonio* with Three Shallops, and to carry with him some of the *Portuguese* Prisoners, to try, if possible, to obtain Leave to gather Lemons and Oranges by fair means, since otherwise they must be taken by foul. It was also resolved, that all the sick Men should go on shore, and the Two Companies should be left there as a Guard, and be regularly relieved once a Week; they likewise dug a Well on Shore, which soon furnished them with good Water. On the 7th, the Rear-admiral returned from *St. Antonio*, and reported, that he had been very well received by the Negroes, who shewed him vast Quantities of Oranges and Lemons, together with Fig-trees, the Fruit of which were not ripe. They likewise put into his Hands Four Letters, the last of which was dated from on board the *Leyden*, all certifying, that the *Dutch* Ships, which at any time put in there, had been received well. On the 9th, there was a Sermon preached in the Island of *St. Vincent*. They took there every Night a great Number of Tortoises, and as much Fish as they could tell what to do with; but they found it difficult to get any Goats at first; but by degrees they grew better acquainted with the manner of hunting them, and every Ship got at least Fifteen or Sixteen in a Day for the Use of the Company. On the 22d, the Vice-admiral embarked on board the new Yacht, which was now called the *Greyhound*, taking with him Two armed Shallops, and all the Prisoners, except the *Spanish* Count *Oferio*; these they landed on the Island, giving them their Liberty, and allowing each Man Twelve Reals, that is, about an *English* Crown, for his Subsistence. Here they supplied themselves with about 22,000 Oranges, and left a Letter with the Negroes, in the nature of a Certificate of their good Behaviour. On July 25. they sailed from these Islands, in order to prosecute their Voyage.

9. The Islands of *St. Vincent*, and *St. Antonio*, are situated the farthest to the West of all the Islands of the *Cape de Verd*; they lie from $16^{\circ} 30'$ to 18° North Latitude, at the Distance of about Two Leagues from each other. The Bay of *St. Vincent*, where they anchored, lies in $16^{\circ} 50'$; they found 18, 20, and 25 Fathom Water, the Bottom being a firm Sand. The Island of *St. Vincent* is rocky, barren, and uncultivated, having very little fresh Water. They found, however, a small Spring, which might have served Two or Three Ships; but, by digging Wells, they obtained plenty of Water, which they thought tolerable, though it was somewhat brackish, to which they attributed the bloody Flux, that began soon after to reign in their Fleet. The Goats there are very fat, and the best-tasted in the World. The Tortoises they took were from Two to Three Feet long, and they caught them as they came ashore to lay their Eggs, which they cover with Sand, and then leave them to be hatched by the Sun. The Season of their laying is from *August* to *February*; all the rest of the Year they remain in the Sea. The Sailors esteemed them a wholesome and pleasant Food, tasting rather like Fleth than Fish. This Island is absolutely desert, but once a Year the Inhabitants of *St. Lucia* come thither, in order to catch Tortoises for their Oil, as also to hunt Goats for the sake of their Skins, which they send to *Portugal*, and the Fleth they carry to *St. Iago*, where it is salted, dried, and exported to *Brazil*. There are no Fruit-trees in this Island, except a few wild Figs, which grow in the very Heart of it; and the only Product of the Island, besides, is *Coloquintida*, which is a very rough Purge. The Country is excessively dry, excepting the rainy Season, which begins in *August*, and ends in *February*, though not very regularly. The Island of *St. Antonio* is inhabited by Negroes, to the Number of about 500, Men, Women, and Children; they live there as well as in the other Islands, chiefly upon their Goats. There is a little Cotton, and but a little. On the Sea-side there is a vast Plantation of Oranges and Lemons, where they can gather 50,000 in a Season. The Negroes very readily trucked them for Mercury Goods; they saw neither Hog, Sheep, or Fowl, upon the Island. On the 4th of *August*, they found themselves in $11^{\circ} 30'$ of Latitude, the Wind at South-west. They endured, from the Time they sailed from the Island of *St. Vincent*, continual Rain; the Inconveniences arising from which, joined to the Effects of the bad Water they drank there, occasioned an epidemic Disorder, which carried off abundance of People.

10. On the 11th, they saw the high Coast of *Sierra Leona*; and, on the Eleventh, they anchored in the Road, and the Vice-admiral went ashore in order to find a proper Watering place, and where they might hale the *Greyhound* on shore, to stop her Leak. When he came back, he brought with him some Negroes, who desired to see what Ships they were that lay in their Road, leaving Part of his Crew as Hostages. On the 13th, the Negroes insinuating on a Pretence before they would suffer any to go on shore, the Admiral sent Two Bars of Iron, Two Pieces of Cloth, and a few Ribbands, to the King's Brother, and to the Captain of the Town, with which they were very well content. The next Day they came on board, to make a Visit to the Admiral, to whom they presented an Elephant's Tooth, and some Fowls, for which they were amply recompensed. The King's Brother had on a Suit of striped Cloth, made after the *Dutch* Fashion, with blue Breeches, and scarlet Slippers; as for the Captain, he was dressed after the ordinary Fashion of the Country, and seemed to be a Man who had his Reputation much at Heart. The 15th, some of the Crew of the Vice-admiral found some Nuts ashore that very much resembled Nutmegs, only the Kernels were somewhat bigger; they eat them, and, as they had a fine Taste, made pretty free with them; but they had scarce got on board, before one of them dropt down dead upon the Deck; and, before he was thoroughly cold, purple Spots appeared all over him; but, by the taking of proper Medicines, the rest escaped. On the 27th of *August*, the *Maurice* had like to have been lost through Carelessness; for, having careened, they got to that the Scupper-holes; and, by this means, the

had Eight Foot Water creived. On the 28th, did allo the Clerk and S Three Seamen that ha the *Overyffel*, having t on board the Fleet, w

11. On the 4th of *Se Sierra Leona*, which is the South Side of the M itell into the Sea on th in which Ships usually 20' North. This M covered with Trees, by such as approach it Mountain of the like grow here a prodigious small kind of Lemons, and Taste; they are e able and wholesome, if arriving at the Time Inhabitants giving the pleited, they eat of the in the Gulph of *Guinea* to such a Degree, that the 5th of *September*, also at *Sierra Leona* a Ananas, plenty of all place exceedingly cou the Rocks they found eler *Englishmen*, who

12. On the 4th, the to the 18th, they saile it is looked upon as ce in the Gulph of *Guinea* but found every Day's Charts. On the 29th, t *St. Thomas*; and, on in the Road of *Cape L* there very thick, think resolved to sail to the proving contrary, dr much ado to recover t ing, both the Admiral of Sand, which occas Confusion in the Flec and Industry, both S having assisted in Per played for this Purpo men, and keep every him a Relapse, whic the Fleet endeavoured some of the Sailors ha digging Wells on the On the 7th they can on shore to put this Return, reported to t common Watering-p sufficient for the who mined to water here Island of *Annobon*, in for the Use of the sic cessively in every Ship

13. A very odd anchor here, which, mentioned. There v board the *Maurice*, and these died soon after diseases, with Circum being debated in Co the Vice-admiral and for *James Verger* the closely. This they a pole; for, notwithstanding he could not be broug had recourse to the up to a great Heig lall, having great W he not only endured them, he gave him

had Eight Foot Water in her Hold before it was perceived. On the 28th, the Captain of that Ship died, as did also the Clerk and Supercargo of the *Amsterdam*. The Three Seamen that had been punished for the Mutiny in the *Overyssel*, having behaved very well since they came on board the Fleet, were now allowed Pay.

11. On the 4th of September they weighed Anchor from *Sierra Leona*, which is a Mountain on the Continent on the South Side of the Mouth of a River, which discharges itself into the Sea on the West Coast of *Africa*. The Road in which Ships usually anchor, lies in the Latitude of 8° 25' North. This Mountain is very high and thick, covered with Trees, by which means it is easily known by such an approach it from the North, there being no Mountain of the like Height upon that Coast. There grow here a prodigious Number of Trees, that produce a small kind of Lemons, resembling those of *Spain* in Shape and Taste; they are called *Limaffes*, and are very agreeable and wholesome, if not eaten to Excess. But this Fleet arriving at the Time they were in Perfection, and the Inhabitants giving them Leave to take as many as they pleased, they eat of them so intemperately, and, in Conjunction with the bad Air, they increased the Bloody-flux to such a Degree, that, between the 11th of August, and the 5th of September, they lost Forty Men. There are also at *Sierra Leona* abundance of Palm-trees, and some *Ananas*, plenty of all sorts of Wood, and a Watering-place exceedingly convenient opposite to the Road. On the Rocks they found the Name of *Francis Drake*, and other *Englishmen*, who had been there.

12. On the 4th, the Admiral fell sick. From the 11th to the 15th, they sailed with a South Wind; and, though it is looked upon as certain, that there are strong Currents in the Gulph of *Gainey*, yet they were not sensible of them, but found every Day's Run agree perfectly well with their Charts. On the 29th, they found themselves off the Island of *St. Thomas*; and, on the 1st of October, they anchored in the Road of Cape *Lopes*; but, as they found the Water there very thick, stinking, and but a small Quantity, they resolved to sail to the Island of *Annobon*; but the Wind, proving contrary, drove them back, so that they had much ado to recover the Cape. On the 4th in the Evening, both the Admiral and Vice-admiral struck on a Bank of Sand, which occasioned a great deal of Trouble and Confusion in the Fleet; but, however, with great Care and Industry, both Ships were got off. The Admiral having assisted in Person in the Shallops that were employed for this Purpose, the better to encourage the Seamen, and keep every Man to his Duty, it brought upon him a Relapse, which he never recovered. On the 6th, the Fleet endeavoured to regain the Road of Cape *Lopes*, some of the Sailors having assured their Officers, that, by digging Wells on the Coast, they might find good Water. On the 7th they came to an Anchor, and sent a Captain on shore to put this Advice in Execution; who, on his Return, reported to the Admiral, that he had been at the common Watering-place, where there was now Water sufficient for the whole Fleet. Upon which it was determined to water here, but to proceed nevertheless to the Island of *Annobon*, in order to procure other Refreshments for the Use of the sick Men, the Scurvy prevailing excellently in every Ship in the Fleet.

13. A very odd Affair fell out while they were at anchor here, which, for its Singularity, deserves to be mentioned. There were abundance of Seamen lost on board the *Maurice*, and it was observed, that many of these died soon after they had taken the Surgeon's Medicines, with Circumstances very suspicious. The Matter being debated in Council, and the Facts clearly proved, the Vice-admiral and Rear-admiral were directed to send for *James Verger* the Surgeon, and to examine him very closely. This they accordingly did, but to very little Purpose; for, notwithstanding all their Exhortations to confess, he could not be brought to say a Word; upon which they had recourse to the Torture, directing him to be drawn up to a great Height by a Rope, and then suddenly let fall, having great Weights at his Hands and Feet; which he not only endured with Constancy, but insolently told them, he gave himself no Pain about what Methods they

thought fit to take. This Insensibility induced a Suspicion, that he had some Charm about him, which hindered his Feeling; upon which he was searched, and, in a little Bag, which hung about his Neck, they found the Skin and Tongue of a Serpent. On the 16th, they appointed another Examination, of which, when the Criminal had Notice by their coming to take him out of Irons, he sprung out of the Hands of the Men who were ordered to conduct him, and, though he was pinioned, threw himself over the Ship-side. A Trumpeter, who was near him, jumped after, and endeavoured to save him; but the Surgeon made such strong Efforts, that he had very near both drowned himself, and the Trumpeter; which a Sailor observing, threw himself into the Sea, and kept his Head above Water by Force, till the Shallop came and took them all Three up. After this Attempt, perceiving that he should be too strictly watched ever to meet with such an Opportunity again, he made the following free Confession: He said he was a Native of the City of *Louvain* in *Flanders*, descended from Spanish Parents, and a Licentiate in Surgery and Physic: That he had wilfully destroyed Seven Men, because they gave him a great deal of Trouble, in order to be the sooner rid of them; that he was resolved to attempt some extraordinary Cures; and, in case he succeeded, to demand an Order from the Admiral to dine at the Captain's Table; which Favour if refused him, he resolved to poison the Admiral, Vice-admiral, and every Officer that he suspected being against his Request: that he had resolved to make a Contract with the Devil, and, for that Purpose, had invoked him often, but without Effect; that, since he had been in Irons, he had often attempted to destroy himself; and, with this View, had tried to suffocate himself with his Pillow. There appeared strong Reasons for suspecting him of other Crimes, but, being satisfied with this free Confession, the Council, which assembled on board the *Delft*, on account of the Admiral's being very weak, passed Sentence of Death upon him on the 17th; and the next Day he had his Head struck off on board his own Ship the *Maurice*, which put an End to an Affair that had given the Officers of the Fleet a great deal of Trouble.

14. On the 20th in the Morning, they had Sight of the Island of *St. Thomas*; but the Vice-admiral being sent to examine whether there was a good Road, and proper Refreshments to be met with there, he, on his Return, reported in the Negative; and the Wind continuing contrary, the Scurvy prevailing in the Fleet, and there being little Probability of their getting to *Annobon*, the Admiral directed a Day of solemn Prayer; and the Minister had Instructions to make a Discourse suitable to the Occasion, imploring the Divine Favour towards those, who were sick in the Fleet; the Preservation of those, who were yet in Health; and the giving an happy Issue to the Endeavours of the Officers to find a proper Place for Refreshment. They then steered their Course West, in order to meet with a South-east Wind. On the 29th, to their great Surprise, they saw the Island of *Annobon*, at the Distance of about Ten Leagues to the South South-west. That which made it appear extraordinary, was their missing it when they endeavoured to find it; and their falling upon it now, when they had quite altered their Course. On the 30th, they anchored in the Road of *Annobon*; and, the next Day, *Cornelius Jacobson* and the Fiscal went on shore, where they were received with a Flag of Truce; and the Governor *Don Antonio Nunez de Matos* gave his Consent, that they should deal with the Natives freely for whatever they wanted, take in Water, gather as many Oranges as they thought fit, and that they should place a Guard of Soldiers at the Watering-place, for the Security of their Seamen; upon this single Condition, that they behaved discreetly, and did nobody any Wrong. The Shallops came on board in the Evening, with Water and Oranges. On November 1. they obtained Forty Hogs, and a considerable Quantity of Fowls, in Exchange for Salt. On the 3d, they made the Governor a Present to the Value of 300 Livres; with which he was, by no means, satisfied. Besides, some of the *Dutch* Seamen had intuled the Negroes near the Watering place, and had taken from them their Fowls, without paying them; which, with some other aggravating Circumstances,

provoked

provoked the Governor to such a Degree, that he was on the Point of arresting the Vice-admiral, and some other Officers, who were on shore; but, reflecting that they came in Confidence of the Promise he had made them, he suffered them to retire; but told them withal, that they should have a care another time of relying too much on the Word of any Officer; for that it was then in his Power to have carried them up into the Mountains, from whence all the Force of their Fleet could not rescue them, even if it had been twice as strong as it was. After this, they parted civilly on both Sides. To say the Truth, it was a great Indifference in the Vice-admiral *Cornelius Jacobson*, and many other Officers, to put themselves thus in the Power of a *Portuguese* Governor, upon his bare Word, and that without the least Necessity. In this Case therefore the *Dutch* Officers were greatly to blame, and the Governor deserved much Commendation, for not laying hold of Pretences so plausible to break his Promise. In this Island, a *Spaniard*, and a *Greek*, whom they had delivered from Slavery, deserted them.

15. The East End of the Island of *Annebon*, where the Road and the Village lie, is in $1^{\circ} 20'$ South Latitude. The Island is about Six Leagues in Circumference; the Land high, and tolerably good, inhabited by about 150 Families of Negroes, governed by Two or Three *Portuguese*, to whom they are extremely submissive. If any of them fail in their Duty, they are immediately sent away to *S. Thomas*; which is all the Punishment they have to fear; and indeed they are in the utmost Dread of it. The Island abounds in Bananas, Ananas, Cocoa nuts, Tamarinds, and Sugar-canes; but what principally invites Ships to put in here to refresh, is the great Plenty they have of Oranges. In the Three Days the *Dutch* Fleet remained here, they gathered upwards of 200,000, exclusive of what the Seamen eat on shore; and the Governor told them, that there had been several Ships there that Year, which had gathered more. These Oranges are of an excellent Taste, neither too sweet, nor too sharp, prodigiously large, and full of Juice; some of them weighed Three-quarters of a Pound, and tasted as if they had been pettumed. They are ripe all the Year round; but there is a certain Season, in which they are best, and fittest for keeping. That Season was past when the *Dutch* were there; for they were then mostly too ripe, and began to rot. They have likewise Lemons in the Island. And, with respect to Cattle, they have Oxen, Cows, Goats, and Hogs also in Plenty; which the Negroes sell for Salt. On the south-east Part of the Island there is a good Watering-place, but difficult to find, and commanded by a Stone Breastwork, from whence the Negroes might do a great deal of Mischief to any, who should attempt to water by Force. They have also in *Annebon* a good deal of Cotton, which they gather, and card, to be sent into *Perin-gal*. The Natives are treacherous, and therefore ought to be cautiously dealt with.

16. On *November* 4. they sailed from *Annebon*. On *January* 10. 1624. they were in the Latitude of $47^{\circ} 40'$ South, when they saw many Sea-news, and much Herbage floating on the Water; whence they conjectured they were not far from the Southern Continent. On the 15th, the Sea appeared as red as Blood; which, they afterwards found, proceeded from an infinite Number of small Shrimps floating on its Surface. On the 26th, being in the Height of $21^{\circ} 10'$, they had a strong Gale from the South-west, so piercingly cold, that a poor Seaman, who was in Irons, had his Legs frozen. This cold Wind lasted Twenty-four Hours. On the 28th, they lost Sight of their Bark, which they never beheld any more. There were in it Eighteen Men, Three of them *Portuguese*, and the Vessel was very indifferently victualled. They were afterwards informed, that these poor People, having, in vain, used their utmost Endeavours to join the Fleet, resolved to return to *Holland*; but, wanting Water, they entered the *Rio de la Plata*, and ran up; till they found the Water fresh; after which, they continued their Voyage, suffering incredible Fatigues, and all the Extremity of Want, till they arrived on the Coast of *England*, where, being chased by a *Dunkirk* Privateer, they ran their little Vessel ashore, and afterwards arrived safe in *Holland*. On *February* 1. they saw Land at the Distance of about Five Leagues to the South South-west,

which was *Cape de Pennas*, and which looked, at that Distance, like a Range of high Mountains, covered with Snow. It was impossible to know, whether the Entrance of the Straights of *le Maire* was properly laid down in the Charts, with respect to its Distance and Bearing, by their Navigation. The Reason was, because the Pilots had got into a very bad Custom of setting down half the Ship's Run when within Sight of Land, and doubling it when out at Sea, and apprehensive of making Land. As their Instructions restrained them from touching on the Coast of *Brazil* to the North of *Rio de la Plata*, they did all they could to discover that River; but soon found, that the South-west Winds had driven them much to the East; which ought to be a Warning to such as endeavour to pass the Straights of *le Maire*, to fall in, as soon as may be, with the *Brazil* Coast, as the most likely Way to meet with Winds favourable to their Voyage.

17. On *February* 2. they found themselves at the Mouth of the Strait, which they had never to much as suspected, it *Valentine Janzen*, the Pilot of the Vice-admiral, who had passed them in the *Spanish* Caravels, had not known them by the high Lands on the West Coast; which made him continue his Route with the Ship under his Care. The Mouth, however, is easily distinguished, because the Country on the East, which is called *States Land*, is mountainous, but withal broken, and very uneven; and the West Side, which is called *Maurice Land*, has several small round Hills close to the Shore. When they gained the Entrance of the Straights, they saw Two Ships at Anchor in the Bay, which they afterwards called *Valentine's Bay*, where they had anchored, if they had not been prevented by a Shallop from One of the Ships, which, by Signals, made them apprehend, that it was dangerous; till they afterwards found, that this was a groundless Apprehension. The Author of the Voyage observes, that, when the Reader finds they spent Nine Months in sailing from *Holland* to the Mouth of the Straights, he may be led to imagine the Voyage very dangerous, and almost impracticable; which, however, is far from being the Truth, if it be undertaken at the proper Season of the Year; for, as he observes, the *Spanish* Caravels, which passed that Strait in the Year 1620, did not fail from *Lisbon* till the Month of *October*, and, notwithstanding they remained a considerable Time in the *Rio de Janeiro*, yet they entered the Straights in the Month of *February* following. The Reason therefore that this *Dutch* Fleet were so long at Sea, proceeded from their sailing too early in the Year from *Holland*, and passing the Lane at an improper Season. Such as would make this Passage easily and certainly, should contrive to pass the Lane at the End of *October*, or in the Beginning of *November*, because then they may be morally certain of meeting with the North Wind between the Tropics; which will very much facilitate their Passage through the Straights of *le Maire*.

18. On *February* 6. they had Sight of *Cape Horn*, which then bore from them Three Leagues North North-east. On the 11th, they were in $58^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, the Weather exceedingly cold; which rigorous Season the Seamen were the less able to bear, on account of their being at Short allowance. On the 14th, they found a great Variation in the Compass; but were not able to settle it, because all the Compasses in the Fleet differed from each other; at which they were exceedingly surpris'd. In the Afternoon, the Admiral called a Council, to deliberate about the Currents, with the Advice of all the Pilots; but, at the very Instant that the white Flag was hoisted as a Signal, they discovered *Cape Horn* about Seven Leagues to the West, from whence it plainly appeared, that the Currents had driven them wrongly to the East; whereas they imagin'd they set there to the West, according to the Account given by *le Maire*; and all their Pilots had agreed, that they were then very far to the West of the Cape. On the 16th, they were in the Latitude of $56^{\circ} 10'$, *Cape Horn* lying then East. They were then in Sight of Two Islands, lying Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues West of the Cape, which were not set down in the Charts. On the 17th, the Admiral anchored in a large Bay, which they named *Nassau Bay*. On the 18th, they discovered another, in which there was very good Anchorage, with great Convenience of Wooding and Watering: This they called the Bay of *S. Peter*.

penbam, after their Vice-admiral was taking in Water, chag'd some of the *Savage* time they saw a place, who were conversably. On the 23d in the night with greater Violence belonging to the *Eagle* again, not being able to they endeavoured it all

19. On the 24th, 1624, and, coming to the Mouth of the Nineteen Leagues. The *Savages* had it grew dark, and had with their Slings, and more easy for them to had any Arms: Yet not least Injury or Intultery. Five dead Bodies found those of the Pilot, and Quarters, and the *Savage* had carried off the poles, to eat them.

20. On the 25th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 26th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 27th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 28th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 29th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 30th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 31st, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them.

21. On the 1st, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 2nd, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 3rd, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 4th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 5th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 6th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 7th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 8th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 9th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 10th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 11th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 12th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 13th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 14th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 15th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 16th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 17th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 18th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 19th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 20th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 21st, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 22nd, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 23rd, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 24th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 25th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 26th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 27th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 28th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 29th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 30th, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them. On the 31st, the Vice-admiral, in order to visit the late, since none of them.

penham, alter their Vice-admiral. On the 22d, while they were taking in Water, there arose a sudden Storm, which obliged some of the Sailors to remain on shore; and at the same time they saw a Body of Savages near the Watering-place, who were conversing with them very freely and amiably. On the 23d in the Afternoon, the Storm rose again, with greater Violence than before; so that Nineteen Men belonging to the *Eagle* were compelled to remain on shore again, not being able to get back to their Shallop, though they endeavoured it all they could.

19. On the 24th, the Shallops returned to the Coast; and, coming to the Watering-place, found only Two Men alive of the Nineteen they had left there the Evening before. The Savages had come down upon them as soon as it grew dark, and had knocked Seventeen on the Head with their Slings, and wooden Clubs; which yet was the more easy for them to do, since none of these poor Men had any Arms: Yet none of the Seamen had offered the least Injury or Insult to these Savages. There were only five dead Bodies found upon the Shore, among which were those of the Pilot, and Two Boys. The latter were cut into Quarters, and the former was frangely mangled; but the Savages had carried off all the rest, in order, as it was supposed, to eat them. The Shallops, for the future, never went ashore without Eight or Ten Soldiers on board for their Defence; but this Precaution was taken a little of the last, since none of these brutal Savages appeared any more. On the 25th, the Vice-admiral went on board the *Greyhound*, in order to visit the Coast. At his Return, he informed the Admiral, that, going ashore where he saw Smoke, he found some of the Savages Huts, and had anchored that Night in a Road, to which he gave the Name of his Ship. He also reported, that he had found the *Terra del Fuogo*, as it is marked in the Charts, divided into several Islands; and that, in order to go into the South Sea, it was not at all necessary to double Cape Horn; but that they might leave it on the South, and enter in on the East, the Bay of *Nassau* passing into the open Sea by the West of that Cape; and that he apprehended there were several Passages out of the Bay of *Nassau* into the Straights of *Magellan*. The greatest Part of the *Terra del Fuogo* is mountainous; but adorned with many fine Valleys and Meadows, watered by several agreeable Rivulets, that ran down from the Hills. Between the Islands there are good Roads, where whole Fleets may anchor with Safety, and where there is all imaginable Conveniency for Wooding, Watering, and taking in Ballast. The Winds, that rage here more than in any other Country in the World, and with a Violence not to be expressed, blow constantly from the West, and may reasonably be supposed to proceed from watery Exhalations. Such Ships therefore, as are bound Westward, ought to avoid this Coast as much as they can possibly, keeping as far as may be to the South; and it is thereby very likely they may meet with South Winds, which must bring them to their desired Port. The Inhabitants of this Country are as far as any in *Europe*, as they concluded from the Sight of a young Child; but the grown People disguise themselves strangely, by painting with a red Earth, according to their Fancies, some having their Heads, others their Arms, others their Legs and Thighs, red, and all the rest of their Body white; and many of them, from the Forehead to the Feet, have one Side red, and the other white. They are very strong, and well proportioned, and generally about the Height of the People in *Europe*. Their Hair is black, and they wear it thick and long, to make them the more frightful. They have very good Teeth, but to thin, that they are as sharp as the Edge of a Knife. The Men go altogether naked; and the Women have only a Bit of Skin about their Middles: which is very surprising, the Severity of their Climate being considered. Their Huts are made of Trees, in the Shape of Fents, with a Hole at the Top, to let out the Smoke. Within they are sunk Two or Three Feet under the Earth; and this Mould is thrown upon the Outside. Their Fishing-tackle is very curious, and their Stone Hooks very near the same Shape with ours. They are differently armed, some having Bows, and Arrows artificially headed with Stone; others have long Javelins, pointed with Bone; some again have great wooden Clubs; and some have Slings, with Stone Knives, which are very

sharp. They are never without their Arms in their Hands, because they are always at War amongst themselves; and it seems, that they paint differently, that they may distinguish each other; for the People, about the Island of *Torbaltens*, were all painted black, and so were they about the Bay of *Schapenham*; whereas those about the *Greyhound* Bay are all painted red. Their Canoes are very singular: In order to make them, they lop the Branches off a great Tree, and then bark it; the Inside they fortify with several Pieces of small Wood, and do the like on the Outside; then they cover it with another Bark; and to make it both strong and tight. These Canoes are from Ten to Fourteen and sixteen Feet in Length, and about Two Feet broad. Seven or Eight Men can go in them; and they navigate them, so as to go as quick as our Shallops. As to their Manners, they are rather Beasts than Men; for they tear human Bodies to Pieces, and eat the Fleish, raw and bloody as it is. There is not the least Spark of Religion or Policy to be observed amongst them: On the contrary, they are, in every respect, brutal; inasmuch that, if they have Occasion to make Water, they let fly against any one that is near them, if he does not get out of their Way. They have no sort of Knowledge of the Use of our Arms, and therefore do not fear them; for they would lay their Hands on the Edges of the *Dutchmens* Swords: Yet, for all this, they are excessively cunning, faithless, and cruel, shewing all the Signs of Friendship one Minute, and knocking those on the Head, to whom they shew them, the very next. There is no such thing as getting any kind of Refreshments from them, tho' such are not wanting, if they would part with them; of which the *Dutch* were very well satisfied, by seeing Quantities of Cow-dung, and finding their Bow-strings made of Ox sinews: Nay, a Soldier, who went ashore while the *Greyhound* Yacht lay at Anchor, reported to the Vice-admiral, that he saw a large Herd of Cattle feeding in a Meadow.

20. On February 27. the Admiral made a Signal for sailing; and, the Wind being North, they were in hopes of getting out of the Bay of *Nassau*; but, in the Evening, they had a Storm again from the West, which lasted all Night. On March 3. at Noon, they had an Observation, and found themselves in $59^{\circ} 45'$ South Latitude, the Wind at North-west. Almost all Navigators had been, to that time, of Opinion, that it was easy to go from the Straights of *Le Maire* to *Chili*; but that it was scarce possible to pass from *Chili* or *Peru* into the North Sea by that Streight, because, as they imagined, the South Wind blew constantly in those Seas: But they found the Case quite otherwise, since the frequent Tempests they had from the West and North-west, rendered it, beyond Comparison, more easy to pass from *Chili* or *Peru* through the Straights of *Le Maire* into the North Sea, than it was to reach *Chili* or *Peru* from the North Sea through those Straights. On the 6th, they had still strong West Winds; which gave the Admiral infinite Concern, because they put it out of his Power to comply with the Instructions given him by the States, which required him to sail, as soon as he had passed the Straights of *Le Maire*, to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; which, while the West Winds continued, he could not do. Upon this, he called a Council, in order to take some Resolution as to the proper Place of Rendezvous for the Fleet, in case of being dispersed, or of wintering, if these Tempests from the West should still continue to rage. The *Terra del Fuogo* was proposed by some; the Straights of *Magellan* by others; but, all things well weighed, the Majority were of Opinion, that it would be best to wait Two Months for better Weather, and to employ their utmost Endeavours to double the Cape, and get into the South Sea. On the 8th, they were in 61° ; on the 14th, in 58° ; and on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, they had a fair and fresh Wind from the South-east. The Weather also became warm; so that, after all these Storms and Tempests, they began to think they were got into another World. On the 24th, they lost Sight of the *Aurora*, and the *David*; so that the Fleet consisted now only of Seven Sail; and, the same Evening, they found themselves in 47° . On the 25th, having still a fair Wind, and fair Weather, they reached 45° , and were then in great Hopes of overcoming all Difficulties.

21. On *March* 28. they saw the Coast of *Chili*, lying East South-east; in the Evening they were but a League from Shore, the Coast appearing high and mountainous. The Admiral was at this Time confined to his Bed, where, being informed they were so near the Coast of *Chili*, he expressed a great Desire to have put into the Port of *Chiloe*, but declared that his Instructions would not permit him; but, on the contrary, required that the Fleet should be employed in some Action of Importance against the *Spaniards* in *Peru*: Upon which, it was resolved to proceed immediately for the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, there to make the best Preparations possible for attacking the *Spanish* Gallions in the Port of *Arica*, in case they were there, and to make themselves Masters of that Place, from whence they might be able to extend their Conquest, with the Assistance of the *Indians*. On *April* 1. being in $38^{\circ} 10'$, the Vice-admiral also took to his Bed, and appeared to be so much worn out with Fatigue, that they already conjectured, they should lose both him, and their Admiral, before the Voyage was concluded. On the 4th, about Noon, they had Sight of the Island *Juan Fernandez*, lying to the West North-west, in the Latitude of $33^{\circ} 50'$; the Admiral, fearing they might fall to the Northward, sent the Yacht before to seek for the Road. On the 5th, with much Difficulty, the Weather proving absolutely calm, the whole Fleet came safe to an Anchor in Sixty Fathom Water, in a fine Bay, lying North-west and South east. On the 6th, every Ship's Company had Orders to provide themselves, as soon as possible, with as many Chevaux de Frize, and Palisades, as they could; and the Vice-admiral, being grown somewhat better, visited all the Artillery of the Fleet. In the Evening the *Griffin* came in, which they had not seen since the second of *February*: This Vessel had been in the Height of 60° , without ever having a Sight of *Cape Horn*. The Captain declared there was safe Anchorage in *Valentine Bay* for a whole Fleet; and that the contrary Intelligence, given to the Admiral by the Shallop of the *Orange*, was against his Consent. On the 7th, the *Orange* arrived also at the Rendezvous, having, in her Passage, twice seen the Southern Continent, viz. once in 50° , and again in 41° . On the 8th, Five of the Seamen belonging to the *Holland*, being convicted of breaking into the Hold, and stealing thence several Barrels of Wine, were, for that Offence, condemned to be hanged. The Two next Days were spent in cutting Wood, and in disposing all Things on board each Ship for the intended Attack upon the *Spaniards*. In the Evening of the 10th, the Admiral was prevailed on to pardon the condemned Sailors. On the 11th, the *David* came in, and brought Advice also of the *Maurice*, both having been Five or Six Days beating about the Island, but had been hindered from getting in by contrary Winds. On the 13th, in the Afternoon, all Things being ready, they sailed.

22. The most easterly of the Two Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, which is also the biggest, lies in $33^{\circ} 40'$, South Latitude, about Seventy Leagues West from the Coast of *Chili*. The *Spaniards* call the former commonly *Isla de Tierra*, the latter *Isla de Fuera*. This more Eastern Island, where the *Nassau* Fleet anchored, is about Six Leagues in Circuit, and extends from East to West about Two Leagues and an half. The Road is on the N. E. and from thence there is a very delightful Prospect of beautiful Valleys covered with Clover. The Bottom of the Bay is either rocky, or a fine black Sand. There is very good and safe Anchorage here, in about Thirty or Thirty four Fathom Water. There cannot better Water be wished for, than is to be met with here; and excellent Fishing in the Bay of various kinds. There are many Thousands of Sea Lions, and Seals, that come daily out of the Water to sun themselves on shore, of which the Seamen killed Numbers, not for Food only, but for Diverſion: Many of the *Dutchmen* fancied, that the Flesh of these Creatures tasted like Meat twice roasted or boiled; others were very well satisfied with them, and even affirmed, that their Flesh, when their Grease and Tallow was taken out, tasted as well as Mutton. Goats there are in great Numbers, but very hard to be taken; and they are not either to fat, or well-tasted, as those of *St. Vincent*. They found abundance of Palm-trees within Land, and, near the Bay, Three large

Quince-trees, the Fruit of which was very refreshing. Other Wood, for Use and Firing, they found plenty; but met, however, with none that was fit for Malts. There were formerly Ten or Twelve *Indians* constantly here, for the Sake of Fishing, and making Oil of the Seals and Sea Lions, but at this Time it was quite uninhabited. Three Soldiers, and Three Gunners, belonging to the Vice-admiral, were, by this time, so sick of the Voyage, that they demanded Leave to stay here, and obtained it.

23. From the 11th to the 22d, they had a constant South Wind: The Variation of the Needle here was found to be One Degree and an half, and Two Degrees, towards the East. As it was impossible to know how soon they might be obliged to fight, the necessary Instructions were distributed to all the Captains, and the Fleet was directed to sail for the future in Three Divisions: The first was composed of the *Amsterdam*, as Admiral, the *Holland*, the *Eagle*, and the *Griffin*: The second of the *Delft*, as Vice-admiral, the *Concord*, the *David*, and the Yacht: The third under the *Orange*, as Rear-admiral, with the *Maurice*, and the *Hope*. On *May* 8. being near the Coast of *Peru*, they took a *Spanish* Bark, in which, besides the Captain, there were Four other *Spaniards*, and Six or Seven *Indians* and Negroes. They learned from these People, that the Plate Fleet had sailed the *Friday* before, being the third of that Month, from *Calao* for *Panama*, consisting only of Five Sail, Two Ships of War, and Three Merchantmen richly laden. They were likewise informed, that the *Spanish* Admiral was still at *Calao*, being a Ship of about 800 Ton, mounted with 40 Pieces of Brais Cannon, with Two Pataches of Fourteen Guns each, with Forty or Fifty Merchantmen of no Force at all; that all the Shipping was towed ashore, and secured there by Three strong Batteries, with other Stone-works, furnished with upwards of Fifty Pieces of Cannon, all ready prepared for the Reception of the *Dutch*, of whose Motions they had early and certain Intelligence: That the Viceroy had likewise formed Four Companies of Foot, each of them composed of Four-score Men; but the Two best Companies were put on board the Ships for *Panama*; and that the Viceroy, having the Day before received an Account of the Approach of the *Dutch* Fleet, had immediately summoned the whole Force of *Peru*; so that it was not to be doubted, that he would soon have many thousand Men in the Place. All this the *Spaniards* very readily told them; and Experience afterwards shewed, that every Tittle of this Information was strictly true; so that nothing could be happier than taking this Prize at this Time.

24. A Council was immediately called, in which it was resolved to delay the Attack no longer than till the next Day; and, as the Admiral was absolutely incapable of Fatigue, his Distemper growing daily worse and worse, it was agreed, that the Vice-admiral should command, and his Brother-in-law *Cornelius Jacobson* was appointed Detachment Major. Besides the Five Companies of Soldiers that were on board the Fleet, it was now thought requisite to have as many Companies of Seamen, under the Command of the Captains *Stolk*, *de Witte*, *Quernen*, *Ybranſen*, and *Egbertſon*; but, as there were not small Vessels enough to land to great a Body of Men, it was resolved, that the Soldiers should land first, and having fortified themselves on shore, by throwing up Retrenchments, and making use of the Palisadoes carried along with them for that Purpose, there to maintain themselves till the next Day, when the Sailors should be landed also. On *May* 10. before Day, the Vice-admiral put himself at the Head of the Soldiers, with an Intent to have landed; but, after having rowed for some time along the Shore, he was obliged to retreat to the Fleet, finding it absolutely impossible to do any thing; though, if the Troops could have been landed, there was some Appearance, that the *Indians* and Negroes would have joined them. The Admiral ordered, that the *Greyhound* Yacht should, in the Night, go in as near Shore as possible, to afford an Opportunity of landing under the Protection of her Guns. The *Spaniards*, however, were very soon aware of this; and no sooner saw her under Sail, but they threw up a Battery near the only Place where 'twas possible to land Men, which, though mounted only with Two Pieces of Cannon, by an unlucky Shot disabled

the Yacht, and disabled their discharging their Ordnance through the Sterns *Vel. Slokke*, and well armed, began to bring on board each considerable Quantity of the same time made the *Spaniards* (rather and distributed their City Sail of Merchant under the Protection of Batteries. As soon as the Fleet, what the *Dutch* began to make a dread which had, however, *Dutch* Shallops sheltered that were burning fully upon their Enemies forty ships consumed but, after the *Dutch* *Indians* and Negroes, In this hardy Enterprize between wounded, the Vice-admiral's Shallop one of the Pataches, than the rest. This A and they would have been satisfied with after it was over, the of Fire works, they h the *Spanish* Merch taken the best Part of the Care of the Morn down upon them, a Anchor, and shelter On the 13th, Captain party of her Comm the wing up a stron able to hale their S which they much w

25. The same Day rage of their Enterpr directed them, in case ploy all their Force *Spaniards* in their I they began to think Reason expressed in the Expedition in this the Port of *Lima*, a merce of the Country nations of the People brought about. The were built, were In recruited, as to the Negroes towards the be some Degree of I opportunity of proving ately formed two in *Lima*, claimed the *Spaniards*, who, promoting Savas again venty to then Count Masters. As there w up *Calao*, it was reto Ships, should cruise as he could: Yet, h pursued, they thou *Chiloe*, and, after t have been done of c fenceless as they lo extended their Con and there have acqui sufficient to have in me, for the Expen even, that they tou *Chiloe* having in it a larly fortified, and A. B. as for *Patache*.

the Yacht, and disappointed that Design. On the 14th, they discharged their Prizes, and distributed Plenty of Retrenchments through the Fleet: About Midnight, the Captains *Joh. Slothe*, and *Egherijon*, with Twelve Shallops well armed, began to row directly for the Port of *Lima*, having on board each Shallop a small Cannon, and a considerable Quantity of Fire-works. A false Attack was at the same time made to the North of *Calao*, which drew the *Spaniards* thither, while the Shallops entered the Port, and distributed their Fire-works plentifully amongst about fifty Sail of Merchant-ships, which lay there at Anchor under the Protection of the *Spanish* Admiral, and the three Batteries. As soon as the *Spaniards* perceived, by their Effects, what the *Dutch* Vessels had been doing, they began to make a dreadful Fire upon them from the Place; which had, however, but very little Effect, because the *Dutch* Shallops sheltered themselves behind the *Spanish* Vessels that were burning, and fired from thence very successfully upon their Enemies. In this Action, there were thirty or forty Ships consumed, some of which were very large; but, after the *Dutch* were retired, the *Spaniards*, with their *Indians* and *Negroes*, saved the Effects out of some of them. In this hardy Enterprize, the *Dutch* had seven killed, and sixteen wounded, the most Part of them belonging to the Vice-admiral's Shallop, which had endeavoured to board one of the *Patroches*, and thereby exposed themselves more than the rest. This Action was exceedingly bold and daring, and they would have had all the Reason in the World to have been satisfied with the Manner of its Execution, if, after it was over, they had not discovered, that it, instead of Fire-works, they had carried Hatchets, they might have cut the *Spanish* Merchant-men out of the Road, and have taken the best Part of them, with all their Cargoes. About the Grey of the Morning, nine of these flaming Ships came down upon them, and obliged the *Dutch* Fleet to weigh Anchor, and shelter themselves behind the Island of *Lima*. On the 15th, Captain *Engelbert Schutte* landed with a Company under his Command, and took Possession of the Island, throwing up a strong Retrenchment, that they might be able to hale their Shallops on shore, and careen them; which they much wanted.

25. The same Day, a Council was held on the Mismanagement of their Enterprize at *Calao*; and, as their Instructions directed them, in case of any Accident of that sort, to employ all their Force in taking Prizes, and distressing the *Spaniards* in their Trade, to the utmost of their Power, they began to think of putting this in Execution. The Reason expressed in their Instructions for their carrying on the Expedition in this manner, was, that, by thus blocking up the Port of *Lima*, and putting an entire Stop to the Commerce of the Country, a Trial might be made of the Inclinations of the People, and possibly a total Revolution be brought about. The Grounds upon which these Notions were built, were Informations that Prince *Maurice* had received, as to the general Disaffection of the *Indians* and *Negroes* towards the *Spaniards*; in which tho' there might be some Degree of Truth, yet this *Dutch* Fleet had no Opportunity of proving it: For the Viceroy of *Peru* immediately formed two independent Companies of *Spaniards* at *Lima*, dismissed the *Indians*, and raised a Company of free *Negroes*, who, proud of their Liberty, and afraid of becoming Slaves again, distinguished themselves by their Severity to their Countrymen, and their Attachment to their Masters. As there was no Need of the whole Fleet to block up *Calao*, it was resolved, that *Cornelius Jacobson*, with four Ships, should cruise to the South, and make as many Prizes as he could: Yet, had the Letter of their Instructions been pursued, they should have sailed with their whole Force to *Abaca*, and, after taking and plundering it, which would have been done of course, if it had been as naked and defenceless as they supposed it in *Holland*, they might have extended their Conquest thence to the rich Mines of *Potosi*, and there have acquired, at once, more than would have been sufficient to have indemnified the States, and Prince *Maurice*, for the Expence of this Fleet. It to fall out, however, that they found this Scheme absolutely impracticable, *Abaca* having in it a good Garrison, the Place being regularly fortified, and well supplied with every thing necessary. And, as for *Potosi*, they had certain Information, that there

were 2000 *Spaniards* there capable of bearing Arms, exclusive of *Indians* and *Negroes*: So that all the fine Projects of *Indian* Conquests formed in *Holland*, appeared to them to many romantic Dreams, that neither they, nor any else, could execute.

26. On May 14. *Cornelius Jacobson* sailed with his Detachment, composed of the *Concord*, the *David*, the *Griffin*, and the *Greyhound*, in order to sail to *la Nafca*, *Pisco*, or any other Town to the South of *Lima*. On the 20th, they converted two of the *Spanish* Prizes into excellent Fireships; and, having filled them with Powder, Fireworks, Shells, and other Combustibles, resolved with these to make an Attempt on the *Spanish* Galleon. In the Night of the 22d, two *Greeks*, whom they had delivered from Slavery, stole a small Vessel, and made their Escape to the *Spaniards*. The next Day, a rich Ship fell into their Hands, in her Passage from *Guanaquil*, on board of which were thirty *Spaniards* and *Negroes*. On the 23d, the Rear-admiral was detached with the *Maurice* and the *Hope*, with two Companies aboard, in order to make themselves Masters of the Town of *Guanaquil*, which all the Prisoners agreed was a Place of no great Strength, but which they found in quite another Condition when they came to attack it. On the 27th, they attempted to carry in their Fireship, in which they had 1000 Weight of Powder, besides Fireworks and Shells, continued by an Arch of Brick-work six Foot thick. Five Men, of whom one was the Supercargo of the *Eagle*, navigated her into the Port of *Calao de Lima*, and came close to the Side of the *Spanish* Admiral, before they discovered their Design was impracticable; and that there was a Bank between them and the Ship, which it was impossible for them to pass; and therefore, after running thro' so much Labour and Danger, they were glad to retire to their own Fleet, and it is, indeed, very wonderful they were able to do this without being destroyed.

27. On June 2. their Admiral *Jaques le Hermite* expired in the Port of *Calao de Lima*, having been in a declining State of Health from the Time they left *Sierra de Leona*, and for four or five Months had quite lost his Strength. The Vice-admiral suffered his Flag to remain flying in the *Amsterdam*, that the Enemy might have no Notice of his Death. On the 3d, they buried him on the Island of *Lima*, with great Decency, having caused all the Prizes to be adorned with Streamers and Flags, that the *Spaniards* might apprehend, the Guns fired at his Funeral were discharged by way of Rejoicing for the Success they had met with in the South Seas. On the 6th, in the Afternoon, the *Orange* anchored as near as possible to the Point of *Calao*, in order to cover the Fireship, which it was determined should make another Attempt by Day-light: Accordingly the Supercargo of the *Eagle* carried her boldly into the Port, but to as little Purpose as before; for they then discovered, that the *Spanish* Galleon rode in a Basin, so that it was impossible for them to approach her: But the *Spaniards*, guessing at their Design, fired upon them so briskly, that they were obliged to set Fire to the Train, and their Fireship blew up, without doing any Hurt to the Enemy, or Good to themselves: Such was the End of this Attempt, which had cost them so much Hazard and Pains.

28. On the 8th of the same Month, they felt an Earthquake in the Island of *Lima*. On the 13th, the *Spanish* Prisoners having represented, that the Viceroy would be willing to treat for their Ransom, it was resolved, that a Proposal of that sort should be made: And accordingly an Officer was sent in a small Vessel into the Harbour, with a Flag of Truce. As soon as the Viceroy had notice of it, he sent Directions, that the Stamen should have their Hands tied, and their Eyes covered, while they remained in the Shallop; and that the Officer, who had the Letter should be brought on shore. In the Evening, however, the Stamen were set at Liberty, and the *Spaniards* took all imaginable Pains to persuade them to remain where they were, and to enter into the Service of the King of *Spain*: But this being found ineffectual, and not so much as a single Man having listened to their Proposals, an Answer was given to the Letter, in these Words: That the Viceroy had nothing but Powder and Ball at the Service of the *Dutch*; that he would not enter into any Negotiation or

Treaty with them whatever for the Ransom of Prisoners; and that, if any presumed to enter the Port of Calao again with a Flag of Peace, he would order them to be hanged up with the Flag about their Necks. On the 14th, when this Answer was reported to the Dutch, they resolved, in a Council of War, to hang up all their Prisoners. The Reasons which induced them to so cruel a Proceeding were these: They were themselves much frightened for Provisions, and had scarce any Water left; it was therefore impossible for them to maintain these People, if they meant to keep them; and, at the same time, they had no Reason to keep them, since they were to expect no Ransom. On the other hand, to let them at Liberty, was against the Maxims of Prudence, as well as the Laws of War, since it could only serve to expose their Weakness to the Spaniards, and thereby render them the Scorn of their Enemies. On the 15. in the Morning, they put this severe Relieve of theirs in Execution, and actually hanged twenty-one Spaniards at the Yard's-arm of the Mizen-mast of their Admiral, in the Sight of an infinite Number of People who were standing on the Shore. Three old Men they sent in a Bark to Calao, with Orders to tell the Viceroy, that since they had no Quarter to expect from him; They were resolved to give none to such as fell into their Hands; and that he ought to look upon this, as the just Effect of his own brutal Maltage. In the Evening, Cornelius Jacobson returned with the four Ships under his Command, and made a very indifferent Report, to this Purpose; That he had landed on the 4th near Pisco, with much Difficulty and Danger; that, having marched within Musquet-shot of the Town, he found it regularly fortified, with a Wall round it of fifteen Feet high, and a Garrison of 2000 Men, besides two hundred Horse, that were employed in scouring the Country round it; that he was obliged to throw up an Entrenchment for his own Security; and that, after skirmishing for some Days with the Enemy to very little Purpose, he found, the best Step he could take was to embark his Troops, and retreat. He lost in this Expedition five Men killed, sixteen wounded, and had thirteen deserted; so that perhaps there never was a more disastrous Expedition undertaken with so great a Force.

19. On the 25th, they landed, in the Island of Lima, in Sight of the whole Crew of the Fleet, a Gunner, who was taken endeavouring to desert. It was now resolved, that they should proceed to Chili, because they had certain Intelligence of the Situation that Country was in: The Inhabitants had been in Arms against the Spaniards near thirty Years, having taken from them the City and Port of Baldivia, which they kept. The Chilians were, at that time, esteemed the most warlike Nation in America, acting in quite another Manner than the Indians are wont to do; for they raised Armies of 3 or 4000 Foot and Horse, the latter being much superior to the Spaniards. With these they wasted the Country, and then blocked up their Fortresses, such as were best acquainted with the Affairs of that Part of the World, were persuaded, that the Spaniards would willingly have quitted Chili, if they had not been afraid, that the Inhabitants, not satisfied with their own Liberty, would next have attempted the Conquest of Peru. For many Years, all the Recruits they were able to send into this Country were composed of Malefactors; but, a little before the Dutch Fleet arrived, they had been forced to send regular Troops from Buenos Ayres; and a new Mitchell had arisen from thence: For these People, finding themselves very ill used, and the Service at the same time very hard, had mutinied, and disposed their Officers of their Command; which had thrown all things into Confusion. The Dutch therefore persuaded themselves, that if, while things were in this Situation, their Fleet appeared upon the Coast, the Inhabitants would join them, and something might thus be made of this hitherto unfortunate Voyage; but, before this could be done, they were obliged to wait for the Maurice and the Hope, which, if they had left them, must have fallen into the Hands of the Enemies. The Scurvy prevailed all this Time in the Fleet, and especially in the four Ships that had sailed to the South, the Crews of which were so miserably reduced, that they had not Men enough to man their Shallops; so that, all things considered, they were in an hopeless Condition, and their Affairs like to grow worse,

rather than better. But, on June 26. a Swift, who was very ill of the Scurvy, took it into his Head to climb up to the very Top of the highest Hill in the Island of Lima, which appeared on every Side a bare Rock. On the Summit, however, he met with great Plenty of a kind of Herbs, with which he was well acquainted in his own Country, and by eating of which he very soon recovered. As soon as this was known, there were enough to climb that Rock; and, by this fortunate Accident, the best Part of the Fleet was saved from Death, and, in a short time, recovered Strength and Spirits. On July 18. there arrived two Spanish Delecters on a Float from Calao; one of these was the chief of the Players at Lima, and the other a common Soldier. They had, in a Quarrel about a Woman, murdered the General of the Spanish Horse; and therefore found it necessary to make their Escape. They reported, that the Town of Calao was completely fortified; that they had fourscore Cannon mounted on their Works, exclusive of those in the Ships; and that, within the Place, were forty Companies of Foot, and sixteen Troops of Horse, besides some small Bodies of Militia, which were employed to defend the Watering-places, in case the Dutch should attempt a Descent. They likewise reported, that the Maurice and the Hope had taken four Ships near the Isle of Puna, and had burnt the Town of Guayaquil, with the King's Gallion, which was upon the Stocks there.

30. From July 22. to 29. they were continually engaged with the Spaniards, who attacked them vigorously, because the Dutch, intending for Chili, were very sparing of their Shot at first; but, when they found, that this gave the Enemy Spirits, they afforded them to warm a Reception, that the Spaniards made them fewer Visits. On August 5. in a full Council of War, the Vice-admiral, pursuant to the Patent of Prince Maurice, was installed Admiral on board the Delft, and there received the Oath of Fidelity from the Fleet, the Ship's Company that lay nearest going on board first. The Rear-admiral succeeded him as Vice-admiral; and Cornelius Jacobson, who sailed from Holland with the Title of Countessor to the Admiral, was now advanced to be Rear-admiral. About Noon, the Admiral, attended by all the Shallops of the Fleet, sailed towards the Orange, in order to receive the Oath of Fidelity from her Crew, and Ships that were near her; which the Spaniards observing, attacked the Shallops in their Passage; but were so warmly received, that they were very soon glad to retreat.

31. The Vice admiral Verschoor returned soon after with the Maurice and the Hope, and one Prize which they had taken. They found three Vessels in the Road of Puna, two of which they burnt, and the third they brought with them; They afterwards ran up the River as far as the Town of Guayaquil, which they found pretty well fortified, and defended by a good Garrison; however, they determined to make a Descent, which they performed with the Loss of thirty five Men, and afterwards attacked the Place. The Dutch Soldiers, overcome by Numbers, began at first to give way; but Captain Schutte, who commanded them, desiring them to reflect, that nothing but pushing on could preserve them, their Countrymen, or the Ship, he prevailed with them to renew the Attack, by which the Town was taken: As they had but two hundred Men in all, they found it impossible to keep the Place when they were Masters of it; and, as they had not either Shallops or Boats to carry off their Booty, they found themselves under a Necessity of burning all the rich Goods in the Warehouses, of which, as it is the Port of the Province of Quito, there were many, and well furnished; and then retired with the next high Tide. The Spaniards lost 100 Men in the Action, killed upon the Spot, besides seventeen that were taken Prisoners, and whom, soon after, they threw into the Sea, and drowned, for entering into a Conspiracy against them. At Sea they met with contrary Winds, which once drove them almost as far as Arica, which they intended to have attempted; but the Wind changing again, they, with very great Difficulty, rejoined their Fleet. The new Admiral hoisted his Flag on board his own Ship the Delft, the Vice-admiral removed into the Amsterdam, and the Rear-admiral into the Orange.

32. On Aug. 14. the Lima, taking with them up for Services, and anchored the same Evening. The Admiral immediately necessary Dispositions for which Water there, which Delight they success their Troops, without the Enemy was very near toward their Course from and, on the 24th, had Clara, the Admiral det Indian notice of his Ap tention, and to gain w Situation of Things at 6 to visit once more.

33. On the 24th, at Road of the Island of rived about four Hours Mulbers of a little Bark, to have been transported all the People, Spanish so that they could gain sion of the Enemy. great Guns and Ballst crew them on shore, 28th, the Admiral rec Misfortune of a second through the Fault of fo had been defeated, and of twenty eight Men.

Report of the Officer v one half of the Comp fion, marching up the beer, moving directly Vandy, and a Desire of mander; of which the they saw some Spania However, when they march well secured in ndered them by a bri down the Hill, togeth marshing to support th but the commanding C mg that the Men were a timely Retreat: Ca last Action; notwith ourage his Men to t the Voyage, very sur to take Guayaquil, bur double the Number th and defended by a g Opinion in the Fleet had not Abilities equa living he wanted the Courage: Whatever great Impression on the three largest Ship the rest. On the 2d, at the two Wells he order to prevent the S the 9th, after much D not to prosecute their away immediately fo iced, in order to cr Expedition once over the Condition of the of this Resolution, th let Fire to the Town The same Evening, fested: They had be as well as very lobei gned, that Things be wisest Step they coul

34. On the 12th, t they were in the L they met with a Su pretty strong. On t

32. On Aug. 14. the Fleet sailed from the Island of *Lima*, taking with them their Prizes, which they fitted up for Service, and steered for the *Piscadores*, and anchored the same Evening in a Bay behind those Islands. The Admiral immediately went on shore, and made the necessary Dispositions for securing the Seamen while they filled Water there, which they found very good, and in which Design they succeeded; and afterwards re-embarked their Troops, without meeting with any Opposition, tho' the Enemy was very near them. On the 16th, they continued their Course from thence for the Island of *Puna*; and, on the 24th, having Sight of the Island of *Santa Clara*, the Admiral detached three Shallops, to give the *Indians* notice of his Approach, to assure them of his Protection, and to gain what Intelligence they could of the Situation of Things at *Guaquil*, which it was determined to visit once more.

33. On the 25th, about Noon, they anchored in the Road of the Island of *Puna*, where the Shallops had arrived about four Hours before, and had made themselves Masters of a little Bark, laden with Merchandize, which was to have been transported by Land from thence to *Lima*, but all the People, *Spanish* and *Indians*, were fled to a Man; so that they could gain no sort of Intelligence of the Disposition of the Enemy. On the 27th, they took out the great Guns and Ballast out of their three largest Ships, and drew them on shore, in order to careen them. On the 28th, the Admiral received the melancholy News of the Misfortune of a second Attempt upon *Guaquil*, where, through the Fault of some of their Officers, their Troops had been defeated, and forced to re-embark with the Loss of twenty eight Men. This Disorder, according to the Report of the Officer who commanded them, fell out by one half of the Company, commanded by Captain *Everson*, marching up the Hill without waiting for their Officer, moving directly towards the *Spaniards*, out of pure Vanity, and a Desire of beating the Enemy without a Commander; of which they thought themselves sure, because they saw some *Spaniards* run away on their Approach: However, when they got to the Top, they found the *Spaniards* well secured in their Houses, who, having first disordered them by a brisk Fire, sallied out, and drove them down the Hill, together with another Company, that was marching to support them. A second Attempt was made, but the commanding Officer, being wounded, and perceiving that his Men were discouraged, thought it best to make a timely Retreat: Captain *Sekatte* received a Shot in this last Action; notwithstanding which, he continued to encourage his Men to the last. It was, says the Author of the Voyage, very surprising, that they should not be able to take *Guaquil*, burnt, and without Intrenchments, with double the Number that had taken it, when well fortified, and defended by a good Garrison. But the prevailing Opinion in the Fleet was, that the commanding Officer had not Abilities equal to the Task; and the Soldiers, believing he wanted them, did not behave with their usual Courage: Whatever the Reason was, this Defeat made a great Impression on the whole Fleet. On September 1. the three largest Ships being clean, they began to careen the rest. On the 2d, the Admiral posted separate Guards at the two Wells he had caused to be dug for Water, in order to prevent the *Spaniards* from poisoning them. On the 9th, after much Deliberation in Council, it was resolved not to prosecute their intended Voyage to *Chili*, but to bear away immediately for *Acapulco*, as their Instructions directed, in order to cruise for the *Manilla* Ship, and, that Expedition once over, to return to the Coast of *Chili*, if the Condition of the Fleet would permit. In pursuance of this Resolution, they, on the 11th of the same Month, set Fire to the Town of *Puna*, and burnt down the Church. The same Evening, four *English* and four *Frenchmen* deserted. They had behaved very bravely in the last Action, as well as very soberly during the Voyage; but they imagined, that Things began to go wrong; and therefore the wisest Step they could take, was to flit for themselves.

34. On the 12th, they sailed from *Puna*. On the 17th, they were in the Latitude of 3° South. On the 18th, they met with a South South-west Wind, which blew pretty strong. On the 20th, they expected to have seen

the *Gallapagos* Islands; but, not finding them, they took it for granted they were wrong laid down in the Maps. On October 20. they had Sight of the Coast of *New Spain*, lying to the North-east. On the 28th, at Break of Day, they were within half a League of an Island, which lies before the Port of *Acapulco*; and, in the Evening, they anchored within Sight of the Fort which had been rebuilt the Year before, on a Point running out into the Sea, in order to cover the *Manilla* Ships, which might ride safely at Anchor under the Cannon of the Fortress. It was a regular Square, and each of its four Bastions mounted with ten or twelve Brass Cannon. On the 29th, the *Dutch* Admiral thought of a Method, by which he hoped to gain some Intelligence as to the Time when the *Manilla* Ship was expected; in pursuance of which, he sent a Message to the Governor, importing, that he had made a great many Prizes in the South Seas, and in them had taken several Prisoners of Distinction, which, as he intended to proceed to the *East Indies*, he was willing to set at Liberty, in Consideration of a reasonable Ransom; and therefore desired, that an Officer might be sent on board his Fleet, and he was ready to send another in his stead. The Governor sent him for Answer, That he would neither send Hostages, nor receive them; but that, if the Admiral had any such Prisoners, and would send them ashore, he was ready to pay him a reasonable Ransom. But, as the Admiral would not agree to that, the Negotiation ended. On November 1. the Ships sailed out of Port, and the Fortress discharged several Pieces of Cannon, but without doing them any Hurt. In the Evening, a great Detachment was sent, under the Command of the Vice admiral, to anchor twenty Leagues to the West of *Acapulco*, in order to look out for the Galleon, to give her Chace; and, if they could not come up with her, to force her into the Fleet. On the 2d, the Admiral, and the *Orange*, remaining still before the Port, the rest of the Ships spread along the Coast, that they might be sure of meeting with the Vessel they expected. On the 3d and 4th, the Shallops belonging to the Admiral, and to the *Orange*, went to take in Water at *Porto del Marques*, which is a League and a half from *Acapulco*. On the 7th, Captain *de Witte* being at the Watering place with his Shallop, the Enemy attacked his Men from an Ambuscade; the *Dutch* immediately fled to their Vessel, and re-embarked; a Soldier reached the Shore just as the Boat had put off; but Captain *de Witte* ordered them to row back, going himself on Shore to save the poor Man, which cost him a Wound in the Side, of which, however, he happily recovered.

35. On September 21. the Vice-admiral's Squadron appeared in Sight; and, on the 22d, they sent a Yacht to acquaint the Admiral, that six of their Soldiers having deserted, they had seen 600 *Spaniards* the next Day, advancing towards the Shore, who, they conceived, had a Design to surprise their Men at the Watering-place; but, by good Luck, they were all embarked. From the 24th to the 28th, the Fleet continued cruising to the Westward, in Hopes of finding the Islands called *Ladrillos*, which, in a *Spanish* Journal, were said to be 40 Leagues to the West of *Acapulco*; and that they might there meet with Water, Fish, and Potatoes, in Abundance. The *Dutch*, however, sailed twice that Space without being able to find them, which, whether it was owing to any Mistake in the *Spanish* Charts, or to the Ignorance of the *Dutch* Pilots, is uncertain. On the 29th, they burnt their two Yachts, the *Greyhound* and the *Violence*, because they could hardly swim any longer; and so resolved to proceed with all the Diligence imaginable to the *East Indies*.

36. On January 15. 1625. they saw some very low Land towards the West, over which the Sea broke with great Fury, which they took to be the Coast of the Island of *Galperico*. On the 23d, the Scurvy had prevailed to such a Degree, that they had scarce Men enough in Health to work the Ships. In the Evening of the 25th, they were on the Coast of the Island of *Guan*, one of the *Ladrones*, the Inhabitants of which came two Leagues to meet them, with all sorts of Refreshments the Island afforded, which they exchanged for old Iron. The next Morning there came off 150 Canoes, with Fruits and Garden-stuff. On the 27th, the Vice-admiral, with half the Soldiers, attempted

tempted to land on a small Island, about three Leagues to the South of the Road, but found it impracticable. In the mean time, the Rear-admiral had coasted the Bay, and found a very good Watering place. On the 28th, they landed fifty Soldiers to protect the Seamen, while they were filling Water; and the next Day it was found necessary to strengthen that Detachment, which had been in-illed by the Natives. In the Beginning of the Month of February, they brought considerable Quantities of Rice on board, and sold seventy or eighty Pounds Weight for an old Hatchet. On the 5th, the Admiral directed a general Review, when, including Spanish and Negro Prisoners, of which there were thirty-two, they found 1200 on board, by which it appeared they had lost 400 since they left Holland. The Island of Guan, which is one of those filled by the Spaniards *las de las Velas*, or *Ladrones*, lies in 13^o 40' North Latitude: The Soil is tolerably fertile; they sow Rice in several Places, and have prodigious Quantities of Cocoas. The Inhabitants told the Dutch 200 Fowls, but they would not let them have any Cattle, though they offered them any Satisfaction. The People are of a larger Size than other Indians, but very strong, and well proportioned; they are, generally speaking, painted red: The Men go stark naked; but the Women have the Seat of a Tree to cover their Privities. The Arms they use are Arquebuses, or wooden Javelins and Slings, which they use with great Dexterity. Their Canoes are very convenient, and go at a great Rate before the Wind; Neither are they afraid to put to Sea in stormy Weather; but, in case they are overtaken, turn up their Vessels again, and empty the Water in an instant. The Dutch experienced their Dexterity in another Profession, viz. that of Cheating; for when they came to examine their Balls of Rice, which they thought they had bought to cheap, they found the Inside of them Stones and Dirt: Besides, they stole every thing they could lay their Hands on. Such as land in this Island, ought to be extremely cautious how they ramble; for the Dutch, while they remained here, lost several of their People, through their own Folly in this respect. On February 14, they saw an Island, in 10^o 30', which they took to be that of *Saraba*, which it was, then it is wrong laid down in the Charts. On the 15th, about Nine in the Morning, they saw another Island laid down in the Charts, the People of which endeavoured to come out to them in Canoes with Fruits and Refreshments: They were much of the same Size with the Inhabitants of the *Ladrones*; but, the Ship sailing at a great Rate, they were not able to get on board. This Island appeared to be very populous, and extremely well cultivated, lying in the Latitude of 9^o 45'. The 20th, it was resolved in Council, that they should continue their Course South South west to the Height of 3, in order to arrive at *Giolo*, and from thence to continue their Voyage to *Ternate*. The same Day, at Noon, they had an Observation, by which they perceived, that the Currents carried them violently to the North; for the Northern Trade Wind began then to blow, the Effects of which they felt very sensibly.

On March 2, they had sight of the high Mountain of *Gammanacer*, which is on the Coast of *Moa*, at the West End of *Haromanera*, or the great Island of *Galoe*, on the West Side of which lie the Islands of the *Molucas*. On the 4th, in the Evening, they had a fresh North Wind, which carried them to *Malacca*, the principal Place in the Island of *Ternate*, from whence the Admiral sent his Sloop to *Malacca*, where the *Sourabaya* Governor of the *Archipelago*, then was, in order to give him Advice of their Arrival. The 11th of the same Month, or the 10th, according to the Computation of the Inhabitants of those Countries, the Governor came on board to visit the Admiral; and they afterwards went ashore together. On the 13th, they had Advice, that one of the Company's Ships, called the *Fidelity*, had been lost on the Coast of *Sangi*. The same Day, part of the People on board the Fleet had Orders to go ashore, and assist in demolishing the Fort of *Calamate*, which was no longer thought necessary, and consequently the Experience of it must prove burdensome to the Company. Upon the same Motive, the Vice-admiral was sent with a Detachment to run the Fort of *Wetir*, which is esteemed the third Island in the *Mal-*

laccas. On the 25th, the Governor sailed with a whole Fleet for *Macbian*, from whence, on the 26th, the *Concord* was sent to *Sangi*, in order to take up all that could be saved out of the *Fidelity*. April 4, the Fleet proceeded to *Amboina*, where the Governor *Herman van Speult* was making Preparations to go to the Island of *Ceram* for the Company's Service. On the 25th, the Admiral sent the Sloop of the *Eagle* to *Batavia*, to acquaint the Governor General of the *Dutch East Indies* with his Arrival, and the Effects of his Expedition against the *Spaniards* in the South Seas. On May 14, the Admiral, and the two Governors of *Amboina*, *Speult*, and *Gorcum*, detached two Ships, one to *Leucucu*, the other to *Cambelle*, both in the Island of *Ceram*, and followed them soon after with all their Force, where they quickly made themselves Masters of *Loulu*; after which they directed the Plantations of the *Kebels* to be burnt, their Clove trees to be cut down, and the Trees to be destroyed. On June 22, they returned to *Amboina*. On the 28th, the Admiral, and the Governor *Speult*, sailed with the whole Fleet for *Batavia*.

On August 25, Governor *Speult* left the Fleet, with the *Orange*, and the *Maurice*, in order to go to *Japara*, and the rest of the Fleet continued its Course to *Batavia*, where they arrived on the 29th; and some Days after Governor *Speult* arrived with his Detachment. As there was not, at that time, any immediate Service for a Fleet of such Strength, the Governor General and Council of the *Indies* came to a Resolution of separating the Fleet, and employing the Ships, of which it was composed, in such a manner, as seemed to them most for the Service of the States General, and the Company. In consequence of this Resolution, the Command of the *Orange*, the *Helena*, and the *Maurice*, was given to Governor *Speult*, who was directed to sail with them to *Surat*, where he was to remain as short a Time as possible, and then to continue his Route to *Holland*: The Vice-admiral *Van Keer* was detached with the *Hope*, the *Griffin*, and two of the Company's Yachts, upon an Expedition to *Malacca*. The *Engel* and the *David* were directed to remain on the Coast of *Ceramandel*; the *Concord* was refitted, in order to proceed to *Holland*; and the *Delft* and *Amsterdam* were ordered to the Island of *Onrust*, there to be careened, and then to proceed home after the *Concord* as soon as possible; so that here the Expedition of the *Nassau* Fleet was properly at an End.

On October 29, Admiral *Schepenham*, finding himself extremely ill, resolved to return Home in the *Concord*, which sailed from *Batavia* with another Ship belonging to the Company, called the *Arms of Horn*. On November 1, the Admiral died on board, worn out with Care and Labour; and, on the 25th of the same Month, he was interred on the Island of *Pulobestec*, two Leagues from *Batavia*. On January 21, 1620, they anchored in the Road of the Cape of Good Hope; and on July 9, following, they came, without any remarkable Accident, into the *Bay*, having spent in their Voyage three Years, two Months, and eleven Days. The Length of this Voyage renders it improper to dwell long upon it here in our Reflections; and yet it would be as improper to dismiss it large and to import a Piece, without making some Remarks, in order to justify the interesting here so copious a Relation. It clearly appears from hence, that, though the Dutch might be as active and as expeditious, in fitting out such Squadrons, as we yet they were not certainly superior to us in their Management of maritime Affairs. They owed the Success of this Expedition, with which such Affairs were then managed, to their having a Stadtholder; but then they owed Mistakes in the Choice of Officers, and the Occasions of other Misfortunes, to the same Cause. When private Companies of Merchants fitted out a single Ship, or perhaps two or three, for the undertaking such long Voyages, they were better managed, and turned to far better account; of which we have a pregnant Instance in that of *Le Maire*, which was executed by the Projectors, and had with a Fleety as surprising, as the Misfortunes that attended this Voyage, concerted by much greater Men, and supported by an incomparable greater Force: At the same time we must allow, that the Intention of the Voyage was laudable; but we must likewise acknowledge, that

purse right Ends by State than the absolute makes those Ends grow over, whereas the latter, well aware, that all this the Situation of things much changed between *Speult*, undertook out of this Fleet; and made by Sir *William*. Judges of Naval Affairs, we ought to consider, I have fallen under Management of this Del without which they could not; and, if they failed to great an Error ever, go further, and Experience, question in questioning, which, in the *West India*, but, whether their Enable them to have had been properly could be allowed, since the strongest Places in the of *Lana*, in spite of going, however, out that it was not want of hindered it from succ *Caniquil*, half the Nu Place, well fortified, w other Officer, failed o were destroyed. It ap of their Admiral, then that they knew not v going first from *Puna* turning to *Chib*, was some of the best Mer was known: From a wrong Choice of Offic the Excels they were ditions; inasmuch th undertaken of the like Circumstances in this ation, such as the ext in the *East Indies*, th for the Service of the useless, and at a large a right Corresponden *Holland*, and the Seve Distribution of the I mention this the rat in the World, be where there are so m ordination in Comm suffers without any be if anything is done must be attended with

1. The Occasion of Departure from *Horn*, to the Description of the *Cowley* goes as they prodigious Stay at that Canton, in China and gets a Pass. Vol. I

purfue right Ends by wrong Measures, more fatal to a State than the absolute Neglect of them; ſince the former makes thoſe Ends grow into Diſrepute with the People for ever, whereas the latter occasions only a temporary Sufficiency of the Endeavours to attain them. I am very well aware, that all this may be excuſed by obſerving, that the Situation of things in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* was very much changed between the Time that *Drake*, *Candijh*, and *Spilberghen*, undertook their Expeditions, and the fitting out of this Fleet; and, indeed, this very Obſervation is made by Sir *William Monſon*, who was one of the beſt Judges of Naval Affairs that our Nation has to boaſt: But ſtill, we ought to conſider, that the firſt thing which ſhould have fallen under the Care of thoſe truſted with the Management of this Deſign was to obtain proper Intelligence, without which they could not reaſonably expect any Succeſs; and, if they failed in this, they ought not ſurely to pretend to great an Error as a legal Excuſe. We may, however, go farther, and, from the Lights afforded us by Experience, queſtion the Truth of the Fact: I do not mean queſtioning, whether the *Spaniards* fortified themſelves in the *Weſt Indies*; for that, no doubt, is true; but, whether their Fortifications were ſuch as might enable them to have withſtood this Force, ſuppoſing it had been properly conducted: And this, I think, cannot be allowed, ſince the *Buccaniers* long after took the ſtrongeſt Places in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, even the City of *Lama*, in ſpite of the whole Force of *Spain*. Without going, however, out of this Voyage, it is eaſy to ſhew, that it was not want of Force, but want of Conduct, that hindered it from ſucceeding; ſince, in the Inſtance of *Gataquel*, half the Number, under one Officer, took the Place, well fortified, which double the Number, under another Officer, failed of taking when thoſe Fortifications were deſtroyed. It appears likewiſe, that, after the Death of their Admiral, their Councils grew unſteady, inſomuch that they knew not what to undertake. The Project of going firſt from *Pana* to *Acapulco*, and from thence returning to *Cebu*, was ſo wild and abſurd, that, as we ſee, ſome of the beſt Men in the Fleet deſerted, as ſoon as it was known: From all which we ought to infer, that a wrong Choice of Officers was the Ruin of this Voyage, as the Exceſs they made ruined the Credit of ſuch Expeditions; inſomuch that we never hear of another being undertaken of the like kind. There are, however, ſome Circumſtances in this Voyage worthy of great Commendation, ſuch as the extraordinary Care taken of the Fleet in the *Weſt Indies*, that it might be immediately employed for the Service of the Company, without remaining there uſeleſs, and at a large Expence to the State. This ſhewed a tight Correſpondence between the trading Intereſt of *Holland*, and the Sovereign Authority, without which this Distribution of the Ships could not have been made. I mention this the rather, becauſe there are other Countries in the World, beſides *Holland*, that depend on Trade, where there are ſo many Diſtinctions, and ſo little Subordination in Command, that Commerce very frequently ſuffers without any body's being called to Account; and if any thing is done for its Advantage and Security, it muſt be attended with ſome ſort of Perquiſite, as if the

Commerce of the State was not its moſt important Concern, but Naval Commands were beſtowed for the Advantage of private Families, and to give particular Men a legal Authority to domineer over 2 or 300 of their fellow Subjects. The laſt thing I ſhall take notice of, in this Expedition, is, that it affords the cleareſt Proof, that the States General of the United Provinces did not intend, that their excluſive Charter to the *East India Company* ſhould hinder the coming of their Ships into the *East Indies* upon their lawful Occaſions, and without any Deſign of prejudicing the *East India Company's* Trade; for, otherwiſe, they would have directed this Fleet, by their Inſtructions, to have returned by the Streights of *Magellan*; for, at the time of their letting out, it was a thing taken for granted, that there was no returning through the Streights of *le Maire*; though, as it appears from this Voyage, that was a groundleſs Notion, as many ſpeculative Points in Navigation are daily found to be. To conclude, the Freedom and Plainneſs with which this Relation is penned, deſerves the greateſt Applauſe. There are ſome Countries in which Liberty is as much talked of as in *Holland*; where, if a Man had cenſured the Conduct of Commanders, and laid open the Caules of a Miſcarriage of this Nature, with as little Reſerve as this Writer has done, it would be conſidered as an affront to the Government, and, what is worſe, reputed, if not treated, as a Libel. Yet nothing is more certain, than that, in ſuch Countries, one Miſcarriage begets another, till at laſt either the State is undone, or the Government altered, which are certainly Miſchiefs, that deſerve to be better guarded againſt than the ſuppoſed Inconveniencies flowing from ſuch free Remarks. It is impoſſible, that Errors ſhould be corrected, where it is penal to diſcover them; and it is as impoſſible, that ſuſpicion ſhould be avoided, where Inquiries are diſcouraged. In the preſent Caſe, it was not only the absolute Lots of the immense Sum that this Expedition coſt, that fell upon the Subjects of the Republic, but the Lots alſo of their Hopes, and of that Spirit which had been raiſed of indemnifying themſelves from the Expences of a conſuming Land War, by the Advantages that might have been gained by a proper Application of their Naval Force in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*. The Neglect of this brought ſuch a Load of Debt upon the United Provinces, and particularly on that of the Province of *Holland*, that nothing but the ſudden Alteration of their Government, which ſoon after happened by the Suſpenſion of the Stadtholderſhip, and the wiſe and frugal Administration of the *de Wittes*, could have ſaved the Republic, which muſt have otherwiſe, alter their long and glorious Struggle for Liberty againſt a foreign Enemy, ſunk under the intolerable Conſequences of that Corruption which had imperceptibly crept into the Management of their domeſtic Affairs. After this Expedition of the *Najſau* Fleet, there is a wide Chaiſm in our Hiſtory of the Circumnavigations; and, as the Reader will perceive from the ensuing Sections, whatever was attempted of this kind for many Years afterwards, was rather the Effect of Chance, than of Deſign: So ſoon the nobleſt Spirit is damped by Diſappointment, and ſo eaſily the Thirſt of Discoveries check'd, when all proper Encouragements are taken away!

SECTION XII.

Captain C O W L E Y ' s Voyage round the World.

1. The Occaſion of the Voyage.
2. A conſiſe Account of the Undertaking, and the Commander.
3. Their Departure from Virginia, Auguſt 23, 1683.
4. Proceed to the Coaſt of Guiney, and ſo round Cape Horn, to the Iſland of Juan Fernandez.
5. Miſs a very rich Prize in the Harbour of Arica.
6. Deſcription of the Gallapagos Iſlands.
7. The Revenge ſeparates from the Nicholas, into which Captain Cowley goes as Maſter.
8. Sail from Cape Francisco to Gorgona, or Sharp's Iſland.
9. Account of their prodigious Run from thence to Guam, being 7646 Miles.
10. Their Tranſactions during their Stay at that Iſland.
11. A copious Deſcription of the Iſle, and of its Inhabitants.
12. Proceed to Canton, in China, and from thence to an Iſland North of Borneo.
13. Captain Cowley quits the Ship, and gets a Paſſage home from Batavia.
14. Arrival at, and Deſcription of, the Cape of Good Hope,

the Dutch Settlement, and the Hottentots. 15. Various Accidents that happened in their Passage. 16. He arrives safely in Holland, and comes from thence to England. 17. Remarks on the Spirit of Navigation which then prevailed, and on some Particulars in this Voyage.

1. THE Adventures of the *Buccaneers* in *America* have made too much Noise in the World to lay me under any Necessity of shewing what sort of People they were, in this Place especially, since the Nature of this Work will hereafter engage me in the particular History of their Exploits, which, however blameable they may be, will render them for ever famous. These Men usually fitted out small Vessels in some of our Colonies, and cruised in them till they were able to make Prize of a bigger: And, as their Designs generally required Secrecy, they very often took Masters and Pilots on board, under false Pretences; and did not explain the true Design, till they were at Sea, where they were absolute Masters. This was the Case with respect to Captain *Cowley*, a very intelligent Man, and a very able Navigator, who, being at *Virginia* in 1683, was prevailed upon to go as Master in a Privateer which was said to be bound to the French Port of *Petit Goave*, in the Island of *St Domingo*, where such People used to take Commissions; but, in Reality, their Design was to put to Sea, and make what Prizes they could, without that Formality; in which Scheme, if it had been known by Captain *Cowley*, he might not, perhaps have been so willing to engage. It may not be amiss to inform the Reader here, that this is the same Voyage, at least in Part, with Captain *Dampier's* first Tour round the World, and, therefore, it will be necessary, before we proceed to the Voyage itself, to give a concise Account of the Grounds on which, and the Commander by whom, it was undertaken; the rather, because, in the original Journal of Captain *Cowley*, published by Captain *William Hacke*, there is very little said about it; which was, in all Probability, owing to his being a little ashamed of having engaged in it.

2. Amongst the *Buccaneers* that did the most Mischiefs in the *Spanish West Indies*, there was one Mr *John Cooke*, a Native of the Island of *St. Christopher's*, a brisk bold Man, who distinguished himself to such a Degree, as raised him to the Post of Quarter-master on board Captain *Tanky*; and, on their taking a *Spanish* Prize, that was turned into a Privateer, he, according to the Custom of these People, claimed the Command of her; and, as he was very popular amongst them, engaged Men enough to serve under him; but, a great Majority of the *Buccaneers*, at the time this Transaction happened, being *French*, they could not bear to see an *Englishman* invested with such a Command, by the mere Choice of his Crew, without any Commission; and, therefore, to shew how much honest Men they were, who had such Commissions, after robbing the *Spaniards* under Pretence of them, they took this Occasion to plunder the *English*, who had assisted them, of their Ships, Goods, and Arms; and turned them ashore naked: This honourable Transaction happened at the Island of *Acabe*, which our Seamen generally call *Ash*, on the Coast of *St. Domingo*; but Captain *Tristram*, an old *Buccaneer*, having a little more Good-nature than the rest, was prevailed upon to carry Captain *Davis*, Captain *Cooke*, and eight more of the *English*, to *Petit Goave*, which, in the Language of the *Buccaneers*, is called *Petit Guayres*; where, while they lay at Anchor, and Captain *Tristram*, and many of his Men, were on shore, the *English*, to shew how just Scholars they were, made themselves Masters of his Ship, turned the *Frenchmen*, who were much superior to them in Number, on shore, and talked with her immediately to the Island of *Acabe*; and, sending in Captain *Tristram's* Name to the Governor, procured all their Countrymen to be sent on board. As they were now strong enough to set up for themselves, they resolved to make Prize of whatever came in their Way; and, in pursuance of this Resolution, took first a *French* Ship, laden with Wines; and, afterwards, another Ship of considerable Force, in which they embarked, and carried her to *Virginia*, where they arrived in *April* 1683. Here they disposed of their Cargo of *French* Wines, and, having purchased Provisions, Naval Stores, and whatever else they wanted,

fitted out their Prize for a long Voyage, mounting her with eight, as Captain *Cowley* asserts, and with eighteen Pieces of Cannon, according to *Dampier*, and giving her the Name of the *Revenge*, of which Captain *John Cooke* had the Command: His Company consisted, as Captain *Cowley* says, of 52, but, as Captain *Dampier* asserts, of 70 Men.

3. They sailed from *Acaback* in *Virginia*, August 20 1683; and were bound, Captain *Dampier* says, for the South Seas: But Captain *Cowley*, who navigated the Ship, was not in the Secret, and therefore steered for *Petit Goave*, which they suffered for a Day; and then told him, they were not bound thither, but first for the Coast of *Guinea*. Upon which he altered his Course, and steered East South-east for the Cape de *Verde* Islands, and arrived before the Island of *Salé* in the Month of *September*: They found there neither Fruits nor Water, but very great Plenty of Fish, and some Goats, though these were but very indifferent. At this time the Island, which lies in 16° Latitude, and in 19° 33' Longitude, West from the *Lizard*, was very oddly inhabited, and as oddly governed; for there were but five Men upon it, and, of these, four were dignified with Titles: One, a Mulatto, was Governor, two were Captains, one a Lieutenant, the fifth was a Boy, the only Subject, Servant, or Soldier, they had: Yet they were extremely jealous of their Reputations, and took it very ill to be called Negroes, asserting that they were white *Portuguese*, and expected to be treated with Decorum. Captain *Cooke*, who was a Man of more Good-nature than Ceremony, in Return for a Present the Governor made him of Three or four Goats, gave him a Coat to cover him with, which he exceedingly wanted, and an old Hat, which were very kindly received. They traded here for the great Commodity of the Country, which is Salt, made naturally by the Influence of the Sun's Heat upon the Sea-water, let into Ponds of about two *English* Miles in Extent. The Quantity they purchased was no more than twenty Bushels, and they paid for it in old Cloaths, giving the Governor, at his earnest Request, a little Powder and Shot into the Bargain. They sailed from thence to the Island of *St. Nicolas*, which lies West South-west from the Island of *Salé* twenty-two Leagues, and anchored on the South-east side of the Island, which is of a triangular Form, the longest Side measuring thirty Leagues, and the other two twenty Leagues each: There they found a Governor, who was really a white Man, and had about him three or four People, pretty well clothed, armed with Swords and Pistols; but the rest of his Retinue were in a very pitiful Condition. They dug some Wells on the Shore, and traded for Goats, Fruit, and Wine, which was none of the best. The Country near the Coast is very indifferent, but within Land there are some very fine Valleys, pretty well inhabited, and abounding with all the Necessaries for Life. They continued here about five or six Days, and then held a grand Consultation, whether they should proceed directly to the South Sea in the Ship they had, or sail to the Coast of *Guinea* in Search of another: At last after mature Deliberation, they came to this wise and honest Resolution, to go immediately to the Island of *St. Jago*, in Hopes of meeting with some Ship or other in the Road, intending to cut her Cable, and run away with her; of which Circumstance Captain *Dampier* says not a Word. In pursuance of this Scheme, they stood away to the East of that Island; and, upon coming near it, they saw, over a Point of Land from the Topmast head, a Ship at Anchor in the Road, which seemed extremely fit for their Purpose, but proved quite otherwise; for, by the time they were pretty near her, she on board clapped a Spring upon her Cable, struck out her Ports below, and, running out her under Tier of Guns, convinced Captain *Cooke*, that he had caught a Tartar: Upon which he bore away as fast as he could; and, though the strange Ship sent ten Shot after him, yet none of them took Place. This was a narrow Escape, for they were afterwards informed, that the Ship they at-

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tempted was a *Dutch East Indiaman*, of fifty Guns, and four hundred Men. They failed from thence for the Coast of *Africa* directly, and near *Cape Sierra Leona*, they met with a Ship of forty Guns, new built, well furnished with Brandy, Water, and all kinds of Provision, which they boarded, and carried away, steering then directly for the Island of *Juan Fernandez* in the South Seas. There is not a Syllable of all this in Captain *Dampier*, though he affects to be much more particular than Captain *Cowley*.

4. They continued their Course till they arrived on the Coast of *Brasil*, from whence they steered South-west, till they were in 4° South Latitude, where they observed the Sea to be as red as Blood: This was occasioned by vast Shoals of Shrimps, which are there of a red Colour in the Water. They likewise observed vast Quantities of Seals, and to many Whales, that Captain *Cowley* remarks there were a hundred for one found in the same Degree of Northern Latitude, holding their Course still South-west, till they came into the Longitude of 47° , where they met with an Island not known before, on which Captain *Cowley* bestowed the Name of *Pepys's Island*, in Honour of that great Patron of Seamen *Samuel Pepys*, Esquire, Secretary to his Royal Highness *James Duke of York*, when Lord High Admiral of *England*. This Island had a very good Harbour, where 1000 Ships might safely ride at Anchor; was a very commodious Place both for Wood and Water; abounded with Fowls; and, as the Shore was either Rocks or Sands, promised Lar with respect to Fish. In the Month of *January* 1684, they bore away for the Straights of *Magellan*; and, on the 28th of that Month, they fell in with the *Scheldine* Islands, in the Latitude of $51^{\circ} 25'$; then steering South-west and by West, they came into the Latitude of 53° , where they made the Land of *Terra del Fuego*; but, finding greater Rippings near the Straights of *le Maire*, they did not care to venture thro' it, but resolved to go quite round, as Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe* did in 1681, who first discovered, that the Country called by the *Dutch*, *Scates Land*, is in reality an Island; in Remembrance of which Discovery he changed its Name, and he called it *Albemarle Island*, in Honour of *Christopher Duke of Albemarle*, Son to the famous General *Monk*. On *February* 14. they had a prodigious Storm, which lasted between a Fortnight and three Weeks, and drove them out of 43° into the Latitude of $63^{\circ} 30'$, which was the farthest South that ever any Ship went: This Storm was attended with too much Rain, that they saved twenty-three Barrels of Water, though they dressed their Victuals with it during that Space. The Weather too was too excessively cold, that they could bear drinking three Quarts of burnt Brandy a Man in twenty-four Hours, without being at all the worse for it. Thence steering North-east, they came into warm Weather again; and, in the Latitude of 40° , they met with an *English* Ship called the *Nicholas*, of *London*, of 20 Guns, commanded by Captain *John Eaton*, with whom they kept Company, and sailed together for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. They arrived there *March* 22. and anchored in a Bay at the South End of the Island, in twenty five Fathom Water. Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe* had been there in 1680, and, finding the Place uninhabited, called it *Queen Catharine's Island*: At his going away, he left behind him, by Accident, a *Moskito Indian*, who remained there from that time to this; he had with him his Gun, a Knife, a small Barrel of Powder, and a few Shot. In this desolate Condition he found it equally hard to conceal himself from the *Spaniards*, (who, having notice that he was left there, came more than once to take him) and to provide for his Subsistence; and yet he accomplished both. He chose for his Habitation a pleasant Valley, about half a Mile from the Sea Coast, where he had erected a very convenient Hut, well lined with Seal-skins; and had a Bed of the same, raised about two Feet above the Ground. His Knife, by the Help of a Flint, he converted into a Saw, and with that he cut the Barrel of his Gun to Pieces; which he fashioned into Harpoons, Lances, Fish-hooks, and a long Knife, by heating the Pieces first in the Fire, and afterwards hardening them. All this cost him abundance of Labour, but, when once performed, he lived comfortably enough: When he saw the Ships at Sea, he guessed they were *English*, and im-

mediately dressed two Goats, with a large Quantity of Cabbage, to entertain them when they were ashore. It was a double Satisfaction to him, when, on their landing, he not only saw they were *English*, but many of them his old Acquaintance, particularly Captain *Edmund Cooke*, and Mr. *William Dampier*, who were on board the Ship that left him there. This Island they found very pleasant, as well as plentiful, and very conveniently situated for their Purpose, lying 110 Leagues due West from *Valparaiso*, a Port on the *Spanish Main*.

5. Sailing from thence, they steered North North-east, till they were off the Bay of *Arica*; and there the Officers of both Ships held a Council of War, in order to determine whether they should make an Attempt there, or go lower down the Coast. After much Deliberation, they determined to sail on to *Cape Blanco*, in hopes of meeting with the *Spanish* Plate Fleet from *Panama*: Which fell out to be the very worst Resolution they could have taken; for, if they had gone into the Bay of *Arica*, they must have taken a Ship with three hundred Tons of Silver on board. As it was, they continued their Course till they were in the Latitude of 10° , where they were obliged to take a Ship laden with Timber, tho' they knew the was not worth taking, to prevent their being discovered. They then sailed on Northwards to the Island of *Lobos*, in the Latitude of 7° , where they put their sick Man ashore for Refreshment, and healed their Ships, and scraped them, that they might be the fitter for Action, for which they were very eager, their Provisions growing very low, which was another Circumstance that made their Prisoners troublesome to them, having more of their own People to feed, than they knew how to provide for. After much Consultation, they resolved to attempt *Truxillo*, in the Latitude of 8° , and about ten Miles from the Coast, where there was a Probability of their gaining a considerable Booty. At the Time they undertook to do this, they had not, in both Ships, above 100 Men able to carry Arms; but the next Day, as they were weighing their Anchors, they saw three Ships under Sail, which Captain *Eaton* chased and took; they were laden with Flour, Fruit, and Sweetmeats, which made them very agreeable Prizes, notwithstanding they had put on shore 800,000 Pieces of Eight, on their having Intelligence, that there were Enemies in those Seas.

6. The making these Prizes rendered another Council of War necessary, in order to consider how to dispose of them; in which, after much Dispute, it was judged most expedient to seek out some Place of Safety, where the best Part of the Provisions they had lately taken might be securely laid up: And this Point again affording room for a second Debate, the Issue of that was, that they should sail to the *Gallapagos* Islands, which, as we have observed in a former Voyage, the *Dutch* were not able to find. On *May* 19. they sailed from the Island of *Lobos*, and, after three Weeks Sail, fell in with the Islands they sought. The first they met with lay in $1^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude; and this Captain *Cowley* called *King Charles's Island*; and he likewise named many more of them, particularly one after Sir *Antony Dean*, who was a Commissioner of the Navy; another under the Equinoctial, the *Duke of Norfolk's Island*; and several beyond it. They came to an Anchor in a very good Bay, lying towards the North End of a fine Island, which he called the *Duke of York's Island*. Here they met with a great Quantity of Provisions, especially Sea and Land Tortoises, some of the latter weighing two hundred Weight; which is much beyond the ordinary Size. There was likewise Abundance of Fowls, especially Turtle-doves, with Wood and Water in the *Duke of York's Island*, that were excellent; but in none of the rest. Beyond the Line they discovered five Islands: That nearest the Line, to the East, they called *Eures Island*; another small Island, to the West of it, they called *Bindos's Island*; a much larger Island, still to the West, they called the *Earl of Abington's Island*; the other two, lying North-west, they called *Lord Wenman's* and *Lord Culpepper's Islands*. They landed in the *Duke of York's Island* 1500 Bags of Flour, a large Quantity of Sweetmeats, and other Provisions, that they might have recourse to them, in case of Necessity; and, remained there about a Fortnight, during which Time they put their Commander Captain *John Cooke*, who was in

a very declining State of Health, on shore: After which, they determined to return again to the *American* Coasts, chiefly persuaded thereto by one of their Prisoners, a Native of *Realejo*, who assured them the Inhabitants were perfectly secure, and that the Place might be easily taken. Upon this Information, they steered North North-east; and the first Land they made, upon the Main, was Cape *Trepontus*, where, coming to an Anchor, they sent their Boat on shore, to look for Water; and, on the East Coast of the Bay, they found some, that was very good. As soon as they were in Sight of Land, their Commander Captain *John Cooke* died; and, going ashore to bury him, three *Spanish* Indians came down to see who they were, and were taken, and carried on board. Some small Time after, sending their Boat on shore again, to try it was possible to get some Cattle, the *Spaniards*, while the Men were hunting, burnt their Boat, and lay in Ambush to take them when they came back. In this Distress, they had Recourse to a very steep Rock not far from the Shore; which, with some Difficulty, they gained, and there they continued, till the Ship sent another Boat, with twenty Men, to fetch them off. The three *Indians* they carried aboard, with Ropes about their Necks; but, as they led them, one found a Way to get his Neck out of the Collar, and made his Escape. It was now thought unnecessary to keep the rest of the Prisoners, and to they gave them Leave to hunt for themselves; and then bore away for *Realejo*, where when they arrived, and made some Prisoners, they found the Country to be alarmed by the *Indians*, that had made his Escape from them, that it was impossible to do any thing; and therefore they returned very discontented to their Ship.

7. After this Disappointment, they resolved to sail for the Gulph of *St. Michael*, called also the Gulph of *Amapala*, at the Mouth of which there are two very considerable Islands, the one called *Mangera*, the other *Amapala*; both which they possessed themselves of. And here some Disputes arising between Captain *Davis*, who succeeded Captain *Cooke* in his Command, and Captain *Eaton*, they resolved to separate, tho' it was certainly for the Interest of both to keep together. It was, however, judged requisite to careen their Ships; for doing which this Place afforded all imaginable Conveniences. The *Indians* also, tho' they had been ill used by Captain *Davis's* Men, who fired upon them without any just Cause, were reconciled, and became very useful, carrying them over to an Island, where there was Plenty of wild Cows; which enabled them to stock their Vessels with Beef. This being done, and both Ships in a Condition to put to Sea, Captain *Eaton* took on board his Vessel four hundred Sacks of Flour, and prepared to quit the Coast, having first agreed with Captain *Cook* to quit the Ship he was in, and to sail with him in Quality of Master, obliging himself to navigate the Ship to any Place or Port Captain *Eaton* should direct. From this Period of Time, therefore, the Voyages of *Cook* and *Dampier* cease to be the same; which was the Reason that I thought it necessary to take in both, the rather because such as have treated of Circumnavigations have pursued this Method; and I have no Information to be singular, but to afford my Readers all that they can reasonably expect in a Work of this Kind, in which, I hope, I have hitherto succeeded. But to proceed to Captain *Cook's* Voyage in his new Ship, and with his new Captain:

8. It was about the Middle of *August* when they left the Bay of *St. Michael*, and steered for Cape *Francisco*, which lies in the Latitude of 1° North; in the Neighbourhood of which Cape they met with such dreadful Storms, attended with such violent Thunder and Lightning, as they never saw in any other Place. From thence they proceeded into the Latitude of 7°, but, finding the Country every where alarmed, they thought fit to bear away for *Paita*, which is but in 5°, where they took two Ships at Anchor; which the *Spaniards* refusing to ransom, Captain *Eaton* ordered them to be burnt. Then, taking Leave of the Coast, he sailed for the Island of *Gorgona*, which the Privateers generally call *Scoarpe's Island*. It lies in the Latitude 3° 15', at the Distance of about four Leagues from the Main. It is in Length two Leagues, and in Breadth one. On the West Side of the Island there is a good Harbour; and, tho' the Place be uninhabited, yet it abounds with Wood and Water

in Abundance. The common Nation in the *West Indies* is, that it rains often in *Chibiti*, seldom in *Peru*, but always in the Island of *Gorgona*, where, they say, there never was a fair Day known; but, tho' this is not to be strictly taken, yet all, who are acquainted with this Island, agree, that it rains more or less in all Seasons here; which is probably the Reason, that, notwithstanding its convenient Situation, it has always remained uninhabited. They sailed from thence, and kept a West North-west Course, till they arrived in the Latitude of 13° North; and then they steered West, as low as the Rocks of *St. Bartholomew*. They then got into the Latitude of 15°, till they thought themselves out of Danger from thole or any other Rocks; after which they returned into the Latitude of 13°, in which they continued their Voyage to the *East Indies*.

9. They had the Trade-wind from the Time they were in the Latitude of 10°, and a reasonable good Passage, except that the Men were, generally speaking, sick of the Scurvy, to the 14th of *March*, when they saw the Island of *Guam* or *Guana*, which bore West from them; and had an Observation the same Day, by which they found themselves in the Latitude of 13° 2'. And, according to Captain *Cook's* Journal, this was a prodigious Run; for he says, that, according to his Computation, it was 764 Miles; that is to say, departed so many Miles from *Gorgona*, by Loss made out in Longitude, which is about 234 Leagues. The next Day, which was *Sunday, March 15*, they sailed about the South-west Part of the Island, and at length came to an Anchor in the Bay, which is on the West, and sent a Boat ashore, with a Flag of Truce; but, when they came near the Village, they were very much surpris'd to find the Inhabitants had set Fire to their Houses, and were run away. The Boat's Crew cut down some Cocoa-trees, and, having gathered their Fruit, were coming on board, when a Party of *Indians* tallied from behind some Bushes, as if they intended to have attacked them; but, upon seeing the Flag of Truce, they ordered one of their People to peel a Wand, that it might appear white; and then they contented in a friendly Manner together. This good Correspondence continued, with a free Trade on both Sides, to the 17th, when the *Indians*, without the least Provocation, attacked the *English* suddenly; who, defending themselves with their Fire-arms, killed some, wounded many, and escaped without Hurt themselves.

10. On the 19th, the *Spanish* Governor of the Island of *Guam* came down to a Point of Land not far from the Ship, and sent his Boat aboard with three Copies of the same Letter in *Spanish, French, and Dutch*, signifying, that, as an Officer of the King of *Spain*, he desired to know, who they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound. Captain *Eaton* wrote the Governor a very civil Answer in *French*, in which he told him, that they were fitted out by some Gentlemen in *France* to make Discoveries; and that he came thither for the sake of Provisions. The Messenger no sooner delivered this letter, than he was dispatched back with another Epistle, assuring the Captain, that he was very welcome, and desiring him to come ashore, and confer with the Governor. This Invitation was accordingly accepted, Captain *Eaton* landing with a Guard of twenty Men double-armed. As soon as he set Foot on shore, the *Spanish* Governor saluted him with a general Discharge of his Fire-arms; to which Captain *Eaton* answered, by firing ten Guns. The Conference was managed with great Candour and Civility on both Sides. Captain *Eaton* excused himself for killing the *Indians*, by assuring the Governor, that his People did it in their own Defence. To which the Governor answered, that he readily believed it, the *Indians* being a base, treacherous and bloody People; so that he could not do him a greater Pleasure, than to kill them all. At parting the Governor promised him all the Accommodations the Country could afford; and performed this Promise with the highest Honour. On the 15th at Noon, a captain came on board from the Governor, and brought with him ten Hogs, a prodigious Quantity of Potatoes, Plantains, Oranges, Papaws, and red Pepper. In Return for all this, Captain *Eaton* sent the Governor a Diamond Ring worth twenty Pounds, and presented each of the Gentlemen, who attended the Captain, with a Sword. The next Day, the Governor sent another Captain, with two Ecclesiastics, to desire the Favour

of the *English* Commodore, being then in his Force, in order to demand the Messengers, Barrels of Powder, and Cannon. They accepted the Offer declined, and, at the same Time, was to the Value of a Silver Pot to make it. These People taught the present kind of Milk-Cocoa-nut, which not only a very sweet agreeable to Milk. The every Day some kind of Coffee, doubting what ven notes elsewhere, it was performed with the *Indian*, as well as other Month of *March* would not remain long for their Sea Stores. Quantity of Rice and to have forgotten what Captain *Cook* kept it. Lured his Men to stir, which Prevention of his whom the *Indians* had and, when they lay out of Net, they attempted. Boat: But they paid a charge of the small Ar- Cole on Land; so that were concerned in this. Sailed, they played off lent two *Indians*, who to be Rice and Fruits, the Captain, told him had taken Arms again Part of the *Indians* - Land not far off; that mit themselves to th- all fit them, it would out, for their Parts, the Reward of their A reap a prodigious Be *Spaniards* were imme the Proposal as it deli and therefore ward ad- at a time to come on b the Bay, and anchor Governor's Habitation and were answered by Governor sent his Cap of Captain *Eaton*, an and Generosity, with in the Afternoon they ly West.

11. The Island of *Guam* is in the Latitude of 13° 30' North, and about 15 Leagues from the Coast. It is intensely watered by Soil in these Valleys Plenty of Coconuts, Plantains, Sour tops, &c. The Climate is that Trade-wind, is, Vol. I.

of the *English* Commander to spare him some Powder, the *Indians* being then in Rebellion, and he about to employ all his Force, in order to reduce them. Captain *Eaton* entertained these Messengers very elegantly, spared them four Barrels of Powder, and offered them four small Pieces of Cannon. They accepted of the former, and thanked the Captain for the Offer of the latter; which, however, they declined, and, at the same time, presented a Box, in which was the Value of 1400 Pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver, desiring him to take whatever he thought fit; but the Captain absolutely refused to take a Farthing; and so they carried their Box on shore again. But, the next Morning, the Governor sent the Captain a Diamond Ring worth fifty Pounds. On the 10th, they sent out their Boat to cruise; and they forced an *Indian* Canoe on shore, which her Crew quitted, and they kept to land their Men in. On the 22d, there came a new Deputation from the Governor, with a *French* Jesuit at the Head of it, who brought them Cocoa-nut, Potatoes, and a considerable Quantity of Chocolate, a Silver Pot to make it in, and half a Dozen *China* Dishes. These People taught the *English* Sailors how to make a pleasant kind of Milk, by scraping the inner Shell of the Cocoa-nut, which not only gives Water the Colour, but also a very sweet agreeable Taste, very little, if at all, inferior to Milk. The Governor sent them thenceforward every Day some kind of Provision or other; while Captain *Cowley*, doubting whether he should meet with the like Conventious elsewhere, resolved to heel and scrape his Ship; which he performed with great Ease, by the Assistance of the *Indian*, as well as the *Spaniards*. Towards the End of the Month of *March*, when it was visible, that the Ship would not remain long in the Road, the Governor sent them for their Sea Stores thirty Hogs, with a proportionable Quantity of Rice and Potatoes. The *Indians* also seemed to have forgotten what happened at their first Arrival; but Captain *Cowley* kept it always in his Head, and never suffered his Men to stir, on any Pretence, without Arms; which Precaution of his laid upwards of twenty of them, whom the *Indians* had invited to go a fishing with them; and, when they saw one bait of them on shore to draw the Net, they attempted to seize those that were left in the Boat: But they paid dearly for it, receiving a general Discharge of the small Arms, both from those in the Boat, and those on Land; so that few or none escaped of them, that were concerned in this Project. But, before Captain *Eaton* sailed, they played off a Stratagem of another Kind: They sent two *Indians*, who were Natives of *Manilla*, on board, to sell Rice and Fruits, who, after some Conversation with the Captain, told him the State of their Affairs; that they had taken Arms against the Governor; and that the best Part of the *Indians* were retired from *Guam* to another Island not far off; that they were determined never to submit themselves to the *Spaniards*; and that, if he would assist them, it would be very easy to reduce the Island; that, for their Parts, they desired nothing but Freedom as the Reward of their Assistance; and that the *English* might reap a prodigious Benefit from this Expedition, since the *Spaniards* were immensely rich. But the Captain treated the Proposal as it deserved, with the highest Indignation; and thenceforward admitted but two or three of the *Indians* at a time to come on board. On *April* 1, they sailed from the Bay, and anchored before the Fort, the Place of the Governor's Habitation; which they saluted with three Guns, and were answered by the same Number. On the 3d, the Governor lent his Captain, with a Pretent, to take his Leave of Captain *Eaton*, and to testify his Sense of the Honour and Generosity, with which he had behaved towards him. In the Afternoon they sailed with a fair Wind, steering South by West.

11. The Island of *Iguana*, *Guama*, or *Guam*, is in the Latitude of 13° 30' North, and is about fourteen Leagues in Length, and about six in Breadth. The Valleys are very fertile. It is interspersed with fine fruitful Meadows, plentifully watered by many Rivulets from the Hills. The Soil in these Valleys is black, and very rich, producing Plenty of Cocons, Potatoes, Yams, Pappas, Plantains, Molasses, Sour-tops, Oranges and Lemons, and some Honey. The Climate is very hot; but, by means of the constant Trade-wind, is, notwithstanding that, very wholesome.

The *Indian* Inhabitants are very large, well-made, active, and vigorous, some of them being seven Feet and an half high. Most of them go stark-naked, both Men and Women. They never bury their Dead; but let them lie in the Sun to putrefy and rot. They have no Arms, but Lances and Slings. The sharp End of their Lances are made with dead Mens Bones; for, upon the Decease of a Person, his Bones make eight Lances, of his Leg-bones two, of his Thighs as many, and his Arms afford four; which being cut like a Scoop, and jagged like the Teeth of a Saw, or Eel-spear, if a Man happens to be wounded with one of them, and be not cured in seven Days, he is a dead Man. "We took," says Captain *Cowley*, four of those Infidels Prisoners, and brought them on board, binding their Hands behind them; but they had not been long there, before three of them leaped overboard into the Sea, swimming away from the Ship with their Hands tied behind them. However, we sent the Boat after them, and found a strong Man, at the first Blow, could not penetrate their Skins with a Cutlass. One of them had received, in my Judgment, forty Shots in his Body before he died; and the last of the three that was killed, had swam a good *English* Mile first, not only with his Hands behind him, as before, but also with his Arms pinioned." It is certain, that the great *Manilla* Ship, that goes annually from thence to *Acapulco*, touches there for Refreshments, both going and coming; and the *Indians* stand in great Dread of her. They reported, that they had sometimes eight Ships in a Year from the *East-Indies*. The *Spaniards*, who were on board Captain *Eaton*, said, that, in 1684, they had built in that Island a Ship of 160 Tons, to trade to *Manilla*; and they likewise told him, that the *Spanish* Garrison consisted, at that time, of 600 Men; and that the *Indian* Inhabitants were most of them in Rebellion. Captain *Cooke*, who was here in 1710, finds great Fault with Captain *Cowley's* Description of this Island, which, he is pleased to say, is false; but, I apprehend, without any just Grounds. He mentions but two Instances: The first is as to the Length of the Island, which he asserts to be but ten Leagues; whereas Captain *Cowley* says it is fourteen. But, as both speak by Conjecture, I cannot say which is in the right; but Captain *Woodes Rogers*, under whose Command *Cooke* made the Voyage, and who was, to the full, as accurate a Writer, fixes the Circumference at forty Leagues; which, considering the Shape of the Island, agrees very well with what Captain *Cowley* says. The other Mistake he charges him with, is as to the Number of the Garrison, which, when *Cooke* was there, did not exceed 100 Men. In order to make out this Mistake, he asserts a direct Falshood; for he says, that Captain *Cowley* makes it 600 Men; whereas Captain *Cowley* only says, the *Spaniards* told him so; and seems to doubt it. In other Circumstances they agree tolerably well.

12. On *April* 4, they sailed West by South, and, the Day after, West, when they reckoned their Distance from that Island 200 Miles. From that time they kept no certain Account, because of Calms, till they came into 20° 30' North Latitude, where they fell in with a Cluster of Islands to the Northward of *Luconia*, which is the biggest of the *Philippines*. The 23d, they met with a very strong Current, like the Race of *Portland*, at the Distance, as they computed, from *Guam* of 300 Leagues. On the Northernmost of these Islands they sent their Boat ashore, to get some Fish, and to discover the Island, on which they found vast Plenty of Nutmegs growing; but saw no People, and, as Night was drawing on, they durst not venture far within Land. This Island they called *Nutmeg Island*, and the Bay, in which they anchored, *English Bay*. They observed also Abundance of Rocks, Sands, and foul Ground near the Shore, and saw a great many Goats upon the Island; but brought very few on board. After they got through these Streights, they continued their Course South-west for *Luconia*. *April* 26, they were off Cape *Bajadore*, and, soon after, came up with Cape *Mondato*, where they met with a South-west Monsoon, which made them steer North-west for *Canton* in *China*, where they arrived safely, and fitted their Ship. They had an Opportunity here of making themselves as rich as they could desire; but they would not embrace it. There came into this Port thirteen

Sail of *Tartar* Vessels, laden with *Chinese* Plunder, consisting of the richest Goods in the *East Indies*: But this would not tempt Captain *Eaton's* Men; they were for nothing but Gold and Silver, and could not bear the Thoughts of being Pedlars; neither could their Commander, by fair Words or foul, prevail upon them to alter their Resolution, which was not to fight for Silks. The *Tartars* therefore quietly pursued their Affairs at *Canton*, without having the least Knowledge of their Danger. When they had put their Ship in the best Condition possible, they continued their Voyage from *Canton* to the City of *Mamila* in the Island of *Luconia*, in order to wait there for a *Tartar* Ship, which, according to their Information, was half-laden with Silver; but, tho' they once saw her, they were not able to come up with her, because she was a clean Ship, and they as foul as they well could be. They chased her, however, for a whole Day, but to no Purpose; and then stood away for a small Island to the North of *Luconia*, to wait for a proper Wind to carry them to *Bantam* in the Island of *Java*. Instead of one, they found several Islands, where they refreshed themselves very conveniently; and, having Information from an *Indian* of an Island abounding with Bees, they sent their Boat thither, with thirty Men, who took, by Force, what they wanted, though the Island was well inhabited. About the Middle of *September* they sailed from thence, and steered South South-west, till they came into the Latitude of 1° , when they fell in with the Banks of *Peragoa*, thro' which they sailed three Days in the utmost Danger. At length they reached an Island somewhat to the North of *Borneo*, where, finding a convenient Bay, they haled their Ship ashore, set up a Tent, and planted ten small Guns for their Defence, in case the Natives should attack them; but they, having never seen white Men before, avoided them all they could. It was not long, however, before they came up with a *Canoe*, on board of which was the Queen of that Country, with her Retinue, who all leaped into the Sea to avoid them. They took them up without much Difficulty, and entertained them afterwards so kindly, that they were very good Friends during the Time they staid there, which was about two Months. At this Time, the *Spaniards* were at Peace with the Monarch who governed *Borneo*, and carried on a very advantageous Trade there from the *Mamila*; of which Captain *Eaton's* People were no sooner informed, than they declared themselves *Spaniards*, and passed for such all the Time they staid.

It was towards the End of the Month of *December* 1682, that they left this Island, in order to go to a Chain of Islands, called the Islands of *Naturab*, in 4° North Latitude. They did not stay there long; but proceeded from thence to the Island of *Tonar*, where the Crew growing extremely mutinous, paying little or no Regard to Captain *Eaton's* Orders, our Author resolved to quit the Ship, and find some Way or other to get his Passage home from *Batavia*. Accordingly, himself, one Mr. *Hill*, and eighteen more of the Men, who were the same way inclined, purchased a large Boat, in which they designed to have gone to *Batavia*; but, the Wind proving contrary, they were obliged to put in at *Cheison*, a Factory belonging to the *Dutch* upon the same Isle of *Java*, where they found they had lost both a Day in the Month, and a Day in the Week. They met here with several Pieces of bad News; such as, that King *Charles II.* was dead; and the *Dutch* had deprived the *English* of their Factory at *Bantam*, which was the second Place of Trade we, at that time, possessed in the *East Indies*; and one can never sufficiently wonder, that Care was not taken, after the Revolution, that we should have it again, the Loss of it having been extremely prejudicial to our *East India* Company, as will appear in another Place, when we come to relate this Story at large. At present we shall content ourselves with observing, that, while Captain *Cowley* was here, the *Dutch* were forming other Schemes to the Prejudice of our Trade, whereupon Captain *Cowley*, Mr. *Hill*, and a third Person, resolved to make all the Haste they could to *Batavia*, that they might not be involved in any Disputes. They got, with little Trouble, their Passage to *Batavia*, where they were very kindly received by the *Dutch* Governor General, who promised them their Passage home in a *Dutch* Ship; which he afterwards complied with: But there being, at that time, about twenty

Englishmen at *Batavia*, they purchased a Sloop, with which they intended to have gone to *Sillibar*, an *English* Factory on the Coast of *Sumatra*; but so far were the *Dutch* from permitting of this, that they took the Sloop from them, paying, however, what it cost; and put the *Dutchman* in Prison, who told it. To justify this, they made use of many Pretences; but the true Reason was, that they had formed a Design upon *Sillibar*, which tho' they were forced to poll; one, yet they were unwilling to let People go thither, for fear the *English* should prove too strong for them. The Scheme they intended to make use of for driving the *English* thence, was singular enough: They had lent the King of *Sillibar* a considerable Sum of Money some Years before, which they now proposed to demand, and to oblige the King to pay them in Pepper; by which Agreement they would have secured all the Trade in his Dominions, and then the *English* must have withdrawn their Factory of course. But, just as they were fitting out a Squadron, in order to have put this Design in Execution, a War broke out with the Emperor of *Java*; which diverted the Storm for that Time, because they were obliged to employ those Ships against their new Enemy.

14. As there was no other Way left of getting home, but in a *Dutch* Ship, Captain *Cowley* and his Friends embarked in *Batavia* Road in the Beginning of *March*; but it was the latter End of the Month before they sailed, and had a very indifferent Passage to the Cape, being reduced to Short-allowance, and even to a Pint of Water a Day. On *May* 27, their Captain died; which occasioned a good deal of Confusion: For a Council of War being called, composed of the Officers of the two Ships *Silda* and *Critzman*, there in it was resolved, that Captain *Tomnall*, Commander of the *Critzman*, should command the *Silda*; and Captain *Tomnall's* chief Mate command the *Critzman*. The chief Mate of the *Silda*, whose Name was *Houdein*, was ordered on board the *Critzman*; which he refused, and the Crew of the *Silda* mutinied in favour of their Pilot, and he remained where he was. On *June* 1, they entered the Road before the Cape of *Good Hope*. The next Day, he went on shore with his Companions, and took a View of the *Dutch* Settlement there, which I chuse to give the Reader in his own Words, as a good Description of the Situation of Things at the Cape of *Good Hope* in the Year 1686, and shall hereafter afford him an Opportunity of comparing it with the State of that Settlement at present: "The Town, which is inhabited by the *Dutch*, is but small, and the Houses are built very low, by reason that, in the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, they are visited by great Gales of Wind. There are not above 100 of those Houses in all the Town; but they have a very strong Castle, with about eighty good Guns mounted therein. There is also a very spacious Garden, with most pleasant Walks, which is maintained by the *Dutch East India* Company, and in which are planted almost all manner of Fruit-trees, and incomparable good Herbs. This Garden is about one Mile in Length, and a Furlong in Breadth. This is the greatest Rarity, that I saw at the Cape; for it far exceeded the *East India* Company's Garden that is at *Batavia*. They have also Abundance of very good Sheep here; but very few black Cattle, and not many Fowls. We walked, moreover, without the Town to the Village inhabited by the *Hedmandods* (*Hottentots*), to view their nasty Bodies, and the Nature of their Dwelling-ings, which we found to be as followeth: When we came thither, we were scarce able to endure the Stench of them, and their Habitations. They built their Houses round, with their Fire place in the Middle of them; almost like the Huts, that are built in *Ireland* by the wild *Irish*, the People lying in the Alms, and having nothing under them but a Sheep-skin. The Men have but one Stone in Appearance; which is very strange. But the Women are more to be admired, who have a Flap of Skin, that covers their Nakedness; but are so ignorant, or, I may say, brutish, that they will not stick to prostitute themselves, or do whatever else you would have, for the least Recompence imaginable; and of this I am an Eye-witness. Their Apparel is a Sheep-skin (as I have already said) over their Shoulders, with a Leather Cap upon their Heads, as full of Grease as it can hold. Their

Legs are wound about
Ankle to the Knees
the *Hedmandods* (*Hottentots*)
themselves black with
over; to that, by force
(come almost as black
of a good, comely
Noses, in Form, resemble
the Woman cutter
her Husband die,
another Joint; and
many Joints the loss
any thing that is for
they will get the Goods
and then, without
the Coals, and, besides
will take them, and
pany's have a mind
their Women, let
Tobacco-roll of above
her forthwith to the
They are Men not
will beat their Wives
themselves; but the
Men of another Nation
Juna; and, when
will be Thousands of
singing: But, if it
appears not, they will
them; whereas, on
many times, they will
cried at this Time
one of the *Hedmandods*
fell dead in the Fort,
Tomots came with
Mouth; but, finding
they began to make
in the following Month
thaved his Body, and
Skin; then they did
upon his Breach, clothed
keep him upright; and
men about him, making
covered the Mouth
ting Posture." We
thor, having received
willing enough to com-
likewise pursue.
15. On *June* 15, I
Good Hope, with a full
weighing their Anchor
man, and *Emeland*, to
Batavia; they fired
and other Ceremonies
Custom, upwards of
Practice for to wife a
were in 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ South
Miles from the Cape;
rains of the other two
Day they had a very
were in the Latitude
overboard, a Native
and was cold and stiff
the path of the same
trade, and the same
upon their Captain:
Men to murder a Man
some other rich Passa-
to run away with the
was the Purser, who
and who then denied
before affirmed it; so
acquitted. On the 2
putation, he had sail-
cutting the same Lin-
from *Virginia* in the
Morning, died Capta-
the Bowels, having
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Legs are wound about with Guts of Beasts, (from the Ankle to the Knees) well greased. The People called the *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) are born white; but make themselves black with Soot, and besmear their Bodies all over; so that, by frequent Repetition, their Skins become almost as black as Negroes. Their Children are of a good, comely Shape, when they are young. Their Noises, in Form, resemble a Negro's. When they marry, the Woman cutteth off one Joint of her Finger; and, if her Husband die, and she marry again, she cutteth off another Joint; and so many Men as she marryeth, so many Joints she loseth. They are People that will eat any thing that is foul. If the *Hollanders* kill a Beast, they will get the Guts, and squeeze the Excrements out; and then, without washing or scraping, lay them upon the Coals, and, before they are well hot through, they will take them, and eat them. If a Slave of the Company's have a mind to have carnal Knowledge of one of their Women, let him but give her Husband a Bit of Tobacco-roll of about three Inches long, he will fetch her forthwith to the Slave, and cause her to lie with him. They are Men not given to the least Jealousy; yet they will beat their Wives, if they lie with the *Hodmandods* themselves; but they value it not for them to do it with Men of another Nation. They are Worshippers of Dame *Luna*; and, when they expect to see the Moon, there will be thousands of them by the Sea-side dancing and singing: But, if it be dark Weather, so that the Moon appears not, they will say, that their God is angry with them; whereas, on the contrary, when the said Luminary shines, they will say he is not angry. There happened at this Time that we were among them, that one of the *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) had drank himself dead in the Fort, whither the other *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) came with Oil and Milk, and put them in his Mouth; but, finding they could get no Life into him, they began to make Preparation for his Burial, which was in the following Manner: They came with Knives, and shaved his Body, Arms, and Legs, through the thick Skin; then they digged a great Hole, and let him in it upon his Breech, clapping Stones round about him, to keep him upright; after came a Company of their Women about him, making a most horrid Noise; then they covered the Mouth of the Hole, and let him in a sitting Posture. We need not wonder, that our Author, having received such Ideas of these People, was willing enough to continue his Voyage, which we shall likewise pursue.

15. On June 15. 1686. they sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, with a small Gale at South-west, six Ships weighing their Anchors at once, viz. the *Salida*, the *Critfman*, and *Emeland*, for *Holland*, and the other three for *Batavia*; they fired at parting, in drinking of Healths, and other Ceremonies of that sort according to the Dutch Custom, upwards of 300 Guns; an idle and expensive Practice for so wise and frugal a Nation. July 29. they were in $19^{\circ} 54'$ South Latitude, at the Distance of 914 Miles from the Cape; the same Day they feasted the Captains of the other two Ships on board the *Salida*. The next Day they had a very fair Wind; and, on June 4. they were in the Latitude of $14^{\circ} 15'$, when they threw a Man overboard, a Native of *Denmark*, who died in the Night, and was cold and stiff before any body perceived it. On the 24th of the same Month, they were in 15° North Latitude, and the same Day they held a Council of War, on their Captain: He was accused of having hired five Men to murder a Man of Quality, and his Lady, with some other rich Passengers that were on board, and then to run away with the Ship. The Person who accused him was the Purser, who produced the Man who told him; and who then denied the Thing as positively, as he had before affirmed it, so that the Captain was unanimously acquitted. On the 22d, according to the Author's Computation, he had sailed quite round the terrestrial Globe, cutting the same Line which he did, when he departed from *Virginia* in the Year 1683. On August 2. in the Morning, died Captain *Tomnall*, of an Inflammation in the Bowels, having been ill but three Days. His Pilot was chosen, by the Officers, to succeed him, whom the

Crew absolutely refused to obey; but, by the Persuasion of the other two Captains, they were brought to better Temper, and accepted him for their Commander. On August 4. they judged themselves to be within thirty Leagues of the *Ambrotius* (*Abrolhos*) a very dangerous Shoale, or Bank of Sand, laid down in the Maps in 13° North Latitude; but our Author very much doubts, whether there be any such Shoale, since he never knew any Man that had seen it; and a Pilot, who had made sixteen Voyages to *Brazil*, assured him, there was no such Sand. September 5. about ten at Night, they had a violent Storm, which had like to have driven them on board the *Critfman*; but, by good Luck, when they least expected it, their Ship fell off, and the Wind happily filling their Sails, saved them from the Danger they were in.

16. On the 19th, about Noon, Captain *Cowley* saw Land, which he believed to be the Island *Stetland*; of which he told the Dutch Captain, but he would not believe him. At six in the Evening, the People on board the *Critfman* made a Signal of seeing Land, at which all the Ship's Crew of the *Salida* made a Jest of their Captain, for not believing those who had better Eyes than himself. On the 26th, they found themselves in the Latitude of $53^{\circ} 35'$, and the same Day came up with two Ships, one a *Dane*, the other *English*, on board of whom Captain *Cowley*, and his Companions, would willingly have gone, but the Dutch Captain would not permit them; the Dutch Lord they had on board affirming, that he could not answer it to the States. September 28. they were before the *Maes*, with the Wind at East North-east; when it was Day, they saw the *Brill Church*, and *Grave's Sand*, and then they came to an Anchor in ten Fathom Water, and rode there in Expectation of a Pilot to carry them into the *Maes*. On the 30th, he arrived at *Helvoetsluys*, having been seven Months in their Passage from *Batavia*. From thence Captain *Cowley* travelled by Land to *Rotterdam*, where he found the *Anne Yacht* ready to sail for *England*, in which he came over as a Passenger, arriving safely at *London* October 12. 1686. after a tedious and troublesome Voyage of three Years, and near two Months.

17. The Spirit of Privatering upon the *Spaniards*, which had been raised and promoted by the several Wars carried on against that Nation by the *Dutch*, *French*, and *English*, was now at its full Height; for the Licence given under the Protector *Cromwell*, and the unsettled Situation of Things with respect to *Spain*, immediately after the Restoration, gave great Encouragement to these sort of Adventurers, till at last they grew so powerful, that it was no easy Matter to put an End to their Depredations; perhaps it would have been impracticable, if they had not been destroyed by Discord and Disputes among themselves. Many Inconveniences must necessarily arise from the long Continuance of so wicked a Practice; but, at the same time, it produced some good Consequences also; for these Buccaneers were both bold and daring Navigators, that they not only attempted, but performed, Things almost incredible, and which, in Process of Time, are come to be thought as impracticable, as they were esteemed to be before these Men achieved them: For Instance, the quick Marches they made by Land cross the Isthmus of *Darien*, which they made a kind of open Road. Besides this, they found out other Passages from the North to the South Seas, by means of the Rivers, which rise near the latter, and fall into the former. We owe likewise to them the Passage round Cape *Horn*, without passing the Straights of *le Maire*, which was first performed by Captain *Sharpe*, and afterwards by the *Revenge*, under the Direction of our Author. They also discovered most of the Islands, which the *Spaniards* had but indifferent Accounts of, and lay down, it may be on purpose, erroneously in their Charts, such as the *Gallapagos*, the first Description of which is that given by our Author, encouraged by whose Example, the Privateers often visited them afterwards. They landed likewise frequently in *California*, and, by their numerous Voyages from thence to the *East Indies*, made some considerable Discoveries on that Side too. These were not only great Things in themselves, and of prodigious Consequence to the trading World, but were also very happy in another respect; since, had it not been for these lawless Adventurers,

turers, the Practice of granting exclusive Charters to trading Companies, which prevailed here as well as in *Holland*, had put an End to all Discoveries, and thereby extinguished that Spirit, which is the Life and Soul of Navigation, without which all maritime Power must sink and decay, or at least be transported to other Nations, where this kind of circumfcribing Policy has not yet taken Place. The Number of Seamen bred up in these kind of Vessels was incredible; and, as many of them were dispersed over our Colonies, and some of them returned into *Europe*, the Accounts they gave contributed to keep up a Desire of undertaking something in those Parts, either by settling Colonies, or making Conquests under the *Spaniards*. Here, in *England*, something of that sort fell often under the Consideration of our Ministry; and King *William* gave all imaginable Encouragement to a Propositiion that was made for establishing an *English* Settlement on the River *Mississippi*; but the Affair met with such Delays, and that King found himself so cramped in all his Resolutions for the public Service, that tho' for some time, this was his favourite Scheme, yet he was at last forced to lay it aside; which afterwards gave the *French* an Opportunity of working upon that Plan, when they have done with wonderful Industry, and have received all the Helps from their Government, that it was in the Power of the Government to give. I cannot forbear observing, upon this Occasion, that it was from the *French* Buccaneers, that that Nation received all her Lights with respect to the Commerce of the *West Indies*; and to these People, likewise, they owe the very best Settlement they have, which is that in *Hispansola*, the History of which we shall give at large in another Place. It were, indeed, to be wished, that the Accounts we have of these Expeditions were better and more carefully written than we find them; and yet, all Things considered, we have no great Reason to expect this from such sort of Men. It is one thing, to have the Skill of navigating a Ship; and quite another, to be able to write a clear and satisfactory Account of what happens in such a Voyage. The keeping of a Sea Journal is a Thing reduced to a settled Method, and is as much the Business of a Navigator, as the Care of the Ship; neither, indeed, is it possible for him to attend one, and neglect the other. But the turning that Journal into an historical Relation of the Voyage, and the Circumstances attending it, is a thing quite out of his Way, and which very few Seamen can do without Assistance. In respect to this, again, various Accidents may happen; for a Person may have proper Abilities for executing another History well, that may, notwithstanding, be altogether unfit for putting Memoirs of this sort into proper Order. It is very possible, that a History of this kind may be over, as well as under-written; and the florid Style of the Assistant ruin the plain honest Account of the Mariner. It was the Mistortune of our Author Captain *Cowley*, that he had not either the publishing of his own Journal, or the Choice of an Assistant; nay, he was not so much as acquainted with the Design of publishing it; and therefore the Deficiencies which appear in it are the more excusable. I have cor-

rected several, especially with regard to Figures; for it cannot be imagined, that a Man who is, generally speaking, very exact, should ever fall into gross Mistakes; and therefore, when these occur, they ought to be attributed to the Transcriber of his Journal, who was, perhaps, unacquainted with the Subject: But, however, Captain *Cowley's* Voyage has a great deal of Merit: It is written with the greatest Honesty and Freedom, that I have ever met with in a Work of this kind. He never dissembles the Design in which he was embarked; but fairly owns, that they intended to take the Ships of any Nation they were able to master; and, if it had not been for his Account, we should never have known how the *Revenge*, which originally carried eight, or at most eighteen Guns, came afterwards to carry forty; but he explains the Mystery, by shewing us, that the small Ship helped them to the great one. His Account also of the *Gallapagos* Islands, is also very accurate in every respect; and tho' *Dampier* has given us a much larger, and more circumstantial, Relation of this Part of the Voyage, yet he comes very short of him in this Particular. His Observations, as to the Designs of the *Dutch* at that Juncture, are very judicious, and discover a great Share of public Spirit, which is the most laudable Quality in every Writer. I cannot help thinking, that it would be of great Benefit to the Public, if we had a fair and impartial History of our Disputes with the *Dutch* in regard to Trade, with a clear Account of what each Nation has gained from the other; for, as, on the one hand, it is certain, that some of the Writers, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* carried their Rancor against the *Dutch* too far, and charged them with many Things, of which they were not guilty; so, on the other hand, some People have extenuated Things too much since, and have thereby rendered the Nation blind to her own Interest. In the Prosecution of this Work, I had do my utmost Endeavour to get such Points, as shall fall in my Way, in a fair Light; but still, I do not think this would tender such a Work as I hint unnecessary. Our Trade is our great national Concern; and we never can have it too fully explained, or too minutely treated; for though the Traffick of private Persons may suffer from too free an Examination, yet it is otherwise with the Commerce of a great People: The more that is sifted and inquired into, the better, as appears in the particular Case of Interest of Money, which, till it was thoroughly handled, and all the Questions that arose about it freely and frequently debated, was never perfectly understood, to the great Discouragement of Trade, and our infinite Loss as a People. But let us at present return to the Thread of our Discourse, and take a View of Captain *Dampier's* Observations, as well in that Part of the Voyage he made together with our Author *Cowley*, as in the Remainder of it, after Captain *Davis* quitted Captain *Eaton*, and Mr. *Dampier* quitted *Davis*, and pursued his Voyage Home the best Way he could. These Voyages have, indeed, been published before, but they appear, for the first time, in their natural Order, and purged from a Multitude of Errors, by which an unskilful Reader might have been easily misled.

SECTION XIII.

Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER'S first Voyage round the World, collected from his own Account

1. The Method observed in digesting this Account.
2. A concise History of Captain *Dampier*, and his Adventures, to the Time of his Return to England, after his second Expedition to the Bay of *Campeche*.
3. His second Voyage to America, and his Exploits with the Buccaneers from 1679 to 1681.
4. Continuation of his Adventures, to the Time of his undertaking this Voyage, August 23. 1683.
5. Description of the Island of *Sait*, and its Inhabitants.
6. Account of the Island of *St. Nicholas*, and of the Traffick of Captain *Bond* to its Inhabitants.
7. Arrive at the *Sebaladne* Islands.
8. Pass into the Cape of *Good Hope* round the South Sea.
9. Anchor before the Island of *Juan Fernandez*.
10. Ample Description of that Island.
11. Observations on the Weather in the Pacific Sea.
12. Description of the Island of *Lobo*.
13. Three Spanish Prizes taken.
14. Account of their Stay at the *Gallapagos* Islands.
15. A Description concerning the several Kinds of Tortoise.
16. Return to the Continent, where they find themselves discovered by the *Spaniards*.
17. Are obliged to lay aside their Design upon *Rio Leja*.
18. Description of the Gulf and Islands of *Anapallo*.
19. Transactions there, and their Separation from Captain *Eaton*.
20. Account of the Island of *Plate*, and its Inhabitants.
21. Precautions taken by the *Spaniards* to prevent their Landing.
22. Join with Captain *Swan* and Captain *Harris*.
23. Account of the Town of *Paita*.

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and the Buildings in Peru. 24. Description of several Kinds of Bark Logs, and their Uses. 25. Their Proceedings till they reach the Islands of St. Clara. 26. Description of the Town of Guiaquil. 27. Miscarry in an Attempt on that Place. 28. Description of the Bay of Yacuma. 29. Account of the adjacent Coast. 30. The Island of Gorgonia described. 31. Observations on Panama, and the Country about it. 32. The Course of the Spanish Plate Fleet described. 33. That Description continued. 34. They meet with a considerable Body of Privateers. 35. Description of the Coast near Cape Lourenço. 36. Their Adventures on that Coast. 37. Their Engagement with the Spanish Fleet. 38. Description of the Islands of Quibo. 39. Make various Attempts, and meet with continual Disappointments. 40. They attack and become Masters of the City of Leon. 41. Further Account of their Transactions to the Separation of the Fleet. 42. Attempt Guatimala, and are repulsed. 43. Profecution of their Voyage towards the North. 44. The City and Port of Acapulco, and other Places on that Coast, described. 45. Continuation of their Voyage to the Islands of Chametty. 46. Miscarry in their Design on the Manilla Ship. 47. Arrive at the Islands before-mentioned. 48. Some Account of Callifornia, and New Mexico. 49. Sail for the East Indies, and arrive at the Philippine Islands. 50. Description of these Islands, and of their Transactions there. 51. Other Islands, and their Inhabitants, described. 52. Their Discoveries in these Parts; the Names bestowed by them upon several Islands, with a Description of those Islands, and an Account of their Inhabitants. 53. The Islands of Cebes, Bontou, and other Places, described. 54. Copious Account of that Part of the Southern Continent, distinguished by the Name of New Holland. 55. Our Author quits the Ship at Nicolbar. 56. Brief Account of his three Years Stay in the East Indies. 57. He embarques for, and returns safe to England, arriving in the Thames, September 16. 1691.

THE Observations heretofore made, with respect to the Difficulty of compiling Voyages, and the Causes of those Imperfections that are usually discerned in them, cannot be better illustrated, than by the subsequent Account of his own Discoveries by Captain Dampier, one of the greatest Navigators of late Years, that this Nation has to boast. His Character has been variously represented, according to the different Notions entertained of him by Men who were guided rather by their particular Prejudices or Prepossessions, than by Love of Truth, or Respect to Justice. This was, in some measure, owing to the great Disadvantages, under which his Works were published: They came out at several times, without Order, harshly written, obscure in some Places, prolix in others, and every-where full of Promises of giving the World further and better Accounts, which naturally sunk the Credit of what he was then giving; but, with all these Disadvantages, the Voyages of Captain Dampier will be always thought useful and entertaining. I have taken all the Care I could to improve them in both respects; and, I presume the Reader will find, that they are much clearer, and more intelligible, as they stand here, than they can be found elsewhere, and that for these Reasons: I have, in the first Place, digested his several Relations into their proper Order of Time, which renders them perfectly well connected, and contributes not a little to their being better understood. By taking this Method, I have had the Opportunity of pruning away many unnecessary Digressions, and needless Repetitions, which, without Doubt, the Author himself would have done, if he had revised his own Writings, and reduced them into a just Series, of which that he had some Notion, appears from several of his Prefaces and Dedications. Thus much as to the rendering his Voyages the more useful; and, that they might still remain as entertaining as ever, I have chosen to retain his own Manner of Writing, except in the subsequent Introduction, where I propose to give the Reader a concise Account of this extraordinary Person from his own Works, previous to those Voyages, that might him to a Place in mine, as a very eminent Circumnavigator, and one, whose many Discoveries ought to recommend his Memory to Posterity, as a Man of infinite Industry, and of a very laudable public Spirit.

2. Captain William Dampier was descended from a very reputable Family in *Somersetshire*, where he was born in the Year 1652; and, during the first time of his Father and Mother, had such an Education, as was thought requisite to fit him for a Trade; but, losing both his Parents while he was very young, those, who had the Care of him afterwards, finding him of a roving Disposition, and strongly inclined to go to Sea, resolved to comply with his Humour in this respect; and, about the Year 1669, bound him to a Master of a Ship, who lived at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*, with whom he made a Voyage to *France* the same Year, and, in the next, went to *Newfoundland*; but was so pinched by the Severity of that Climate, that, on his Return, he went home to his Friends in the Country, having lost much

of that Fagerness, with which he had been possessed for going to Sea. This, however, soon returned, on his hearing of an outward-bound *East India* Ship, which was speedily to sail from the Port of *London*; and thereupon, in the latter End of the Year 1670, he came up to Town, and entered himself before the Mast on board the *Jehn and Mariba* of *London*, Captain *Earning* Commander, with whom he made a Voyage to *Bantam* in the Island of *Java*, and back; by which he acquired a great deal of Experience. He returned into *England* in *January* 1672, and retired to his Brother's House in *Somersetshire*, where he staid all the next Summer. In 1673, he entered himself on board the *Royal Prince*, commanded by the famous *Sir Edward Spragge*, and was in two Engagements against the *Dutch* that Summer; but, falling sick, was put on board an Hospital ship a Day or two before the last Engagement, in which that brave *English* Seaman was killed, and which *Mr. Dampier* saw only at a Distance. After this, he went down again to his Brother's in *Somersetshire*, where, meeting with one *Colonel Helber*, who had a large Estate in *Jamaica*, he was persuaded by him to go over to that Island, where he was to be employed in the Management of it. With this View, he sailed from the River *Thames* in the Spring of the Year 1674, and resided somewhat more than a Year at *Jamaica*; where, not liking the Life of a Planter, he, at the Persuasion of one *Captain Hodsell*, engaged himself among the *Logwood-cutters*, and embarked in *August* 1675 for *Campachy*, where he resided for some time, and followed that Employment diligently, tho' he underwent many and great Harshships, before he had an Opportunity of returning to *Jamaica*, which he did in the End of the Year. In the *February* following, he embarked again for *Campachy*, being now better provided for the Trade of *Logwood-cutter* than before. He continued here a good while, and acquainted himself perfectly with the Manner of cutting *Logwood*, and trading in it; which enabled him to form some Projects for advancing his Fortune: This, however, made it necessary for him to return first to *Jamaica*, and then to *England*, where he arrived on board a Ship commanded by one *Captain Leader*, in the Month of *August* 1678. It was this new Scene of Life in the Bay of *Campachy*, that introduced him to the Acquaintance of some *Buccaneers*, and gave him a Notion of that sort of Life, in which we shall find him afterwards engaged, and of which, it is certain, he was afterwards very much ashamed; which I take to be the Reason, that, in his first Voyage round the World, he has concealed many Circumstances, with which, however, the World has been made acquainted by *Captain Cowley*, and others, who had not, perhaps, the same Reasons for keeping them secret. Put to proceed with the History of our Author's Adventures.

3. In the Spring of the Year 1679, he embarked on board the *Loyal Merchant*, of *London*, commanded by *Captain Knappan*, bound for *Jamaica*, where he arrived in the latter End of *April*, the same Year, with an Intent to have provided himself in such manner, as might have fit

man up for a complete Logwood-cutter, and Trader in the Bay of *Campanby*. But he afterwards changed his Resolution, and laid out the best Part of what he was worth in the Purchase of a small Estate in *Dorsetshire*, of a Person he knew to have good Title; and then made an Agreement with one Mr. *Hobby*, to take a Trip to the Continent before he went for *England*. Soon after their setting out, they came to an Anchor in *Nigral Bay*, at the West End of *Jumana*: They found there the Captains *Coxon*, *Sawkins*, *Sharpe*, and other Privateers, with whom all Mr. *Hobby's* Men pretently agreed to go, and left nobody with him but our Author; who, believing that his Assistance could not do him much good, consented to go along with them too. At the Close of the Year 1679. they set out: Their first expedition was against *Perto-Bello*, which being accomplished, they took a Resolution to cross the Isthmus of *Darien*, in order to pursue their Designs in the South Seas. On April 5. 1680. they landed near *Golden Bluff*, being between 2 and 400 strong, carrying with them such Provisions as were necessary, and Toys to gratify the free *Indians*, through whose Country they passed. In about nine Days time they arrived at *Santa Maria*, which they took without much Difficulty, but found there neither Gold nor Provisions, as they expected; so they staid there only three Days, and then embarked on board Canoes, and other small Craft, for the South Seas. On April 23. they were in Sight of *Panama*; and, having in vain attempted *Puebla Nueva*, before which Captain *Sawkins*, then acting as Commander in chief, was killed, they went off to the Isles of *Quibo*. On June 6. they sailed from thence for the Coast of *Peru*; and, touching at the Islands of *Gorgona* and *Plata*, they came to *Pis*, which they took in the Month of *October*. About *Christmas*, the same Year, they arrived in the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, which was the farthest they went towards the South: There they deposed Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe*, who had the chief Command after the Death of *Sawkins*, and made Choice of one Captain *Washing* to command, under whom they attempted *Arica*; but were repulsed with the Loss of twenty-eight Men, among whom was their new Commander Captain *Washing*; when they sailed for some time without any Commander; but, arriving in the Island of *Plata*, their Crew split into two Factions; when it was resolved, before they proceeded to the Choice of a Commander, that the Majority, with their new Captain, should keep the Ship, and the Minority should content themselves with the Canoes and small Craft: Upon the Poll, Captain *Sharpe* was restored, and Mr. *Dampier*, who had voted against him, prepared, with his Associates, to return over Land into the North Seas.

On April 17. 1681. they quitted Captain *Sharpe*, and, without acknowledging any Commander, resolved to prosecute their Design of repassing the Isthmus, though they were but forty seven Men in all. This was one of the boldest Undertakings that ever came into the Head of desperate Men; and yet they performed it without any considerable Loss. On May 1. they landed on the Continent; pass the Isthmus in twenty three Days; and, on the 24th, embarked on board Captain *Tristram*, a French Privateer, with whom they joined a Fleet of those sort of People, consisting of nine Vessels, on board of which were near 600 Men. This was a very great Force, and they battered themselves with the Hopes of doing great Things against the *Spaniards*. But through Variety of Accidents, tho' chiefly through the Disagreement among their Commanders, they were able to do very little, except that these People, who came over Land, made themselves Masters of a Tartan, and, putting themselves under the Command of Captain *Hoyt*, continued cruising along the Spanish Coast, quite down to the Dutch Settlement of *Caracas*, where they endeavoured to seize a good Quantity of Sugar, which they had taken on board a Spanish Ship; but, failing in that Design, they prosecuted their Voyage to *Portugas*, and from thence to the *Caraca* Coast, where they took three Barks, one laden with Hides, another with European Commodities, and the third with *Arthen-ware* and Brandy. With these Prizes they proceeded to the Island of *Roca*, where they staid them, and then resolved to separate, tho' they were but sixty in all. Of these, about twenty,

among whom our Author was, took one of the Barks, and, with their Share of the Goods, proceeded directly for *Virginia*, where they arrived in the Month of *July* 1682. There they continued for some time, and then the best Part of them made a Voyage to *Carolina*, from whence they once more came back to *Virginia*; and, having spent the best Part of their Wealth, were now ready to enter on any Scheme that could be proposed for getting more, nor was it long before such an Opportunity offered. Captain *Cooke*, of whom we have given an Account at the Beginning of the former Section, coming thither with a Prize, and declaring his Resolution to go into the South Seas, and cruise upon the *Spaniards*; Mr. *Dampier*, whole old Acquaintance he was, and who knew him to be an able Commander, readily agreed to go with him, and brought most of his Companions into a like Disposition; which was of greater Consequence to that Commander, as it furnished him with One-third of his whole Company. In this Voyage it was that Captain *Cowley* acted as Master, though he was not trusted with the true Design. They sailed from *Absamack* in *Virginia*, August 23. 1683. and berred their Course for the *Cape Verd* Islands. In their Passage they met with a violent Storm, which killed a whole Crew, of which I the rather take notice, because it is a Circumstance omitted by Captain *Cowley*, who, having, perhaps, been in greater Storms, was not so much alarmed at this. We have now seen our Author embarked for his first Voyage round the World, the Remainder of which, for Reasons already assigned, shall be given in his own manner, and without dropping any thing that has not been before related in our Account of Captain *Cowley's* Voyage; because that would only fatigue the Reader with unnecessary Reiterations.

5. The Isle of *Salt* is situated in 16° Latitude, and in 149° 33' Longitude West from the *Lizard* in *England*. It is in Length from North to South 9 Leagues, and in Breadth about two Leagues; has abundance of salt Ponds, (whence it derives its Name) but no Trees or Grats that ever I saw. Some few poor Goats feed upon Shrubs near the Sea Side. I have also seen some wild Fowl here, and especially the *Hammings*, a reddish Fowl, of the Shape of a Hen, but much larger, living in Ponds, or muddy Places. We shot about fourteen of them, tho' they are very shy. Their Nests they build with Mud, in the shallow Pools, or standing Waters; these they raise up like Hills, tapering to the Top, two Feet above the Surface of the Water, where they leave a Hole to lay their Eggs in, which when they do, or are hatching them, they stand with their long Legs in the Water close to the Hills, and to cover the Hollows only with their Rumps; for, if they should sit down on them, the Weight of their Bodies would break them. The young ones can't fly, nor do they come to their true Colour or Shape, till they are ten or eleven Months old, but run very fast: Their Flesh is lean and black, but not ill tasted: They have large Tongues, and, near the Root of them, a Piece of Fat, which is accounted a great Dainty. I saw, at another time, great Store of tame Birds at the Isle of *Roca Nueva*, near the Continent of *America*, opposite to *Caracas*, but never could to fully observe their Nests, or young ones, as here. We found not above five or six Men in the Island of *Salt*, the Chief brought us three or four poor Goats; in Return for which, and some Salt we bought of him, we gave him some old Cloaths.

6. We sailed from the Isle of *Salt* to *St. Nicholas*, another of the *Cape Verd* Isles, twenty-two Leagues West South-west. From thence we came to an Anchor on the South-east Side. It is of a triangular Form, the longest Side to the East being thirty Leagues in Length, and the other two twenty Leagues each: Near the Shore it is rocky and barren; but has some Valleys farther in the Country, which produce Vines and Grats. The Chief of the Isle, with two or three Gentlemen, brought some of the Wine aboard us, which was of a pale Colour, and tasted like *Madeira* Wine, but was a little thick: They told us, that the principal Village was in a Valley, fourteen Miles from the Bay, where we then were, and contained about 100 Families; they were of a dark swarthy Complexion. After having spent five or six Days here in digging of Wells for fresh Water,

Water, we sailed to the Islands, forty Miles distant, where we came to an Anchor to have provided ourselves, but they would not let Captain *Bond*, a British Officer, take some of the richest oil (some of the choice). This Isle is but yet has a considerable Man, *June*, *July*, and *August* here, but they do not take any of the *West Indies*: Some Plantains, and *Coco* nuts here, as well as except in the Isle of *Salt* to the West: For tho' it the best inhabited of on the East Side, much bound to the East in the *Portuguese* Ships to provide themselves Eggs, Plantains, and Drawers, *Maadkerch*, and all sorts of Linnen, with the Inhabitants. There is a Fort, on the the Harbour. I was two pretty large Towns drank at *St. Nicholas*. *Fogo* and *Brava*, but *Islo*. The first is a burning Mountain, which may be discerned Night time; a few Cattle, at the Foot of Goats, Fowls, Plants, the *Cape Verd* Islands, *ceste*, and *Bona Vista*.

7. From the *Cape* the South with an the Straights of *Magellan*. Wind blowing hard a with, we directed our came in a few Days to *St. Jago* River, where *Sierra Leona*, which Camwood, yielding a tar from the Shore we by Negroes; the Middle, where they brought aboard good sugar canes. About scuted our Voyage to soon as we got out of four in a Day, which advance but slowly, South and by East, at the Equinoctial Line, the Isle of *St. Jago*. At the Line, the Wind blew South-west by North, the Wind in 3° South Latitude, was at 5 at Fall South-east, and carried us the 18th Latitude, without any abouts being at a pale Ground with our Land. At Noon I computed Variation 12° 50'. *Schaal de Weert*, in a Longitude, West from 11° 33' 10". I near those Islands, be thro' the Strait of Men aboard the Pr mand as in other Vess two Cables Length of three Islands, where

Water, we sailed to *Ataya*, another of the *Cape de Verd* Islands, forty Miles East by South from the last, where we came to an Anchor to the North-west Side of it. We would have provided ourselves with some Beef and Goats here, but they would not let our Men come ashore; because one Captain *Bondi*, a *Brasil* Man, had, not long before, carried off some of the chief Inhabitants under the same Pretence. This Isle is but small, and the Coast full of Shoals; yet has a considerable Commerce in Salt and Cattle. In *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*, a sort of Tortoises lay their Eggs here, but they do not approach in Goodness to those of the *West Indies*: They also plant here some Potatoes, some Plantains, and Corn; the Inhabitants live exceeding poorly here, as well as in all the other *Cape Verd* Islands, except in the Isle of *St. Jago*, four or five Leagues hence to the West: For tho' that Island is mountainous, yet is it the best inhabited of all, as having a very good Harbour on the East Side, much frequented by the *European* Ships bound to the *East Indies*, and the *Guiney Coast*; as also the *Portuguese* Ships bound for *Brasil*, who come hither to provide themselves with Beef, Pork, Goats, Fowls, Eggs, Plantains, and Cocoa-nuts, in Exchange for Shirts, Drawers, Handkerchiefs, Hats, Waistcoats, Breeches, and all sorts of Linen Cloth, which is in high Esteem here with the Inhabitants, who are much inclined to Theft. There was a Fort, on the Top of an Hill, which commands the Harbour: I was credibly informed, that this Isle has two pretty large Towns, and the same sort of Wine we drank at *St. Nicholas*. There are two more of those Islands, *Fogo* and *Brava*, both small Islands to the West of *St. Jago*. The first is remarkable for its being one intire burning Mountain, on the Top whereof issues a Fire, which may be discerned a great Way off at Sea in the Night time; a few of its Inhabitants live near the Seaside, at the Foot of the Mountain, who subsist upon Goats, Fowls, Plantains, and Cocoa-nuts: The rest of the *Cape Verd* Islands are *St. Antonio*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *Bona Vista*.

From the *Cape Verd* Isles we steered our Course to the South with an East North-east Wind directly to the Straights of *Magellan*; but at 10° North Latitude, the Wind blowing hard at South by West, and South South-west, we directed our Course to the *Guiney Coast*, and came in a few Days to an Anchor at the Mouth of *Sherburne* River, where there is an *English* Factory South of *Sierra Leona*, which drives a considerable Trade with Camwood, yielding a red Colour, used by the Dyers. Not far from the Shore we saw a pretty large Village, inhabited by Negroes; the Houses were low, except one in the Middle, where they entertained us with Palm-wine, and brought aboard good Store of Rice, Fowls, Honey, and Sugar-canes. About the Middle of *November* we prosecuted our Voyage to the Straights of *Magellan*; but, as soon as we got out to Sea, we met with *Tornadoes*, three or four in a Day, which, together with Calms, made us advance but slowly, the Wind veering at Intervals to the South and by East, and South South-east, till we were past the *Espinothal* Line, about a Degree to the East of the Isle of *St. Jago*. After we were come 12° to the South of the Line, the Wind turned to the East, which made us steer South-west by West; and, the farther we got to the South, the Wind increased upon us from the East. At 3° South Latitude, we had the Wind at South-east; and at 5° at East South-east, where it held a considerable time, and carried us the 18th of *January* 1684. to 36° South Latitude, without any remarkable Accident. The Sea hereabouts being of a palish Colour, we thought to have found Ground with our Line, but found none at 100 Fathom. At Noon I computed to be 48° 50' West from the *Lizard*, the Variation 12° 50'. *January* 28. we made three Isles of *Sebalde de Weert*, in 51° 25' South Latitude, and 57° 28' Longitude, West from the *Lizard* of *England*, the Variation 33° 10'. I persuaded Captain *Cooke* to anchor near those Islands, being sensible of Danger in our Passage thro' the Strait of *Magellan*, considering, especially, that Men aboard the *Privateers* are not so strictly at Command as in other Vessels. We came to an Anchor within two Cables Length of the Shore of the furthestmost of those three Islands, where we found foul rocky Ground, and the

Island barren, and destitute of Trees, but some *Dildo*-bushes growing near the Sea-side. We saw the same Day vast Shoals of small red Lobsters, no bigger than one's Finger; but were perfectly like our Lobsters, except in their Colour.

8. As we found neither safe Anchoring, nor fresh Water, at those Isles, we made the best of our way towards the Straights of *Magellan*. *February* 1. we came in Sight of the Strait *le Maire*, which we found very narrow, with high Land on both Sides. The Wind at North North-west, we sailed with a brisk Gale till within four Miles of the Mouth, where, being becalmed, we found a very strong Tide setting out of the Straights to the North; but whether it flowed, or ebbed, we were not able to distinguish, because it ran all Ways, breaking on all Sides, and tossing our Ship at such a Rate, as I never saw before or since. At eight o'Clock at Night we sailed with a West North-west Wind to the East, in order to sail round the *States* Isle; at the East End of which, anchoring the 7th at Noon, we found ourselves at 45° 52' South Latitude. At this End are three small rocky Islands, white with the Dung of Birds. We steered to the South, in order to sail round to the South of *Cape Horn*, the Southernmost Point of *Terra del Fuego*; but the Winds running betwixt the North-west and West, we did not see the *Terra del Fuego*. After the first Evening, we made the Strait of *le Maire*: As I did not see the Sun, at Setting or Rising, from the Time we left the Isles of *Sebalde de Weert*, till we came into the South Seas, so I am not able to tell you the Variation: I made, indeed, an Observation at Noon in 59° 30' Longitude, the Wind at West by North; and at Night the Wind veered about to the South-west at 60°, the furthest South Latitude I ever was in. *February* 14. we were surpris'd by a most violent Storm in 57° Latitude to the West of *Cape Horn*, which continued till the 3d of *March*, from the South-west, and South-west and by West, and West South-west. *March* 3. it blew a fresh Gale from the South, and afterwards from the East, which brought us into the South Sea. The 9th, we found ourselves at 47° 10' and the Variation 15° 30' East. The 17th, we had a fair Gale from the South-east at 36° Latitude, the Variation 8° East. The 19th, early in the Morning, we discerned a Sail to the South of us, which we supposed to be a *Spanish* Merchantman bound from *Baldivia* to *Lama*; but proved one Captain *Eaton*, from *London*, who being bound to the South Seas as well as we, we kept Company with him quite through the Straights.

9. *March* 24. we got in Sight of the Isle of *John Fernandez*, and soon after came to an Anchor, in a Bay at the South End, in 25 Fathom Water, within two Cables Length of the Shore. We sent immediately to look after a *Muskito* Man we had been forced to leave there three Years before; and who, notwithstanding all the Search made by the *Spaniards* after him, had kept himself concealed in the Woods. When he was left there by Captain *Wailling*, (after Captain *Sharpe* was turned out) he had with him a Gun, a Knife, and some Powder and Shot, which being all spent, he saw'd his Gun-Barrel into small Pieces, and these he made up into Harpoons, Hooks, and such-like Instruments; all which, though it may seem strange, yet is commonly practis'd among the *Muskito* Indians, who make all their Instruments without either Forge or Anvil. And the other *Indians*, who have got the Use of Iron from the *Europeans*, make their Hatchets, wherewith they cut their Timber and Wood, of a very hard Stone. In the hollowing out of their Canoes, they make use of Fire besides. The Stone Hatchets of the *Indians*, near *Blessfield* River, are ten Inches long, fourteen broad, and two Inches thick in the Middle, ground away flat and sharp at both Ends; the Handle is in the Middle, being a deep Knutch, of a Finger's Length, which they bind round with a Withe of about four Feet long. Thus the *Indians* of *Patagonia* head their Arrows very artificially with grounded Flints: With these before-mentioned Instruments our *Muskito* Man used to strike Goats and Fish for his Subsistence; his Hut being half a Mile from the Sea-side, made of Goats skins; as was his Bed, the same serving likewise for his Cloathing; those he had, when he

was left, being quite worn out. We had no sooner landed, than another *Muskito*, aboard our Ship, ran to meet his Countryman, and, after he had thrown himself on his Face upon the Ground, embraced him with all the Marks of Tenderness; which Ceremony being over, he came to salute us his old Friends. His Name was *Will*, and the other's *Robert*: For, though they have no Names among themselves, they love to have Names given them by the *English*.

10. The Isle of *Juan Fernandez* is about 12 Leagues in Circuit, seated 120 Leagues from the Continent, at $32^{\circ} 15'$. The whole Country is a pleasant Mixture of high Hills and Valleys, the Sides of the Hills being partly Woodlands, partly Savannas, i. e. clear Pieces of Land, naturally without Wood; for Places cleared of Wood by Industry are not called by that Name. In the Bay of *Campana* are very spacious Savannas, and, near the River of *Plata*, some from 30 to 100 Miles long. In *Tamara*, *Cuba*, and *Hispanola*, the Savannas are intermixed with Wood. The Grass in the Plains of *John Fernandez's* Isle is not so fluggy, but much kinder, than those in the *West Indies*. They have here also good Wood for Timber, but none for Malls. Their Cabbage trees are exceeding good, but not so large as in other Places. It is observable, that the Coats that feed towards the West End of the Isle, are much tatter and better than those of the East End, though in the last there is both better and greater Plenty of Grats and sweet Water in the Valleys, whereas the West End is a champagne Country, the Grats dry, and scarce any Wood, or fresh Water. Notwithstanding its Fertility, it is destitute of Inhabitants, who might live here in much Plenty, the Plain being able to maintain a great Number of Cattle, and the Sea affording vast Numbers of Fish, as Seals, Sea lions, Snappers, and Rock-fish. The Seals being sufficiently known and described in other Places, we will pass them by in Silence here: I will only mention, that they are most seen in the North Parts of *America* and *Europe*, and the South Parts of *Africa*, and on the *American* Coast of the South Sea from *Terra del Fuego* to the Equinoctial Line; but are never seen in the *East Indies*, nor to the North of the Line, till at 21° North Latitude. The Sea-lions are not unlike the seals, but much bigger, twelve or fourteen Feet long, and of the Bulk of a large Bull: They have no Hair, and are of a Dun-colour, with large Eyes, and Teeth three Inches long: one of them will yield a good Quantity of sweet Oil, fit to try Meat with: They feed upon Fish, yet is their Flesh tolerable good Food. The Snapper fish has a large Head, Mouth, and Gills, the Back red, and Belly Ash-coloured, like a Rock, but much larger, and its Scales of the Bignets of a Shilling. Their Flesh is very good Food; I have seen them no where but in the *West Indies*, and especially in the South Sea. The Rock-fish, called *Basalao* by the *Spaniards*, from its Likeness to a Cod-fish, is rounder than the former, and of a dark brown Colour, with small scales: It likewise affords good Food, and is found in vast Plenty on the Coast of *Peru* and *Chilo*. This Island has only two Bays fit for Anchorage, with a Rivulet of fresh Water in each: Both these are at the East End, and so conveniently situated, that they might be strengthened and defended by a slender Force against a powerful Army, there being no Access to them from the West over the high Mountains. Here it was that five *Englishmen*, left here by Captain *Perez*, secured themselves against a great Number of *Spaniards*.

11. After staying fourteen Day at the Island of *John Fernandez*, we set Sail again April 8. 1714 in Company with Captain *Eaton*, for the *Pacific* Sea, properly so called, being that Part of the *Mare del Zur* which extends from South to North, betwixt 3° and 4° South Latitude, and, from the *American* Shore to the West, without Limitation, as far as I know. I have sailed in this Sea 250 Leagues without any dark or rainy Clouds, Tempests, orornadoes, Hurricanes, or any other Winds, except the Trade-winds: Notwithstanding which, the Sea runs high at the New and Full Moon, and makes Landing very unsafe. I have, however, frequently taken notice of hazy and foggy Weather in the Morning, so as to hinder the Observation of the Sun. We continued our Course towards the Line to the 24° South Latitude, in Sight of the

Continent of *America*. This vast Track of Land belonging to *Chilo* and *Peru* being very mountainous, we sailed no nearer than twelve or sixteen Leagues to it, for fear of being discovered by the *Spaniards*; and the Land, from 24° to 10° South Latitude, still exceeds the former in Height, being inclosed by three or four Ridges of Mountains within one another, the furthestmost within the Country surpassing the rest in Height; they exceed, in my Opinion, in Height, the Peak of *Teneriff*, and of *St. Martha*, or any other in the World, that ever I saw. Sir *John Narborough*, in his Voyage to *Bahia*, mentions very high Lands near that City (lying upon the Coast), and I have been informed, from divers *Spaniards*, that from *Cuzco*, at 20° South Latitude, to *Baldavia*, at 40° South, the Shore is also very high; which makes me conclude, that these Ridges extend all along the South Sea Coast from one End of *Peru* and *Chilo* to the other, call'd the *Andes*, or *Sierra Nueva de los Andes*. This I have to be the Reason why but few, and these very small Rivers, exonerate themselves into the Sea, scarce any of them being navigable, and some drying up at certain Seasons of the Year. Thus the River of *Chilo* runs with a brisk Current from *January* to *June*, and then decreases till *September*, when it quite dries up till *January* again, as I can say on my own Experience, and as I have heard the *Spaniards* affirm the same of other Rivers on this Coast. So I look upon them rather as Torrents, occasioned by Rain at certain Seasons, than Rivulets.

12. We continued our Course at some Distance along the Coast till *May* the 31, at $09^{\circ} 40'$ South Latitude, when we detaching a Vessel, Captain *Eaton* took her, being laden with Timber. Afterwards we steered our Course to the Isle of *Lobos*, at $6^{\circ} 24'$ South Latitude, five Leagues from the Continent. This Isle is call'd *Lobos de la Mare*, to distinguish it from another nearer the Continent, and, therefore, call'd *Lobos de la Terra*; *Lobos* signifying as much as a Seal in *Spanish*, of which there is great Plenty hereabouts. *May* 10. we anchored near *Lobos de la Mare* with our Prize. This is properly a double Island, each of a Mile in Circuit, separated by a small Channel, only not capable of receiving any Ships of Burden: A little Way from the Shore, on the North Side, several Rocks lie scattered in the Sea. At the West End of the Easternmost Isle, is a small sandy Creek, where Ships may be secure from the Winds; all the rest of the Shore being rocky Cliffs. The Land is also rocky and sandy, without any fresh Water, Trees or Shrubs, or any Land Animal, except *Towies*, as *Boobies*, but, above all, *Penguins*, a sort of Sealow of the Bignets of a Duck, and having just such Feet, but the Bill is pointed; their Wings are no more than Stumps, which serve them instead of Fins in the Water, and they are covered rather with Down, than with Feathers: As they feed on Fish, so their Flesh is but of an indifferent Taste, but the Eggs are very good. The *Penguins* are to be seen all over the South Sea, on the Coast of *Newfoundland*, and on the Cape of *Good Hope*: I observed here also, and at the Island of *John Fernandez*, a sort of Blackbird, that all Night rests in Holes made in the Sand. The Road is betwixt the before-mentioned Rocks and the Easternmost Isle, from ten to fourteen Fathoms, which, lying East and West, shelters it from the Winds, which, for the most part, blow here from the South and South South east.

13. Upon Examination of the Prisoners, being convinced that we were discovered by the *Spaniards*, and consequently they would keep all their richest Ships in Port, it was considered, whether we should attack some Place thereabouts, and *Truxillo*, though a populous City, and of a difficult Access in Landing, at the Port of *Guanebago*, six Miles hence, being thought the most likely Place, we prepared for the said Expedition; and, *May* 17. found our whole Number to consist of 108 sound Men, but, the next Day, some of our Men detaching three Vessels to the West, without the Isles, and one betwixt the Isle and the Continent, we gave them Chase; we in Captain *Cooke's* Ship that towards the Continent, and Captain *Eaton* the other two. They were soon taken, and proved to be laden with Flour from *Guanebago* to *Panama*: In one of them we found a Letter from the Viceroy of *Lima*,

to the President of *Peru*, notice of some Enemies, and immediately sent us on our Way, at the same time that those of *Truxillo* were four of *Guanebago*, were attacking that Place to the Isles of *Gollapaga*, near supposed unappell'd. Those of *Gollapaga* at the East Side of one of the Shore, in six hundred.

14. The Isles of *Gollapaga* large Islands, situated a distance of Inhabitant 100 Leagues from the Bottom in the Maps, extending to the West the Longitude from *Truxillo*, the hydrographical enough to the West. Discoverers of them, of the Isles extending North. We saw no more which were seven or eight in Breadth, public I ask not we four Trees, Herbs, or Great Sea birds. These Islands of a Scrub of the Bignets, Feet high, but instead whereof, it has some. These Islands of Cavities of the Rocks, more fertile, and produce of the Westernmost Isles of ten Leagues long, and Sorts of Trees, especially some pretty large trees. As the Sea breezes by cut Intermittion, relate to they are not so much to unwholesome, as During the rainy Season *January*, they are peevish, and Lightning they have refreshing Sea *May*, *June*, *July*, and are bred near several of the Sea Tortoise day is being not usual killed as many as we time, came to an Anchor where he and his Men this Month, and say that also on that Side a storage betwixt the Isles of good Trees as heretofore, found also a Manice trees, and adjoining to these Islands. Fifty, or fifty with some with an Altitude Isle was anchored at 28.

15. There is no Port with *Guano* and *Lava* are and of an extraordinary Land Tortoise Men may subsist on the lot, and as pleasant Food that one of them were from two Feet to two whereas, in any other thirty Pounds Weight that at *St. Lawrence*, large ones. There are tubs in the *West Indies*, which keep

to the President of *Panama*, intimating, that, having notice of some Enemies lately come into those Seas, he had immediately sent away these three Ships to supply their Wants, at the same time, being informed by the Prisoners, that those of *Truxillo* were erecting a Fort near their Harbour of *Guambagno*, we resolv'd to give over our Design of attacking that Place, and steer'd with our three Prizes to the Isles of *Gallapagos*, so called by the *Spaniards* from their supposed unappearing. May 31. we got Sight of the Heads of *Gallapagos*, and at Night came to an Anchor at the East Side of one of the Easternmost Isles, a Mile from the Shore, in sixteen Fathom Water, clear, white, and Sand.

The Isles of *Gallapagos* are a good Number of large Islands, situated under and on both Sides the Line, destitute of Inhabitants; the Easternmost of them being 110 Leagues from the Continent. According to their Position in the Maps, they are in the Longitude of 181, extending to the West as far as 176; according to which, the Longitude from *England* West, is 68°; though, I doubt, the hydrographical Charts have not placed them far enough to the West. The *Spaniards*, who were the first Discoverers of them, describe them to be a great Number of Isles extending North-west from the Equator to 5° North. We saw no more than fourteen or fifteen, some of which were seven or eight Leagues in Length, and three or four in Breadth, pretty high and flat; four or five of the Easternmost we found rocky and barren, without either Trees, Herbs, or Grats, except what was very near the Sea-side. These Islands produce also the Dildo-tree, a sort of a Shrub of the Bignets I a Man's Leg, and ten or twelve Feet high, but without either Fruit or Leaves; instead whereof, it has sharp Prickles from Top to Bottom. These Islands afford also some Water in Ponds, and Cavities of the Rocks. Some of the Isles are low, and more fertile, and produce Trees known in *Europe*. Some of the Westernmost Isles are bigger than the rest, being nine or ten Leagues long, and six or seven broad, and afford many Sorts of Trees, especially Mammee-tigs; they have also some pretty large fresh-water Rivers, and many Rivulets. As the Sea breezes by Day, and the Night Winds, without Intermission, refresh the Air of the Isles *Gallapagos*, so they are not so much troubled with excessive Heats, nor to unwholsome, as most other Places near the Equator: During the rainy Season, in *November*, *December*, and *January*, they are pester'd with most violent Tempells, Thunder, and Lightning: Before and after these Months, they have refreshing Showers; and their Summer Season is in *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*, without any Rains. We are ord' near several of those Islands, and found frequently the Sea Tortoises sunning themselves at Noon-day (a thing not usual in most other Places). Of these we killed as many as we wanted. Captain *Davis*, at another time, came to an Anchor on the West Side of these Isles, where he and his Men fed upon Land Tortoises for three Months, and saved sixty Jars of Oil from them. He met also on that Side with divers good Channels, and Anchorage betwixt the Isles, several fresh water Rivulets, and Sorts of good Trees and Fuel. Captain *Harris* (of whom hereafter) found also in some of these Islands abundance of Mammee-trees, and divers large Rivers. The Sea, adjoining to these Islands, is well stored with good and large Fish, especially with Sharks. I took the Height of the Sea with an Altrolabe. At the North-end of the second Isle we anchored at 28° North from the Line.

There is no Place in the World so much stored with Gnomes and Land Tortoises as these Isles. The first are fat, and of an extraordinary Size, and exceeding tame; and the Land Tortoises so numerous, that some hundred Men may subsist on them for a considerable time, being very fat, and as pleasant Food as a Pullet; and of such Bignets, that one of them weighs 150 or 200 Pounds, and are from two Feet to two Feet six Inches over the Belly; whereas, in any other Place, I never met with any above thirty Pounds Weight; though I have heard them say, that at *St. Laurens*, or *Malagajar*, there are also very large ones. There are three or four Sorts of Land Tortoises in the *West Indies*: One is called by the *Spaniards* *Hakate*, which keep most in fresh-water Ponds, they

have small Legs, and long Necks, and flat Feet, and commonly weigh betwixt ten and fifteen Pounds. The second Sort they call'd *Tenopen*, much less than the former, and something rounder; but, for the rest, not unlike them, except that the Shell on their Backs is naturally coloured with a curious carved Work. Both Sorts afford very good Meat, and these last delight in marshy and low Places, and are in vast Numbers on the Isle of *Pines*, near *Caba*, among the Woods. The Tortoises in the *Gallapagos* Islands are in Shape like the first, with long Necks, and small Heads; only, they are much bigger. These Islands have also some green Snakes, and great Store of tame Turtle-doves, something less than our Pigeons, but very sweet and fat. Betwixt some of those Islands are large Channels, capable of receiving Ships of a moderate Burden. Upon the Shores there grows great Plenty of Turtle-grass, which makes those Channels abound in that Sort of Sea Tortoise which is call'd the Green Turtle, or Tortoise: For, you must know, that there are four or five different Sorts of Sea Tortoises; viz. the Trunk Tortoise, the Loggerhead, the Hawkbill, and Green Tortoise: The first is bigger, and has a rounder and an higher Beak than the rest; but its Flesh is neither wholsome, nor well-tasted, any more than that of the Loggerhead, which feeds on the Moss of Rocks: It borrows its Name from its large Head. The Hawkbill (so called from its long small Mouth) is the least, and that bears the so much esteem'd Shell, of which they make Cabinets, Boxes, Combs, &c. in *Europe*: Of this Shell, each has from three to four Pounds, though some have less; the Flesh is but indifferent, yet somewhat better than that of the Loggerheads; though those taken betwixt the *Sambellus* and *Porto-Bello*, make those that eat the Flesh vomit and purge vehemently. The same is observable of some other Fish in the *West Indies*, of which more anon. It is further remarkable, that the Flesh of the Hawkbill Tortoise differs according to their Food; for those that feed upon Moss, among the Rocks, have a much yellower Fat and Flesh, and not so well tasted as those that feed upon Grats; besides that their Shells are not so transparent. These Hawkbill Tortoises are in divers Parts of the *West Indies*, and have their peculiar Isles, where they lay their Eggs, and seldom intermix with any other Kind of Tortoises. However, these, as well as other Sorts of Tortoises, lay their Eggs in the Sand, and after the same manner: Their Laying-time is about *May*, *June*, and *July*, a little sooner or later; and they lay three times every Season, eighty or ninety Eggs each time, which are round, and are of the Bignets of an Hen's Egg, but covered only with a white thin Skin. In some of the Bays on the North Side of *Jamaica*, the Hawkbills lay their Eggs, as likewise on the Bay of *Honduras*, and in divers Places on the Continent of the Coast of *America*, from *Trinidad* to *Vera Cruz*, up the Bay of *New Spain*. After a Sea Tortoise gets ashore to lay, she is an Hour before the returns, because she always chuses her Place above High-water Mark, where she makes a large Hole with her Fins in the Sand, to lay her Eggs in; which done, she covers them up two Feet deep with the same Sand she had raked out before: Sometimes they will take a View of the Place beforehand, and be sure to return to the same the next Day to lay. They take the Tortoises in the Night, upon the Shore, when they turn them upon their Backs, above the High-water Mark, and to fetch them the next Morning; but a large Green Tortoise will find Work enough to two able Fellows to turn her upon her Back. The Hawkbills are also found in the *East Indies*, and on the *Guinea* Coast; but I never met with any of them in the South Seas. The Green Tortoise derives its Name from the greenish Colour of its Shell, which is better coloured than the Hawkbill, but has a round and small Head; and the Body is of such a Bulk, as to weigh from 200 to 300 Pounds; its Flesh is accounted the best of all the rest, though there is a considerable Difference, as well in their Bulk, as in the Flesh. At *Bianca*, in the *West Indies*, are larger than any in the North Sea, weighing generally 250 or 300 Pounds; their Fat is yellow, the Lean white, and both very good. But those of *Bianca Terra*, to the West of *Porto-Bello*, are neither so large, nor have so white and well-tasted Flesh: And those found in the Bay of *Hon-*

daras and *Campechy* are less than these, and their Fat of a greenish Colour. I was told, that, at *Port-Royal*, in *Campechy* Bay, they once catched one of these Green Tortoises, which was four Feet thick, from the Back to the Belly, which was six Feet broad: A Boy of ten Years old, the Son of Captain *Reck*, went in it, instead of a Boat, aboard his Father's Ship, then at Anchor a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore. The Fat of this Creature yielded eight Gallons of Oil. The Tortoises found among the little Isles on the South Side of *Cuba*, are some bigger, some less, and their Flesh sometimes green, sometimes yellow: These are carried to *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, where they are kept in Wires made with Stakes. The Green Tortoises feed upon Grass, a Quarter of an Inch broad, and six Inches long, growing in three, four, five, or even six Fathom Water, it is quite different from the *Almatoes* Grass, which has a slender Blade. The Tortoises of the Isle of *Gallapagos* are a bastard Kind of Green Tortoises, their Shell being thicker than the others, but their Flesh not so good; besides, they are much larger, and frequently two or three Feet thick, and their Bellies five Feet broad. In the South Sea are another Kind of Green Tortoise, no bigger than the smallest Hawkbill; as they feed on Moss, so their Flesh is rank, though very fat: Both these Kinds differ from all the rest; for whereas, in other Places, the Female only goes ashore, and that in the Night-time; among these, both the Male and Female go together by Day, and return together; both are very fat at first, but, when they are ready to return, they are lean, though the Female not so lean as the Male. It is the common Opinion here, that they are nine Days ingendering, the He on the She's Back, in the Water. This is certain, that, at that time, the He will not forsake the She, who is much more fearful, and often endeavours to get away; but that the Male keeps her with his Fins, so that, if you strike the She first at their Coupling-time, you are sure of the He. They are supposed to live many Years, because they are a long time coming to their full Growth. In the South Seas, on the West End of the Coast of *Mexico*, is another Kind of Green Tortoises, much smaller than all the rest, but their Flesh very well tasted. There is one thing extremely surprising in all these Creatures; that for three Months, while they are laying their Eggs, they forsake their ordinary Places of Resort, and seek others, where they lay their Eggs; and it is generally supposed, that they do not either eat or drink all that Season. The most noted Places where they breed are, the Isle of *Caimanes*, in the *West Indies*, and the Isle of *Afencien*, in the Western Ocean; and no sooner is their Coupling-time past, but they are all gone; though it is certain, that they must swim a great Way to come to either of these Places, since it has been taken notice of, that all the before mentioned Tortoises have been found at *Caimanes* in Breeding-time: The nearest Place from whence these Creatures can swim thither, is the Isle of *Cuba*, forty Leagues thence. Those that breed at the Isle of *Afencien*, coming from the Continent, must go at least three hundred Leagues, it being certain, that their constant Places of Abode are always near the Shore. Thus, in the South Sea, they go from the *Gallapagos* to lay their Eggs on the Continent, which is above an hundred Leagues thence. It is further observable, that not all the Tortoises leave their ordinary Places at Breeding-time, but many remain there; and, those that go, are followed by great Numbers of Fishes, especially Sharks, so that those Coasts are left destitute of Fish, till they return.

14. After a Stay of twelve Days among these Isles, one of our *Indian* Prisoners, a Native of *Rio Lega*, having given us an ample Account of the Riches of that Place, and offered his Service to conduct us thither, it was resolv'd to take his Advice; and accordingly we set Sail the 12th of *June*, with an Intention to touch in our Way at the Isle of *Coccos*: We took our Course North 4 40' Latitude, with a South and by West and South South-west Winds; and, as we came West to the Isle of *Coccos*, the Wind South-west and by South, thus we continued our Course to 5° 45' N. Lat. when, despairing to make the Isle of *Coccos*, as the Wind flood, we directed our Course to the Continent. The Isle of *Coccos* lies in 17° N. Lat. its Circuit seven or eight Leagues, but has no Inhabitants. Near the sea-

side it produces a certain pleasant Herb in the low Grounds, called *Guamadal* by the *Spaniards*. As it is environed with steep Rocks, so there is no coming near it, except that on the North-east End Ships may ride safely in a small Creek: This is what I learn from the *Spaniards*, and was confirm'd to me by Captain *Eaton*. The fair Weather, and small Winds, conducted us by the Beginning of *July* to *Cape Blanco*, on the Continent of *Mexico*, so called from two white Rocks, half a Mile from the Cape, in 9° 26' Latitude; they are taper, high, and steep, like two high Towers; the Cape itself is about the same Height as *Becky head*, on the Coast of *Suffex*, in *England*, being a tall Point jutting out with steep Rocks to the Sea, but having an easy Descent on both Sides from the Flat on the Top, which, being covered with tall Trees, affords a pleasant Prospect. On the North-west Side of the Cape, the Land runs in North east for four Leagues, making a small Bay, called the *Caldera Bay*; at the Entrance whereof, at the North-west Side of the Cape, a sweet water Rivulet discharges itself into the Sea amongst the low Lands, which are very rich, and abounding in lofty Trees, which extend a Mile North east beyond the Rivulet, where the Savannas begin, and run several Leagues into the Country, being here and there beautified with small Groves of Trees, and covered with a sweet, thick, and long Grass, some of the best I ever saw in the *West Indies*. Deeper into the Bay, the low Lands are bound with Mangroves; but, farther into the Country, the Land is higher, partly Woods, partly hilly Savannas; the Grass whereof is not so good as the former, neither are the Trees in the Woods so tall, but small and short. From the Bottom of this Bay, you may travel over hilly Savannas for fourteen or fifteen Leagues to the Lake of *Nicaragua*. On the Coast of the North Sea, Captain *Cook*, who had been very ill ever since our Departure from the Isle of *Juan Fernandez*, died, as soon as we came within two or three Leagues of this Cape (a thing frequent at Sea, for People to die in View of the Land, after a long illness); and as, in a few Hours after, we came to Anchor a League within the Cape, near the Mouth of the before-mentioned Rivulet, at fourteen Fathom clear hard Sand, he was immediately carried on shore, under a Guard of twelve armed Men, in order to his Interment: While our Men were busy in digging the Grave, three *Spanish* *Indians* came to them, asking them several impertinent Questions, which our People having answer'd as they thought convenient, they kept them in Discourse till they found means to seize them all three, though one of them escap'd their Hands again. The other two, being carried aboard confest, that they were sent thither as Spies, to inform themselves concerning us, from *Nicoya*, a small *Malatto* Town twelve or fourteen Leagues hence, seated upon the Banks of a River bearing the same Name, which being a Place very convenient for building and refitting of Ships, the President of *Panama* had sent Advice of our coming into these Seas to their Magistrates. Concerning the Inhabitants of the Country, they told us, that they lived mostly by manuring of their Grounds for Corn, and feeding their Cattle in the Savannas or Plains, of which they had great Store; and that they sent their Ox hides to the North Sea, by the Lake of *Nicaragua*; as they did also a certain kind of Wood, (which I suppose to be the same, called at *Jamaica* Blood Wood, or *Nicaragua* Wood, used for dyeing, when they exchanged them for Linnen and Woolen Commodities brought thither from *Europe*). They added, that not far from thence was a large Fleet of Men, where we might procure ourselves with what Cows or Bulls we had occasion for. As this was a scarce Commodity amongst us at that time, twenty-four of us were immediately dispatched in two Boats, who, under the Conduct of one of the *Indians*, landed at a Place a League from the Ship, and ball'd their Boats upon the dry Sand: Thus, led by their Guides, they came to the Pen, in a large Savanna, two Miles from the Boat, where, finding abundance of Bulls and Cows feeding, some were for killing three or four of them immediately, but the rest opposed the same, alledging, they had better stay all Night, and in the Morning kill as many as they had occasion for. Hereupon I, and eleven more, thought fit to return aboard, which we did without the least Opposition, expecting the coming of the rest the

next Day; but, hearing in the Afternoon, ten of them, they were they landed before, but a small Rock, half a Mile from the Middle in Water, to shape the Hands of those with Guns and Lances, were got upon the Rock, pouring Water, they must needs come but one Hour aboard. We accordingly fitted, in this manner, not only Infrum any Fish the reabouts, called Lance-wood, green and very hard and tough, make Handles or Staves for our Guns, as being most of All.

15. The 16th of *July* from the Bay of *Caldera* matter, was constituted *Cocce*, decorated: The with Captain *Eaton*, and *Rio Lega*, with a mole us, in three Days, over us about *Rio Lega*, is a an high, peaked, burnt *Old* *Indian*, by the long very high, so as bushes, that there is no Coast, and it smokes all Night. If you will, must bear North-east Mountain, that Courte the Entrance whereof. You must take the Ad which are here at South elated by a low Isle, of Mile broad, and one and End is a Chimel; that ing a very strong Tide the West End, being a Ships, which must, too Shoal on the North-we they are pass, they must there being a Sand-ban from the Continent, a ing near the main Shore clear hard Sand. This About two Leagues th in a ferry Country, to two narrow Branches e reaches up to the Tow the Backside of it; by Town, the Descriptio my Return thither. A Voyage being in Sight Leagues from the Sho we took in our Topan and two, being out. Town, that makes the Close in the Morning, and, after, three tle of the Island, and row to the Continent, and overtook them, and ca Some time we observ'd being away full Speed confest, that the visio of *Rio Lega*, who had Point Paris, to keep. Horseman we saw rich Account on the Contir Town. Thus, findin my being gone three came to the Island, th aside for this Time. T

next Day; but, hearing nothing of them by Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, ten Men were sent in a Canoe to look for them. They were no sooner come into the Bay where they landed before, but they found their Comrades upon a small Rock, half a Mile from the Shore, standing up to the Middle in Water, whither they had fled for Refuge to escape the Hands of forty or fifty well armed *Spaniards*, with Guns and Lances, who had burnt their Boat: They were got upon the Rock at low Water; but it being then flowing Water, they must have infallibly perished, had our Canoes come but one Hour later, which now brought them safe aboard. We afterwards seized upon two Canoes, ready fitted, in this Bay: for Ships and Barks they have none, nor any Instrument for fishing, there being scarce any Fish to be caught. This Country abounding in Wood, called Lance-wood, growing straight, like to many Athes, and very hard and tough, we cut a good Quantity of it to make Handles or Staves for Oars, and Scouring-rods for our Guns, as being much more durable than those made of Ash.

The 10th of July, the Day before our Departure from the Bay of *Callera*, Mr. *Edward Davis*, our Quartermaster, was constituted Captain, in the room of Captain *Keble*, deceased: The next Day we sailed, in Company with Captain *Eaton*, and one of our Meal Prizes, towards *Rio Lopez*, with a moderate North Wind, which brought us, in three Days, over against the said Port. The Country about *Rio Lopez*, is easily discovered at Sea, by reason of an high, peaked, burning Mountain, called *Volcano Negro*, or *Old Ishano*, by the *Spaniards*. It is easily distinguished, being very high, so as to be seen twenty Leagues at Sea; besides, that there is no other Mountain, like this, on that Coast, and it smokes all Day, and also sends forth Flames at Night. If you will make the Harbour, the Mountain must bear North-east; then, steering directly with the Mountain, that Course will bring you to the Harbour, the Entrance whereof you see about three Leagues off it. You must take the Advantage of the Sea-winds to enter, which are here at South South-west. The Harbour is inclosed by a low Isle, of a Mile in Length, a quarter of a Mile broad, and one and an half from the Continent. At each End is a Channel; that on the East, being narrow, and having a very strong Tide, is scarce ever used; but that on the West End, being much larger, is most frequented by Ships, which must, however, have a care of a certain sandy Shoal on the North-west Point of the Isle, which as soon as they are pass, they must keep close to the Shore of the Isle, there being a Sand bank, which runs above half-way out from the Continent; after which, there is very good Riding near the main Shore in seven or eight Fathom Water, clear hard Sand. This Point is able to contain 200 Ships. About two Leagues thence is seated the Town of *Rio Lopez*, in a lenny Country, full of red Mangrove-trees, betwixt two narrow Branches of the Sea, the Westermost whereof reaches up to the Town, and the Easternmost runs up near the Backside of it; but no Shipping can come up to the Town, the Description whereof I will give the Reader in my Return hither. We rowed up the Thread of our Voyage: Being in Sight of the *Ishano Negro*, seven or eight Leagues from the Shore, the Mouth bearing North-east, we took in our Topails, and made towards the Harbour; and being betwixt our Canoes, towed up to the small Town, that makes the Harbour of *Rio Lopez*, by Nine a Clock in the Morning; where we discovered an Houle, and soon after, three Men going into a Canoe on the Inlets of the Island, and making what Haste they could to row to the Continent; which before they could reach, we overtook them, and carried them to the little Isle. At the same time we observed one on Horseback on the Continent, riding towards the Town. They frankly confessed, that they had been placed there by the Governor of *Rio Lopez*, who had been advised of our coming into those Parts, to keep Watch Day and Night; and that Hottentot we saw riding away, was placed upon the same Account on the Continent, within an Hour's Riding of the Town. Thus, finding ourselves discovered, the Hottentot being gone three Hours before *Eaton* and his Canoes came to the Island, the Design upon that Town was laid aside for this Time. This small Island has a curious Spring

of fresh Water, some Trees, and good Store of Grass; but no Beasts to feed upon it; and is situated at 12° 10' North Latitude. We staid till Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; then we went aboard again, and, pursuant to a Consultation held betwixt Captain *Eaton* and Captain *Davis* July 26, took our Course the next Day for the Gulph of *Anapalla*.

18. This Gulph is a large Branch of the Sea, entering eight or ten Leagues deep into the Country. On the South Side of its Entrance, it has a Point, or Cape *Cafwina*; and, on the North-west Side, *St. Michael's Mountain*, at 12° 40' North Latitude. They both appear very remarkable at Sea; for the Cape is an high round Point, appearing at a Distance like an Islet, the Land near it being very low; and Mount *Michael* is a high peaked Hill, not very steep, at the Foot whereof, on the South-east, is a low plain, of a Mile in Length. Here it is that the Gulph enters on that Side; and, betwixt those low Grounds and Point *Cafwina*, are two high Isles, at twelve Miles Distance from each other, the Southermost being called *Mangera*, the other *Anapalla*. *Mangera* is an high round Island, two Leagues in Circuit, inclosed on all Sides with Rocks, except on the North-east Side, where is a small sandy Creek. The Soil is black, but not deep, full of Stones, and produces very lofty Trees. It has one Town in the Middle, inhabited by *Indians*, with a handsome *Spanish* Church. The Inhabitants have a few Plantations of Maiz and Plantains; and no other Sort of tame Fowl, but some Cocks and Hens; nor any other Beasts, but Cats and Dogs. From the Town to the Creek is a steep and rocky Path. The Isle of *Anapalla* has the same Soil as the other Island; but is much larger, having two Towns two Miles asunder, one to the North, the other to the East. The last stands on a little Plain on the Top of an Hill, a Mile from the Sea, and has a fair Church. The other Town is less; yet has an handsome Church. I have observed one Thing in most of the *Indian* Towns under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction, that the Images of their Saints in their Churches are represented with an *Indian* Complexion, and partly in their Drefs; whereas, in the Towns inhabited by *Spaniards*, they retain their own Complexion and Drefs. But to return to the Inhabitants: They have good Store of Maiz, and large Hog-plums; but few Plantains. The Hog-plum-tree is of the same Bigness with our largest Plum-trees, with Leaves of the same Breadth; but shaped like an Hawthorn-leaf, and, in Colour, of a light-green. The Wood is brittle, and the Fruit oval, of the Bigness of a small Horse-plum. At first it is green; but, when ripe, half-red and half-yellow, with a large Stone, and little pulp about it. It has a pleasant Taste; but it is rare to meet with any of them ripe without Maggots in them. This is the only Place I ever saw them at in the South Seas. In *Campeachy* Bay they grow in great Plenty; and, in *Jamaica*, they fence their Grounds with them. They have also some Fowls; and no *Spaniard* lives there, except the Father or Priest, who takes care of these two Villages, and the Town in the Isle of *Mangera*. As they have little or no Money, they pay their Tribute in Maiz to the Governor of *St. Michael's Town*, seated at the Foot of *St. Michael's Mount*; and the ghottly Father has the Tenths of all. Besides this Priest, we found but one here, (the Secretary of the Town) who could speak and write *Spanish*; for their *Casica* or Magistrate could do neither. This Bay or Gulph has many other Islands, but uninhabited. One pretty large we saw belonging to a Monastery, where four or five *Indians* looked after the Cattle, that fed there in great Numbers. This Gulph has two Channels, one betwixt Cape *Cafwina* and *Mangera*, the other between this last Place and *Anapalla*. The best Anchorage is on the East Side of *Anapalla*, opposite to the low Grounds, the rest being high Lands. As you go in deeper, you may ride on the North-east Side of *Anapalla*, close to the Main. This the *Spaniards* call the Port of *Martin Lopez*. The Gulph extends a great Way beyond the Isle; but it is not deep enough to bear Ships of Burden.

19. Captain *Davis* being sent before, with two Canoes, into this Gulph, to get some Prisoners, he came to *Mangera*, where, finding a Path from the Creek, he followed it towards the Town; but the Inhabitants no sooner had notice of his coming, than they ran all into the Woods, leaving only the Priest behind them; who being taken, with two Boys

Boys his Attendants, Captain *Davis* made them conduct him to the Isle of *Amopalia*, where being landed, he marched up to the before-mentioned Place, a Mile from the Landing place, on the Top of the Hill. The Inhabitants, who saw him advance, were ready to retire into the Woods; but the Secretary, an Enemy to the *Spaniards*, having persuaded them, that they were Friends, who craved their Assistance against their common Oppressors, they bid *Davis* and his Men welcome. After the first Salutation, they marched towards the Church, (the Priest, brought along by Captain *Davis*, at the Head of them) their only Place of public Meeting, whether for Consultations or Divisions, where they kept their Vizards, Hautboys, Strumtrums, (a kind of Cittern, and other musical Instruments. Here they met to make merry, especially in the Night preceding or next ensuing any Holiday, where they dance, sing and play, with arctic Drestles and Gestures, tho' to speak Truth, their Music and Mirth have something very melancholy in them, suitable to the Yoke they groan under, I mean that of the *Spaniards*. But to return to Captain *Davis*: His Intention was, as soon as they were all got into the Church, to engage all their Assistance against the *Spaniards*, to accomplish which the Priest had promised his good Offices; but, just as a few of the remaining *Indians* were entering the Church, one of Captain *Davis*'s Men pushed a Man forwards, to hasten him into the Church, which the *Indian* being frightened at, set up his Heels, and the rest, taking the Alarm, followed; so that Captain *Davis* and the Priest being left alone in the Church, he ordered his Men to fire at them; which being done, the Secretary was killed in the Fray: And so the whole Project vanished into Smoke, by the Foolishness of one inconsiderate Fellow. The same Afternoon, our Ship being entered the Gulph between Cape *Cajivana* and the Isle of *Mangera*, came to an Anchor on the East Side, near the Isle of *Amopalia*. Captain *Davis* came aboard us with the Priest, who told us, that, since the Secretary was killed, they had no other way than to send for the *Cafica*; which being done by the Priest, he came, attended by six other *Indians*, who did us considerable Service, in conducting us whither we had Occasion to go, especially to fetch Beef; for which they were rewarded to their Satisfaction. On this Island of *Amopalia* a Company of *English* and *French* landed afterwards, and thence came to the Continent, and marched by Land to the Cape River, which has got its Name from its discharging itself into the North Seas near Cape *Gratia*. At the Source of this River they made Bark-logs, wherewith they passed into the North Seas. However, they were not the first Inventors of this Passage, something of it having been discovered by some *English* thirty Years before, who went up this Cape River into the North Seas in Canoes, to the same Place where the *French* built their Bark-logs, and thence to an inland Town called *negosna*. They performed this not without incredible Difficulty, and in no less than a Month's time, by reason of the many Cataracts of this River, which obliged them frequently to hale their Canoes a shore, and drag them over Land, till they were past these Water-falls. I have spoken with several, that were in this Expedition, and, I mistake not, Captain *Sharpe* was one of them. But to return to our Voyage: After we had careened, and provided our Ships with fresh Water, Captain *Parr* and Captain *Faton* broke off Contortship, and the sail left the Gulph *September 2*.

September 3, 1684. having seen the Priest on shore, we sailed, with the Land-wind at West North-west, out of the Gulph of *Amopalia* through the Chanel betwixt *Mangera* and the Isle of *Amopalia*, directing our Course to the Coast of *Peru*. As the Fort doees, with Thunder, Lightning, and Rains, are very frequent on these Coasts from *June* to *November*, we had our Share of them, coming most from the South-east; but afterwards, the Wind veering to the West, it held till we came within Sight of Cape *St. Francisco*, where we met with fair Weather, and a South Wind. This Cape, being an high full Point of Land, lies at $1^{\circ} 20'$ North Latitude, and is covered with lofty Trees. As you pass by it from the North Side, you may easily mistake a small low Point for the Cape; but, soon after you pass it, you will discover it with triple Points. The Land near it is high, and the Mountains appear black. We plied

along the Shore, to the Advantage both of the Sea and Land winds, the first blowing from the South, as the Land winds do from South South-east, tho' sometimes, when we were opposite to a River's Mouth, the Wind would turn to south-east. *September 20*. we came to an Anchor near the Isle of *Plata*, at sixteen Fathom, being now fallen in with the Places whence I began the Account of this Voyage, after having compassed the whole Continent of *South America*. The Isle of *Plata*, situated at $1^{\circ} 10'$ South Latitude, is about four Miles in Length, and one and an half in Breadth, of a pretty good Height, and inclosed with rocky Cliffs, except in one Place on the East Side, which is the only Place where a fresh-water Torrent falls down from the Rocks. The Top is flat and plain, the Soil sandy; yet it produces three or four Sorts of low and small Trees, not known in *Europe*. These Trees were much overgrown with Moss, and pretty good Grass is to be found here in the Beginning of the Year; but here are no Land Animals to feed upon it, that vast Number of Goats, which used to be here formerly, being all destroyed. However, they have a great many Boobies and Men-of-war Birds. Some say the *Spaniards* have given it the Name of *Plate Island*, ever since Sir *Francis Drake* carried thither the *Cavallega*, a rich Ship of theirs, laden with Plate. The Place for Anchorage is on the East Side, about the Middle of the Isle, close to the Shore, within two Cables Length of the sandy Bay, in eighteen or twenty Fathom of safe Ground, and very smooth Water; because the South-east Point of the Isle keeps off the Force of the South Wind, which commonly blows here. In this sandy Bay, opposite to the Anchoring-place, is good Landing, this being the only Place, that leads you up into the Isle. From the South-east Point runs out a small Shoal about a Quarter of a Mile into the Sea, where, when it flows, you see great Ripples in the Water. The Tide is strong, flowing to the South, and ebbing to the North. At the same Point are two small, but high Rocks, about a Cable's Length from the Isle; and as many, but much larger, at the North-east End. All round the Island there is deep Water, except in the before mentioned Road; and, near the Shore, there are great Plenty of these small Sea Turtles mentioned before. And the Island bears four or five Leagues West South-west from Cape *St. Laurence*.

21. After a Day's Stay here, we continued our Voyage to Point *St. Helena*, bearing South from the Isle of *Plata*, at $2^{\circ} 15'$ South Latitude. It appears high and flat like the Isle, being surrounded with low Grounds, and covered of the Top with Thistles, but without Trees. As it jets out into the Sea, it makes a good large Bay to the North Side a Mile within which, on the very Sea-side, stands a wretched Village, called also *St. Helena*, inhabited by *Indians*, but the Ground, tho' low, being sandy and barren, they have neither Trees nor Grains, or any Corn or Fruit, except Water melons; which are very good here. They are forced to fetch their Water as far as the River *Cajivana*, four Leagues thence, at the Bottom of the same Bay. They live chiefly upon Fish, and are supplied with Meats by *Aguarane*. Near this Town, about five Paces above the High water Mark, there issues out of the Earth a continuous Substance, called *Aguarane* by the *Spaniards*, which, by long Boiling, becomes hard like Pitch, and is used as such by the *Spaniards*. To the Westward of the Point, directly opposite to the Village, is good Anchorage, but, on the West Side, very deep Water. Some of our Men, being sent in the Night time to take the *Indians* landed in their Canoes in the Morning, and took some Prisoners, and a small Bark let on Fire by the *Indians*, notwithstanding, that they had done it by special Order from the Viceroy. Our Men coming back the same Evening, we returned again into the Isle of *Plata*, where we anchored *September 26*. which very Evening, we sent some of our Men to *Mantia*, an *Indian* Village, two or three Leagues West of Cape *St. Laurence*, to get more Prisoners, in hopes of better Intelligence. *Mantia* is a small Village, inhabited by *Indians*, on the Continent, seven or eight Leagues from the Isle of *Plata*. Its Buildings are straggling and scattered; but, being raised on an easy Alient, affords a very agreeable Prospect towards the Sea side. The Church here is very fine, and adorned with carved Work,

because this Place was for the Grounds about it, their Corn nor Roots, but plied with Provisions, where the Ships bound Parts of *Peru*, refresh the Spring of fresh Water being opposite to the Village, is a Rock, which always appears above Water; safe Anchorage at six, eight, or ten Miles from the Shore. About a Mile West of the Shore runs out a Mile directly South of it, a very high Mountain, a gu-Jou, and therefore being none other like it, our Men, who landed, had from the Village; fishing, took the Alarm of Women, who, being the Victors, upon New Year of the Enemies were into the South Seas, had the destroying of all the more Provisions to be kept.

22. We returned the next day to our Ship. Here to take, till *October 2*. we met the *Aguarane*, a small Ship, which came to us, being disappointed in his Men had forced him to return; he met with at *Negosna*, at *Mantia*; for they were the command of Captain *Peter Harris*, who was killed in the Ship being unfit for Service, his Goods were sold overboard, except the *Ballast*. Then Captain *Parr* and I, by the Company by Consent, a him. Our Bark, which was brought in a Prisoner, had taken in the Bay, us, that it was credibly reported, was fitting out ten Fire-ships, and a *Labes*. The Wind being the Point of *St. Helena* the Bay of *Guiaquil*. *Blanca*, at $3^{\circ} 48'$, the wind because you cannot here, at Sea, by reason of the North-west, will carry a the can get again in five near the Shore, which is Difficulty; for as there terrably blows hard at *So*. The Cape is surrounded whence, questionless, it try near it appears steep.

23. *November 2*. we whence we sent several to attack the Town, a small, at $5^{\circ} 15'$, built under an high Hill. It than seventy five or eighty is like most of the of *Peru*. They build their of Earth and Straw, dried two broad, and one; by Poles across, covered sometimes they used *Re* meanly, is partly because and Timber, partly because makes them solicitous

because this Place was formerly inhabited by *Spaniards*. As the Grounds about it are dry and sandy, they bear neither Corn nor Roots, but only a few Shrubs. They are supplied with Provisions by Sea, this being the first Place, where the Ships bound from *Panama* to *Lima*, and other Parts of *Peru*, refresh themselves. They have an excellent Spring of fresh Water between the Village and the Sea. Just opposite to the Village, one Mile and an half from the Shore, is a Rock, which proves often dangerous, because it never appears above Water; but, a Mile within this Rock, is late Anchorage at six, eight, or ten Fathom, hard and clear Sand. About a Mile West from the Anchoring-place, a Shoal runs out a Mile into the Sea. Behind the Town, directly South of it, a good Way into the Country, stands a very high Mountain, rising up into the Clouds like a Sugar-loaf; and therefore serves for a good Sea-mark, there being none other like it on all that Coast. We returned to our Men, who landed, about Day break, one Mile and an half from the Village; but the Inhabitants, being already stirring, took the Alarm, and so got all away, except two old Women, who, being taken Prisoners, declared, that the Viceroy, upon News brought him, that a good Number of the *Penues* were come over the Isthmus of *Darien* into the South Seas, had ordered the Burning of their Ships, the destroying of all the Goats in the Isle of *Plata*, and no more Provisions to be kept, than for their own present Use.

22. We returned the next Day to the Isle of *Plata*, where we found our Ship. Here we had, unresolv'd what Courte to take, till *October 1*. when Captain *Swan*, Commander of the *Queen of London*, a rich Ship, which was designed to trade on that Coast, came to an Anchor in the same Road; but, being disappointed in his Hopes to traffic thereabouts, his Men had forc'd him to take aboard a Company of Privateers he met with at *Niceya*, being the same we were told of at *Manta*; for they were come by Land, under the Command of Captain *Peter Harris*, Nephew to the same Captain *Harris*, who was killed before *Panama*. Captain *Swan's* Ship being unfit for Service, by reason of his Cargo, most of his Goods were sold upon Credit, and the rest thrown overboard, except the fine Commodities, and some Iron for Ballast. Then Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan* joined Company by Consent; and *Harris* had a small Bark given him. Our Bark, which had been sent three Days before cruising, brought in a Prize laden with Timber, which they had taken in the Bay *Guaquil*. The Commander told us, that it was credibly reported at *Guaquil*, that the Viceroy was fitting out ten Frigates to chase us out of those Seas. This made us wish for Captain *Eaton*; and it was resolv'd to send our small Bark towards *Lima*, to invite him to join Company with us. This done, we fitted up another small Bark into a Fire-ship; and, *October 20*. sailed for the Isle of *Lebes*. The Wind being very slack, we did not pass by the Point of *St. Helena* till the 23d, and the 25th cross'd the Bay of *Guaquil*. The 30th, we doubl'd the Cape of *Bianca*, at 3° 48', the worst Cape in the South Seas to double, because you cannot here, as in most other Places, stand off at Sea, by reason of the strong Current, which, setting North-west, will carry a Ship off more in two Hours, than she can get again in five. Thus we were forc'd to keep near the Shore, which is not often performed without great Difficulty, for as there are no Land-winds here, it generally blows hard at South South west, or South by West. The Cape is surrounded with white Rocks on the Sea-side, whence, questionless, it has got its Name; and the Country near it appears steep and rugged.

25. *November 2*. we lay about six Leagues off *Payta*, whence we sent several Canoes, manned with 110 Men, to attack the Town, a small Sea port belonging to the *Spaniards*, at 5° 15', built on a sandy Rock near the Sea-side, under an high Hill. It has two Churches, tho' not more than seventy five or eighty Houses, low, and meanly built. It is like most of the other Buildings; all along the Coast of *Peru*. They build their Walls with a kind of Brick made of Earth and Straw, dried only in the Sun, three Feet long, two broad, and one $\frac{1}{2}$ thick. In some Places, they only lay Poles across, covered with Mats instead of Roofs; but sometimes they used Roofs. The Reason why they build so meanly, is partly because they want Materials of good Stone and Timber, partly because it never rains, which only makes them solicitous of keeping out the Sun; and thofe

Walls, tho' never so slight and brittle, yet will there hold firm for a considerable time, as they were at first, being not shaken or mouldered by the Wind and Rains. The Timber the better Sort make use of in their Buildings is brought thither from other Places. Their Walls, as well as those of their Churches, are neatly whitened, both within and without, with very large Beams, Posts, and Doors, all adorned with carved Work, besides good Pictures brought thither from *Spain*, and rich Hangings of Tapestry, or painted Calicoes. But the Houses of *Payta* were not of that sort, tho' their Churches were large and handsome. Close by the Sea is a small Fort, which, with Muliquets only, commands the Harbour, as another on the Top of an Hill commands both that and this Fort. They are obliged to fetch their fresh Water, as also their Fowls, Hogs, Plantains, and Maza, from *Colon*, a Town two Leagues North North-east from *Payta*, where a fresh-water River empties itself into the Sea.

24. The dry Track of this Country begins to the North from Cape *Blanco*, and reaches to *Cogumbe*, at 30° South Latitude, where I never saw or heard any Rain, nor of any green Thing growing, either in the Mountains or Vallets, except in some Places watered constantly with divers Rivers. The People of *Colon* are much addicted to Fishing, which they perform in Bark-logs: These are composed of divers round Logs of Wood, like a Rafter, but in different Manners, according to the Use they are intended for, or the Custom of the People that make them. Those designed for Fishing are only three or four Logs of light Wood, eight Feet long, joined to each other on the Sides with Wooden Pegs and Withes. The middlemost is always longer than the rest, especially at the fore Part, which ends, by Degrees, in a Point, the better to cut the Waves. Those intended for carrying Merchandize are made after the same manner and Shape, of twenty or thirty great Trunks of Trees, joined together, thirty or forty Feet long. Upon these they fasten, with Wooden Pins, another shorter Row of Logs cross-ways. From this double Bottom they raise a Rait of ten Feet, by the means of Posts set upright, which are the Supporters of two thick Trees laid across each other, just like our Wood-piles, but not so close as in the Bottom of the Float, and at the Ends and Sides only, the inner Part being hollow. In this, at four Feet high from the Beam of the Bottom, they lay small Poles close together, which serve for a Bottom of another Room, on the Top whereof they make just such another Floor. The first Story serves for the Hold, in which they stow Ballast, and Water-casks, or Jars; and the second for the Seamen, and what belongs to them. Above this second Floor the Goods are stowed, as high as they think fit, which seldom exceeds ten Feet. Some Space is left behind for the Steerfman, and before for the Kitchen, especially in long Voyages, because they sometimes go 5 or 600 Leagues. They have a very large Rudder, and, in the Middle of this Machine, a Mast, with a large Sail, like our West-country Barges. As they cannot go but before the Wind, they are only fit for those Seas, where the Wind blows constantly one Way, seldom varying above a Point or two in the whole Voyage betwixt *Lima* and *Panama*. If thereabouts they meet, as sometimes it happens, with a North-west Wind, they drive before it till it changes, having nothing else to do in the mean while but to avoid the Shore; for they never sink at Sea. These last Bark-logs carry sixty or seventy Tons of Wine, Oil, Flour, Sugar, Quito Cloth, Soap, dressed Goat-skins, &c. They are managed by three or four Boatmen only, who, after they come to *Panama*, sell both the Goods and Vessel there, because they cannot go back in them by the Trade-wind. The fishing Bark-logs are likewise furnished with Masts and Sails, and are much easier managed than the large ones. They get out at Night with the Land-wind, and return in the Day-time with the Sea-wind. These small Bark-logs are used in a great many Places in the *West Indies*, and in some in the *East Indies*. On the Coast of *Cocumandel* they use only one, or sometimes two Logs, made of a light Wood, without Sail or Rudder, managed by a single Man, who, with his Legs in the Water, steers the Log with a Paddle.

25. The next Town of Consequence to *Payta* is *Piura*, a spacious Place, forty Miles thence, seated in a Valley upon a River, which discharges itself into the Bay of

Chirapce, at 7^o North Latitude. This Bay, tho' much nearer to *Puna* than *Payta*, yet it is seldom visited by Ships of Burden, being full of Shoals; but, instead thereof, they sail to *Payta*, one of the best Harbours on the Coast of *Peru*; being sheltered at the South-west, by a Point of Land, which renders the Bay very smooth, and consequently safe from Anchorage, from six to twenty Fathom in clear Sand. Most Ships, bound either to the North or South, touch at *Payta* for fresh Water, which is brought thither from *Colen* at a reasonable Rate. November 3. early in the Morning, our Men landed four Miles South of *Payta*, where they took some Prisoners that were set for a Watch, who told us, that the Governor of *Puna* was come with 100 Men to their Assistance: Notwithstanding this, our Men attacked the Fort on the Hill, and took it with little Opposition: whereupon the Governor and Inhabitants quitted the Town: Our People soon entered it, but found it empty of Money, Goods, and Provisions. The same Evening, we came with our ships to an Anchor not far from the Town, a Mile from the Shore, at ten Fathom Water; we staid six Days, in Hopes of getting a Ransom for the Town; but, perceiving we were not likely to have any, it was laid in Ashes. At Night we set Sail hence, with the Land Wind towards *Lobos*. The 14th Day, we came within Sight of the Isle of *Lobos de Tierra*, bearing East from us; and, at Eight o'Clock at Night, came to an Anchor at the North-east End of it, at four Fathom Water. The Isle of *Lobos de la Tierra* is of an indifferent Height; and, at a Distance, appears altogether like the Isle of *Lobos de la Mare*; we anchored at the North-east End of it, in four Fathom Water. It has, at the North End, a Rock, a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore; and, betwixt it, a Chanel of seven Fathom Water. In the Afternoon, we failed with a South-east Wind to *Lobos de la Mare*, where we arrived May 19. The 26th, in the Evening, we discovered a Bark at a Distance, which was sent to see whether we were still in these Seas; but we, keeping close under the Shore, remained there undiscovered. The 29th, in the Morning, we set Sail for the Bay of *Guaiquil*, situated betwixt Cape *Blanco* to the South, and Point *Chandy* to the North, twenty-five Leagues from Cape *Blanco*. In the Bottom of this Bay lies a small Isle, called *St. Clara*, extending East and West, having many Shoals to the North; which makes the Ships, bound for the *Guaiquil*, to pass on the South Side of it. The *Spaniards* say, there lies a very rich Wreck on the North Side; but that there is very hard coming at it, by reason of the great Multitudes of Catfish; which Fish is not unlike a Whiting, but with three Fins on the Back, and one on each Side, which have each a Bone; and, if they strike into the Flesh, it proves frequently mortal: They are met with all along the *American* Coasts, and likewise in the *East Indies*; their Flesh is both sweet and wholesome.

26. From the Isles of *St. Clara* to *Punta Arena*, the sandy Point being the Westernmost Point of the Isles of *Puna*, is seven Leagues East North-east: Here Ships, bound for *Guaiquil*, take in their Pilots, which live in a Town of the said Isle, bearing the same Name, on the South Side, seven Leagues from *Punta Arena*. The Isle of *Puna* itself is low, stretching fourteen Leagues East and West, and five Leagues broad: It has a strong Tide round the Shore, which is full of little Creeks and Rivers: Near this Town is a small Point, where the Inhabitants are obliged to keep a constant Watch. The inland Part of the Isle is good Pasture-ground, intermixed with some Wood-lands, producing divers, to us, unknown Trees; and, amongst the rest, abundance of Palmetoes, a Tree about the Thickness of an ordinary Ash, and thirty Feet high, with a strait Trunk, without Branches or Leaf, except at the very Top, where, spreading into small Branches three or four Feet long, each of them produces at the Extremity one single Leaf, of the Breadth of a large Fan, which, at first, sprouts and spreads like a Fan plaited together, but, by degrees, opens and spreads like a Fan unfolded. The Houses of the Town of *Puna* are built on Posts ten or twelve Feet high, into which they go up by Ladders, and are thatched with Palmeto-leaves: The like Continuance I have seen among the *Malayans* in the *East*

Indies. The best Place for Anchorage is directly opposite to the Town, within a Cable's Length of the Shore, at five Fathom Water. From *Puna* to *Guaiquil* is seven Leagues, and one League to the Entrance of the River *Guaiquil*, which is two Miles over, and afterwards runs up into the Country in a pretty strait Chanel, the Grounds on both Sides marshy, and full of red Mangrove-trees: About four Miles on this Side of the Town of *Guaiquil* the River is divided, by a small low Island, into two Chanels; that to the South-west is the readest, though the other is as deep. From the upper Land of this Isle to the Town is near a League, and the River thereabouts of the same Breadth, where a Ship of great Burden may ride with Safety, especially towards that Side where the Town stands. It is seated close by the River, partly on an Ascent, and partly on the Foot of a small Hill, with a great Declent towards the River-side. It is defended by two Forts, erected on the low Grounds, and another on the Hill, being one of the best Sea Ports belonging to the *Spaniards* in the South Sea, under the Jurisdiction of a Governor, and beautified with divers fine Churches, and other good Buildings. They export Cocons, Hides, Tallow, Sassa-parilla, Drugs, and Woollen Cloth, called *Quito Cloth*. The Cocons grow on both Sides of the River above the Town, having a smaller Nut than those of *Campachy*. The Sassa-parilla delights in watery Places near the River-side; and the *Quito Cloth* is made in an Inland Town called *Quito*: It is coarse, and therefore worn only by the Vulgar all over the Kingdom of *Peru*.

27. *Quito* is a populous Place, seated in the Heart of the Country, inhabited by some *Spaniards*, by most *Indians*, under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction, being inclosed with a Ridge of high Mountains, which abound in Gold: The Rivers rising amongst them carry abundance of Gold-dust along with them in the lower Grounds, especially after violent Rains, which is afterwards cleaned and washed from the Sand. *Quito* is reckoned the richest Place for Gold in all *Peru*, but unwhollome, the Inhabitants being frequently subject to Fevers, Head-ach, Gripping in the Guts, and Fluxes; but *Guaiquil* is much more whollome. Having formed a Design against the Town of *Guaiquil*, we left our Ships at Cape *Blanco*, and steered with a Bark, and some Canoes, to the Isle of *St. Clara*, in the Bay of *Guaiquil*, and thence in two Canoes to Point *Arena*, where we took, the next Day, some of the Fishermen of *Puna*, and afterwards their Watch, together with the whole Town and Inhabitants. The next Elb, we took a Bark laden with *Quito Cloth*, coming from *Guaiquil*; the Master whereof told us, that there were three Barks full of Negroes coming with the next Tide. From thence we, lying near the Town of *Puna*, embarked all our Men in Canoes, leaving only five Men aboard the Bark, with Orders not to fire at any thing till next Morning at Eight o'Clock, by which time we supposed we should have taken the Town. We had not rowed above two Miles, but we met with, and took, one of the Barks laden with Negroes; the Master whereof having told us, that the other two would not come out till the next Tide, we rowed forward; but our Canoes being heavily laden, it was Break of Day before we came within two Leagues of the Town, there being not above an Hour's Flood: Now we abandoned all Day in an adjacent Creek; and, at the same time, sent one of our Canoes to our Bark left near *Puna*, not to fire till the next Day; but to no Purpose; for the before-mentioned two Barks with Negroes, being come out of the Harbour with the Evening Tide, passed by without being seen or heard by us, and, falling down with the Ebb towards *Puna*, our Bark, seeing them full of Men, fired three Guns at them, before our Canoes could bring them our last Orders. But we took the Masters of both the Barks, as they were making their Escape on Shore. The firing of these three Guns put us all into a great Consternation, as not questioning but that thereby the Townsmen had taken the Alarm; and therefore some were for advancing to the Town immediately, others for returning to our Ships: But as the Ebb Tide hindered us from going upwards, so Captain *Davis*, with fifty of his Men, resolved to march by Land to the Place; the rest, judging it impracticable, remained in the Creek to see the Issue of the Enterprize. After four Hours,

Captain

Captain *Davis* and his Men in the Marches among the Mountains, without having been seen by the Town: It was the next Day, and it was not till the next Day, that we were without attempting to enter the Chanel, we got in when, at the Discharge of the whole Town full of Men, these appeared, were discovered; but, were ulced by the *Spaniards* as the next Day was, the Men with Lowardice: this Side of the Town, we were forced to expect the Guides; one was run a fower we had taken through a Cord by one of Captains the most forward in the Gunpowder was tied, and the Town: When he judged retaken, he cried out, that, after we had searched minutely resolved to descend we towed up into the still about half an Hour fled from the Town, Bank to a Bed-closet, the ninth to *Puna*; at three before-mentioned grocs, out of them we with the Barks behind all to *St. Maria*, on to with their Assistance, that Side; and, by ere of the River of *St. Ma* Natives our Friends, a *French* Privateers from not only maintained of *Spain*, but also ext and Gold Mines of *Peru*.

28. We set Sail again of *Plata* the 10th; with fresh Water on the and relived unanimously a Town in the Bay of *December 23*, with a bri the Bay of *Panama*. The of Cape *Passao*, 8^o South but very high, divided but covered with Franchilly and woody. Bet you see Abundance of standy Creeks, full of sign was to look for frequented by the *Span* of little Ute to us: He the rest what River v make the River of *St. A* Isle of *Galle*, in which there was safe Anchor Cape *St. Francisco*; w is full of Trees, of a this Cape the Land run *Panama*, this Cape being the Isles of *Cobana* or *S* Cape and the Isle of *C* we passed them all to River, 2^o North: At try it divides itself into four Leagues in Circu well Chanel; they are has sandy Banks at it Canoe cannot pass over is a League broad, t rent; it flows three I Height I am not abl

Captain Davis and his Men, having been almost choaked in the Marches among the Mangrove-woods, returned without having been able to advance far on their Way to the Town. It was then resolved to row up in Sight of the Town; and, if we found ourselves discovered, to return without attempting: So, rowing through the North-east Channel, we got in the Night in View of the Town, when, at the Discharge of a Musket, we saw, on a sudden, the whole Town full of Lights; where, as there was but one seen before, this appeared almost an infallible Sign, that we were discovered; but, as some alledged, that these Lights were lit by the Spaniards in the Nights before Holy-days, as the next Day was, they upbraided Captain Swan and his Men with Cowardice: We landed in a Place two Miles on this side of the Town, which being all over-run with Woods, we were forced to expect Day-light. We had two Indians Guides; one was run away from *Guiaquil*, the other a Prisoner we had taken three Days before; the last being led by a Cord by one of Captain Davis's Men, who seemed one of the most forward in the Enterprize; but now, perhaps, beginning to repent his Rashness, cut the Rope wherewith the Guide was tied, and to let him make his Escape into the Town: When he judged him to be out of Danger of being retaken, he cried out, that somebody had cut the Rope; so that, after we had searched in vain for our Guides, it was unanimously resolved to desert; however, about Break of Day, we rowed up into the Middle of the River, where we lay still about half an Hour, without being in the least molested from the Town, though we landed on the opposite Bank to a Beef-cloze, and killed a Cow. We returned the muth to *Pana*; and, in our Way, seized upon the three before-mentioned Barks, laden with 1000 lusty Negroes, out of them we kept about sixty, and left the rest with the Barks behind; whereas, if we had carried them all to *St. Maria*, on the Isthmus of *Darien*, we might, with their Assistance, have worked the Gold Mines on that Side; and, by erecting a Fort or two at the Entrance of the River of *St. Maria*, and with the Assistance of the Natives our Friends, and some Thousands of *English* and *French* Privateers from all Parts of the *West Indies*, have not only maintained ourselves there against all the Power of *Spain*, but also extended our Conquests to the Coasts and Gold Mines of *Quito*.

28. We set Sail again the 13th, and arrived at the Isle of *Plata* the 16th; where, after having provided ourselves with fresh Water on the Continent, we parted our Cloth, and resolved unanimously to direct our Course to *Levalia* a Town in the Bay of *Panama*. Accordingly we set Sail December 23. with a brisk South South-west Wind, towards the Bay of *Panama*. The next Morning, we passed in Sight of Cape *Pajiao*, 8° South of the Line, being a round Point, but very high, divided in the Middle, bare towards the Sea, but covered with Fruit-trees to the Land Side; the Land hilly and woody. Betwixt this and the Cape *St. Francisca*, you see Abundance of small Points, which inclose so many sandy Creeks, full of Trees of several kinds: As our Design was to look for Canoes, in some River or other un-frequented by the Spaniards, so our Indian Pilots were but of little Use to us: However, as we were indifferent for the rest what River we came to, so we endeavoured to make the River of *St. Jago*, by reason of its Nearness to the Isle of *Galle*, in which there was much Gold, and where there was safe Anchorage for our Ships. We passed by Cape *St. Francisca*; whence, to the North, the Sea Side is full of Trees, of a vast Height and Thickness: From this Cape the Land runs more easterly into the Bay of *Panama*, this Cape being its Boundary to the South, as the Isles of *Cobava* or *Quito* are to the North. Betwixt this Cape and the Isle of *Galle* are several large Rivers, but we passed them all to go to *St. Jago*, a large navigable River, 2° North: About seven Leagues up in the Country it divides itself into two Branches, which inclose an Isle four Leagues in Circumference; the broadest is the South-west Channel; they are both very deep, but the narrowest has sandy Banks at its Entrance; so that, at low Ebb, a Canoe cannot pass over them. Beyond the Isle, the River is a League broad, the Channel Strait, with a swift Current; it flows three Leagues up the River, but to what Height I am not able to tell: It runs through a very

rich Soil, producing all sorts of the tallest Trees usually found in this Climate; but especially red and white Cotton-trees, and Cabbage-trees, of the largest kind. The white Cotton-tree grows not unlike an Oak, but much taller and bigger; the Trunk strait, without any Branches to the Top, where it sends forth strong Branches; the Bark is very smooth, the Leaves of the Bigness of a Plum-tree-leaf, dark-green, oval, smooth, and jagged at the Ends; they are not always biggest near the Roots, but often in the Middle of the Trunks. The Cotton they bear is Silk Cotton, which falls in *November* and *December* upon the Ground; but not so substantial as that of the Cotton-shrub, but rather like a Down of Thistles; they don't think it worth their while to gather it in the *West Indies*, but in the *East Indies* they put it into their Pillows. In *April* the old Leaves fall off, which, in a Week's time, are supplied by fresh. The red Cotton-tree is somewhat less; but, for the rest, altogether like the other; except that it produces no Cotton, and its Wood hard, tho' both are somewhat spongy; they are found in the fat Grounds, both in the *East* and *West Indies*. The Cabbage-tree is the tallest in those Woods, some being above 120 Feet high: It is likewise without Boughs or Branches, except on the Top, where its Branches are of the Thickness of a Man's Arm, and twelve or fourteen Feet long; two Feet from the Stem come forth small long Leaves, of an Inch broad, so thick and regular on both Sides, that they cover the whole Branch: In the midst of these high Branches shoots forth the Cabbage itself; which, when taken out of the outward Leaves, is a Foot in Length, and of the Thickness of the Small of a Man's Leg, being white like Milk, sweet and wholesome: Betwixt the Cabbages and the large Branches sprout forth other small Twigs, two Feet long, very close together; at the Extremities of which grow hard and round Berties, of the Bigness of a Cherry, which, once a Year, fall from the Trees, and are excellent Food for the Hogs. The Trunk has Rings half a Foot asunder, the Bark is thin and brittle, the Wood hard and black, and the Pith white; as the Tree dies after its Head is gone, they cut them down before they gather the Fruit.

29. As the Coast and Country of *Lima* has continual dry Weather, so this Part of *Peru* is seldom without Rains; which, perhaps, is one Reason why they have made but small Discoveries on this Coast: Add to this, that when they go from *Panama* to *Lima*, they don't pass along the Coast, but sail up to the West, as far as the *Cobaya* Isles, for the West Winds, and thence stand over to the Cape *St. Francisca*: In their Return the Coast is; but their Ships, being then laden, are not to enter the Rivers, which, as well as the Sea Side, are covered with Woods and Bushes, and therefore are fit Places for the Natives to lie in Ambuscade. These *Indians* have some Plantations of Maiz and Plantains, as also some Fowls and Hogs. We entered the River of *St. Jago*, with four Canoes, December 27. by the lesser Branches, and met with no Inhabitants till within six Leagues of its Mouth, where we discovered two small Huts, thatched with Palm-tree-leaves; and, at the same time, *Indians*, with their Families and household Goods, paddling against the Stream much faster than we could row, because they kept near the Banks. On the opposite Side to the West, we saw many other Huts a League off; but, the Current being very rapid, we did not care to venture cross it. In the two Huts, on the East Side, we found nothing but a few Plantains, Fowls, and one Hog, which seemed to be of the *European* Kind, such as the Spaniards brought formerly into *America*, but especially to *Jamaica*, *Hispamela*, and *Cuba*, where they feed in the Woods (being marked beforehand) in the Day-time; and at Night are called, and kept in Pens, by the sounding of a Conch-shell. On the Continent of *America*, they don't turn their Hogs into the Woods. We returned the next Morning into the River's Mouth, with an Intention to sail on to the Isle of *Galle*, where we had ordered our Ships to meet us. This Isle is but small, and without Inhabitants, seated at 3° North Latitude, in a spacious Bay, three Leagues from the River *Yomaco*, and four Leagues and a half from an *Indian* Village of the same Name: It is indifferently high, and well stored with Timber-trees: At the North-east End is a good sandy Bay, near which is a fine Spring of fresh Water,

Water, and against the Bay is very good Anchorage, at six or seven Fathom Water; there is but one Chanel to approach the Isle at four Fathom Water, but you must go in with the Flood, and come out with the Ebb. The River of *Tomaco*, supposed to have its Rise amongst the rich Mountains of *Quito*, has borrowed its Name from an adjacent Village of the same Name. Its Banks are well peopled by the *Indians*, and some *Spaniards*, who traffic for Gold with them. It is so shallow at the Entrance, that only Barks can enter it. The Town of *Tomaco* is a small Place, seated near the Mouth of a River, for the Entertainment of the *Spaniards*, who traffic in those Parts. From this Place to the Branch of the River of *St. Lugo*, where we then were at Anchor, is five Leagues. As the Land here is low and full of Creeks, we left the River *December 21*, and crossed these small Bays in our Canoes: In our Way we saw an *Indian* House, whence we took the Matter, and whole Family, and so rowed forward, and came at Twelve at Night to *Tomaco*: Here we seized upon all the Inhabitants; and, among the rest, one *Don Diego de Pinas*, a *Spanish* Knight, whose Ship was not far off at Anchor to lade Timber: So we took her, and found thirteen Jars of good Wine aboard her, but no other Lading. An *Indian* Canoe came aboard us, with three of the Natives, who were stout and well-limbed, but of low Stature, with black Hair, long Visages, and small Noses and Eyes, and of a dark Complexion. The 31st, several of our Men, who had been seven or eight Leagues up the River, returned with their Canoes, and brought along with them some Ounces of Gold they had found in a *Spanish* House, but the People were fled.

30. *January 1. 1685*, as we were going in our Canoes from *Tomaco* towards *Gallo*, we took a Packet of Letters in a *Spanish* Boat, sent from *Panama* to *Lima*, whereby we understood, that the President of *Panama* wrote to hasten the Plate Fleet thither from *Lima*, the *Armada* from *Spain* being come to *Porto-Bello*: This News soon made us alter our Resolution of going to *Lavelia*; instead whereof, it was resolved to rendezvous among the *King's* or *Pearl* Islands, not far distant from *Panama*, and by which all Ships, bound to *Panama* from the Coast of *Lima*, must of Necessity pass. Accordingly we sailed the 7th; the 8th, we took a Ship of 90 Tons, laden with Flour, and continued our Voyage, with a gentle South Wind, towards *Gorgonia*, an Isle twenty-five Leagues distant from that of *Gallo*, where we anchored the 9th, at the West Side of it, in thirty-eight Fathom clean Ground, two Cables Length from the Shore, in a sandy Bay, the Land against it very low. This Isle is seated at 3° North Latitude, and is remarkable for two high Rifings, called the *Saddles*: Its Length is two Leagues, and its Breadth one League, about four Leagues from the Continent. At the West End is another small Isle. *Gorgonia* is full of large Trees, and watered by many Rivelets: It has no other Animals but Monkeys, Conies, and Snakes: It is extremely subject to Rains; and the only Difference observable in the Seasons is, that in the Summer the Rains are more moderate. The Sea round it is so deep, that there is no Anchorage, except at the West End, where the Tide rises eight Feet. Mussels and Periwinkles are here in great Plenty: The Monkeys open the Shells at low-water. Here are also Abundance of Pearl-oysters; these are fixed four, five, or six Fathom under Water, to the loose Rocks, by Beards, or small Roots, like the Mussels: They are like our Oysters, but something flatter and thinner; the Flesh is slimy, and not to be eaten, unless dried beforehand, and boiled; some have twenty or thirty Seed-pearls, others one or two pretty large ones, lying at the Head of the Oylers, betwixt the Flesh and the Shell; but the Inside of the Pearl carries a brighter Lustre than the Pearls themselves. The 13th, we pursued our Voyage to the *King's* Isle, being now two Men of War, and two Tenders, one Fireship, and the Prize: We sailed forward with the common Trade-wind South, along low Land on the Continent near the Sea Side, but with a Prospect of Mountains deeper into the Country. The 16th, we passed by *Cape Corientes*, at 5° 10' Latitude, being an high Point, with four small Hillocks on the Top; the Current then running strong to the North. The 21st,

we came in Sight of Point *Garachina*, at 7° 20' North Latitude. The Land is high, rocky, and without Trees near the Sea Side: Within the Point is plenty of Oysters and Mussels. About twelve Leagues from this Point, are the *King's* or *Pearl* Isles; betwixt these and the before-mentioned Point of *Garachina*, is a small, flat, barren Isle, called *Galleria*, near which we came to Anchor for that time. The *King's* or *Pearl* Isles are a good Number of low woody Isles, seven Leagues from the Continent, and twelve Leagues from *Panama*, and fourteen Leagues in Length North North-west by North, and South east by South. In the Maps they are called the *Pearl* Isles, tho' I never could see one Pearl-oyster, or any thing like it, near them. The Northernmost of these is called *Pachoa*, or *Pachoue*, a small Isle, eleven or twelve Leagues from *Panama*; the Name of that most South is *St. Paul's*; the rest, tho' bigger, have no particular Names. Some of these are planted with Plantains, Bananas, and Rice, by the Negroes belonging to the Inhabitants of *Panama*. The Chapel, betwixt them and the Continent is seven or eight Leagues broad, of a moderate Depth, and has good Anchoring all along: The Isles, tho' lying close together, yet have their Channels fit for Boats. At the End of *St. Paul's* Isle is a convenient careening Place, in a good deep Chanel, inclosed by the Land. You must enter in on the North Side, where the Tide rises ten Feet perpendicular. The 22th, we brought out Ships in with a Spring-tide; and, after having cleaned our Barks first, we sent them the 27th to cruise towards *Panama*: They brought us, the fourth Day after, a Prize, coming from *Lavelia* with Maiz, or *Indian* Corn, salted Beef, and Fowls. *Lavelia* is a large Town, seated on the Bank of a River, on the North Side of the Bay of *Panama*, seven Leagues from the Sea Side: As *Nata* is another Town, seated in a Plain, near another Branch of the same River: These two Places supply *Panama* with Hogs, Fowl, Beef, and Maiz. In the Harbour where we careened, we found Abundance of Oysters, Mussels, Limpits, and Clams; these last are Oysters, that stick so close to the Rocks, that you must open them where they grow, if you will eat the Meat. We also met with some Pigeons and Turtle-doves.

31. Our Ships being well careened by the 14th of *February*, and provided with Fuel and Water, we sailed out from amongst the Isles the 18th, and anchored in the great Chanel, betwixt the Isles and the Continent, at fifteen Fathom Water, soft oozy Ground; and the next Day cruised in the Chanel towards *Panama*, about which the Shore appears very beautiful, with Variety of small Woods and Hills; besides that, a League from the Continent, you see divers small Isles, scattered partly with Trees; and the *King's* Isles, on the other Side the Chanel, afford a very fair Prospect, according to their various Shapes and Situations. The 16th, we anchored within a League of the Island of *Pachoue*, in seventeen Fathom Water, and the 18th, steered our Course with a North North-east Wind directly towards *Panama*, where we anchored directly opposite to *Old Panama*, once a Place of Note in those Parts; but the greatest Part thereof being laid in Ashes in 1673, by Sir *Henry Morgan*, it was never rebuilt since. About four Leagues from the Ruins of *Old Panama*, near the River Side, stands *New Panama*, a very handsome City, in a spacious Bay of the same Name, into which disembrace many long navigable Rivers, some whereof are not without Gold; besides that, it is beautified with many pleasant Isles; the Country about it affording a delightful Prospect to the Sea, by reason of Variety of adjacent Hills, Valleys, Groves, and Plains: The Houses are for the most part of Brick, and pretty lofty, especially the President's; the Churches, Monasteries, and other public Structures, which make the best Shew I ever saw in the *West Indies*: It is encompassed with a high Wall of Stone, on which are mounted a good Number of Guns, which formerly were only planted to the Land Side, but now also to the Sea. This City has a vast Traffic, as being the Staple for all Goods to and from all Parts of *Peru* and *Chili*; besides that, every three Years, when the *Spanish* Armada comes to *Porto-Bello*, the Plate-fleet comes thither with the *King's* Plate, besides what belongs to the Merchants.

Merchants; whence it *Porto-Bello*, at which it stays.

32. The *Spanish* Armada came into the *West Indies*; whence they directed to *Lima*, and arrived by Sea, one for the Viceroy of *Mexico*, and another for the Viceroy of *Mexico* by the Packet for *Mexico*, whether by Sea or Land; but that which was sent to *Lima*, and to the South Seas, being the Company of three or four Packets bound from *Caracas* from this last Place: In the Merchants of *Spain* estimating, that the Passage by Land of *India* had fought out *Madrid*, so this gave us an opportunity; a bigotted Generation, up again to *Porto-Bello* Creation of our contract on the Illiumis of *Darien* Years before, Captain among the *Jamballo* of *John Grant*, and be *Merckers*, who carried married, learned their *Fix* or eight Months Captain *Wright* took old, the Son of a Mar earned to the Country them: Here, meeting Captain to restore the commence a Friendship ing the Fierceness of the vice to bring the *Mar* ashore in his *Indian* own Tongue; and they tryman, he proposed alledging, that they w elated Enemies of the the *Boy*, that it he w them, being at Ancho Whereupon about the *Wright* with Refresh there, they returned ashore, and entered in *Spaniards*; and thereby South Seas, the *Disco* owing to the before me *Grant*.

33. But, to return to After a Stay of sixty *Porto-Bello*, where it t in the *King's* Treatu which is said to amou besides Plate and G When the Merchants pack it up among *Mex* upon the River *Chagr* and to go farther by S bour they weigh Anch River's Mouth, wher a Wreck longer to ob *Bello* the Armada rec with the *King's* Mo Country, as also with them a *Patache* which maly at *Caribagena* gather the *King's* T

Merchants; whence it is carried on Mules by Land to *Porto-Bello*, at which time every thing is excessive dear at this Place.

32. The *Spanish Armada*, which comes every three Years into the *West Indies*, arrives first of all at *Carthagena*; whence they dispatch immediately an Express by Land to *Lima*, and another with two Packets of Letters by Sea, one for the Viceroy of *Peru* at *Lima*, the other for the Viceroy of *Mexico*. I cannot absolutely tell which Way the Packet for *Mexico* goes, after its Arrival at *Porto-Bello*, whether by Sea or Land; but I suppose by Sea to *La Vera Cruz*; but that for *Lima* goes by Land to *Panama*, and so by Sea to *Lima*. Upon this Occasion I cannot but tell the Reader, that some time before my going to the South Seas, being then aboard Captain *Coxon's* Ship, in Company of three or four other Privateers, we took the Letters bound from *Carthagena* to *Porto-Bello*, four Leagues from this last Place: In them we found many Letters from the Merchants of *Spain*, directed to their Correspondents, intimating, that the same Year a certain Prophecy being published in *Spain*, that some *English* Privateers would open themselves a Way into the South Seas, they desired them to be upon their Guard. As by this Way we understood the Passage by Land over the Isthmus of *Darien*, and those *Indians* had sought our Assistance of late against the *Spaniards*, so this gave us the first Encouragement to venture upon that Enterprize; and as we knew the *Spaniards* to be a bigotted Generation, we sent most of the Letters (sealed up again) to *Porto-Bello* to augment their Fear. The first Occasion of our contracting a Friendship with the *Indians*, on the Isthmus of *Darien*, happened thus. About fifteen Years before, Captain *Wright* took a young *Indian* Lad, among the *Jamballo* Isles, unto whom he gave the Name of *John Gratt*, and bestowed him afterwards upon some *Miskitoes*, who carried him to their Country, where he married, learned their Language, and had among them till he or eight Months before our taking the said Packet. Captain *Wright* took another *Indian* Boy, twelve Years old, the Son of a Man of Note among them, whom he carried to the Country of the *Miskitoes*, to be educated by them: Here, meeting with *John Gratt*, he persuaded the Captain to restore the Boy to his Friends, and thereby to commence a Friendship with them; but the Captain alleging the Fierceness of those Nations, *Gratt* offered his Service to bring the Matter about: Accordingly, being set ashore in his *Indian* Habit, he called out to them in his own Tongue; and they acknowledging him for their Countryman, he proposed a strict Alliance with the *English*; alleging, that they were a good sort of People, and declared Enemies of the *Spaniards*; telling also the Father of the Boy, that if he would go aboard the Vessel he showed them, being at Anchor, he might have his Son again: Whereupon about thirty of them went aboard Captain *Wright* with Refreshments; and, being kindly entertained there, they returned with the Boy and Captain *Wright* ashore, and entered into a strict Confederacy against the *Spaniards*; and thereby opened the Way by Land into the South Seas, the Discovery whereof is, in a great measure, owing to the before mentioned Letters, and taking of *John Gratt*.

33. But, to return to the *Spanish Armada* at *Carthagena*: After a Stay of sixty Days in this Port, it sails hence to *Porto-Bello*, where it remains only thirty Days, and takes in the King's Treasure brought thither from *Panama*, which is said to amount to 24,000,000 Pieces of Eight, besides Plate and Goods belonging to the Merchants. When the Merchants Real the Custom of the Plate, they pack it up among Merchandize, and send it to *Vera Cruz*, upon the River *Chagre*, where they till down the River, and to go farther by Sea to *Porto-Bello*: From this Harbour they weigh Anchor precisely on the 3^d Day to the River's Mouth, where the Admiral will sometimes stay a Week longer to oblige the Merchants. From *Porto-Bello* the Armada returns to *Carthagena*, where it meets with the King's Money, brought thither out of the Country, as also with a large *Spanish* Gallion, (called by them a *Patache*) which, upon the first Arrival of the Armada at *Carthagena* from *Spain*, goes along the Coast to gather the King's Tribute. After a set Time, the Ar-

mada returns from *Carthagena*, by the Way of the *Havanna*, in the Isle of *Cuba*, where, meeting with the Flota, or a small Squadron of Ships, come thither from *Vera Cruz*, with the Riches of the City and Country of *Mexico*, and what is brought thither by the annual Ship from the *Philippine Isles*, they all join, and sail for *Spain*, through the Gulph of *Florida*. *Porto-Bello* being an unhealthy Place, the Merchants of *Lima* make as short Stay there as they possibly can: But *Panama* is seated in a much better Air, as enjoying the Benefit of Sea Wind from ten or eleven of the Clock in the Morning, till eight or nine of the Clock at Night, and the Land Wind from nine, till the Morning; besides that, *Panama* having on the Land-side an open champagne Country, it is seldom troubled with Fogs; nor is the wet Season, which holds from *May* to *November*, so excessive at *Panama*, as on the other Side of the Bay, tho' it is severe enough in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, in which Season the Merchants of *Peru*, who are used to a constant serene Air, without Rain or Fogs, cut off their Hair, to preserve them from Fevers, whilst they are obliged to lay here.

34. The 20th, we anchored within a League of three little rocky Isles, called the *Perico* Islands; and, the 21st, took another Prize, laden with Hogs, Peet, Fowl and Salt, from *Lavelia*. The 24th, steered over to the Isle of *Tobago*, in the same Bay, six Leagues South of *Panama*: Its Length three Miles, and its Breadth two. It is very rocky and steep, except on the North Side, where it has an easy Descent; and, as the Soil is black and good up to the Middle of the Mountains, they produce abundance of Fruit, as Plantains, Bananas, and, near the Sea-side, Cocoa and Mammee-trees; these last are large and flat, without Knots, Boughs, or Bunches, and sixty or seventy Feet high. At the Tops sprout out some small Branches, thick and close together; the Fruit is of the Bigness of a large Quince, round, and covered with a grey Rind, which, before it is ripe, is brittle; but, when come to Maturity, grows yellow, and will peel with Ease. The ripe Fruit is of the same Colour, like a Carrot, smells and tastes well, and has two rough flat Stones in the Middle, each of the Bigness of a large Almond. The South-west Side is covered with Trees and Fire-wood, but the North Side has a very fine fresh-water Spring, which falls from the Mountains into the Sea. Near it formerly stood a pretty Town, with a fair Church, but the greatest Part has been destroyed by the Privateers. Opposite to the Town, a Mile from the Shore, is good anchoring, sixteen or eighteen Fathom Water, soft oozy Ground. At the North North-west End lies a small Town, called *Tobagilla*, with a Chanel betwixt both; and, on the North-east Side of *Tobagilla*, another small one, without a Name. Whilst we were at an Anchor near *Tobagilla*, we were in great Danger of being trepanned by a pretended Merchant of *Panama*, who, under colour of trading privately with us, brought his Bark laden with Merchandize in the Night to the South of the *Perico* Isles, where we were then at Anchor, according to his Appointment, which was intended for our Destruction; for, instead of a Bark, he advanced with a Fireship pretty near us, hailing us with the Water-word. Thereupon, some of our Men, more suspicious than the rest, bid her come to an Anchor; which she not doing, they fired at her; which so terrified the Men, that they got into their Canoes, after they had let her on Fire, and we were forced to cut our Cables, to elcape the Danger. At the same time Captain *Swan*, who lay a Mile from us at Anchor, saw a small Float, with only one Man upon it, driving towards his Ship, but soon after disappeared; he supposed this to have been a Machine, made up with combustible Matter, to fasten to his Rudder, (as it happened to Captain *Sbarpe* near *Coquimbo*) but that the Fellow, thinking himself discovered, had not Courage enough to go forward in the Enterprize; but Captain *Swan* thought also fit to cut his Cables, and to keep under Sail all Night. The Fireship was framed and managed by one Captain *Bond*, who formerly run away from us to the *Spaniards*, without whose Assistance they could not have fitted her out, it being almost incredible, how grossly ignorant the *Spaniards*, especially in the South Seas, are in Sea Affairs; nay, which is worse, you seldom see above

one *Spaniard* (perhaps the Commander) in one of their Ships in the *West Indies*, all the rest being *Indians*. In the Morning, while we were busy in recovering our Anchors, we discovered a whole Fleet of Canoes, full of Men, pass betwixt *Tobagilla* and the other Isle, who proved *English* and *French* Privateers, lately come out of the North Sea over the *Isthmus of Darien*; there were 280 in all, 200 *French*, and 80 *English*; these last were taken aboard Captain *Davis*, and Captain *Swan*, and the rest put into our *Theser Prize*, under the Command of Captain *Grenet*, their Countrymen: In Return for which, he offered Captain *Davis*, and Captain *Swan*, each a Commission from the Governor of *Petit Goave*, it being their Custom to carry along with them blank Commissions from the said Governor. Captain *Davis* accepted of one; but Captain *Swan*, having one from the Duke of *York*, refused it.

As I very thing being thus disposed, we set Sail, *March* the 20th, towards the Gulph of *St. Michael*, in quest of Captain *Townley* (who they told us was coming with 180 *English* over the *Isthmus of Darien*). This Gulph lies thirty Leagues South-east from *Panama*, and you must turn for your Passage betwixt the *King's Isles* and the Continent. In its many Rivers disemboque into the Sea: On the South it is bounded by the Point *Garrachina*, at 6^o 25' 1st Latitude, and to the North by *St. Lorenzo*; whereas the Name of Point *Garrachina*, in the Maps, is given to the North Cape, and that of the South Cape quite left out, as well as that of *St. Lorenzo*, which properly belongs to the North Cape. The most noted Rivers, that discharge themselves into the Gulph of *St. Michael*, are *St. Maria*, *Sambo*, and *Congo*: This last has its Rise far in the Country, and, being joined by many small Streams on both Sides, disemboques on the North Side of this Gulph, a League from Cape *St. Lorenzo*: It is deep and navigable some Leagues into the Country, but not very broad. It is neglected by the *Spaniards* by reason of its Nearness to *St. Maria*, where they have their Gold Mines. As I was never in this River *Sambo*, so I cannot say much of it, except that the Tide at its Mouth seems to denote it a large River: It empties itself into the Sea on the South Side of the Gulph near *Garrachina*. Between the Mouths of these two Rivers, on either Side of the Gulph, it runs narrower towards the Land, making five or six Isles, beyond which, deeper inward, the Shore closes to near, with two Points of low Land, as to make a straight Chanel, not half a Mile broad. This is the Entrance to the innermost Part of the Gulph, making a Bay of three Leagues over, to the East End whereof are the Mouths of divers Rivers, but especially of *St. Maria*, the largest River of all that falls into this Gulph, being navigable for eight or nine Leagues, as far as the Tide flows; beyond which, it is divided into several Branches, fit only for Canoes: The Flood rises eighteen Feet in this River. Near six Leagues to the South of the Entrance of the River of *St. Maria*, the *Spaniards* built, about twenty Years ago, the Town of *St. Maria*, on account of its Nearness to the Gold Mines. Soon after it was taken by Captain *Coxon*, *Harris*, and *Sharpe*, but was rebuilt soon after again; for, when Captain *Harris* the Nephew of the former, took it a second time, he found in it great Store of Wine, iron Pickaxes, and other Instruments the Slaves used in digging the Gold mines. I have been told, that, besides what Gold they get out of the Ore and Sand, they found sometimes Lumps as big as an Hen's Egg, and bigger, wedged in betwixt the Rocks. Such a one Mr. *Harris* (who got 120 Pounds of Gold there kept by him; it has several Veins full of Earth and Duff. In the adjacent Mines the *Spaniards* employ their Slaves in a dry season; but, when the Rivers overflow, they can't work without great Inconvenience; and then it is, that the *Indians* wash the Gold out of the Sands, forced down from the Mountains by the violent Raes, which the *Spaniards* buy of them, and gain as much by it as they do by their Mines; for during the wet Season, they retire with their Slaves to *Panama*. Captain *Grenet* saw Captain *Townley*, with his Crew, at this Town, making Canoes, it being at that time abandoned by the *Spaniards*. Near the Mouth of this River of *St. Maria*, on the North Side, they have lately built another Town, called *Sacbadavers*, being a more airy

Place than that of *St. Maria*: The Land all about the Gulph is low and fertile, producing Abundance of large Trees.

30. *March* 3^o, as we were steering for the Gulph, Captain *Swan* kept near to the Continent, as we did near to the *King's Isles*; where, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, near the Place where we had carened our Ships, we met Captain *Townley*, with his Crew, in two Barks which they had taken, one laden with Brandy, Wine, and Sugar, and the other with Flour. As he wanted Room for his Men, and had Occasion for the Jars in which the *Spaniards* carry their Wines, Brandy, and Oil, in these Parts, containing seven or eight Gallons apiece, he distributed Part thereof amongst our Ships, being then all at Anchor among the *King's Islands*: But, as it was towards the latter End of the dry Season, and all the Water dried up, we failed to the Point of *Garrachina*, in hopes of finding fresh Water. The 21st, we anchored two Miles from the Point and found the Tide very strong, coming out of the River *Sambo*. The 22^d, we anchored at four Fathom from the Point; we found the Tide to rise nine Feet, and to Flood to set North North east, and the Ebb South South west: The Natives brought us some Refreshments, but, as they did not understand in the least the *Spanish* Language, I suppose they had no Commerce with the *Spaniards*. Meeting with no fresh Water here, we set Sail for *Panama*, lying seven Leagues Southward by West here, at 7^o North Latitude. It derived its Name from the great Numbers of Pine-trees growing there. The Country rises from the Sea Side, by a gentle Ascent, to a considerable Height, and is pretty woody near the Shore: At the Entrance of the Harbour are two small Rocks, which render the Passage into it narrow, and the Harbour but of a slender Compass, besides that, it lies exposed to the South-west Wind. This made us not go into the Harbour, we sent our Boats to fetch some fresh Water, which they could not perform, by reason of the high Sea near the Shore, so we turned towards Point *Garrachina*, where we arrived the 20th. In our Way, we took a Vessel laden with Cocoa from *Guanaquil*: Finding ourselves here also disappointed in getting of fresh Water, we failed the 30th for *Perico*, with a South South-west Wind, being now in all nine Sail: April 1^o, we anchored at the Isle of *Paqueque*, and the 2^d at *Perico*: Our Men took a Canoe, with four *Indians*, and a Mulatto, who, being found to have been in the late Fire-ship that was sent out to burn our Ship, was hanged immediately. Whilst we were employed in filling of Water, and cutting of Wood for Fuel, we sent four Canoes to the Continent, to get some Sugar in the adjacent Sugar-work, to make our Cocoa up into Chocolate; but especially to get some Coppers, which we much wanted to boil our Victuals in, since our Number was so considerably increased: They brought us three Coppers. In the mean while, Captain *Davis* sent his Bark to the Isle of *Otoque*, seated in the Bay of *Panama*, but uninhabited, except by a few Neger Slaves, who bred up some Fowls and Hogs there. Here our Men met with a Messenger sent to *Panama*, who on Account that the *Lima* Fleet was failed: Most of the Letters had been thrown into the Sea; yet, out of the remaining Part, we understood that the Fleet was coming under a Convoy, composed of all the Ships of Strength that they had been able to bring together from *Peru*. Being informed that the *King's* Ships always came that Way where we now lay, we failed the 10th from *Tobago* to the *King's Isles*, and the 11th anchored at the Place, where we carened: Here we met with Captain *Harris*, who had brought along with him some Men (we had heard the *Indians* went to be late) from the River *St. Maria*, but they were not so many as they reported. The 19th, 250 Men were sent in Canoes to the River *Cheapo*, to furnish the Town of the same Name. The 21st, we followed, and arrived the 22^d at the Isle of *Chepelo*, a pleasant Island, seated in the Bay of *Panama*, seven Leagues from the City of that Name, and one League from the Continent, being about two Miles long, and as many broad, low on the North Side, but rising by an easy Ascent to the South. The Soil is very good, producing in the low Grounds Store of delicious Fruits, such as Plantains, Sapadilloes, Avogato pears, Mammees, Mammee-Sapotas, Star-apples, &c. On the North Side, half a Mile from the Shore, is a good Anchor-

age place, where is also a small Bay, near the Sea-side, called the River *Cheapo*. The Pear trees, and the Fruit-somewhat longer; while the Juice clammy; but and sweet; it has two pound-leaf. The Avocado trees, which our Pear trees, were called Leavers, the Fruit a green colour at first is yellowish, and as it has been gathered three or four Days. The Stone is a Print is insipid, and Lame-juice, being great Provocative, who Passes of the North Summe-Sapota is neither at *Tobago*; nor is the *Tree* Peaches quite red, and the Rind smooth. There are also some wild and thorny, and are Fruit is not esteemed. Quinces-Tree, but much broad-Leaves. The Fruit is reckoned a very good

37. The River of *Cheapo*, on the North Side, is about 10 Miles long, and the Mountains on either Side, forcing a kind of a Semicircle, where it discharges itself is very deep, and a good Store of the Sands that ely by Barks. About the City of *Cheapo*, or Champagne Country, a Store of divers adjacent, the greatest Part is good Land: The River is all Wood before mentioned, for having taken the Town, they took a Canoe with some Men, but the Men being joined by Captain *Davis*, arrived at *Tobago* the 2^d of *April*, it was concluded to attempt upon *Panama*; that they had received *Puerto Bello*, that Delgado for the *King's* Service, when we sent to get some Prisoners. The Scantiness of *Panama*, with strict Order there not to be killed, this had occasion expected every Day the the South Side of the River, and betwixt them a Channel of Length of 4 Miles in Length. On the 2^d of *April*, we set Anchor with our only two Men of War, 100 Men, and Captain *Davis* being provided of 900 Men; we had at the Wind at North North the 25th, the rainy Season beginning to clear up three Leagues West North-ward from the East, South-east from the West. About three in the Afternoon before the Wind upon the Wind to come up with exchanged only a few of the *Spanish* Admiral's

place, where is also a very good Spring of fresh Water near the Sea-side. This Isle lies directly opposite to the River *Cheapo*. The Sapahillo tree is altogether like a Pear tree, and the Fruit like a Burgomot pear, only it is something longer; when it is first gathered, it is hard, and the Juice clammy; but, a few Days after, becomes juicy and sweet; it has two or three black Kernels, like a Pom-poon-seed. The Avogato Pear tree is as high, and higher, than our Pear trees, with a black, but smooth Bark, large oval Leaves, the Fruit of the Figure of a large Lemon, of a green Colour at first, but yellow when ripe. The Pulp is yellowish, and as soft as Butter; and, after they have been gathered three or four Days, the Kernel will come off with Ease. The Stone is as big as a good Hurtle plum. As this Fruit is insipid, so it is commonly eaten with Sugar and Lime-juice, being looked upon by the Spaniards as a great Provocative, who have therefore planted them in most Parts of the North Sea, where they inhabit. The Mammee-Sapota is neither so big, nor so tall, as the Mammee at *Tobago*, nor is the Fruit either so large, or so round. The Pulp is quite red, with a tough, flat, longish Stone, and the Kernel smooth. It is a pleasant and wholesome Fruit. There are also some wild Mammee trees, which grow very ruddy and flat, and are consequently used for Mully; but the Fruit is not esteemed. The Star somewhat resembles our *Guinea-tree*, but much larger, bearing Abundance of oval broad Leaves. The Fruit is of the Figure of a large Apple. It is reckoned a very good Fruit; but I never tasted it.

37. The River of *Cheapo* has its Rise in the Mountains on the North Side, being inclosed afterwards between them and the Mountains on the South Side. It runs to the West, and at last, forcing its Way to the South-west, makes a kind of a Semicircle, and afterwards runs gently to the Sea, where it discharges itself seven Leagues from *Panama*. It is very deep, and a quarter of a Mile broad; but, by reason of the Sands that choke up its Entrance, is navigable only by Barks. About six Leagues from the Sea-side stands the City of *Cheapo*, on the East Bank of the River, in a champagne Country, affording a very pleasant View, by reason of divers adjacent Hills, covered with Woods, the greatest Part is good Pasture-ground; but the South Side of the River is all Wood-land for many Leagues. The 250 Men before mentioned, sent to this Place, returned the 24th, having taken the Town without the least Opposition; but found nothing worth mentioning there. In the Way thither, they took a Canoe with armed Men, sent to watch our Motions; but the Men escaped for the most part. The 25th being joined by Captain *Harris*, we sailed the 26th, and arrived at *Tobago* the 28th, and finding ourselves now too strong, it was consulted, whether we should make an Attempt upon *Panama*; but being informed by our Prisoners, that they had received a considerable Reinforcement from *Porto Bello*, that Design was laid aside. May 4. we sailed again for the *King's Isles*, whereabouts we cruised till the 22d, when we sent two Canoes to the Isle of *Uchepelo*, to get some Prisoners. They returned the 25th, with three Seamen of *Panama*, who informed us, that, having issued a strict Order there not to fetch any Plantains from the adjacent Isles, this had occasioned a great Scarcity; and that they expected every Day the Arrival of the Fleet from *Lama*. On the South Side of the Isle *Pacbeque* lie two or three small Isles, and betwixt them a Channel not above seven Paces wide, and a Mile in Length. On the East Side of this Channel we lay at Anchor with our whole Fleet, consisting of ten Sail, but only two Men of War, viz. Captain *Davis*, thirty six Guns, 130 Men, and Captain *Sizem*, sixteen Guns, 140 Men, the rest being provided only with Small arms, making in all 900 Men; we had also one Fireship. Hitherto we had the Wind at North North-east, with fair Weather; but, the 28th, the rainy Season began. About eleven of the Clock, it beginning to clear up, we discovered the Spanish Fleet three Leagues West North-west from the Isle of *Pacbeque*, standing to the East, we being then at Anchor a League South-east from the Isle, betwixt it and the Continent. About three in the Afternoon we sailed, bearing down right before the Wind upon the Spaniards, who kept close on a Wind to come up with us; but, Night approaching, we exchanged only a few Shot. As soon as it began to be dark, the Spanish Admiral put out a Light at his Top, as a Sig-

nal for the Fleet to come to an Anchor. In half an Hour after, it was taken down again; but appeared soon after as before, which we supposing to be in the Admiral's Top, kept under Sail, being to the Windward; but found ourselves deceived in our Expectation, by a Stratagem contrived by the Spaniards, who, having put this second Light on the Top-mast-head of one of their Barks, sent her to the Leeward; so that, in the Morning, we found they had got the Weather-gage of us. They came up with full Sail; so we were forced to make a running Fight of it all the next Day, almost quite round the Bay of *Panama*; for we came to anchor against the Isle of *Pacbeque*. Captain *Townley*, being hard pressed by the Spaniards, was forced to make a bold Run through the before-mentioned Channel betwixt *Pacbeque* and the three adjacent small Isles; and Captain *Harris* was forced away from us during the Fight. Thus our long-projected Design vanished into Smoke. The Spanish Fleet, according to the Report of some Prisoners taken afterwards by Captain *Wright*, consisted of fourteen Sail, besides Periagoes, or Boats of twelve or fourteen Oars apiece, among which were eight Ships of good Force; viz. from eight to forty-eight Guns. They were computed to have 3000 Men aboard the whole Fleet, and two Fireships. The 30th in the Morning, we saw the Spanish Fleet three Leagues to the Leeward of us at Anchor, and, at ten of the Clock, with an ealy Gale from the South, making the best of their Way to *Panama*. We do not know their Loss. We had but one Man killed. Captain *Gronet*, who was not in the Fight, laid the Fault thereof on his Men. He was ordered to leave us, in a Consultation held for that Purpose, where it was also resolved to sail for the Isles of *Quibo*, or *Cobaya*, in quest of Captain *Harris*.

38. We sailed June 1. 1685, with a South South-west Wind, passing betwixt the Point *Garachina* and the *King's Isles*. The 6th, we passed in Sight of the Isle *Chuceb*, a small, low, round, woody Isle, four Leagues South South-west from *Pacbeque*, uninhabited, and the last of the Isles in the Bay of *Panama*. We sailed forward on the North Side of the Bay, (the Way all Ships from *Panama* must pass) and came, the 10th, in Sight of the *Moro de Porcos*, a high round Hill on the Coast of *Lavelia*. This Side of the Bay of *Panama* runs out West to the Isles of *Quibo*. On these Coasts are many Rivers and Creeks; but not near so large as those on the South Side of the said Bay. Near the Sea-side this Coast is partly hilly, partly low Grounds, with very thick Woods; but, in the Heart of the Country, they have fruitful Plains for Cattle. Some of the Rivers on this Side afford also Gold; but not in such a Quantity as those on the other Side. There is scarce any Settlement along this Coast, except what is along the Rivers, that lead to *Lavelia* and *Nata*, these being the only Places I know of betwixt *Panama* and *Pacbeque*. From *Panama* is good travelling all over *Mexico* through the Savannas or Plains; but, towards *Peru*, there is no Passage beyond the River *Cheapo*, by reason of the thick Woods, and many Rivers. In our Voyage to *Quibo*, the Wind being constantly at South South-west and South-west, we met with very bad Weather; so that we did not reach these Isles, till June 15. where we met with Captain *Harris*. The Isle of *Quibo* or *Cobaya*, at 7° 14' North Latitude, is near seven Leagues long, and four broad, being all low Land, except at the North-east End; on which Side, as also to the East, there is excellent good Water. It abounds in Trees of all sorts; in Deer and black Monkeys, the Flesh of which is reckoned very wholesome and good. It has also some Guanoes and Snakes. From the South-east End of this Isle runs out a Sand-bank half a Mile into the Sea; and a League to the North Side of this, to the East, is a Rock a Mile from the Shore, which, at the last Quarter Ebb, is seen above Water. For the rest, Ships may come to an Anchor at any other Place a quarter of a Mile from the Shore, at six, eight, ten and twelve Fathom, clean Sand and Ours. Besides this, there are several Isles lying on the South-west Side; some to the North and North-east. The Isle of *Quicarra* is pretty large, lying to the South-west of *Quibo*; and, to the North of it, is a small Isle called *Rancheria*, which produces great Plenty of Palma-Maria-trees. They are very fruit-bodred, tough, and of a very good Length, and consequently fit

far Malls: The Grain of the Wood runs twisted gradually. They have no Resemblance to the Palm tree. To the North east of *Ranberia* lie the little Islands of *Canales* and *Cantarras*, with their Channels betwixt them, where there is good Anchorage. They have Plenty of good Water and Trees; and they appear at a Distance to be Part of the Continent: But the Isle of *Quibo* being the longest, and most considerable of them all, they are generally comprehended under the Name of the Isles of *Quibo*.

25. *Jan 15* it being agreed, that, since we had missed at Sea, we should try our Fortune by Land, the City of *Leon* was pitched upon, on the Coast of *Mexico*, as being nearest to us; but, wanting Canoes to land our Men, we cut down Trees, to make as many as we had Occasion for. In the mean time 115 Men were sent to make themselves Masters of *Punta Nueva*, a Town on the Continent near these Isles, in hopes of getting some Provisions there. They took the Town with much Difficulty, and returned the 20th; but met with nothing there, except an empty Bark. *July 3*, Captain *Knight* came to us, having been rather to the West, where meeting with no Purchase, he sailed to the South as far as the Bay of *Guangual*, where he took two Bark logs with Wine, Oil, Brandy, Sugars, Soap, &c. The Master declared, that the Merchants there, delighted to have been sent away by the Spanish Fleet to *Panama*, did stay behind at *Punta*, till further Orders; and that, had he had more Strength, they might easily have been taken. In a Month's time, our Canoes being got ready, Captain *Harris*, with his Men, went on board Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan* (his Ship being rotten) and, *July 20*, we sailed from *Quibo* towards *Rio Leja*, the next Port to the City of *Leon*, being now 640 Men, eight Sail of Ships, three Tenders, and a Fireship, the Wind at South South-west. Coasting along, we passed by the Gulph of *Amico*, that of *Ducy*, and the Isle of *Canco*, the Land low, covered with Wood, and almost destitute of Inhabitants. We had variable Winds; but most South-west and West South-west, the Land winds at North North-east. We were much persecuted with Tornados. *August 8*, at 11. 20 North Latitude, we discovered the *Volcano Vera*, or *Oullucane*, the Sea mark of *Rio Leja*, bearing North-east by North, and no sooner had we brought the said Mountain to bear North east, but we made Provision for landing the next Day. The 9th, we sent 520 of our Men in thirty one Canoes towards the Harbour of *Rio Leja*. The Weather was fair, and the Wind favourable, till two in the Afternoon, when a Tempest, mixed with Thunder and Lightning, had almost buried us in the Sea; but, after fall an Hour, it began to abate, and to did the Agitation of the Sea, it being observable, in those hot Countries, that the Waves soon rise and fall. At seven of the Clock at Night it was calm; but, had it we could not be ready to sail before Day, being five Leagues from Shore, we had been obliged till six in the Evening, for fear of being discovered; but, about three of the Clock, another Tornado had like to have put an End to our Enterprize. However, as the same did not last long, we entered the Creek lying on the South east side of the Harbour, leading to *Leja*, in the Night, but did not go farther till Day-break, when we rowed deeper into the Creek, which is very narrow, and the Land on both Sides marly near the Banks, and full of Mangrove trees, so that there is no passing through them. Beyond the Mangrove-trees, upon the firm Ground, they call up a small Intrenchment. We rowed as fast as we could, and landed 470 Men, having the first of which Number I was one, to guard the Canoes. The City of *Leon* stands twenty Miles in the Country, in a sandy Plain, near a peaked burning Mountain, thence called the *Volcano* of *Leon*, the Way to it being through a clammie Country, covered with long Grats. Betwixt the Landing place and the City were several Sugar works; and, about Mid-way a delicious fordable River, being the only thing they met with in their Way. Two Miles on this Side the City is an Indian Town, where a pleasant sandy Road leads you to the City, the Houses whereof are Stone, and large, with Gardens about them; but low, and covered with Pantle. It has three Churches, and a Cathedral. Its Situation is in a sandy Plain, with Savannas all round about it, which drink up the Rain, and afford a free Passage to the Breezes from

all Sides. This makes it both healthful and pleasant, tho' it is not a Place of great Commerce, all their Subtilance being in Cattle and Sugar works.

30. Our Men marched at eight of the Clock, Captain *Townley* leading the Van, at the Head of eighty of the bravest Men. Captain *Swan* followed him with 100 more; and Captain *Davis* brought up the Rear with 170, in Conjunction with Captain *Knight*. Captain *Townley*, being advanced two Miles before the rest, and having forced twenty Horie to a Retreat at four Miles on this Side of the City, marched forward, and, at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, with his eighty Men only, entered the Town without Resistance, but met with some Opposition from five hundred Foot and two hundred Horie, first in a broad Street and afterwards in the great Market-place; but the Foot, seeing the Horie take to their Heels, also retreated, leaving the Town to our People's Mercy. Captain *Swan* came not into the Town till four o'Clock; *Davis* about five, and *Knight*, with the Remainder, not till six. The *Spaniards* killed one of our Men, that straggled behind, being very old, and refusing to accept of Quarter, and took one *Smith* Prisoner. Next Day, the Governor sent Word he would ransom the Town. We demanded 30,000 Pieces of Eight, and Provisions for 1000 Men for four Months; which he not refusing, we let the City on Fire the 14th, and marched towards our Canoes the next Morning. *Smith* was exchanged for a Gentlewoman. We released another Gentleman, upon his Petole to deliver to us 150 Oxen for his Ransom at *Rio Leja*, the Place we intended to attack next. The 16th in the Afternoon, we came back in our Canoes to the Harbour of *Rio Leja*, where our Ships were come to an Anchor by that time. The Creek, that leads from *Rio Leja*, extends from the North-west Part of the Harbour's Mouth to the North, about two Leagues from the Isle in the Harbour's Mouth, to the Town. The first two third Parts are broad; but afterwards closes in a narrow deep Channel, lined on both sides with many Cocoa-trees. A Mile from the Entrance of the Creek, it winds to the West. Here it was, that the *Spaniards* call up an Intrenchment, fronting the Entrance of the Creek, defended by 100 Soldiers, and twenty Guards. Below it a Boom of Trees was made across the Creek, so that they might have kept off 1000 Men, had they not wanted Courage to keep their Post; but, at the firing of two of our Guns, they quitted it, leaving us at Liberty to cut down the Boom. This done, we landed, and marched to the Town of *Rio Leja*, a fine Borough, seated a Mile thence, upon a small River, in a Plain. It has three Churches, and an Hospital, with an handsome Garden to it, the Place being seated in an unwholesome Air, among the Ferns and Marishes, which send forth a noisome Smell. We took the Town without the least Opposition. The Country about it has many Sugar-works, and lectures of Cattle, and great Quantities of Pitch, Tar and Cordage made by the Country-people. It produces also Mangoes, Pine-apples, Guavas, and Prickle-pears.

31. The Shrub, that bears the Guava fruit, has long and small Boughs, a white and smooth Bark, and Leaves like the Helle. The Fruit resembles a Pear, with a thin Skin, and many hard Seeds. It may be eaten while green, a Taste seldom observed in Fruits either in the *East* or *West Indies*. It is yellow, soft, and well tasted. After it is ripe, it may be baked like Pears, and will coddle like Apples. There are different Sorts, distinguished by their Shape, Taste, and Colour, some being red, others yellow, in the *Islands*. Before it is ripe, it is stringent; but afterwards looser. The Prickle-pear grows upon a Shrub five Feet high, in many Places in the *West Indies*. It thrives best in sandy Grounds, near the Sea-shore. Each Branch of the Shrub has two or three round Leaves, of the Breadth of a Man's Hand, not unlike Houle-leek, edged with Prickles of an Inch long. At the Extremity of the Leaf grows the Fruit, of the Bigness of a large Plum, small towards the Leaf, and thicker to the End, where it opens like a Melon. The Fruit has also small Prickles, is green at first, but turns red by degrees. The Pulp is of the same Colour with the Substance of a thick Syrup, with small black Seeds. Its Taste is pleasant and cooling. I have often observed, that, if you eat twenty or more of them at a time, they will colour the Urine as red as Blood; but without any ill Consequence.

We found nothing of Packs of Flour, and received also the 1500 released at *Leon*, which other Cattle we found 1000. We laid here Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan*, I left Captain *Swan*. Captain *Townley* but Captain *Harris* and *Davis*. The 27th, we got out of the Harbour, provide ourselves with

41. By this time with Fevers, which began in the beginning of December, Captain *Davis's* Men being 3 we sailed again. Weather all along the day, and Lightning, with the tempestuous we saw no Land till the 30th. We came in sight of *Guatemala*. It appears a low, flat, between which Smoke, especially between the Leagues from the Sea, from the Gulph of the North Seas. It is reported to be abundant in several spots, thence in Dyes, Indico, Opium, &c. The Land near the Sea side, but by deep about ten Leagues from the Sea, wood and Pumice Hill were thrown out into the Sea. The Weather being fair with 100 Men to the place, and some Refreshment by till the 26th, when North-west Wind, with rain at the Fall, and Land to the West, on this Side of it, near to mixed with pleasant fine air was defended. Waves would not let us were forced to coast for but Captain *Townley*, turned aboard with him to try his Fortune again, sandy Bay, where he and most of the Powder they were got ashore, tents, and unfordable turn to their Canoes, and *Indians*; but they to take the Way of Captain *Townley* went of it. Immediately a brisk North North-east wind two Miles of it. We found nine twenty-one Fathom, either Creek or Bay, come to the Isle of *Tal*. It is high, but small Water, about a Leap pleasant Pasture-ground deeper in the Country the Port of *Guatemala*, *Mexico*, at 15. 30' N. the Entrance of the I

We found nothing considerable in the Town, except 500 Packs of Flour, and some Pitch, Tar, and Cordage. We received also the 150 Oxen promised by the Gentleman we released at Leon, which, together with the Sugar, and some other Cattle we found in the Country, was extremely welcome to us. We staid here from the 17th to the 24th. The 25th, Captain Davis and Captain Swan parted, the first having a mind to return to the Coast of Peru; the other intending to go farther to the West. As I had a Curiosity to be better acquainted with the Northern Parts of the Continent of Mexico, I left Captain Davis, and went aboard Captain Swan. Captain Townley, with his two Barks, joined us; but Captain Harris and Captain Knight followed Captain Davis. The 27th, Captain Davis, with his Ship, went out of the Harbour; but we staid some time behind, to provide ourselves with Water and Fuel.

42 By this time our Men began to be much afflicted with Fevers, which we attributed to the Remains of a contagious Disemper, that lately reigned at Rio Leja; for Captain Davis's Men underwent the same Fate. September 3 we sailed again, steering to the West. We had bad Weather all along the Coast, with violent Tornadoes, Thunder, and Lightning. The Tornadoes blew from the North-west. The tempestuous Weather kept us out at Sea; so that we saw no Land till the 14th, at 12° 51' North Latitude. We came in Sight of the Vulcano or burning Mountain of Guatemala. It appears with a double Peak, like two Sugar-loaves, betwixt which sometimes break out the Fire and Smoke, especially before bad Weather. The City of Guatemala is seated near the Foot of this high Mountain, eight Leagues from the South Sea, and forty or fifty Leagues from the Gulph of Amatique in the Bay of Honduras in the North Seas. It is reputed a rich City, the Country about it abounding in several Commodities peculiar to it, and transported thence into Europe, especially the four noted Dyrs, Indico, Otta or Anatta, Silvester, and Cochineal. The Land near the Vulcano of Guatemala is low by the Sea side; but, by degrees, becomes higher and higher for about ten Leagues from the Shore. We saw abundance of Brit wood and Pumice-stones floating in the Sea. These last were thrown out by the Mountain, and washed by the Rain into the Sea. The 24th, at 14° 30' North Latitude, the Weather being settled, Captain Townley went ashore with 100 Men to the West, in hopes to find a Landing-place, and some Refreshments for our sick Men. We lay by till the 26th, when, coasting along to the West, with a North west Wind, we saw a Track of high Land, beginning at the East, and running for ten Leagues within the Land to the West, where it links by an easy Descent. On this Side of it, near to the Sea, we saw rich Pasture plains, mixed with pleasant Groves. The Country near the Seashore was defended by sandy Hills; but the boisterous Waves would not let our Men land with their Canoes. We were forced to coast still for eight or nine Leagues farther; but Captain Townley, seeing no Prospect of landing, returned aboard with his Men October 2. But, being relieved to try his Fortune again, he forced his Canoes ashore in a sandy Bay, where he landed with the Loss of one Man, and most of the Powder spoiled with the salt Water. When they were got ashore, they found the Country full of Torrents, and unfordable Rivulets, so they were forced to return to their Canoes. They were charged by 200 Spaniards and Indians; but these they soon repulsed, and forced them to take the Way of Teguantaque, the same Town that Captain Townley went to look for, but could not get Sight of it. Immediately after his Return, we sailed again, with a brisk North east Wind, still coasting to the West, within two Miles of the Shore. At six Miles from the Land we found nineteen Fathom, and, at eight Miles, twenty-one Fathom, coarse Sand. We could not discover either Creek or Bay for twenty Leagues farther, till we came to the Isle of Tangola, where there is safe Anchorage. It is high, but small, yet well furnished with Wood and Water, about a League from the Continent, which has pleasant Pasture-grounds near the Sea, but high Woodland deeper in the Country. We sailed a League farther into the Port of Guatemala, one of the best in the Kingdom of Mexico, at 15° 30' North Latitude. On the East Side of the Entrance of the Harbour, about a Mile from it, is a

small Isle adjacent to the Shore, and, on the West Side of the said Entrance, a great hollow Rock, open at the Top, through which the Waves of the Sea force their Passage, as if through a Pipe, with a great Noise, and to a great Height, even in the calmest Weather; so that it affords a good Mark to Seamen bound for this Port. The whole Depth of the Harbour is about three Miles, and its Breadth one Mile. It runs in North-west. The West Side is the more secure, because the rest is exposed to the South-west Winds, which are frequently on this Coast.

43 Here Captain Townley landed again with some Men; and, marching to the East, came to the River Capalita, which has a very swift Current; but is deep at its Entrance. A League from Guatemala, two of our Men swam over the River, where they seized upon three Indians, that were placed there to keep Watch. As they could not speak Spanish, so they made Signs, that they could conduct them to a Village; whereupon 140 Men were sent, under the Conduct of Captain Townley, (myself being one) who returned the 8th, having seen, after fourteen Miles March, a small Indian Village, where they found nothing but some Vinelloes drying in the Sun. The Vinello grows on a small kind of Vine, creeping up about the Trees. This, at first, bears a yellow Flower, which produces a Cod of the Bigness of the Stem of a Tobacco-leaf, and about four or five Inches long. This Cod is green at first, but, when ripe, becomes yellow: The Seeds are black. After they are gathered, they lay them in the Sun, which makes them soft, and of a Chestnut-colour. They squeeze it flat afterwards with their Fingers. The Spaniards, who buy this Commodity very cheap of the Indians, stoke them afterwards with Oil. I never heard of any of the Vinelloes, except hereabouts, about Cacochu in the Bay of Campeachy, and Bocco-tera. Near this last Place, I gathered them myself, and endeavoured to cure them, but could not; and, as I know other Persons, who have lived many Years in these Parts, and have attempted the same with no better Success, I am apt to believe the Indians have some peculiar way to cure them, that hitherto is unknown to us. The 10th, we sent four Canoes before to the West, to expect our coming at Port Angels; and, in the mean while, endeavoured to take some Prisoners. The 12th, we sailed with our Ships from Guatemala, the Land lying along to the West, inclining to the South, for twenty or thirty Leagues, the Sea-winds at West South-west and South-west, the Land-winds at North. We coasted along as near as we could to the Shore, to take the Benefit of the Land-wind, the Sea-wind being against us, besides that we were kept back by the Current letting to the Fall; so that we were forced to come to an Anchor at Sacchivo, an Isle half a Mile long, a League to the West of Guatemala, and half a Mile from the Continent. To the West of the Isle appears a good Bay, but it is rocky. The best Anchorage is betwixt the Isle and the Continent, at five or six Fathom Water, tho' the Tide is pretty strong here, the Sea rising about six Feet. The 13th, we continued coasting to the West near the Shore, which was high and woody, with divers sandy Bays; but the Waves very boisterous near the Shore. Two of our Canoes returned the 22d, and told us, they had lost Company of the other two; that they could not find Port Angels; and had endeavoured, in vain, to land at a Place, where they saw great Store of Cattle, being then just a-breast Port Angels, though those in the Canoes did not know it. We went in, and came to an Anchor there. It is a broad open Bay, having two or three Rocks at the West End. For the rest, there is good Riding at thirteen, twenty and thirty Fathom Water; but Ships be exposed to all Winds, the Land-winds excepted, till they come at twelve or thirteen Fathom Water, where they are sheltered against the Trade-winds, which are West South-west. The Flood rises about five Feet, sets to the North-east, and the Ebb at South-west. The Landing-place is close to the West Side, before the above-mentioned Rock; but, as the Waves run very high, there is but indifferent landing. It lies at 15° North Latitude, and is inclosed, on the Land-side, by high sandy Grounds, Part abounding with Woods, Part Plains, with very good Grass. The 23d, we landed 100 Men, who subsisted two or three Days upon salt Beef, and got Store of salt Maiz, Hogs, Cocks and Hens, in an adjacent House to the Plain; but

could carry but little aboard, by reason of the great Distance from the Sea-side. The 27th, we failed in the Morning with the Land-wind; about Noon the Sea-wind blew; and, at Night, we anchored at sixteen Fathom Water, near a small rocky Isle, sixteen Leagues West from Port Angels; and half a Mile from the Continent. The 28th, we continued our Voyage with the Land-wind; the Sea-wind blew hard in the Afternoon, and, at Night, we met with the other two Canoes we had sent out from Guatuleo; they had been as far as the Port of Acapulco; and, in their Return, took in fresh Water in spite of 150 Spaniards that would have opposed it. Thence they came into a Salt-water Lake, or Pond, on the Banks of which finding Abundance of dry Fish, they brought some aboard us. As we were just off this Lake, we sent twelve Men in a Canoe for more Fish. The Entrance of the Lake is closely hemm'd in with Rocks on both Sides, that the Passage betwixt them is not above Pistol-shot over, but within the Lake is a considerable Compass. The Spaniards, being alarmed already, now seeing our Canoes before the Lake, posted themselves behind the Rocks, and fired such a Volley of Shot upon our Canoe, as her entering into the Pond, that they wounded five of our Men: However, our People rowed forward into the Lagune, or Pond, out of Gun-shot, where they staid two Days and three Nights, not daring to attempt to repeat the same Way they came: At last Captain Townley, who lay nearer to the Shore than we, hearing the firing of some Guns that Way, manned one of his Canoes, and beating the Spaniards from the Rocks, opened them a free Passage; so they returned about October 31. This Lagune is in 16° 20' North Latitude.

44. November 2. we pass'd by the Rock of *Alcatraz*; the Land near it is high, woody, and mountainous in the Country; six Miles to the West of the said Rock, he seven or eight white Cliffs to the South by West, whereof a large Shore runs out five Miles at Sea. Two Leagues to the West of these Cliffs is an handsome River, having a small Isle at its Entrance: The East Chanel is shallow and sandy, but that to the West will admit of Canoes. The 3d, we came to an Anchor opposite to this River, one Mile and an half to Shore, at fourteen Fathoms. The Spaniards having cast up an Intrenchment along the West Chanel, defended by 200 Soldiers, we landed our Men, and forced them thence with little Opposition: We found here a good Quantity of Salt, designed for the salting the Fish they take in the Lake; but we saw no Nets, Hooks, or Lines, nor any Bark, Canoe, or Boat. Marching three Leagues into the Country, we took a Mulatto Prisoner, who inform'd us, that lately there was a stout Ship come from *Lima* to *Acapulco*: Captain Townley standing in need of a better Ship than that which he possess'd, it was agreed though not without some Opposition from Captain Swan, to fetch the said Ship out of that Harbour. The 5th, we continued coasting to the West toward *Acapulco*: The 7th, twelve Leagues from the Shore we saw the high Land of *Acapulco*, very remarkable for a round Hill betwixt two other Hills; the Westermost being the largest and highest, with two Hills on the Top; but the lattermost is higher and more peaked than the Middlemost. *Acapulco* is a Town and Harbour, at 17° North on the West Side of the Continent, belonging to the City of *Mexico*, being the only Place of Commerce on the West Coast, though, at the same time, there are only three Ships that come hither, viz. two that go constantly every Year betwixt this Port and *Manilla* in *Lucania*, one of the *Philippine* Islands, and another once a Year to and from *Lima*. This last comes to *Acapulco* about *Christmas*; laden with Quicksilver, Cocoa, and Pieces of Eight, and stays there till the *Manilla* Ships arrive; from these she takes in her Cargo of Spices, Calicos, Muffins, &c. for *Peru*, and to returns to *Lima*. This is but a moderate Vessel, but the two Ships from *Manilla* carry about 1000 Tons: These two to order their Voyage, as that one or other of them is always at *Manilla*: One of them sets Sail from *Acapulco* about the Beginning of *April*, and, after sixty Days, touches at *Guam*, one of the *Iadrone* Isles, for Retailments: After three Days stay, she continues her Voyage to *Manilla*, where she commonly arrives in *June*. Soon after, the other Ship being ready to sail from *Manilla* with the *East India* Commodities, she

steers her Course thence to thirty-six or forty Degrees North Latitude, before she can get the Wind to carry her into the Coast of *America*; first, she falls into the Shore of *California*; and then, coasting to the South, certainly meets a Wind to bring her to *Acapulco*. After she has made the Cape of *St. Lucas*, the South Point of *California*, she runs over to Cape *Corrientes* at 20° North Latitude, whence she coasts to *Sallagua*; where, having put ashore the Passengers bound for the City of *Mexico*, she continues coasting along to *Acapulco*, which commonly happens about *Christmas*; and, upon her Return to *Manilla*, the other Ship undertakes her Voyage to *Acapulco*, a Port so large and convenient, as to be able to contain some Hundreds of Ships without Danger. Cross the Entrance of the Harbour is a low Isle, one Mile and a half long, and half a Mile broad, stretching from East to West. At each End is a deep Chanel for the Entrance of their Ships, and their coming out, provided they enter with the Sea-wind, and come out with the Land-wind, and these blow at stated Times of the Day or Night. The Chanel at the West End is narrow, but so deep, that there is no Anchorage. Through this the Ships come in from *Manilla*, but the Ships from *Lima* pass through the South-west Chanel. The Harbour runs in eight Miles to the North, then, closing up in a narrow Chanel, goes a Mile farther to the West. At the Entrance of this Chanel, on the North-west Side, just by the Sea-side, stands the Town of *Acapulco*, near which is a Platform with a good Number of Guns; and over-against the Town, on the East Side, stands a strong Castle, defended by no less than forty great Guns; Ships commonly ride within Reach of this Castle, at the Bottom of the Harbour. Captain Townley went with 120 Men, in twelve Canoes, to fetch out the *Lima* Ship; but, by Streets of Weather, was forced into Port *Mangua*, a good Harbour, a League East of the Port of *Acapulco*: Here they staid all Day, and the next Night rowed forty to *Acapulco*, where they found the Ship riding at Anchor 100 Yards from the Castle and Platform; so that, finding it impossible to carry her off, he returned much dissatisfied. The 11th, we sail'd farther to the West, with the Land-wind at North-east. As the Sea-winds are here at South-west, we sail'd along a sandy Bay, twenty Leagues in Length, where there was good Anchorage two Miles from the Shore; but the Sea-waves fell with such Violence against it, that there is no safe Landing-place. Near the Sea side the Grounds are low, and abound with Trees, especially with spreading Palm trees, which are sometimes twenty or thirty Feet high, but no bigger than an ordinary Ash. The Country is intermix'd with many small Hills, which are, for the most part, barren; but the Valleys very fertile. At the West End of this Bay, jets out into the Sea the Hill of *Petaplan*, at 17° 20' North Latitude, being a round Point, that appears like an Isle at Sea. A little farther to the West, is a little Knot of round Hills: We entered betwixt these and the Point, where we were at the North west Side of the Hill, at eleven Fathom Water. Here we sent 170 Men ashore; who, marching sixteen Miles into the Country, came to a wretched little Village, left by the Inhabitants; so that we met with nobody but a Mulatto Woman, with four small Children. Being brought aboard, she declared, that a Caravan of Mules, laden with Flour and other Goods, designed for *Acapulco*, had stop't their Journey on the Road to the West of this Village. So we sail'd farther to the West the 12th, about two Leagues, to a Place called *Chequetlan*, a very good Harbour, having the Convenience of a fresh water River, and Abundance of Wood: We landed nine or ten Men the 9th, in six Canoes, having the Mulatto Woman for their Guide; at *Eltapa*, a League West of *Chequetlan*. Hence they were carried by their Guide through 14 Leagues Wood, by a River side, into a Plain, near which, in a Farm-house, they found the Caravan, consisting of 1000 Mules, laden with Flour, Chocolate, Cheeses, and European-wares; all this they carried, except the earthen Vessels, with some Beef they had killed, and brought to their Canoes, and thence to our Ships. Captain Swan went afterwards ashore, and killed eighteen Cows more without the least Opposition. The Country is woody, but fertile, and watered with many Rivers and Rivulets.

45. The 21. we fail'd North here, and the Wind being along to the West, the rugged Hills; but, the Jews betwixt them. The divided into Peaks, a narrow way, there stands from it, but we could not see it. 200 Men were sent to *Colma*, a rich Place, 10 Leagues along the Sea-side to land in, and to stay. At two Places Men followed them, we returned the 28th, or burning Mount as Height, at 3° 36' the Sea-side, appeared of which issues along the Valley, in which it stands as does the adjacent Territory. We may credit the fertile and fertile Valley Plantains, being ten and stretching a great no Landing-place near the Waters; for, about is low woody Ground which disembogues a Land bank at the Mouth of the River. The 29th, whether they could find the Town of *Sallagua*, the West End of the Bay Waves running so high, turned aboard the 30th, the Port of *Sallagua*, a rocky Point about two distinct Harbours at ten or twelve Fathoms the best, having, fresh-water Rivulet in Number of armed Spaniards the next Morning, we Foot never stood one of them: In the Pursuit road, leading through lowed it for four Leagues steps of any Inhabitants. Way took two Stragglers that the broad Road. Days Journey from from that City to fetch to let Passengers ashore the Town of *Sallagua*. Signs of it. December West towards Cape abouts with the Ship. Sea winds are here North; the Land is ragged Points, and is Droopy, and so were common Duke on the it with the Stone or have four, viz. one to Powder; but we with any of these Creatures hereabouts. Betwixt very good Ports we die Cape, it appeared within the Country, with runs a Ridge of Mountain at the East a Crown; whence the Crown Land; but a caly Delcent. The *rientes*, bearing North North. This Cape towards the Sea, but

45. The 21. we failed with the Land-wind, which is at North here, and the Sea-wind at West South-west, coasting along to the West. At first the Land appears with ragged Hills; but, farther to the West, with fruitful Valleys betwixt them. The 25th, we passed by an high Hill, divided into Peaks, at $18^{\circ} 8'$ North Latitude: The *Spaniards* say, there stands a Town, called the *Cupan*, not far from it, but we could not find the Way to it. The 26th, 200 Men were sent to endeavour to find out the City of *Colima*, a rich Place; but, though they rowed twenty Leagues along the Shore, they could not meet with any Place to land in, and saw not the least Sign of any Inhabitants. At two Places they saw two Horsemen, and our Men followed them, but lost the Track in the Woods; so we returned the 28th on board; and, soon after, the *Volcano*, or burning Mountain, of *Colima*, very remarkable for its Height, at $43^{\circ} 36'$ North Latitude, six Leagues from the Sea-side, appeared, with two high Points, from each of which issues always either Fire or Smoke. The Valley, in which it stands, bears the Name of the Mountain, as does the adjacent Town, the chief City of all the Country. If we may credit the *Spaniards*, it is a most delightful and fertile Valley, abounding in Cocos, Corn, and Plantains, being ten or twelve Leagues wide to the Sea, and stretching a great Way into the Country; but there is no Landing-place near it, occasioned by the Impetuosity of the Waters; for, about two Leagues from the East Side, is low woody Ground, and, at the End, is a deep River, which disembogues into the Sea; but, by reason of a Land bank at the Mouth, there is no Entrance, even for Canoes. The 29th, 200 Men were sent again, to try whether they could find any Path or Track leading to the Town of *Sallagua*, seated, as the *Spaniards* report, at the West End of the Bay of the Valley of *Colima*; but, the Waves running so high, there was no landing, they returned aboard the 30th. December 1. we came in Sight of the Port of *Sallagua*, at $18^{\circ} 52'$: It is a Bay, parted by a rocky Point about the Middle; so that it appears like two distinct Harbours, in either of which is safe anchoring at ten or twelve Fathom Water, tho' the West Harbour is the best, having, besides this, the Convenience of a fresh-water Rivulet falling into the Sea. We saw a good Number of armed *Spaniards*, to whom we gave a Visit, the next Morning, with 200 of our best Men; but the Foot never stood one Charge, and the Horse soon followed them: In the Pursuit, our Men, lighting upon a broad Road, leading through a woody and rocky Country, followed it for four Leagues; but, finding not the least Foot-steps of any Inhabitants, they turned back, and in their Way took two straggling Mulattoes, who assured them, that the broad Road led to the City of *Orrabá*, four long Days Journey from hence, and that three Men were sent from that City to secure the Ship from *Manilla*, that was to let Passengers ashore there. The *Spanish* Maps place the Town of *Sallagua* hereabouts, but we could see no Signs of it. December 6. we failed again, coasting to the West towards Cape *Corrientes*, in hopes of meeting thereabouts with the Ship expected from the *Philippines*. The Sea winds are here North-west, and the Land-wind at North; the Land indifferent high, sprinkled with many ragged Points, and woody. Here I was afflicted with the Dropsy, and so were many of our Men: This being a common Dilease on this Coast, the Natives pretend to cure it with the Stone or Cod of an Alligator (of which they have four, viz. one near each Leg within the Flth) beaten to Powder; but we had not the good Fortune to meet with any of these Creatures, though they are sometimes found hereabouts. Betwixt *Sallagua* and Cape *Corrientes* are divers good Ports we did not touch at. As we approached the Cape, it appeared with many white Cliffs, and, deeper into the Country, with peaked Hills; to the West of these runs a Ridge of Mountains, beginning with an high steep Mountain at the East End, with three Peaks, resembling a Crown; whence the *Spaniards* called it *Coronada*, the Crown Land; but at the West End it terminates in an easy Descent. The 11th, we were in Sight of Cape *Corrientes*, bearing North by West, and the *Coronada* to the North. This Cape is pretty high, very steep and rocky towards the Sea, but flat on the Top, and covered with

Trees; it is at $20^{\circ} 28'$ North Latitude: I found its Longitude from *Teneriff* $23^{\circ} 56'$, keeping thereby to the West, according to our Course; pursuant to which Computation it is, from the *Lizard in England*, $121^{\circ} 41'$, and the Difference of Time eight Hours six Minutes. The Ship from the *Philippines* being obliged to make this Point in her Voyage homewards, we took our Stations with our four Sail, so as that we judged we could not well miss the Ship: But, as we wanted Provisions, fifty or sixty Men were sent in a Bark to the West of the Cape to get some: They returned the 17th without any Purchase, not being able to get about the Cape, the Wind being generally North-west and South-west on this Coast; however, they left four Canoes, manned with forty-six Men, behind, who intended to row to the West. The 18th, we failed to the Isles of *Chumety*, eighteen Leagues to the East of Cape *Corrientes*: They are five low, small, and woody Isles, surrounded with Rocks, and lying in Form of an Half-moon, within a Mile from that Shore, betwixt which, and these Isles, there is safe Anchorage. They are inhabited by Fishermen, Servants to some of the Inhabitants of the City of *Purification*, a considerable Place, fourteen Leagues up in the Country. The 20th, we entered on the South-east Side, and anchored betwixt the Isles and the Continent; we found here fresh Water, Wood, and Rock-fish in great Plenty. The 21st, sixty of our Men, under Captain *Townley*, were sent seven or eight Leagues to the West, to surprise an *Indian* Village.

46. The 21th, the four Canoes, left thereabouts by Captain *Townley's* Bark, returned to us near the Cape, having got beyond it by the Help of their Oars, and landed in the Valley of *Valderas*, or *Val d'Iris*, the Valley of *Flags*, lying at the Bottom of a deep Bay, inclosed between Cape *Corrientes* on the South-east, and the Point *Pontique* on the North-west. The Breadth of the Valley is three Leagues; the landy Bay is level to the Sea, and affords a good Landing-place. In the midst is a good fresh-water River, navigable with Boats; but, at the latter End of the dry Season, viz. in *February*, *March*, and *April*, it becomes backish. On the Land-side, this Valley is bounded by a green Hill, which, by its easy Descent in the Valley, affords a delightful Prospect; as do the wide spread Pastures, stored with Cattle, the pleasant Groves of Guavas, Orange, and Lime-trees, which grow wild here in vast Numbers. In this delightful Valley we landed thirty-seven Men, who, advancing three Miles into the Country, were attacked by 150 *Spaniards*, Horse and Foot: By good Fortune there was an adjacent Wood, which afforded an happy Retreat to our Men, who from thence fired so furiously upon the *Spaniards*, that they killed their Leader, and seventeen Troopers, besides many wounded, with the Loss only of four Men, and two wounded: This made the Enemy retreat; however, had the Foot seconded the Horse, scarce one of our Men could have escaped. The 28th, Captain *Townley* returned aboard with forty Bushels of Maiz, which he had taken in an *Indian* Village to the East of Cape *Corrientes*, five Leagues in the Country. We continued cruising off this Cape till the first of *January*, when we sailed for the Valley of *Valderas*, to provide ourselves with some Beef: At Night we anchored at sixty Fathom Water, a Mile from the Shore. We continued here till the 7th, and landed 240 Men (50 whereof were constantly employed to watch the Motions of the *Spaniards*): We killed and salted as much Beef as would serve us two Months; and, had we not wanted Salt, we might have had much more. By this time our Hopes of meeting with the *Manilla* Ship being quite vanished, we concluded, that, whilst we had been employed in looking for Provision ashore the had given us the Ship to the East; which proved true, according to the Account we had afterwards by several Prisoners. The Loss of so great and rich a Prize must chiefly be attributed to the Willfulness of Captain *Townley*, who would needs attempt the Taking of the *Lima* Ship in the Harbour of *Acapulco*, when, at the same time, we ought to have provided ourselves (as we might then have done) with Beef and Maiz for such an Enterprize, which whilst we were forced to seek, we lost this Ship; whereas, had we not wanted Necessaries, we might have gone even as far as Cape *Lucas*, in *California*, where

where Sir *Thomas Cavendish* formerly took one of these *Manilla* Ships. Hitherto we had a double Design in View; first, the taking of the *Manilla* Ship; secondly, the Search after rich Towns and Mines near this Coast, not knowing that the Wealth hereabouts lies all in the inland Country; but now, finding ourselves quite deceived in our Hopes, we parted, Captain *Townley* going back to the East, and we, in Captain *Swan's* Ship, to the West.

47. *January 7.* we sailed from this Valley, the Land-wind being at North-west, and at Night passed by *Pentique*, the West Point of the Valley of *Valderas*, ten Leagues from *Cape Corrientes*, at $20^{\circ} 50'$ North Latitude. A League beyond it, to the West, lie two little Isles, called the *Pentiques*: Beyond those, the Shore runs ragged to the North for eighteen Leagues. The 14th, we came to anchor in a Chanel betwixt a small, white, rocky Isle and the Continent, at fourteen Fathom, at $21^{\circ} 15'$. The Isle is three Leagues from the Main; we anchored one League from it. From this Island the Land runs in North, making a sandy Bay: We anchored one League from the Continent, but there is no Landing. We found the Land-wind all along here at North-east, and the Sea-wind at North-west. The 20th, we anchored one League on the East Side of the Isles of *Chamety*, (different from the before-mentioned) being a Knot of six small Isles at $23^{\circ} 11'$, a little to the South of the Tropic of *Cancer*, three Leagues from the Continent: One or two of them only have some sandy Creeks to the Sea-side, and produce a certain Fruit, called *Penguins*: These are of two Sorts, red and yellow; the last grows on a Stem, of the Thickness of a Man's Arm, a Foot from the Ground, with Leaves of half a Foot long, and one Inch broad, edged with Prickles: The Fruit grows just at the Top of the Stalk in Clusters; they are round, and of the Bigness of an Hen's Egg: The Rind is pretty thick, and the Pulp full of black Seeds, of a delightful Taste. The red Penguin is no bigger than an Onion, but of the Shape of a Nine-pin; it does not grow on a Stalk, but immediately out of the Ground, standing upright, sometimes sixty or seventy in a Cluster, being encompassed with prickly Leaves of one Foot and an half long, or two Feet long. Captain *Swan* went with 100 Men to the North, to find out the River *Cullacan*, supposed to lie at 24° North Latitude, in the Province of *Cullacan*, with a fair rich Town upon its Banks: But, though they had rowed above thirty Leagues, they could find no River, neither was there any late Landing-place. Seven Leagues North North-west from the Isles of *Chamety* is a Lake, with a narrow Entrance, at $23^{\circ} 30'$, called *Rio de Sall* by the *Spaniards*, it having Water enough for Canoes to enter. Our Men landed on the West Side, and took some Maiz at an adjacent Farm-house, and, at another Landing, an *Indian*, who informed us, that five Leagues thence there was an *Indian* Town: So our Men marched towards it, and, coming near the Place, were encountered by a good Body of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but these being beaten back after the first Charge, they entered the Town, where they found only two or three wounded *Indians*, who told them, that the Town was called *Mossattan*, and that five Leagues hence there were two rich Gold Mines. We laid here till the 2d of *February*, when eighty Men were sent, and landed in the River *Rojario*, about three Leagues from the Sea. They came to a pretty little Town, (of the same Name) where the Prisoners assured them, that the before-mentioned Mines were not above two Leagues from thence; but, as we had present Occasion for Provisions, we carried aboard ninety Bushels of Maiz, without searching after the Mines. The 3d, we anchored against the Mouth of the River *Rojario*, one League from the Shore, in seven Fathom, at $22^{\circ} 15'$ North Latitude. But as this small Quantity of Provisions was not likely to do our Business for our intended Voyage, we landed, the 8th, forty Men, to seek the River *Oleta* (supposed to lie to the East of the River *Rojario*); but they returning without any Booty, or without being able to find it, we resolved to go on to the East, to the River of *St. Iago*, where we anchored the 11th, two Miles from the Shore, in seventeen Fathom Water, soft sandy Ground, three Leagues from the white high Rock of *Mixenteleco*, bearing North North-west, as the high Hill *Zeljo* bore South-east of us.

48. The River of *St. Iago*, one of the most considerable on this Coast, lies in $22^{\circ} 15'$. It has ten Feet Water on the Bar at Low-water, but the Height it flows I am not able to tell: Its Breadth, at the Entrance, is about half a Mile; but it is broader within, three or four Rivers discharging themselves into it there: The Water is brackish; but, near the Mouth, on the sandy Shore, you may dig fresh Water at three or four Feet. Captain *Swan* sent out seventy Men to look for a Town, the Country having a fair Prospect. After they had rowed up and down two Days, they landed in a Corn-field, where, while they were busy in gathering the Maiz, they seized an *Indian*, who told them, that four Leagues farther there was a Town, called *St. Peague*. They were no sooner come on board, but Captain *Swan*, with 140 Men, went in eight Canoes five Leagues up the River, which was thereabouts not above a Pistol shot wide, with high Banks; and, landing his Men, marched through fertile Plains and Woods for three or four Hours: At their Approach, the *Spaniards* quitted the Place; so we entered it without Opposition. The Town of *St. Peague* is seated on the Side of a Wood, in a spacious Plain. It is not very large, but neatly built, with a square Market-place in the Middle, as most *Spanish* Towns are, and has two Churches. There are silver Mines five or six Leagues from this Town: The Ore whereof is carried from this Place by Mules to *Compostella*, where it is refined. *Compostella* is the Capital of this Part of *Mexico*, twenty one Leagues distant from *Peague*, inhabited by about 50 white Families, and 5 or 600 *Mullattoes* and *Indians*. As our Men found plenty of Maiz, Sugar, Salt, and Salt-fish here, Captain *Swan* ordered one half of them to carry Provisions aboard, whilst the other took care of the Town: This they did by Turns, having got some Horses to ease them in their Labour. Thus they continued for two Days; but, the 19th, Captain *Swan*, being informed by a Prisoner, that 1000 armed Men had lately marched from *St. Iago* (a rich Town up the River, three Leagues thence) to attack our Men, ordered his People to get all the Horses they could, and to march all together, with what Provisions they could carry, to their Canoes; but they refusing to obey him, till all the Provisions could be carried on board, he was forced to let one half of them go on with 54 Horses; but they had not marched a Mile, before the *Spaniards*, lying in Ambush, attacked and killed them all upon the Spot: Captain *Swan* marched to their Relief, but came too late, being a flank and stript, though, at the same time, they never attempted to engage him, having, questionless, paid pretty dear for their Victory. Amongst the Slain was *M. Ringrejt*, who published the Account of Captain *Sharp's* Adventures, and the History of the *Buccaners*. Captain *Swan* being returned aboard with the rest of his Men, was what Provisions they had got, it was resolved to sail to *Cape St. Lucas*, on *California*, in hopes of a Commerce with the *Indians* there, and, consequently, in the Lake of *California*. This Lake is properly a Chanel, or Part of the Sea, betwixt the Isle and the Continent; but either not much known by the *Spaniards*, or else concealed by them, for fear that the other *European* Nations should find out that Way to the Mines of *New Mexico*; for they vary considerably about it in their Charts, some make it an Isle, others join it to the Continent, but not one of them, that I know of, gives an Account of the Tides, the Depth, or Harbours, in or near this Lake; whereas their hydrographical Maps describe the Coasts towards *Asia*, on the West Side of the Isle from *Cape St. Lucas* to 40° North *New Mexico* (according to the Report of the *Spaniards*, and some *English* Prisoners there) lies near fifty Leagues North-west from *Old Mexico*, where the richest Mines of all the Country are supposed to be, though there are, questionless, some also in other Parts hereabouts, as well as on the Continent, near the Main land of *California*; though, as the *Spaniards* have Mines enough to manage, they have not taken the Pains to discover them; and the vast Distance of this Country has, no doubt, been the Occasion, that no Discoveries have been made by others, or are like to be made, unless a nearer Way thither could be found, I mean by the North-west: I am not ignorant, that divers unsuccessful Attempts have been formed for the Discovery of a

North-west Passage: their searching for the *Darvis's* or *Hudson's* Search ought to have thence along by *California* the West Seas. The discovering the North *Japan*, *Corea*, and take the Advantage mer to go along the have time enough to on the Coasts. Fr *California*, with a No. After we came past Winds at North North windly and consequen the 7th we were tor where we anchored the most of these Isles, in the we called *Prince* are three Islands, fr fourteen Leagues, of and uninhabited, at a distant from *Cape S* South-east, and twen upon the same *Lucas*. They produce a green prickly Plant leaf, and a Root like longer. The *Indian* their Subsistence from some of them, and Barcock boiled. I was laid in the Sand an Hour. I tweated e after for I began h... till the... here i... valley of... near the Mouth of the also brackish at this t... the *Cape Corrientes*, half a Mile from the the Cape. The River... the Continent, just time sufficiently con... Riches of this Coast. Sea-spirts worth our Opinion we had our Country was carried naged by Land, by t... prevailed upon to tr... 49. Our Men, bei... success for the tur... Captain *Swan*, sailed fro... Land wind at East t... at Sea, when a fresh... us by Night nine Lea... Morning, the Sea-w... east, we were, at N... for, so soon as you... the Sea Breezes are... we found ourselves... the first Day, we a... very fair Weather, a... letting out, we direc... which is much the... flected West in th... neither Fish nor Fow... to my Account, 97... the Kingdom of *Me*... Boobies, supposed... and mentioned in fo... not see them). After... began to murmur; b... by Captain *Swan*,... Clouds letting in the... Forerunners of Lan... Afternoon their in... V. 1

North-west Passage: The Reason whereof I attribute to their searching for the Passage at the Beginning through *Dawn's* or *Hudson's* Bay; whereas, in my Opinion, the Search ought to have been begun in the South Seas, and thence along by *California*, and so a Passage made back into the West Seas. The same Rule might be observed in discovering the North-east Passage, viz. to winter about *Japan*, *Corea*, and the North-east Part of *China*, and so take the Advantage of the approaching Spring and Summer to go along the Coast of *Tartary*, whence you may have time enough to reach *Archangel*, or some other Port, on these Coasts. From hence we sailed the 21st towards *California*, with a North-west and West North-west Wind. After we came past the Isles of *St. Maria*, we had strong Winds at North North-west, and at North, (the usual Trade-wind) and consequently lost Ground till *February* 6. so that the 7th we were forced to the East again, to the *Marias*, where we anchored the 7th, at the East End of the middlemost of these Isles, in eight Fathom, good clear Sand. This Isle we called *Prince George's Isle*. The Isles called *Marias* are three Islands, stretching North-west and South-east fourteen Leagues, of an indifferent Height, stony, barren, and uninhabited, at $12^{\circ} 40'$ North Latitude, forty Leagues distant from Cape *St. Lucas* on *California*, bearing East South-east, and twenty Leagues from Cape *Corientes*, bearing upon the same Points of the Compass with Cape *St. Lucas*. They produce some Cedars, and, near the Sea-side, a green prickly Plant, with Leaves not unlike the Pinguin-leaf, and a Root like that of the Sempervive, but much longer. The *Indians* of *California* have a great Part of their Subsistence from these Roots. We baked and eat some of them, and found them to taste like the *English* Barcock boiled. I had been long sick of the Droopy, so I was laid in the Sand, and covered up to the Head for half an Hour, I sweated exceedingly, and, I believe, with good Effect; for I began to mend soon after. We remained here till the 26th; but as there is no fresh Water to be met here in the dry Season, we were forced to sail to the valley of *Valderas*, where we anchored the 28th, near the Mouth of the before-mentioned River; which being also brackish at this time, we sailed three Leagues nearer to the Cape *Corientes*, and anchored by a small round Isle, half a Mile from the Shore, four Leagues to the North of the Cape. The Rivulet, where we filled our Water, is on the Continent, just opposite to the Isle. Being by this time sufficiently convinced of our Mistake concerning the Riches of this Coast, and the Probability of finding some Sea-ports worth our taking, founded upon an erroneous Opinion we had conceived, that the Commerce of this Country was carried on by Sea, whereas it is intirely managed by Land, by the Help of Mules, we were the sooner prevailed upon to try our Fortune in the *East Indies*.

49 Our Men, being encouraged with the Hopes of better success for the future, and thro' the Persuasions of Captain *Swan*, sailed from Cape *Corientes* *March* 31. with the Land wind at East North-east, till they got four Leagues at Sea, when a fresh Sea-wind at West North-west carried us by Night nine Leagues South-west from the Cape. Next Morning, the Sea-wind blowing briskly at North North-east, we were, at Noon, thirty Leagues from the Cape; for, so soon as you are clear of the Shore and Land-winds, the Sea Breezes are at East North-east, where it flood, till we found ourselves within forty Leagues of *Guam*. After the first Day, we advanced apace in our Voyage, having very fair Weather, and a fresh Trade wind. At our first letting out, we directed our Course to 13° North Latitude, which is much the same Latitude with *Guam*. Then we steered West in that Latitude. In all this Voyage, we saw neither Fish nor Fowl, except once, being then, according to my Account, 1975 Miles West from Cape *Corientes* in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, when we saw a vast Number of Boobies, supposed to come from some Rocks not far off, and mentioned in some hydrographical Maps (but we did not see them). After we had sailed 1400 Miles, our Men began to murmur; but, being encouraged with fair Words by Captain *Swan*, we sailed forward; and, seeing some Clouds letting in the West, they were looked upon as the Forerunners of Land. *May* 2. at four o'Clock in the Afternoon, being in $12^{\circ} 55'$ North Latitude, and steering

West, we discovered, to our great Joy, the Isle of *Guam*, at eight Leagues Distance; for, as our Bark passed over a rocky Shore, and no such Shore is in the *Spanish* Charts, we were not a little doubtful, whether the Land we saw was the Isle of *Guam*; for we had only three Days Provision left. Now the Isle of *Guam* bore North North-east eight Leagues. This gives $22'$ to my Latitude, and takes $9'$ from my meridian Distance; so that the Isle is at $13^{\circ} 21'$ North Latitude, and the meridian Distance from *Corientes* 7302 Miles, or $125^{\circ} 11'$. *Guam* is one of the *Ladrone* Isles, under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction. Its Length is twelve Leagues, and its Breadth four, lying North and South, defended by a small Fort, with six Guns, and a Garrison of thirty Soldiers, under a *Spanish* Governor, for the Conveniency of the *Philippine* Ships, that touch here for Refreshments in their Voyage from *Acapulco* to *Manilla*. The Soil is indifferently fruitful, producing Rice, Pine-apples, Water-melons, Mulk-melons, Oranges, Limes, Cocoa-nuts, and a certain Fruit called the Bread-fruit, growing on a Tree as big as our large Apple-trees, with dark Leaves. The Fruit is round, and grows on the Boughs, like Apples, of the Bignets of a good Penny-loaf. When ripe, it turns yellow, soft, and sweet; but the Natives take it green, and bake it in an Oven, till the Rind is black. Thus they scrape off, and eat the Inside, which is soft and white, like the Inside of new-baked Bread, having neither Seed nor Stone; but if it is kept above twenty-four Hours, it is harsh. As this Fruit is in Season eight Months in the Year, the Natives feed upon no other sort of Bread during that time. They told us, that all the *Ladrone* Isles had Plenty of it. I never heard of it in any other Place. *May* 31. we came to an Anchor on the West Side of this Isle, near the Middle of it, one Mile from the Shore, there being no anchoring on the East Side, by reason of the Trade-wind, which forces the Waves with great Violence against it on that Side. The Natives are strong-limbed, Copper-coloured, with long black Hair, small Eyes, high Noles, thick Lips, very white Teeth, and of a stern Countenance, tho' they were very affable to us. The Air is accounted exceeding wholesome, except in the wet Season betwixt *June* and *October*. They are extremely ingenious in building certain Boats or Proes, (used all over the *East Indies*) of about twenty six or twenty-eight Feet long, and about five or six Feet high from the Keel, which is made of the Trunk of a Tree, like the Canoes, and sharp at both Ends. They manage these Boats by a Paddle, instead of a Rudder, and a square Sail, with such incredible Swiftness, they they will sail twenty or twenty-four Miles an Hour. These Boats are absolutely flat on one Side, like a Wall; but the other is round, and full-bellied, like other Vessels. Along this Side, parallel with the Boat, at six or seven Feet Distance, is fastened a Log of light Wood of one Foot and an half wide, and sharp at each End, by two Bamboos of eight or ten Feet long, laid at each End of the Boat. This Log keeps the Boat from overfitting. The *Dutch* and *English* call it an Out-lier or Out-lager. These *Indians* inhabit in small Villages on the West Side near the Shore, and have certain Priests to instruct them in the Christian Religion. By means of some Presents sent to the Governor, and an obliging Letter from Captain *Swan*, we obtained good Store of Hogs, Cocoa-nuts, Rice, Wheaten Biscuits, and other Refreshments, besides fifty Pounds of *Manilla* Tobacco; and, being informed by one of the *Friers*, that the Isle of *Mindanao*, one of the *Philippine* Islands, inhabited by Mahomedans, abounded with Provisions, we sailed *June* 2. with a strong East Wind, and arrived the 21st at the Isle of *St. John*, one of the *Philippine* Islands.

50. The *Philippines* are a Range of large Islands, reaching from 5° North Latitude to 19° , and to 16° Longitude. The chief of them is *Luconia*, where *Magellan* was killed with a poisoned Arrow, and is now intirely under the *Spanish* Subjection. Their capital City here is *Manilla*, a large Town and Sea-port, seated at the South-east End, opposite to the Isle of *Mindora*, a Place of great Strength, and vast Trade, because the two great Ships from *Acapulco* fetch thence vast Quantities of *India* Commodities, brought thither by the *Chinese* and *Portuguese*, and sometimes also by the *English* of *Fort St. George*, tho' by Stealth, the *Spanish* allowing no Commerce here to the *English* or *Dutch*,

for fear they should discover both their Weakness, and the Riches of those Isles, which abound in Gold. To the South of *Luconia* are twelve or fourteen other large Isles, (besides an infinite Number of lesser ones) inhabited by *Spaniards*; but the two Southermost, viz. that of *St. John* and *Mindanao*, are the only ones not subject to the *Spanish* Jurisdiction. The Isle of *St. John* lies between 7° and 8° North Latitude, on the East Side of *Mindanao*, about four Leagues from it. Its Length, from North North-west to South South-east, is thirty-eight Leagues, and its Breadth about the Middle twenty-four Leagues. The Soil is very fat and fertile. The 22d, coming one League of the East Side of the Isle of *Mindanao*, with a South-east Wind, we steered along the East Side towards the North End, till we came into 7° 40', where we cast Anchor in a small Bay, a Mile from the Shore, in ten Fathom, rocky foul Ground. The Isle of *Mindanao* is, next to *Luconia*, the largest of all the *Philippine* Islands, its Length being sixty Leagues, and its Breadth forty or fifty, the South End at 5° North Latitude, and the North-west End reaching almost to 8° North Latitude. The Soil is generally fat; and the stony Hills produce many Sorts of Trees, most of which are not known among us. The Valleys are watered with fresh Brooks and Rivulets, and stored with divers sorts of ever-green Trees, with Rice, Water-melons, Plantains, Bananas, Guavaes, Nutmegs, Cloves, Betle-nuts, Durians, Jacks or Jackas, Cocoa-nuts, Oranges, &c. but, above all the rest, a sort of Trees, which grow wild in Groves several Miles long, called the Libby-tree by the Natives, which furnishes the Sago. The poor People feed upon it instead of Bread here for three or four Months in the Year. The Tree is not unlike the Cabbage-tree; the Bark and Wood hard, full of a white Pith, like that of the Elder-tree. They cut down the Tree, and, splitting it in the Middle, take out the Pith, which they stamp or beat well in a Murtar or Trough; which done, they put it in a Cloth, and, pouring Water upon it, stir it well, till the Water carries also the Substance with it through the Cloth into the Trough. This, after it is well-fetled, they separate from the Water, (by drawing it off) and bake it into Cakes. The Sago, transported hence into other Parts of the *East Indies*, is dried into small Pieces, like Comfits, and used, with Milk of Almonds, as a good Remedy against Fluxes, being very affringent. The other Fruits, being either very well known, or sufficiently described by divers Authors, we will forbear to mention in this Place. We shall only add, that the Nutmegs here are extremely large and good; but they do not care to propagate them, for fear the *Dutch*, who monopolize the Trade of the *Spice* Islands, should be induced to give them a Visit. This Isle affords also both wild and tame Beasts, as Horses, Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, wild Hogs, Deer, Monkeys, Guanoes, Lizards, Snakes, Scorpions, (whose Sting is in their Tails) and those called Centepes, or Hundred-legs by the *English*, no bigger than a Goot-quill, but five Inches long; they sting fiercer than a Scorpion. Of tame Fowls they have only Ducks and Hens; but, of the wild Kind, Pigeons, Parrots, Parakeets, Turtle-coves, Bats as big as our Kites; and of small Birds an infinite Number. Their Hogs feed in prodigious Herds in the Woods, and have thick Knobs growing over their Eyes. In the Heart of the Country are Mountains, that afford considerable Quantities of Gold. Their chief Fish are Porretos, Snooks, Cavales, Biemes, Mullers, and Sea tortoises. Neither do they want Hair-cats, Crocks, and Rivers. The Climate of *Mindanao* is not so excessive hot, especially near the Sea-side, considering its Situation near the Line, where the Sea breezes cool the Air by Day, as the Land-winds do at Night. The Wind blows from the East from *October* to *May*, when it blows West to *October* again. These West Winds produce the wet Season, which is heaviest in *July* and *August*, and begins to remit, 15 degrees, in *September*, and ceases in *October*, when the East Wind brings fair Weather till *May*. Tho' the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Mindanao* are generally alike in Colour, Stature, and in their Religion, being *Mohamedans*; yet they differ in their Language and Government. I will only mention such as are come to my Knowledge: The *Hollaners*, Mountainers, living in the Heart of the Isles, are Masters of the Gold-mines, and are rich also in Bees-wax, both which they ex-

change with the *Mindanyans* for foreign Commodities. The *Solegus*, inhabiting the North-west End of the Isle, traffick with those of *Manilla*, and some other adjacent Islands, but not with those of *Mindanao*. The *Alfoores* were formerly under the same Government with the *Mindanyans*; but were separated from them, by falling to the Share of younger Children of the Sultan of *Mindanao*, who, of late, has laid Claim to them again. The *Mindanyans*, properly so called, are of low Stature, with small Limbs, little Heads, and flat Bostes; small Eyes, short Noles, wide Mouths, thin red Lips, and black Teeth, but found. Their Hair is black and straight; their Complexion tawny, but something brighter than that of other *Indians*. They are ingenious and nimble, but much addicted to Idleness; and obliging to Strangers, but withal implacable, when once displeas'd. Their Cloathings are, a Turban tied round the Head with Cloth, the Ends fringed or laced, tied in a Knot, and hanging down. They wear also Breaches, and Frocks over them; but neither Stockings nor Shoes. The Women tie their black and long Hair together in a Knot, hanging down behind. They are smaller featured than the Men, and have very little Feet. Their Garments are only a Piece of Cloth sew'd together at both Ends, in a Frock reaching a little below the Waist. They covet the Acquaintance and Conversation of white Men, and was very free with them, as far as they have Liberty. One peculiar Custom they have in the City of *Mindanao*, that as soon as any Strangers arrive, the Men of *Mindanao* come aboard, to invite them to their Houses, where they are sure to inquire, whether any of them have a mind for a *Pogally* (or innocent Female Friend). The Strangers, in Civility, are oblig'd to accept the Offer made them of this a Friend, and to shew their Gratitude by a small Present, as the Continuance of the same Friendship must be purchased by some other Trifles; in Return for which, they have the Liberty to eat, drink and sleep in their Friends Houses (for their Money). They have no other Entertainment there gratis, except a little Tobacco and Betle; a mean Way of begging, tho' practis'd even among the richest of the Place. The Capital of this Isle bears the same Name with the Island, and is seated on the South Side, two Miles from the Sea, upon the Bank of a small River, in 7° 20' North Latitude. Their Houses are built upon Poles, from fourteen to twenty Feet high, having only one Floor, but many Rooms or Partitions. The Sultan's House rests upon 150 great Poles, and was much higher than the rest, with great broad Stairs leading up to it. In the Hall stood twenty Pieces of Iron Cannon, placed on Iron Carriages. The General, and other great Men, have about 100 Guns in their Houses, the Floors whereof are generally well matted, they sit on Chairs, but sitting cross legs. Their ordinary Food here is Rice, Sago, and some Fish; but the better Sort eat Buffaloes and Fowl, though a great deal of Rice with them. They use no Spoons, but take their Victuals up in their Fingers. They speak, in the City of *Mindanao*, both the *Mindanyan* and *Malayan* Languages. Their Prayers are in *Arabic*, and they use also some *Spanish* Words. Some of the old People of both Sexes can speak *Spanish*, because the *Spaniards* had formerly several Forts in this Island, and would, without Question, have brought it under Subjection, had not the Fear they were in of being attacked by the *Cebuise* at *Manilla* oblig'd them to withdraw their Troops thence; which Opportunity the present Sultan's Father had hold on to make himself Master of their Forts, and to expel them from the Isle. But at this time, as they are most afraid of the *Dutch*, to this have often invited the *English* to make a Settlement there, by inviting them not to encroach as either of the before-mentioned Nations. The chief Trades in this City are Gold-mining, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, and Ship-wrights, and they build good Ships both for Trade and War. Their chief Commodities, exported, are Gold, Bees-wax, and Tobacco. The two first they purchase from the Mountainers; and the last grows all over the Isle in vast Plenty. They do exchange for Calicoes, Mullins, and *Crima* Silks. The *Mindanyans* Tobacco is reckoned no way inferior to that of *Manilla*; yet you may buy ten or twelve Pounds of it for a *Rial*. The People of *Mindanao* are generally afflicted with a sore Scurf all over their Bodies, with violent Itchings, which

when scratched, raise like the Scales of a fish broad white Spots on the Face; but I did not perceive them to be also troubled with the same. Their Disorders are Fevers, Head-aches, the Gut never could learn they least their Friends. They are under the Government of a Sultan, who is not enough; but 60 able private Subject's Purse and fifty Years old, and his very Queen. We caught upon four Months of ten Men. I who is both chief Minister and good Conversation, well in their Wars? Hand-cresset, a Weave great to the means, ver light any pitched wooden Forts, defend and endeavour to surprize they neither give nor take, their Sabbath be to his Mosque twice a Drum, with one House instead of a Bell three, six, and nine, never circumcise their Years old, which, as nity, private People Quality circumcise their son. This Office is who takes hold of the and slips it off with a the Circumcision of a with extraordinary Noise heard of is their *Ram*. They spend a whole Month when they employ an to Supper. This Fall, times till they for the Voyage: We came the City; but, under the City of *Mindanao* the South-east with South-east End of the small Isles, three Leagues, anchored on the Bay, on the East side, with several Rivers, on the Sea, we Grails, and vast Stores as we thought fit. Weing our Course to the frame of the River, and 2000 Longtons where we anchored. Sago, two Miles from and one of the Sultan's in *Spanish*, who we *English*, they asked, why, of which they were now in hopes to a Protection against intruders. Truly, they have been much for establishing the commodity between the *Spice* Islands, in *Spice* and Cloves and the *Philippines*, a site for such a Settlement. Artificers, as Carpenters, &c. as also with considerable, and Ammunition

when scratched, raiseth the Skin into small white Flakes, like the Scales of small Fish, and, after it goes away, leaves broad white Spots on their Bodies. As it is not infectious, I did not perceive they made any great Account of it. They are also troubled with the Small-pox; but their ordinary Distempers are Fevers, Agues, Fluxes, violent Pains, and Gripings in the Guts. They have many Wives; but I never could learn their Marriage Ceremonies, except that they least their Friends for the most Part of the Night. They are under the Government of a Sultan, who is poor enough; but so absolute, that he even commands every private Subject's Purse at Pleasure. He was between fifty and sixty Years old, and had twenty-nine Concubines, besides his Queen. When he goes abroad, he is carried on a Couch upon four Mens Shoulders, attended by a Guard of eight or ten Men. He has a Brother called *Raja Laut*, who is both chief Minister and General, a shrewd Man, of good Conversation, who both speaks and writes *Spanish* very well. In their Wars they make use of Swords, Lances, and Hand-crestles: a Weapon much like a Bayonet, which the greatest of the meanest always wear about them. They never fight any pitched Battle in the Field, but make small wooden Forts, defended by Guns, wherein they encamp, and endeavour to surprize one another by small Parties; and they neither give nor take Quarter. They are *Mohammedans*, their Sabbath being on *Friday*, when the Sultan goes to his Mosque twice. In his Mosque they have a great Drum, with one Head only, called a *Gong*. This they use instead of a Bell, and is beat by a Man at twelve, three, six, and nine of the Clock, Day and Night. They never circumcise their Males till they are eleven or twelve Years old, which, as it is done with a great deal of Solemnity, private People keep their Children, till some Man of Quality circumcises him, and so make a general Circumcision. This Office is performed by a *Mohammedan* Priest, who takes hold of the Fore-kin of the *Penis* with two Sticks, and snips it off with a Pair of Scissors. We were present at the Circumcision of *Raja Laut's* Son, which was performed with extraordinary Magnificence. Their only Fast I ever heard of is their *Ramadan* time, which was then in *August*. They spend a whole Month in fasting every Day till Evening, when they employ an Hour in Prayers, and afterwards go to Supper. This Fast begins at one New-moon, and continues till they see the next. But it is time to return to our Voyage: We came to Anchor at the North-east Side of the Isle; but, understanding by some of the Natives, that the City of *Mindanao* was on the West Side, we steered to the South-east with a South-west Wind. Coming to the South-east End of the Isle, we sailed to the East of two small Isles, three Leagues distant from the Shore; and, *July 4*, anchored on the South-west Side of a deep Bay, four Leagues North-west from the two before-mentioned small Isles, in fifteen Fathom Water. The Land within the Bay, on the East Side, was high and woody, yet watered with several Rivers; but, on the West Side, bordering on the Sea, we saw large Plains, abounding in long Grass, and vast Store of Deer, of which we killed as many as we thought fit. We staid here till the 12th, when, steering our Course to the West, we arrived *July 18*, at the Entrance of the River *Mindanao*, in 6° 22' North Latitude, and 121° 1' Longitude West from the *Lizard* of *England*, where we anchored in fifteen Fathom Water, clear hard Sand, two Miles from the Shore. Soon after, *Raja Laut*, and one of the Sultan's Sons, came aboard us, and demanded in *Spanish*, who we were; and, being told, that we were *English*, they asked, whether we were come to settle among them, of which they had had some Promise before, and were now in hopes to see effected, and to leave them for a Protection against the *Dutch*, whom they very much dreaded. Truly, had we considered the Matter, it would have been much for our Advantage to have done so, considering the commodious Situation of the Isle of *Mindanao* betwixt the *Spice* Islands (the three Isles of *Mangis* abounding in *Spice* and Cloves, being scarce twenty Leagues hence) and the *Philippines*; neither did we want any thing requisite for such a Settlement, being provided with all sorts of Artificers, as Carpenters, Bricklayers, Shoemakers, Tailors, &c. as also with convenient Tools, Arms, Guns great and small, and Ammunition sufficient for such a Beginning:

And, notwithstanding the great Distance of this Island from *England*, we needed not have been without Hopes of reasonable Supplies thence, provided the Ships set out the latter End of *August*, and, passing round *Terra del Fuego*, stretch over towards *Mindanao*; or else they might coast down the *American Shore* as far as it was found requisite, and then direct their Course for this Isle, to avoid the *Dutch* Settlements, and to have the Advantage of the East Trade-wind after they were past *Terra del Fuego*; by which means this Voyage might be performed in six or seven Months, which, passing by the Cape of *Good Hope*, would at least require eight or nine Months. But to return to *Raja Laut* and his Nephew: They invited Captain *Swan* ashore, and promised to furnish him with what Provisions he wanted, desiring, that, in the mean time, we should secure our Ship in the River, for fear of the approaching West Winds; which Captain *Swan*, after some Deliberation, agreed to. The River, on which *Mindanao* stands, being but narrow, and having not above eleven Feet Water on the Bar at Spring-tide, we had much ado to get our Ship a quarter of a Mile above the Mouth, where we moored the Head and Stern in an Hole: so that the always lay afloat. The City of *Mindanao* is a Mile in Length, but not very broad, stretching along the Right Bank of the River as you enter it, tho' it has also some Houses on the opposite Side. The Inhabitants frequently came aboard us, and invited our Men to their Houses, where they were kindly entertained after their Manner with Tobacco and Beel; and such of them as had Money and Cloaths, did not want their Pagallies or Platonic Companions. Captain *Swan* was daily entertained at *Raja Laut's* House; and such of his Men as had no Money, had boiled Rice, Scraps of Fowl, and of Buffaloes Fleish given them. After their Fast was over, we were diverted with the Women-dancers, and such-like Sports, as are usual in this Country. But, notwithstanding all these outward Appearances of Friendship, we soon after began to discover *Raja Laut's* sinister Intentions; for, our Ship's Bottom being much eaten with the Worms, and we beginning in *November* to remove the sheathing Plank, to see whether the Worm had penetrated to the main Plank, in Presence of the said *Raja*, he could not forbear to discover his Thoughts, by shaking his Head, and telling us, that he never saw a Ship with two Bottoms before; besides, that he did not perform his Promise in providing us with Beef, pretending he could get none; and borrowed a considerable Sum of Gold of Captain *Swan*, which he never paid, notwithstanding he received considerable Presents of him before. These Disappointments began to induce the greatest Part of our Men to think of leaving this Place (such especially as had not much Money); Therefore, our Ship being provided with new Planks, instead of the worm-eaten, and the Bottom finished and tallowed by *December 10*, they began to urge Captain *Swan* to prepare for the Continuation of their Voyage. Captain *Swan* appointed them *January 13, 1687*, to be all aboard ready to sail; but, many of them being unwilling to part so soon as others, having dispersed themselves in the Country, (by the Encouragement of *Raja Laut*) and the Captain himself not being very ready to come on board, by reason of some Disorders amongst our Men, they deposited him from his Command; and, having chosen Captain *Teat* in his room, weighed the 13th in the Morning, and sailed *January 13*, from the River *Mindanao*, leaving Captain *Swan*, with about forty-four of his Men, besides sixteen buried there) behind, in the Town or City of *Mindanao*. We coasted to the West, along the South Side of the Isle of *Mindanao*, and the next Day we passed in Sight of *Chantango*, a Town of this Isle, thirty Leagues from the River of *Mindanao*, and to be a good Harbour. Six Leagues on this Side of the West of the Isle of *Mindanao*, we saw a great many small low Isles, and, three Leagues to the South of them, another Island, stretching twelve Leagues in Length, and South-west. Betwixt these Isles, and also between them and the great Isle, are good Channels; but a strong Tide. The 17th, we anchored on the East Side of these Isles, in eight Fathom, and to the West, upon the Shore of *Mindanao*, saw the Ruins of an old Stone Fort, formerly belonging to the *Spaniards*. The 27th, we got about the West Point of *Mindanao*, lying under the Shore to the North, with a fresh North-

North-east Gale: and continued the same Course, till we came abreast some of the other *Philippine* Isles to the North of us, and then steered towards them, yet so as to keep on the West Side. *February 3.* we anchored in a Bay on the West Side of an Island without a Name, in $9^{\circ} 15'$, on the West Side of the Isle of *Sebo*, in eighteen Fathom Water, only Ground. Its Length is eight or ten Leagues. In the Middle of this Bay, we saw a low, small, woody Isle, haunted by a sort of Bats, of the Bigness of a large Fowl, their Wings, when extended, being seven or eight Feet long: Every Night we saw them, in vast Swarms, take their Flight towards the great Isle, and return to the little one in the Morning.

51. We sailed hence *February 10.* with a North Wind, coasting along the West Side of the *Philippine* Isles. In our Passage by *Panga*, (a large Isle inhabited by the *Spaniards*) we saw many Fires, supposed to be lighted to give Notice of our Approach, it being rare to see a Ship on this Coast. The 15th, we came to an Anchor at the North-west End of the Isle of *Mindora*, in ten Fathom: It is a large Isle, the Middle of it lying in 13° Longitude. It stretches in Length forty Leagues North-west and South-east. A small Brook of Water runs into the Sea near the Place where we anchored, and we saw good Store of Hogs and Oxen, but they were too wild we could catch or kill none. Whilst we were here, a Canoe, with four *Indians*, came hither from *Manilla*, who told us, that the Harbour of *Manilla* was seldom without twenty or thirty Vessels, *Chinese*, *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*; and that if we had a Mind to trade, (clandestinely) they would carry our Letters to certain Merchants there. The 21st, we sailed again, and, the 23d, came to the South-east End of the Isle of *Lucena*. We took two *Spanish* Barks from *Pagasanam*, a small Town on the North-east of this Isle, bound to *Manilla*: One of these had Goods aboard for the *Acapulco* Ship. The Isle of *Lucena* extends in Length 6 or 7° of Longitude, and its Breadth, near the Middle, sixty Leagues. The South End is in $12^{\circ} 30'$, and the North End in 9° North Latitude. It is surrounded by many other small Isles, especially at the North End. *Mindora* is the Chief, and the nearest to it, and imparts its Name to a Channel that runs between it and the Isle of *Lucena*, called the Straights of *Mindora*. The Country is partly composed of large Pasture Plains, and partly of Mountains. These afford some Gold, as the Savannas or Plains are well stored with Buffaloes, Bullocks, Horses, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs. The Inhabitants, who live in little Towns, are *Indians*, under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction, and instructed in the Romish Religion by *Spanish* Priests. *Manilla* is the chief, if not the only City of the Isle of *Lucena*, seated at the Foot of a Ridge of high Hills fronting the Harbour near the South-west Point of the Isle in 14° North Latitude. It is defended by a strong Wall; the Houses are spacious, strong, and covered with Pantile; and the Streets large and regular, with a Market place in the Middle. They have many fair Churches and Convents. The Harbour is very large. Besides the two great *Acapulco* Ships, they have abundance of small Vessels of their own. The *Chinese* have commonly thirty or forty Junks or Boat Vessels here: And the *Portuguese* have also Liberty of Commerce in this Isle. Many *Chinese* Merchants reside constantly in this City. A League on this Side the City is a strong Fort to defend the Harbour, where the great Ships lay at Anchor. The greater Part of this Relation I had from Mr. *Coppinger*, our Surgeon, who came hither from the Coast of *Arromandel*. The Time of the Year being too far spent for our Purpose, we relolved to sail for *Pulo Condore*, a Knot of small Isles on the Coast of *Cambodia*, and to return in *Vay*, to lie in Wait for the *Acapulco* Ship. Accordingly, *February 20.* we sailed from *Lucena*. Coming to 14° North Latitude, we steered South by West for *Pulo Condore*, and, in our Way thither, got Sight of the South End of the *Prajel* Shoals, of three little sandy Isles, or large Spots of Sands, standing just above the Water, a Mile from us. *March 13.* we came in Sight of *Pulo Condore*, on the Isle of *Condore*, and anchored the 14th on the North Side of the Isle, in ten Fathom, clean hard Sand, two Miles from the Shore. *Pulo Condore* is the chief of a Knot of Isles, and the only inhabited one of them, in $8^{\circ} 40'$ North Latitude, forty

Leagues South by East from the Mouth of the River of *Cambodia*. Two of these Isles are pretty high and large, the rest very small. That I speak of, is five Leagues long, lying East and West, and three Miles broad, but in some Places not a Mile. The other large Isle is three Miles long, stretching North and South: betwixt those two, at the West End of the largest, is a convenient Harbour, the Entrance on the North Side, where these two Isles lie a Mile asunder. On the largest Isle grows a tall Tree, the Trunk three or four Feet Diameter, which the Inhabitants cut horizontally half through, a Foot from the Ground; and then cutting the upper Part alope inwardly down, till it meets with the transverse Cut, thence distils a Liquor into an Hollow made in the Semicircular Stump; which, when boiled, becomes good Tar; and, if boiled still more, perfect Pitch, and answers both Uses. Such a Tree affords two Quarts of Juice every Day for a Month together, then dries up, and recovers again. Here are also Mango-trees, the Fruit whereof they pickle, while they are green, with Salt, Vinegar, and a little Garlick. Grapes grow in this Isle on a short Tree, of a Foot Diameter, in Clusters about the Body of the Tree, like the *Coccos*; they are both red and white, much like our Grapes, and of a pleasant Taste. This Isle also abounds in wild Nutmeg trees: These are of the Bigness of our Walnut-trees, and the Fruit grows amongst the Boughs, like our Walnuts. It is smaller than the true Nutmeg, but grows like it, and is of the same Shape, but without Smell or Taste. Besides Hogs, Guanoes, and Lizards, these Isles have divers Sorts of Birds, as Parrots, Parraquetoes, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, and wild Cocks and Hens. The Sea affords Lampyris, Mussels, and Tortoises. They have many fresh-water Brooks running into the Sea for ten Months in the Year, and lie very conveniently for Trade with *Japan*, *China*, *Manilla*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, &c. The Inhabitants of the Isle of *Condore* are originally *Cochinchinese* of a middle stature, but well-shaped, much darker than the *Mindanyans*, their Hair is straight and black, their Eyes of the same Colour, but small, and so are their Noses, yet pretty high, their Lips thin, with a little Mouth, and white Teeth. They a very civil, but poor, having no other Employment but to gather the Juice for Tar, and draw some Oil from the Fat of the Tortoise, which they transport to *Cochinchina*. They offer their Women to all Strangers for a very small Matter; a Custom used also at *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cochinchina* and *Cambodia*; in the *East Indies*, and on the Coast of *Guinea*, in *Africa*, and also at *Tunquin*. They are Pagans, and worship chiefly the Elephant and Horse, besides other Images of Birds and Fish. But I observed none of human Shape. *March 15.* we looked for a Place to careen in; and, having met with one, we entered the same the 16th, where we staid till the 6th of *April*, when we went hence to the Place where we anchored before, on the North Side of the great Isle, to fill fresh Water, which being accomplished by the 21st, we sailed again from *Pulo Condore*, our Course West by South, with an East North-east Wind, for the Bay of *Siam*. The 23d, we came to the Isle of *Ubi*, forty Leagues West of the Isle of *Condore*, lying at the Entrance near the South-west Point of Land, that makes the Point of *Siam* called the Point of *Cambodia*. Its Circumference is seven or eight Leagues, being higher Land than any of the *Condore* Isles. It has good Water on the North Side, where you may anchor, but the best Anchorage is on the East Side, against a small Bay. The 24th, we entered the Bay of *Siam*, which is very deep; and went in among the Isles, at the Bottom of the Bay. In one of these we found a small Village, inhabited by Fishermen, but no Fish: So we turned back; but, being becalmed, did not return to *Pulo Ubi* till *May 13.* where we cast Anchor on the East Side, and were detained by Tempests till the 20th. The 21st, we sailed thence back for *Pulo Condore*, where we came to an Anchor the 24th: Here five or six of our *Malay* crew, going aboard a *Malayan* Vessel, were stabbed by the Ship's Crew. *June 4.* being provided with Fuel and fresh Water, we sailed from *Pulo Condore*, with a South-west Wind, intending to make *Manilla*; but the Wind soon turning East and South-east, and continuing so for ten Days, we were forced to alter our Course, and steer for the Isle of *Prata*, a small low Island inclosed with Rocks, in the

Way

Way betwixt *Lanton* $20^{\circ} 4'$ North Latitude, five or six Days longer, selves obliged to alter the Wind, which brought us to the 25th of *June*, where we cast End of the Isle of *Quantung* or *Canton*. The only grain we saw was Plenty. Their tame Goats, and some Oxen, and, consequently, no *hens*. In the Isle of *Siam* a marshy Ground, up and ill-furnished. They by cultivating their Ground we lay at Anchor here was flat both at the Feet of three Feet. She had a large Cabin in it. The Hold was cleared of them to sight, that Goods in the next week Merchant has his part Goods, and sometimes have no more than two masts: The lark has a the Main mast has a In fair Weather they down on the Deck in Main-mast of the big third-rate Men of War Tree.

52. As we saw the Tempest, we weighed was not long before we next Day, being the 4th North-east, we were full I ever remember in all Intervals, till the 6th serene. We refitted out to the highest Degree approaching Full-moon *Pisadores*, or *Fiber* Isles are a good Number of *Formosa*, and the Cor Eastermost is a good Port the Eastermost, is a large Tartar Garrison of about were low, but neatly Side of the Harbour small Town, inhabited Isles have some *Chinese* came to an Anchor in our Boat ashore, were Governor, who sent a Heifer, the finest I ever allow us either to trade. In return for what sent him a Silver-hilted Chain. We sailed from Wind, steering for ce that lie betwixt *Formosa* other Names than the a well End of *Formosa*, and 25° to North Latitude Longitude is from 142° of *Tenoryff*. It was long and frequented by the spoiled the Harbour, for selves there. *August 6.* Side of the Northernmost Water: They lay in 21° Longitude, according trary to our Expectation we anchored, three or most like is the biggest the *Prince of Orange* long, and two broad, in

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Way betwixt *Canton* (a *Chinese* Sea Port) and *Manilla*, in $20^{\circ} 4'$ North Latitude; but the East Winds continuing for five or six Days longer with great Violence, we saw ourselves obliged to alter our Resolution once more, and to obey the Wind, which brought us near the *Chinese* Shore the 25th of *June*, where we came to an Anchor on the North-east End of the Isle of *St. John*, lying on the Sea Coast of *Quantung* or *Canton*, in *Chin a*, in $22^{\circ} 30'$ North Latitude. The only grain we observed here was *Rice*, in great Plenty. Their tame Cattle were *China* Hogs, Buffaloes, Goats, and some Oxen. The Inhabitants were *Chinese*, and, consequently, now under the Subjection of the *Tartars*. In the Isle of *St. John* was a small Town, built in a marshy Ground, upon Posts: The Houses mean, low, and ill-furnished. The Inhabitants live for the most part by cultivating their Grounds, which produce *Rice*. Whilst we lay at Anchor here, a *Chinese* Junk lay near us: She was flat both at the Head and Stern, with little Huts on her Deck of three Feet high, covered with *Palmetto*-tree. She had a large Cabin with an Altar and Lamp burning in it. The Hold was divided into several Partitions, each of them so tight, that, if a Leak should spring in one, the Goods in the next would receive no Damage. Every Merchant has his particular Room, where he stows his Goods, and sometimes lodges in it himself. These Junks have no more than two Masts, viz. a Main-mast and Fore-mast: The last has a square Sail, and square Yard; but the Main mast has a Sail narrow aloft like a Sloop's Sail. In fair Weather they use also a Top sail, which they hale down on the Deck in foul Weather, Yard and all. The Main-mast of the biggest Junks are as big as any of our third-rate Men of War, but not pierced, but all of one Tree.

52. As we saw the Forerunners of an approaching Tempest, we weighed Anchor, not to want Sea-room. It was not long before we found our Guests too true; for the next Day, being the 4th of *July*, the Wind coming to the North-east, we were surpris'd by the most violent Tempest I ever remember in all my Voyages; which lasted, by Intervals, till the 6th, when the Weather proved very serene. We refitted our Ship; but our Men, being terrified to the highest Degree by the last Storm, and dreading the approaching Full-moon, resolv'd to steer towards the *Pijadores*, or *Fisher* Isles, in 23° North Latitude. There are a good Number of Islands lying betwixt the Isle of *Formosa*, and the Continent of *China*. Betwixt the two Eastermost is a good Harbour; and, on the West Side of the Eastermost, is a large Town and Fort, defended by a *Tartar* Garrison of about three hundred Men. The Houses were low, but neatly built. On the Island, on the West Side of the Harbour near the Sea-side, we saw another small Town, inhabited by *Chinese*; and most of the other Isles have some *Chinese* (more or less) living in them. We came to an Anchor in the Harbour *July* 20. and, sending our Boat ashore, were civilly received by the *Tartarian* Governor, who sent us some Presents, (among the rest a Heifer, the finest I ever met in my Life) but would not allow us either to trade there, or come ashore on that Isle. In return for which, *Mr. Read* (now our Captain) sent him a Silver-hilted Sword, a Carbine, and a gold Chain. We sail'd from hence the 29th with a South-west Wind, steering for certain Islands we had pitched upon, that lie betwixt *Formosa* and *Luconia*, being known by no other Names than the *Five* Isles. We sail'd by the South-west End of *Formosa*, a large Isle situated betwixt $21^{\circ} 20'$, and $25^{\circ} 10'$ North Latitude, from South to North. Its Longitude is from $142^{\circ} 5'$ to $143^{\circ} 10'$ East from the Pike of *Teneriff*. It was formerly well inhabited by the *Chinese*, and frequented by the *English*; but the *Tartars* have since spoiled the Harbour, for fear the *Chinese* should fortify themselves there. *August* 6. we came to an Anchor on the East Side of the Northernmost of the five Isles in fifteen Fathom Water: They lay in $20^{\circ} 20'$ North Latitude; and their Longitude, according to the Charts, in $141^{\circ} 50'$. Contrary to our Expectations, we found, on the Isle near which we anchored, three or four large Towns. The Westermost Isle is the biggest: This the *Dutch* among us called the *Prince of Orange* Isle, being seven or eight Leagues long, and two broad, stretching North and South. There

are two more large Isles; the Northernmost we called *Grafton* Isle: It stretches four Leagues in Length North and South, and is one League and an half broad: Unto the third great Isle we gave the Name of *Monmouth* Isle, lying to the South of *Grafton* Isle, three Leagues long North and South, and one broad: The other two Isles, lying East and West, betwixt *Monmouth*, and the South End of *Orange* Isle, are called the *Bahce*, (from a certain Liquor we drink there) and the *Goat* Isles. *Orange* Island is the largest, but uninhabited, being rocky and barren, and no Anchorage near it. *Monmouth* and *Grafton* Isles are hilly, but well inhabited. The *Goat* and *Bahce* Isles are flat and even, and the first has one Town in it. The Hills of all these Isles are rocky, but the Valleys fertile in Grass, Plantains, Bananas, Pine-apples, Pompions, Sugar-canes, Potatoes, and some Cotton; and are well watered with Brooks of fresh Water. They are also well stored with Goats and Hogs, but scarce any Fowl, either wild or tame. The Natives are short and thick, round-visaged, with low Foreheads, and thick Eye-brows; their Eyes of an hazel Colour, and small, but much bigger than the *Chinese*; their Noses are both low and short; their Lip and Mouth middle-sized, with white Teeth, and thick, black, lank Hair, cut short to their Ears; their Complexion is of a dark Copper-colour. They go always bare-headed; and the greatest Part have no Cloaths, but a Clout about the Middle: Some have Jackets of Plantain-leaves, as rough as a Bear-skin. The Women have a short Petticoat of coarse Calico, (of their own making) which reaches a little below the Knees. Both Sexes wear Earrings made of a yellow Metal, (they dig out of their Mountains) having the Weight and Colour of true Gold, but something paler: Whether it were such in Effect or no, I am not able to say; for it looks of a fine Colour at first, but afterwards fades; which made us suspect it, and therefore our People did not purchase much of it. We observed the Natives to beincur it with red Earth, and then, putting it into a quick Fire till it was red hot, brought it to its former Colour again. Their Houses are small, and scarce five Feet high. They inhabit in Villages built on the Sides of rocky Hills, three or four Rows one above another. These rocky Precipices are framed by Nature into different Degrees, or, as it were, deep Steps or Stories, upon each of which they build a Row of their Houses, and a second up to them, gradually, by Ladders set from each of these Rows up to one another in the Middle of it; which if they remove, there is no coming at them. They are also very expert in building their Boats, (for the Men live mostly by Fishing) much like our *Deal* Yalls. They have also larger Vessels, managed with twelve or fourteen Oars, two Men on one Bank. They never kill any Goats or Hogs themselves, but feed upon the Guts or Intraills, and their Skins, which they broil, after they have sing'd the Hair off. They make also a Dish of Locuists, which come at certain Seasons to devour their Potatoes. They take them with Nets, and broil or bake them in an Earthen-pan. This Dish eats well enough. Their ordinary Drink is Water; but, besides this, they boil a sort of Liquor out of the Juice of Sugar-canes, mixed with Blackberries: This they put afterwards into Jars, and let it work four or five Days. After it is settled, it becomes clear, and affords a strong and pleasant Liquor, in Taste and Colour not unlike *English* Beer. The Natives call this Liquor *Bahce*; whence our Crew gave this Name to one of the Isles. What Language they speak, I know not, as not having any Affinity either with the *Chinese* or *Malayan* Languages. The only Arms they use are Lances, headed with Iron; and they wear a kind of Armour of a Buffalo's Hide, without any Sleeves, which reaches down below the Knees, where it is three feet wide, and as stiff as a Board, but close about their Shoulders. I could not perceive them worship any thing; neither saw I any Idols, or any Government or Precedency among themselves, except that the Children were very respectful to their Parents. However, it is likely, they have some antient Customs instead of Laws; for we saw a young Lad buried alive, as we supposed, for Theft. They have but one Wife, and the and the Children are very obedient to the Head of the Family; the Boys are educated to Fishing, and the Girls to work with their

Methers in the Plantations, which are in the Valleys, where every Man plants his own Ground according to the Bignets of his Family. For the rest, they are a sort of civil quiet People, not only to Strangers, but also among themselves; for all the Time we were here, whilst they came frequently aboard us, they used to exchange their yellow Metal, their Goats, and Fiut, for Iron: We never observed them to differ, either amongst themselves, or our Men, even when there was not Occasion wanting. They have no Coin or Seals, but give their Pieces of yellow Metal by Guets. During our Stay here, we had provided ourselves with seventy or eighty fat Hogs, and plenty of Potatoes, for our intended Voyage to the Isle of *Mandana*: But, *September 25*, being again surpris'd with a most violent Tempest, which forced us out to the Sea, we were every Moment in Danger of being swallowed up by the Waves till the 30th, when, the Fury of the Winds being somewhat allayed, we made the best of our Way back to the Isle, of which we got Sight the 30th, but could not come to anchor in the same Place where we were before, till the first of *October*. This last Storm so dishearten'd our Men, that they all resolv'd to lay aside their Design of Cruising before *Movila*; but, by the Persuasion of Captain *Read*, and Captain *Teat* the Master, they resolv'd to go to *Cape Comorn*, and thence into the *Red Sea*. As the Eastern Monsoon was at hand, our nearest and best Way had been to pass through the Streight of *Malacca*; but Captain *Teat* persuas'd them to go round on the East Side of the *Philippine* Isles, and so, keeping South of the *Spice* Isles, to pass into the *Indian* Ocean, about the Isle of *Timor*.

53. We sail'd *October 5*, from the Isles to the South, intending to pass through the *Spice* Islands; we sail'd on the East Side of *Lucena*, and the other *Philippine* Islands, coasting to the South. From the Isle of *Lucena* we steer'd to the South; and, on the 12th, with a North-east Wind, directed our Course West, for the Isle of *Mindanao*, where we anchored at the South-east, and the 16th, between two small Isles, in $5^{\circ} 16'$ North Latitude, ten Leagues from the Isle of *Mindanao*. Whilst we lay here, the young Prince of one of the adjacent *Spice* Islands came on board us, and told us, that Captain *Swan*, and some of his Men, were kill'd in the City of *Mindanao*, and highly esteem'd there for the great Services they had done against the *Albigensians*. But I have been inform'd since, that he, and his Surgeon, as they were going aboard a *Dutch* Ship in that Road, were overtak'd and crown'd by the Natives, by *Kaja Lent's* Order, (as we supposed) who had seiz'd all his Gold. We sail'd hence *November 2* for the Island *Celebes*, where we anchor'd the 9th at the North-east End. The Isle extends itself from North to South, in 7° Latitude, and in Breadth 3° . It lies under the Line, the North End at $1^{\circ} 30'$ North Latitude, and the South End at $5^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude: At the South End of the Isle is a Gulph, eight Leagues wide, and fifty long, running directly North into the Country, having divers small Islands in the Middle of it. Near the South End, at the West Side of the Isle, is a great *Mactassar*, a rich and strong Town belonging to the *Dutch*: By reason of the strong Current setting to the West, we had much ado to get to the East Side of the Isle; and the 23d, being at $1^{\circ} 20'$ South, we saw a large Opening like a Creek; and, six Leagues to the South of it, a Range of large and small Isles, and many Shoals, betwixt which and the Isle of *Celebes* we pass'd, not without Trouble, and came to an Anchor half a Mile from the great Island, in eight Fathom sandy Ground, in $1^{\circ} 50'$ South Latitude. We had there till the 29th, and the 30th steer'd away South betwixt two Shoals, at 2° South Latitude, ten Leagues from the Isle of *Celebes*. Towards the Evening, we saw two or three Spouts: A Spout is a Piece of a Cloud, hangg down, seemingly sloping, and sometimes bending like a Bow, but never perpendicular; after which the Sea begins to foam, and you see the Water move gently round, till, increasing in a whirling Motion, it flies upwards a hundred Paces in Circumference at the Bottom, but lessning gradually to the Smallness of a Spout, through which the Sea water appears to be convey'd into the Cloud, as is manifest by the Increase of the Bulk and Blackness thereof: Then you see immediately the Cloud (which was immove-

able before) drive along, and the Spout keeping the same Course for half an Hour, till the Sucking is over, and then breaking off, all the Water that was below the Spout, or penulous Cloud, falls again into the Sea, with a terrible Noise and Clashing; however, these Spouts are more terrible than dangerous. *December 1*, steering South, with a South South-east Wind, at $3^{\circ} 34'$ South Latitude, we got Sight of the Isle of *Bouton*, about ten Leagues South-west of us; the 5th, we got close to the North-west End of *Bouton* Isle, but the Harbour is at the East Side of it, in $4^{\circ} 54'$ South Latitude. This Island stretcheth twenty-five Leagues in Length South-west, and North-west four Leagues from the South-east End of the Isle of *Celebes*; its Breadth is ten Leagues: Within a League of the Harbour, and half a Mile from the Sea, is a long Town, called *Callasjung*, seated on the Top of a small Hill, in a pleasant Plain, inclosed with a Walk of Cocoa-trees, and about these with a strong Stone Wall. The Inhabitants are not unlike the *Mindanavans*, but neater, are *Mohammedans*, and speak the *Malayan* Language: Their Sultan is absolute Master over them. The 6th, they brought us Eggs, Fowls, Potatoes, &c. aboard; and the Sultan came aboard with a Person in a Boat, guarded by ten or twelve Mulqueters. We staid here till the 12th; and then, steering to the South-east, we pass'd near four or five small Isles, $5^{\circ} 40'$ South Latitude, six Leagues from *Callasjung* Harbour. We saw three Towns on them, and heard the Drums beating all Night as we were among the Shoals, lying on the South-west Wind of these Isles. The 16th, we got close to the Shoals; and, the 16th, pass'd by *Omha*, a small Island, in $8^{\circ} 20'$ South Latitude, six Leagues from the North-east Part of the Isle of *Timor*; its Length is nineteen Leagues, its Breadth six Leagues. Eight Leagues to the West of *Omha* we saw another Isle, with a large Town on it, and Fires by Night; which, by its Situation, we guess'd to be the Isle of *Pentare*: Here we were beaten amongst the Shoals till the 23d, when we got through with a North Wind, keeping close by *Pentare*. The 28th, we saw the North-west Point of *Timor*, distant eight Leagues South-east by East. The Isle of *Timor* is high and mountainous, stretchin in Length seventy Leagues North-east and South-west, its Breadth sixteen Leagues, the Middle of it in 9° South Latitude. The 29th, we discover'd two small Isles near the South-west End of *Timor*; and, being got clear of these, we flood off South towards *New Holland*, Part of the *Terra Australis incognita*.

54. The 31st, we flood to the South Wind at West, in $13^{\circ} 20'$ Latitude; at Night we flood in the North-east fear of a Shore, laid down in the Charts, at $23^{\circ} 50'$, bearing South by West from the East End of *Timor*: In the Morning we saw the Shore, being a Spot of Land, appearing above the Surface of the Water, with divers Rocks about it, ten Feet above the Water. It is of a triangular Form, each Side one League and a half long. This Shore is represented in our Charts sixteen or twenty Leagues from *New Holland*; but we ran at least sixty Leagues afterwards due South, before we fell in with it; and I am very certain, that no Part of *New Holland* lies so far to the North by forty Leagues, as it is laid down in our hydrographical Maps; for I found the Tides on the Coast of *New Holland* keeping their constant Course, the Flood running North by East, and the Ebb South by East. *January 4*, 1688, we fell in with the Land of *New Holland*, at $13^{\circ} 50'$ Latitude; and, running along to the East twelve Leagues, came to a Point of Land, three Leagues to the East of which is a deep Bay. We anchor'd a League to the East of this Point, *January 5*, two Miles from the Shore, in 20 Fathom, hard Sand and clean Ground. *New Holland* is a vast Track of Land, but whether an Isle, or Part of the Continent, is unknown hitherto: Thus much I am sure of, that it neither joins to *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America* hereabouts: It was even low and sandy Ground, the Point only excepted, which is rocky, and some Isles in this Bay. This Part had no fresh Water, except what was dug, but divers sorts of Trees, and, among the rest, the *Phoenix* tree, which produces the Gum dragon, or Dragon blood. We saw neither Fruit trees, nor so much as the Track of any living Animal, except one, which seem'd to be the Footstep of a Beast, of the Bignets of a large *Mattul*.

Some few Land-birds, Black-birds, and few Sea afford any Fish both which they take the most miserable Houles or Coverings, except a Piece of the round the Waist: upon a few Fish, without Religion or civility: For the strong-limbed, with Foreheads: Their Mouths Both M the two Fore-teeth draw them, I am not but black short euk are as black as euk Curlls; instead sharpened and hard I can say nothing, Throat. We land'd to something of a Fair old Cloaths; but the least Affluence to being very averse to

55. *March 12*, North the 26th Island, which lies in a small Isle, at 10° Atternoon, the Wind continued with tempest, got Sight of the Island then at 7° South Latitude of that Isle, being along the West Side full in an Isle, scarce the Tide overflows Cocoa-nuts: Its Side West of *Sumatra*. titude, we saw the face, bearing North crossed the Line, North of *Sumatra*. *May* End of *Sumatra*, Islands; we got Sight lying South of the of them is properly North North-west. The Inhabitants trade Nations; their chief Fruits. *May 5*, we well End of the Island eight Fathom Water Breadth three or four duces Plenty of Codnells of the Breadth the Natives boil in ants here are Strait-l and well proportioned their Complexion of no Eye-brows; I saw Men did not like the Small round their Petticoat from the had some Words of Habitations were but could find no settled Canoes were flat on *Guam*. Mr *Hall*, leave this unruly Country an Intent to go hence

56. Accordingly *Portuguese* bigger than our *Bled* to the South four looked out for *Suma*

Some few Land-birds they have, but none bigger than a Black-bird, and scarce any Water-fowl: Neither does the Sea afford any Fish, except Tortoises and Manatees, of both which they have vast Plenty. The Inhabitants are the most miserable Wretches in the Universe, having no Houses or Covering but the Heavens; no Garments, except a Piece of the Bark of a Tree, tyed like a Girdle round the Waist; no Sheep, Poultry, or Fruits, but feed upon a few Fish, Cockles, Mussels, and Periwinkles; without Religion or Government, but cohabit promiscuously: For the rest, their Bodies are slrait, thin, and strong-limbed, with great Heads and Eye-brows, and round Foreheads: Their Eye-lids are constantly half closed, to keep the Flies out, which are excessive troublesome here: They have large Bottle Noses, thick Lips, and wide Mouths. Both Men and Women, old and young, want the two Fore-teeth of the upper Jaw; but whether they draw them, I am not able to tell. They have no Beards, but black short curled Hair like the African Negroes, and are as black as those. Their Weapons are a sort of wooden Cutlasses; instead of a Lance, they have a slrait Pole, sharpened and hardened at the End. Of their Language I can say nothing, but that they speak pretty much in the Throat. We landed several times, and at last brought them to something of a Familiarity with us, by giving them some old Cloths, but could never prevail with them to give us the least Assistance in carrying Water, or otherwise, they being very averse to working.

55. *March* 12. we sailed hence, taking our Course North. The 26th, we were in the Latitude of *Cocoa* Island, which lies in $12^{\circ} 12'$. The 28th, we fell in with a small Isle, at $10^{\circ} 30'$: We sailed from hence the same Afternoon, the Wind at West and North-west, which continued with tempestuous Weather till *April* 1. when we got Sight of the Isle of *Sumatra*, bearing North, being then at 7° South Latitude; and, the 8th, saw the West End of that Isle, being at 6° South Latitude. We failed along the West Side of *Sumatra*; and, the 12th, came first to an Isle, scarce a Mile in Circumference, so low, that the Tide overflows it: It has a sandy Soil, and Store of *Cocoa-nuts*: Its Situation is 4° South, fifteen Leagues West of *Sumatra*. The 19th, being in $3^{\circ} 25'$ South Latitude, we saw the South-west Point of the Isle of *Nassau*, bearing North five Miles Distance. The 25th, we crossed the Line, coasting to the North, on the West Side of *Sumatra*. *May* 1. we ran down by the North-west End of *Sumatra*, directing our Course to the *Nicobar* Islands; we got Sight of them the 4th, a Cluster of Islands lying South of the *Andaman* Isles; but the most Southerly of them is properly called the *Nicobar*, lying four Leagues North North-west from the North-west End of *Sumatra*. The Inhabitants trade promiscuously with all the *European* Nations; their chief Commodities being Ambergreife and Fruits. *May* 5. we anchored in a small Bay, at the North-west End of the Isle of *Nicebar*, properly so called, in eight Fathom Water; its Length is twelve Leagues, the Breadth three or four, in $7^{\circ} 30'$ North Latitude. It produces Plenty of *Cocoas* and Mallories, a Fruit of the Bignonia of the Bread-fruit at *Guam* (before-mentioned) which the Natives boil in Water in covered Jars. The Inhabitants here are slrait-limbed, long-visaged, with black Eyes, and well-proportioned Noses; their Hair is lank and black, and their Complexion of a Copper-colour; the Women have no Eye-brows; I suppose they pulled them out because the Men did not like them: The Men wear only a kind of Shawl round their Middle, and the Women nothing but a Petticoat from the Waist to the Knees: Their Language had some Words of *Malayan* and *Portuguese* in it; their Habitations were built upon Poles near the Sea-side, but I could find no settled Government among them. Their Canoes were flat on one Side, with Outlayers like those of *Guam*. Mr. Hall, Mr. Ambrose, and I, being desirous to leave this unruly Crew, were let ashore on this Isle, with an Intent to go hence to *Abin*.

56. Accordingly we left this Isle *May* 5. with four *Malayans* and a *Portuguese*, in a *Nicobar* Canoe, not much bigger than our *B-low-bridge London* Wherries; we rowed to the South four at a time, by Turns. The 7th, we looked out for *Sumatra*, supposing we were within twenty

Leagues of it; but, instead thereof, saw *Nicobar* at eight Leagues Distance; at Noon we found $6^{\circ} 55'$ Latitude. The 18th, the Wind increasing upon us, we were forced to run before the Wind and Sea; the Tempest was so violent, that we expected every Moment to have been swallowed by the Sea-waves. The 19th, to our great Joy, one of our *Malayan* Friends cried out *Pulo Way*, i. e. the Isle of *Way*, situated near the North-west End of *Sumatra*, which, about Noon, we discovered to be the Isle of *Sumatra*. The high Land they had mistaken for the Isle of *Way*, proved the *Golden Mountain* of *Sumatra*. The 20th, we steered with a West Wind for the Shore; and, in the Afternoon, anchored near the Mouth of the River *Passage lonca* (in the Isle of *Sumatra*) thirty six Leagues to the East of *Abin*, and six Leagues to the West of *Diamond Point*. As we were half dead with the Fatigues of this Voyage, we were carried to a small Fisher-town near the River, where we were kindly treated by the Inhabitants, and staid till *June*, when we left this Place; and, in three Days Sail, arrived at *Abin*. In *July* following, I went with Captain *Welden* to *Tonquin*, and returned to *Abin* in *April* 1689 where I staid till *September*; when, making a short Voyage to *Manacca*, I came thither against *Christmas* 1690. Soon after, I went to *Fort St. George*; whence, after a Stay of five Months, I came back to *Bencoolen*, an *English* Factory on the West Coast of *Sumatra*. But before I give you an Account of my Return to *England*, I must not forget one Passage concerning the painted Prince, who died at *Oxford*; his Name was *Jeoly*, and was purchased by one Mr. *Moody* at *Mindanao*, together with his Mother: Mr. *Moody* and I went together to *Bencoolen*; where, at parting, he gave me half the Share in this painted Prince, and his Mother, and left them in my Custody. They were born in the Isle of *Maungie*, abounding in Gold, Cloves, and Nutmegs, as himself told me: He was curiously painted down the Breast, betwixt his Shoulders behind, but most of all on the Thighs before, after the Nature of Flower-work. By what I could understand, this Painting was done by pricking the Skin, and rubbing in it a certain Gum of a Tree, called *Damurer*, used instead of Pitch in some Part of the *Indies*. He told me, that they wore golden Ear-rings, and Bracelets about their Arms and Legs; that their Food was Potatoes, Fowl, and Fish. As to his Captivity, he said, that, as one Day, he, his Father and Mother, were going in a Canoe to one of the two adjacent Isles, they were taken by some *Mindanao* Fishermen, who sold them all to the Interpreter of *Raja Laut*, with whom he and his Mother lived as Slaves five Years, and then were sold for sixty Dollars to Mr. *Moody*. Some time afterwards, Mr. *Moody* presented me also with his Share in them, but the Mother died not long after, and I had much ado to save the Son's Life.

57. During my Stay at *Bencoolen*, I served in the Quality of a Gunner of the Fort; but, my Time being expired, I got aboard Captain *Heath*, in the *Defence*, with my painted Prince, in order to my Return for *England*. *January* 25. we sailed in Company of three Ships more; but had not been long at Sea, before a fatal Dilemper raged aboard us, which we attributed to the Badness of the Water taken in at *Bencoolen* during the Land-floods, which is often impregnated with the Tinctures of poisonous Roots or Herbs: The best Remedy we had, was to mix some Tamarinds with the Rice we eat, which I believe preserved the Lives of many of our Men, having scarce so many Men left as were able, but with great Difficulty, to bring us to the Cape of *Good Hope* where we came to an Anchor the Beginning of *April*, by the Assistance of a *Dutch* Captain and his Men. The Cape of *Good Hope* is the Southermost Point of the Continent of *Africa*, in $34^{\circ} 35'$ South Latitude, in a very temperate Climate. It appears, at Sea, in divers remarkable Points or Eminencies, affording an agreeable Prospect; the most considerable of which is, a Mountain on the West Side of the Cape, called the *Table* Mountain, from its Flatness on the Top. To the North of it is a large Harbour, with a low flat Isle lying off it, by which you may enter at either Side; the best Riding is near the Continent. The Country thereabouts produces good, but short Grains, and Trees, but not in great Plenty; and, when cultivated, produces large Quantities

addresses himself to a Patron of quite another Kind, who listened to his Offers with a just Degree of Attention, encouraged in him that laudable Ambition, which prompted him to expose himself in to noble a Design, and furnished him with Means for undertaking that Voyage, which he had to long meditated for the public Advantage. This, therefore, ought to be considered as a supplemental Voyage to the last; and, indeed, in this Light the Author seems to have considered it, by his frequent References from this to that.

2. I sailed, says he, from the *Down*, January 14. 1697, with a fair Wind, in his Majesty's Ship the *Roebeck*, carrying in this Voyage twelve Guns, fifty Men and Boys, and twenty Months Provision. We took our Departure from the *Nazre*, which was the last Land we saw in *England*, as the first we saw, after we were out of the Channel, was Cape *Finisterre*, which we made on the 19th; and, on the 28th, made *Lancerota*, one of the *Canary* Islands. We then stood away for the Island of *Teneriff*, where I intended to take in Wine and Brandy for my Voyage. January 30. I anchored in the Road of *Santa Cruz*, the chief Port in the Island for my Purpose. The Road before this Place is but very indifferent, lying open to the East, that Winds from that Quarter make a great Swell, and render it very dangerous going ashore in Boats. The best Landing is in a small sandy Cove, about a Mile to the North-east of the Road, where there is very good Water; insomuch that Ships which take in their Lading at *Oratavia*, which is the principal Part of the Island for Trade, send their Boats thither for Water. That Port, however, is rather more exposed to Westerly, than this to Easterly Winds, which was the Reason I declined it.

There are between this Watering place and *Santa Cruz* two small Ports, which, with several Batteries, serve to command the Road, and secure the Place from being molested by Privateers. The Time I layed here gave me all the necessary Opportunities for considering the Place, its Inhabitants, and the Country adjacent, and therefore enabled me to form such a Description of them, as may satisfy the Reader's Curiosity, and give him a tolerable Idea of an Island to often mentioned by Navigators, on account of the placing here the first Meridian, from which the Degrees of Longitude in our Maps are generally reckoned.

3. This Town of *Santa Cruz* is a small Town, without any Wall about it, and defended only by two Forts. It was here that our famous Admiral *Bonise* destroyed the *Spanish* Gallions, April 25. 1747, and the Wreck of some of them are lying still there in fifteen Fathom Water. Soon after my Arrival, I went by Land to the City of *Laguna*, the Metropolis of this Isle, and the Residence of the present Governor General of the *Canary* Islands, whose Name is *Don Juan de Torres*, a Native of this Island, and not long ago President of *Panama*, in the South Seas, a very worthy Man, strictly just, and very kind to Strangers. The City of *Laguna* is of a tolerable size, and very compact, making a very agreeable Prospect at a Distance. It lies Part on it against an Hill, and Part in a Level. The Houses have mostly strong Walls, built with Stone, and covered with Pantiles: They are not uniform; yet they appear pleasurable enough. There are many fair Buildings, among which are two Parish Churches, two Nunneries, a Hospital, four Convents, and some Chapels, besides many Gentlemen's Houses. The Convents are those of *St. John*, *St. Dominus*, *St. Francis*, and *St. Diego*. The two Churches have pretty high square Steeples, which top the rest of the Buildings: The Streets are not regular, yet they are mostly spacious, and pretty handsome, and, near the Market of the Town, there is a large Parade, which has good Building about it. There is a strong Prison on one Side of it, near which is a large Conduit of good Water, that supplies the whole Town. They have many Gardens, which are set round with Oranges, Lemons, and other Fruits, in the Middle of which are hot Herbs, Salad, and Flowers, &c. and, indeed, if the Inhabitants were curious this Way, they might have very pleasant Gardens; for, as the Town stands high from the Sea, on the Brow of a Plain that is all open to the East, and hath, consequently, the Benefit of the true Trade-wind which blows

here, and is most commonly fair, there are seldom wanting, at this Town, brisk, cooling, and refreshing Breezes all the Day. On the Back of the Town there is a large Plain, of three or four Leagues in Length, and two Miles broad, producing a thick kindly Sort of Grass, which looked green, and very pleasant, when I was there, like our Meadows in *England* in the Spring. On the East Side of this Plain, very near the Back of the Town, there is a natural Lake or Pond of fresh Water. It is about half a Mile in Circumference; but, being stagnant, 'tis only used for Cattle to drink. In the Winter, several Sorts of Wild-fowl resort hither, affording Plenty of Game to the Inhabitants of *Laguna*: This City is called *Laguna* from hence; for that Word, in *Spanish*, signifies a Lake or Pond. The Plain is bounded on the West, the North-west, and the South-west, with high steep Hills, as high above this Plain, as this is above the Sea; and 'tis from the Foot of one of these Mountains that the Water of the Conduit, which supplies the Town, is conveyed over the Plain in Troughs of Stone, raised upon Pillars; and indeed, considering the Situation of the Town, its large Prospect to the East, (for from hence you see the grand *Canary*) its Gardens, cool Arbours, pleasant Plain, green Fields, the Pond and Aqueduct, and its refreshing Breezes, it is a very delightful Dwelling, especially for such as have not Business that calls them far and often from hence; for, the Island being generally mountainous, steep, and craggy, full of Risings and Fallings, 'tis very troublesome travelling up and down in it, unless in the Cool of the Mornings and Evenings; and Mules and Asses are most used by them, both for Riding and Carriage, as fittest for the stony uneven Roads. Beyond the Mountains, on the South-west Side still farther up, you may see from the Town and Plain a small peaked Hill overlooking the rest; this is that which is called the *Pike of Teneriff*, so much noted for its Height; but we saw it here at so great a Disadvantage, by reason of the Nearness of the adjacent Mountains to us, that it looked inconsiderable in respect to its Fame. The true Maltese Wine is produced in this Island, and is esteemed the best white Wine in the World. Here is also *Canary* Wine, and *Verdona* or green Wine. The *Canary* grows chiefly on the West Side of the Island, and therefore is commonly sent to *Oratavia*, which, being the chief Sea-port for Trade in the Island, the principal *English* Merchants reside there, with their Consul, because 'tis a great Trade for this Wine. I was told, that that Town is bigger than *Laguna*; that it has but one Church, but many Convents; that the Port is but ordinary at best, and is very bad when the North-west Winds blow. These North-west Winds give notice of their coming, by a great Sea that rumbles in on the Shore for some time before they come, and by a black Sky in the North-west. Upon these Signs Ships either get up their Anchors, or slip their Cables, and put to Sea, and ply off and on till the Weather is over; Sometimes they are forced to do to two or three times before they can take in their Lading, which 'tis hard to do here in the rarest Weather; and for fresh Water they tend, as I have said, to *Santa Cruz*. *Verdona* is green, strong-bodied Wine, harsher and sharper than *Canary*. 'Tis not so much esteemed in *Europe*, but is exported to the *West Indies*, and will keep best in hot Countries; for which Reason I touched here, to take in some of it for my Voyage: This Sort of Wine is made chiefly on the East Side of the Island, and shipped off at *Santa Cruz*.

4. We sailed from *Santa Cruz* February 4. towards the Isle of *Maya*, one of the *Cape Verd* Islands. The 6th, being in the Latitude of $15^{\circ} 4'$, we steered away West North-west for the said Isle, where we anchored the 11th in the Road, which is the Leeward Part of the Isle, in fourteen Fathom, clean Sand, and smooth Water. The Isle of *May* is roundish, seven Leagues in Circuit, in 15° North Latitude. On the West Side of it, where the Road for Ships is, there is a large sandy Bay, within which is a spacious Salt Pond: Those who come hither to lade Salt, take it up as it kerns, and lay it up in Heaps. The *English* have a considerable Trade here in Salt, which costs nothing but the Labour to take it out, and wheeling it from the Pond; and the Carriage thence to the *Frape Boat*, as the Seamen call it, by which it is conveyed aboard the Ships)

being

being performed by Mules, is very cheap. For the rest, the Soil of it is generally barren, the Ground being Sand or loose Stone, without any fresh-water Rivers or Ponds, except one Spring in the Centre of the Isle, running thro' a Valley, where the Inhabitants have three small Towns, *Pinoje, St. John's, and Lagoa*. The Inhabitants are Negroes by Descent, and resembling those of *Africa*. As they are Subjects of *Portugal*, so they follow their Religion, but have Priests and a Governor of their own Nation. Their Fruits are chiefly Figs, and Water-melons; their best Land-animals Goats and Asses: The Sea affords them Dolphins, Bonettas, Mulletts, Snappers, Silver-fish, Gar-fish, and green Tortoises, during the wet Season in *May, June, July, and August*, which is their Time of Laying. It may seem somewhat strange, that not Turtle only, but all Sorts of amphibious Creatures, lay their Eggs, not in the dry, but wet Season, which one would imagine might destroy them. To account for this, however, with some Degree of Probability, we ought to consider, that these Animals all lay their Eggs very deep; so that the Rain, being drank up by the Sand over them, not only never reaches to as to spoil them, but checks also the rising Heat; and, by keeping it down, answers all the Intentions of a Stove, or hot Bed.

5. *February 10.* we sailed from hence to *St. Iago*, six Leagues to the West; and, the next Day, anchored near *St. Iago Town*, lying on the South-west Side of the Isle, in 16° North Latitude, the Residence of the *Portuguese* Governor, and of the Bishop of all the *Cape Verde* Islands. This Town stands scattering against the Sides of two Mountains, between which there is a great Valley, which is about 200 Yards wide. Against the Sea there is a straggling Street, Houses on each Side, and a Run of Water in the Bottom, which empties itself into a fine small Cove, or sandy Bay, where the Sea is commonly very smooth, so that here is good Watering and good Landing at any time, though the Road be rocky, and bad for Ships: Just by the Landing-place there is a small Fort, almost level with the Sea, where is always a Corps-de-garde kept on the Top of an Hill: Above the Town there is another Fort, which, by the Wall that is to be seen from the Road, seems to be a large Place: They have Cannon mounted there; but how many I know not, neither what Use that Fort can be of, except it be for Salutes. The Town may consist of 2 or 300 Houses, all built of rough Stone, having also one Convent, and one Church; the People in general are black, or at least of a mixt Colour, except only some few of the better sort, viz. the Governor, the Bishop, some of the Gentlemen, and some of the Padres; for some of these are black. The People about *Praya* are thievish; but those of *St. Iago Town*, living under their Governor's Eye, are more orderly, though generally poor, having little Trade; yet, besides chance Ships of other Nations, there come hither a *Portuguese* Ship or two every Year, in their Way to *Brazil*. They vend among them a few *European* Commodities, and take off their principal Manufactures, viz. Striped Cotton, which they carry with them to *Brazil*. Another Ship also comes hither from *Portugal* for Sugar, their other Manufacture, and returns with it directly thither: For 'tis reported, that there are several small Sugar works on this Island, from which they send Home near 100 Tons every Year: And they have Plenty of Cotton growing up in the Country, wherewith they cloath themselves, and send also a deal to *Brazil*. They have Vines, of the Fruit of which they make some Wine; but the *European* Ships furnish them with better, though they drink but little of any. Their chief Fruits are (besides Plantains in abundance) Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Melons, (both Musk and Water-melons) Limes, Guavas, Pomgranates, Quinces, Custard-apples, and Papais, &c. The Custard-apple (as we call it) is a Fruit as big as a Pomgranate, and much of the same Colour: The outside Husk-shell, or Rind, is, for Substance and Thickness, between the Shell of a Pomgranate and the Peel of a *Seville* Orange, softer than this, yet more bitter than that. The Coat or Covering is also remarkable, in that it is beset round with small regular Knobs, or Rifings; and the Inside of the Fruit is full of a white soft Pulp, sweet, and very pleasant, and most resembling a

Custard of any thing, both in Colour and Taste; from whence, probably, it is called a Custard-apple by our *English*: It has, in the Middle, a few small black Stones or Kernels, but no Core; for 'tis all Pulp: The Tree that bears this Fruit is about the Bigness of a Quince-tree, with long, small, and thick-set Branches spread much abroad. At the Extremity of here-and-there one of which, the Fruit grows upon a Stalk of its own, about nine or ten Inches long, slender and tough, and hanging down with its own Weight. A large Tree of this Sort bears usually twenty or thirty Apples, very seldom more. This Fruit grows in most Countries within the Tropics; I have seen of them (tho' I omitted the Description of them before) all over the *West Indies*, both Continent and Islands, as also in *Brazil*, and in the *East Indies*. The *Papah* too is found in all these Countries, though I have not hitherto described it: It is a Fruit about the Bigness of a Musk-melon, hollow in it is, and much resembling it in Shape and Colour, both Outside and Inside; only in the Middle, instead of the Kernels which the Melons have, these have an Handful of blackish Seeds, about the Bigness of Pepper-corns, whose Taste is also hot on the Tongue, somewhat like Pepper. The Fruit itself is sweet, soft, and luscious, when ripe; but, while green, is hard and unfavoury; though, even then, being boiled, and eaten with salt Pork or Beef, it serves instead of Turneps, and is as much esteemed. The *Papah*-tree is about ten or twelve Feet high; the Body, near the Ground, may be a Foot and an half or two Feet Diameter, and it grows up taper to the Top: it has no Branches at all, but only large Leaves growing upon Stalks, which proceed out of the Body: The Leaves are of a rough Form, and jagged about the Edges, having their stalks or Stumps, longer or shorter, as they grow nearer to or further from the Top. They begin to spring from out of the Body of the Tree at about six or seven Feet high from the Ground, the Trunk being bare below; but, above that, the Leaves grow thicker and larger till towards its Top, where they are close and broad. The Fruit grows only among the Leaves, and thickell among the thickest of them, infomuch that, towards the Top of the Tree, the Papers spring forth from its Body, as thick as they can stick out by another; but then, lower down, where the Leaves are thinner, the Fruit is larger, and of the Size I have described; and at the Top, where they are thick, they are small, and no bigger than ordinary Turneps, yet taster like the rest. As to the Land-animals, Fowls and Fish, there is nothing I can say about them that ought to detain the Reader; and therefore I will proceed in my Voyage, after remarking, that the Road of *St. Iago* is so bad, that my Life I think I never saw one worse.

6. We sailed from *St. Iago* *February 22.* and my Intention was to have gone to *Pernambuco*, and from thence directly to the Coast of *New Guinny*; and this out of pure Compassion to my Ship's Company, who were but very young Seamen, there being only two in the Ship that had ever sailed the Line, and those two were none of the ablest. They, therefore, grew very uneasy; talked much of returning to *England*, and, at last, gave me so much Disturbance, that I began to doubt *Pernambuco* was no fit Place for me to trust myself in, because, as the Ship must relate to or three Leagues from the Town, and not under the Command of any Fort, they might easily, in case of my going on shore, have cut or slippt their Cabies, and have run away with the Ship. After mature Deliberation, therefore, I altered my Course, and stood away for the Bay of *All Saints*, and arrived before the Place on *Mar. 10.* and anchored in the Port very safely. *Bahia de todos los Santos*, as the *Portuguese* call it, or *The Bay of All Saints*, being the Latitude of 13° South, has the Convenience of a very good Harbour, secured and commanded by three several Forts. The Place itself consists of about 2000 Houses, most of which are hid from the Ships in the Harbour, but those that are seen, being intermixed with Trees, afford a very pleasant and delightful Prospect. There are, in the Town, thirteen Churches, Chapels, and Convents, besides one Nunnery, viz. the *Ecclesia major*, or Cathedral, the *Jesuits* College, which are the chief, and both in Sight from the Harbour; *St. Antonio, St. Barbara*, both Parish churches; the *Franciscan* Church, and the *Dominicans*, an-

two Convents of *Carmelites* the Sea-side, where I go immediately to *Papah*, at the farther End of the Shore; and a part of the Town, remote from the Middle of the Town, near the Edge of the Town near are twenty Nuns. The fine Palace in the fine Stone Building, but indifferently furnished, in their Palace observed, affecting to be famous about Furniture to Pictures. The Houses are high, the Walls Stone, and a Covering Balconies. The principal paved or pitched with is the most eminent dens, as well within wherein are Fruit trees in great Variety, but the Governor, who *Lisbon*, being of the *Lisbon* Family; as on that Account, called on him several times, and civil. There are a company draw up, the Governor's Hou when he goes abroad. *Town* Linnen, which, than *Woollen*; but I stile. Besides the *Soldiers* Thousands of Men in game is on the Skin between the Nunnery enough to hold 2 or 300; it seldom had gold; there are always Centinels looking many Merchants allow great Trade. I found *Europe*, with two of for their Convoy, besides, either to *Angola* of *Guinny*, and abundant and so on this Coast, of *Brazil* to another. said to be rich, and Houses, both of *Mentaguete*, Foreigners have yet here was one *M* civil Gentleman, and to be our *English* Cont any public Character, hitherto, here having before this Time. *H* Merchant, or two; to and from *Europe* in Nation being admitted house by the Sea-side; ported are entered; a or six Boats, that take about, searching any *B*. The chief Commodities hither, are *Linnen* Cloth, also *Bays*, *Serges*, both *Silk* and *Tread*, (chiefly *Port*) *Oil*-olive and *Pork* would be bring hither also *Iron*, Vessels of all sorts, as *D* glasses, *Beads*, and *st* at *St. Iago* bring thence wards sent to *Angola* hence *Sugar*, *Tobacco*

two Convents of *Carmelites*; a Chapel for Seamen close by the Sea-side, where Boats commonly land, and the Seamen go immediately to Prayers; another Chapel for poor People, at the farther End of the same Street, which runs along by the Shore; and a third Chapel for Soldiers at the Edge of the Town, remote from the Sea; and an Hospital in the Middle of the Town. The Nunnery stands at the outer Edge of the Town next the Fields, wherein, as I was told, are seventy Nuns. Here lives an Archbishop, who has a fine Palace in the Town, and the Governor's Palace is a fine Stone Building, and looks handsome to the Sea, tho' but indifferently furnished within; both *Spanish* and *Portuguese*, in their Plantations abroad, as I have generally observed, affecting to have large Houses, but are little curious about Furniture, except some of them with respect to Pictures. The Houses of the Town are two or three Stories high, the Wall thick and strong, being built with Stone, and a covering of Pantile, and many of them have Balconies. The principal Streets are large, and all of them paved or pitched with small Stones. There are also Parades in the most eminent Places of the Town, and many Gardens, as well within the Town, as in the Out-parts of it, wherein are Fruit-trees, Herbs, Salladings, and Flowers, in great Variety, but ordered with no great Care nor Art. The Governor, who resides here, is called *Don Jobn de Lancastre*, being descended, as they say, from our *English Lancaster* Family; and he has a Respect for our Nation on that Account, calling them his Countrymen: I waited on him several times, and always found him very courteous and civil. Here are about 400 Soldiers in Garrison; they commonly draw up, and exercise in a large Parade before the Governor's Houle, and many of them attend him when he goes abroad. The Soldiers are decently clad in Brass Laces, which, in these hot Countries, is far better than Woollen; but I never saw any clad in Linen, but only trowsers. Besides the Soldiers in Pay, he can soon have some Thousands of Men in Arms upon Occasion. The Magazine is on the Skirts of the Town, on a small Rising between the Nunnery and the Soldiers Church; it is big enough to hold 2 or 3000 Barrels of Powder, but I was told, it seldom had more than 100 in it, sometimes but eighty; there are always a Company of Soldiers to guard it, and Centinels looking out both Day and Night. A great many Merchants always reside at *Bahia*; for 'tis a Place of great Trade. I found here above thirty great Ships from *Europe*, with two of the King of *Portugal's* Ships of War for their Convoy, besides two Ships that traded to *Africa* only, either to *Angola*, *Cambia*, or other Places on the Coast of *Guinea*; and abundance of Small-craft, that only run to and fro on this Coast, carrying Commodities from one Port of *Brasil* to another. The Merchants, that live here, are said to be rich, and to have many Negro Slaves in their Houses, both of Men and Women. They are chiefly *Portuguese*, Foreigners having but little Commerce with them; yet here was one Mr *Cook*, an *English* Merchant, a very civil Gentleman, and of a good Repute. He had a Patent to be our *English* Consul; but did not care to take upon him any public Character, because *English* Ships seldom come hither, here having been none in eleven or twelve Years before this Time. Here was also a *Danish* and a *French* Merchant, or two; but all have their Effects transported to and from *Europe* in *Portuguese* Ships, none of any other Nation being admitted to trade hither. There is a Custom-house by the Sea-side, where all Goods imported or exported are entered; and, to prevent abuses, there are five or six Boats, that take their Turns to row about the Harbour, searching any Boats they suspect to be running Goods. The chief Commodities, that the *European* Ships bring hither, are Linnen Cloths both coarse and fine, some Woollens, also Hays, Seriges, Perpetuanas, &c. Hats, Stockings both Silk and I tread, Bisquet-bread, Wheat, Flour, Wine, (chiefly *Port*) Oil-olive, Butter, Cheese, &c. and salt Beef and Pork would be good Commodities there. They bring hither also Iron, and all manner of Iron Tools, Pewter Vessels of all sorts, as Dishes, Plates, Spoons, &c. Looking-glasses, Beads, and other Toys; and the Ships that touch at *St. Iago* bring thence, as I said, Cotton, which is afterwards sent to *Angola*. The *European* Ships carry from hence Sugar, Tobacco, either in Roll or Snuff; never in

Leaves, that I know of. These are the staple Commodities, besides which, there are Dye-woods, as Futtic, &c. with Woods for other Uses, as speckled Wood, *Brasil*, &c. They also carry home raw Hides, Tallow, Train-oil of Whales, &c. Here are also kept tame Monkeys, Parrots, Partridges, &c. which the Seamen carry home. The Sugar of this Country is much better than that which we bring home from our Plantations; for all the Sugar, that is made here, is clayed, which makes it whiter and finer than our *Mulcovado*, as we call our unrefined Sugar. Our Planters seldom refine any with Clay, unless sometimes a little to send home as Presents for their Friends in *England*. Their Way of doing it here is, by taking some of the whitest Clay, and mixing it with Water, till it be like Cream: With this they fill up the Pans of Sugar, that are sunk two or three Inches below the Brim, by draining the Melassits out of it, first scraping off the thin hard Crust of the Sugar, that lies at the Top, and would under the Water of the Clay from soaking through the Sugar of the Pan: The Refining is made by this Percolation for ten or twelve Days Time, that the clayish Liquor lies soaking down the Pan: The white Water whitens the Sugar as it passes through it, and the gross Body of the Clay grows hard at the Top, and may be taken off at Pleasure, when scraping off with a Knife the very upper Part of the Sugar, which will be a little sullied, that which is underneath, will be white almost to the Bottom; and such as is called *Brasil* Sugar is thus whitened. When I was there, this Sugar was sold for fifty Shillings per Hundred, and the Bottoms of the Pots, which is very coarse Sugar, for about twenty Shillings per Hundred, both Sorts being then scarce; for here was not enough to lade the Ships, and therefore some of them were to lie here till the next Season. The *European* Ships commonly arrive here in *February* or *March*, and they have generally quick Passages, finding, at that Time of the Year, brisk Gales to bring them to the Line, with little Trouble then in crossing it, and brisk North North-east Winds afterwards to bring them hither. They commonly return from hence about the latter End of *May*, or in *June*. It was said, when I was here, that the Ships would sail *May* 20. and therefore they were all very busy, some in taking in their Goods, others in careening and making themselves ready. The Ships that come hither commonly careen at their first Comings, here being a Hulk belonging to the King for that Purpose. This Hulk is under the Charge of the Superintendent I spoke of, who has a certain Sum of Money for every Ship that careens by her. He also provides Firing, and other Necessaries for that Purpose; and the Ships commonly hire of the Merchants here each two Cables to moor by all the Time they lie here, and to save their own Hempen Cables; for there are made of a sort of Vegetable String, springing from the Top of a Tree, and in its Substance resembling Hair, which is very strong and lasting. There is a great Trade carried on here of different Kinds; but particularly a sort of Whale-fishing. These Creatures are but small; but, as they come in great Numbers, the killing of them turns to good Account, as may appear from the Profit arising by the Royal Licences, which bring thirty thousand Dollars annually to the King of *Portugal*. The Inhabitants of this City are, generally speaking, rich, or at least in very good Circumstances; so that few or none of them want their Negro Slaves for all domestic Uses, by whom also they are carried, when they go abroad, in a kind of Hammocks, where they lie or sit at their Ease, either covered with a Curtain, or expoted, as they think proper. Besides this Port or Bay of *All Saints*, there are two Harbours much frequented in *Brasil*, viz. *Pernambuco* or *Fernambuco*, and *Rio Janeiro*; and, besides these, there is a Town and Haven called *St. Paul's*, near which they gather much Gold; but the People are said to be a sort of Banditti, without Laws, Order or Government: But, however, as they have a great deal of Money, they are very well furnished with *European* Commodities. Indeed Money is every-where plenty in this Country since the Discovery of the Gold Mines; which must increase the Regret of the *Dutch*, who were once Masters of the best Part of *Brasil*.

7. The Country about the City of *Bahia de todos los Santos* is flat, neither very high, nor excessive low, sufficiently watered with Rivers and Rivulets. The Soil is, generally speaking,

speaking, pretty good; and when cultivated, produces, besides other Vegetables, Sugar-canes, Cotton, Indico, Tobacco, Maiz, and Fruit-trees, as also some other Trees peculiar to this Country; as the Sapiera, Vermatico, Comasteric, Gritteba, Serrie, three Sorts of Mangrove-trees, and as many Sorts of Cotton-trees, both wild and planted. They have also a sort of a ballard Cocoa-nut-tree, not near so big as the common ones in the *East or West Indies*. The Kernel is sweet, but hard. At the Top of these Cocoa-trees grows a black Thread, like Horichair, but longer, of which they make Cables, that are more serviceable and lasting, than those made of Hemp. The rest of their Fruits are Oranges of several Sorts, especially *China Oranges*, Limes, Pomgranates, Pomegranates, Plantains, Bananas, right Cocoa-nuts, Goavas, Cocoa-plums, wild Grapes, (besides *European Grapes*) Hog-plums, Cullard-apples, Sour-tops, Calshews, Papahs, Jenoipahs, Manichin-apples, and Mangoes, (tho' these last are but rare as yet) Arishahs, Mericalahs, Potangoes, &c. (Fruits not to be seen in other Countries) Petumbos, Mungareos, Mackishaws, Inguas, Otee, Mulleran de Ovas, Palm-berries, Physic-nuts, Cabbage-trees, &c. They have also abundance of Ground-fruit; such as Callavances, Pine-apples, Pompions, Water-melons, Musk-melons, Cucumbers; of Yams, Potatoes, Callavas; of Garden-herbs, Cabbages, Turneps, Onions, Leeks, and all sorts of Sallading. They have great Plenty and Variety of wild Fowl; viz. Yauinas, Maccaws, (a large Sort of Parrots) common Parrots, Flamingoes, Carrion-crows, Chattering-crows, Cockcoes, curious coloured Bill-birds, Correlloes, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, Jauntees, Clocking-hens, Crabcatchers, Curreeois, *Muscovy Ducks*, common Ducks, Widgeons, Teal, Curlews, Men-of-war-birds, Boobies, Noddies, Pelicans, &c. The chief of their tame Fowl are Ducks, and other Dunghil Fowl. Of these they have two Sorts, one of the same Size with ours, and another larger, which are sold at a dear Rate here. Their Land-animals are, Horses, Black Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Coneyes, Hogs, Leopards, Tygers, Monkeys, Pecary, (a sort of wild Hogs) Armadillos, Alligators, Guanoes, Lizards, Serpents, Frogs, and a sort of amphibious Creature called *Cochora de Agua* by the *Portuguese*, and Water-dogs by the *Engliss*, from their Resemblance to a thaggy Mastiff-dog, with four short Legs. They have here also the *Ambisbena*, or two-headed Snake, of a grey Colour, with black Streaks. Its Bite is reckoned incurable: The best is, that it seldom wounds. Having two Specks in the Head, instead of Eyes, some say it is altogether blind, and lives under-ground like a Mole. Its Length is about fourteen Inches, with an Head at each End; whence the *Portuguese* call it *Cobra de dos Cabeças*, i. e. *The Snake with two Heads*; but I never saw one of these. The Sea hereabouts affords Tarpeins, Mulletts, Groopers, Snocks, Gar-fish, Coralles, Baramas, Coquandas, Cavallies, Dog-fish, Herrings, Seroco, Oleo de Boy, Whales, Lobsters, Crayfish, Shrimps, Crabs, common Oylers, Conchs, Wilks, Cockles, Mussels, Periwinkles, and three Sorts of Sea-tortoises; viz. the Hawk-bill, Loggerhead, and green Tortoise. The first is the most esteemed, its Shell being the most beautiful, and therefore sold very dear, and is a very considerable Commodity.

8. April 3. in the Morning, we sailed from this Harbour; and, at twelve o'Clock, Cape *Salvadore* bore North, distant six Leagues. The 27th, we came in the Latitude of the *Abrillo* Shoals, viz. in 18° and 19° South Latitude. May 3. at 20° our meridian Distance from Cape *Salvadore* was 234 Miles, the Variation 7°. The 12th, being in 31° 10' South Latitude, we began to have West Winds; but met with nothing of Moment, except a dead Whale, the Carcase whereof was intirely covered with Birds of divers Sorts, as Pintado-birds, Shearwaters, Petrels, &c. We saw also abundance of Sea-weeds in 39° 32' South Latitude, near the Meridian of the Ile *Tristan d'Acunna*, as laid down by the *Portuguese*. June 2. I saw a large black Fowl, with a white flat Bill, which is said never to fly above thirty Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*; whereas, according to my Account, we were ninety Leagues from thence; but soon after found, I was not above twenty-five Leagues from the Cape. June 3. steering to the East, we saw a Sail, which proved the *Antelope* of *London*, coming the Day before from the Cape. We kept Company till

the next Day, when they steered for the *East Indies*, and I for the Coast of *New Holland*, lying North North-east from the Cape. We did not lose Sight of one another till June 9. The 7th, it was very tempestuous Weather, and the Wind continued pretty high till the 10th, and moderate till the 19th, the Wind from West North-west to South by West, when we had run 600 Leagues, and were in 34° 17' South Latitude, and 39° 24' Longitude East from the Cape. The Winds continued at North-east by East till the 27th, and afterwards between North North-west and South South-west till the 4th of July; in which Space we sailed 782 Miles. All which time we met with nothing of Remark, except some Birds and Whales, especially as we came nearer to the Shore. About ninety Leagues from the Land, we began to see Sea-weeds, and about thirty Leagues distant, some Skuttle-bones floating on the Water. July 25. being in 26° 14' South Latitude, and 85° 52' Longitude East from the Cape of *Good Hope*, we saw more Sea-weed, like Moss. The 28th, the same increased upon us; and, the 29th, we saw Skuttle-bones, Bonetoes, and Ship-jacks, a Fish not eight Inches long, not unlike a Roch. The 30th, we saw more Skuttle-bones and Sea-weeds, and a sort of Fowl we had not seen before, of a grey Colour, with red sharp Bills, but, for the rest, not unlike *Lapwings*.

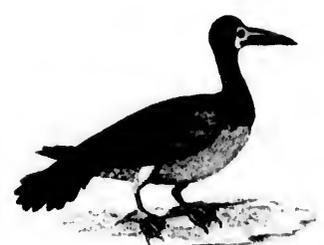
9. August 2. we stood in towards the Land, to look for an Harbour to refresh ourselves, after a Voyage of 1127 from *Brazil*. We saw an Opening in 26° South Latitude, but, finding nothing but Rocks and foul Ground, we stood off again the 2d. The 4th, we had 60° 56', and fifty-five Fathom Water; and, the 5th, saw Land again, ten Leagues distant, in 25° 30' South Latitude. The 6th, we saw an Opening in the Land, in which we anchored in two Fathom and an half of Water, August 7. I called the Mouth of this Sound *Sharks Bay*, lying in 25° South Latitude, and, according to our Reckoning, in 87° Longitude East from the Cape of *Good Hope*, which is less by 195 Leagues than is laid down in the common Draughts. The Land is pretty high, but the Shore steep to the Sea. The Mould is Sand by the Sea-side, producing a large sort of *Sampfire*, which bears a white Flower. Farther in, the Mould is reddish, mixed with a sort of Sand, producing some Grass, Plants, and Shrubs. The Grails grows in great Tufts, as big as a Bushel, here-and-there a Tuft, being intermixed with a great deal of Heath, much of the kind we have growing on our Commons in *England*. Of Trees and Shrubs here are divers Sorts; but none above ten Feet high, their Bodies about three Feet round, and five or six Feet high before you come to the Branches, which are bushy, and composed of small Twigs there, spreading abroad, tho' thick-set, and full of Leaves, which were most long and narrow. The Colour of the Leaves was one whitish, and on the other green; and the Bark of the Trees was generally of the same Colour with the Leaves, of a pale Green. Some of these Trees were sweet-scented, and reddish within the Bark, like *Sassafras*, but darker. Most of the Trees and Shrubs had, at this time, either Blossoms or Berries on them. The Blossoms of the different Sorts of Trees are of divers Colours, as red, white, yellow, &c. but mostly blue; and these smelt very sweet and fragrant, as did also some of the rest. There were, besides, some Plants, Herbs, and tall Flowers, some very small Flowers growing on the Ground, that were sweet and beautiful, and, for the most part, unlike any I had seen elsewhere. There were but few Land-towls; I saw none, but Flocks of the larger Sort of Birds, but five or six Sorts of small Birds. The largest Sort of these were no bigger than *Larks*, some no bigger than *Wrens*, all singing with great Variety of fine shrill Notes; and we saw some of their Nests with Young-ones in them. The Water-towls are, Ducks, (which had Young ones, this being the Beginning of the Spring in those Parts) Curlews, Galdens, Crabcatchers, Cormorants, Gulls, Pelicans, and some Water-towl, such as I have not seen any-where besides. The Land-animals, that we saw here, were only a sort of *Maccroons*, different from those in the *West Indies*, chiefly as to their Legs, upon which they jump, as the rest of their Species do, and are, like them, very good Meat; and a sort of *Guanas*, but differing from them in some remarkable Particulars; for these had a larger and more frightful Head, and had no Tail.

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Fowl & Fish observed by Cap. Will. Dampier in New Guinea and the Islands adjacent

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A Bird hatched without a Name taken on New Guinea.



A most beautiful Land Fowl in New Guinea.



The Cry of this Bird of a very bright red



A strange Linn. Fowl on the Island of Ceram



A Baton Pulo Maluda on the Coast of New Guinea



This Fish is all of a Pale Red except the Eye



This Fish is all Black on its Sides & Back & White with black spots on its Belly & the belly very white



A Pike Fish common



This Fish is a Pale red with black spots on its Body the long black Blen in its middle & white on the sides



The Body of this Fish is light Blue here & there

Tail; and, at the Ru placed, there appeared without Mouth or Eye other Creatures of the so made, as to carry the Particular before-Spectator apprehend they were speckled black on their Backs, like C Motton; and, when stand stock-still, and away; and the Body, Smell. I never saw here. The Guanas, is very good Meat, and Satisfaction; but tho' and Alligators, yet, I ger would not have ten Helland. The Sea-fish Fresh-water of any kind There are abundance Reaton I called it *Sb* Thornbacks, and other especially like the Sea Or Shell-fish we got a pits, Oysters, both of eatable, besides Cock with many other Sorts of Variety of Colour a red, yellow, &c. such this Place. I brought lost all, except a ver There are also some g Of these we caught left behind a ledge of over. These served a were indifferent sweet great many, which of these we caught one, between its two Eyes Inches from one Corner was like a Leather-fa sharp Knife could sea Head and Bones of ar which were still found was also firm, out of w two of them eight In Thumb, small at one not above half so long, stunk extremely; how and the Shark's Jaw. my Men, and they too of it, but thought it, a 10. We anchored August 7. at the West We searched for fresh we got some Wood fo in; towards Afternoon of the Bay; but meeti East; and, the 12th, 1 and flood farther into observe to the East, w ing but shoal Water, to the West Entrance this Bay to the North 14th, we were in 24 The 17th, we saw 1 an dance of Wholes near 19th, in 21° 42'; th law abundance of Sea Shapes At Noon, I and appeared like Leagues from the B an life, six Leagues is surrounded on all Side which, in all Appearing from North North far as *Starks Bay*, and wards *New Holland*.

Tail; and, at the Rump, where a Tail should have been placed, there appeared something resembling an Head; but without Mouth or Eyes. Their Legs also differed from other Creatures of the same Kind, by their appearing to be so made, as to carry the Body either way; which, with the Particular before-mentioned, might make a common Spectator apprehend this Creature had two Heads. They were speckled black and yellow, like Toads; and had Scales on their Backs, like Crocodiles. They are very slow in Motion; and, when a Man comes nigh them, they will stand stock-still, and hiss, without endeavouring to get away; and the Body, when opened, hath a very unfavourable Smell. I never saw such ugly Creatures any-where, but here. The Guanas, in other Parts, I have observed to be very good Meat, and have often eat of them with great Satisfaction; but tho' I have eaten of Snakes, Crocodiles, and Alligators, yet, I believe, the quickest Sense of Hunter would not have tempted me to taste the Guana of *New Holland*. The Sea-fish we saw here, (for there was no Fresh-water of any kind to be seen) are chiefly Sharks. There are abundance of them in this Sound; which was the Reason I called it *Sharks Bay*. There were also Skates, Thornbacks, and other Fish of the Prey-kind, (one Sort especially like the Sea devil) and Guardfish, Bonatos, &c. Of Shell-fish we got also there Mussels, Periwinkles, Limpits, Oysters, both of the Pearl-kind, and of such as were eatable, besides Cockles, &c. The Shore was lined thick with many other Sorts of very strange and beautiful Shells, of Variety of Colour and Shape, most finely spotted with red, yellow, &c. such as I have not seen any where, but at this Place. I brought away a great many of them; but lost all, except a very few, and those not of the best. There are also some green Turtles, weighing about 200 lb. Of these we caught two, which the Water ebbing had left behind a ledge of Rocks, which they could not creep over. These served all my Company two Days, and they were indifferent sweet Meat. Of the Sharks we caught a great many, which our Men eat very favourably. Among these we caught one, that was eleven Feet long. The Space between its two Eyes was twenty Inches, and eighteen Inches from one Corner of its Mouth to the other. Its Maw was like a Leather-sack, very thick, and so tough, that a sharp Knife could scarce cut it; in which we found the Head and Bones of an Hippopotamus, the hairy Lips of which were still found, and not putresced; and the Jaw was also firm, out of which we plucked a great many Teeth, two of them eight Inches long, and as big as a Man's Thumb, small at one End, and a little crooked; the rest not above half so long. The Maw was full of Jelly, which stunk extremely; however, I saved for a while the Teeth, and the Shark's Jaw. The Flesh of it was divided among my Men, and they took care that no Waste should be made of it, but thought it, as things stood, good Entertainment.

10. We anchored at three several Places in this Bay; *August 7.* at the West Side. Here we staid till the 10th. We searched for fresh Water; but found none: However, we got some Wood for Fuel. The 11th, we steered farther in; towards Afternoon saw the Land, that makes the South of the Bay; but meeting with Shoals, I steered away to the East, and, the 12th, passed the North Point of the Land, and stood farther into the Bay, to see what Land we could observe to the East, which we saw right a-head; but, having but shoal Water, I made the best of my way to return to the West Entrance. The 14th, I sailed again out of this Bay to the North-east, coasting along the Shore. The 15th, we were in $24^{\circ} 41'$; and, the 16th, at $23^{\circ} 22'$. The 17th, we saw Land again. The 18th, we saw abundance of Whales near a shoal Point, in $22^{\circ} 22'$; and, the 19th, in $21^{\circ} 42'$; the 20th, at $19^{\circ} 37'$. The 21st, we saw abundance of Sea snakes, of two different Sorts and Shapes. At Noon, bearing in South-east by East, the Land appeared like a Cape; but, anchoring about five Leagues from the *Bluff-point*, it proved the East End of an Isle, six Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth, being surrounded on all Sides with many other small rocky Isles, which, in all Appearance, are a Range of Islands, stretching from North North-east to West South-west, perhaps as far as *Sharks Bay*, and nine or ten Leagues in Breadth towards *New Holland*. The Tides I met with a little while

after gave me a Suspicion, that there might be a kind of *Archipelago* of Isles, and a Passage to the South of *New Holland* and *New Guiny* into the great South Sea Eastward; but, being in want of Water, I would not attempt the Discovery of it. This Place is in $20^{\circ} 21'$; whereas *Tasman*, in his Draught, has laid it down in $19^{\circ} 50'$, and has represented the Land as joining in one Ridge to the Continent. We went ashore in the Isle of *Bluff-point*, where we found two or three Shrubs, one like *Rosemary*; whence I called it *Rosemary Isle*; and two Sorts of Grain, like Beans, one growing on Bushes, the other on a kind of creeping Vine. We saw also some Cormorants, Gulls, Crabcatchers, &c. as also Limpits, Periwinkles, Oysters, on the Rocks, some green Tortoises, Sharks, and Water-snakes. The 23d, we ran out again; and, the 25th, we still coasted along. The 27th and 28th, we saw no Land; but, the 30th, in $18^{\circ} 21'$, made the Land, and anchored in eight Fathom Water, thirty Leagues from the Shore.

11. *August 30.* being in $18^{\circ} 21'$, we made the Land again, and saw many great Smokes near the Shore; and, having fair Weather, and moderate Breezes, I steered in towards it. At four in the Afternoon, I anchored in eight Fathom Water, clear Sand, about three Leagues and an half from the Shore. I presently sent my Boat to sound nearer in, and they found ten Fathom about a Mile nearer the Shore, and, from thence still farther in, the Water decreased gradually to nine, eight, seven, and, at two Miles Distance, to six Fathom. This Evening, we saw an Eclipse of the Moon; but it was abating before the Moon appeared to us; for the Horizon was very hazy, so that we could not see the Moon, till she had been half an Hour above the Horizon; and, at two Hours twenty-two Minutes, after Sun-set, by the Reckoning of our Glasses, the Eclipse was quite gone, which was not of many Digits. The Moon's Centre was then $33^{\circ} 4'$ high. The 31st betimes in the Morning, I went ashore with ten or eleven Men, to search for Water. We went all of us armed with Muskets and Cutlasses for our Defence, expecting to see People there, and carried also Shovels and Pickaxes to dig Wells. When we came near the Shore, we saw three tall, black, naked Men, on the sandy Bay a-head of us; but, as we rowed in, they went away. When we were landed, I sent the Boat, with two Men in her, to lie a little from the Shore at Anchor, to prevent her being seized, while the rest of us went after the three black Men, who were now got up to the Top of a small Hill, about a quarter of a Mile from us, with eight or nine more Men in their Company. They, seeing us come, ran away. When we came on the Top of the Hill where they first stood, we saw a plain Savanna about half a Mile from us. Farther in from the Sea, there were several things like Haycocks standing in the Savanna, which, at a Distance, we thought were Houses, looking just like the *Hottentots* Houses at the Cape of *Good Hope*; but we found them to be so many Rocks. We searched about these for Water; but could find none, nor any House, nor People; for they were all gone. Then we turned again to the Place where we landed, and there we dug for Water. While we were at work, there came nine or ten of the Natives to a small Hill a little Way from us, and stood there menacing and threatening us, and making a great Noise. At last one of them came towards us, and the rest followed at a Distance. I went out to meet him, and came within fifty Yards of him, making to him all the Signs of Peace and Friendship I could; but then he ran away, neither would any of them stay for us to come nigh them, tho' we tried three or four times. At last, I took two Men with me, and went in the Afternoon along by the Sea-side, on purpose to catch one of them, if I could, of whom I might learn where they got their fresh Water. There were ten or twelve of the Natives a little Way off, who, seeing us three going away from the rest of our Men, followed us at a Distance. I thought they would follow us; but, there being for a while a Sand-bank between us and them, that they could not then see us, we made an Halt, and hid ourselves in a Bending of the Sand-bank. They knew we must be thereabouts; and, being three or four times our Number, thought to seize us: So they dispersed themselves, some going to the Sea-shore, and others beating about the Sand-hills. We knew, by what Rencontre we had had

with them in the Morning, that we could easily outrun them; so a nimble young Man, that was with me, seeing some of them there, ran towards them, and they, for some time, ran away before him; but he soon overtook them, they faced about, and fought him. He had a Cutlass, and they had wooden Lances, with which, being many of them, they were too hard for him. When he first ran towards them, I chased two more, that were by the Shore; but, fearing how it might be with my young Man, I turned back quickly, and went up to the Top of a sandy Hill, whence I saw him near me, closely engaged with them. Upon their seeing me, one of them threw a Lance at me, which narrowly missed me. I discharged my Gun to scare them; but avoided shooting any of them, till, finding the young Man in great Danger, and myself in some, and that, tho' the Gun had a little frightened them at first, yet they had soon learnt to despise it, tossing up their Hands, and crying *Poob, poob, poob*, and coming on afresh with a great Noise, I thought it high time to charge again, and shoot one of them; which I did. The rest, seeing him fall, made a Stand; and my young Man took the Opportunity to disengage himself, and came off to me. My other Man also was with me, who had done nothing all this while, having come out unarmed; and I returned back with my Men, desiring to attempt the Natives no further, being very sorry for what had happened already. They took up their wounded Companion; and my young Man, who had been struck through the Cheek with one of their Lances, was afraid it had been poisoned; but I did not think that likely. His Wound was very painful to him, being made with a blunt Weapon; but he soon recovered of it. Among the *New Hollanders*, whom we were thus engaged with, there was one, who by his Appearance and Carriage, as well in the Morning, as this Afternoon, seemed to be the Chief of them, and a kind of Prince or Captain among them. He was a young brisk Man, not very tall, nor so personable as some of the rest, tho' more active and courageous. He was painted (which none of the rest were at) with a Circle of white Pigment, a sort of Lime, as we thought, about his Eyes, and a white Streak down his Nose, from his Forehead to the Tip of it; and his Breast, and some Part of his Arms, were also made white with the same Paint: not for Beauty or Ornament, one would think; but, as some wild *Indians* Warriors are said to do, he seemed thereby to design the looking more terrible, this his Painting adding very much to his natural Deformity; for they all of them have the most unpleasant Looks, and the worst Features, of any People I ever saw, though I have seen great Variety of Savages. These *New Hollanders* were probably the same sort of People, as those I met with on this Coast in my Voyage round the Globe; for the Place I then touched at, was not above forty or fifty Leagues to the North-east of this, and these were much the same blinking Creatures: here being also abundance of the same kind of Fleth-flies teizing them, and with the same black Skins, and Hair frizzled, tall and thin, &c. as these were; but we had not the Opportunity to see whether these, as the former, wanted two of their fore Teeth. We saw a great many Places where they had made Fires, and where there were commonly three or four Boughs stuck up to Windward of them, for the Wind, which is the Scabbreeze in the Day-time, blows always one Way with them, and the Land-breeze is but small. By their Fire-places we always found great Heaps of Fish-shells of several Sorts; and 'tis probable, that these poor Creatures here lived on the Shell fish, as those I described before did on small Fish, which they caught in Wires, or Hoops in the Sand at Low-water. These gathered their Shell fish on the Rocks at Low-water, but had no Wires that we saw, wherewith to get any other sorts of Fish, as, among the former, I saw not any Heaps of Shells as here, though I know they also gathered some Shell-fish: The Lances also of these were such as the former had; however, they being upon an Island with their Women and Children, and all in our Power, they did not there use them against us, as here on the Continent, where we saw none but some of the Men at a Distance, who came out purposely to observe us: We saw no Hooves at either Place; and I believe they have none, since the former People on the Island had none,

though they had all their Families with them. Upon returning to my Men, I saw that they had dug eight or nine Feet deep, yet found no Water: So I returned aboard that Evening, and the next Day, being September 1. I sent my Boatwain ashore to dig deeper, and sent the Sail with him to catch Fish. While I staid aboard, I observed the Flowing of the Tide, which runs very swift here, so that our Nun-buny would not bear above the Water to be seen. It flows here, as on the Part of *New Holland* I described formerly, about five Fathom; and here the Flood runs South-east by South till the last Quarter; then it sets right in towards the Shore, which lies here South South-west, and North North-east, and the Ebb runs North-west by North. When the Tides slackened, we fitted with Hook and Line, as we had already done in several Places on this Coast, on which, in this Voyage hitherto, we had found but little Tides; but, by the Height, Strength, and Course of them hereabouts, it should seem, that if there be such a Passage or Streight going through Eastwards to the Great South Sea, as I said one might suspect, one would expect to find the Mouth of it somewhere between this Place and *Rosemary Island*, which was the Part of *New Holland* I came last from.

12. If it were not for that sort of Pleasure which results from the Discovery even of the barrenest Spot upon the Globe, this Coast of *New Holland* would not have charmed me much. The Lands here, as well as in other Parts of *New Holland* that I have seen, are so fenced by a Chain of Sand-hills towards the Sea, that there is no such thing as discerning what lies beyond them; at High water the Tide rises so surprisingly on this Coast, that the Land appears very low; but, at Low-water again, it appears of an indifferent Height; but then the Shore is so rocky, that there is no such thing as landing with a Boat; but at High water a Boat may very easily come in over all those Rocks to the sandy Bay which surrounds this Coast. The Land, for about 5 or 600 Yards from the Sea, is of a dryish sandy Soil, with nothing but a few Shrubs and Bushes, which, when I was there, seemed to be in Bloom, bearing Flowers of several Colours, such as Yellow, Blue, and White, of a very fragrant Smell: and, as to their Fruit, they seem to be a kind of Pease or Beans. Farther within Land, the Country seemed to be low and level, partly Savannas, and partly Wood-land: The former affords a coarse kind of Grass, and the latter Groves of Trees that are small, and not above twelve or fourteen Feet high. There are very few Land-animals; some Lizards I saw, and some of my Seamen saw two or three Creatures not unlike Wolves, but so lean, that they looked like mere Skeletons. As for Land-fowls, there are Crows, Hawks, Kites, and Turtle-doves, that are small, but very plump and fat. The Sea-fowls are Pelicans, Boobies, Noddies, Cutlews, Sea-pies, in great Numbers. There are abundance of Whales in these Seas, and those of the larger Kind. We saw also green Turtle, but there being no proper Chanel for them, we caught none, as having no Place to set a Turtle-net in. We saw some Sharks, and caught, with Hooks and Lines, some Rock-fish and Old-wives. Of Shell-fish, we found here Oysters of the Pearl-kind, and fit for eating; and Wilks, Mussels, Limpits, Pen-wiccles, and many other Sorts; and I gathered some curious Shells on the Shore. The Scurvy beginning to prevail amongst my Men, gave me great Uneasiness, especially, as I had Reason to apprehend, that the Distemper would increase, rather than diminish, while I remained here, on account of the bad Air, and brackish Water; and therefore I purposely sent ashore to search for fresh water Brooks, or to dig Wells, but to no Purpose; wherefore I determined to proceed in my Voyage; and, if I met with no Refreshment elsewhere, to prosecute my Course to the Island of *Timor*.

13. I had spent about five Weeks in ranging off and on the Coast of *New Holland*, in Length of about 300 Leagues; and had put in at three several Places to see what there might be thereabouts worth discovering, and at the same time, to recruit my stock of fresh Water and Provisions, for the further Discoveries I purposed to attempt on the *Terra Australis*. This large, and hitherto almost unknown, Track of Land, is situated to very ad-

vantageously, in the Torrid and Temperate Advantage of the from the Equator itself of *Capricorn*, and which I designed by but hope to meet with Island, or both, pro Drugs, or Spices, (pe the other Parts of the of Latitude, at least a transplanting them here to make as diligent a S Islands, Shores, Cape as well for Shelter as of the Rocks and Sho rents, Wind and Wea be beneficial for Navi of Ule to any who the after, to whom it mig their Work done to vance and perfect by there is no Work of once, I intended, epi met with, and to try Traffic, and useful I commodities among any or Manufacture, or a ployed; though, as r by the Experience I I expected no great M as these I set out at fir ing to the Method I p the *Magellanic* Streig that I might have beg and least known Side was not possible for m Year in which I came ing the South of *Amer* Depth of the Winter: Eastward, by the Cap be past it, 'twas requi Latitude, to avoid the against me, and to hav by all which I was in a fall in first with those I been describing: For, making that Shore, I that Way to try to g and *New Guinea*, I co Time more than was knowing that the Lan the Discovery, as the more directly under th I should come first on the Spring, I must, h some time, a great de Severity, though not unknown, which my the Voyage at best, w a Run from *Brazil* hit I chose to coast along t and so thought to co *Australis* in my Return mer Season there. A thought I might possi pear, at my getting t that there is a Chanel now suspected, near R and great Indraught th the Mouth of some la lands on each Side of Shoals lying at its E Chanel, or Streight, t confirmed in this Opin I found, that other P *Australis*, which had b of a Continent, were d the same with *Neso*

vantageously

vantageously, in the richest Climates of the World, the Torrid and Temperate Zones, having in it, especially, all the Advantage of the Torrid Zone, as being known to reach from the Equator itself (within a Degree) to the Tropic of Capricorn, and beyond it; that in coasting round it, which I designed by this Voyage, if possible, I could not but hope to meet with some fruitful Lands, Continent or Island, or both, productive of any of the rich Fruits, Drugs, or Spices, (perhaps Minerals also, &c.) that are in the other Parts of the Torrid Zone, under equal Parallels of Latitude, at least a Soil and Air capable of such, upon transplanting them hither, and Cultivation. I meant also to make a diligent Survey as I could of the several smaller Islands, Shores, Capes, Bays, Creeks, and Harbours, fit as well for Shelter as Defence, upon fortifying them; and of the Rocks and Shoals, the Soundings, Tides, and Currents, Wind and Weather Variation, &c. whatever might be beneficial for Navigation, Trade, or Settlement, or be of Use to any who should prosecute the same Designs hereafter, to whom it might be serviceable to have so much of their Work done to their Hands, which they might advance and perfect by their own repeated Experiences. As there is no Work of this Kind brought to Perfection at once, I intended, especially, to observe what Inhabitants I met with, and to try to win them over to somewhat of Traffic, and useful Intercourse, as there might be Commodities among any of them that might be fit for Trade or Manufacture, or any found in which they might be employed, though, as to the *New Hollanders* hereabouts, by the Experience I had of their Neighbours formerly, I expected no great Matters from them. With such Views as these I set out at first from *England*; and would, according to the Method I proposed, have gone Westward thro' the *Magellanic* Streight, or round *Terra del Fuogo* rather, that I might have begun my Discoveries upon the Eastern and least known Side of the *Terra Australis*: But that Way was not possible for me to go, by reason of the Time of Year in which I came out; for I must have been compassing the South of *America* in a very high Latitude, in the Depth of the Winter: I was therefore necessitated to go Eastward, by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, when I should be past it, 'twas requisite I should keep in a pretty high Latitude, to avoid the general Trade-winds that would be against me, and to have the Benefit of the variable Winds, by all which I was in a manner unavoidably determined to sail in first with those Parts of *New Holland* I have hitherto been describing: For, should it be asked, why, at my first making that Shore, I did not cast into the Southward, and that Way to try to get round to East of *New Holland*, and *New Guinea*, I confess, I was not for spending any Time more than was necessary in the higher Latitudes, as knowing that the Land there could not be so well worth the Discovery, as the Parts that lay nearer the Line, and more directly under the Sun. Besides, at the Time when I should come first on *New Holland*, which was early in the Spring, I must, had I stood Eastward, have had, for some time, a great deal of Winter Weather, increasing in Severity, though not in Time, and in a Place altogether unknown, which my Men, who were heartless enough to the Voyage at best, would never have borne, after so long a Run from *Brazil* hither. For these Reasons, therefore, I chose to coast along to the Northward, and so to the East; and so thought to come round by the South of *Terra Australis* in my Return back, which should be in the Summer Season there. And this Passage back also I now thought I might possibly be able to shorten, should it appear, at my getting to the East Coast of *New Guinea*, that there is a Chanel coming out into those Seas, as I now suspected, near *Rosemary Island*, unless the high Tides, and great In draught thereabouts, should be occasioned by the Mouth of some large River, which hath often Lowlands on each Side of its Outlet, and many Islands and Shoals lying at its Entrance. But I rather thought it a Chanel, or Streight, than a River; and I was afterwards confirmed in this Opinion, when, by coasting *New Guinea*, I found, that other Parts of this great Track of *Terra Australis*, which had hitherto been represented as the Shore of a Continent, were certainly Islands, and, 'tis probable, the same with *New Holland*; though, for Reasons I shall

afterwards shew, I could not return the Way I proposed to myself to fix the Discovery. All that I had now seen from the 27° South Latitude, to the 25°, which is *Sharks Bay*, and again from thence to *Rosemary Islands*, and about 20° Latitude, seems to be nothing but Ranges of pretty large Islands against the Sea, whatever might be behind them to the Eastward, whether Sea or Land, Continent or Islands. It was now necessary for me to consider what Step to take next; and, after mature Deliberation, I resolved to continue coasting along the Shore to the North Eastward, in order to the further Discovery of the Country. From a full Persuasion, that, at least, in the Latitude of 16° 15', I should not miss of sweet Water, having been there before, and met with it by digging. This Notion was certainly reasonable in itself, and yet Experience shewed it was but indifferently founded; and a very little Accident of this sort became of Consequence among a Crew ready to lay hold of any Opportunity to call their Commander's Knowledge in question, to magnify the Difficulties of the Voyage, and to countenance whatever might seem to support their own favourite, though impracticable, Design of returning Home.

14. Such, I say, were my Thoughts of the Matter; when, *Sept. 5. 1699*, I put to Sea with a gentle Gale; yet was I quickly obliged to change my Design. In a Day's time I perceived, that the Shoals upon the Coast would make it a very difficult, if not impracticable, Thing to sail along the Shore, or to put in where I might incline to do it. I therefore edged farther off to Sea, and so deepened the Water from eleven to thirty-two Fathom. The next Day, being *September 6* we could but just discern the Land, though we had then no more than about thirty Fathom uncertain Soundings; for, even while we were out of Sight of Land, we had once but seven Fathom, and had also great and uncertain Tides, whirling about, that made me afraid to go near a Coast so shallow, where we might be soon aground, and yet have but little Wind to bring us off: For should a Ship be near a Shore, we might be hurled upon it unavoidably by a strong Tide, unless there should be a good Wind to work her off. Thus, also, on the 7th Day, we saw no Land, though our Water decreased again to twenty-six Fathom; for we had deepened it, as I said, to thirty. This Day we saw two Water-snakes, different in Shape from such as we had formerly seen; the one was very small, though long; the other long, and as big as a Man's Leg, having a red Head, which I never saw any have before or since. We had this Day 16° 9' Latitude by Observation: I was by this time, to the North of the Place I thought to have put in at; and though I knew, by the Experience I had of it then, that there was a deep Entrance in thither from the Eastward, yet, by the Shoals I had hitherto found, so far stretched on this Coast, I was afraid we should have the same Trouble to coast along afterwards beyond that Place; and, besides the Danger or running almost continually amongst Shoals on a strange Shore, and where the Tides were strong and high, I began to bethink myself, that a great Part of my time must have been spent in being about a Shore I was already almost weary of, which I might employ with greater Satisfaction to my Mind, and better Hopes of Success, in going forward to *New Guinea*: Add to this, the particular Danger I should have been in upon a Lee-shore, such as is here described, when the North-west Monsoon should once come in, the ordinary Season of which was not now far off, though this Year it staid beyond the common Season; and it comes on storming, at first, with Tornados, violent Gulls, &c. Wherefore, quitting the Thoughts of putting in at *New Holland*, I resolved to steer away for the Island *Timer*; where besides getting fresh Water, I might probably expect to be furnished with Fruits, and other Refreshments, to recruit my Men, who began to droop, some of them being already, to my Grief, afflicted with the Scurvy, which was likely to increase upon them, and disable them, and was promoted by the brackish Water they took in last for boiling their Oatmeal. 'Twas now, also, towards the latter End of the dry Season, when I might not, probably, have found Water so plentifully upon digging at that Part of *New Holland*, as when I was there before: And then, considering the Time also that I must

mult necessarily spend in getting into the Shore, through such Shoals as I expected to meet with, or in going about to avoid them, or in digging of Wells, when I should come thither, I might very well hope to get to *Timor*, and find fresh Water there; as soon as I could expect to get it at *New Holland*, and with less Trouble and Danger. Such were the Reasonings, that conduced to my forming a settled Resolution to bear away immediately for the before-mentioned Island, which I executed without Delay.

15. It was on *September 8.* that we sailed for *Timor*, where I had heard there were both *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Settlements; but whereabouts in the Island, I knew not; and therefore it was the same Thing to me which Side of it I made first. On the 14th, in the Evening, I had Sight of it, but it was the 15th before I attempted to land. The Country appears pleasant enough to the Eye; for the Mountains were covered with Wood, and the adjacent Meadows, were very rich in Grails, though we could discover no Signs of Inhabitants, much less of *European* Plantations. This, and the Wind's blowing again from the South-east, engaged me to try what might be done on the North Side of the Island, where I was sure of having smooth Water, and had a Probability of finding easier Landings; for, on the Side where I was, the Land was so incumbered with Mangroves, that there was no such thing as getting ashore without running great Hazards. On the 18th, about Noon, I altered my Course, and steered back towards the South west End of the Island. In the Evening, we saw the Island of *Retece*, and another Island to the South of that; on both which Islands we discovered Smoak in the Day-time, and Fires in the Night. I was afterwards informed, that the *Portuguese* have Sugar-works upon the Island of *Retece*; but, as I knew nothing of that now, and the Country had not a very promising Aspect, I did not attempt anchoring there, but stood over again to the Coast of *Timor*. On the 21st, in the Morning, being very near that Island, I saw a very large opening, which, from East to West, appeared to be five Leagues in Breadth; into which I entered with my Ship, founding as I went; and, at last, anchored in nine Fathom Water, at the Distance of about a League from the Shore. This appeared to me then as a large Inlet, or Bay, which entered very deep into the Island of *Timor*; but I afterwards found, that it was really a Streight, or Passage, between that and another Island, called *Anamabao*, or *Anabao*. I was led into my Mistake by the Sea Charts, which represent both Sides of the Opening as Parts of the same Coast, making the Whole but one Island, and calling it by the Name of *Timor*. Such Errors as these are frequent, happening sometimes through Accidents, sometimes from Design; and therefore a greater Service cannot be rendered to Navigators in general, than to rectify such Mistakes, and it would be well, if those, who make Maps and Charts, would be careful in perusing Voyages, and not content themselves with barely copying such Draughts as come to hand, by which means they frequently adopt, not only the Mistakes, but the mischievous Designs of others, who, by false Representations, endeavour to conceal what ought to be made known for the public Good.

16. I proposed to have sailed through this Opening to the Main; but I had not sailed far, before the Wind came about to the South-east, and blew so strong, that I could not venture with Safety nearer that Side, because it was a Lee-shore; besides my Boat was on the East Side of the *Timor* Coast; for the other was, as I found afterwards, the *Anabao* Shore; and the great Opening I now was in, was the Streight between that Island and *Timor*, towards which I now tacked, and stood over. Taking up my Boat, therefore, I ran under the *Timor* Side, and anchored at three o'Clock, in 29 Fathom, half a Mile from the Shore. That Port of the South-west Point of *Timor*, where we anchored in the Morning, bore now South by West, Distance three Leagues; and another Point of the Island bore North North east, Distance two Leagues. Not long after, we saw a Sloop coming about the Point last-mentioned with *Dutch* Colours, which I found, by sending my Boat aboard, belonged to a *Dutch* Fort, the only one they have in *Timor*, about five Leagues from hence, called *Concordia*. The Governor of the Fort was in the Sloop, and about thirty

Soldiers with him. He appeared to be somewhat surpris'd at our coming this Way, which, it seems, is a Passage scarce known to any but themselves, as he told the Men I sent to him in my Boat; neither did he seem willing, that we should come near their Fort for Water. He said also, that he did not know of any Water on all that Part of the Island, but only at the Fort; and that the Natives would kill us, if they met us ashore. By the small Arms my Men carried with them in the Boat, they took us to be Pirates, and would not easily believe the Account my Men gave them of what we were, and whence we came. They said, that, about two Years before this, there had been a stout Ship of *French* Pirates here; and that after having been suffered to water, and refresh themselves, and been kindly us'd, they had on a sudden gone among the *Indians*, Subjects of the Fort, and plundered them, and burnt their Houses. And the *Portuguese* here told us afterwards, that those Pirates, whom they also had entertained, had burnt their Houses, and had taken the *Dutch* Fort, (though the *Dutch* cared not to own so much) and had driven the Governor and Factory among the wild *Indians*, their Enemies. The *Dutch* told my Men further, they could not but think we had of several Nations (as is usual with Pirate-vessels) in our Ship, and particularly some *Dutchmen*; though all the Discourie was in *French*, for I had not one who could speak *Dutch*: Or else, since the common Draughts make no Passage between *Timor* and *Anabao*, but laid down both as an Island, they said, they suspected we had plundered some *Dutch* Ship of their particular Draughts, which they are forbid to part with. With these Jealousies, the Sloop returned towards their Fort, and my Boat came back with this News to me. But I was not discouraged at this News, not doubting but I should persuade them better when I should come to talk with them. So the next Morning I weigh'd, and stood towards the Fort: The Winds were somewhat against us, so that we could not go very fast, being obliged to tack two or three times; and, coming near the farther End of the Passage, between *Timor* and *Anabao*, we saw many Houses on each Side, not far from the Sea, and several Boats lying by the Shore. The Land on both Sides is pretty high, appearing very dry, and of a reddish Colour, but highest on the *Timor* Side. The Trees on either Side were but small, the Wood thin; and, in many Places, the Trees very dry and withered.

17. The Island *Anamabao*, or *Anabao*, is not very big, not exceeding ten Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth, yet has two Kingdoms in it; viz. that of *Anamabao* on the East Side towards *Timor*, and the North-east End, and that of *Anabao*, which contains the South-west End, and the West Side of the Island; but I know not wherein they are biggest. The Natives of both are of the *Java* Kind, of a swarthy Copper colour, with black lank Hair. Those of *Anamabao* are in League with the *Dutch*, as they afterwards told me, and with the Natives of the Kingdom of *Cepang*, in *Timor*, over-against them, in which the *Dutch* Fort *Concordia* stands. But they are said to be inveterate Enemies to their Neighbours of *Anabao*. Those of *Anabao*, besides managing their small Plantations of a few Cocoa-trees, fish, Strike Turtle, and hunt Buffaloes, killing them with Swords, Darts, or Lances: But I know not how they get their Iron; I suppose by Traffick with the *Dutch* or *Portuguese*, who send now and then a Sloop, and trade thither, but well-armed; for the Natives would kill them, could they surpris'e them. They go always armed themselves; and, when they go a Fishing or Hunting, they spend four or five Days, or more, in ranging about, before they return to their Habitation. We did not see them after this at these Employments, but they would not come near us. The Fish or Flesh that they take, besides what serves for present spending, they dry on a Barbecue, or wooden Grate, standing pretty high over the Fire, and so carry it home when they return; we came some time afterwards to the Places where they had Meat thus a drying, but did not touch any of it. But, to proceed: I did not think to stop any where till I came to the Fort, which yet I did not see; but, coming to the End of this Passage, I found, that, if I went any farther, I should be open again to the Sea; I therefore stood in to the Shore on the East Side, and anchored in four Fathom

Water, sandy Ground from seeing the Fort for it; and, in a short time, they saw the Boat, and that it was not about being now late, I went next Morning, I met the *Indians*, Neighbours, thence, came to the where they staid all the were armed with Lar much Noise all the N from landing, thoul Notice of them. T the 23d, I sent my Governor, to satisfy the King's Ship, and a young Man with him with the Governor's Queries about me, him, that I had the desired to speak with come ashore; but, a the Stern-threets of th Boat again, and wou solicited him, that he and, at last, the Gove ashore; and sent his a Guard of about ar receive him: My Cl of Water, and hoped Watering place, and he had orders not to *India* Company, neit come the Way that w approach their Fort. we been Enemies, we for Water. But, fa inspect into our Trad therefore he gone wit that I had no such them, would be conten on board, where we la and that I would mak The Governor said, I wanted, I provided we ordered, that, as soo Boat full of empty C off the Fort, till he fill them; for that no The same Afternoon with an Officer, and vernor, which he wor a Ton of Water.

18. After this, I with the same Officer the Governor. But, the Voyage, and de obliged to return hon the Governor, that th Crew, grow uneasy; tained by the Inhabit us every Day Fish an in a Council held upo the Neighbourhood if it was possible, to fi we went in hopes of the Morning, we anch but, being able to there, we sailed from the *Portuguese* Settle coasting, without find next Day I sent my good Watering-place charge; which was went the next Morn necessary Directions. Sailed about twenty f board about thirty T

Water, sandy Ground, a Point of Land still hindering me from seeing the Fort. But I sent my Boat to look out for it; and, in a short time, the returned; and my Men told me, they saw the Fort, but did not come near it, and that it was not above four or five Miles from hence. It being now late, I would not send my Boat thither till the next Morning; mean while, about two or three hundred *Indians*, Neighbours of the Fort, and sent probably from thence, came to the sandy Bay, just against the Ship, where they staid all Night, and made good Fires. They were armed with Lances, Swords, and Targets, and made much Noise all the Night. We thought it was to scare us from landing, should we attempt it; but we took little Notice of them. The next Morning, being *September* the 23^d, I sent my Clerk ashore, in my Pinnace, to the Governor, to satisfy him, that we were *Englishmen*, and in the King's Ship, and to ask Water of him, sending a young Man with him, who spake *French*. My Clerk was with the Governor pretty early; and, in Answer to his Queries about me, and my Business in these Parts, told him, that I had the King of *England's* Commission, and desired to speak with him: He beckoned to my Clerk to come ashore; but, as soon as he saw some small Arms in the Stern-thwarts of the Boat, he commanded him into the Boat again, and would have him be gone: My Clerk solicited him, that he would allow him to speak with him; and, at last, the Governor consented, that he should come ashore; and sent his Lieutenant, and three Merchants, with a Guard of about an hundred of the native *Indians*, to receive him: My Clerk said, that we were in much want of Water, and hoped they would allow us to come to their Watering place, and fill. But the Governor replied, that he had orders not to supply any Ships but their own *East India* Company, neither must they allow any *Europeans* to come the Way that we came, and wondered how we durst approach their Fort. My Clerk answered him, that had we been Enemies, we must have come ashore among them for Water. But, said the Governor, you are come to inspect into our Trade and Strength, and I will have you therefore be gone with all Speed. My Clerk answered him, that I had no such Design; but, without coming nearer them, would be contented, if the Governor would send Water on board, where we lay, about two Leagues from the Fort; and that I would make any reasonable Satisfaction for it. The Governor said, that we should have what Water we wanted, provided we came no nearer with the Ship; and ordered, that, as soon as we pleased, we should send our Boat full of empty Casks, and come to an Anchor with it off the Fort, till he sent Slaves to bring the Casks ashore, and fill them; for that none of our Men must come ashore: The same Afternoon I sent up my Boat, as he had directed, with an Officer, and a Present of some Beer for the Governor, which he would not accept, but sent me off about a Ton of Water.

18. After this, I sent my Boat ashore several times, with the same Officer on board, to transact Matters with the Governor. But, as this Officer had no great mind to the Voyage, and desired nothing so much as to see us obliged to return home, he made such strange Reports of the Governor, that the rest of the Officers, and the Ship's Crew, grew uneasy; so that though we were kindly entertained by the Inhabitants of the other Island, who brought us every Day Fish and Fruits to sell, yet it was resolved, in a Council held upon this Subject, that we should leave the Neighbourhood of the *Dutch* Fort, and endeavour, if it was possible, to find the *Portuguese* Settlements, where we went in hopes of being better treated. On the 27th in the Morning, we anchored in the Middle of *Copang* Bay; but, being able to discover nothing worth mentioning there, we sailed from thence still Northward, in Search of the *Portuguese* Settlements. On the 29th, we continued coasting, without finding any proper Place to land. The next Day I sent my Mate ashore, who discovered a very good Watering place in a Bay where there was safe Anchorage; which was a very acceptable Service; and I went the next Morning on shore, in order to give the necessary Directions. In the Space of three Days, we filled about twenty six Ton of Water, and then had on board about thirty Ton in all. The two following Days

we spent in Fishing with the Sain, and the first Morning caught as many as served all my Ship's Company: But we had not afterward so good Success. The rest of my Men, who could be spared from the Ship, I sent out, with the Carpenter's Mate, to cut Timber for my Boats. These went always attended by three or four armed Men, to secure them. I shewed them what Wood was fitting to cut for our Use, especially the Calabash and Maho: I shewed them also the manner of stripping the Maho-bark, and of making therewith Thread, Twine, Ropes, &c. Others were sent out a Fowling, who brought home Pigeons, Parrots, Cockatoos, &c. I was always with one Party or other myself, especially with the Carpenters, to hasten them to get what they could, that we might be gone from hence. On the 6th of *October* I sailed from this Place; and, on the 12th, arrived safely at the first *Portuguese* Settlement, and was very well received there, the People seeming very willing to do me any Service in their Power. And, afterwards, I stood round again nearer to the *Dutch* Fort of *Concordia*; from whence the Governor sent me a Message, by which all former Mistakes were cleared up, and a good Understanding restored; so that, at the Request of that Gentleman, I went ashore, and dined with him at his Fort; where I found great Plenty of very good Victuals, very well dressed, the Linen white and clean, and all the Plates and Dishes either Silver, or very fine *China*. This, indeed, must be said in Favour of the *Dutch*, that in all their Settlements, every thing is managed with the utmost Decency and Order. After Dinner he shewed me some Drawers full of Shells, of which he had a very curious and well-chosen Collection. He seemed to be highly frank and open; told me, that, as to Naval Stores, it was not in his Power to supply me; but that, for fresh Provisions, or whatever else he could spare, I might be sure of them: For which I thanked him, but made no Use of his Offer; because my Ship lay at a good Distance from the Fort, and I was afraid of trusting my Men so far in the Country, for fear the Natives should attack them. We met with great Plenty of Grain, so that, during all the Time we staid here, very little of our salt Provisions were consumed. We saw almost every Day exceeding black Clouds, and heard it thunder for near a Month in the Mountains, where we likewise saw it rain, but none came near us till about four Days before our Departure: Previous to my Account of which, I shall give an exact Description of the Country.

19. The Island of *Timor* is about seventy Leagues long, and sixteen broad: It lies nearly South-east and South-west. The Middle of it lies in about 9° South Latitude. It has no navigable River, nor any Harbours, but abundance of Bays for Ships to ride in safely enough at some Seasons of the Year. The Shore is very bold, free from Rocks, Islands, or Shoals, excepting a few, which are visible, and therefore easily avoided. It is a pretty even Shore, with sandy Bays, and low Land, for about three or four Miles up into the Country; but, beyond that Space, it is mountainous. There is no Anchoring but within half a League, or a League at farthest, from the Shore; and the low Land, that bounds the Sea, hath nothing but red Mangroves, from the Foot of the Mountains, till you come within 150 or 200 Paces of the Sea; and then you have Sandbanks, covered with a sort of Pine, so that there is no getting Water on this Side because of the Mangroves. At the South west End of *Timor* is a pretty high Island, called *Anabao*. It is about ten or twelve Leagues long, and about four broad; near which the *Dutch* are settled. It lies so near *Timor*, that it is laid down in our Draughts as Part of that Island; yet we found a narrow deep Chanel, fit for any Ships to pass between them. This Chanel is about ten Leagues long, and, in some Places, not above a League wide. It runs North-east and South-west, so deep, that there is no anchoring but very nigh the Shore. There is but little Tide, the Flood setting North, and the Ebb to the Southward. At the North-east End of this Chanel are two Points of Land, not above a League asunder, one on the South Side upon *Timor*, called *Copang*; the other on the North Side, upon the other Island *Anabao*. From this last Point the Land trends away Northerly two or three Leagues, opens to the Sea, and then bends in

into the Westward. Being past these Points, you enter into a Bay about eight Leagues long, and four wide. This Bay turns in, on the South Side, North-east by East from the South Point before-mentioned, making many small Points, or little Coves. About a League to the East of the said South Point, the Dutch have a small Stone Fort, situated on a solid Rock, close by the Sea. This Fort they call *Concordia*. On the East Side of the Fort, there is a small River of fresh Water, which has a broad boarded Bridge over it, near the Entry into the Fort. Beyond this River is a small sandy Bay, where the Boats and Barks land. About an hundred Yards from the Sea-side, and as many from the Fort, and forty Yards from the Bridge on the East Side, the Company, as at most of their Forts, have a fine Garden, surrounded with a good Stone Wall. In it is plenty of all sorts of Sallads, Cabbages, Roots for the Kitchen, and a Parterre. In some Parts of it are Fruit-trees, as Jacas, Pumpionse, Oranges, sweet Lemons, &c. and, by the Walls, are Cocoa-nut and Toddy-trees in great plenty. Besides these, they have Musk and Water-melons, Pine-apples, Pomecitrons, Pomegranates, and other sorts of Fruits. Between this Garden and the River there is a kind of Paddock for Black Cattle, of which they have plenty. Beyond the Company's Ground, the Natives have their Houses, in Number about fifty or sixty. There are forty or fifty Soldiers belonging to this Fort: But I know not how many Guns they have; for I had only Opportunity to see one Bastion, in which they had four Guns. Within the Walls, there is a neat little Church or Chapel. As to the Natives of this Island, or original Indian Inhabitants, they are of a middle Stature, strait-bodied, slender-limbed, long-visaged, their Hair black and lank, their Skin very swarthy. They are very dextrous and nimble, but withal lazy in the highest Degree. They are said to be dull in every thing, but Treachery and Barbarity. Their Houses are but mean, their Cloathing only a small Cloth about their Middle; but some of them, for Ornament, have Frontlets of Mother-of-pearl, or thin Pieces of Silver or Gold, made of an oval Form, of the Breadth of a Crown-piece, curiously notched round the Edges, five of these, placed one by another a little above the Eye-brows, making a sufficient Guard and Ornament for their Forehead. They are so thin, and placed on their Foreheads so artificially, that they seem riveted thereon; and indeed the Pearl oyster-shells make a more splendid Shew, than either Silver or Gold. Others of them have Palmeto-caps, made in divers Forms. As to their Marriages, they take as many Wives as they can maintain; and sometimes they sell their Children to purchase more Wives. I inquired about their Religion, and was told they had none. Their common Subsistence is Indian Corn, which every Man plants for himself. They take but little Pains to clear the Ground; for, in the Day-time, they let Fire to the withered Grass and Shrubs, and that burns them out a clear Plantation against the next wet Season. What other Grain they have, besides Indian Corn, I know not. Their Plantations are very mean; for they delight most in Hunting; And here are wild Bullaloes and Hogs enough, tho' very shy, because of their frequent Hunting. They have a few Boats, and some Fishermen. Their Arms are Lances, thick, round, short Truncheons, and Targets. With these they hunt, and kill their Game; and the same Weapons they use against their Enemies too: For this Island is now divided into many Kingdoms, and all of different Languages, tho' in their Customs and Manner of Living, as well as Shape and Colour, they seem to be originally of one Descent. The chiefest Kingdoms are, *Cupang*, *Anabae*, *Lorribie*, *Pobumbie*, *Namquimal*: The Island also of *Anamabao* or *Anabao* is a Kingdom. Each of these has a Sultan, who is Supreme in his Kingdom, and hath under him several Rajas, and other inferior Officers. The Sultans, for the most part, are Enemies to each other; which Enmities are fomented and kept up by the Dutch, whose Fort and Factory are situated in the Kingdom of *Cupang*; and therefore the Bay, near which they are settled, is commonly called *Cupang Bay*. They have only as much Ground as they can keep within Reach of their Guns; yet this whole Kingdom is at Peace with them, and they freely trade with its Inhabitants, as also with the Islanders on *Anabao*, who are at Peace, as well with the Natives of *Cupang*, as with the Dutch residing there.

But they are implacable Enemies to those of *Anabae*, who are their next Neighbours, and in Amity with the *Portuguese*; as are also the Kingdoms of *Pobumbie*, *Namquimal*, and *Lorribie*. It is very probable, that these two European Settlements on this Island are the greatest Occasion of their continual Wars. The *Portuguese* boast excessively of their Strength here, and that they are able, at Pleasure, to rout out the Dutch, if they had Authority so to do from the King of *Portugal*; and that they often write to the Viceroy of *Goa* about it; and, tho' their Request is not yet granted, nevertheless (as they say) they live in Expectation of it. These have no Forts; but depend on their Alliance with the Natives: And indeed they are already so mixt, that it is hard to distinguish whether they are *Portuguese* or *Indians*. Their Language is *Portuguese*, and the Religion they have is *Romish*. They seem, in Words, to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for their Sovereign; yet they will not accept of any Officers sent by him. They speak indifferently the *Malayan* and their own Country Languages, as well as *Portuguese*; and the chiefest Officers, that I saw, were of this mixt Descent: Neither did I see above three or four white Men among them; and of these two were Priests. Of this mixt Breed there are some Thousands, of whom some have Small-arms of their own, and know how to use them. The chief Person (as I before said) is called Captain-major. He is a white Man, sent thither by the Viceroy of *Goa*, and seems to have great Authority here. I did not see him, for he seldom comes down. His Residence is at a Place called *Porto Novo*, which, the People at *Laphao* told me, was a great Way off; but I could not get any particular Account about it. Some told me, that he is commonly in the Mountains, with an Army of *Indians*, to guard the Passes between them and the *Cupangayans*, especially in the dry Seasons. The next Man to him was *Alexis Mendia*. He is an *Indian*, speaks very good *Portuguese*, and is of the *Romish* Religion. He lives five or six Miles from the Sea, and is called the Lieutenant. He commands next to the Captain-major, and hath under him another at this Fort (on the Sea-side) if it must be so called; for, at best, it is but a Block-house.

20. What I observed of greatest Consequence during my Stay in this Island, was the different State, and still more different Policy, of the European Nations settled here. I mean the Dutch and *Portuguese*: And, I believe, the Account I am about to give of them may pass for a pretty good Description of all their Settlements; by which I mean, that, as their Genius is alike, so its Consequences are pretty near the same in all. The Dutch Fort, as I have observed, is a regular just Fortification, well provided with Artillery and Ammunition, and has a sufficient Number of soldiers to secure them against any Attempts of the Natives. They depend therefore intirely upon themselves, and, by always suspecting, are never deceived. They carry on a very considerable Trade, because they furnish the Natives with a greater Variety, and better Sorts of Goods, than their Rivals in Commerce the *Portuguese*. As for the latter, they have a Block-house or two, but hardly any Guns; and are wretchedly provided with Ammunition. This is owing to the Insolencies of their Government, or, to speak with greater Propriety, to their having no Government at all: for tho' they boast much of being *Portuguese*, yet they pay no Obedience to the Viceroy at *Goa*, who consequently troubles not himself about them, but leaves them to provide military and naval Stores at the worst Hand, that is, to purchase them from the *Chinese*. As they are, in a manner, *Indians* themselves, they trust to their own Strength, and that of the Natives; and, because they can muster ten times as many Men as the Dutch, they fancy themselves much stronger. These crafty Neighbours of theirs never bring this to Trial; but have spirited up the People of *Cupang* against them to such a Degree, that they are continually at War with the *Portuguese*, and never give them any Quarter. This is the Reason that their Captain-major remains always in the Mountains, where, if he did not guard the Passes carefully, the *Portuguese*, notwithstanding their boasted Strength, would soon be driven from the Coast. Not far from the Dutch Fort at *Concordia*, the People of *Cupang* have an Houle, or rather Hovel, built, on purpose to hold *Portuguese* Heads; for, whenever they kill any of their Enemies,

Enemies, hither they there, it was said to be *Portuguese* are threatening the Dutch, without io are taking off their H People already desir'd Merchants from *Mac* coarse or mixed Gold, both wrought and raw as it is here gathered. It is said there are abo hither every Year from a Year from *Goa*, wh Calicoes, and Mullins, that trade from this thence both *European* Vessels generally com umber; and, by this Trade-winds, and obta for their Commodities is very rich and plentiful in great Plenty, and ab ations they have *Indian* ten times as much, if t Bealls innumerable; a that there are Woods t Quantities of Honey Brooks afford a great much Copper; but I Sea is very well stocke remarkable are Cockle feed on Shell-fish, havi in their Throat, with w fish as they feed' poulters of three Sorts; e which are very fat, an resemble a Stone so mu from it: Yet these are fat, and well-tasted, b or four of them will here as big as a Man' enough for a Meal; the Strimps, &c. Here Aliigators, &c. We 1690, and saw, during several small Islands. On the Coast of *New Guin* Land; and, soon after every Side.

21. On *January* some Smoke from th therefore I bore away that a brisk Gale could ing, we anchored in the stance of about two l We remained where t Fires on shore. In th an farther in, thinkin ran within a Mile of t Fathom, good, soir, under Sail, two canoes spoke to us; but we or Signal. We waved t to them in the *Malayan* would not: Yet they d them such Things as w ther would this entice Signs for us to come I went after them in my Beads, Glasses, Hatch Shore, I called to them but two Men at first, t Buthes; but, as soon other Toys, they cam and came into the Wat of Friendship, by pour of Land, which they dip the Afternoon, severa brought many Roots

Enemies, hither they bring his Head; and, when I was there, it was said to be almost full: So that, while the Portuguese are threatening to drive the Dutch out of the Island, the Dutch, without so much as uttering their Resentments, are taking off their Heads as fast as they can. Besides the People already described, there are also here some Chinese Merchants from *Maccao*. They bring hither coarse Rice, coarse or mixed Gold, Tea, Iron-work, Porcelane, and Silk both wrought and raw. They get in Exchange pure Gold, as it is here gathered, Bees-wax, Sandal-wood, and Coire. It is said there are about twenty small Chinese Vessels come hither every Year from *Maccao*, and commonly one Vessel Year from *Goa*, which brings European Commodities, Calicoes, and Muslins. Here are likewise some small Barks, that trade from this Place to *Batavia*, and bring from thence both European and Indian Goods, and Rice. The Vessels generally come hither in *March*, and stay till *September*; and, by this means, secure the Benefit of the Trade-winds, and obtain regular and advantageous Markets for their Commodities. This Country, take it all together, is very rich and plentiful. Fruit-trees they have of all Kinds in great Plenty, and abundance of Timber. In their Plantations they have Indian Corn, and Rice; and might have ten times as much, if they were not so lazy; wild and tame Beasts innumerable; and Fowls in vast Quantities: Besides, that there are Woods swarming with Bees, which make vast Quantities of Honey and Wax. Their Mountains and Brooks afford a great deal of Gold; and they have likewise much Copper; but I do not know where they get it. The Sea is very well stocked with Fish, among which the most remarkable are Cocklemerchants or Oylcrackers. They feed on Shell-fish, having two very hard, thick, black Bones in their Throat, with which they break to Pieces such Shell-fish as they feed upon. As for Shell-fish, they have Oylers of three Sorts; viz. long Oylers, common Oylers, which are very fat, and a third Sort, the Shells of which resemble a Stone so much, as not to be easily distinguished from it: Yet these are the best; for they are very sweet, fat, and well-tasted, being likewise of such Size, that three or four of them will serve for a Dinner. There are Cockles here as big as a Man's Head, of which two or three are enough for a Meal; they are very fat and sweet; Crayfish, Shrimps, &c. Here are also many green Turtles, some Alligators, &c. We sailed from *Timor* on *December* 12. 1690, and saw, during the Remainder of that Month, several small Islands. On New-year's-day, we first discovered the Coast of *New Guiney*, which appeared to be very high Land; and, soon after, we discovered Islands almost on every Side.

21. On *January* 14. 1700, we saw in the Afternoon some Smoke from the Islands lying to the West of us; therefore I bore away towards them, with all the Advantage that a brisk Gale could give me. About seven in the Evening, we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, at the Distance of about two Leagues from a pretty large Island. We remained where we were that Night, and saw many Fires on shore. In the Morning we weighed again, and ran farther in, thinking to have shallower Water; but we ran within a Mile of the Shore, and came to thirty-eight Fathom, good, soft, holding Ground. While we were under Sail, two canoes came off within Call of us. They spoke to us; but we neither understood their Language, or Sign. We waved to them to come on board, and called to them in the *Malayan* Language to do the same; but they would not: Yet they came to nigh us, that we could shew them such Things as we had to truck with them, tho' neither would this entice them to come aboard; but they made Signs for us to come ashore, and away they went. Then I went after them in my Pinnace, carrying with me Knives, Beads, Glasses, Hatchets, &c. When we came near the Shore, I called to them in the *Malayan* Language. I saw but two Men at first, the rest lying in Ambush behind the Bushes; but, as soon as I threw ashore some Knives, and other Toys, they came out, flung down their Weapons, and came into the Water by the Boat's Side, making Signs of Friendship, by pouring Water on their Heads with one Hand, when they dipped into the Sea. The next Day in the Afternoon, several other Canoes came on board, and brought many Roots and Fruits, which we purchased.

This Island has no Name in our Draughts; but the Natives call it *Pulo Sabuda*. It is about three Leagues long, and two Miles wide, more or less. It is of a good Height, so as to be seen eleven or twelve Leagues. It is very rocky; yet, above the Rocks, there is good yellow and black Mould, not deep, tho' producing plenty of good tall Trees, and bearing any Fruits or Roots, which the Inhabitants plant. I do not know all its Produce; but what we saw were, Plantains, Cocos-nuts, Pine-apples, Oranges, Papoes, Potatoes, and other large Roots. Here is also another sort of wild Jackas, about the Bigness of a Man's two Fists, full of Stones or Kernels, which eat pleasant enough when roasted. The Libby-tree grows here in the swampy Valleys, of which they make Sago-cakes. I did not see them make any; but was told by the Inhabitants, that it was made of the Pith of the Tree, in the same manner I have before described. They shewed me the Tree whereof it was, and I bought about forty of the Cakes. I bought also three or four Nutmegs in the Shell, which did not seem to have been long gathered; but, whether they be the Growth of this Island, or not, I can't say; for the Natives would not tell whence they had them, and seemed to prize them very much. What Beasts this Island affords, I know not; but here are both Sea and Land-fowl: Of the first, Boobies and Men-of-war-birds are the chief; some Golden and milk white Crab-catchers. The Land-fowls are, Pigeons, about the Bigness of Mountain-pigeons in *Jamaica*, and grow about the Size of those in *England*, and much like them; but the inner Part of their Feathers is white, and the Outside black; so that they appear all black, unless you extend the Feathers. Here are large Sky-coloured Birds, such as we killed at *New Guiney*, and many other small Birds unknown to us. Here is likewise abundance of Bats, as big as your Ratons, their Necks, Heads, Ears, and Noses, like Foxes; tho' their Hair rough; that about their Necks is of a whitish-yellow, that on their Heads and Shoulders black. Their Wings are four Feet over from Tip to Tip. They smell like Foxes. The Fish are Bala, Rock-fish, and a sort of Fish like Mulletts, Old-wives, Whiprays, and some other sorts, that I know not; but no great Plenty of any: For it is deep Water till within less than a Mile of the Shore; then there is a Bank of Coral-rocks, within which you have shole Water, white clean Sand; so there is no good Fishing amongst these. This Island lies in $2^{\circ} 43'$ South Latitude, and its meridian Distance from *Port Babao* on the Island of *Timor* is 486 Miles. Besides this Island, here are nine or ten other small Islands, as they are laid down in the Draughts. The Inhabitants of this Island are a sort of very tawny Indians, with long black Hair, who, in their Manners, differ but little from the *Mindanayans*, and others of these Eastern Islands. These seem to be the chief; for, besides them, we saw also curled *New Guiney* Negroes, many of which are Slaves to the others, but, I think, not all. They are very poor; wear no Cloaths; but have a Clout about their Middle, made of the Rinds of the Tops of Palmeto-trees; but the Women have a sort of Calico-cloths. Their chief Ornaments are blue and yellow Beads worn about their Wrists. The Men arm themselves with Bows and Arrows, Lances, Broad-swords, like those of *Mindanao*. Their Lances are pointed with Bone. They strike Fish very ingeniously with wooden Fish giggs, and have a very dextrous Way of making the Fish rise; for they have a Piece of Wood curiously carved and painted, much like a Dolphin (and perhaps other Figures). These they let down into the Water by a Line, and a small Weight to sink it. When they think it low enough, they hale the Line into their Boats very fast; and, the Fish rising up after this Figure, they stand ready to strike them when they are near the Surface of the Water. But their chief Livelihood is from their Plantations; yet they have large Boats, and go over to *New Guiney*, where they get Slaves, fine Parrots, &c. which they carry to *Ceram*, and exchange for Calicoes. One Boat came from thence a little before I arrived here, of whom I bought some Parrots, and would have bought a Slave; but they would not barter for any thing, except Calicoes, which I did not chuse. Their Houses on this Side were very small, and seemed only to be for Necessity; but, on the other Side of the Island, we saw good large Houses. Their Proes are narrow, with Outliers on each Side, and

other *Malayans*. I cannot tell of what Religion these are; but I think they are not *Mohammedans*, by their drinking Brandy out of the same Cup with us, without any Scruple. At this Island we continued till the 20th Instant, having laid in Store of such Roots and Fruits as the Island afforded. On the 20th, at half an Hour after six in the Morning, I weighed; and, standing out, we saw a large Boat full of Men, lying at the North Point of the Island. As we passed by, they rowed towards their Habitations, where we supposed they had withdrawn themselves, for fear of us, (tho' we gave them no Cause of Terror) or for some Differences among themselves; which of the two, was out of our Power to determine, tho' the former, however unreasonable, seemed to us the most probable; and their future Conduct confirmed us in that Opinion.

20. After we left this Coast, where we found it impossible to do any thing, in regard either to Discoveries or Trade, we passed by many small Islands, and through many dangerous Shoals, without meeting with any thing remarkable; till, on February 4, we found ourselves off the North-west Cape of *New Guinea*, which is called by the *Dutch* *Cape Mala*. There lies off this Cape a small woody Island, which I sent my Boat to examine, intending to have anchored near it; and as they brought me, at their Return, a Cockle of a prodigious Size, and reported that they had seen many more that were still bigger, I thought fit to call this *Cockle* Island. The next Day in the Afternoon, I sent both Boats thither, one to cut Wood, and the other to fish; which Boats, at their Return, brought me several Cockles of ten Pounds Weight; but, as it was High-water, they were not able to get any of the very large ones; for the Shells they brought the Day before weighed 78 lb. In the Afternoon, I went myself ashore on another Island, where I found more Pigeons than I had ever observed before, though all these Islands abound with that sort of Fowl. Here also were such Plenty of Cockles, that, in an Hour's time, we could have loaded the Boat with them. This Place I called *Pigeon* Island; and, on the 7th in the Afternoon, my Men brought me from thence one empty Cockle-shell, weighing 258 lb. The same Evening, we anchored near a very pleasant Island, about two Leagues and an half in Length; the Country high, and exceeding well clothed with Wood: The Trees of them were of several Sorts, most of them unknown to us, but all of them green and flourishing; many of them bore Flowers of different Colours, some white, some purple, some yellow, all exceedingly fragrant, so as to be smelt at a considerable Distance. These Trees were, generally speaking, tall and straight, and one in particular of a clean, smooth Body, without Knot or Limb, between sixty and seventy Feet high, and three Fathoms about. The Soil of the Island is black, but not deep. On this Island I went ashore the next Morning, drank his Majesty's Health, and called it *King William's Island*. On the 9th, being to the Eastward of *King William's Island*, we plied all the Day between the Main and several other Islands, having the Wind Easterly, and fair Weather; but it soon altered, and we had a great deal of Rain. On the 14th, we found ourselves about six Leagues from the Continent of *New Guinea*, which appeared very high; and we saw two Head-lands, at about twenty Leagues distant from each other, the one East, the other West; the last is called the *Cape of Good Hope*: The Variation of the Compass here was 4° to the East. On the 17th, we saw an uninhabited Island, to which I gave the Name of *Providence*, which lies at no great Distance from another small Island mentioned in the *Dutch* Charts, by the Name of *William Scuten's Island*.

22. We crossed the Line on the 16th, and found the Variation 6° 26' to the East; but, in a few Days, the Variation increased to very near 9°. We saw, on the 23d in the Afternoon, two Snakes; and, the next Morning, another passing by us, which was vigorously attacked by two Fishes, that had kept us Company five or six Days: They were shaped like Mackrel, and were about their Bigness and Length, and of a yellow Colour, inclined to green. The Snake swam away from them very fast, keeping his Head above Water: One Fish snapt at his Tail; but, when he turned himself, the Fish would withdraw, and the other would snapt; so that, by turns, they kept him

employed; yet he still defended himself, and swam away a great Pace, till they were all out of Sight. The 25th, betimes in the Morning, we saw an Island to the Southward of us, at about fifteen Leagues Distance: We bore away for it, supposing it to be that which the *Dutch* called *Wybar's Island*; but, finding it another Place, I called it *Matthias*, it being that Saint's Day. This Island is about nine or ten Leagues long, mountainous, and woody, with many Savannas, and some Spots of Land, which seemed to be cleared. At eight in the Evening we lay by, intending, if we could, to anchor under *Matthias* Isle: But, the next Morning, seeing another Island about seven or eight Leagues to the Eastward of it, we steered away for it: At Noon, we came up fair with its South-west End, intending to run along by it, and anchor on the South-east Side; but the Tornadoes came in so thick, that I could not venture in. This Island is pretty low and plain, and clothed with Wood. The Trees were very green, and appeared to be large and tall, as thick as they could stand one by another. It is about two or three Leagues long; and, at the South-west Point, there is another low, small, woody Island, about a Mile round, and about a Mile from the other. Between them there runs a Riff of Rocks, which joins them; the biggest of these I called *Squaly* Island, on account of the tempestuous Weather we met with upon its Coasts. The Desire of making Discoveries obliges a Man to lay hold of every Circumstance that is in the least promising, and to neglect nothing that may gain him a tolerable Acquaintance with the Coasts he visits. Subsequent Voyages may easily discover great seeming Errors in such a Man's Conduct; but impartial Judges will be always ready to allow, that it is one thing to attempt, and another to prosecute Discoveries. He who engages in the former, actually steers in the dark, and moves without Guide or Information; whereas the latter follows the Lights which the other had struck out, and not only improves the Effects of his Sagacity, but acquires Wisdom also by attending to his Mistakes. Yet the Pleasure of the Discovery is certainly more quick and lively, than that of any critical Inquirer into the Conduct of his Voyage. In this Expedition, however, the Discoveries were not great enough to excite Envy; and yet, possibly, they may deserve Attention and Prosecution; since, though the Countries were not rich which we saw, yet they were pleasant, and appeared extremely capable of Improvement. It is also to be observed, that we visited the Outskirts only of the Country; and, by the Fringes of a Carpet, it is very hard to judge of the whole Piece. In order to conquer this Difficulty, and, at the same time, to rid ourselves of the Dangers and Distresses we continually experienced in steering among these Islands, we resolved to bear away for the Continent, in hopes of indemnifying ourselves for the Sufferings and Disappointments we had hitherto met with on the Coast of *New Guinea*.

24. The Continent appeared high and mountainous, adorned with flourishing Trees. The Sides of the Hills had many large Plantations, and Pieces of cleared Land, which, together with the Smokes we saw, are certain Signs of its being well inhabited; and I was desirous of entering into Commerce with the Inhabitants: Being nigh the Shore, we saw first one Proc; a little after two, or three more, and, at last, a great many Boats came from all the adjacent Bays: When they were forty-six in Number, they approached so near us, that we could see each others Signs, and hear each other speak, though we could not understand them, nor they us. They made Signs for us to go in towards the Shore, pointing that Way: It was equally Weather, which at first made me cautious of going too near; but the Weather beginning to look pretty clear, I endeavoured to get into a Bay a-head of us, which we could have got into well enough at first; but, while we lay by, we were driven so far to Leeward, that now it was more difficult to get in. The Natives lay in their Procs round us, to whom I shewed Beads, Knives, and Glasses, to allure them to come nearer; but they would not come so nigh, as to receive any thing from us: Therefore I threw out some Things to them, viz. a Knife fastened to a Piece of Board, and a Glass Bottle corked up with some Beads in it, which they took up, and seemed well pleased. They

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often struck their Left Breast with their Right Hand, and as often held up a black Truncheon over their Heads, which we took for a Token of Friendship; wherefore we did the like; and, when we stood in towards their Shore, they seemed to rejoice; but, when we stood off, they frowned; yet kept us Company in their Proes, still pointing to the Shore. About five o' Clock we got within the Mouth of the Bay, and founded several times, but had no Ground, no' within a Mile of the Shore. The Haven of this Bay was above two Miles within us, into which we might have gone; but, as I was not sure of Anchorage there, so I thought it not Prudence to run in at this Time, it being near Night, and seeing a black Tornado rising in the West, which I must feared, besides, we had near 200 Men in Proes close by us, and the Bays, on the Shore, were lined with Men from one End to the other, where there could not be less than three or four hundred more. What Weapons they had, we knew not, nor yet their Design; therefore I had, at their first coming near us, got up all our small Arms, and made several put-on Cartouch-boxes to secure us from Treachery. At last I resolved to go out again, which when the Natives in their Proes perceived, they began to sling Stones at us as fast as they could, being provided with Engines for that Purpose; and therefore I named this Place *Slingers Bay*: But at the Firing of a single Gun they were all amazed, drew off, and slung no more Stones, they got together, as if consulting what to do; for they did not make in towards the Shore, but lay still, though some of them were killed or wounded, and many more of them had paid for their Boldness, but that I was unwilling to cut off many of them, which if I had done, I could not hope afterwards to bring them to treat with me. The next Day, we sailed close by an Island, where we saw many Smokes, and Men in the Bays, out of which came two or three Canoes, taking much Pain to overtake us, but they could not, though we went with an easy Sail, and I could not now stay for them. As I passed by the South-east Point, I founded several times, within a Mile of the sandy Bays, but had no Ground. About three Leagues to the Northward of the South-east Point, we opened a large deep Bay, secured from West North-west and South-west Winds: There were two other Islands that lay to the North-east of it, which secured the Bay from North-east Winds; one was but small, yet woody; the other was a League long, inhabited, and full of Cocoa-nut-trees. I endeavoured to get into this Bay, but there came such Haves from the high Land over it, that I could not; and, Night coming on, I would not run any Hazard, but bare away to the small inhabited Island, to see if we could anchor on the East Side of it: When we came thither, we found the Island so narrow, that there could be no Shelter; therefore I tracked, and stood towards the greater Island again; and, being more than midway between both, I lay by. Between seven and eight at Night, we saw a Canoe close by us; and, seeing no more, suffered her to come aboard; she had three Men in her, who brought off five Cocoa-nuts, for which I gave each of them a Knife, and a String of Beads, to encourage them to come off again in the Morning; but, before these went away, we saw two more Canoes coming; therefore we stood away to the Northward from them, and then lay by again till Day. We saw no more Boats this Night, neither designed to suffer any more to come aboard in the Dark. By nine a Clock the next Morning, we were got within a League of the great Island, but were kept off by violent Gulls of Wind.

On March 3, being about five Leagues to Leeward of the great Island, we saw the Main-land ahead, and another great high Island to the Leeward of us, Distance about five Leagues, for which we bare away; it is called in the Dutch Draughts *Garrat Dennis* Ile. It is about fourteen or fifteen Leagues round, high, and mountainous, and very woody. Some Trees appeared very large and tall, and the Bay, by the Sea-side, abounded with very large Cocoa-nut trees; where we also saw some small Houses. The Sides of the Mountains are thick-set with Plantations; and the Mould, in the new cleared Land, seemed to be of a brown-reddish Colour. This Island is full of Points, shoot out to the Sea; between which are many sandy Bayes, full of Cocoa-nut trees. The Middle of the Island lies

in 3^d 10' South Latitude; it is very populous; the Natives are very black, strong, and well-limbed People, having round Heads, their Hair curled and short, which they thave into several Forms, and dye it also of divers Colours, viz. Red, White, and Yellow. They have round Faces, with broad Bottle-noses, yet agreeable enough, till they disfigure them by Painting, and by wearing great Rings through their Noses, as big as a Man's Thumb, and about four Inches long; these are run quite through both Nostrils, one End running out by one Cheek-bone, and the other End against the other, and their Noses so stretched, that only a small Slip of them appears about the Ornament: They have also great Holes in their Ears, wherein they wear such Stuff as in their Noses. They are very dextrous, active Fellows in their Proes, which are very ingeniously built: They are narrow and long, with Outlayers on one Side; the Head and Stern higher than the rest, and adorned with many Devices, viz. some Fowl, Fish, or a Man's Hand painted or carved; and though it is but rudely, yet the Resemblance appears plainly, and shews an ingenious Fancy: But with what Instruments they make their Proes, or this kind of carved Work, I know not; for they seem to be utterly unacquainted with Iron: They had very neat Paddles, with which they manage their Proes dextrously, and make great Way through the Water. Their Weapons are Lances, Swords, Sings, and some Bows and Arrows: They have also wooden *Fligigs* for striking Fish. Those that came to assault us in *Slingers Bay*, on the Main, are in all respects like these; and, I believe, these are no less treacherous: Their Speech is clear and distinct; the Words they used most when near us, were *Tacouje Alamato*; and then they pointed to the Shore: Their Signs of Friendship are either a great Truncheon, or Bough of a Tree, full of Leaves, put on their Heads, often striking their Heads with their Hands.

26. The next Day, we had a pleasant Gale of Wind, which carried us under an high Island, very woody, and full of Plantations on the Declents of its Mountains, and on the Shores of its Bays. This Island lies in the Latitude of 3^d 25' South, and is distant from the Meridian of Cape *Mabo* 310 Miles. On the South-east Part of it are three or four more small woody Islands, one high and peaked, the other low and flat, all thick-planted with Cocoa-nut-trees, and other Wood. On the North, there is another Island of an indifferent Height, and of a somewhat larger Circumference than the great high Island last-mentioned. We passed between this and the high Island; the high Island is called in the Dutch Draughts *Anthony Cave's* Island; as for the flat low Island, and the other small one, it is probable they were never seen by the Dutch, nor the Islands to the North of *Garrat Dennis's* Island. As soon as we came near *Cave's* Island, some Canoes came about us, and made Signs for us to come ashore, as all the rest had done before, probably thinking we could run the Ship a-ground any where, as they did their Proes; for we saw neither Sail nor Anchor amongst any of them, though most *East Indians* have both: Those had Proes made of one Tree, well dug, with Outlayers on one Side; they were but small, yet well shaped. We endeavoured to anchor, but found no Ground within a Mile of the Shore; we kept close along the North Side, still founding till we came to the North-east End, the Canoes still accompanying us, and the Bays were covered with Men going along; as we sailed, many of them strove to swim off to us, but we left them a Stern. The Current now driving in towards the flat Island, we were followed by a Canoe from *Cave's* Island: To each of those in it I gave a Knife, a Looking glass, and a String of Beads. We shewed them Pumpions and Cocoa-nuts, intimating, that we should be very well pleased to have more of them, which instantly produced three out of their Boat. We next shewed them Nutmegs; and they, by their Signs, gave us to understand, that they had such growing on their Island. They were likewise shewed Gold-dust, which they knew, and cried out, *Manneel! Manneel!* pointing towards the Land. Soon after they were gone, two or three Canoes came from the flat Island, and invited us thither. These People were black, with frizzled Hair, tall, lusty, well-shaped Men; they made the same Signs of Friendship, and seemed to speak the same Language. Their Canoes

were very neatly made, and finely carved, with the Figures of various kinds of Fish upon them; and, of all the *Indians* we had ever seen, these seem'd the most tractable and polite.

27. We soon after saw another Island, called in the *Dutch* Maps *St. John's*; the People of which spoke the same Language with those of *Cape's* Island. We saw from hence an Head-land to the South of us, beyond which we could discover no Land at all; whence I suppose, that from thence the Land trends away more Westerly. This Head-land lies in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 2'$ South, and its Meridian Distance from *Cape Mabou* is 1290 Miles; in the Night we lay by, for fear of overshooting this Head-land; between which and *Cape St. Mary's*, the Land is mountainous and woody, having many Points of Land shooting out into the Sea, which make so many fine Bays. The Coast lies North North-east and South South-west. We saw neither Smokes nor Plantations near this Head-land, which we opened fur by Night; and, as no *Dutch* Charts described this Coast so far by ten Leagues, I called it *Cape St. George*. It lies in $5^{\circ} 5'$ South Latitude, and, as I said, is distant from the Meridian of *Cape Mabou* 1290 Miles. I likewise called the Bay, formed by this Mountain, *St. George's* Bay, and the Island before it *St. George's* Island. The next Morning we saw a burning Mountain up in the Country. The Day after, we pass'd by the South-west Cape of this Bay, leaving it to the North of us; and, when we came a-breadth of it, I called up my Officers, and named it *Cape Orford*, in Honour of my noble Patron *Edward Russell*, Earl of *Orford*. This Cape lies in $5^{\circ} 24'$ South Latitude, and 44 Miles West from the Meridian of *Cape St. George*. The Land on each Side of the Cape is more Savanna than Wood-land; and it is highest on the North-west Side. The Cape itself is a Bluff-point, of an indifferent Height, with a flat Table land at Top. When we were to the West of the Cape, it appear'd to be a low Point, shooting out: There were many Inhabitants about it. We steer'd along South-west as the Land lies, keeping about six Leagues off the Shore, and being desirous to cut Wood, and fill Water: If I saw any Convenience, I lay by in the Night, because I would not miss any Place proper for those Ends, for fear of wanting such Necessaries. This Coast is high and mountainous, and not so thick set with Trees as that on the other Side of *Cape Orford*, but otherwise pleasant enough. I could have wish'd for some more favourable Opportunities than had hitherto offer'd themselves, as well for penetrating into the Heart of the new discovered Country, as for opening a Trade with its Inhabitants, both of which, I very well knew, could they be brought about, must prove extremely beneficial to *Great Britain*. For this Reason I continu'd my Endeavours in spite of to many Disappointments; and, perceiving my Officers and Men more tractable and obedient than formerly, resolv'd to examine the Continent we had now in View, as minutely as we had lately done the Islands; the Fruits of which Inquiry, such as they were, shall be laid before the Reader with the same Truth and Sincerity, which, I hope, appear conspicuously in the former Part of this Relation; for, tho' Discoveries be not in a Man's Power, yet a candid Relation of his Attempts, which is, may afford Lights to others, and thereby procure them that Success, of which he failed.

28. On *March* 14. we had Sight of a pretty deep Bay, with some Islands about it, in which I judg'd we might ride pretty secure, and meet also with some Refreshments; for, by the Smokes we saw, it was very evident, that the Country was full inhabited: About 10. we saw a Point, which ran pretty far out into the Sea, and a Bay within, where we were in hopes of meeting with fresh Water; and our Hopes were greatly increased, when, going with a moderate Gale into the Bay, we discern'd all the Marks of a well cultivated Country, viz. Cocoa trees, regular Plantations, and a considerable Number of Houses. When I came within four or five Miles of the Shore, six small Boats came off to view us, with about forty Men in them. Perceiving that they would not come aboard, I made Signs to them to go ashore; but they did not, or would not, understand me: Therefore I whistled a Shot over their Heads out of my Downing piece, and then they pulled away for the Shore as hard as they could. There were no longer

ashore, but we saw three Boats coming from the Island to Leeward of us; and they soon came within Call, for we lay becalm'd; one had about forty Men in her, and was a large well-built Boat; the other two were but small. Not long after, I saw another Boat coming out of that Bay, where I intended to go: She likewise was a large Boat, with a high Head and Stern, painted, and full of Men. This, I thought, came off to fight us, as probably they all did; therefore I fired another small Shot over the great Boat that was nigh us, which made them take to their Paddles. We still lay becalm'd; and therefore they, rowing wide of us, direct'd their Course towards the other great Boat that was coming off. When they were pretty near each other, I caus'd the Gunner to fire a Gun between, which he did very dextrously; it was laden with round and Partridge-shot; the last dropt in the Water somewhat short of them, but the round Shot went between two Boats, and grazed about 100 Yards beyond them: This so frightened them, that they both row'd away for the Shore as fast as they could, without coming near each other; and the little Boats made the best of their Way after them; and now, having a gentle Breeze at South South east, we bore into the Bay after them. When we came by the Point, I saw a great Number of Men peeping from under the Rocks. I order'd a Shot to be fired to scare them: The Shot grazed between us and the Point; and, mounting again, flew over the Point, and grazed a second time just by them. We were oblig'd to sail along just by the Bay; and, seeing Multitudes under the Trees, I order'd a third Gun to be fired among the Cocoa-nut-trees to scare them, for my Business being to wood and water, I thought necessary to strike some Terror into the Inhabitants, who were very numerous, and, I had Reason to fear, treacherous. After this I sent my Boat to land; they had first forty, and at last twenty Fathom Water: We follow'd the Boat, and came to Anchor about a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore, in twenty-six Fathom Water, fine black Sand and Ouse. We rode right against the Mouth of a small River, where I hop'd to find fresh Water. Some of the Natives standing upon a small Point at the River's Mouth, I sent a small Boat over their Heads to fright them, which it did effectually. In the Afternoon, I sent my Boat ashore to the Natives, who stood upon the Point by the River's Mouth; with a Pretence of Cocoa nuts: When the Boat was come near the Shore, they came running into the Water, and put their Nuts into the Boat: Then I made a signal for the Boat to come aboard, and sent both it and the Yawl into the River to look for fresh Water; ordering the Pinnace to lie near the River's Mouth, while the Yawl went up to search. In an Hour's time, they returned aboard with Barrecoes full of fresh Water, which they had taken about half a Mile up the River: After which, I sent them again with Casks; ordering one to fill Water, and the other to watch the Motions of the Natives, lest they should make any Opposition; but they did not, and so the Boats returned a little before Sun-set with a Ton and a half of Water; and the next Day, by Noon, brought aboard about six Tons of Water.

29. I sent ashore Commodities to purchase Hoggs Yams, and other Roots. But my Men returned without any thing, the Natives being unwilling to trade with us, yet they admir'd our Hatchets and Axes, but would part with nothing but Cocoa-nuts, which they chubb'd for us; and, so soon as they gave them our Men, they beckoned to them to be gone, for they were afraid of us. The 18th, I sent both Boats again for Water, and, before Noon, they fill'd all my Casks. In the Afternoon I sent them to cut Wood; but, seeing about forty Natives standing upon the Bay, at a small Distance from our Men, I made a Signal for them to come aboard again, which they did, and brought me Word, that the Men were passing the Way, but were afraid to come nigh them. At about 10 o'Clock I sent both the Boats again for Wood, and they returned in the Evening. Then I call'd my Officers to confer, whether it were convenient to stay here longer, and endeavour a better Acquaintance with these People. They all gave their Opinions for staying longer here. So the next Day I sent both Boats ashore to fish, and to get more Wood. While they were ashore, about thirty of

forty Men and Women of our People at first Friendship, pass'd quite fine with Feathers about Hands; the Women cover their Nakedness, and behind, stuck under Waists; they carried Yams. And I have observed I have known, that I Burdens, while the Madder Load than their Boats ashore for Wood Natives Houses, found used to be, had taken Signs to them, to know and other Things. The Bottom of the Boat Creatures, signified, the Sizes, which they exempt several Distances from

30. At Night our Boat next Morning I went River, to the Water's Trifles as I thought me merce with us: But but two Men and a Boy was persuas'd to come gave him a Knife, a Stone the Fellow call'd out to lage hard by; and sign but he never return'd me, and march'd to mean, and their Doors bitans being all withdr their Villages, and, fir Inhabitants, I brought Recompence for thole were coming away, we them the Things that them, Correas, Correas, those Things, because had promised by their Correas. While I was Yawl fill'd two Hoggs recors. In the Aftern my Officers and Men wher the Hogs were f it, tearing they would At last I contented, ashore with me in the Charge to act cautiously I sent them to, was ab soon as they were go there was Occasion, I Guns. When they ca shaking their Lances, were to daring, as to w in one Hand, and a La up such Commodities for the Natives waver could not be prevail'd have some Provision an fare them away; whi but two or three, who the boldest of them dre shot in the Arm. He, our Bullets, but none to fright than hurt the abundance of tame H They shot none, which little time; for, in lets the ship, it began to could into the Boats; away, it rained. By the Hogs taken us, to make another Trip t live in the Evening, an

forty Men and Women pass'd by; they were a little afraid of our People at first, but, upon their making Signs of Friendship, pass'd quietly; the Men were dress'd very fine with Feathers about their Heads, and Lances in their Hands; the Women had no Ornament, or any thing to cover their Nakedness, but a Bunch of green Boughs before and behind, stuck under a String, which came round their Waists; they carried large Baskets on their Heads full of Yams. And I have observ'd, among all the wild Nations I have known, that they make the Women carry the Burdens, while the Men walk before without carrying any other Load than their Arms. In the Afternoon I sent the Boats ashore for Wood. Some of our Men going to the Natives Houses, found they were now more shy than they used to be, had taken down all the Cocoa-nuts from the Trees, and driven away their Hogs: Our People made Signs to them, to know what was become of their Hogs, and other Things. The Natives, pointing to some Houses at the Bottom of the Bay, and imitating the Noise of those Creatures, signified, there were Hogs and Goats of several Sizes, which they express'd by holding out their Hands at several Distances from the Ground.

30. At Night our Boats came aboard with Wood; and next Morning I went myself, with both Boats, up the River, to the Watering-place, carrying with me such Trifles as I thought most proper to induce them to a Commerce with us: But I found they were very shy. I saw but two Men and a Boy: One of the Men, by some Signs, was perswaded to come to the Boat's Side where I was: I gave him a Knife, a String of Beads, and a Glass-bottle; the Fellow call'd out *Cocoas*, *Cocoas*, pointing to a Village hard by; and signified, that he would go for some; but he never return'd. I took eight or nine Men with me, and march'd to their Houses, which I found very mean, and their Doors made fast with Withes, the Inhabitants being all withdrawn out of Fear. I visit'd three of their Villages, and, finding the Houses abandoned by the Inhabitants, I brought out some small Fishing-nets, in Recompence for those Things they had of us. As we were coming away, we saw two of the Natives; I shew'd them the Things that we carried with us; and call'd to them, *Cocoas*, *Cocoas*, to let them know, that I took those Things, because they had not made good what they had promis'd by their Signs, and by their calling out *Cocoas*. While I was thus employ'd, the Men in the Yawl fill'd two Hogsheds with Water, and all the Barrecoos. In the Afternoon I came aboard, and found all my Officers and Men very importunate to go to that Bay where the Hogs were said to be. I was loth to yield to it, fearing they would deal too roughly with the Natives. At last I consented, sending those Commodities I had ashore with me in the Morning, and giving them a strict Charge to act cautiously for their own Security. The Bay lent them to, was about two Miles from the Ship. As soon as they were gone, I got all things ready, that, if there was Occasion, I might assist them with my great Guns. When they came to land, the Natives appear'd, shaking their Lances, and threatening them; and some were to charge, as to wade into the Sea, holding a Target in one Hand, and a Lance in the other. Our Men held up such Commodities as I had lent, but to no Purpose; for the Natives wav'd them off. Seeing therefore they could not be prevail'd upon, my Men, being resolv'd to have some Provision among them, fired some Musquets to scare them away; which had the desired Effect upon all but two or three, who stood still in a menacing Posture, till the boldest of them dropt his Target, and ran away, being shot in the Arm. He, and some others, felt the Smart of our Bullets, but none were killed, our Design being rather to fright than hurt them. Our Men landed, and found abundance of tame Hogs running amongst the Houses. They shot one, which they brought away. They had but little time; for, in less than an Hour after they went from the ship, it began to rain: Therefore they got what they could into the Boats; for I had charg'd them to come away, if it rained. By that time the Boat was aboard, and the Hogs taken in, it cleared up, and my Men desired to make another Trip thither before Night: This was about five in the Evening, and I consented, giving them Order

to repair on board before Night. In the Close of the Evening they return'd with eight Hogs more, and a little live Pig; and, by this time, the other Hogs were jerk'd and salted. These that came last, we only dress'd and corn'd till Morning, and then sent both Boats ashore for more Refreshments, either of Hogs or Roots; but, in the Night, the Natives had convey'd away their Provisions of all Sorts. Many of them were now about the Houses, and none offer'd to hinder our Boats landing; but, on the contrary, were so amicable, that one Man brought ten or twelve Cocoa-nuts, left them on the Shore, after he had stew'd them to our Men, and went out of Sight. Our People, finding nothing but Nets and Images, brought them away; these two of my Men brought in a small Canoe; and, presently after, my Boats came off. I order'd the Boatwin to take care of the Nets; the Images I took into my own Custody.

31. I sent the Canoe in the Afternoon to the Place from whence they brought her, and in her two Axes, two Hatchets, (one of the helved) six Knives, six Looking-glasses, a large Bunch of Beads, and four Glass-bottles. Our Men drew the Canoe ashore, plac'd the Things to the best Advantage in her, and came off in the Pinnace I sent to guard them: And now, being well-stock'd with Wood, and all my Water-casks full, I resolv'd to sail the next Morning. All the time of our Stay here we had very fair Weather, only a Shower of Rain sometimes in the Afternoon, which last'd not above an Hour at most; also some Thunder and Lightning, with very little Wind. We had Sea and Land-breezes, the former between the South South east, and the latter from North-east to North-west. This Place I nam'd *Port Mountague*, in Honour of my noble Patron. It lies in 60° 10' South Latitude, and meridian Distance from Cape *St. George* 151 Miles West. The Country thereabouts is mountainous and woody, full of rich Valleys, and pleasant fresh-water Brooks: The Mould in the Valley is deep and yellowish, that on the Side of the Hill of a very brown Colour, and not very deep, but rocky underneath, yet excellent planting Land. The Trees, in general, are neither very strait, thick, nor tall; yet appear green and pleatant enough; some of them bore Flowers, some Berries, and others big Fruits, but all unknown to any of us. Cocoa-nut-trees thrive very well here, as well on the Bays by the Sea-side, as more remote among the Plantations; the Nuts are of an indifferent Size; the Milk and Kernel very thick and pleatant. Here is Ginger, Yams, and other very good Roots for the Pot, that our Men saw and tast'd. What other Fruits or Roots the Country affords, I know not. Here are Hogs and Dogs; other Land-animals they saw none. The Fowls we saw, and knew, were Pigeons, Parrots, Cockadores and Crows, like those in *England*, a sort of Birds about the Bigness of a Black-bird, and smaller Birds many. The Sea and Rivers have Plenty of Fish; we saw abundance, though we catch'd but few; and these were Cavellies, Yellow-tails, and Whuprays.

32. We sail'd *March* 22. On the 24th in the Evening, about ten o'Clock, I was call'd out of my Cabin, where I then lay much indispos'd, to see what the Ship's Crew call'd a Miracle: On the North-west by West there appear'd a large Pillar of Fire, shooting gradually for three or four Minutes: then sinking in the same time, till it was scarce visible; then rising again, and blazing as before. I knew it immediately to be a Vulcano, or burning Mountain, and steer'd for it accordingly. On the 25th of the same Month in the Evening, we found ourselves within three Leagues of the Island, in which this burning Mountain was, and about two Leagues from the Continent. There was a good Chanel to pass between them; and I kept nearer the Main than the Island. About seven in the Evening I found-ed, and had fifty-two Fathom, fine Sand and Oute. I stood to the Northward, to get clear of this Streight, having but little Wind, and fair Weather. The Island all Night vomited Fire and Smoke; and, at every Explosion, we heard a dreadful Noise, like Thunder; and saw a Flame of Fire after it, the most terrifying that ever I beheld. The Intervals between these Explosions were about half a Minute, some more, others less: Neither were these Pulses or Eruptions alike; for some were but faint Convulsions, in com-

panion

portion of the more vigorous: Yet even the weakest vented a great deal of Fire; but the largest made a roaring Noise, and sent up a large Flame twenty or thirty Yards high; and there might be seen a great Stream of Fire running down to the Foot of the Island, even to the Shore. From the Furrows made by this descending Fire, we could, in the Day-time, see great Smokes arise, which probably were made by the sulphureous Matter thrown out of the Funnel at the Top, which, tumbling down to the Bottom, and there lying in an Heap, burned, till it was either consumed or extinguished; and so long as it burnt, and kept its Heat, so long the Smoke ascended from it, which we perceived to increase or decrease, according to the Quantity of Matter discharged from the Funnel. But the next Night, being shot to the Westward of the burning Island, and the Funnel of it lying on the South Side, we could not discern the Fire there, as we did the Smoke in the Day, when we were to the Southward of it. This Vulcano lies in the Latitude of $2^{\circ} 33'$ South, and its meridian Distance from Cape St. George is 332 Miles West. The East Part of *New Guiney* lies forty Miles to the West of this Track of Land; and, in most of the Charts, they are laid down as contiguous; but I found a large Passage between them, calling the North-east Promontory of *New Guiney*, *King William's Cape*; and, when I had perfectly discovered the Island, I called it *Nova Britannia*. It lies from $2^{\circ} 30'$ to $6^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, and has about $5^{\circ} 18'$ Longitude. It appears to be, for the most part, high Land, mixed with Valleys, and everywhere abounding with large and stately Trees. The Island seems to be very fully inhabited by a Race of strong, well-made Negroes, with whom I could enter into no Correspondence, because my Pinnace was in such a Condition, that we could not safely make use of it to go on shore. I likewise discovered another Island, about eleven or twelve Leagues long, which I called *Sir George Rooke's Island*; and not long after another, which, from its Form, I named *Crown Island*; and, to the North-west of that, we discovered a still larger Isle, which I called *Sir Robert Rich's Island*. On April 2. we discovered another burning Island, and soon after many other Islands, amongst which we discovered three Vessels with Sails; a thing unusual, and which we had never seen before, since we were upon these Coasts. On April 12. the Sky, at Sun-rising, looked very red in the East, near the Horizon; and there were many black Clouds both to the South and North of it. About a quarter of an Hour after the Sun was up, there was a Squall to the Windward of us, when, on a sudden, one of our Men on the Fore-castle called out, that he saw something a-floer; but could not tell what. I looked out for it, and immediately saw a Spout beginning to work within a quarter of a Mile of us, exactly in the Wind. We presently put right before it. It came very swift, whirling the Water up in a Pillar, about six or seven Yards high. As yet I could not see any pendulous Cloud, from whence it might come, and was in hopes it would soon lose its Force. In four or five Minutes time, it came within a Cable's Length of us, and passed away to Leeward; and then I saw a long pale Stream coming down to the whirling Water. This Stream was about the Bigness of a Rainbow. The upper End seemed vastly high, not descending from any dark Cloud; and therefore the more strange to me, as I never had seen the like before. It passed about a Mile to Leeward of us, and then broke. This was but a small Spout, not strong, nor lasting; yet I perceived much Wind in it, as it passed by us. The Current still continued at North-west, a little Westwardly, which I allowed to run a Mile per Hour. I guessed from hence, that the Land is disjointed here; and that there is a Passage to the Southward.

33. We were now returning, and therefore I shall be shorter in my Accounts. On the 24th, we saw the Island of *Ceram*, and endeavoured to pass between it and the Island of *Bonao*; but could not. We then made the Island of *Bouru*, where we met with a *Chinese* Vessel, which, thro' a Mistake, gave us a good deal of Trouble; for, about eight at Night, she came close by us on our Weather-side; which occasioned our getting all our Guns ready, Matches lighted, and Small arms upon the Quarter-deck; but the standing one Way, and we another, we were soon far

enough asunder. At ten the next Morning, having little Wind, I sent the Yawl aboard of her. She was laden with Rice, Arrack, Tea, Porcelain, and other Commodities, bound for *Ambonya*. The Commander said, that his Boat was gone ashore for Water; and asked our Men, if they saw her; for she had been missing two or three Days, and they knew not what was become of her. They had their Wives and Children aboard, and probably came to settle at some new *Dutch* Factory. The Commander also informed us, that the *Dutch* had lately settled at *Ampulo*, *Monippe*, *Bonao*, and on a Point of *Ceram*. The next Day, we passed between *Kellan* and *Bouru*. After this, we had, for several Days, an high-rolling Sea, occasioned more by a Current, than Wind, which carried us five-and-twenty Miles to the South of our true Course. We were now on the Coasts of a known Country; and therefore I resolved to take the first Opportunity that offered of putting into Port, in order to procure such Necessaries as I wanted, and for the making the Repairs requisite in my Ship, which, by being so long out, was now become very foul and crazy, tho' we did not, at that time, suspect her being in so rotten and ruinous a Condition, as we afterwards found her; neither was it long before we met with the Opportunity we wished for.

34. On the 14th, we discovered the Island *Misacomy*; and, the next Day, sailed along to the West, on the North Side of the Island. In some Charts it is called *Omba*, a mountainous Island, diversified with Woods and Savanar, about twenty Leagues long, and five or six broad. We saw no Signs of Inhabitants on it. We fell in nearest to the West End of it, and therefore I chose to pass on, intending to get through to the Southward between this and the next Isle to the West of it, or between any other two Islands to the West, where I should find the clearest Passage, because the Winds were now at North-east, and East North-east, and the Isle lies nearly East and West; so that, if the Winds continued, I might be a long time in getting to the East End of it, which yet I knew to be the best Passage. Afternoon, being near the End of the Isle *Pentare*, which lies West from *Misacomy*, we saw many Houses and Plantations in the Country, and abundance of Cocoa-nut-trees growing by the Sea-side. We also saw several Boats sailing coast a Bay or Chanel at the West End of *Misacomy*, between it and *Pentare*. We had but little Wind, and that at North, which blows right in, with a Swell, wherefore I was afraid to venture in, tho' probably there might have been good Anchoring, and a means of acquiring a Commerce with the Natives. I continued steering to the West, because the Night before at Sun-setting, I saw a small, round, low Island to the West of *Pentare*, where I expected a good Passage. We could not that Day reach the West End of *Pentare*; but saw a deep Bay to the West of us, where I thought, there might be a Passage through between *Pentare* and *Laubana*; but the Islands were shut with one another, so that we could not see any Passage. I ordered them to sail seven Leagues more Westward, and lie by till next Day; in the Morning, we looked out for an Opening; but could see none: Yet, by the Distance and Bearing of an high round Island, called *Petere*, we were got to the West of the Opening; but not far from it. I therefore tacked, and stood to the East; and the rather because I had read and supposed this to be the Passage I came through in the *Arcturion*, mentioned in my Voyage round the World, but I was not yet sure of it, because we had rainy Weather, so that we could not now see the Land so well as we did then. We accidentally saw the Opening at our first sailing in the Islands, which now was a Work of Time and Danger to discover. However, before ten o'Clock, we saw the opening. The Wind was South South-west, and we were to get through before Night; for we found a good Passage leading us to the South. About seven or eight Leagues West of us, we saw an high, round, peaked Mountain, from the Top of which a Smoke seemed to ascend, as from a Vulcano. There were three other very high peaked Mountains, two on the East, and one on the West of that which smoked. It was twelve at Night before we got clear of the other small Islands, and there we had a very violent Gale setting us through against a brisk Gale of Wind. When we were through, we continued our Course for *Tome*, and

of which we came on
Streights of *Sunda*;
Month, we arrived at

35. I staid at *Bata-*
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Pulo Saluda, on the
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of which we came on May 18. On June 23, we saw the Straights of *Sunda*; and, towards the latter End of the Month, we arrived safely in the Road of *Batavia*.

35. I laid at *Batavia* upwards of three Months, where I first ordered the Ship to be repaired, and afterwards found it necessary to careen her; for which Purpose I hired Vessels to take in our Guns, Ballast, Provisions, and Stores. While we lay here, we heard several Reports in relation to our Men of War, that were cruising on the Coast of *India*; and there was much Discourse likewise of Pirates, who had committed great Depredations on the Coast, and particularly in the Straights of *Malacca*. I did not hear of any Ships sent out to reduce them. At my first coming in, I had been told, that two Ships had been sent from *Ambeyna* in quest of me, which was quickly confirmed by one of the Skippers, whom I, by Accident, met with here. He told me, they had three Protells against me; that they came to *Pao Sabuda*, on the Coast of *New Guiney*, twenty-eight Days after my Departure thence; and went as far as *Scouten's* Island, and, hearing no further News of me, returned. Something likewise to this Purpose Mr. *Merry*, Commander of the Fleet Frigate, told me at my first Arrival here; and that the General at *Batavia* had a Copy of my Commission and Instructions; but I looked upon it as a very improbable thing. However it was, I did not give myself much Trouble about these things, knowing well, that the better they were acquainted with the Authority by which I was protected, the less ready they would be to offer me any Injury. The *Dutch*, during the Time we lay here, came to a Resolution of sending three Ships sooner to *Europe* than was usual. The Day fixed for their sailing was the sixteenth of *October*, and I took all proper Precautions to be ready to sail about the same time they did. Accordingly, on the 17th of the same Month, at half an Hour after six in the Morning, I sailed from *Batavia*, having the Advantage of a fair Wind at South; so that, on the 19th about Noon, I fetched up the three *Dutch* Ships before-mentioned. November 29. in the Morning, we saw a small Hawk flying about the Ship, till it was quite tired. Then she reit on the Mizzen-reptail-yard, where we caught her. It is probable she was blown off from *Madagascar* by the violent Northerly Winds, that being the nearest Land to us, tho' distant near 150 Leagues. December 30. we arrived at Cape *Good Hope*, and departed again on January 11. 1701. About the End of the Month, we saw abundance of Weeds or Elthber swim by us, for I cannot determine which. It was all of one Shape and Colour. As they floated on the Water, they seemed to be of the Breadth of the Palm of a Man's Hand, spread out round into many Branches, about the Bigness of a Man's Finger. They had, in the Middle, a little Knob, no bigger than the Top of a Man's Thumb. They were of a dusky Colour; and, as they swam in the Water, did not appear to be stronger than a kind of Jelly. These sort of things are frequent in those Seas, and indeed in most Parts of the *East Indies*. Sharks are not very common here, yet some I have seen, particularly off the Island of *Tower*. In my Return, I saw one under the Stern of our Ship, which was, beyond Comparison, the largest that ever I beheld, and all my Crew were of the same Opinion. Our Ship, after all the Care that had been taken, appeared to be still leaky; but we were in hopes of meeting with an Opportunity at *St. Helena* to discover the Cause of our Misfortune, and to find some Means to remedy it: In which, however, we were disappointed, tho' as much Care was taken by the superior Officers, as it was possible for Men to take in those Stations.

February 2. we anchored in *St. Helena* Road; and took Water from thence on the 13th. On the 21st, we made the Island of *Ascension*, and stood in towards it. The 22d. between eight and nine o'Clock, we sprung a Leak, which increased, so that the Chain pump could not keep the Ship free, whereupon I set the Hand-pump to work also, and, by ten o'Clock, sucked her: Then wore the Ship, and stood to the Southward, to try if that would ease her; and then the Chain pump still kept her free. At five the next Morning, we made Sail, and stood in for the Bay, and, at nine, anchored in ten Fathom and an half, sandy Ground. The South Point bore South South west, Distance two Miles; and the North Point of the Bay North-

east half North. Distance two Miles. As soon as we anchored, I ordered the Gunner to clear his Powder-room, that we might there search for the Leak, and endeavour to stop within-board, if it was possible; for we could not heel the Ship so low, it being within four Streaks of the Keel; neither was there any convenient Place to hale her ashore. I ordered the Boatwain to assist the Gunner; and, by ten o'Clock, the Powder-room was clear. The Carpenter's Mate, Gunner, and Boatwain, went down; and, soon after, I followed them myself, and asked them, Whether they could come at the Leak? They said, they believed they might, by cutting the Cieling. I told the Carpenter's Mate, who was the only Person in the Ship, that understood any thing of Carpenters Work, that, if he thought he could come at the Leak by cutting the Cieling, without weakening the Ship, he might do it; for he had stopped one Leak so before; which, tho' not so big as this, yet, having seen them both, I thought he might as well do this, as the other: Wherefore I left him to do his best. The Cieling being cut, they could not come at the Leak; for it was against one of the Foothook-timbers, which the Carpenter's Mate said, he must first cut, before it could be stopped. I went down again to see it, and found the Water to come in very violently. I told them, I had never known any such thing as cutting Timbers to stop Leaks; but if they who ought to be the best Judges in such Cases, thought they could do any Good, I bid them use their utmost Care and Diligence, promising the Carpenter's Mate, that I would always be a Friend to him, if he could and would stop it. He said, by four o'Clock in the Afternoon he would make all well, it being then about eleven in the Forenoon. In the Afternoon, my Men were all employed in pumping with both Pumps, except such as assisted the Carpenter's Mate. About one in the Afternoon I went down again; and the Carpenter's Mate was cutting the Alter-part of the Timber over the Leak. Some said it was best to cut the Timber away at once. I bid them hold their Tongues, and let the Carpenter's Mate alone; for he knew best, and I hoped he would do his utmost to stop the Leak. I desired him to get every thing ready for stopping the Violence of the Water, before he cut any farther, for fear it should overpower us at once. I had ordered the Carpenter to bring all the Oakum he had, and the Boatwain to bring all the waste Cloaths, to stuff in upon Occasion; and had, for the same Purpose, sent down my own Bed-cloaths. The Carpenter's Mate said, he should want short Stanchons to be placed so, that the upper Part should touch the Deck, and the under Part rest on what was laid over the Leak; and presently took a Length for them. I asked the Matter Carpenter what he thought best to be done. He replied, till the Leak was all open, he could not tell. Then he went away to make a Stanchon; but it was too long. I ordered him to make many of several Lengths, that we might not want of any size: So, once more desiring the Carpenter's Mate to use his utmost Endeavours, I went up, leaving the Boatwain and some others there. About five o'Clock, the Boatwain came to me, and told me, the Leak was increased; and that it was impossible to keep the Ship above Water, when I expected, on the contrary, to have had the news of the Leak's being stopped. I presently went down, and found the Timber cut away; but nothing in Readiness to stop the Force of the Water from coming in. I asked them, Why they would cut the Timber, before they had got all things in Readiness? The Carpenter's Mate answered, they could do nothing till the Timber was cut, that he might take Dimensions of the Place; and that there was a Chalk he had lined out preparing by the Carpenter's Boy. I ordered them, in the mean time, to stop in Oakum, and some Pieces of Beet, which was accordingly done: But all to little Purpose; for now the Water gushed in with such Violence, notwithstanding all our Endeavours to check it, that it flew in over the Cieling, and, for want of Passage out of the Room, overflowed it above two Feet deep. I ordered the Bulkhead to be cut open, to give Passage to the Water, that it might drain out of the Room; and withal ordered to clear away about the Bulkhead, that we might bale, so that now we had both Pumps going, and as many baling as could; and, by this means, the Water began to decrease, which gave me some hope of saving the Ship. I asked the Car-

Carpenter's Mate, What he thought of it? He answered, Fear not; for, by ten o'Clock at Night, I'll engage to stop the Leak. I went from him with a very heavy Heart; but, putting a good Countenance upon the Matter, encouraged my Men, who pumped and baled very briskly; and, when I saw Occasion, I gave them some Drams to comfort them. About eleven o'Clock at Night, the Boat-twin came to me, and told me, that the Leak still increased; and that the Plank was so rotten, it broke away like Dirt; and that now it was impossible to save the Ship; for they could not come at the Leak, because the Water in the Room was got above it. The rest of the Night we spent in pumping and baling. I worked myself, to encourage my Men, who were very diligent; but the Water still increased, and we now thought of nothing but saving our Lives: Wherefore I hoisted out the Boat, that, if the Ship should sink, we might be saved; and, in the Morning, we weighed our Anchor, and warped in nearer the Shore, tho' we did but little Good.

37. In the Afternoon, with the Help of a Sea Breeze, I ran into seven Fathom, and anchored; then carried a small Anchor ashore, and warped in, till I came within three Fathom and an half. When having fastened her, I made a Raft to carry the Mens Chests and Bedding ashore, and before eight at Night most of them were ashore. In the Morning, I ordered the Sails to be unbent to make Tents, and then myself and Officers went ashore. I had sent ashore a Puncheon, and a thirty six Gallon Cask of Water, with one Bag of Rice, for our common Use, but great Part of it was stolen away before I came ashore, and many of my Books and Papers lost. On the 27th following, we, to our great Comfort, found a Spring of fresh Water, about eight Miles from our Tents, beyond a very high Mountain, which we were forced to pass over, so that now we were, by God's Providence, in a Condition of subsisting for some time, having very good Turtle by our Tents, and Water for the fetching. The next Day I went up to see the Watering-place, accompanied with most of my Officers. We lay by the Way all Night, and the next Morning early got thither, where we found a very fine Spring on the south-east Side of the high Mountain, about half a Mile from its Top; but the continual Fogs make it so cold here, that it is very unwholesome living by the Water. Near this Place are abundance of Goats and Land-crabs. About two Miles South east from the Spring, we found three or four Shrub-trees, upon one of which was cut an Anchor and Cable, and the Year 1642: About half a Furlong from thence, we found a convenient Place for sheltering Men in any Weather: Hither many of our Men resorted, the hollow Rocks affording convenient Lodging. The Goats, Land-crabs, Men-of-war-birds, and Boobies, are good Food; and the Air proved here exceeding wholesome. About a Week after our coming ashore, our Men, that lived at this new Habitation, saw two Ships making towards the Islands before Night they brought me the News; and I ordered them to turn about a Score of Turtles for their Ships, if they should touch here; but, before Morning, they were out of Sight, and the Turtles were released again. Here we continued, without any other Ship, till April 2, when we saw eleven Sail to Windward of the Island, but they likewise passed by. The Day after, appeared four Sail, which came to anchor in this Bay. They were, his Majesty's Ships the *Argo*, *Hasting*, and *Lizard*, and the *Contrivory East India* Ship. I went on board of the *Argo*, with about thirty five of my Men; and the rest were disposed of into the other two Men of War.

38. After this happy Escape, we left the Island of *Affen* on March 8, and arrived safely at *Barbadoes* on May 8, 1701. Tho' the Desire I had of returning to England, and to vindicate my Character, which I knew, must suffer greatly from the unlucky Accident that had befallen me, I took the first Opportunity that offered of returning in the *Contrivory East India* man, in which Passage I met with nothing

material. The same earnest Desire to clear up Mistakes, to do myself Justice in the Opinion of the World, and to set the Discoveries made in this unfortunate Voyage in their proper Light, that it may be of Use to the World, how unlucky soever it proved to me, is the Reason that induced me to publish it; and I persuade myself that such as are proper Judges of this sort of Performances, will allow, that I have delivered many things new in themselves, capable of affording much Instruction to such as meditate future Discoveries, and which, in other respects, may be of great Utility to the present Age, and to Posterity.

39. The great Length of this Voyage obliges me to be very short in my Remarks, which I shall therefore confine to a few important Heads, and leave the rest to the Penetration of the Reader. In the first Place, I shall take notice, that this Voyage is not only a proper Supplement, but a most authentic Voucher for the Truth of many Passages in the last, since Captain *Dampier* verified to the Officers and Company, in this Expedition, the Discoveries which he is said to have made when last at Sea; and this Testimony of his Veracity ought to afford the greater Degree of Credit to what still rests upon his single Authority. In the second Place, I must desire the Reader to remark, that the more fortunate soever this Voyage might be, and however long it might last of what *Dampier* had promised to his Readers: the Time of undertaking it, yet, as the Author has very justly observed, it was, in itself, of very great Consequence. It has shown us a new *India*, in which, whenever the Spirit of Industry shall revive, which first extended, and then established our Commerce, we may be able to make some Settlements: contiguous, as any that have been hitherto made by this or any other Nation. These Settlements might be made, without giving any Offence to our Neighbours, for it never can be presumed, that our partial Views in *Europe* ought to restrain us from prosecuting Discoveries in the *East* or *West Indies*, for the Inlargement of our Trade, notwithstanding that such an Inlargement might not be agreeable to some of our Allies. We have discovered, in the Prosecution of former Wars, but especially since the breaking out of the last War with *Spain*, that we cannot make any Conquests for the Benefit of our Commerce, without exciting Jealousies in all our Neighbours: which ought to induce us to the most vigorous Prosecution of those Discoveries, at which they have no Right, and in account of which they have no Reason to take the least Umbrage. The Relations given us by Captain *Dampier* agree exactly with those formerly given by *de Quires*, *le Maire*, and other Discoverers, that we cannot entertain the least Doubt of the Possibility of finding, in the Southern Part of the Globe, Countries worth our looking after: And indeed, if there were no other Merit in this Voyage, this alone would be sufficient to recommend it to our Esteem; that it has removed for ever those Suspicions, that were entertained of the Accounts formerly given of those Countries. It may not be amiss to conclude these Reflections, by putting the Reader in mind of the many Advantages, that visibly result from the Manner in which this History of Circumnavigations has been digested, since it is impossible for him not to discern, that every succeeding Voyage gives Light to the former, and, by adding to the Discoveries already made of vast Continents, and innumerable Islands, heretofore unknown, enables us to make so true a Judgment of what is yet to be performed towards attaining the perfect Knowledge of the whole Globe, that a better Method than this cannot be devised for the Encouragement and Furtherance of that sort of Knowledge, which is, of all others, the most useful and satisfactory, and, with respect to which, this may be considered as a new Attempt, since what has hitherto been done in this Way by *Eden*, *Hacklart*, *Puribus*, and other Writers, serves rather to shew us what was wanting to such an History, and to demonstrate its Usefulness, than to afford the intelligent Peruser a solid and regular System of such Discoveries, even to the Times in which they wrote.

The Voyage of V

1. Introduction, containing the History of the Voyage from the first setting out, till the return, and the several Attempts of the Spaniards, to possess the Islands, and the Productions, of the five Ports.
2. Account of the War, fitted out by the Spaniards, in the Year 1701.
3. Description of the Islands, and the Ships, commanded by the Spaniards.
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THIS Voyage of Captain *Dampier*, which succeeded our Circumnavigation was *Funnell*, I thought it fit to find in the Title that this Voyage, we have ever, is in Justice due to his Credit, and to do great Matters. Ships were fitted out, which shews, that *Keeluck*, had not affected, who, to be fit Matter. The Point than Discovery, and able in this Voyage in which *Mr Funnell* met Seas to the *East India*, what former Discoveries cultivated, and popular likewise be acknowledged they are recounted with Verity and Simplicity, consequently, read with probably, because he is not giving his Readers Advantages.

It must be observed, that in the Beginning, might Expectations, plots against the Spaniards, and considered as our Enemies. *Argo*, Grandson to *Argo*, induced the Merchant Force, a very profitable trade Part, where the those ill provided, Things, and, thereby Information they could taken for the effecting

SECTION XV.

The Voyage of WILLIAM FUNNELL round the World, as Mate to Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER.

1. Introduction, containing the Reasons why this Voyage ought to be attributed rather to Mr. Funnell, than to Captain Dampier.
2. The Motives to this Expedition, and the Force of the Ships which were originally fitted out.
3. The Advantages expected from this extraordinary Undertaking.
4. The St. George sails from the Downs, April 7. 1703. and proceeds to the Cape de Verd Islands.
5. Prosecutes her Voyage thence to Cape Horn.
6. Arrive at the Island of Juan Fernandez, and refresh there.
7. Compelled to quit that Coast, and leave five Men, and all their Stores, on that Island.
8. Again unlucky in attempting the same Ship, which occasioned their former Misfortune.
9. The Island of Gallo, and its Productions, described.
10. Captain Dampier, in the St. George, parts from Captain Stradling, in the Cinque-ports.
11. Obtain exact Intelligence of the Preparations made against them by the Spaniards.
12. Account of the River of St. Iago, and the Alligators found there.
13. Attacked by a Spanish Man of War, fitted out to take them.
14. The Country about the Bay of St. Matthew described, with its Productions.
15. Mr. Clippington (Clipperton) Captain Dampier's chief Mate, leaves him.
16. Description of the Middle Islands, and their Produce.
17. Account of the Shell-fish on that Coast.
18. Take a Ship, commanded by a Spaniard brought up in England.
19. Attack the Manilla Ship, and are beat off.
20. Mr. Funnell, with most of the Ship's Company, leave Captain Dampier.
21. Sail from the Gulph of Amapalla for the East Indies.
22. Occurrences in their Voyage toward the Ladrone Islands.
23. Hardship suffered in this Passage.
24. Description of the Island Magon, and its Inhabitants.
25. Arrive on the Coast of New Guiney.
26. Description of the Islands Deceit and Disappointment.
27. Other new Islands discovered and described.
28. Their Arrival at the Dutch Settlement of Manipa.
29. Sail in the most miserable Condition for Amboyna.
30. Arrival there, and the cruel Usage of the Dutch.
31. The Island of Amboyna particularly described.
32. Sent Prisoners in a Dutch Vessel to Batavia.
33. Bole Practices of the Dutch, in order to monopolize Trade.
34. Their Reception at Batavia.
35. Observations made there.
36. Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.
37. Occurrences in their Voyage home.
38. Difference of Weather in North or South Latitudes.
39. Author's safe Arrival in England, August 26. 1706.
40. Some Account of the several Persons mentioned in this Expedition.
41. Remarks upon the Whale.

THIS Voyage has usually passed under the Name of Captain *William Dampier*; but, as he proceeded only to the South Seas, and the Circum-navigation was intirely performed by Mr. *William Funnell*, I thought it more proper that his Name should find in the Title than that of *Dampier's*, with whom, in this Voyage, we have much less to do. Thus much, however, is in Justice due to Captain *William Dampier*, that it was upon his Credit, and in Expectation of his being able to do great Matters in the *Spanish West Indies*, that these Ships were fitted out, and this Expedition undertaken; which shews, that the Misfortune he met with in the *Redoubt*, had not affected his Character with the Merchants, who, to be sure, were the properest Judges in this Matter. The Point they aimed at was Plunder, rather than Discovery; and yet there is something very remarkable in this Voyage in that way; and the unknown Islands which Mr. *Funnell* met with in his Passage from the South Seas to the *East Indies*, are the strongest Confirmation of what former Discoverers have reported, as to large, well-cultivated, and populous Countries, in those Parts. It must likewise be acknowledged, that *Funnell's* Voyages, though they are recounted with the greatest Appearance of Sincerity and Simplicity, yet are better digested, and may be, consequently, read with more Satisfaction, than *Dampier's*; probably, because he had but one Point in View, viz. that of giving his Readers a fair and agreeable Account of his Adventures.

It must be observed, that this Expedition was undertaken in the Beginning of the last general War, when mighty Expectations were raised of performing great Exploits against the *Spaniards*, who, of a sudden, from being our last Friends, and favourite Allies, came to be considered as our Enemies, on their accepting the Duke of *Anjou*, Grandson to *Lewis XIV.* for their King. This induced the Merchants to believe, that, with a reasonable Force, a very profitable Expedition might be made into those Part, where the *Buccanniers*, with small Vessels, and those ill provided, had performed such extraordinary Things; and, therefore, when they had obtained the best Information they could, as to the Methods proposed to be taken for the effecting such a Design, they entered cheer-

fully on the Expences necessary for that Purpose. In order to this, they fitted out at first two Ships of twenty-six Guns, and 120 Men each, designed for the South Seas. The one was named the *St. George*, Captain *William Dampier* Commander, in which was Mr. *William Funnell*; and the other the *Fame*, *John Pulling* Captain. They were both supplied with all warlike Stores, and very well victualled for nine Months; and had Commissions from his Royal Highness Prince *George*, then Lord High Admiral, to proceed against the *French* and *Spaniards*; and both were upon the same Terms, of No Purchase, no Pay. But, whilst they were in the *Downs*, there arising some Difference between the two Captains, Captain *Pulling*, in his Ship the *Fame*, went away, intending, as he said, to go and cruise among the *Cowary* Islands, and they never saw him afterwards; but, before their going from *Ireland*, they were joined by another Ship, sent after them on Purpose; she was a small Vessel, named *The Cinque-ports Galley*, Burden about ninety Tons, sixteen Guns, and sixty-three Men, *Charles Pickering* Captain: Which Ship was also very well victualled, and provided for the Voyage. It must be remarked here, that this Desertion of Captain *Pulling* was absolutely the Ruin of the Voyage; and, therefore, this ought to be a Warning to all Societies of Merchants, that enter upon such Undertakings, never to join two Officers, of discordant Tempers, on any Terms; for, where Harmony is wanting, Success cannot be expected. Besides, Officers intrusted on such Occasions ought to know, that the first Principle of their Conduct should be Duty to their owners; for this, in private Men of War, comes in the Place of Loyalty, which is the supreme Virtue in the Commander of a King's Ship; and, where either is wanting, it is absurd to hope for any great Matters. Pride, Selfishness, and narrow Notions can never make a Figure any-where, much less in a Naval Expedition, where, if it once becomes a Maxim, that every Man ought to take care of himself, there is an End of all; whereas, if it be laid down as a fundamental Point, that the general Good is, in all Cases, to be pursued, the Advantage of Individuals will follow of course, and every Man be enriched by barely pursuing Orders.

3. The original Design of this Undertaking, says Mr. *Tunnell*, was to go first into the River of *Plate*, as far as *Buenos Ayres*, in order to take two or three Spanish Gallions, which Captain *Dampier* asserted were usually there; and if, by that Expedition, we got to the Value of 600,000^l. then we were to return again without proceeding further; but if we missed of Success there, then to cruise upon the Coast of *Peru* for the *Baldavia* Ships, which bring down Gold to *Lima*; but if that Design should also fail, then to attempt some rich Towns, according as Captain *Dampier* should think fit: And after that, we were, at the usual Time of the Year, to go upon the Coast of *Mexico* to look for the great Galleon which trades from *Manilla*, one of the *Philippine* Islands, to *Acapulco*, on the Coast of *Mexico*, and which is commonly reported to be worth fourteen Millions of Pieces of Eight. The Reason we did not go to *Buenos Ayres* was, because, on our Arrival at *Madaira*, we had Advice, that the Gallions from thence were safely arrived at *Teneriff*. How well we pursued the latter Part of our Instructions, the subsequent History of our Voyage will sufficiently declare, in which I have used the greatest Sincerity and Freedom, setting down every thing that happened, in the manner in which it happened, with whatever appeared to me worthy the Reader's Notice, in the plainest way imaginable: So that I flatter myself the Whole will be found useful; and that the latter Part, especially, will be esteemed new, curious, and entertaining, inasmuch as it contains many Things which have never hitherto been published in our Language.

4. We sailed on April 30. 1703. out of the *Docks*, and on May 18. anchored at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*. Here we refitted and stowed our Ship, and were joined by the *Cinque ports*; and, on September 11. left *Kinsale*; and, on the 24th, we reached the Island of *Madaira*, where we did not anchor, but lay off and on for our Boats, that were sent ashore for Necessaries. By a good Observation, I make this Island to be in the Latitude of 32° 20' North, and Longitude, by my Account, from *London*, 18° 51' West. We departed September 28. and, on the 30th, saw *Palma* and *Euro*, the two Westermost of the *Canary* Islands, they being 11 all seven, so called from *Canaria*, the chief. We did not stop here, but made the best of our Way for the *Cape de Verd* Islands; and, October 6. saw the Island of *Mayo*, lying in the Latitude of 15° 10' North, and Longitude from *London* 24° 20' West. We lay off and on all Night, but could not get off any Salt, because here ran to great a Surf, that we dared not venture our Boats ashore: So, on October 7. in the Morning, we bore away for *St. Iago*, and, at Noon, anchored at *Prior Bar*. This Bay lies in the Latitude of 14° 51', and West from *London* 24° 47'. This is one of the Southermost and most fruitful of the *Cape de Verd* Isles, abounding in Hogs, Fowls, *Guiney* Hens, Monkeys, Maiz, Oranges, Lemons, Dates, Watermelons, Plantains, Bananas, &c. Here is good Water, but troublesome fetchings; and Wood is very dear. The Natives of this Place were formerly *Portuguese*, who banished thither for Murders, Thefts, and other Villanies; but now they are mostly black, by reason of their Commerce with their Women Slaves, which are *Guiney* Negroes; but, notwithstanding they have changed their Colour, yet they still retain their Vices, Thieving being commoner here than in any Place I have been at, inasmuch that they will take your Hat off your Head at Noon-day, in the Mist of Company: You must also be very wary how you trade with them; for, if you let them have your Goods before you have theirs, you will be sure to lose them. At this Place we watered our Ship, and refreshed ourselves; and here being some Disagreement between our Captain and first Lieutenant, the former turned the latter ashore, with his Chest, Cloaths, and Servant, much against both his and his Servant's Will, about twelve o'Clock at Night. At four the next Morning, being October 13. we parted from the last Island, not fully resolved what Place to touch at next.

5. On November 2. we passed the Equator, about forty-five Leagues to the Westward of the Meridian of the Island of *St. Iago*. We saw this Day abundance of Flying-fish. On the 5th, in the Evening, we found the Variation, by a 1500^l Amplitude, to be 3° 20' Eastwardly, Latitude by Ob-

ervation South 10° 20', and Longitude West from the Island of *St. Iago* 5° 30'. There are three Islands called by the Name of *St. Anne's*, not above a Stone's throw from each other; they are very full of Wood, as is all the *Brazilian* Coast. These Islands are distant from the Main about four Miles. This Place is very much troubled with Southerly Winds, which blow in Gulls; therefore your only Way is to lay your best Anchor to the Southward, and all little enough sometimes. The Islands produce nothing but Wood, and have a vast many Sea-fowl upon them, which our Sailors called Boobies. The Booby is much about the Bigness of a Duck: Some are quite white, some grey; they have Feet like a Duck, being a Water-fowl: they feed mostly upon Flying-fish, which they catch flying: I have made many a Meal of these Birds, but it was for want of other Victuals: They taste very fishy, and, if you do not eat them very well before you eat them, they will make you sick. They are so filthy, that, when they are weary of flying, they will, if you hold out your Hand, come and sit upon it; from whence I conjecture, that they are called Boobies. November 24. we anchored at the Island of *St. Grand*, whose Latitude is 23° 30' South, Longitude from *London* 40° 24' West; and found here about 11° East Variation. This is a very woody Island, and hath several very good Springs of fresh Water upon it. The Soil is black, and the Island is about nine Leagues round, and distant from the Main about three Miles. In it are Jackals, Lions, Tygers, &c. which, in the Night, make a most hideous Noise, enough to terrify any Man. Here are Rum, Sugar, and several sorts of Indian Fruits, to be had, but very dear, on account of their supplying the Town of *Saint Paul's* with these Necessaries; near which Town is said to be a Gold Mine, accounted one of the richest hitherto known. It is distant from the Town of *St. Grand* about 300 Miles; and is reckoned, by the vast high Mountains that intercept the Passage, to be sixty Days Journey. At this Place we wooded, watered, and refitted our Ship. Here our new first Lieutenant, with eight of our Men, our Captain and they falling out, went ashore with their Goods, and left us here: Altho' *Charles Pickering*, Captain of the *Cinque ports*, our Consort, departed this Life, and his Body was buried ashore at the Watering-place, with the usual Ceremony of firing of Guns; and Mr. *Thomas Stradling*, his Lieutenant, took Command of his Ship. Here is good Fish of various Sorts, as the Silver-fish, and several others. The Silver-fish is about twenty Inches long, a Height, from the Top of his Head to the Bottom of his Belly, eight Inches; he hath five small Fins on the lower Part of his Head, and one large one, reaching from the hindermost of the five small ones to the Tail: He hath two middling ones, one on each Side near the Gills, and a large one, breaching from the Middle of the Bottom of his Belly to his Tail, which is half mooned. He hath a large eye, a wide Pair of Nostrils, and a small Mouth. It is a very thin Fish, and very bony: He is of a very fine transparent White, and thence called by us a Silver-fish. We sailed from the Island *St. Grand* December 5. resolving not to touch any more till we arrived at the Island *Juan Fernandez*, in the South Seas. On the 29th of the same Month, we sailed near the Islands of *Seball del West*, from which Island there came a very remarkable Bird, which, because it pleased me very much then, I will now describe. It was about the Bigness of a Duck, and of a very fine white Colour; his Bill yellow, and, both above and below the Bill, were long grey Hairs, like Whiskers; and, instead of Feathers at the Bottom of his Eyes, he had short fine Hairs, which were black.

6. We prosecuted our Voyage for the South Seas till January 4. 1704. when, in the Latitude of 57° 45', we met with a most dreadful Storm, in which we were separated from our Consort the *Cinque ports*, which added to the Number of our Uneasinesses, and put the Seamen much out of Humour. On the 20th of the same Month, we were in the Latitude 60° 51' South, and, believing that we had now doubled *Cape Horn*, we tacked and stood to the Northward. On February 4. we saw the Island of *Alouca*, in the Latitude of 38° 30' South. This Island is very well inhabited by *Indians*, who are always at War with the *Spaniards*, and indeed with all white Men, le-

cause they think them Leagues in Length, at which run a League from the Port *Valdivia*. February 5. we found Latitude, by Observation *London* 80° 19'. February 6. we found it, our Captain thought, and stood to alter we had stood about seeing any Land, Island; and, passing fort Captain *Stradling* lived here three Days in the Bay, in twelve Days finding it not convenient to the great Bay, when Water, the Variation

7. At this Island we fitted our Ships, the choice of Time, and obliged ashore, during which the Captain *Stradling* and an Height, that the Crew, but, at last, the Mutation of Captain *Dampier* their Ship. On February 10. we saw a Sail, on which we all and stood to Sea. It proved, seeing us get to us, and we made the best making what *Harris* eleven at Night, we came to a convenient to our Pinnace towed under *Stradling's* Boat got also Dog. At Sun-rise the began to engage the fair of about 400 Tons at fought her very close, 12 Hours; and then, a fair off. As for our Consorts, and then tell a-the the Fight. We had hurt and several wounded; either Trial with him, the Consequence to let him he would discover us to they our whole Proceeding; sayings that, at the of our being in those Sea-chant Ships from coming and not fail of taking t in the Year. Upon the moon came up; and it v Captains to let her go; we concluded to return chors, Long boats, and with a Load of Sea-horns Captain *Stradling* had le to the West Part of the going out after the *Est* as his Sails, except thro other Stores. We had the Land, to that we fe it, but it falling calm, and rowed towards the, saw two Sails; the *Cinque ports* they fired several Shot gave us an Account, t each of about thirty l thought it convenient to Coast of *Peru*, leaving Men, who other Nece for now we had neither tending to their Agreee the Coast of *Peru*; and it being very s

cautious they think them *Spaniards*. It is a high Island, four Leagues in Length, and has many Shoals on the West Side, which run a League or more into the Sea. It is distant from the Port *Valdivia* twenty-five Leagues Northward. February 5. we found the Variation to be $7^{\circ} 20'$ Easterly Latitude, by Observation South $35^{\circ} 33'$ Longitude, from London $80^{\circ} 19'$. February 7. we saw the Island *Juan Fernandez*, and so stood off-and-on; but, drawing pretty near it, our Captain thought it not to be the right Island; so we tacked, and stood to the Eastward; but, on February 10. after we had stood about thirty Leagues to the Eastward, not seeing any Land, we stood back again to the same Island; and, passing by the great Bay, we saw our Comfort Captain *Stradling* in the *Cinque-ports*, who had arrived here three Days before; so we anchored in the little Bay, in twelve Fathom Water, ouffy Ground; but, finding it not convenient lying here, we weighed, and went to the great Bay, where we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, the Variation there being $6^{\circ} 5'$ Easterly.

7. At this Island we wooded, watered, heeled, and refitted our Ships, the doing of which took us up a great deal of Time, and obliged both Ships Company to be much ashore, during which time, a Difference happened between Captain *Stradling* and his Men, which rose at last to such an Height, that the Crew absolutely refused to go on board; but, at last, the Matter was compromised by the Mediation of Captain *Dampier*, and the Men returned on board their Ship. On February 29. 1704. our People deserted a Sail, on which we all hurried aboard, slipped our Cables, and stood to Sea. The *Frenchman*, for so he afterwards proved, seeing us get under Sail, tacked, and stood from us, and we made the best of our Way after him, our Comfort making what Halte he could after us; and, about eleven at Night, we came close up with him, but did not think convenient to engage till Day. In this Chace our Pinnace towed under Water; so we cut her loose; Captain *Stradling's* Boat got also loose, and in her were a Man and a Dog. At Sun-rise the next Morning, being *March 1.* we began to engage the said Vessel, which was a *French Ship*, of about 400 Tons and 30 Guns, well manned. We fought her very close, Broadside and Broadside, for seven Hours; and then, a small Gale springing up, she sheered off. As for our Comfort, she fired about ten or twelve Guns, and then fell a-stern, and never came up again during the Fight. We had nine of our Men killed in the Dispute, and several wounded: We were desirous to have had another Trial with him, knowing it would be of dangerous Consequence to let him go; for, if we did, we were sure he would discover us to the *Spaniards*, which would destroy our whole Proceedings. But our Captain was against it; saying, that, at the worst, if the *Spaniards* should know of our being in those Seas, and so should hinder their Merchant Ships from coming out, yet that he knew whither to go, and not fail of taking to the Value of 500,000*l.* any Day in the Year. Upon this, we lay by for our Comfort, who soon came up; and it was quickly agreed between the two Captains to let her go; so the Enemy stood from us, and we concluded to return to *Juan Fernandez* to get our Anchors, Long-boats, and several Tons of Water calked, with a Ton of Sea-hens Oil, which we had left here; and Captain *Stradling* had left five of his Men, who were gone to the West Part of the Island, and knew nothing of our going out after the Enemy; he had also left behind him all his Sails, except those at the Yard, with a great many other Stores. We had then the Wind at South, right off the Land, so that we found it very difficult to get up with it, but it being calm, the *Cinque-ports* put out her Oars, and rowed towards the Island: Instantly after which, we saw two Sails, the *Cinque-ports* was pretty near them, and they fired several Shot; but she rowed away to us, and gave us an Account, that they were two *French Ships*, each of about thirty six Guns: So the two Captains thought it convenient not to go in, but to go away for the Coast of *Peru*, leaving behind Captain *Stradling's* five Men, with other Necessaries that we could very ill spare; but now we had neither of us any Boats: However, according to their Agreement on *March 6.* we stood away to the Coast of *Peru*, and, on the 14th, fell in with the Coast, which was very high, three Rows of Hills one within

another, that towards the Water lowest, and that farthest within Land highest. We were then in the Latitude of $24^{\circ} 53'$ South; from thence we coasted along Shore to the Northward; and, on the 14th, passed the Port of *Copiapo*. This is said to be a very good Port, and to be fenced from almost all Winds. Near to the Port are four or five Rocks; and within Land it is inhabited by *Indians*, who make good Wine; here are said also to be good Meat, Corn, and other Necessaries. In this Port they load Wine, Money, and other Goods, for *Coquimbo*: We would very willingly have gone ashore here to have got some Refreshments, but could not for want of Boats: The Land continues very high and mountainous; so that, I think, it is the highest Land I ever saw.

8. We were surprised, on the 19th of the same Month, by seeing the Colour of the Waves of the Sea changed into red for seven or eight Leagues; though, upon sounding, we found no Ground for 170 Fathom; but, upon drawing up the Water, and examining it closely, this Accident appeared to be owing to a vast Quantity of Fish spawn swimming on the Surface. We were now in the Latitude of $16^{\circ} 11'$ South, and had only forty-eight Minutes Variation to the Eastward, having sailed by the three famous Ports of *Arica*, *Tlo*, and *Arequipa*. On *March 22.* we found ourselves off the Port of *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*, where we saw two Sail of Ships steering for that Port: We presently gave Chace, and soon came up with the sternmost; she proved to be the Ship we fought with off the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. We were very eager to stop her going in; for, if we could have done it, it would have hindered the *Spaniards* from having Intelligence of us: Besides, we did not question the taking of her, because now our Men were in Health; whereas, when we fought her before, we had between twenty and thirty very sick and weak; but, being willing to shew themselves, they had done what they could. We considered also, her Guns, Ammunition, and Provisions, would be very welcome to us; so we concluded to engage her ourselves, and to send Captain *Stradling* after the other, which seemed not so big; but Captain *Dampier* did not think it advisable to attack her; and, whilst the Matter was disputing, both the Ships got into *Lima*, from whence twenty such as ours could not have forced them out. This kind of Proceeding gave great Offence to most of the Crew, and bad Consequences might have followed it, if we had not, in the Space of a few Days, taken two very considerable Prizes; the first of 150, the second of 200 Tons, out of which we took what we thought would prove most serviceable, and then dismissed our Prizes. On *April 5.* we began to prepare for the great Stroke our Captain had in his Head, viz. that of landing on the Coast, and plundering some rich City; with which View our Carpenters were ordered to fit up our Launches, or *Spanish* Long-boats, so as to land our Men with Safety, and to fix two Patereroes in each Launch. On the 11th of the same Month, we took, as if she had been sent on purpose for our Service, a Bark of about fifty Tons, laden with Plank and Cordage. This Bark we took in Sight of the Isle of *Gallo*, under which we anchored the next Day with our Prize, which we resolved to keep, in order to make use of her in the intended Expedition.

9. This Island of *Gallo* is in $2^{\circ} 43'$ Latitude, Longitude from London West $70^{\circ} 38'$, distant from the Main about five Leagues, in Length two Leagues, in Breadth one: When you are to the Southward of it, it appears in three Hummocks, which, at a Distance, look like three Islands; and the Land between each is very low; but when you are to the North-west of it, at the South End, you will see a small Island, or rather Rock, which looks much like a Ship under Sail; and, when you are at the North End, you will see open the Land, as that you will see Part of it does not join to the Island, as it seems to do when you are to the Westward of it. At the North-east End of this Island are three small Islands, or rather Rocks; one is pretty big, and at a Distance looks like a Barn, and the other like two Sail of Ships. At this Island you may see the Main-land, which is very low near the Water-side, but prodigious high up in the Country. Here we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, two Cables Length from the Shore, hard Sand. We anchored in the North-west Part

Water; and commonly make great Havock amongst Cattle, if there be any near the Place where they harbour, which is usually in fresh water Rivers. The *Indians* are not greatly afraid of them, neither in the Water, nor on Land. They run in a Circle, and this great Creature is not able to turn his unwieldy Body so quickly, but that they easily get from him. The *Indians* likewise go into the Water, to seek them, with a Piece of Iron, like an Harpoon at both Ends, and two Pieces of Iron across. This they hold by the Middle in their Hand; and the Alligators, when they bite, raise their Heads out of the Water. Then the *Indians* hold out this Piece of Iron to them, at which they bite; and it falls in their Mouth, and keeps it open like a Gag. The Females lay Eggs, about 100 at a time. These Eggs are about the Bigness of a Goose's; but the Shell is as small as thick as an Ostridge's. I have seen many of them; they are quite round. The Flesh of the Alligators is not fit to be eaten, it being very strong and musky; nay, the very Water of the Rivers, which they were in, tasted so strong of them, that is, of Musk, that a Draught of it would almost lullocate us. But, notwithstanding it is so noxious, there are no Instances of its doing any sort of Prejudice to the Constitutions of such as drink it.

13. On June 21. being off the Bay of *Guatiquil*, we saw a Sail, and came up with her the next Day. This happened to be one of those *Spanish* Men of War fitted out on purpose to take us, and a Ship of thirty-two Guns. Being pretty near each other, they gave us a Broadside; but we did not mind them. All our Care was to get the Weather-gage; in order to which, while we carried too much Sail, and the Wind blew very fresh, our Fore-topmast unfortunately came by the Board. Immediately we got our Hatches, and cut all clear away; and our Captain ordered the Helm to be clapt a-weather, and bore away. The Enemy, seeing this, immediately bore away after us, with all the Sail they could, hoping to come up; for now they doubted not they should take us. We, observing that our doubling had increased their Courage, resolved to lie-by, and fight it out. Captain *Dampier*'s Opinion was; that he could sail better upon one Mast than the Enemy's, and therefore it was best to put before the Wind; but, however, chose rather to fight, than to be chased about: So, hoisting the bloody Flag at the Main-topmast head, with a Resolution neither to give nor take Quarter, we began the Fight, and went to it as fast as we could load and fire. The Enemy kept to Windward, at a good Distance from us, so that we could not come to make use of our Small-arms: But we divided the two Watches; and one was to manage the Guns, whilst the other looked on; and, when those at the Guns were weary, the others were to take their Places, till they had retired themselves. By this means we fired, I believe, five Guns to the Enemy's one. We fired about 560, and he about 110 or 115, and we fought him from twelve at Noon to half an Hour past six at Night, altho' at a good Distance, for he kept so far to Windward of us, that our Shot sometimes would hardly reach him, tho' his would, at the same time, fly over us. At half an Hour past six, it growing dark, they left off firing; and we did the same. We had none of our Men either killed or wounded by the Enemy; only two, through Carelessness, had their Hands and Faces blasted. We lay-by all Night, and, in the Morning betimes, looked out for our Enemy, expecting to have had another Brath with him; but, contrary to our Expectation, he had made Sail from us in the Night. Captain *Dampier* told us, that his Intention was now to leave the Coast of *Pera*, in order to go and get Provisions in the Bay of *Sanames*. Accordingly, having weathered Point *Galera*, we anchored in that Bay, and sent our Boat ashore, with twenty Men, to look for Provisions; but they soon returned on board again, with a very untoward Account; viz. that they had met indeed with an *Indian* Village of about fifty Houses; but that the Inhabitants had abandoned it, and had left nothing behind them in their Houses. In the River, however, we found a fine Bark, of the Burden of about fifty Tons, with as much new Plank by her, as would have served to build another of the same Size. We likewise took another small Bark of about ten Tons, laden with Plantains. This Bark we intended to keep instead of a Long boat. She had two Masts, and two square Sails;

and, when we had fitted her for our Purpose, we called her the *Dragon*. The Country hereabouts is very pleasant, and well wooded and watered, with all the Convenience imaginable.

14. About seven Leagues to the Northward lies the Bay of *St. Mattheo*. The Land about it is very high, and has a great many Shoals running from it two Leagues into the Sea; and for three or four Leagues, the Water is shallow, that is, from four to six Fathom where it is deepest. Southward and Northward to the Sea there are white Cliffs, and the Bay lies between them. In the Bottom of the Bay there are two Rivers, that empty themselves into the Sea; but they are both what the Seamen call Alligator-water, that is, white and musky, as I have before described it. On each Side of these Rivers are Shoals of Sand, and, near their Mouths, very fine Groves of tall, spreading, green Trees, which are the Marks to find these Rivers by; for their Mouths are so narrow, as not to be discerned at a Distance. These Rivers are seldom used by the *Spaniards* for anything but Refreshment: And, to say the Truth, there cannot be a proper Place for that Purpose, since all the Country round about abounds with every kind of Provision, that this Part of the World affords. About two Leagues up the River, there are several Villages, inhabited by the *Indians*, who, when the *Spaniards* come hither, furnish them with Cocoa nuts, Plantains, Bananas, and other kinds of Fruit. As we have often mentioned these, and shall be obliged to mention them frequently hereafter, it may not be amiss to enter into a particular Description of them here, for the Reader's Information, and to render our Accounts perfectly intelligible. The Cocoa-tree is, generally speaking, from fifty to an hundred Feet in Height, for the most part, straight and slender. This Tree produces Leaves of four Fathom, or four and an half in Length, and bears the famous Nut of the same Name, which, with its outer Rind is larger than a Man's Head. This outer Rind being taken off, there appears a Shell, which will hold near a Quart. Within the Shell is the Nut; and within the Nut is about a Pint and an half of pure clear Water, which is very cool, pleasant, and sweet. The Kernel of the Nut is also very pleasant and good, which, if it be pretty old, we scrape all to Pieces. The Scrapings we set to soak in about a Quart of fresh Water for three or four Hours, and then strain the Water, which, when strained, hath both the Colour and Taste of Milk; and, if it stand a while, it will have a thick Head on it, not unlike Cream. This Milk, being boiled with Rice, is accounted by our Doctors to be very nourishing; for which Reason we often give it to our sick Men. The Leaves of the Trees serve to thatch Houses. Of the outer Rind of the Nut they make what resembles Linen Cloth. They also make of it Ropes for Ships, and Rigging, Cables, &c. which are a good Commodity in most Parts of the *West Indies*. The Shell of the Nut will make very pretty Drinking-cups. It will also burn very well, and make a fierce and hot Fire. The Kernel serves instead of Meat, and Water contained therein instead of Drink; and, if the Nut be very old, the Kernel will, of itself, turn to Oil, which is often made use of to fry with, but most commonly to burn in Lamps; so that from this Tree they have, as is commonly said, Meat, Drink, Clothing, Houses, Firing, and Rigging for their Ships. These Trees may be known by any Ships passing by; for they have no Leaves, except just at the Top. At the Bottom of the Leaves the Cocoa nuts grow, ten, fifteen, or twenty in a Cluster, hanging by a small String, which is full of Joints. The Plantain tree is about sixteen or fourteen Feet in Height, and about four Feet round. The Leaves of the Tree are about eight or nine Feet long, and two Feet broad, and end in a round Point. The Fruit grows at the Bottom of the Leaf, upon a great Stalk, in a Cod about eight Inches long, and of the Bigness of a Black pudding. The Cod is of a fine yellow Colour, often speckled with red. This being taken off, the Inside of it is white; but the Plantain itself is yellow, like Butter, and as soft as a ripe Pear. There grow fifty or sixty sometimes upon a Stalk, and five or six Stalks upon a Tree. They are an extraordinary good Fruit; and in most Parts of the *East* and *West Indies* there is great plenty of them. The Banana tree is much the same, only the Fruit is not so long as the Plantain, that being about eight

eight Inches long, and the Banana not above six. It grows in the same manner as the Plantain, fifty or sixty in a Cluster upon one Stalk. The Fruit is very mellow, and extraordinary sweet and good. On July 31. we left the Bay of *Tacames*, and carried our little *Prize*, named the *Dragon*, with us, not desiring to touch at any Place, till we came to the Gulph of *Nicoya*.

15. We sailed from the Bay of *Tacames* cross the Bay of *Panama*, and from thence continued our Voyage to the Gulph of *Nicoya*, where, on August 16. we anchored near certain Islands, which the *Spaniards*, from their being seated near the Centre of the Bay, call the *Middle Islands*; and, the next Morning, our Captain and Carpenter went in a Canoe, to see if a proper Place for careening could be found amongst them. In the Evening of the same Day, while we were employed in dressing a Couple of *Turtles*, which the Captain had brought on board, our little *Prize* came to us again. They had been up the River *Changel*, and found two or three *Indian* Houses, and some Plantain-walks. The *Indians* climbed the Trees, and cut down from them as many Plantains as they would have. They found also two Canoes haled upon the Sand, and brought them both off. In their Way, they caught eight *Turtles*, and eat nothing of their own Provisions, but fed upon *Turtle* during the Time they were away from us. They gave us an Account, that they had found out a very good and secure Place at the Island *St. Lucas* for us to lay our Ship ashore in; that it was in a fine deep Bay, which, at the Entrance, was not above a Pistol-shot over; that, with five or six Guns upon each Point at the Entrance, we might so fortify ourselves, that no Enemy durst approach us; for that ten of us might defend ourselves against 500. However, we found the *Middle Island* to be as convenient as any Place could be; and, our Captain seeming to like the Place, and knowing we could fortify ourselves here, and with as little Trouble, we chose it. Accordingly, on the 18th, it being fair Weather, and calm, we towed our Ship in amongst the Islands, and lay within *Stone's* Cast of the Shore all round, with one Anchor a-head, and a Cable out at our Stern, which was made fast to a great Tree on the Shore. As soon as we had fastened our Ship, all Hands went ashore, and began to build Pents for our Cooper and Sail maker to work in, and to put our Goods and Provisions in. In the meantime, our chief Mate was sent in the small Bark called the *Dragon*, with twenty Men armed, and two *Patereroes*, to cruise in the Gulph; where after he had cruised five or six Days, he returned with a *Spanish* Bark of about forty Tons. She had in her some few Jars of Brandy, with Wine, and some Sugar. They were going to repair her, she being very old; and for that Purpose had five or six Carpenters and Caulkers on board, who came very opportunely to help us to repair our Ship; for we had great Need of Workmen. We took out our Powder, Shot, and all our Ammunition, with all our Bread, some of our Flour, and two Quarter-deck Guns, and put them on board this last Bark. Then we got all the rest of our Things ashore, and made every thing ready for cleaning our Ship. The Bottom of it was, in many Places, eaten like an Honey-comb; inasmuch that the firm Plank was not thicker than an old Sixpence. Nay, in some Places in the Hold, we could thrust our Thumbs quite through with a Nail. Our Ship being in this Condition, and we in want of Planks to new bottom her, our Carpenter was forced to make an hard Shift, and stop the Leaks as well as he could with Nails and Oakum. On September 2. the chief Mate *Mr. Clippington*, having quarrelled with Captain *Dampier*, drew over one-and-twenty Men to his Party; and, having made himself Master of the Bark, in which was all our Ammunition, and the best Part of our Provisions, got up her Anchor, and went without the Harbours, from whence he sent us Word, that he would put ashore our Powder, Shot, and other Ammunition, (reserving only what was requisite for his own Use) in an *Indian* House; which he did accordingly, and we sent our Caroes to fetch it on board.

16. These Islands are extremely pleasant and fruitful, abounding with all things requisite to Life; such as Fish of various kinds, and very good Birds of different sorts; and of amphibious Creatures such as are most admired, and of the greatest Use, particularly *Turtles* and *Guanas*. But, as general Observations are seldom satisfactory, I will enter

into a more distinct Account of the Creatures most remarkable here, whether Birds, Beasts, or amphibious Animals. The Maccaw is a very beautiful Bird; his Feathers of all the Colours in the Rainbow. In point of Size, he resembles an Hawk; in Shape a Parrot, only his Bill is perfectly white, and his Feet and Legs as absolutely black. The Carrion-crow is as big as a small Turkey, and, in all respects, very like one; for I never saw any Difference, either in Colour or Shape. The Flesh of them both smells and tastes so strong of Musk, that there is no eating of it. These Creatures commonly resort to Places where any dead Creature is, and feed upon it; for which Reason they are called Carrion: But the Reason why they are called Crows, I know not; for they are nothing like them. The Pelican is almost as big as a Swan. Its Colour is inclining to white; only the Tips of its Wings are brown. It hath a long Bill, of about twenty Inches, with a very large Crook joining to the lower Part of his Bill, and so descending by the Throat like a Bag or Satchel, very observable, and of a Largeness almost beyond Credit, into which it receives Oysters, Cockles, Conchs, &c. or any other Shell fish, which being not able to break, it retains them until they open, and then, vomiting them up, picks out the Meat. As for their making an Hole on their Breast, to give their Blood to their Young, I do not believe it, nor ever saw any such thing, altho' I have seen thousands, both young and old, together, and have eaten many of them. They are good Food; only they taste fishy. They have broad Feet, like a Duck, being Water-fowls; but they roost commonly on Rocks, and in Trees, and always fit with their Heads to the Wind; so that, if the Wind changes whilst they are at Roost, they turn about their Heads to it. They are very Birds, and fly very low; and always, when they sit, either on Rocks, Trees, or in the Water, they rest their Bill upon their Crop. The *Guana* is a sort of Creature, some of which are found on Land, and some in the Water. It is about three Feet long, more or less, and is a very ugly Creature to look at, having great, sharp, black and green Scales, from the fore Part of his Head to the End of his Tail, and a Set of great sharp Teeth, with four long Claws upon each Foot. They breed commonly in the Roots of old Trees, near the Water-side, and frequent the Water as well as Land. When they are stewed with a little Spice, they make good Broth; and the Flesh looks very white, and eats well; but, if they are not extraordinary well boiled, they are very dangerous to eat, making Men very sick, and often putting them into a Fever.

17. There are several sorts of Sea-turtles; but we saw the green Turtle the best Meats. They have leveled their sandy Bays, where they go to lay their Eggs, and they do in different Places, at different Times, and therefore at one, or at several of these Places, their Season of laying is always the same, yet, in different Places, the Seasons are different. I have been at the catching of them in most times of the Year, and commonly found them full of Eggs. When they want to lay, they go ashore to a sandy Bay, and, with their Pins, make an Hole in the Sand about two Feet and an half deep, wherein they lay their Eggs, commonly about eighty or ninety at a time. Then they cover them up with the Sand they scraped out of the Hole; and to leave them for the Heat of the Sun to hatch. Thus, they lay two or three times in a Season; but after they have laid, they go off to Sea, and leave their Young, when hatched, to shift for themselves, which is soon as they get out of the Shell and Sand, retire to the Water. The Eggs are round, about the Bigness of a Duck's, with a white, thin, tough Skin over them; but no Salt. Both the Eggs and the Turtle are extraordinary good Food. I have seen of this sort of green Turtle several times from 200 to 350 and 400 Weight. The Lean of them, when it is dressed, looks like Beef; but the Fat is as green as Grats, and yet is very wholesome Food. The Pearl oyster is much about the Bigness of our common Oyster, but flat and broad. It hangs to the Rocks by a long Stalk, and is like a Mussel. The Pearl lies in the thickest Part of it. Some have six or seven Pearls in them. The *Spaniards* make several Voyages to this Gulph of *Nicoya*, and to the Island *California*, for them. The *Indians* go down in eleven or eight Fathom Water, and bring up eight, ten or

twelve Oysters at a them. The Meat of Oyster very fat: I have both boiled and stewed good. The great Oysters, not hanging oyster: When they are Red like a Cherry, they have often eat of them better Victuals: They are better, and stewed, Men. The Mussels when dressed, will furnish good Victuals, who And though it may be these would scarce give our Nicer in Eating of these Dishes come

18. We sailed from and, on October 7. we where we had Sight only, though I think *Guatemala*. The first affords a most beautiful City, and, in the Water, which totally Building of the new City other Mountain, which South; and in the ranges most terribly. This is a Houle, and this Flame, that, at the Distance you may see to read a Blank of about eighty She had a small Quantity were very acceptable by one Captain *Christoph* *Canaries*, but brought merely to Captain *Laure* Seas in Quality of his Men, ran away from he lay concealed six which he cut down two ter-side, and bound a Mast; and, of two Sh Sail, and, having filled he made tall to the bottom, put off from one Day in the Afternoon, where he went ashore, *mand*, who sent him cleared himself, and good English. We were Boys, all in good Health. November 23. we took *California*, laden with wife, several Parcels of Coat. On December 23, in which we took sixty Tons, laden with for the Use of the *Sea* ing, and for the Sight, netly, as if there had and taking her; neither With in one respect, of our *Prize* as much when they perceived, quitted her, having their Cargo, and left Confusion.

19. Being off the Morning, we did with her. This provokes Ship, which we with. As we were many Broad-sides, being clear; for they did were not at all prepared then a Prisoner on board. Vol. I.

twelve Oylers at a time, while the Men on board open them. The Meat of this Oyster is very green, and the Oyster very fat: I have eat of this Oyster several times, both boiled and stewed, and found them to be tolerably good. The great Oyster grows to the Rocks, as other Oylers, not hanging to them by a Beard as the Pearl-oyster: When they are opened, one Part looks of a fine Red like a Cherry, the other Part is of a fine White: I have often eat of this sort of Oyster, but it was for want of better Victuals: They are so large, that one of them cut in Pieces, and stewed, is sufficient for a Meal for five or six Men. The Mussels here are so large, that one of them, when dressed, will suffice two Men; and they are tolerably good Victuals, when stewed with Pepper and Vinegar: And though it may be true, that, in our own Country, these would scarce go down; yet it must be observed, that our Nourishment in Fasting is pretty well conquered before any of these Dishes come to our Tables.

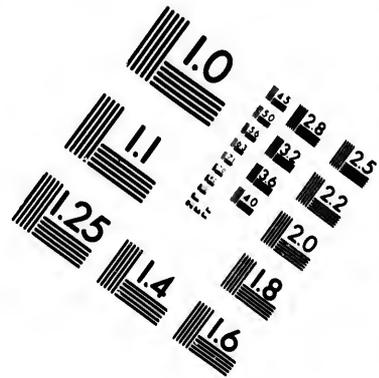
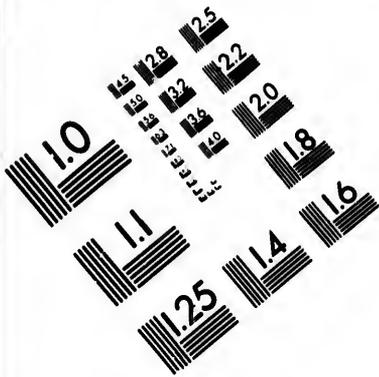
18. We sailed from the *Middle Islands* on September 23. and, on October 7 we were in the Latitude $13^{\circ} 7'$ North, where we had Sight of the two high Mountains, commonly, though I think improperly, called the *Vulcanoes of Guastanada*. The first of these, which is the highest, and affords a most beautiful Prospect, lies on the North Side of the City; and, in the Year 1534, threw out a Torrent of Water, which totally overwhelmed it, and occasioned the Building of the new City at three Leagues Distance. The other Mountain, which is properly a *Vulcano*, lies on the South; and in the rainy Seasons, from April to November, rages most terribly. It sometimes throws out Stones as big as a House, and this, with such monstrous Eruptions of Flame, that, at the Distance of six Miles, in a dark Night, you may see to read a Letter. We took, on the 9th, a Bark of about eighty Tons in Ballast, bound for *Rio Leja*. She had a small Quantity of Provisions on board, which were very acceptable to us. This Bark was commanded by one Captain *Christian Martin*, a *Spaniard*, born at the *Canaries*, but brought up in *London*; he was Servant formerly to Captain *Eaton*, and came with him into the South Seas in Quality of his Gunner; but, falling out with the Men, ran away from them at the Island *Gorgonia*, where he lay concealed six Days, till the Ship was gone; after which he cut down two Trees, which he drew to the Water-side, and bound them together with Twigs; fixed a Mast; and, of two Shirts which he had with him, made a Sail, and, having filled a large Bag with Oylers, which he made fast to the said two Trees, he, in the Morning betimes, put off from the Island *Gorgonia*; and, in the next Day in the Afternoon, got into the River of *Bonaventure*, where he went ashore, and had but ill Usage from the *Spaniards*, who sent him to *Lima*, where he was examined, cleared himself, and was set at Liberty. He spoke very good English. We were, at this time, sixty four Men and Boys, all in good Health, and in extreme high Spirits. On November 23 we took a small Bark, of sixty Tons, from *California*, laden with Plank, but having on board, likewise, several Parcels of Pearl that had been fished up on that Coast. On December 4. we came into the Bay of *Nativity*, in which we took a new Ship, of the Burden of about sixty Tons, laden with Ammunition and military Stores for the Use of the *Acapulco* Ship, for which we were cruising, and for the Sight of which our People longed as earnestly, as if there had been no Difference between seeing and taking her; neither was it long before they had their Wish in one respect, tho' not in another. We took out of our Prize as much of the Ammunition as was left; for when they perceived our Design, the Ship's Company quitted her, having first thrown over board the best Part of their Cargo, and left the rest scattered about in the utmost Confusion.

19. Being off the *Vulcano of Celima* on December 6. in the Morning, we discovered a Sail, and soon came up with her. This proved to be the great *Manilla* or *Acapulco* Ship, which we had been so long willing to meet with. As we were well provided, we gave her a great many Broadfides, before she could get any of her Guns clear, for they did not suspect us to be an Enemy, and were not at all prepared for us. Captain *Martin*, who was then a Prisoner on board us, advised to lay her aboard

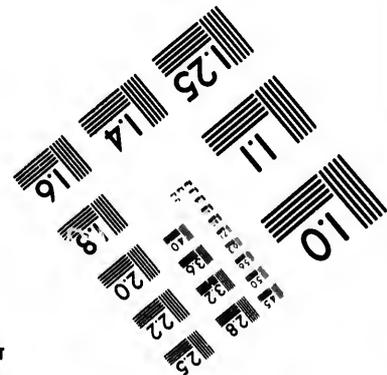
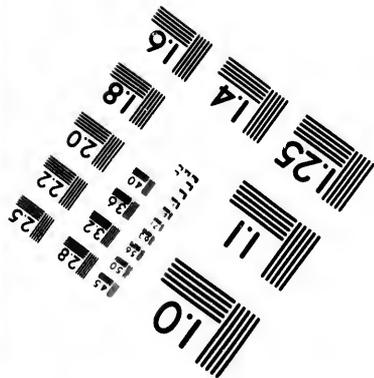
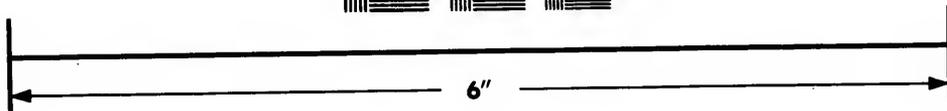
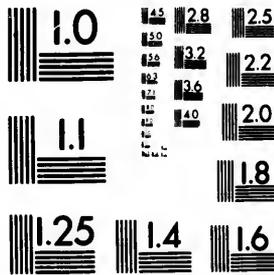
immediately, while they were all in a Hurry, and that this would be the only Way to take her; but if we gave them so much Time, as to get out their great Guns, they would certainly beat us to Pieces, and we should lose an Opportunity of making ourselves Masters of the Value of sixteen Millions of Pieces of Eight: And accordingly it happened; for Time being delayed in quarrelling between those of us that would lay her aboard, and those that would not, the Enemy got out a Tier of Guns, and then were too hard for us; so that we could not lie along her Side to do her any considerable Damage; for our five Pound Shot, which was the biggest we had, signified little against such a Ship as she was; but any of her Shot, which were eighteen and twenty-four Pounders, if they happened to strike us, our Ship, being very much decayed, it would drive in a Piece of Plank of three or four Feet: So being much damaged, and receiving a Shot particularly from the Enemy, betwixt Wind and Water, in our Powder-room, by which we had two Foot of Plank driven in on each Side the Stern, the Signal was made to stand off from the Enemy. Our Design being thus disappointed, all our Men grew discontented, and were for going Home, knowing we would do no good in these Parts, either for ourselves or Owners, having Provision but for three Months, and that very short, and our Ship being ready of herself to fall in Pieces. Our Captain desired our Consent to cruise here six Weeks longer, and then he would permit us to go for *India*, to some Factory, where we might all dispose of ourselves as we should think most for our Advantage. To this we all agreed, and accordingly cruised along Shore to the Eastward, in Sight of the Land; and passed by several noted Ports, as *Acapulco*, *Port Angels*, *Port Guastulo*, and several others. We now intended to go in Search of a proper Place to water our Ship and Bark, for our proposed Voyage to the *East Indies*; and, after some Consideration, we fixed upon the Gulf of *Amapalla* for that Purpose.

20. January 5. 1705. we met with such vast Quantities of Fish, that, in half an Hour's time, we caught near threecore Albicores, from sixty to ninety Pounds Weight each, besides vast Quantities of other Fish. The Albicore is about four or five Feet in Length, weighing from 50 to 100, and 150 Pound Weight: He hath eleven Fins on his Back, one pretty large one, one middling one, and nine small yellow ones near the Tail. He hath one large Fin on one Side near the Gills, and twelve Fins under his Belly; one on each Side underneath near the Gills, one near the Middle of the Belly, and nine small yellow Fins extending to his Tail. It is a very fleshy Fish, having little or no Bones, except the Back-bone, and is extraordinary good: It is a prodigious strong Fish when in the Water: They prey mostly upon Flying-fish, as do the Dolphins and Bonetoes. On the 6th of this Month, a new Revolution happened in our Affairs; for thirty of our Men agreed with Captain *Dampier*, to remain with him in the South Seas, but with what View, or on what Terms, remained to us, who were not of that Number, an impenetrable Secret. Our Company consisted of thirty-three Men; and, notwithstanding what had happened, we sailed together, according to our first Resolution, for the Gulf of *Amapalla*, where we arrived, and anchored on the 26th. The very same Day, all the Provisions that were left were equally divided amongst us by the Owners Agent; and we had four Pieces of Cannon, with a proper Proportion of small Arms and Ammunition, assigned us for our Defence in our Voyage. The next Care was to take in Water; and, with this View, we landed on the Island of *Conebagua*; and, after some Search, we found behind the Hills a large Bottom, in which was a large Plantain-walk, and a great deal of Rain-water that fell from the Mountains. This was very inconvenient for us; because, lying so behind the Hills, we knew we must be forced to carry all our Water over a high Hill, which we could hardly climb by ourselves: But seeing there was no Remedy, we first cut down the Bushes, which were in our Way, to make us a clear Path; after which, the Hill being pretty steep on the Land side towards the Bottom, wherein was the fresh Water, we, with our Axes and Shovels, cut out Steps in the Hill; and our Sail-maker having, in the mean time,





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made us a Canvas Pipe of about ninety Fathom long, to carry our Water from the Top of the Hill down to our Cask, which lay at the Foot of it, we went to work to fill our Water, each Man having with him a six Gallon Cask. The Water which we took up was very muddy; and, on the Top of it, grew Duck-weed, as it does usually in our Ditches: At first we raked the Duck-weed away; but our Doctor persuading us, that if we took up the Weeds, they would mightily preserve our Water, we, according to his Advice, took up both Weeds and Water together. When each Man had filled his six Gallon Cask, he carried it up to the Top of the Hill, and then poured it into the Canvas Pipe, which conveyed it down the Hill into our Cask. Thus we employed ourselves for four Days; and, having filled about twenty-five Tons, which we concluded would last longer than our Victuals, and got it on board our Vessel, the next Day, being *January 31. 1705.* we all went ashore to the Plantain-walk; and, having cut down a sufficient Quantity of them, we returned at Night on board our Vessel, intending to sail next Day. This Evening, two of our Men, who had resolved to stay with Captain *Dampier*, left him, and came over to us; so that now we were thirty-five in Number, viz. thirty-four *English*, and one little Negro Boy, whom we had taken from the *Spaniards*. During the Time of our watering our Bark, the Men on board the Ship belonging to Captain *Dampier*, were busy in refitting their Ship as well as they could: The Carpenter stopped the Shot-holes, which they had in their Powder-room, with Tallow and Charcoal, not daring, as he said, to drive in a Nail, for fear of making it loose; and the four great Guns, which usually stood between Decks, were put down into the Hold, there being sixteen besides, which was more than they had Men to manage; for there remained with them no more than twenty-eight Men and Boys, and most of them Landmen; which was a very insignificant Force, for one who was to make War on a whole Nation.

21. We left the Gulph of *Amapalla* on *February 1. 1705.* and Captain *Dampier*, with his Ship the *St. George*, at Anchor in it. We steered out between the Gulph of *Amapalla* and the Island *Mangera*, and many times had not above two Fathom Water. We had a fine Gale of Wind at North-east, which soon carried us out of the Mouth of the Gulph. So long as we had been in any of the Harbours on this Coast of *Mexico*, we had seldom been allowed any thing but Flour; excepting that we used to go ashore, and found upon the Rocks Store of Conchs, Oysters, Mussels, Snails, &c. of which we made many a good Meal. But now, being in hopes of getting into a Land of Plenty, we bore Hunger with more Patience; and, indeed, we had need of great Patience; for now our Commons were lessened to half a Pound of coarse Flour a Man per Day, with two Ounces of salt Meat every other Day. Our Vessel was a small Bark, with two Masts, of about seventy Tons, which we had taken from the *Spaniards*; but, whilst we lay here, she was so eaten by the Worms, that she began to grow very leaky; and, to add to our Afflictions, we had no Carpenter; neither, if any of us should fall sick, had we any Doctor, or any Medicines to make use of; and, which was worst of all, we had no Boat to assist ourselves, if our Vessel should fail us; for the Doctor, Carpenter, and Boat, were left with Captain *Dampier*: Yet, trusting to God's Providence, who had already delivered us out of so many Dangers, we proceeded on our intended Voyage to *India*. A bolder Attempt than this, all Circumstances considered, was perhaps never made by such an Handful of Men; and nothing but a Desire of seeing our Country, could have supported us under it.

22. The very Prospect of the Difficulties that we were sure to go thro', gave us Spirits to provide against them; and we held, on this Occasion, a kind of Council, in which we determined on two Things; the first was our Course, and the latter was our Allowance. We knew very well, that the Wind we then had was only a Land-wind; and that, by running one hundred Leagues to Sea, we should meet with the true Trade-wind, blowing either North-east, or East North-east. Our Business was then to get into the Latitude of 13° North, which is that of the Island of *Guam*, and then to bear away before the Wind. It was on *February 2.* that we determined these Points. All that Day,

and most of the Night, was fine calm Weather; so that we caught abundance of Yellow-tails, which were swimming about our Vessel. This Fish is about four Feet in Length, and has twenty Fins on his Back; one middling one near the hinder Part of his Head, one large one near the Middle of his Back, and eighteen small ones, stretching from the large one to his Tail. He has two large Fins near his Gills, one on each Side; and thirteen under his Belly, viz. one middling one underneath the Gills, one large one near the Middle of his Belly, which goes in with a Dent, and eleven small ones, stretching from the large one to his Tail, which is half-mooned: He has a very large Head, a great Eye, and is extraordinary good Food. It is very fleshy, having no Bone but the Back-bone: These Fish, when taken by us, looked very white, but the Tips of their Fins and Tail were yellow; and for this Reason we called them Yellow-tails. They were very welcome to us; for, whilst they lasted, which was three Days, we saved our Provisions, feeding upon nothing else but this Fish. On *February 3.* the first Part of the Day, it was calm; in which time, five or six Turtles coming near the Vessel, we caught two of them, which still served to help us, and save our Sea-stores, which otherwise had not been sufficient to keep us from perishing.

23. On the Evening of the same Day, we had the Land-wind at North-east, a fine brisk Gale; and therefore we took our Departure from Mount *St. Michael*, in the Gulph of *Amapalla*; and continued our Course South-west, and South-west by West, till we were in the Latitude of 10° , and then, finding we had the Trade-wind, we bore away West North-west, according to our former Resolution. The next Thing we did, was to make Studding-sails out of our Main-sail, and Main-top-sail; we got our Studding-sail up by Day-break every Morning, and at Sun-set haled them down again; for it commonly blew so fresh in the Night, that we were forced to set our Top-sail, and, with the rising of the Sun, the Wind abated; yet we always had as much as we could well carry with our Studding-sails. We continued, during our whole Voyage, to adhere steadily to that Rule of Diet, which we had prescribed ourselves; and of the Slenderness of which the Reader will be a proper Judge, when I enter a little into Particulars. From the third to the last of *February*, we fed intirely upon Plantains, making two Meals a Day, and allowing each Man two Plantains at a Meal. We then had recourse to our Flour, of which half a Pound a Day was allowed to each Man, and every other Day two Ounces of salt Beef or Pork; but the Meat had been so long in Salt, that, when we boiled it, it shrunk one half; and therefore we concluded, that it would be better to eat it raw, which we did, so long as it lasted, all the Voyage after: But, in the Beginning of the Month of *April*, that began to fail, so that we were forced to have recourse to Flour alone; which, besides its being measured out to us in so scanty a Proportion, as half a Pound to each Man for a whole Day, was likewise very much spoiled, being full of Maggots, Spiders, and other Vermin; so that nothing but the Extremity of Want could oblige us to eat it. It is, indeed, surprising to behold this strange Change, and to perceive Flour, that a few Days before was white and fine, in a manner all alive, the Maggots tumbling one over another. On strict Inquiry, however, it seems, this Change is produced by the Eggs of Spiders deposited amongst it; for, out of these, the Maggots are bred, which fed voraciously on what afforded them a kind of Nest, till such times as they became living Creatures. It must be confessed, that Words very faintly describe the Miseries of such a Life as this; but then it must be considered, that Work makes the Time pass away; and that the Hopes of accomplishing a very difficult Voyage, keeps up Mens Spirits, and gets the better of their Apprehensions of sinking under it. Some little occasional Assurances we met with in this long Course, such as sometimes catching a Dolphin; at other times we saw many Sea-birds, such as Boobies, Noddies, &c. which would come and settle upon our Vessel, and happy was he that could catch one of them. In this manner we passed away about ten Weeks; at the End of which we were in a very melancholy Condition, and nothing but the Hopes of speedily seeing Land, could possibly have kept

kept us from despairing it took up all our Thought

24. *April 10.* we saw rizon much more than 1 and; for it is common over the Land, though for all this Night, we to 11th, in the Morning bearing Island, distant a woody Island, and very we stood towards it; bear North, distant about our Ship by, and several brought us some Fish, The Men in those Fish Jimbd People, of a tall Hair reaching down to naked, not so much as Exchange of what we had them Money; but they making Money to us to get it, which we did, and We also gave them for directly tore in Pieces, a We would have given but they were afraid to us drink to each other, made Signs, that he would a Glassful, which he imitated the Flowful would never so amazed at the Heat is Belly, that, I believe, Fire. He laid himself which scared most of the roared near half an Hour in haste, put the poor Signs to his Consorts to not fall over-board. The but, however, we did come into our Vessel at not understand at all. they tied two Sticks to held them up for us to signify to us, that they sian Religion: We, in which we had taken from which they all bowed to This Island of *Magon*, 13° North, and we made *Michael's*, West 120° 9 58 and 59 Miles to a D The Boats that these F about forty Feet in Length broad and stern, but Their Head and Stern Water's Edge, was one which, for the Side of Plank, about three Feet as the Boat itself: It Rattans to the Bottom Poles put out of one Side End of the Boat, and other End, so that they 120 Feet, the Poles were the End of which was twenty-one Feet, of the Part of the Bignels of th is laid across at the one the other, where it is ve together, is called the O the Weather-side, and overleaving; for, with narrow, that it would Sail, which is made of it is not above two Inc a Boom: When they l letting go the Sheet of same Side; at the other which was the Stern be

kept us from despairing; but, as this was daily expected, it took up all our Thoughts, and calmed all our Sorrows.

24. April 10. we saw the Clouds gather about the Horizon much more than usual: This was a sure Sign of Land; for it is common between the Tropics to be foggy over the Land, though it be never so clear at Sea; therefore all this Night we took care to look out, and on the 11th, in the Morning betimes, we saw the Island of *Magon*, bearing West, distant about ten Leagues. It is an high woody Island, and very plain and green on the Top: So we stood towards it; and, when he had brought it to bear North, distant about a Mile, being so near, we laid our Ship by, and several Fishing-boats came to us, and brought us some Fish, with Eggs, Yams, Potatoes, &c. The Men in those Fishing-boats were a very tall large-jimbd People, of a tawny Complexion, having long black Hair reaching down to their Middle. They all go stark-naked, not so much as covering their private Parts. In Exchange of what we had of them, we would have given them Money; but they looked on it, and gave it us again, making Signs to us to give them Tobacco in the room of it; which we did, and they seem'd very much pleas'd. We also gave them some old Shirts, which they immediately tore in Pieces, and rolled them round their Heads. We would have given each of them a Dram of Brandy, but they were afraid to drink it: Only one of them, seeing us drink to each other, and that it did us no hurt, at last made Signs, that he would drink with us: So we gave him a Glassful, which he immediately drank off; but we thought the Fellow would never shut his Mouth again; for he was so amaz'd at the Heat it had left in his Mouth, and in his Belly, that, I believe, he thought he had set himself on Fire. He laid himself down, and roared like a Bull, which scared most of the rest of them away: After he had roared near half an Hour, he fell fast asleep; and we, being in haste, put the poor Fellow into his Boat, and made Signs to his Consorts to take care of him, that he might not fall over-board. They seem'd to be a very civil People; but, however, we did not care to let too many of them come into our Vessel at a time. Their Language we could not understand at all. When they first approach'd us, they tied two Sticks together, in Fashion of a Cross, and held them up for us to see; which was, as we suppos'd, to signify to us, that they had some Knowledge of the Christian Religion: We, in Return, shew'd them a Crucifix, which we had taken from the *Spaniards*; at the Sight of which they all bowed their Bodies, and came on board. This Island of *Magon*, I conceive, lies in the Latitude of 13° North, and we made Longitude from the Mouth of *St. Mateo's*, West 120° 9', or 7029 Miles, allowing between 58 and 59 Miles to a Degree of Longitude in this Parallel. The Boats that these Fishermen came on board in, were about forty Feet in Length, and about seventeen or eighteen Inches broad aloft, but not above three broad below: Their Head and Stern were alike: The Bottom, to the Water's Edge, was one intire Piece, but hollow; upon which, for the Side of the Boat, was a Piece of thin Plank, about three Feet broad, and of the same Length as the Boat itself: It had its lower Edge sew'd with Rattans to the Bottom of the Boat: They had two long Poles put out of one Side; one was within ten Feet of one End of the Boat, and the other within ten Feet of the other End, so that they lay distant from each other about 120 Feet; the Poles were about thirty Feet in Length; at the End of which was a long Piece of Plank, about twenty-one Feet, of the same Shape, and about one-fourth Part of the Bigness of the Bottom of the Boat: This Piece is laid across at the one End of the Poles from the one Pole to the other, where it is very securely made fast; and this, all together, is call'd the Outlayer or Outleaker. This is always the Weather-side, and the Use of it is to keep the Boat from oversetting; for, without the Outleaker, the Boat is so narrow, that it would not bear itself: They have but one Sail, which is made of Mat, and like our *Bermudas* Sail; it is not above two Inches broad at Top, and hales out by a Boom: When they have a mind to go about, it is only letting go the Sheet of the Sail, and haling aft on the same Side; at the other End of the Boat; and then that which was the Stern before, becomes the Head, any End

going foremost, and no Distinction in the Building of either End, but it is the same Side still that always remains the Weather-side. The Conveniency of these Vessels are very great, and the Contrivance of them exceedingly ingenious, so that we are able to build nothing like them.

25. It was resolv'd, on mature Deliberation, to bear away from hence for the Coast of *New Guiney*, without putting in to the Island of *Guam*, of which we had Sight. The Weather continu'd fair, and the Wind brisk, as well as favourable, till we arriv'd in the Latitude of 4° North; and then we had a Calm for no less than seven Days; in which Space we had no way to relieve our Hunger, but by drinking a good large Draught of Water, and then lying down to sleep. On the 3d of *May*, we had a fine Gale, which continu'd to the 5th, when it died away before we saw any Land. About ten in the Evening, we were all sensible of a very odoriferous Smell brought to us by the little Air there was; from whence we concluded, that we could not be far distant from some Land, whence this fragrant Breeze must blow. Upon this, we began to search our Charts, but to no manner of purpose; for in none of them was there any Land laid down. The next Morning, however, we found our Conjecture verified, and actually saw Land at no great Distance. The same Day we caught two Bonnetoes, which were very welcome to us; for they made a good Meal for all our Company. This Fish is commonly about three Feet in Length, and two Feet about; he hath two middling Fins on his Back, with eleven small ones, stretching to his Tail, the like Number opposite, under his Belly, with two large ones, one on each Side, near his Gills; a very sharp Head, with a small Mouth; a full Eye, and an half-mooned Tail; it is a very fleshy Fish, having no Bone but his Back-bone, and they make very good Broth. About Noon we were in Sight of three small Islands, all of them low Land, but exceedingly green and pleasant, affording a most delightful Prospect from the Sea, and especially to us, who had not seen Land for so long a time. We had likewise an Observation, by which we found, that we were in the Latitude of 50' North; and, as the Eastermost of those Islands was four Leagues to the South-east, it must be, consequently, in the Latitude of 42' North.

26. As we were cautious of venturing upon an unknown Coast in the dark, we stood off all Night; and very well it was for us, that we did so; for the next Morning, being the 7th of *May*, about Day-break, we found ourselves within a Ship's Length of a great Ledge of Rocks, which ran from one Island to the other, which we not seeing before, and thinking to go between the two Islands, had like to have been upon them: But, through God's Mercy, a small Breeze of Wind coming from the Shore, we got off, and stood to the Westermost Island, because we saw many Shoals lying off the rest of them. The Rocks we were like to have been upon were near the Northernmost Island, which, upon account of our miraculous Escape, we call'd the Island of *Deceit*. When we came near the Westermost Island, which was the biggest of the three, we stood in for the Island; and, as we drew nearer, about forty or fifty of their flying Procs came off, and in them might be about 450 Men, allowing ten to each Proc; and we could discern Multitudes of People upon the Shore; for, as we pass'd by any of these Isles to go to the next, the People also followed us; their flying Procs lay at a Distance from us, and viewed us, till we beckoned, and made Signs for them to come to us; then one of them, which was in the Middl, advanced towards us, and, being pretty near, lay and look'd on us for a while. We still made Signs for him to draw nearer; then he came within a Ship's Length of us and lay still again. In her were ten Men, all naked, and, in the Middl of them, a grave old Man, of a pleasant Countenance, who had on his Head a Four-corner'd Cap, without a Crown, but otherwise he was quite naked, as were all the rest of them. This Man, by the Respect all the rest in the Boat shew'd to him, we guess'd to be a King or Prince. At their Approach to us they sung a Song, which continu'd about a Quarter of an Hour: We could not understand it, but it was tun'd very prettily: When this Song was done, they came almost close to our

Vessel's

Vessel's Side, and then sung another Song. This was begun by the grave old Man, and followed by all the rest in the Boat; which done, they put themselves in a Posture of Praying, and made several Bows and Cringes towards us, after the Manner of their Country; then one of the Men in the Boat, having a very fore Leg, held it up to us, and pointed to the Wound. By the Signs he made to us, we understood, that he would have us to cure it; for we being white, and they having probably never seen any white Men before, they seemed as if they did not think us to be mortal Men. After this, we poured some Water out of a Bucket into a Glass, and, pointing to our Mouths, made Signs that we wanted Victuals and Drink: Then they shook their Heads, in way of Denial, as I suppose; but, seeing us still make towards the Island, one of the Men in the Boat blew an Horn; at the Sound of which, all the rest of the Boats made boldly to us: Upon this, we all believing they would be aboard of us, fired a Musquet over them, not designing to harm, but only to frighten them; at the Noise of which they seemed wonderfully amazed, and drew back, menacing us at a Distance with their Paddles, and still following us. So seeing, as I said before, many Hundreds of them upon the Shore, and finding we could have nothing from them but by Force, and having no Anchors or Cables by which we dared trust our Bark, and, besides, having no Boat to go ashore in, so that should we swim ashore, as some of our Men proposed, yet we could not carry our Arms with us, and the *Indians* might knock us in the Head with Stones whilst we were in the Water. We concluded there was no good to be done here: Wherefore, examining our Water, and finding sufficient for eighteen Days, at a Quart of Water each Man *per* Day, we resolved to leave these Islands, and to trust to God's Providence to guide us to a more friendly Place, where we might supply our Wants, nor doubting but we should furnish ourselves with Water at some Island or other, in a Place where there were so many: So we left the said Islands, and called the Westermost of them the Island of *Disappointment*, because we made certain Account of getting some Water here, but could not. They were all three low, flat, even Islands, full of several Sorts of Trees, all very green and flourishing; and, no doubt, if we had had a Boat, we might have met with something which would have been beneficial to ourselves, and of Advantage to our Country, as we might also at several other small Islands, which we afterwards passed by. The Inhabitants of most of these Islands were a very large strong-boned people. They had long, black, strait Hair, which reached down to their Middle; and they all go stark-naked, not so much as covering their privy Parts. I think I never saw such a Parcel of stout-limbed Fellows together in my Life. It is certain, therefore, that the Islands hereabouts are abundantly peopled, though they are utterly averse to any Communication with Whites, perhaps from a Notion, that all Whites are *Spaniards*; and yet it is not altogether clear, that even the *Spaniards* ever attempted making a Settlement in any of these Islands.

27. When we left these Islands, we had a fresh Gale of Wind at East; and, steering South-west, we met continually with Weeds and Grass in the Water; which inclined us to believe, that we were not far from Land; and yet, on soundings, we had no Ground at an hundred Fathom. On the eighth of *May*, early in the Morning, we discerned the Coast of *New Guiney*; from which we were then distant eighteen or nineteen Leagues. The Sight of Land engaged us to think of building a Boat with a few old Boards, and such other Materials as we had, though they did not seem altogether fit for that Purpose; which Boat, when completed, though it was not the strongest or most beautiful thing in the World, yet proved exceeding useful and convenient. On the 9th, we had very bad Weather, the Wind shifting all round the Compass. We had time enough to consider this Part of *New Guiney* with much Attention; the Land appeared very mountainous, black, and rocky, without Harbour, Bay, or Road, where we might anchor safely. The Mountains were so bleak and barren, the Valleys so narrow and deep, that we, at first Sight, conceived the Country uninhabited; nor did our

future Acquaintance engage us to change our Opinion, since we saw no Inhabitants, or Signs of Inhabitants. The same Day we passed by two small Islands, each of which might be a League in Length; they were low, but very well clothed with small green Trees. We saw, at the same time, Part of the great Island of *Gillolo*, at eight Leagues Distance, and kept on our Course West South-west, intending to pass through that Island, and the Continent of *New Guiney*, into the *East India* Sea. We had very bad Weather till the eleventh, and, the Night being very dark, we missed the common Passage, and found ourselves in the Morning among many small Islands; when, perceiving we had overshot the Passage, and the Wind being at East, we resolved to look out for a Passage to the Southward, amongst those Islands: Accordingly we stood to the Southward, but found a great many Rocks and Shoals, which stretched from one Island to another: At Night, there being little Wind, and not daring to venture further amongst those unfrequented Islands and Shoals, we resolved to lie-by, intending, in the Morning, if the Wind should prove Westerly, to return back, and go through the common Passage; but, if it still continued Easterly, then to endeavour to find out a new Passage to the Westward. This Night we saw two or three Fires, which were made on shore by the Inhabitants. The Islands here were most of them of a good Height, and pretty well clothed with several Sorts of Trees, which all appeared very green and flourishing. On the 12th, we had fair Weather, with a fine fresh Gale at North-east: So we proceeded to the Westward, and, at the same time, had a strong Tide setting to the Westward. About eight this Morning, we shot between two high Head-lands, which were distant from each other near two Miles. Upon this, some of us went to the Top-mast head, to look if we had a clear Passage through, and we saw no Hindrance: So we got through by two in the Afternoon. It was in Length about seven Leagues, and about two Miles broad. In it we could find no Anchorage, till within a Ship's Length of the Shore, and then we had thirty Fathom Water. The Land here was of an indifferent Height, and very woody. At Noon, the Tide setting back to the Eastward, and it being calm, we drove, by five in the Evening, half way back again, and drove with our Vessel fo near the Shore, that we kept her off with our Poles; and might have stepped from our Bark to the Shore, and yet our Vessel never touched the Ground, the Water being very deep close to the Shore. Not long after, a strong Gale springing up again by seven in the Evening, we got clear of this Streight the second time; and then it fell calm again, and we drove with the Tide, which still set to the Westward. In this Streight we saw a flying Fleet under Sail, but it did not come near us. We also, in some of the small Bays, saw several old Houses, some standing, and some half down, but could not see any Inhabitants. On the 13th, we had little Wind at East South-east, and sometimes calm; but, when we had any Wind, we steered away South by West. Here we saw a great many Islands to the Southward of us, but none of them so near together, but that there was room to pass between them, and scarce any Ground to be found with one hundred Fathom of Line. We still found we got but very little, the Tides setting sometimes to the Southward, and then again to the Northward; so that we were not got yet above a League to the Southward of the said Streight, which we, after the Name of our Bark, called *St. John's* Streights; and, I believe, we were the first *Europeans* that ever past it.

28. At this time a large *Indian* Proc came on board us, in which was a Freeman of *Ambonya*. We acquainted him with our great Want of Victuals, having had nothing for a long time to eat but Flour and Water, and so little of that, as would hardly keep us alive. He told us, if we would go to the Island of *Manipa*, which was then in Sight, he would be our Pilot, and carry us in, where he did not doubt but we might have Rice enough for our Money to carry us to *Batavia*. Accordingly we steered directly for *Manipa*, and, in our Way, passed by the Island *Kyloa*, which is a small, but high Island, very well inhabited, and clothed with several Sorts of Trees. Its chief Produce is Rice, and some few Cloves; and here was a *Dutch* Cor-
poral,

poral, with six Soldiers, all the Clove-trees cut down, we proceeded to *Manipa* at Night, and came to a North-west End of the Island. Two Men alore with a young man with our *Wa* Morning, a *Dutch* Corporal, and read to us a *Dutch* *East India* Company those belonging to the *Dutch* there, they were not to furnish him: it was for want to put in here; and that should not have touched *Batavia*: Wherefore we and inform the Governor a very weak Condition, would bring us *Wa* and, at four in the Evening us *Wa*. That we thought if we would go to *Ambonya* so we were forced to leave *Ambonya*, if the Wind was. This Island of *Manipa* is well, about fifteen Miles in the Latitude of 3° 2' Island *Bona* about twenty Island, and pretty well in all the *Manipa* Islands, which Shoals, some of the off the Shore: Wherefore has good Draughts of the near it. The Island is of as the Island *Kyloa* being good Springs of fresh Water Side of the Island, the Guns. The Island is good Corporals, and a Master of twenty *Dutch* Soldiers. Cloves and Rice, of which *Ambonya*. The Inhabitants They catch abundance of an *Ule*, but also to furnish 29. We stood to the 2: South-south-east; and Top sails, and went away now quite out of Heart *Ambonya*, the South-east Wind was right against that we could scarce carry of getting to *Batavia*, be us thither; and besides, weather the Shoals, which Island of *Bouton*: So that the Wind continuing, and ward, till we came over the Wind veering to the South-east: But, finding ward, so that we rather no Likelihood of getting sent, shared all that was the Whole of what each Pounds and three Quar Bran; and every one de as he could. On the 2: the South-south-east, and west; and soon weather small Island, not above an indifferent Height, and It is pretty well furnished not inhabited: Neither fresh Water upon it. From till twelve at Night, we down upon us, before our Sails, it almost oversail and Main-top-sail and to 6 of our Fore-sh over, it fell calm; and

paral, with six Soldiers, whose only Business it was to see all the Clove-trees cut down and destroyed. From hence we proceeded to *Manipa*, where we arrived about twelve at Night, and came to an Anchor in a small Bay at the North-west End of the Island: Then our *Dutch* Pilot sent two Men ashore with a Letter to the Governor, to acquaint him with our Wants. On the 23^d, betimes in the Morning, a *Dutch* Corporal, with two Soldiers, came on board, and read to us an Order which he had from the *Dutch East India* Company; That if any Ships, except those belonging to the *Dutch East India* Company, anchored there, they were not to supply them with any thing. We told him, it was for want of Victuals that we were forced to put in here; and that, if we could have subsisted, we should not have touched at any Place till our Arrival at *Batavia*: Wherefore we desired him to go ashore again, and inform the Governor of our Wants. He, seeing us in a very weak Condition, promised he would, and that he would bring us Word again: Accordingly he went ashore, and, at *twelve* in the Evening, returned again, and brought us Word, That we should have no Provision there; but, if we would go to *Ambogna*, there we might be supplied. So we were forced to leave this unfriendly Place, and endeavour, if the Wind would permit, to go to *Ambogna*. This Island of *Manipa* is in Length, South-east and North-west, about fifteen Miles, in Breadth about eight, and lies in the Latitude of 3° 25' South, and Westward of the Island *Bona* about twenty Miles. It is a remarkably high Island, and pretty well inhabited by the *Malayans*, as are all the *Malacca* Islands. It is Shole almost all round; which Shoals, some of them, stretch a League and a half off the Shore: Wherefore, unless a Man be acquainted, or has good Draughts of the Place, it is dangerous coming near it. The Island is of a good Height, but not so high as the Island *Keylan* before-mentioned: On it are several good Springs of fresh Water; and, on the South-west Side of the Island, the *Dutch* have a small Fort of six Guns. The Island is governed by a *Dutch* Serjeant, three Corporals, and a Master Gunner, and they have under them twenty *Dutch* soldiers. On this Island grows vast Plenty of Cloves and Rice, of which they send great Quantities to *Ambogna*. The Inhabitants are most of them Fishermen. They catch abundance of Fish here, not only for their own Use, but also to supply *Ambogna*.

29. We stood to the South-west ward, having the Wind at South-south-east; and, it blowing fresh, we reeted our Top sails, and went away under our Courses. We were now quite out of Heart; for we did not expect to reach *Ambogna*, the South-east Monsoons being let in, which Wind was right against us; and besides, it blew so hard, that we could scarce carry any Sail; and we could not think of getting to *Batavia*, because we had not Victuals to carry us thither; and besides, as the Wind was, we could not weather the Shoals, which lie to the East South-east of the Island of *Boston*: So that, being almost in Despair, and the Wind continuing, we kept our Course to the Southward, till we came over-against the Island *Bouro*; and then, the Wind veering to the South South-west, we stood away South east: But, finding a strong Current setting to I ce-ward, so that we rather lost than got Ground, and seeing no Likelihood of getting to *Ambogna*, we, by general Consent, fluted all that was eatable on board our Vessel; and the Whole of what each Man's Share amounted to was six Pounds and three Quarters of Flour, with five Pounds of Bran; and every one designed to be as sparing of his Part as he could. On the 25th, the Wind veering about to the South South-east, we tacked, and stood to the South-west; and soon weathered the Island of *Ambloze*, which is a small Island, not above three Leagues in Length. It is of an indifferent Height, and lies in the Latitude of 4° 5' South. It is pretty well furnished with Trees of several sorts; but not inhabited: Neither do I know, whether there be any fresh Water upon it. From hence we continued our Course till twelve at Night, when an hard Gale of Wind coming down upon us, before (through Weakness) we could hand our Sails, it almost overfet our Vessel. It split our Main-sail and Main-top-sail all to Pieces, broke our Main-mast, and two of our Fore-shrouds. As soon as the Squall was over, it fell calm; and then we had so great a Sea, occa-

sioned, as I believe, by the meeting of several Currents, that, we thought, our Bark could not hold it out, she laboured so much; and the Sea took us so on all Sides, that we were almost covered with Water. On the 26th, it sprung up a fine fresh Gale at South-east: Whereupon, knowing we could not weather the Shoals, we tacked, and stood away North-east for the Island of *Ambogna*. On the 27th, the Wind continuing, we held the same Course; and, on the 28th betimes in the Morning, saw the Island of *Ambogna*, bearing due North, distant about six Leagues: So we stood away directly for the Island, and, by Noon, came just off the Harbour; a joyful Sight to us then! tho' we had, soon after, Cause to look upon it as the worst Sight we had ever seen: So frail are the Hopes of Man, and so apt are we to desire what leads to our own Destruction!

30. As we entered the Harbour of *Ambogna*, we met with two Ships coming out, laden with Cloves, and bound for *Batavia*. The Captain of one of these Ships came on board us, desired to know whence we came, whither bound, and a Journal of our Voyage, promising to return it, when he should meet with us at *Batavia*. We gave him the best Answer we could to all his Demands; and our Owners Agent gave him a succinct Relation of our Voyage; which was a very happy Accident, since to it we owed our Preservation, as will be shewn hereafter. That Night we stood in to the Harbour, and, the next Morning, which, according to our Account, was *Tuesday*, but with them *Wednesday*, two *Dutch* Orambies (for so they call the Vessels which they use there) came on board us, each rowed, or rather paddled, by forty Men. In these Vessels came the Fiscal, Secretary, several *Dutch* Gentlemen, and about eighty Soldiers, who took Possession of our Bark. They also went down, and sealed up all our Chests; and the two Orambies towed us in; and, by Noon, we got up as high as the Town, where they moored our Vessel in the common Anchoring-place. Here we continued till the 31st, not knowing how they designed to dispose of us; in which Time they would not afford us any Victuals, tho' we offered them a Crown for a Pound of Beef, Pork, or Bread. In the Evening, we were all sent on shore, where they had provided two Rooms for our Reception near the Stadt-houze; and our Bark, Money, and Goods, except what we had about us, were all taken from us: And, soon after, our Vessel and Goods were sold at a public Outcry. We were fed with very bad Meat, which we, who had been at Short-allowance so long, and our Stomachs very weak, could ill digest; and, if we would have better, we must buy it with our own Money. Several of us had the good Luck to have some Money about us, and, as long as that lasted, we bought our own Victuals of our Keeper for a *Spanish* Dollar, which was five Shillings and a Penny Value, tho' he would give us no more than five *Dutch* Shillings, to the Value of about half a Crown; and, for this Half-crown, we could have no more Victuals, than we could have bought for Five-pence, if we had been at Liberty to go into the Town; so that, instead of having five Shillings for our *Spanish* Dollar, we had indeed no more than five Pence. It cannot be expected, that, after such hard Usage as this, I should be extremely fond of the *Dutch* Government at *Ambogna*. However, the Leisure I had, and the several Opportunities that offered, of inquiring into the present Condition of the Place, led me to frame a pretty large, and, I will be bold to say, just Account of that Island, and all its Inhabitants. This, I flatter myself, will be the more acceptable to the Public, because of the Care taken by the *Dutch* to stifle all Descriptions of this Place, even by their own People; so that I never heard of any lately printed: And this Conduct of theirs is founded on a Maxim of the *East India* Company, viz. that the best Way to preserve their Trade in those Parts, and particularly their Monopoly of Spices, is to contrive every possible Method for deterring other Nations from sending Ships into that Part of the World, and to use such as straggle thither in such a manner, as to fright their Countrymen effectually from following their Example.

31. This Island of *Ambogna*, so famous, or rather infamous for the Cruelties that were formerly committed there by the *Dutch* upon the *English*, is in Length from North-east to South-west, twelve Leagues. It is high and mountainous.

tainous. The Hills are, in great measure, barren; but the Valleys are very fruitful. The Soil is black, and the Surface affords Salt-petre. The Middle of the Island lies in the Latitude of about $3^{\circ} 4'$ South. It is inhabited by *Malayans*, who are the original Natives. They are of a middle Stature, and tawny; but the Women are of a brighter rawn than the Men, and have long black Hair, which reaches down to the Calves of their Legs. They have round Faces, small Mouths, Noses, and Lips. They wear a Linnen Waistcoat, which reaches no farther than the lower Part of their Breasts; and, about their Middle, they wear a Piece of Cloth, about four Yards wide, and a Yard deep. This they roll round them, and it serves them instead of a Petticoat; for none are allowed to wear Petticoats, but the *Dutch Women* only: Neither are any of the *Malayan Men* allowed to wear an Hat, excepting only their King. Although the *Malayans* are the most numerous, yet the *Dutch* are possessed of all the Sea-coast, and have here a strong Castle, built of Stone, and mounted with sixty Guns, besides several other small Fortifications in other Parts of the Island. Near this Castle is a small Town, of about 100 *Dutch Houses*, all strongly built of Stone, Brick, and Timber; but all very low, none exceeding one Story, because of Earthquakes, to which this Place is very subject; so that, should they be built higher, it would endanger the falling of them, as they often do, notwithstanding they are so low. Whilst we were here, we had a great Earthquake, which continued two Days, in which Time it did a great deal of Mischief; for the Ground burst open in several Places, and swallowed up several Houses, and whole Families. Several of the People were dug out again, but most of them dead; and many of them had their Legs or Arms broken by the Falls of Houses. The Cattle-walls were rent asunder in several Places, and we thought, that it, and all the Houses, would have fallen down. The Ground, where we were, swelled like a Wave of the Sea; but near us we had no Hurt done. As to the *Dutch Policy* in the Island, it is governed by a Council, which consists of five Persons; viz. the Governor, the chief Merchant (or upper *Koop-man*), the *Malayan King*, the Captain of the Fort, and the Fiscal, who is in the Nature of a Judge. Upon the Island are said to be about 350 *Dutch Soldiers*, with 120 or 130 *Dutch Freemen* and petty Officers, and near as many of the *Chinese*, who live here for the Advantage of Trade, although they are not allowed to trade in Spice, that being a peculiar Trade, which the *Dutch Company* reserve to themselves; so that, I reckon, they can make in all about 550 fighting Men, *Dutch and Chinese*. As to the *Malayans*, they would be but of little Service to them, but rather be glad to assist any-body against them. The *Malayan Women* are said to be great Whores, of which they are not ashamed. They are soon ripe, and often married by nine Years of Age; and many of them are said to have Children by ten or eleven. All near the Water-side are forced to be under the *Dutch Government*, which is very absolute and tyrannical: For any small Fault they are severely handled; and many think themselves well off, if they are not made Slaves, and wear an Iron upon their Leg during Life: Those, I say, who dwell near the Sea-side, are all subject to the *Dutch Government*, and are Christians; but those within the Country, who are called the *Hill Malayans*, are *Mohammedans*. They are always at War with the *Dutch*; and, if they take any of them Prisoners at any time, they never give him any Quarter; but, after they have kept him in Prison five Days, without either Victuals or Drink, they bring him out, and, first of all, rip up his Breast with a sharp Knife, and take out his Heart; at which there is great Rejoicing of all the *Malayans* that are present. Then they cut off his Head, and embalm it with Spice to keep; and they who can shew most of those Heads, are accounted the most honourable, and value themselves much upon it. The dead Body is left exposed to the ravenous Birds of Prey to feed on. The *Dutch*, to retaliate this Usage, when they take any of these *Malayans*, load them with many Irons, and lay them in Prison, where they lie for some time; after which they cut off their Noses and Ears, and then they are sent to Prison again, where they continue some further time; after which they are brought out the second and last time, and then they rack them till they die. As for those under their own Go-

vernment, if they are found guilty of Thieving, they often cut off their Noses and Ears, and put a great Iron Chain about their Legs, and so make them Slaves during Life. There were near 500 of these poor Wretches, who were in continual Slavery whilst we were here; and they always took care to keep them employed, some in sawing of Timber, others in cutting of Stone, some in carrying Burdens, and other Labour. At Sun-rising every Morning, they are let out of the Prison in which they are kept, the Men in one, and the Women in another, and are immediately sent to work, where they continue till Twelve at Noon; at which time they return back, and have an Hour's time to dine. Their Dinner is always the same, being a Pint of coarse Rice boiled for each Man. At one they are sent to work again, where they continue till six in the Evening; at which time they are brought back, and go to Supper, which is always the same, both in Quantity and Quality, with their Dinner. Soon after they have supped, they are put into their Lodgings, and locked in, where they lie upon the bare Boards, and have seldom any thing but a large Piece of Wood, which commonly serves five or six of them for a Pillow. Sometimes these poor Wretches make that to escape; but, if they are caught again, they are sure to be severely handled. There was one of these poor Slaves, a Woman, who had been harshly used by the *Dutch*; and, having once made her Escape, and being taken again, she, knowing how cruelly she should be used, cut her own Throat the Day before her appointed Punishment; after which, she was, by the Hair, dragged out of the Prison all round the Town, and then hung upon a Gibbet by her Feet, with her Head downwards; which is the common Punishment of any that are guilty of Self-murder. Such are in Debt, and cannot satisfy their Creditors, are, by them, turned over to the Company, who send them to work among their Slaves. They have nothing allowed them but Rice and Water, as the other Slaves: only they have Two-pence a Day given them towards the Payment of their Debts, which avails but little; so that it is very seldom, if ever, that any one gets abroad, till he is carried out dead. But tho' the poor Natives are thus severely handled, yet the *Dutch* themselves will wink at each other's Faults; so that it is a great Rarity for any one of them to be punished unless it be for Murder. In any other Case, a small Matter of Money will buy off a great Fault. The Women, that are Slaves to the Freemen, have all the Liberty that may be from their Masters and Mistresses; only they are obliged every Night to bring them a certain Acknowledgment, which is commonly about Sixpence, and to find their own Victuals, Cloaths, &c. in Default of which, they are severely used. They may whore and steal, and all is well, if the daily Acknowledgment be brought, and no Complaint be made against them. The chief of this Island's Products are Cloves, Ginger, Pepper, Rattans, Canes, and sometimes Nutmegs. The Clove-tree is not of a very great Body, but rather slender. It is in Height from twelve to thirty or forty Feet. The Branches are small, the Leaves about six Inches long, and two broad, and end tapering. One of these Leaves, rubbed between the Fingers, will smell very strong of Cloves; but, without rubbing, they have no Smell at all. The Cloves grow out at the Tip of the Branches, ten, twelve, or fourteen in a Cluster. They are first white, then green, then of a dark-copper Colour, which is the Time of their being ripe. The Manner of gathering them is, to spread Cloths or Sheets round the Bottom of the Tree at a good Distance; then they shake the Tree, and all the Cloves that are thoroughly ripe, and fit to be gathered, fall down. The rest, which are left upon the Tree, they suffer to remain for about six or seven Days; then they shake as many more of them off as are ripe, and will fall. This they do four or five times, till they are all down. The usual Time of gathering of them is *October* and *February*. Those which are ripe in *October*, are called the Winter Clove, and being the End of their Winter; and they are not accounted so good or strong as the other. These they commonly preserve, and put up in small Jars of about a Quart, of which they transport great Quantities to several Parts of the World. Those which are ripe in *February*, are called the Summer Clove. These are esteemed much better and stronger than the former, because they have the best Part of the Summer

to ripen in; whereas the Winter Clove, being gathered in the Winter, is not so fit for Weather, and all the Rays of the Sun cannot receive Opinion, Cinnamon, grow all up take. These Trees count Pounds Weight at a time to have a double of those Trees upon this Island, after, and a Register kept. They are numbered on Number they will not down, and destroy the All these Trees belong Freemen; but those the Company lets them an Allowance, any one brings up more, he is severely fined, and ever Cloves the Trees be Freemen are obliged to of Sixpence a Pound: So the Island are ingroffed if any Freeman, or of Value of ten Pounds, are seized to the Company. Life. The Inhabitants the Sale of their Cloves put their Cloves in a large Tub of fresh Water, and of an hot Nat and make a large Addition easily perceived. But rining for them; for they a small Filip with their if the Clove be thoroughly the Head will break after Glass; but, if it has be tough, and the whole Head fly off. These Island, the Trees of which they grow mostly at the three Ships I oads are of this Tree consists of four Kind is like that of a g and thin, which we call Shell, like that of a C shell, included in the There are said to be upon One of the *Malayans* that he told me, was taken Crime, and, if the *Dutch* should be severely punished Secret, which, as much *Europeans*. Although, about five hundred and in this Island; yet once a great many of their other Business; for, each Year, eight or ten of this Place goes his Orambies, some with a 40 Paddles apiece, in each I reckon there may be 100 or 150, and also *Malayans* to each of 75 Orambies are divided consisting of 20 Oran commanded by one of Flag The Rear cont by the Fiscal, who con are in the middle Sea who hath twelve *Dutch* present, for his Body go Governor carries with 5 Pines, for their Order they go and vic ally those that do, or

to ripen in; whereas the former have not above a Month's fair Weather, and all the rest is rainy and cloudy; so that the Rays of the Sun cannot come to them. It is the common received Opinion, that Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamon, grow all upon one Tree; but it is a great Mistake. These Trees commonly bear sixty, seventy, or eighty Pounds Weight at a time; and, every six Years, they are sure to have a double Crop. There is a vast Number of these Trees upon this Island, which are very carefully looked after, and a Register kept of them in the Company's Books. They are numbered once a Year; and beyond a certain Number they will not let them increase, but cut them down, and destroy them, for fear of lessening the Price. All these Trees belonging to the Dutch Company, or their Freemen; but those that belong to the Freemen, the Company lets them an Allowance as to their Number; and, if any one brings up more than what the Company allows of, he is severely fined, and his Trees forfeited; and whatsoever Cloves the Trees belonging to Freemen produce, the Freemen are obliged to sell to the Company, after the Rate of Sixpence a Pound: So that properly, all the Cloves in the Island are ingrossed into the Company's Hands. And, if any Freeman, or other, sells or conveys away to the Value of ten Pounds, all that he has in the World is forfeited to the Company, and he becomes a Slave during Life. The Inhabitants used formerly to cheat the Dutch in the Sale of their Cloves; for it was common with them to put their Cloves in a large Sheet, which they hung up by the four Corners, under the Ceiling of their Houles; and upon the Floor, immediately under the Cloves, they set a large Tub of fresh Water, which the Cloves, being very dry, and of an hot Nature, would, by degrees, draw up, and make a large Addition to their Weight, without being easily perceived. But now the Dutch are grown too cunning for them; for they always try them, by giving them a small Slip with their Forefinger on the Head; and then, if the Clove be thoroughly ripe, and no Deceit has been used, the Head will break asunder, like a Piece of thin brittle Glass; but, if it has been watered, then the Clove will be tough, and the whole Clove will sooner bend, than the Head fly off. There are some few Nutmegs upon this Island, the Trees of which are much like the Peach; but they grow mostly at the Island *Banda*, from whence two or three Ships Loads are exported every Year. The Fruit of this Tree consists of four Parts: The first and outward Rind is like that of a green Walnut; the second is dry and thin, which we call Mace; the third is a tough thin Shell, like that of a Chestnut; and the fourth is the Kernel, included in the said Shell, which we call Nutmeg. There are said to be upon this Island some Mines of Gold. One of the *Malayans* shewed me some of the Ore, which, he told me, was taken out of them; but this was a great Crime, and, if the Dutch should know it, he said, he should be severely punished; for this is an extraordinary Secret, which, as much as they can, they keep from all *Europeans*. Although, as I said before, they can raise about five hundred and fifty fighting Men, upon occasion, in this Island; yet once every year they are forced to spare a great many of their People, which are sent away upon other Business; for, commonly, on the 20th of *October*, each Year, eight or ten Days sooner or later, the Governor of this Place goes his Progress, attended with about 75 *Orambies*, some with a 100, some 80, some 50, and some 40 *Paddles* apiece, in each of which 20 two *Dutch* Soldiers. I reckon there may be in this whole Fleet, of *Dutch*, about 15, or 160, and about 5250 *Malayans*, reckoning 70 *Malayans* to each *Oramby* one with another. These 75 *Orambies* are divided into three Squadrons, the first consisting of 20 *Orambies*; which Squadron is always commanded by one of the Council, who carries a yellow Flag. The Rear consist of 20 more, and is commanded by the *Isical*, who commonly carries a red Flag: The rest are in the middle Squadron, and attend the Governor, who hath twelve *Dutch* Soldiers, a Corporal, and a Sergeant, for his Body guard, and carries a blue Flag. The Governor carries with him the *Indian* King, and all their Prince, for fear they should rebel in his Absence. In this Order they go and victual the Eastern Islands, but especially those that do, or are capable of producing Cloves

or Nutmegs; and, at every Island they go to, they have an additional Strength. The Time of their cruising in this manner is commonly six Weeks, during which they cut down, burn, and destroy, all the Clove and Nutmeg-trees they can find, except such as are reserved for the Company's Use; for all or most of these Islands do or would produce Cloves; but they will not suffer them, because they have enough to supply all *Europe* at *Amboyna* alone; and even there also, as I said before, they will permit but a certain Number, lest too great Plenty of them should lower the Price. Upon all these Islands the *Dutch* Company keep Soldiers, three, six, nine, or twelve, according as they are in Bigness, whose only Business it is to see the Trees cut down, or, at least, to take care, that they do not increase; for they are very jealous, lest the *English* or *French* should serve them such a Trick as they themselves served the *English* at *Amboyna*. During the time of their cruising, they gather Tribute from all the petty Kings and Princes of these Islands; and commonly, at the End of about six Weeks, return again. Of Beasts, here are Beeves, Hogs, wild Deer, &c. Of Fowls, here are several Sorts, the *Crocadore*, the *Cassawaris*, the Bird of Paradise, &c. The *Crocadore* is a Bird of various Sizes, some being as big as Hens, and others no bigger than Pigeons: They are in all Parts exactly alike; their Feathers are all over white, excepting only a Bunch upon their Head, which is always either yellow or red. The Bunch of Feathers lies so close, fitted into a Dent in the Head, that they cannot be perceived, unless when the Bird is frightened, and then he sets it up an-end, and it spreads open like a Fan. The Flesh and Legs of this Bird are very black, and they smell very sweet. When they fly wild up and down the Woods, they cry *Crocadore, Crocadore*; for which Reason they go by that Name. The *Cassawaris* is about the Bigness of a large *Virginia* Turkey; his Head is the same as a Turkey's, and he has a long, stiff, hairy Beard upon his Breast before, like a Turkey; he has two great Legs, almost as thick as a Man's Wrist, with five great Claws upon each Foot; he has an high round Back, and, instead of Feathers, only long Hairs, and the same upon the Pinions of his Wings. It lays an Egg so big, that it will hold a Pint; the Shell is pretty thick, spotted with green and white, and looks exactly like China-ware. I never tasted the Eggs, but the Bird itself is extraordinary good Victuals, as I have tried several times: It tastes very like a Turkey, but much stronger. The Birds of Paradise are about the Bigness of Pigeons; they are of various Colours, and are never found or seen alive, neither is it known from whence they come. I have seen several of them here embalmed with Spice, which preserves them from Decay; and, so embalmed, they are sent as Rarities to several Parts of the World. It is related of these Birds, that when the Nutmegs are ripe, which is in the Months of *February* and *March*, they resort to the Places where they grow, viz. to *Banda*, and this Island, and eat of the outer Rind of the Nut; after which they fall down dead-drunk, and an innumerable Company of Ants gather about them, feed upon them, and kill them. Of Fish, here are also several Sorts; but the most noted is the Sea Porcupine: It is in Length about three Feet, and two Feet and an half round. It has a very large Eye, with two Fins on his Back, and one large one on each Side, near his Gills. It is very full of sharp-pointed Quills; and, from thence, is called the Sea Porcupine. This Island of *Amboyna* is all over sandy, but the Water is so deep, that there is no anchoring near it, but at the *Ley* (which is at the West End of the Island) in forty Fathom Water, close to the Shore, and in the common Harbour. This Harbour runs up a great Way into the Island, and almost divides it into two, so that they are, in a manner, two Islands, being only joined by a small Neck of Land, so narrow, that the *Malayans* often hale their Canoes over. At the Entrance into the Harbour on the East Side, there is a small Fortification of about six Guns; and, close to it, is twenty Fathom Water; and, about a League farther up, is the Harbour for Ships, where they lie under the Command of their great Cattle, which, ever since the Massacre of the *English*, has been called the *Cattle Victoria*. About two Miles further to the North-east, within the Harbour, is

the Place where formerly our *English* Factory was settled; and near it is said to be the Hole into which the *English* were thrown, after they had been massacred by the *Dutch*. There were few of us now here but expected the same Fate; and some of the Inhabitants were no way shy to tell us, that the Journal, which was sent in the *Dutch* Ships that we met going out from hence for *Batavia*, was our Protection; for they were sensible, that, upon those Ships Arrival at *Batavia*, it would be presently known, that a Part of Captain *Dampier's* Company was arrived at *Ambeyna*, and from thence it would spread all over *India*; and so they knew, if we fared otherwise than well, we should be inquired after. A little to the Eastward of this Island are several other small Islands; the most noted and biggest of which are *Boangbessay* and *Hinomsa*; they lie East from *Ambeyna*, at a small Distance: They are of an indifferent Height, and not above a third Part so big as the Island of *Ambeyna*; they are both pretty well fortified, and produce Store of Cloves: But the *Chinese* Place for Nutmegs is the Island of *Banda*, which also belongs to the *Dutch*. It lies in the Latitude of $40^{\circ} 20'$ South, and bears from *Ambeyna* East South-east, Distance 28 Leagues. The Island is said to be in form of a Man's Foot and Leg, and to be pretty well fortified; and, it has the same Reputation for Nutmegs as *Ambeyna* for Cloves, the Governor of *Ambeyna* is reckoned the chief Governor of all those Spice Islands, even to *Ternate* and *Tidore*, which are also Spice Islands, in Possession of the *Dutch*, and lie about forty Miles to the Northward of the Equator. Whilst we were at this Island of *Ambeyna*, we were so much troubled with Muskitoes, (which are a sort of Gnats) that every Night we were forced to put ourselves in a Bag before we could go to sleep; for otherwise those Creatures would bite us, that there was no getting Rest; and where-ever they bit, they commonly raised a red Blister, almost as broad as a Silver Penny, itching very much; and many cannot forbear scratching themselves, so as to cause Inflammations, which sometimes occasion the Loss of a Limb. During our Stay here, we had the Liberty of a broad paved Yard, about sixty Yards square; but they would by no means let us go out into the Town, being very jealous of us, and desirous to prevent our knowing their Strength, or making any other Discoveries, which they thought might be prejudicial to them. Here we remained from *May* 31. to *September* 14. 1705. at which time there being three of the Company's Sloops ready to sail hence, laden with Cloves, twenty-five of our Men were sent away with them for *Batavia*, and ten of us left behind, who were, as they said, to go in another Vessel, which was almost ready to sail. On *September* 27. a *Malayan* Man was brought in here at *Ambeyna* to the Stadt-house, to be tried for his Life: He was accused, by his own Wife, for murdering his Slave: The Slave had been dead about six Months, and she had concealed it; but, happening to fall out with her Husband, she went before the Fiscal, in the Heat of her Anger, and declared it: So her Husband was put in Prison, and the Corps of the dead Slave dug up; but, it being consumed and rotten, no Marks of Violence could be perceived upon it; and it was generally believed, that the Man's Wife accused him wrongfully: He was upon his Trial when the Earthquake happened, at which time I observed, that it is a common Error to suppose, that, during an Earthquake, it is always calm; for we had a fine fresh Gale at South South-west, both Days on which the Earthquake happened. This Earthquake made all the Court break up, being in fear the House should fall on their Heads: So the Man was committed to Prison again; and the next Day, being *September* 28. about eleven at Noon, the Court being set again, the Man was again brought to his Trial; when, in about a Quarter of an Hour, when his Wife was in her greatest Violence against him, the Earth shook very much again, and caused them all to break up a second time. The same Day night, with four more of our Men, were sent on board a *Chinese* Sloop for *Batavia*: The other five of our Men which were left behind, they promised should be sent after us in a short time; yet we never heard of them since: But whether they languished out their Days in Confinement, found some quicker Period to their Miseries, or were detained in the *Dutch* Service during late, are Points

that will not be speedily cleared up, since our Government has never thought fit to inquire after, or demand them.

32. After we had left *Ambeyna*, we sailed South-west by West, till we came to the Island of *Lancas*, which lies in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 27'$ South; and I make its meridian Distance from *Ambeyna* $2^{\circ} 35'$ West, or 155 Miles. We then steered West by North, till we made the two Islands *Cabeles*; where, it falling calm, we went our Boat ashore on the Eastermost, and cut down some hundreds of Cocoa-nuts, which were brought on board. This Eastern Island of *Cabeles* is low, not inhabited, but full of Cocoa-nut-trees, which are planted here for the Use of such *Dutch* Ships and Vessels as pass by for *Batavia*; for it is a sort of Miracle, to see any *European* Ship here except the *Dutch*. Off this Island we met our Bark, which had brought us from *America* to *Ambeyna*; the *Dutch*, after they had taken her from us, had fitted her up, put a Mizen-mast in, and made a very good Vessel of her. This Island lies in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 23'$ South, and nearly West by North from the Island *Lancas*, distant about forty-five Miles; it is Shole two Miles from the Shore. To the South-west of this lies the other Island of *Cabeles*, which is a pretty high Island, and upon it the *Dutch* always keep a Corporal and six Soldiers, who, two or three times a Year, go round the Island, to see that no Cloves are planted; and if there be, they cut them down and burn them, for fear any other Nation should take it from them; which if they should, I am apt to believe *Ambeyna* would be of little Use to them, Cloves being the only Product that is valuable upon it. We passed next by the South End of the Island *Bouten*, which is a pretty large Place, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 45'$ South. We steered Westward from hence, passing between the Island *Cabeles* and the Island *Zalayer*. The South Part of the Island *Cabeles* is very high land. It is very well inhabited, and is a very large Island, taking up seven Degrees in Latitude. At the South End of this Island, on the West Side, the *Dutch* have a Factory called *Massassar*, where they have a Fort of about seventy Guns, manned with six or seven hundred *Dutch* Soldiers. The chief Product of the Place is Rice, with which they supply all or most of their Eastern Islands. Here are also said to be several Gold Mines, of which the *Dutch* are not yet Mailers; for the Inhabitants are often at War with the *Dutch*, and have kept them hitherto from those Places. There lie between the South End of this Island *Cabeles*, and the Island of *Zalayer*, three low small Isles; and the very best Passage is that which lies between the Island next to *Zalayer*, and another very little one which lies to the Northward. This is called the second Passage, and the first, third, and fourth of these Passages are exceedingly dangerous, so that Ships generally avoid them if they possible.

33. I should willingly give an Account of every Island I mention, if it was in my Power; but, as it is not, the Reader must be satisfied with what I can say without Injury to Truth. This Island of *Zalayer* is of a moderate Height; it is inhabited by *Malayans*, and planted all round with Cocoa-nut-trees. The Inhabitants are forced yearly to send Store of Oil and Match to the *Dutch* at *Massassar*, by way of Tribute. From hence we steered West by North, till we had passed a dangerous Shole, called the *Brill*, and then we haled up South-west; and, in the Night saw a small Island just by us, which finding we could not weather, we tacked and stood the other Way till Day-light; and then, finding ourselves to the Southward of the said Island, we tacked and stood to the South-westward, and soon after the two other low small Islands, bearing from the North to the North-west. We could see the Ground very plain for about two Miles, and never had above six, or under five Fathom Water, though it looked as if there was not above two Fathom: We came over this Shole about a League to the Southward of these two small Islands, and this is accounted the narrowest Shole; for, further to the Southward, it is five or six Leagues over; but there also is no Danger, because you have very even Soundings, as five or six Fathom, seldom over or under. But to the Northward of these two Islands it is very dangerous, it being all very foul rocky Ground, and in some Places not above four or five Feet Water. Therefore go to the Southward of these

Islands, and you will find their Maps, have laid down which should have been those two Isles; and that always go over, they have those two Islands, where the Southward of them, belonging to the Captain, very exactly as we found others which were on the Sentence: I asked the Captain, and he told me, that the Sholes and dangerous Places not desire any body else, a Foreigner should come in, and sail by their Draught amongst Rocks and Shoals, as we had done; and that their Ship, as we had done Draughts, it being belonging to the *English*, as they can; or, at least, and happen into their Hands, send them away, and let them be. How far the *Dutch* are of acting, from the Convention, conceive either their Satisfaction, I cannot take upon me very plain, that Mankind's Schemes of Thinking, to the keeping us in Ignorance, which the Divine Providence in private Life we preferred to the Caprice of a single Person; if, from the Good of Society ought to be interested; then, methinks, should have Force with a Company, and even of a War with the common Good, a little enthusiastic, but ways my private Opinions, which have been made, satisfaction took place, but Christianity have been a Fiction, it looks as if the Inhabited Parts of the Earth afforded them, of embarking and therefore I persuade to limit or prevent this Nature, but will likewise To seek new Countries, their Wealth, or making in them, is a Design, Fiction certainly will avow of Countries hitherto Poor at home, and to the most distant and distant, great and good Design with the Views of Providence scarce fail of becoming pursued it with a Spirit and humane an Undertaking.

34. On *October* 21. *Batavia*; and, as soon as of our Men, who were Major of the Castle was transmit the General, by which we received by that we should be satisfied with the Loss of Time, and Impudence of us drew up an Accusation the Major to the General that very speedily we sent *October* 27. we were all ready Money was returned with Loss of Time, and Impudence; only the Governor of *Batavia*, if there was any thing Vol. I.

Islands, and you will be safe: Although the *Dutch*, in their Maps, have laid down the Dangers to the Southward, which should have been laid down to the Northward of those two Isles; and the safe Shoales, which we and they always go over, they have laid down to the Northward of those two Islands, whereas we and they always went over to the Southward of them. We had a Draught on board belonging to the Captain of the Vessel, which shewed all this very exactly as we found it: I compared it with several others which were on board, and found a great deal of Difference: I asked the Captain the Reason of their Difference; and he told me, that the *Hollanders* knew all the Shoales and dangerous Places hereabouts very well; but did not desire any body else should know them; so that, if any Foreigner should come into those Parts amongst these Shoales, and sail by their Draughts, they might unexpectedly be amongst Rocks and Shoales, where they would certainly lose their Ship, as we had done, if we had sail'd by the common Draughts, it being the *Dutch* Policy to keep all Ships, belonging to the *English* or *French*, as far off these Islands as they can; or, at least, if they come amongst them, and happen into their Hands, as we did, they take care to send them away, and let them know as little of them as may be. How far the *Dutch* may be able to justify such a Method of acting, from the Conduct of other Nations, where they conceive either their Safety or Interest as nearly concerned, I cannot take upon me to determine: But this, I think, is very plain, that Mankind in general suffer by all these narrow Schemes of Thinking, which undoubtedly contribute to the keeping us in Ignorance of those Parts of the World, which the Divine Providence never meant to conceal. If, in private Life the Welfare of the Family ought to be preferred to the Caprice, and even to the Interest, of any single Person; if, from the just Maxims of Policy, the Good of Society ought always to take place of private Interest; then, methinks, the same Method of Reasoning should have Force with regard to the Concerns of a Company, and even of a whole Nation, when they interfere with the common Good of Mankind. It may be thought a little enthusiastic, but, I must confess, it has been always my private Opinion, that, as all these great Discoveries have been made, not only since the Christian Dispensation took place, but since the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity have been set free from the Errors of Superstition, it looks as if the Almighty designed, that all the inhabited Parts of the Globe should have an Opportunity afforded them, of embracing so excellent a Rule of Life; and therefore I persuade myself, that all the Attempts made to limit or prevent this, are not only impious in their Nature, but will likewise be found impracticable in the End. To seek new Countries for the sake of spoiling them of their Wealth, or making Slaves of the People who dwell in them, is a Design so base and barbarous, that no Nation certainly will avow it; but to aim at the Discovery of Countries hitherto unknown, in order to employ our Poor at home, and to extend the Blessings we possess to the most distant and distressed People in the Universe, is a great and good Design; and seems so exactly to coincide with the Views of Providence, that I think the Nation can scarce fail of becoming rich, happy, and glorious, that pursues it with a Spirit worthy of so noble, generous, and humane an Undertaking.

34. On *October* 21. 1705. we entered the Harbour of *Batavia*; and, as soon as we landed, we were sent to the rest of our Men, who were still in Custody. A little after, the Major of the Castle was sent to us, and desired we would transmit the General, by him, an Account of our Losses, which we received by our being taken at *Amboyna*; and that we should be satisfied on all Accounts as to our Effects, Loss of Time, and Imprisonment. Accordingly, we each of us drew up an Account of our Losses, and sent it by the Major to the General, who returned us for Answer, that very speedily we should have our Freedom. On *October* 27. we were all sent for to the Fort, and most of our ready Money was returned to us again; but for our Goods, Loss of Time, and Imprisonment, we could have no Satisfaction; only the General told to us, he had given us all that the Governor of *Amboyna* had sent to him; and that, if there was any thing more, he knew nothing of it; and that

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that we were now at our Liberty to go whither we pleased. We desired, that, since our Vessel was taken from us by the Company, he would be pleased to take care to find us some Ship, in which we might return home; which he promised he would. We were forced to be content, and went and took Lodging in the Town, till we could meet with an Opportunity of returning home. In the Space of about seven Weeks that I remained here, I made all the Observation I could on the Place, and its Inhabitants. The former I found in as good Condition as it was possible, and the latter appeared to me as prudent and industrious a People as ever I saw; but the Descriptions that have been already published of both are so exact, as to render it unnecessary for me to trouble the World with my Collections. I shall content myself, therefore, with making a very short Description of the Place, as I think it necessary to render my Work all of a Piece; and shall refer the curious Reader, for further Satisfaction, to the large Accounts that have been published by *Dutch*, *French*, and *English* Writers; but especially the first, who are equally capable and willing to represent it fairly.

35. This City of *Batavia* is the chief Place the *Dutch* have in *India*, receiving, by Shipping, the Product of *India*, *Japan*, and *China*. It is inhabited by several sorts of People, as *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Chinese*, *Persians*, and *Negroes*; but the *Malayans* are the Natives: The *Dutch* are Masters of the Place, and have a very fine large Town, in which are seven Churches, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Malays*, and *Chinese*, with several very spacious Houses, built after the *European* manner: The Town is all walled and moated round; and the Walls are abundantly provided with Cannon. In the Middle of the Town, in a great square Place, is a very fine Stadt-house, where all public Affairs are transacted. The Town, with all the Fortifications, is commonly governed by one of the States of *Holland*, who has the Title of General of *India*, and all other Governors are subordinate to him. The Inhabitants here do not care how often they change their General; for, at the coming of a new one, all Prisoners are released, except such as have committed Murder. He has twelve to assist him, who have always the Title of Rads, or Lords of *India*: These are such as have been formerly chief Governors in several Places in *India*, as of *Ceylon*, *Amboyna*, *Malacca*, &c. The Town is divided by Canals, over which, almost in every Street, there are Bridges laid, and Booms to hale across, which let no Boats go in or out after Sun-set. The chief Produce of the Place is Pepper, of which the *Dutch* yearly export great Quantities: Here are also some few Diamonds, and other Precious Stones. Of Fruits here are *Plantains*, *Bananas*, *Oranges*, *Lemons*, *Pomegranates*, *Mangaltans*, and *Rumbostans*. The *Mangaltan* is about the Bigness of a Golden-runnet; it is quite round, and looks like a small *Pomegranate*. The outside Rind is like that of a *Pomegranate*, only of a darker Colour; but the Inside of the Rind is of a fine Red; within this Rind is the Fruit, which is of a fine White, and lies in Cloves almost like *Garlick*; there are commonly four or five Cloves in each, and they are very soft and juicy; within the Clove is a small black Stone. We commonly suck the Fruit from the Stone, and the Fruit is very delicious; the Stone we throw away, being very bitter, if chewed. The *Rumbostan* is about the Bigness of a Walnut, when the green Peel is off. It is also pretty near the Shape of a Walnut, and hath a thick tough outer Rind, which is of a deep Red, full of little Knobs of the same Colour; within the Rind is the Fruit, which is quite white, and looks almost like a Jelly; and within the Fruit is a large Stone; it is very delicate, and though a Man eat ever so much, yet it never does him any Harm, provided he swallows the Stones as well as the Fruit; but otherwise they are said to cause Fevers. The Island of *Java*, on the North Side of which *Batavia* stands, is in Length, from East to West, about ten Degrees. The Wind and Weather is extremely regular at *Batavia*, and the *Dutch* Inhabitants know how to make use of it at all Seasons to the best Advantage. In the Eastern Monsoon the Land-winds are at South-east, sometimes more Southerly; and the Sea-winds at North-east fine pleasant Gales. This Easterly Monsoon is accounted the good Monsoon, it being fine fair clear Weather, beginning in *April*, and

ending in *October*; but the Westerly Monsoon is called the bad Monsoon, being rainy and blustering Weather, with much Thunder and Lightnings, especially in *December, January, and February*. This bad Monsoon begins in *November*, and ends in *March*, or the Beginning of *April*. In it the Land-winds are at West South-west, and South-west; and the Sea-winds at North-west, and West North-west. The Anchor-ground, all along the North Side of *Java*, from the Island *Madura* to *Batavia*, is fine ooly Ground, and clear of Rocks. The principal Places on this Side of the Island are *Batavia, Bantam, Japara, Samarang, Surabon, Jaggal, the Quale, and Rambang*; all these Places are settled by the *Dutch*: They afford Rice, with which they supply all their Out-factories hereabouts, as also very good Plank for building Ships with. The chief Place for building is *Rambang*, whither the Freemen go to build their small Vessels, as Sloops and Brigantines; also several Ships of five, six, or seven hundred Tons, lade with Timber at *Rambang*, the *Quale, Japara, &c.* and each Ship, when full, taketh a great Raft of the largest of the Timber in a Tow to *Bavia*: Some of these Rafts are said to be thirty Feet square, and to draw twenty-two Feet Water: There are commonly six of these Ships, which are thus laden with Timber; and they commonly make four Voyages in the good Monsoon; for in the bad they cannot do any thing. All this Timber is commonly landed upon a small Island, between four and five Leagues from *Batavia*, where the Ship-carpenters are usually kept at Work; nay, they are said to be never out of Employ; they are about 200 in Number; and the Island is called *Unrest, or Onrust*. The *Dutch* careen their Ships here; and it is very well fortified, being (to use a Sea Phrase) all round a Bed of Guns.

30. We had Notice given us on *September 2.* that all of us who desired to return to *England*, should go immediately on board the *Dutch East India Fleet*; which accordingly we did, and sailed the next Day. This Fleet consisted of twelve Sail, as well provided in every respect as any Ships I ever saw; and we made the Voyage in as good Order, arriving on *February 3. 1706.* at the Cape of *Good Hope*. The *Dutch* have here a strong Fortrefs; and, about half a Mile Distance from thence, a very fine Town, consisting of a small Church, and 150 Houses. The Land in the Neighbourhood is very high, and most of the Mountains are barren, producing only a few Shrubs. The Country within is full of Lions, Tygers, Elephants, and other wild Beasts, which give the People, who are settled here, great Disturbance. It is for this Reason, that the Government has found it necessary to promise to any one who kills a Lion fifty-two Guilders, which amounts to four Pounds six Shillings and Eight-pence; and for killing a Tyger, he has a Reward of twenty-four Guilders, or forty Shillings: There was a *Scotchman*, while we were here, who killed four Lions, three Tygers, and three wild Elephants; for which he had his Reward accordingly, to the aforesaid Proportion. This Country produces several sorts of Fruits, common, and not common, with us in *Europe*, as Pomgranates, Water-melons, Chestnuts, with some Plantains and Bananas; and great Plenty of very good Grapes, of which the *Dutch* make a very pretty pleasant Wine, called Cape Wine, in great Quantities, which, by *Retale*, is commonly sold at Eight-pence a Quart. It produces likewise plenty of Garden-fruit, which is very refreshing to those that arrive here sick of the Scurvy: Here are also abundance of Sheep, very large, and, I think, as good Meat as ever I eat. Of Fowls here are several sorts, but the most remarkable is the Ostrich, which is a very large Fowl: The Bird itself is little valuable, but its Feathers are sent as Rarities to several Parts of the World: Their Eggs are very good Meat, as I have experienced many times. That these Birds feed upon Iron, Stones, or any thing that chances to be near them, is fabulous; but, like a great many other Fowls, they pick up small Stones, which only serve to digest their proper Food; they are of several Colours, as black, white, &c. The most remarkable amphibious Animal here is the Seal, or, as the *Dutch* call it, the Sea Hound: They are the same as those before spoken of at the Island *Juan Fernandez*; only the Fur of these is not so fine. In this Harbour, on the South Side, are two high Mountains; the one called the *Table Land*, which is pretty plain and even

at the Top, and the other called the *Sugar-loaf* from its Shape; at the Top of this *Sugar-loaf* the *Dutch* have a small House, and four Guns mounted: Here they always keep a good Look-out; and at the Approach of any Ship or Ships, hoist a Flag, and fire as many Guns as they see Ships, to give notice to those at the Town. It is not easy to guess what the Reasons were, which induced the *English* to part with their Property in this Place, which is of such mighty Consequence to the *Dutch*, and which might have been made to advantageous to themselves: To speak the Truth, the *Dutch* are very civil and complaisant here; and, except their not permitting us to travel up into the Country, which might have produced more Knowledge of it, than perhaps would have been convenient for them, they indulged us in every thing we could ask, and furnished us with Provisions of all kinds, extremely good, and at very reasonable Rates. It is impossible to leave this Place, without making a few Reflections on the Conduct of the *English* and the *Dutch*, with respect to their Policy, in providing Places of Refreshment for their Ships in their Passage to the *Indies*. Both have found the Necessity of having such Places, and, by an unaccountable Accident, have exchanged the Places of which they are possess'd: The *English* have the Island of *St. Helena*, lying in the Latitude of 16° South, and 22° Longitude West from the Cape of *Good Hope*. This Island was first discovered by the *Portuguese*, who put some Goats and Swine on Shore there, the Breed of which still continues, and the Place is very plentifully stocked with them. The *Dutch* inhabited here first, but afterwards thought fit to quit it; and then we took Possession of it, from whom the *Dutch* took it again, but were soon dispossessed of it, and we have enjoyed it peaceably ever since. This Island is about nine or ten Leagues in Length, not quite so much in Breadth, and above 300 Leagues from the Continent of *Africa*: Near the Sea it is almost every-where encompassed with high Rocks, which hinder the Approach, there being but one Place for landing; and within there are many Mountains, but most of them covered with wholesome Herbs and Plants; and the Valleys are so fruitful, that they produce whatsoever is brought from other Parts, and planted in great Perfection. It would be certainly one of the most delightful Spots upon the Globe, and afford the pleasantest Living, if it was somewhat larger, nearer some Continent, or more frequented, than it is at present. The Air is wonderfully wholesome, the fresh Water excellent, the Fruits in the highest Perfection, and the Sea abounding with Fish. The only Misfortune there is, flows from the want of Industry in cultivating these Advantages, and correcting such Inconveniences as fall within the Power of Man to remedy. The *Dutch*, when they took Possession of the Cape of *Good Hope*, found it the most barren despicable Spot that was ever seen, or indeed could be well imagined; yet, perceiving the Importance of it, they resolved to settle there, and improve it, cost what it would; In this they met with many Difficulties; but they were resolved not to be discouraged; and, by persevering, they have rendered it, in all respects, the finest Settlement in the World, and have proved many settled Points in Planting-policy to be absolutely false; of which I shall instance one, and that is, the making Wine, which has been over and over declared a thing impracticable in that Climate; but they have now great Plenty both of Red and White, but especially of the latter, which, after two Years keeping, is very justly esteem'd preferable to the finest Canary. The Industry of the *Dutch*, and their great Success in their Improvements, invites our Ships, as well as theirs, to the Cape of *Good Hope*; and this is the principal Reason why we do not make all those Advantages of *St. Helena*, of which the Place is capable. This, at the same time, shews the different Genius of the two Nations; for, if the Cape had been ever so long in our Possession, there is great Reason to doubt, whether we should have made any such Improvements; as, on the other hand, if the *Dutch* could have kept *St. Helena*, after they took it from us in 1673, it is probable they would have made it another sort of Place than it now is; and not have suffered the Inhabitants to want Bread, merely from their not having Power to destroy the Rats that breed in the Rocks, and from thence fall out in such

Numbers, as to destroy their Plantations: I say this, considering one only beyond the Cape, which is, that, justly accounted improper very moderate Garrison. Let us now return to these Reflections.

37. We were now in the *East India Fleet* without Surprise and Trade by the Government up much more Room the many Instances that hence in this respect. *East India Company's* in Company with the *N* but his Signals also a cheerfully as if he was proceeds that *Regula* Voyages to and from the fail with as much *Harc* composed intirely of *S* that our Ships, especi to make some Stay at have the Opportunity also very surprizing, ample of the *Dutch* h come, in every respect Signal, as they are; open to the Ships of e Company. We had during the Time of o whire we were exce requisite for our Voy 24th of *March*, with a and went out between having the Main on t the Larboard. This Middle of which, upon few Guns mounted, an at the Approach of a Gun, to give Notice Name from a vast N which commonly ref the Bigness of a wild having no Wings, bu and these Stumps serv have a sharp Bill, but indifferent Food. here as in the Strigh ever, more Use woul Ships were not always the Cape, that the Sea any Temptation to tak And this may be on speaking, pretty free many, of their strict need as much as th extremely fond of stro intoxicated with them very commendably ca it, which they never Sail of us, viz. nine Gale continuing, so We met with nothing when two of the *Eng* a-tern, and lost our C and, as we afterwards by the *French*. On t the Ship's Company, to a Mess, that is, to we pleased, besides o more Victuals than w 15th, a Man being *Dutch* Vice-admiral, our Ship, and tric demned to die. He

Numbers, as to destroy the Kitchen-gardens belonging to their Plantations: I say, they would hardly have suffered this, considering one Advantage that *St. Helena* has, not only beyond the Cape, but even beyond any other Settlement; which is, that, as it is at present fortified, it may be justly accounted impregnable, though there should be but a very moderate Garrison to defend it. But enough of this: Let us now return to the Voyage which gave Occasion to these Reflections.

37. We were now to continue our Voyage to *Europe* in the *East India Fleet*; and it was impossible to see, without Surprise and Satisfaction, the Care taken of their Trade by the Government established here. It would take up much more Room than we have to spare, to enumerate the many Instances that might be given of the *Dutch Prudence* in this respect. One, however, shall suffice. The *East India Company's* Admiral not only hoists his Flag in Company with the Men of War belonging to the States, but his Signals also are obeyed by those Men of War as cheerfully as if he was Admiral of their own Fleet. Hence proceeds that Regularity that is observed in all their Voyages to and from the *East Indies*, when these Squadrons sail with as much Harmony, in every respect, as if it was composed intirely of Ships of War; which is the Reason that our Ships, especially in a Time of War, are content to make some Stay at the Cape of *Good Hope*, in order to have the Opportunity of coming home with them. It is also very surprizing, to see how great an Effect the Example of the *Dutch* has upon our Countrymen, who become, in every respect, as regular, and as attentive to Signal, as they are; so that very rarely any Accidents happen to the Ships of either Nation, when they sail thus in Company. We had an Opportunity of observing this during the Time of our Voyage to and from the Cape, where we were excellently provided with every thing requisite for our Voyage, on which we proceeded on the 24th of *March*, with a fresh Gale of Wind at South-east; and went out between *Penguin* Island and the Main-land, having the Main on the Starboard-side, and the Island on the Larboard. This is a pretty low sandy Island; in the Middle of which, upon the highest Part of it, they have a few Guns mounted, and near them a Flag-staff, on which, at the Approach of any Ship, they hoist a Flag, and fire a Gun, to give Notice to the Town. This Island takes its Name from a vast Number of Birds, called *Penguins*, which commonly resort near it. These Birds are about the Bigness of a wild Duck; they do not fly, but flutter, having no Wings, but Stumps only, like young Ducks, and these Stumps serve them for Fins in the Water. They have a sharp Bill, but Feet like a Duck, and their Flesh but indifferent Food. This Kind of Fowl is not so large here as in the Straights of *Magellan*, nor so good; however, more Use would be made of them, if the *Dutch* Ships were not always so well provided when they sail from the Cape, that the Seamen do not find themselves under any Temptation to take up with rank and disagreeable Food: And this may be one Reason, why they are, generally speaking, pretty free from Diseases; one Effect, among many, of their strict Discipline, of which they stand in need as much as the Sailors of any Country, being extremely fond of strong Liquors, and very abusive when intoxicated with them; and, therefore, their Officers are very commendably careful in their Endeavours to prevent it, which they never omit. We were now twenty-four Sail of us, viz. nine *English*, and fifteen *Dutch*; and the Gale continuing, soon carried us to the true Trade. We met with nothing material till the 10th of *April* 1706. when two of the *English* Ships, sailing very heavily, fell a-stern, and lost our Company: They put into *St. Helena*, and, as we afterwards heard, were taken out of the Road by the *French*. On the 11th, we had 25 Hogs killed for the Ship's Company, and the Commodore ordered an Hog to a Mess, that is, to every seven Men, to dispose of as we pleased, besides our daily Allowance, so that we had more Victuals than we could tell what to do with. On the 15th, a Man being barbarously murdered on board the *Dutch* Vice-admiral, the Murderer was brought on board our Ship, and tried for his Life, and the same Day condemned to die. He owned the Murder, and desired the

Favour of the Court, that he might chuse his own Death, which was granted; and he chose to be shot; which the next Day was accordingly done, all the Fleet lying by till his Death, and then we all made Sail again. On the 17th, we saw the Island of *Ascension*, but did not touch here for Turtle, though it was their Laying-time: The Reason was, because we were so well supplied with Provisions at the Cape, that we had no Occasion for more; and the *English* Ships being willing to keep us Company, they also did not touch here. On the 19th, we had fine fair Weather, with a fresh Gale at South-east: About eleven this Morning happened a great Earthquake; at first it seemed as if the Ship ran along upon the Ground: So we heaved out a Lead on each Side, with two hundred Fathom of Line, but found no Ground. The whole Fleet felt the Shock at the same time, so that for half a Quarter of an Hour there was nothing but making of Signals, and firing of Guns. We then reckoned the Island of *Ascension* to bear South-east, distant about forty Leagues. We steered thence to the North-west, and had soon an Opportunity of observing the great Advantage resulting from our imitating the Regularity of the *Dutch*: When I say this, I mean it of the *English* Ships in Company, which had quitted their Design of bearing up for the Island of *Ascension*, in order to remain with the Fleet.

38. On the 14th of *June*, we saw four Sail of *French* Privateers, which were waiting there for our homeward-bound Ships: They came up, and looked on us; but thought it not adviseable to make any Attempt, and soon bore away. On the 30th, we found ourselves in the Latitude of 62° 40' North, which was the furthest Northward that I ever was; and I could not but take notice of the Difference of Cold in this Place, and in 60° of Southern Latitude; for there we had continual Showers of Snow or Hail, and the Weather very cold; whereas here, on the contrary, we found the Weather very fair and moderate: The Reason of which, I suppose, was this; when we were to the Southward, we were always pretty near to the Main of *America*, having it to the West of us; likewise, when we were to the Northward, we were always pretty near the Main-land of *Europe*, having it to the East of us. Now, being near the Land, we always account the Land-winds the coldest, and the Sea-winds the warmest. Thus the North-easterly Wind is accounted the coldest Wind we have in *England*, *Holland*, &c. but in the same Latitude North, near the Coast of *America*, the North-west Wind is commonly accounted the coldest; and, in the same Height of South Latitude, on the Coast of *America*, the South-west Wind is the coldest; as, near the Cape of *Good Hope*, the South-east Wind is the coldest. Now, the Westerly Winds, at such a Height, both in North and South Latitude, having generally the Predominancy over the Easterly, very much alter the Degrees of the Heat or Cold of the Weather; for which Reason, in the South Part of *America*, the Westerly Wind caused cold Weather; but, to the Northward, the Westerly Wind caused warm Weather; and, as the Easterly Wind, being near the *European* Shore, is the coldest, so, being near the *American* Shore, in the same Height of Southern Latitude, the Westerly Wind is the coldest. These Observations are of very great Use to Seamen, and especially to Commanders, because they enable them to guess what Weather they are to expect on any Coast, and even to have a tolerable Foresight of what may happen in Voyages for Discovery; the Appearance of which Foresight in the Commander is of infinite Consequence to encourage the private Men, who obey with the greatest Cheerfulness, and undertake, with the greatest Alacrity, whatever they are commanded, by a Man, of whose Judgment they have a good Opinion, and of whose Skill they have had frequent Experience; whereas the least Diffidence in a Commander sinks the Courage of his Sailors, doubles the Fear of every Danger, and becomes an Occasion for future Suspicion and Contempt.

39. We saw in the Evening of the 3d of *July*, the Islands of *Faro*, bearing East and by North, distant about ten or twelve Leagues. We sounded, but had no Ground at 110 Fathom; at twelve at Night we had Ground at 85 Fathom, and at 75 by three in the Morning. On the

4th of July at Noon, the two Islands of *Faro* bore South-east, distant about eight Leagues. We then, steering North-east, had Ground at eighty Fathom, small Pieces of broken Shells. All last Night we kept firing a Gun every Half-hour, to give notice to the Cruisers, whom we expected to meet here. On the 5th, according to our Expectations, we met with our Convoy, which had been cruising for us; they consisted of eight Dutch Men of War, four Victuallers, and three of the Company's Privateers: After mutual Salutations, we proceeded to the South-eastward, being all bound for *Amsterdam*: And, on the 15th of July, we all arrived safely in the *Texel*; and, on the 17th, we got to *Amsterdam*. After which, myself, and the rest of our Company, went to see several Parts of *Holland*: And, on the 26th of August 1706, after many Dangers both by Sea and Land, we happily arrived in *England*, being but eighteen out of one hundred eighty-three. The News of our Misfortunes reached home before us, and every body was solicitous to have an Account of what had befallen us in the *East Indies*, and especially in the Island of *Ambeyna*, under the Power of the *Dutch*. These Importunities led me into an Opinion, that as complete an Account of our Voyage, as it was in my Power to give, might not be unacceptable to the Public; which occasioned the Pains I have taken in compiling this small Work; wherein, as there are many Adventures not altogether unentertaining, so I hope, that some of the Descriptions, Observations, and Discoveries, may with Justice be thought useful.

40. It has hitherto been the just Complaint of such as read Voyages with Attention, that they are often left in the Dark, as to very material Circumstances, while, at the same time, they are more than sufficiently informed as to Circumstances of very little or no Importance. I have often wondered, that, considering the many Editions through which *Dampier's* Voyages have passed, there never was any Care taken to supply their visible Deficiencies. The Reasons are very evident to me, why *Dampier* did not publish this last Voyage of his to the South Seas. If he had spoken the Truth, he must have done himself no great Credit; and, if he had attempted to impose Falshoods on the World, his Officers were most of them alive, and ready to contradict him: He chose, therefore, and I think it the most prudent Choice he ever made in his Life, to be absolutely silent. This Silence, however, gives not the least Satisfaction to the Reader, who, no doubt, would be glad to be informed of all the Transactions of that Voyage, of which *Mr. Funnell* has related only a Part; though, to say the Truth, that was all in his Power. This Task I shall endeavour to perform the best I can, having taken a great deal of Pains to satisfy myself in these Particulars. The Reader may remember, that, the 19th of May 1704, Captain *Dampier*, in the *St. George*, left his Confort, Captain *Stradling*, in the *Cinque-ports*, at the *King's Island*, in the Bay of *Panama*; after which, we hear no more of them. The Force that Captain *Stradling* had with him was very insignificant, and, therefore, they could not maintain themselves long in the South Seas; which drove them, for the sake of Shelter and Refreshment, to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; and in such a Condition they were when they came thither, that honest *Alexander Selkirk* chose rather to stay by himself in that Island, than run the Hazard of returning into the South Seas on board the *Cinque-ports*: In which he shewed a great deal of Judgment; for the *Cinque-ports* actually foundered on the Coast of *Babacora*, and only Captain *Stradling*, and six or seven of his Men, were saved, and sent Prisoners to *Lima*, where Captain *Stradling* was actually living at the time Captain *Rogers* came into the South Seas; but what became of him afterwards, I cannot say. The next Person that left our famous Captain, was his Mate, *Mr. Clipperton*, as he calls him; but the Gentleman's Name was *John Clipperton*, of whom we shall have Occasion to say much in a succeeding Voyage. He was certainly a Man of Parts and Spirit, and, in all human Probability, would not have left Captain *Dampier*, if he had not thought, that he would obstinately remain in the South Seas in his old creaky Ship the *St. George*, till she foundered; and, finding that a great Part of the Crew were of the same Opinion, thought

proper to leave him at the Middle Islands, where he was creening; and where it was plain to all who saw her, the *St. George* was no longer fit to put to Sea. This was on Sept. 2. 1704; and *Mr. Clipperton* had now with him no more than twenty-one Men, in a Bark of ten Tons, with two Masts, and two Square-sails, two Pattercocks, and two or three Barrels of Powder and Shot; yet he ventured into *Roa Loon*, on the Coast of *Mexico*, where he took two Spanish Ships at Anchor: One was very old and worm-eaten, for which Reason he ordered her to be immediately sunk; the other Ship was new, and had on board her Goods to a considerable Value. Captain *Clipperton* therefore, for so he was now called, sent on shore two of his Prisoners, with a Letter to the Spanish Governor, demanding ten thousand Pieces of Eight, by way of Ransom for that Ship. The Prisoners spoke so handsomely of *Clipperton*, that the Governor resolved to treat with him; and therefore sent him Word, that he did not think his Proposition unreasonable; but that, as the Owners were absolutely ruined, and the Town very poor, it was impossible for him to comply with it; but if 4000 Pieces of Eight, which was all they could raise, would content him, it should be sent aboard in ready Money, and they would rely upon his Honour for the Discharge of the Ship. Captain *Clipperton* accepted the Proposal; but, at the same time, informed the Governor, that they were in great want of Provisions and Water; and therefore expected, that whatever could be eat or drank, should not be included in the Capitulation. This was very readily agreed to, the Money sent on board the next Morning, and, as soon as the Provisions could be got out of her, the Ship was very honourably restored. Captain *Clipperton* sailed from thence to the Gulph of *Salinas*, where they drew their little Vessel ashore, in order to clean and rent her, which they did very effectually; and then resolved, even in this Cockle-shell of a Boat, to fail for the *East Indies*; which they did, and, keeping in the Latitude of 18° North, reached the *Philippine* Islands in fifty-four Days. While they were among these Islands, there came off a Canoe, with a Spanish Priest in it, whom they detained till they were furnished with fresh Provisions, and then set him at Liberty. The next Scheme they formed, was to go to the English Settlement at *Pulo Condore*, which lies in the Latitude of 8° 40' North; and accordingly came thither: But, understanding that the English had been massacred by their Indian Soldiers on March 3. 1705, they found there was no Safety to be expected there; and therefore instantly bore away for *Macao*, a Port belonging to the *Portuguese* in *China*, where they all shifted for themselves as well as they could. Some went to *Benjar*, in order to enter into the *East India* Company's Service; others to go to serve the *Portuguese*; and some entered into the Pay of the Great Mogul; for, after so long a Voyage, they were so bare, that any Means of providing for themselves appeared very agreeable. As for Captain *Clipperton*, he returned to *England* in 1706, and lived afterwards to make another Voyage round the World in the *Success*, of which, in its proper Place, we shall give an Account. It is requisite, in the mean time, to go back again to Captain *Dampier*, in order to shew what became of him, after so great a Part of his Ship's Company had deserted him. It is not easy to conceive a Man in a worse Situation, than *Mr. Dampier* found himself at the time *Mr. Funnell* and his People left him. It was at the Close of the Year 1704, they took this Resolution; and all the People that it was in the Power of *Dampier* to keep with him were but twenty eight, and even these he prevailed upon to stay, by representing, that there was nothing easier than to make their Fortunes by surprising some small Spanish Village; and that the fewer there were of them, the fewer there would be to share the Booty. After some Consultation, they resolved to attack *Puna*, an Hamlet or Village consisting of about thirty Houses, and a small Church. There is a Lieutenant who commands there, and the Inhabitants were pretty well to pass. Accordingly he landed in a dark Night, surprised the Inhabitants in their Beds, and so took Possession of the Place with very little Trouble. After plundering this Town, they repaired to the Island of *Lobos de la Mar*, in order to consider what they should do next; and, by the Way, took a small Spanish Bark, well furnished with Provisions

Provisions. After so long a Voyage, they were glad to quit their own Ships, and continue their Voyage in the *St. George*, they left the *St. George*, having taken out all their Reliefs, and their Resolution of going in hopes all their Troops would be safe; however, they were quick of the Dutch Settlements, Goods sold, and them to shift as well as they could. Captain *Dampier's* untimely departure, naked to his Owners, and their Misfortunes, Temper, which made bearing, that few or none; and, when one who have Command, of. Yet, as there was so eminent a Man, no Public expressed it, in Captain *Dampier*, on Distress; and he was Honour to kiss her Hand of the Dangers he had however, were so sensible they resolved never to and this, with the Possibility of a Voyage, obliged World once more, in commanded by Captain whole Voyage will be the present I shall close

41. It is very clear, in this Voyage, which rarely written, as any no mighty Force required in the South Seas; have suffered him to preferve the Affect that he might have raised against him. It is a Care and Attention, ever wanting Provision Voyage was, that Spirit themselves, and which of any kind of Discipline Body of Men superior as well provided with broke, exercised, and which others do not; digious Advantage. made in the *West Indies* and the Stories we have drawn many People to they are superior to Men are dangerous Mistake they spread; and, taken to refute them consider, what is my under regular Command acquainted with the mandated by experience Arms that constitute the Men have acquired Officers, it is certain Service, is by no means Country where they Bucaneers, they were their Qualifications, regular they were pretty much their Success was owing no Authority, but by their own People, and there was no such conducting them, and Discretion: Whiccesses were mere tempt

Provisions. After some Consultation, it was resolv'd to quit their own Ship, and to endeavour, in this Bark, to continue their Voyage to the *East Indies*. Accordingly they left the *St. George* at Anchor under this Island, after having taken out all that was valuable; and then executed their Resolution of sailing to the *Indies*, where they were in hopes all their Troubles would have ended. In this, however, they were quite mistaken; for, arriving in one of the *Dutch Settlements*, their Bark was seized, their Goods sold, and themselves turned loose into the World to shift as well as they could: This was the End of Captain *Dampier's* unfortunate Expedition, who returned naked to his Owners, with a melancholy Relation of his and their Misfortunes, occasioned chiefly by his own odd Temper, which made him so self-sufficient and overbearing, that few or none of his Officers could endure him; and, when once Diffension begins amongst those who have Command, all Success may be justly despair'd of. Yet, as there was a Degree of Compassion due to so eminent a Man, notwithstanding all his Failings, the Public expressed it, in the strongest manner possible, to Captain *Dampier*, on his coming home, even in this Distress; and he was introduced to the Queen, had the Honour to kiss her Hand, and to give her some Account of the Dangers he had run through. The Merchants, however, were so sensible of his Want of Conduct, that they resolv'd never to trust him more with any Command; and this, with the Poverty brought upon him by his last unlucky Voyage, oblig'd him to make the Tour of the World once more, in Quality of Pilot, on board the *Duke*, commanded by Captain *Woodes Rogers*: The History of whose Voyage will be the Business of the next Section; the present I shall close with a very few Remarks.

It is very clear, from the several Particulars recorded in this Voyage, which I take to be as honestly and sincerely written, as any I have ever met with, that there is no mighty Force requisite to carry on a Privateering War in the South Seas; since, if *Dampier's* Temper would have suffer'd him to live on such Terms as were requisite to preserve the Affections of his People, it is most certain, that he might have rais'd an immense Fortune for himself, and his Owners, in spite of any thing the *Spaniards* did against him. It is also very apparent, that, with due Care and Attention, there was no sort of Danger of their ever wanting Provisions. But the thing that ruin'd their Voyage was, that Spirit of Discord which remain'd among themselves, and which, at last, render'd them incapable of any kind of Discipline. It is Command that makes one Body of Men superior to another equal in Number, and as well provided with Arms; for, by this means, they are broke, exercised, and know their Duty in all Situations, which others do not; and this naturally gives them a prodigious Advantage. The late Attempts that have been made in the *West Indies* seem to discredit this Opinion; and the Stories we have been told of the Buccaneers, have drawn many People to imagine, that, in such Attempts, they are superior to Men under regular Command. These are dangerous Mistakes, such as may have fatal Effects, if they spread; and, therefore, every Opportunity should be taken to refute them. In order to do this, we must first consider, what is meant by regular Troops, and Men under regular Command; which certainly implies, Men acquainted with the Principles of their Profession, commanded by experienced Officers. It is not the Cloth and Arms that constitute a regular Force, but the Knowledge the Men have acquired in military Discipline; and, as to Officers, it is certain, that an old Man, who has never seen Service, is by no means fit for Command, especially in a Country where he never let his Foot before. As to the Buccaneers, they were, with respect to their personal Qualifications, regular Troops, and, in time of Action, they were pretty much under Command; to which all their Success was owing: But then, as their Officers had no Authority, but what they deriv'd from the Choice of their own People, and held this only during their Pleasure, there was no such thing as forming regular Designs, or conducting them, for any Length of Time, with Prudence and Discretion: Whence it came to pass, that all their Successes were mere temporary Advantages, not at all bene-

ficial in their Consequences to themselves, or their Country. To say the Truth, the only Use that can be made of them, is to prove, that much greater Things may be done by Men better commanded. There is the same Difference between Buccaneers and regular Forces, as between Men of strong Parts without Education, and Men of equal Parts with the Advantages of Learning: The former sometimes produce lively and surprizing Pieces, but all excellent and lasting Works come from the latter. I do not know whether this Comparison will at first Sight be well relish'd; but, I am confident, that, when thoroughly considered, it will be found perfectly just, and equally agreeable to Reason and Experience. The next Remark that I shall make on this Voyage is, that it fully demonstrates the Capacity of our Seamen, to do any thing that can be expected from Persons skilful in that Profession. We see, by the Instance of Captain *Chipperton's* sailing, with twenty-one Men, in a Bark of ten Ton, from the South Seas to *China*; by Mr. *Funnell's* doing the same thing in a Vessel not much bigger, and with very few more Men; and by Captain *Dampier's* doing the like, in Circumstances very little better; that this is not such a terrible, such an impracticable Navigation, as some People of late, for what Reasons I know not, have endeavour'd to represent it: And if great Advantages may arise to the Commerce of this Nation, by Voyages into this Part of the World, I think no Man in his Senies can be persuad'd, that there is any thing very difficult, much less impossible, in pursuing them; since these Examples shew, that this is, in Fact, the easiest and the shortest Way to the *East Indies*, and to the richest and most valuable Parts of them. The Usage Captain *Dampier* met with in this, as well as in his former Voyage, and the Treatment of Mr. *Funnell*, and his People, at *Ambogna*, are Proofs sufficient of the Temper of the *Dutch*, and of their preferring the Interest of their Commerce to any Respect for their Allies. If we think this right in them, as one would imagine our Government did, from their never inquiring after those Subjects that were lost, or resenting the Usage those met with that escap'd, Why are we not as careful of our own Trade? Why do we not prosecute it with the same Vigour? or, Why are we bound to have so much more Complaisance for our Allies, than they have for us? It seems to be a Matter quite out of Question, that Commerce is not of greater Consequence to them than to us: Both subsist by it, and both must be undone without it. I do not mean to innuinate, that we ought to differ with the *Dutch*, much less that we should invade their Settlements, or endeavour to ruin their Trade; all I aim at is, to shew how reasonable, and how practicable a thing it is, to extend our own, and how much therefore it ought to be our Study. To this I beg Leave to add, that as this was always right, so it is now become absolutely necessary: The Nation launches out into much larger Expences, than in former Times; and from hence it is evident, that, if she does not draw larger Advantages from Trade, she must be undone: This is a Truth of so great Consequence, that no Man, who loves his Country, can prevail upon himself to mince the Matter: Besides, all national Expence consisting in the Export of Wealth, it follows, that we ought, at this Juncture especially, to encourage such kind of Commerce, as may repair this Loss in the quickest and most effectual Manner. This Voyage, and several of the preceding, shew us, that here is a short and speedy Passage to very rich and pleasant Countries; from whence we may derive immediately large Quantities of Gold, exclusive of other valuable Commodities. Besides, we are now at War with *Spain*, and that Crown has very considerable Dominions in those Parts; where, though I believe they may be comparatively stronger than they are in the *American* Dominions, yet most certain it is, that they are every-where upon bad Terms with the Natives, and have a much greater Compass of Territory than they are able to defend. There is no doubt to be made, that two or three Ships, well manned, would be able to make a very profitable Voyage this Way. I would not be understood to be a warm Advocate for Privateering, which, I must confess, I think below the Dignity of the *British* Nation; but, as we were drawn into this War by the Depredations of the *Spanish* Pri-

Expedition, but with the Care of all things relating to it. These worthy Gentlemen were, as far as I have been able to learn; viz. Alderman *Batchelor*, *John Rumsey*, Esq; Mr. *James Hollidge*, Captain *Philip Freaque*, *Christopher Sinter*, Esq; Sir *John Hawkins*, Mr. *Francis Rogers*, Mr. *Thomas Goldney*, Captain *Thomas Dover*, Mr. *Webb*, Mr. *John Duckenfield*, Mr. *John Corfeley*, Mr. *William Saunders*, Mr. *John Grant*, Mr. *Daniel Hickman*, Mr. *Richard Henschworth*, Mr. *Thomas Clemens*, Mr. *Thomas Cotes*, Captain *Stephen Courtney*, Mr. *Lawrence Hollister*, Merchants of *Bristol*, and Mr. *Palmer*, and Mr. *Alton*, with some other Gentlemen of *London*, who were not concerned till the Ships were at Sea. Their first Care was to make Choice of proper Officers, in which they were very fortunate: Captain *Woods Rogers*, who commanded in chief, was a bold, active, indefatigable Officer, one that would not give up his Opinion too readily to others, and who was not to be flattered by other Peoples giving up their Opinions to him. He had been a large Sufferer by the *French*, and was naturally no great Friend to that Nation; but his most singular Quality, and that which indeed recommended him to this Command, was a peculiar Art he had of maintaining his Authority over his Seamen, and his Readiness in finding out Expedients in the most difficult Conjunctions. Captain *Stephen Courtney* was a Man of Birth, Fortune, and of very amiable Qualities: He contributed considerably to the Expense of the Voyage, and took a Share in it, that he might see how it was managed, and be able either to prevent Miscarriages, or, at least, to make a faithful Report of them. Captain *Thomas Dover*, who was third in Command, was a Proprietor also, and went for the same Reason. He was by Profession a Physician, and, towards the Decline of his Life, made a Noise in the World, by recommending the Use of crude Mercury. He was a Man of a rough Temper, and could not easily agree with People about him: But his untoward Disposition had one good Effect, which was this; that it hindered his making any Party to support him in his ill Humours. As for Captain *Edward Cooke*, who was second to Captain *Courtney*, he had been twice taken by the *French*, once by four *Dunkirk* Privateers, and again by two Men of War of fifty Guns. The Pilot, in the larger Ship, was Captain *William Dampier*, who was now to proceed for the fourth Time into the South Seas, where his Name was very well known, and, from his Exploits, terrible to the *Spaniards*; and they were also extremely careful in the Choice of their inferior Officers, and, as far as it was possible, even of their private Men.

2. The Proprietors, in the next Place, undertook to lay down Rules for the Conduct of the Voyage; which were digested into the following Piece, signed by a Committee of the Proprietors, and stiled very properly *The Constitution*. It ran thus:

For the better Government, and regulating of Affairs of the present Voyage, we, whose Names are underwritten, Owners, and appointed Directors for the Ships *Duke* and *Duchess*, do hereby appoint and constitute Captain *Woods Rogers*, Captain *Thomas Dover*, Captain *William Dampier*, Mr. *Carlton Vanbrugh*, Mr. *Greer*, Mr. *Fry*, Mr. *Charles Pope*, Mr. *Glendall*, Mr. *Bullet*, and Mr. *Wasse*, all Officers on board the *Duke*, to be Council on board the said Ship; and Captain *Stephen Courtney*, Captain *Cooke*, Mr. *William Sretton*, Mr. *Bathe*, *John Rogers*, Mr. *White*, and the Master, Officers on board the *Duchess*, to be Council on board the said Ship, in case they should be separated from each other; but, when in Company, the Officers of both Ships above named are, conjunctly, at the Summons of the Captains *Rogers*, *Dover*, and *Courtney*, or any two of them, to come on board either Ship, and be the Council referred to in our general Orders, to determine all Matters and Things whatsoever that may arise, or be necessary for the general Good, during the whole Voyage. In case of Death, Sickness, or Desertion, of any of the above Officers of either Ship, the rest that are of the Council appointed as aforesaid for the Ship, shall convene on board their own Ship, and chuse another fit Person into that Office and Council. We farther require and direct, that all Attempts, Attacks, and Designs,

upon the Enemy, either by Sea or Land, be first consulted and debated, either in the Particular, if separated, or in the general Council, if together; and, as the Majority thereof shall conclude, how or when to act or do, it shall be indispensably, and without unnecessary Delay, put cheerfully in Execution. In case of any Discontents, Differences, or Misbehaviour, amongst the Officers and Men, which may tend to the Disturbance of the good Concord and Government on board, either the Men, or Persons, may appeal to the Captain to have a Hearing and Decision by a Council; or the Captain shall call a Council, and have it heard and decided, and may prefer or displace any Man according to Desert. All Decision and Judgment of this Council shall be finally determined by the Majority of Voices; and, in case of an Equality, Captain *Dover* is to have the double Voice, as President of the Council; and do accordingly order him to be President. All Matters transacted in this Council shall be registered in a Book by the Clerk appointed for that Purpose. Dated in *Bristol*, July the 14th, 1708.

John Batchelor, &c.

3. We have two Accounts of this Voyage, one by Captain *Rogers*, the other by Captain *Cooke*, and both in the manner of a Journal. I shall follow Captain *Rogers* chiefly; but, where it is necessary, shall take in explanatory Circumstances and Descriptions from Captain *Cooke*; yet, as they were both Eye-witnesses, and agreed pretty well in their Relations, I do not think it necessary to break the Thread of the Discourse, in order to mention their Names, but proceed, as near as may be, in the Words of Captain *Rogers*. All Things necessary being provided, says he, we were first to sail for *Cork*, in order to make up our Complement of Men; our Force standing thus: The *Duke*, Burden about 300 Tons, 30 Guns, and 170 Men, Captain *Woods Rogers* Commander, Captain *Thomas Dover* second Captain, with three Lieutenants, &c. and the *Duchess*, Captain *Stephen Courtney* Commander, Captain *Edward Cooke* second Captain, with three Lieutenants, Burden 270 Tons, 26 Guns, and 151 Men: Both Ships had legal Commissions from his Royal Highness Prince *George of Denmark*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, to cruise on the Coasts of *Peru* and *Mexico*, in the South Seas, against her Majesty's Enemies, the *French* and *Spaniards*, and to act jointly, as belonging to the same Owners, Merchants in *Bristol*. On the 15th of *June*, 1708. we towed down from *Long-road* to *King-road*, in order to fit our Ship, and the better to keep our Seamen on board; where we continued till *Monday August* the 1st; and then, at eleven in the Forenoon, unmoored; and at two weighed, with our Consort the *Duchess*, eight Sail of other Ships, and two Sloops; and having little Wind, and that Westerly, towed down about five Miles below the *Helmes*, where we anchored in about nine Fathom Water: At one in the Morning weighed, and made Sail with a small Easterly Breeze; shortened Sail, at eight, for our Consort; and, at twelve, the Island of *Londy* bore West by South, distant about three Leagues; in the Evening, saw a Sail right a-head, which we chased till Night, and then shortened Sail for the Ships a-stern.

4. On the 5th of *August*, we had Sight of the *Irish* Shore; and, about eight in the Evening, we weighed with the *Flood*, a small Gale at East: It came on to blow, and veered to the Northward. We had a *Kinsale* Pilot on board, who endangered our Ship, it being dark and foggy. Before Day, he would have turned us into the next Bay to the Westward of *Cork*, had not I prevented it; which provoked me to challenge him for undertaking to pilot a Ship, since he understood his Business no better. The rest of our Company, except the *Diamond* and *Sberstene* Galley, got into *Cork* before us; only our Consort staid in the Harbour's Mouth, till we came up with her. On the 9th, in the Afternoon, came in the *Hastings*, with the Fleet under her Convoy, which we left in *King-road*. We spent the Time, till the 27th of *August*, in adjusting all Things, and taking on board our fresh Men provided for us at *Cork*, and in discharging several we had brought from *Bristol*, and whom, by Experience, we knew not to be fit for our Purpose. On the 28th, in the Morning, we fell down to the *Spit-end*, by the *Hastings* Man of War, as our Consort did the

the Night before: When I came without the *Spit-end*, I saluted the *Hastings* with seven Guns; she returned five, and I three for Thanks. We had now above double the Number of Officers usual in Privateers, and a large Complement of Men to each Ship. We took this Method of doubling our Officers, to prevent Mutinies, which often happen in long Voyages; and that we might have a large Provision for a Succession of Officers in each Ship, in case of Mortality. Our Ship was now so full, that we sent our Sheet-cable, and other new Store-cordage, to Mr. *Nobles Rogers*, at *Cork*, to make Room for our Men and Provisions, having three Cables besides, and being willing rather to spare that, than any thing else we had on board. Our Crew were continually marrying while we laid at *Cork*, though they expected to sail immediately. Among others, there was a *Dane* coupled by a Romish Priest to an *Irish* Woman, without understanding a Word of each other's Language, so that they were forced to use an Interpreter; yet I perceived, that this Pair seemed more afflicted at Separation, than any of the rest: The Fellow continued melancholy for several Days after we were at Sea. The rest, understanding each other, drank their Cans of Flip till the last Minute, concluded with a Health to our good Voyages, and their happy Meeting, and then parted unconcerned. Most of us, the chief Officers, embraced this Design of Privateering round the World, to retrieve the Losses we had sustained by the Enemy. Our Complement of Sailors in both Ships was 333, of which above one-third were Foreigners from most Nations; several of her Majesty's Subjects on board were Tinkers, Taylors, Hay-makers, Pedlars, Fiddlers, &c. one Negro, and about ten Boys. With this mixed Crew we hoped to be well manned, as soon as they had learnt the Use of Arms, and got their Sea Legs, which we doubted not soon to teach them, and bring them to Discipline.

5. On the first of *September* we took sailing Orders, the better to keep Company with the *Hastings* and Fleet; and, after having agreed with our Consort Captain *Courtesy*, on Signals between us, which are so common, that I need not insist them here, and appointed Places of Rendezvous, in case of Separation, and how long to lie for each other at every Place, about ten in the Morning we came to sail with the *Hastings*, and about twenty Merchant Ships bound to the Southward and Westward, Wind at North and by West: We should have sailed the Day before, but could not weigh and cast our Ships clear of the rest; some at that time drove, and the *Sherstone* Galley ran quite ashore on the *Spit*. In the Night, it grew moderate Weather, and Captain *Paul* of the *Hastings* got her off to sail with us. Our Holds were full of Provisions, our Cables, a great deal of Bread, and Water-casks between Decks, and 183 Men aboard the *Duke*, with 151 aboard the *Ducels*; so that we were very much crowded, not fit to engage an Enemy, without throwing Provision and Stores overboard. The next Day, we, and our Consort, stood out of the Fleet, to chase a Sail we saw to Windward. Our Ships sailed as well as any in the Fleet, not excepting the Man of War; so that we began to hope we should find our Heels, since we went so well, though deep-laden. We found the Chace to be a small Vessel coming into the Fleet from *Baltimore*. On the 4th, it blew fresh in the Morning: Captain *Paul* made a Signal for me, Captain *Courtesy*, and Captain *Edward*, Commander of the *Sapiro*; and, after speaking with him, he sent his Boat for us, being larger than ours: We, with Mr. *Dover*, and Mr. *Vanbrugh*, went in her, and found Captain *Paul* aboard his Ship. He proposed to me and Consort, when he left the Fleet, which would be very soon, to cruise a few Days together off *Cape Imbler*. After having asked us what we wanted, that he could supply us with, he gave us Scrubbers, Iron Scrapers for the Ship Bottom, a Speaking-trumper, and other Things, that we had not; but he would accept nothing from us, because our Voyage would be long; but told us, he should be well pleased, if our Owners returned him the same Necessaries for his Ship when he came back. About six in the Evening we returned to our own Ship, and, having called all our Crew upon Deck, we acquainted them whither we were bound, and what our Designs were, that, in case any Disputes had arisen,

we might have sent the Mutineers home in her Majesty's Ship of War; but there was nobody at all dissatisfied, except one poor Fellow, who was to have been Tything-man that Year, and was apprehensive his Wife would be obliged to pay forty Shillings for his Default; but, when he saw every body else easy, and strong Hopes of Plunder, he likewise grew quiet by degrees, and drank as heartily as any body, to the good Success of the Voyage.

6. On the 10th, about six in the Morning, we saw a Sail, to which we immediately gave Chace: About three in the Afternoon we came up with her, and then she bore downright upon us, shewing *Swedish* Colours: I fired twice at her, before she brought to, then went aboard her with my Yawl, Captain *Courtesy*'s Boat being just before me. We examined the Master, and found he came round *Swatland* and *Ireland*; we suspected he had contraband Goods on board, because some of the Men, we found drunk, told us, they had Gunpowder and Cables on board: So we resolved to examine her strictly, put twelve Men on board her, and kept the *Swede* Master, and twelve of his Men, on board our Ships. The next Morning, after we had examined the Men, and searched the Ship, we found it difficult to prove she was a Prize; and not willing to hinder Time to carry her into any Harbour, to examine her farther, we let her go without the least Embezzlement. The Master gave me two Hams, and some rough-dried Beef; and I gave him a dozen Bottles of *Redstreak* Cyder. They saluted us at parting with four Guns: She belonged to *Stadt* near *Hamburg*, and was a Frigate-built Ship, of 22 Guns, about 270 Tons. While I was on board the *Swede* Yesterday, our Men mutiny'd; the Ring-leaders being our Boatwain, and three other inferior Officers. This Morning, the chief Officers having kept with me in the After-part of the Ship, we confined the Authors of this Disorder, in which there was not one Foreigner concerned: We put ten of the Mutineers in Irons, a Sailor being first soundly whipped for exciting the rest to join him; others, less guilty, I punished and discharged; but kept the chief Officers all armed, fearing what might happen. The Ship's Company seeming too much inclined to favour the Mutineers, made me more easy to forgive: Some begged Pardon, and others I was forced to wink at: However, they began to find their Design frustrated, which was to make a Prize of the *Swede*, who they alledged had much contraband Goods aboard, though we could see none: Yet they obstinately insisted, that we apparently gave away their Interest, by letting her go without plundering her. I laboured to convince them of the Necessity of our making Dispatch; and that, if we could make her a Prize, it would unman our Ships too much to send her into any Port; besides other Disadvantages it might procure to ourselves and Owners, should we be mistaken; which pacified the major Part: Our Consort's Men were at first very uneasy; but, finding the Malecontents quelled aboard our Ship, they all kept quiet. We had afterwards a great deal of Trouble with these Fellows, who did us more Mischief when in Irons than before, by stirring up the Men to release them; pretending, that they suffered in the Cause of the Crew, and therefore the Crew ought to rise and rescue them. This determined me to make some Examples; but I still resolved to go the mildest way to work I could; and therefore began with removing *Giles* Cabin from being Boatwain, and made another in his room, without intending any thing farther. But, on *September* 4. this intestine Storm rose higher than ever; for a Sailor came up to me at the Steerage-door, with the best Part of the Ship's Company at his Heels, demanding the Boatwain immediately out of Custody: Upon this, I desired him to speak with me by himself on the Quarter-deck; which he did; where the Officers assisting me, I seized him, and made one of his chief Comrades whip him. This Method I thought best for breaking any unlawful Friendship among themselves; which, with different Corrections to other Offenders, allayed the Tumults: so that now they began to submit quietly, and those in Irons begged Pardon, and promised Amendment. This Mutiny would not have been easily laid, were it not for the Number of our Officers, which we began to find very necessary to bring our Crew to Order and Discipline; which is always very difficult in Privateers, and without which is impossible

impossible to carry on. The next Evening, we *Crosen* Galley in Irons ers, by the Command him so harshly. The out of Irons, on their Promises of dutiful Behaviour as were petty Comands, and all on board them, on account of a that now we were all o ing good Humour, T their Expectations, th would not willingly b and were therefore e their Gratitude for ha

7. On the 18th, at right a heel, between We chased, and at ter a small *Spanish* Ship, b with several Men and sundry sorts of Goods Morning, bore away off and on, and sent the Owners Agents, a to treat about ransomi visions, and other N eight in the Morning. Town, with a Letter there, wherein they exp of the Bark, alledging to in those Islands, b and the Kings of *Fran* by the latter, that the there by a *French* Pri representing the *Dar* living upon Permission Bark were not imme would be made on the able at home for inter Letter was signed by *John Crope*, and *Geor Rogers*, and Captain Answer, importing, to the *Spanish* Vessels could not justly parti nons, without some jelly; the *English* bei ing ground, and the case Mr. *Vanbrugh* w away all the Prisoners any Detriment to the and leek their Redres there being no Time *Vanbrugh*, they woul another Letter came *Posidon*, the Consul; *English* Men of War were committed Host should insist on ransom made Prisoners in *En* nor there delivered: were brought in by I in our Custody might excepting a Present of the aforesaid Consul at the above mentioned to the same Purport the Value of 450 Pie the Bark, in Wine, B to prevent increasing g ing but Reparation w Captains *Rogers* and C ening to cruise amon their lost Time, and which they received the Morning, we th Ship; but, soon af

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impossible to carry on any distant Undertaking like ours. The next Evening, we put our old Boatwain on board the *Crown* Galley in Irons; and sent home Letters to our Owners, by the Commander, to justify our Conduct in treating him so harshly. The next Day I discharged the Prisoners out of Irons, on their humble Submission, and most solemn Promises of dutiful Behaviour for the future: Such among them as were petty Officers, were restored to their Commands, and all on board were forbid to disobey or reproach them, on account of any past Errors in their Conduct; so that now we were all quiet again, and the Crew in exceeding good Humour, Things having ended much beyond their Expectations, there not being a Man in Irons who would not willingly have compounded for a Whipping; and were therefore excessive brik and diligent to shew their Gratitude for having escaped it.

7. On the 18th, at five in the Morning, we saw a Sail right a head, between *Fuerteventura* and *Grand Canary*: We chased, and at ten came up with and took her, being a small *Spanish* Ship, bound from *Teneriff* to *Fuerteventura*, with several Men and Women Passengers, and laden with sundry sorts of Goods: The next Day, at eight in the Morning, bore away for *Oratavia* Road, where we stood off and on, and sent away the Prize's Boar, with one of the Owners Agents, a Priest, and the Master of the Prize, to treat about ransoming the Vessel, and to get Wine, Provisions, and other Necessaries, for both Ships. About eight in the Morning, of the 20th, a Boat came from the Town, with a Letter from the *English* Merchants residing there, wherein they expostulated with us for making a Prize of the Bark, alledging, that there was a free Trade agreed to in those Islands, between her Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, so religiously observed by the latter, that they had caused an *English* Ship, taken there by a *French* Privateer, to be restored: And farther, representing the Danger that might arise to themselves, living upon Permission in the Enemy's Country, if the said Bark were not immediately restored, for which Reprisals would be made on them; as also, that we should be answerable at home for interrupting the settled Commerce. This Letter was signed by *John Poulden*, Consul, *Bernard Walsh*, *John Crope*, and *George Fitzgerald*, Merchants. Captain *Rogers*, and Captain *Courtney*, immediately returned an Answer, importing, that, having no Instructions relating to the *Spanish* Vessels trading among those Islands, they could not justly parting with the Bark on their bare Opinions, without some Order or Proclamation of her Majesty; the *English* being protected there only on Anchoring ground, and the Bark being taken at Sea: That, in case Mr. *Nambrugh* were not restored, they would carry away all the Prisoners they had; and, if they apprehended any Detriment to the Factory, they might ransom the Bark, and seek their Redress in *England*. They desired Dispatch, there being no Time to lose; and, upon sending back Mr. *Nambrugh*, they would release their Prisoners. At Night another Letter came in Answer to this, from Mr. *William Poulden*, the Consul; the Effect whereof was, That the *English* Men of War were civilly received there, and never committed Hostilities; and that it was strange we should insist on ransoming any *Spaniards*, who were never made Prisoners in *England*, or elsewhere: And the Governor there delivered up to him any *English* Prisoners that were brought in by Privateers; wherefore he desired those in our Custody might be dismissed, and the Bark discharged, excepting a Pretent of Wine in Return. With this, from the aforesaid Consul at the City *Laguna*, came another from the above mentioned Merchants at *Oratavia* Port, much to the same Purport with the others, only offering to pay the Value of 450 Pieces of Eight, the Sum demanded for the Bark, in Wine, Brandy, Sugar, Oil, Barley, and Greens, to prevent incensing the Natives against them, not questioning but Reparation would be made them in *England*. The Captains *Rogers* and *Courtney* replied at the same time, threatening to cruise among the Islands, to make Amends for their lost Time, and to cannonade the Town of *Oratavia*, unless they received Satisfaction. On the 22d, at four in the Morning, we stood in for the Shore, making a clear Ship; but, soon after, we saw a Boat coming, with our

Owners Agent, and Mr. *Croft*, one of the *English* Merchants, bringing five Buts of Wine, and other Refreshments. We lay by off the Town, took the Goods out of the Prize, sold the Bark to Mr. *Croft* for 450 Dollars, and put the Prisoners aboard her. Thus ended this troublesome Affair, and we were once more at Liberty to mind our own Concerns, and to think of prosecuting our Voyage, which we did, after first holding a Committee, where the Whole of the late Transaction was candidly examined, and unanimously approved; which Method, for every body's Security, we steadily pursued through the whole Voyage; and felt the happy Effect of it on our Return, when every Transaction appears in its proper Light to our Owners.

8. On the last of *September* we ran by *Santa Lucia*, one of the *Cape de Verd* Islands; and, by eight in the Morning, being very near the West End of the Island of *St. Vincent*, we bore away between it and the Island of *St. Antony*, and then into the Harbour of *St. Vincent*; and, about eleven a Clock, came to an Anchor in ten Fathom Water, within the Rock: Then seeing several Men ashore, and knowing the Island not to be inhabited, Captain *Cooke* went in the Pinnace armed, to see what they were, and found them to be *Portugueses*, come from the Island of *St. Antony* to catch Sea Turtles, or, as the Seamen call them, Turtles; who told him, we might wood and water here. This Island lies in Latitude of 16° 55' N. and 25° 36' Longitude from the Meridian of *London*. There are on it great Plenty of *Guiney* Hens, some Hogs and Goats; and, in the Road, we caught Plenty of Fish. In the Woods there are abundance of large Spiders, as big as small Walnuts; and their Webs very troublesome to get thro', being as strong as ordinary Threads, and very many of them. While we lay here, new Disturbances arose amongst the Men in relation to Plunder; for here we had an Opportunity of purchasing Things, and therefore every Man wished, that he had something to purchase with. The Effects taken in the late Prize occasioned these Heart-burnings; to put an End to all which, and to fix the People in a firm Resolution of doing their Duty, we determined to settle this Affair at once, by framing such Articles, as, without giving our Owners any Ground of Complaint, might inspire the Seamen with Courage and Constancy, and make them as willing to obey, as their Officers were ready to command. It cost some Trouble, to be sure, to adjust and settle these Articles; but that was thoroughly compensated, by our finding, that they effectually answered our Purpose; and that, among such a Number of People, there was not one who refused to comply. This Paper was drawn up in the following Terms.

The Articles to be observed on board the Duke and Duchesse.

1. THAT all Plunder, taken on board any Prize by either Ship, shall be equally divided between the Companies of both Ships, according to each Man's respective whole Shares, as shipped by the Owners, or their Orders.
2. That what is Plunder shall be adjudged by the superior Officers and Agents in both Ships.
3. That if any Person on board either Ship do conceal Plunder, exceeding the Value of a Piece of Eight, during twenty-four Hours after the Capture of any Prize, he shall be severely punished, and lose his Share of the Plunder. The same Penalty for being drunk in the Time of Action, or disobeying the superior Officer's Command, or concealing himself, or quitting his Post in Sea or Land Service.
4. If any Prize be taken by Boarding, then whatsoever is taken shall be every Man's own, as follows; viz. a Sailor, 10*l.* any Officer below a Carpenter, 20*l.* a Mate, Gunner, Boatwain, and Carpenter, 40*l.* a Lieutenant or Master, 80*l.* and the Captains, 100*l.* each, above the Gratuity promised by the Owners to such as shall signalize themselves.
5. Public Books of Plunder are to be kept in each Ship, attested by Officers; and the Plunder to be appraised by the Officers chosen, and divided as soon as possible after the Capture; every Person to be sworn and searched as soon

as they come aboard, by such Persons as shall be appointed for that Purpose; the Person or Persons refusing shall forfeit their Share of the Plunder as above.

6. In Consideration that Captain Rogers, and Captain Courtney, to make both Ships Companies easy, have given the whole Cabin-plunder, which, in all Probability, is the major Part, to be divided as aforesaid, we do voluntarily agree, that they shall have $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent, to each of them, over and above their respective Shares, in Consideration for what is their Due out of the Plunder aforesaid.

7. That a Reward of twenty Pieces of Eight shall be given to him who first sees a Prize of good Value, or exceeding fifty Tons in Burden.

8. That such of us as have not already signed to the Articles of Agreement, indented with the Owners, do hereby oblige themselves to the same Terms and Conditions as the rest of the Ships Companies have done, half Wages and half Shares.

9. And for the true Execution of the above Articles, according to the Intent and Meaning thereof, and to prevent Frauds relating to Plunder, we do actually agree, that four Men shall be choien out of the *Duke*, and four Men out of the *Duchess*, two for the Ship's Company, and two for the Officers of each Ship, who are to receive Plunder into their Possession, and to search every Man aboard, and coming from each Prize; and we make this public, to the end that no Person, either Officer, or Fore-mast-man, may refuse being searched by those Men choien to that Purpose, on Penalty of losing their Shares in the Prize and Plunder, and undergoing such Punishment as the Captains shall think proper to inflict on them.

To which Articles of Agreement we have set our Hands, as our full Intent and Meaning, without any Compulsion, dated *October 7. 1708.*

Signed by the Officers and Men of both Ships.

9. We were at this time under some Difficulties upon another Account: We had sent our Linguist on shore to get Refreshments. After staying two Days, in which time we heeled and cleaned our Ships, and got Wood and Water on board, our Boat returned with nothing but Limes and Tobacco, and no News of our Linguist: But, soon after, there came another Boat, belonging to that Part of the Island where the Governor lives, with his Deputy Governor, a Negro, who brought Limes, Tobacco, Oranges, Fowls, Potatoes, Hogs, Bananas, Musk, Water-melons, and Brandy, which we bought of him, and paid in such Prize-goods as we had left of the Bark's Cargo, cheap enough. They are poor People, and will truck at any Price for what they want, in such Payments as they can make. We were now ready to sail, and, therefore, called a Council, to consider what was to be done with respect to our Linguist, who had promised the Deputy Governor to wait for him at the Water-side, but was not so good as his Word; and, therefore, as this appeared to be intirely his own Fault, the Officers of both Ships came unanimously to a Resolution, that we had better leave him behind, than suffer two Ships to wait for one Man who had disobeyed his Orders. We were the more inclined to do this, in order to set a proper Example, that other People might learn, when sent ashore, to comply with their Instructions, and come on board directly when they had done their Business, without flattering themselves, that fine Words, and fair Excuses, would atone for Breach of Orders, and the Delay of the Voyage, to gratify the Humours and Fancies of private Men. It was, indeed, but a very indifferent Place to leave him in; but, on the other hand, as he knew the Language, was well acquainted with the People among whom he was left, and might easily find a Passage home, we persisted in our Resolution, and gave the necessary Directions for sailing as soon as possible, that we might not lose the Advantage of the Season, or be obliged to double *Cape Horn* at a wrong Time of the Year.

10. On the 5th of *October*, at seven in the Evening, after putting the Deputy Governor ashore, where he must be in an Hole of the Rocks, there being no House on that Part of the Island, we sailed, our Comfort having got before us, and lying with a Light fair us. There were

several Negroes on the Island, that came from *St. Nicholas*, and *St. Antonio*, to make Oil of Turtle, there being very good green Turtle at this time of the Year, which I sometimes allowed our Men to eat; they have likewise wild Goats, but in no great Plenty, wild Asses, *Gunny Hens*, Kerlews, and abundance of Sea Fowl. Captain *Dampier*, and others aboard our Ships, that had formerly put in at *St. Iago*, another of these *Cape de Verd* Islands, told us, that though this Island is not often frequented by Ships, yet it is preferable to *St. Iago*, for such as are outward-bound; because it is a much better Road for Ships, and more convenient for Water and Wood, and has better Landing. The Island is mountainous and barren; the plainest Part lies against this sandy Bay, where we rode. The Wood that grows in it is short, and fit for no Use but Firing. They have very large Spiders here, which weave their Webs so strong betwixt the Trees, that 'tis difficult to get through them: Where we watered, there is a little Stream, that flows down the Hill, from a Spring, and is very good; but, in other Parts, it is brackish. This Island was formerly inhabited, and had a Governor; but is now only frequented, in the Season for catching Tortoises, by the Inhabitants of the other Islands, who are, for the most part, Negroes and Mulattoes, and very poor. The Stock of wild Goats in this Island is almost destroyed by the People of *St. Nicholas* and *St. Antonio*. The Heats were excessive to us, who came newly from *Europe*, so that several of our Men began to be sick, and were blooded. Some of our Officers, that went ashore to hunt, could meet no Game, but a wild Ass, which, after a long Chace, they got within Shot, and wounded; yet he afterwards held out so as to tire them, and they returned empty and weary. These Islands are so well known, that I need not say much of them: They are ten in Number, of which *St. Iago*, *St. Nicholas*, *Bonavista*, *St. Antonio*, *Prize*, *Mayo*, and *Vinco*, are inhabited; the latter is so named from a Volcano. *St. Iago* is much the largest and best, and the Seat of the chief Governor: It produces a small Matter of Indico, Sugar, and Tobacco, which, with their Goat-skins, and others, they send to *Lisbon*. The Capital is of the same Name, and the See of a Bishop. There is also a Town, called *Ribera Grande*, which is said to consist of 500 Houses, and has a good Harbour towards the West. The Air of this Island is not very wholesome, and the Soil uneven. Their Valleys produce some Corn and Wine. Their Goats are fat, and good Meat; and the Shees are said to bring three or four Kids at a time, once in four Months. *St. Nicholas* is the best-peopled next to *St. Iago*. The Island *Mayo* has a great deal of Salt, naturally made by the Sun, from the Sea-water which is left from time to time in Pits on shore: It is known, they load many Ships with that Commodity in a Year, and are able to furnish some Thousands, had they Vent for it. The true *Marequin* Leather is made of their Goat-skins. The other inhabited Islands afford more or less of Provisions: They have their Name from *Cape Verd*, on the *Africa* Coast, from whence they lie about 100 Leagues to the Westward. In our Passage towards the Coast of *Brasil*, some new Disputes arose amongst the Men; and, after various Consultations, it was resolved, that one *Page*, who was a second Mate on board the *Duchess*, should be sent to serve on board the *Duke*, from whence Mr *Bullet* was to remove on board the *Duchess*. Captain *Cooke* was sent to execute this Order; but *Page* refused to obey it, upon which a Dispute followed, that ended in Blows: However, *Page* was at last brought on board our Ship, where, being charged with Mutiny, he desired to go to the Head to eat himself, before he made his Defence; which being permitted, he jumped over-board, in hopes of getting back to the *Duchess*, while both the Captains were absent; but he was taken up, brought on board again, and punished, which put an End to this Disfention.

11. On the 18th of *November*, we anchored before the Island of *Grande* in eleven Fathom Water. While we lay here, there were new Quarrels, and things had certainly come to a great Height on board the *Duchess*, if Captain *Courtney* had not put eight of the Ringleaders immediately into Irons; which frightened the rest, and, in all Probability, prevented an Attempt to run away with the Ship: Yet

did not quite free us from in the Afternoon, two Woods, thinking to get Sparks ran away the 23 Night were so frightened really by Monkeys and Water, hollowing to the again. About four no Quarter-deck spied a C board; but they not ant made our People suspec that ran away, or were them off the Island whi diately sent the Pinnace coming up near the Ca no Purpose; at last, the sowed in the Canoe: H a Friar, and had a Quan Mines, I suppose by his The Friar had just run full of Wood, as our B us he had some Gold not run away with the h hide, knew our People tier back. The Man t and was brought by our Slaves, that rowed the where our Surgeon dress in two Hours time. I could; but he was very and the Death of his Sh Justice in *Portugal* or *H Men* were taken and plac Month we left this Place a short Description.

12. The Island *Grande* a small Cliff and a Tip Middle of the highest L there is a small Island to rises in three little Humm the Island is the least; as it appears alike on both round white Rock, that to *Grande*, between it ar in. On the Starboard S the Main is much like I bell Way, when you go the Starboard Side going to the Watering-cove wit to the fresh water Cove, most Part of the Island is between small Islands, the second Cove under behind the first Point you two Islands. This is th are two other Coves ve between them, but no s this Cove. We founde found less than ten. Eath know or found the tell North east about three The Island of *Grande* is r Land, and so is the Ma Water side is thick, co abounds with Monkeys, of good Timber, Fire v Grange and Lemons, Woods. The Necessar Rum, Sugar, and Toba tho' not good to smoke, Fowls and Hogs, but th on are cheap, but no g Corn, Hamans, and Pla and Pine-apples, they a except Cassado, the fan des; which they call *Fa* have no kind of Salad; most of the Time we w Sun being right over us

did not quite free us from ill Humours; for, on the 25th, in the Afternoon, two *Irish* Land-men stole into the Woods, thinking to get away from us, though two such Sparks ran away the 23d from the *Duchess*, and in the Night were so frightened with Tygers, as they thought, but really by Monkeys and Baboons, that they plunged into the Water, hollowing to the Ship, till they were fetched aboard again. About four next Morning, the Watch on the Quarter-deck spied a Canoe, and called her to come on board; but they not answering, and striving to get away, made our People suspect they had either got our Men that ran away, or were coming, by Agreement, to fetch them off the Island which was uninhabited. We immediately sent the Pinnace and Yawl after them; the Pinnace, coming up near the Canoe, fired, to stay them, but to no Purpose; at last, they wounded one of the *Indians* that rowed in the Canoe: He that owned and steered her was a Frier, and had a Quantity of Gold, which he got at the Mines, I suppose by his Trade of confessing the ignorant. The Frier had just run the Canoe ashore on a little Island, full of Wood, as our Boats landed; and afterwards told us he had some Gold there. A *Portuguese*, that would not run away with the Father, because he had no Gold to hide, knew our People to be *English*, and called the Father back. The Man that was wounded could not move, and was brought by our Men, with the Father and several Slaves, that rowed the large Canoe, on board our Ship, where our Surgeon dressed the wounded *Indian*, who died in two Hours time. I made the Father as welcome as I could; but he was very uneasy at the Loss of his Gold, and the Death of his Slave; and said, he would seek for Justice in *Portugal* or *England*. The next Day, both our Men were taken and put in Irons; and the last Day of this Month we left this Place, of which I shall give the Reader a short Description.

12. The Island *Grande* is remarkably high Land, with a small Cliff and a Tip standing up on one Side, in the Middle of the highest Land, easy to be seen, if clear. And there is a small Island to the Southward without it, which rises in three little Hummocks: The nearest Hummock to the Island is the least; as we came in-and-out we saw it, and it appears alike on both Sides. There is also a singularly round white Rock, that lies on the Larboard Side nearest to *Grande*, between it and the Main at the Entrance going in. On the Starboard Side there are several Islands, and the Main is much like Islands, till you get well in. The best Way, when you open the Coves that are inhabited on the Starboard Side going in, is to get a Pilot to carry you to the Watering-cove with *Grande*, otherwise send in a Boat to the fresh water Cove, which lies round the inner westernmost Point of the Island, and near a League in the Passage is between small Islands, but room enough, and bold: It is the second Cove under the first high Mount, and round behind the first Point you see when you are in between the two Islands. This is the Cove where we watered; there are two other Coves very good, with some Shore-banks between them, but no Shore-ground before we come to this Cove. We sounded all the Passage in, and seldom found less than ten Fathom Water, but had not Time to know or sound the rest of the Coves. The Town bears North east about three Leagues distant from this Cove. The Island of *Grande* is near about nine Leagues long, high Land, and so is the Main within: All you see near the Water side is thick, covered with Wood. The Island abounds with Monkeys, and other wild Beasts; has Plenty of good Timber, Fire wood, and excellent Water, with Oranges and Lemons, with Guavas growing wild in the Woods. The Necessaries we got from the Town were Rum, Sugar, and Tobacco, which they sell very dear, tho' not good to smoke, 'tis so very strong. We had also Fowls and Hogs, but the latter are scarce; Beef and Mutton are cheap, but no great Quantity to be had; *Indian* Corn, Bananas, and Plantains, Guavas, Lemons, Oranges, and Pine-apples, they abound with, but have no Bread, except Cassado, the same Sort as is eaten in our *West Indies*, which they call *Faranada Pan*, Bread of Wood; they have no kind of Salading. We had fine pleasant Weather most of the Time we were here, but hot like an Oven, the Sun being right over us. The Winds we did not much

observe, because they were little and variable, but commonly between the North and the East. We cleared an ordinary *Portuguese* here, called *Emanuel de Sancto*, and shipped another, whose Name was *Emanuel Gonfalves*. I had *Newboff's* Account of *Brazil* on board; and, by all the Inquiry and Observation I could make, found his Description of the Country, its Product, and Animals, to be just, particularly of that Monster called *Liboya*, or the *Roeback* Serpent; which I inquired after, thinking it incredible, till the *Portuguese* Governor told me, there are some thirty Feet long, as big as a Barrel, and that devour a *Roeback* at once, from whence they had their Name. I was also told, that one of these Serpents was killed near this Place a little before our Arrival. Tygers are very common here on the Continent, but not so ravenous as those of *India*. The Product of *Brazil* is well known to be Redwood, Sugars, Gold, Tobacco, Whale-oil, Snuff, and several sorts of Drugs. The *Portuguese* build their best Ships here. The Country is now become very populous, and the People delight much in Arms, especially about the Gold Mines, where those of all Sorts resort, but mostly Negroes and Mulattoes. 'Tis but four Years since they would be under no Government, but now they have submitted. Some Men of Repute here told me, the Mines increase very fast, and that Gold is got much easier at those Mines, than in any other Country. The *Brazilian* Women are very fruitful, have easy Labour, retire to the Woods, where they bring forth alone, and return after washing themselves and their Child; the Husbands lying a-bed the first twenty-four Hours, and being treated as if they had endured the Pains. The *Tapeyars*, who inhabit the inland Country on the West, are the most barbarous of the Natives, taller and stronger than the rest, and indeed than most *Europeans*. They wear little Sticks through their Cheeks and Under-lips, are said to be Man-eaters, and use poisoned Darts and Arrows; they change their Habitations according to the Season, and live chiefly by Hunting and Fishing. Their Kings, and great Men, are distinguished by the manner of shaving their Crowns, and their long Nails. Their Priests are Sorcerers; make them believe, that the Devils appear to them in Form of Insects; and perform their diabolical Worship in the Night, when the Women make a dismal Howling, which is their chief Devotion: They allow Polygamy, yet punish Adultery by Death; and when young Women are marriageable, but courted by nobody, their Mothers carried them to their Princes, who deslower them, and this they reckon a great Honour. Some of these People were much civilized by the *Dutch*, and very serviceable to them, but still kept under Subjection to their own Kings. We continued our Voyage, coasting very far to the South, where we endured great Cold, which affected our Men extremely, insomuch that a third Part of both Ships Companies fell sick; and this induced us to bear away for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; which we, however, did not find very easily, on account of its being laid down differently in all the Charts; and Captain *Dampier* was likewise a good deal at a Loss, tho' he had been here so often, and tho' he had a Map of the Island in his Head, that agreed exactly with the Country when we came to see it: Which ought to induce Sea-officers to prefer what is properly their Business to idle Amusements; since, with all this Knowledge, we were forced to make Main-land of *Chili* in order to find this Island, and did not strike it without Difficulty at last.

13. On *February* 1. 1709. we came before that Island, having had a good Observation the Day before, and found our Latitude to be $34^{\circ} 10'$ South. In the Afternoon, we hoisted out our Pinnace; and Captain *Dover*, with the Boat's Crew, went in her to go ashore, though we could not be less than four Leagues off. As soon as the Pinnace was gone, I went on board the *Duchess*, who admired our Boat attempting going ashore at that Distance from Land. It was against my Inclination; but, to oblige Captain *Dover*, I let her go: As soon as it was dark, we saw a Light ashore. Our Boat was then about a League from the Island, and bore away for the Ships as soon as she saw the Lights: We put our Lights aboard for the Boat, tho' some were of Opinion, the Lights we saw were our Boat's Lights: But, as Night came on, it appeared too large for that: We fired

some Kids; and, to divert himself, would, now-and-then, sing and dance with them, and his Cats: So that, by the favour of Providence, and Vigour of his Youth, being now but thirty Years old, he came, at last, to conquer all the Inconveniencies of his Solitude, and to be very easy. When his Cloaths were out, he made himself a Coat and a Cap of Goat-skins, which he stitched together, with little Thongs of the same, that he cut with his Knife. He had no other Needle, but a Nail; and, when his Knife was worn to the Back, he made others, as well as he could, of some Iron Hoops, that were left ashore, which he beat thin, and ground upon Stones. Having some Linen-cloth by him, he sewed him some Shirts with a Nail, and stitched them with the Worsted of his old Stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last Shirt on, when we found him in the Island. At his first coming on board us, he had so much forgot his Language, for want of Use, that we could scarce understand him; for he seemed to speak his Words by halves. We offered him a Dram; but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but Water since his being there; and it was some time before he could relish our Victuals. He could give us an Account of no other Product of the Island, than what we have mentioned, except some black Plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the Trees, which bear them, growing on high Mountains and Rocks. Pimento-trees are plenty here, and we saw some of sixty Feet high, and about two Yards thick; and Cotton-trees higher, and near four Fathom round in the Stock. The Climate is so good, that the Trees and Grafs are verdant all the Year round. The Winter lasts no longer than *June* and *July*, and is not then severe, there being only a small Frost, and a little Hail; but sometimes great Rains. The Heat of the Summer is equally moderate; and there is not much Thunder, or tempestuous Weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage Creature on the Island, nor any other sort of Beasts, but Goats, the first of which had been put ashore here, on purpose for a Breed, by *Juan Fernandez a Spaniard*, who settled there, with some Families, till the Continent of *Ceili* began to submit to the *Spaniards*; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this Island, capable, however, of maintaining a good Number of People, and being made so strong, that they could not be easily dislodged from thence. *February 3.* we got our Smith's Forge on shore, let our Coopers to work, and made a little Tent for me to have the Benefit of the Air. The *Duckets* had also a Tent for their sick Men; so that we had a small Town of our own here; and every-body employed, a few Men supplied us all with Fish of several sorts, all very good, in such abundance, that, in a few Hours, we could take as many, as would serve 200. There were Sea fowls in the Bay, as large as Geese; but eat fifty. The Governor never failed of procuring us two or three Goats a Day for our sick Men; by which, with the Help of the Greens, and the wholesome Air, they recovered very soon of the Scurvy; so that Captain *Dover* and I both thought it a very agreeable Seat, the Weather being neither too hot, nor too cold. We spent our Time, till the 10th, in refitting our Ships, taking Wood on board, and laying in Water, that which we brought from *England* and *St. Vincent*, being spoiled by the Badness of the Calks. We likewise boiled up about eighty Gallons of Sea lions Oil, as we might have done several Tons, had we been provided with Vessels. We refined it for our Lamps, and to lave Candles. The Sailors sometimes use it to fry their Meat, for want of Butter, and find it agreeable enough. The Men, who worked in our Kibbling, eat young Seals, which they preferred to our Ship's Victuals, and said, it was as good as *Lamb*, though I should have been glad of such an Exchange. We made what Haste we could to get all the Necessaries on board, being willing to lose no Time; for we were informed at the *Cannaries*, that five stout *French* Ships were coming together to these Seas.

14. The Island of *Juan Fernandez* lies in the Latitude of $37^{\circ} 49'$ South, Longitude from *St. Mary's* $5^{\circ} 28'$, meridian Distance from the same $4^{\circ} 43'$ West, the Variation of the Compass here 0° East. This Island is high ragged Land, in Length about six Leagues, and about three in Breadth. I know of nothing about it that may endanger a Ship, but what may be seen. We anchored in the great Bay, our best

Bower in forty Fathom Water, and then carried the Stream-anchor in with the Shore, which we let go in about thirty Fathom Water, mooring on and off about a Mile from the Bottom of the Bay, where we found plenty of Fish of several sorts, as Silver-fish, Snappers, Bonetoes, and a very large Cray-fish. The Wind here commonly blows off the Shore, sometimes very hard Squalls, else generally calm; and the Water we rode in very smooth, by reason of the Winding of the Shore. The Man we found here, mentioned at our coming to this Island, told me, it had never blown in above four Hours all the time he was there. The Situation of the Island is North-west and South-east, and receives its Name from its first Discoverer *John Fernandez, a Spaniard*. It is all Hills and Valleys, and, I question not, would produce most Plants, if manured; for the Soil, in most Places, promises well; and there are some Turneps, and other Roots, which, I suppose, were formerly sowed; and there is great Plenty of Wood and Water, as also of wild Goats, which we daily took with Dogs, or else shot them. In every Bay, there are such Multitudes of great Sea-lions, and Seals of several sorts, all with excellent Furs, that we could scarcely walk along the Shore for them, as they lay about in Flocks, like Sheep, the Young-ones bleating like Lambs. Some of the Sea-lions are as big as our *English* Oxen, and roar like Lions. They cut near a Foot in Fat, having short Hair, of a light Colour, which is still lighter in the young ones. I suppose they feed on Grafs and Fish; for they come ashore by the Help of their two Fore-feet, and draw their Hinder-part after them, and lie in great Numbers in the Sun. These we kill chiefly to make Oil, which is very good; but it is an hard Matter to kill them. Both the Seals and Lions are so thick on the Shore, that we were forced to drive them away, before we could land, being so numerous, that it is scarce credible to those, who have not seen them; and they make a most prodigious Noise. Besides, we met with such plenty of Fish, as Pollock, Cavalios, Hakes, Old-wives, and large Cray-fish, as good as our Lobsters, &c. that, in four Hours, two Men in a Boat near the Shore, in five or six Fathom Water, might take enough to serve 200 Men. There are but few Birds: One sort burrows in the Earth, like Rabbits, which the *Spaniards* call *Pardelas*, and say, they are good to eat. One of them flew into the Fire at our sick Mens Tent. And here are also Humming-birds, about as big as Bees; their Bill about the Bigness of a Pin, their Legs proportionable to the Body; the Feathers mighty small, but of most beautiful Colours. They are seldom taken, or seen, but in the Evening, when they fly about, and sometimes, when dark, into the Fire. I had almost forgot the wild Cats here, which are of several Colours; but, being of the *European* kind, no more need be said of them. I believe there is no venomous Creature on the Island. This Island produces a sort of Cabbage-tree, which is in the nature of a Palm; the Cabbage small, but very sweet. The Tree is slender and strait, with Knobs about fourteen Inches above one another, and no Leaves, except at the Top. The Branches are about twelve Feet in Length; and, about a Foot and an half from the Body of the Tree, shoot out Leaves, which are four Feet long, and an Inch broad, growing so regularly, that the whole Branch looks like one intire Leaf. The Cabbage, when cut out from the Bottom of the Branches, is about a Foot long, and very white; and, at the Bottom of it, grow Clusters of Berries, five or six Pounds Weight, like Bunches of Grapes, as red as Cherries, bigger than our black Cherries, with a large Stone in the Middle, and taste almost like our Haws. The Trunk of the Tree is eighty or ninety Feet long, being always cut down to get the Cabbage. We found here some *Guiney* Pepper, and Silk Cotton-trees, with several other sorts of Plants, whose Names I am not acquainted with. Pimento is the best Timber, and most plentiful, on this Side the Island; but very apt to split, till a little dried. We cut the longest and clearest to split for Fire-wood. The Cabbage-trees abound about three Miles in the Woods, and the Cabbage very good. Most of them are on the Tops of the nearest Mountains. In the first Plain, we found store of Furnep-greens, and Water-crelles in the Brooks, which mightily refreshed our Men, and cleansed them from the Scurvy. The Turneps, Mr. *Selark* says, are good in our Summer Months, which

is Winter here; but, this being Autumn, they were all run to Seed: So that we could not have the Benefit of any thing, but the Greens. The Soil is a loose black Earth, the Rocks very rotten; so that, without great Care, it is dangerous to climb the Hills for Cabbages. Besides, there are abundance of Holes dug in several Places by a sort of Fowls, like Puffins, which fall in at once, and endanger the wrenching or breaking of a Man's Leg. Mr. Selkirk told me, he had seen Snow and Ice here in July; but the Springs, which is in *Septembris*, *Octobris*, and *Novembris*, is very pleasant, when there was abundance of good Herbs, as Parsley, Purslain, Sitches in great Plenty, besides an Herb found by the Water-side, which proved very useful to our Surgeons for Fomentations. It is not much unlike Feverfew, of a very grateful Smell, like Balm; but of a stronger and more cordial Scent. It is in great plenty near the Shore. We gathered many large Bundles of it, dried them in the Shade, and sent them on board, besides great Quantities that we carried in every Morning to strew the Tents; which tended much to the speedy Recovery of our sick Men, of whom none died, but two belonging to the *Duchess*; viz. *Edward Wills*, and *Christopher Williams*.

15. On *February 13*, we held a Consultation, in which we made several Regulations for preserving Secrecy, Discipline, and strict Honesty, on board both Vessels; and, on the 17th, we settled another Matter of as great Importance, which was, that two Men from on board the *Duke* should be put on board the *Duchess*, and two Men from on board the *Duchess* on board the *Duke*, in order to see, that Justice was reciprocally done by each Ship's Company to the other. On the 28th, we hoisted both Pinnaces into the Water, to try them under Sail, with a Gun fixed in each of them, and whatever else was requisite to render them very serviceable small Privateers. We found the Nights very cold, and the Days not near so warm as might have been expected in that Latitude, where there never falls any Rain, but such Dews in the Night, as are equivalent to it, tho' the Air is, generally speaking, serene. On *May 15*, in the Evening, we saw a Sail: Our Comfort, being nearest, soon took her. She was a little Vessel, of sixteen Ton, from *Payta*, bound to *Cheripe* for Flour, with a small Sum of Money to purchase it; the Master's Name *Antonio Helagos*, a *Meliso*, or one begotten between an *Indian* and a *Spaniard*; his Crew eight Men, one of them a *Spaniard*, one a Negro, and the rest *Indians*. We asked them for News; and they assured us, that all the *French* Ships, being seven in Number, sailed out of these Seas six Months ago; and that no more were to return: Adding, that the *Spaniards* had such an Aversion to them, that, at *Callao*, the Seaport for *Lima*, they killed so many of the *French*, and quarrelled so frequently with them, that none were suffered to come ashore there for some time before they sailed from thence. After we had put Men aboard the Prize, he hailed off close on a Wind for *Lebes*, having shot within it; and, had we not been better informed by the Crew of the Prize, might have endangered our Ships, by running in farther, because there are Shoals between the Island and the Main. There is a Passage for Boats to Windward to come into the Road, which is to the Leeward of these Islands, in a Sound between them. It is not half a Mile broad; but above a Mile deep; has from ten to twelve Fathom Water, and good Anchor-ground. There is no coming in for Ships, but to Leeward of the Islands. We went in with a small Weather-tide, though I never perceived it to flow above three Feet whilt we lay here. The Wind commonly blows Southerly, veering a little to the Eastward. On the Eastermost Island, which was on our Larboard Side as we lay at Anchor in the Sound, there is a round Hummock, and behind it a small Cove, very smooth, deep, and convenient enough for a Ship to careen in. There we haled up, and fitted our little Frigate. The highest Part of the Island appears in the Road, not much higher than a large Ship's Top-mast-head. The Soil is an hungry, white, clayish Earth, mixed with Sand and Rocks. There is no fresh Water, or green Thing, on the Islands. Here is abundance of Vultures *alias* Carrion-crows, which looked to like Turkeys, that one of our Officers, at landing, blessed himself at the Sight, and hoped to fare deliciously here. He was so eager, that he would not stay till the Boat could put him

ashore; but leaped into the Water with his Gun, and, getting near enough to a Parcel, let fly at them: But, when he came to take up his Game, it stunk insufferably, and made us merry at his Mistake. The other Birds here are, Penguins, Pelicans, Boobies, Gulls, and a sort of Fowls like a Teal, that nestle in Holes on the Land. Our Men got Loads of them, which they skinned, and praised them for very good Meat. We found abundance of Bulrushes, and empty Jars, that the *Spanish* Fishermen had left ashore. All over this Coast they use Jars instead of Casks for oil, Wine, and all other sorts of Liquids. Here is abundance of Seals, and some Sea-lions. The Seals are much larger than at *Juan Fernandez*; but the Fur not so fine. Our People killed several, with a Design to eat their Livers; but one of our Crew, a *Spaniard*, dying suddenly after eating them, I forbade the Use of them. Our Prisoners told us, they accounted these old Seals very unwholsome. The Wind, always blowing fresh over the Land, brought an ugly noisome Smell aboard from the Seals shore; which gave me a violent Head-ach; and every body else complained of this nauseous Smell. We found nothing so offensive at *Juan Fernandez*. Our Prisoners told us, they expected the Widow of the late Viceroy of *Peru* would shortly embark for *Acapulco*, with her Family and Riches, and stop at *Payta* to refresh, or sail near in Sight, as customary, in one of the King's Ships of thirty-six Guns; and that, about eight Months ago, there was a Ship, with 200,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, the rest of her Cargo Liquors and Flour, which had passed *Payta* for *Acapulco*. Our Prisoners added, that they met *Seignor Morale* in a stout Ship, with dry Goods, for *Lima*, recruiting at *Payta*, where he expected in a few Days a *French* built Ship belonging to the *Spaniards* to come from *Panama* richly laden, with a Bishop aboard. *Payta* is a common recruiting Place to those, who go to or from *Lima*, or most Parts to Windward, in their Trade to *Panama*, or any Part of the Coast of *Mexico*. Upon this Advice, we agreed to spend as much Time as possible cruising off of *Payta*, without discovering ourselves, for fear of hindering our other Designs.

16. On *April 1*, we took a Galleon, by which I mean no more than a Ship built in that manner, commanded by two Brothers, whose Names were *Joseph* and *John Moré*. She was of the Burden of 500 Ton, laden with dry Goods and Negroes. The next Day we took another Prize; and, on the 7th, Mr. *Fanbrugh* was removed from the Council. But here our Authors differ: *Captain Rogers* says, that *Captain Dover* accused him of great Insolence to him, but *Captain Cooke* says, that it was *Captain Rogers* himself that accused him, for offering to vote with him, right or wrong, upon all Occasions. It was a great Pity these Disputes happened at that time, when all things were preparing for Action, and a Resolution taken to attack the Town of *Guayaquil*, however provided; in order to which, it was determined to send the *Duke* and the *Beginning* to *Payta*, the latter to go in and take a View of the Harbour, to see if there were any Ships in it, and afterwards to cruise with thirty Men, in hopes of falling in with the aforesaid Bishop. This was a Season of great Consultation, which was soon succeeded by Action. And here I chuse to follow both Authors, in order to avoid that Air of Partiality and Vanity, which appears in one of them, the World desiring to know only Facts, and not being at all eased with the Disputes amongst two or three Captains for Command, tho' it does not appear, that *Captain Courtney* was ever affected with this sort of Folly. On *April 11*, there was a grand Council held on board the *Duke*, wherein all things were fully considered, the Conquest of *Guayaquil* resolved on, and a Paper, in the Nature of Instructions from the Committee to the Commanders in chief, was prepared; which, however formal it might seem, was undoubtedly a very right Method, and kept, as well as taught, every Man in his Duty.

17. On *April 12*, it was resolved in a Committee, not to send the *Beginning* Prize into *Payta*, as had been agreed on, for fear of being discovered; but to attempt the Town of *Guayaquil*, the Enterprize to be conducted by the three Captains *Dover*, *Rogers*, and *Courtney*; the first to command a Company of Marines of seventy Men; the second a Company of Officers and Sailors of seventy one Men; the third such another Company of seventy-three Men; *Captain*

Dampier, with the *Artillery*, twenty-two Men; *Captain Cooke* to command the *Ship*, thirty Men; *Captain Robert Fry*, thirty Men; *The Blacks*, thirty Men. On the 13th that is, *White Cape*, and distant ten Leagues; agreed, for the Encouragement of all Bedding and Cloaths, Liquors and Provisions with all Sorts of Arms should be allowed as for every Man aboard, or Shares; that all Watches, found about of any Kind, should be sold; that all Womens Ear-rings, loose Stones; and, in case of any plain in this Order, a petition, meet again, and determine what further without Fraud to the Officers and Men: That no Allowance, so as to secure wrought Gold or Silver Precious Stone, not for wearing Apparel, which Misdemeanour, and severe keep any Plunder, but to carry it to the Place safe any Town, Fort, or Encouragement agreed mentioned, should be all the Gratitude promised by themselves; But if any other of the Enemy, and Prisoners, and the Arms are to be divided among them Plunder taken ashore, pointed for that Purpose, the Satisfaction of all concerned in Disorder ashore, discourage the Men, be Action, burn or destroy such Prisoners, to lose a be severely punished othering, we saw a Sail near the *Duke's* Boat, commanded by *Capt. Cooke*, rowed with Haste, that neither of us in the Boats, nor our twelve Muskets, four Pistols, nor any Water; and the Ship for the Space of six first near her, she put off them, and hoisted a Spanish head: The *Duke's* Boat saw the *French* built, had given us before, she had been so long cruising Bishop. Our Ships being *Spaniards* to near the *Cape* Way to run ashore in a aboard in each Bow, and Way, I being then on her *Deck* on her Lee: We declared Friends, till got out of the *Duke's* Men, thinking give us a Volley, pointed laid in our Oars, and for long time, we keeping answering; who killed wounded one of his, and Men was *Captain John* Brother to *Captain Rogers* during the Action. The prize too difficult, bore the like. *Captain Fry*

Dampier, with the Artillery, and, for a Reserve, upon Oc-
 casion, twenty-two Men: In all, 238. Captain *Edward*
Cooke to command the *Ducbefs*, with Forty-two Men;
 Captain *Robert Fry*, the *Duke*, with forty Men; Total,
 320 Men: The *Blacks*, *Indians*, and Prisoners, were about
 266 more. On the 13th, we hailed in from *Cape Blanco*,
 that is, *White Cape*; and at Noon it bore East South-east,
 distant ten Leagues: A Committee being held, it was
 agreed, for the Encouragement of Officers and Men, that
 all Bedding and Cloaths, Gold Rings, Buttons and Buckles,
 Liquors and Provisions, for their own Expence and Use,
 with all Sorts of Arms, except great Guns for Ships,
 should be allowed as Plunder, to be equally divided to
 every Man aboard, or ashore, according to his whole
 Shares; that all wrought Gold or Silver, Crucifixes,
 Watches, found about the Prisoners, or wearing Apparel
 of any Kind, should also be Plunder, except Money,
 Womens Ear-rings, loose Diamonds, Pearls, and Precious
 Stones; and, in case any thing was not sufficiently ex-
 plained in this Order, a Committee should, after the Ex-
 pedition, meet again, upon Application made to them;
 and determine what further ought to be reputed Plunder,
 without Fraud to the Owners, or Prejudice to the Officers
 and Men: That no Persons should misinterpret this Al-
 lowance, so as to secure or conceal either wrought or un-
 wrought Gold or Silver, Pearls, Jewels, Diamonds, or
 Precious Stone, not found about Prisoners, or their
 wearing Apparel, which should be looked upon as a high
 Misdemeanour, and severely punished: That none should
 keep any Plunder, but deliver it to his Officer publicly,
 and carry it to the Place appointed to deposit it: That in
 case any Town, Fort, or Ship, were taken by Storm, the
 Encouragement agreed on at the Island of *St. Vincent*
 mentioned, should be allowed to each Man, over-and-above
 the Gratuity promised by the Owners to those that signalized
 themselves; But if any Party should be engaged with an-
 other of the Enemy, and defeat them, then all the Pris-
 oners, and the Arms and Moveables about them, should
 be divided among them only who were in Action: All the
 Plunder taken ashore, to be taken aboard by Persons ap-
 pointed for that Purpose, and entered in public Books, for
 the Satisfaction of all concerned. Those who should commit
 any Disorder ashore, disobey Command, quit their Post,
 discourage the Men, behave themselves cowardly in any
 Action, burn or destroy any thing without Orders, or de-
 bauch Prisoners, to lose all their Shares of the Plunder, and
 be severely punished otherwise. On the 15th in the Morn-
 ing, we saw a Sail near the Shore; and, having little Wind,
 the *Duke's* Boat, commanded by Capt. *Fry*, and the *Ducbefs's*,
 by Capt. *Cooke*, rowed directly for her, going off in such
 Haste, that neither of us had the Swivel Guns we used to carry
 in the Boats, nor our full Complement of Men, only ten
 Musquets, four Pistols, and not much Powder and Shot,
 nor any Water; and rowed very hard to come with the
 Ship for the Space of six Leagues: The *Duke's* Boat coming
 first near her, she put out Spanish Colours, fired a Gun at
 them, and hoisted a Spanish Flag at the Main-top-mast-
 head: The *Duke's* Boat then lay-by for us to come up; we
 saw she was French built, and, by the Account the Prisoners
 had given us before, concluded it must be the Ship, we
 had been so long cruising for, which was to carry the
 Bishop. Our Sails being almost out of Sight, and the
Spaniards to near the Coast, and making the best of her
 Way to run ashore in a sandy Bay, we resolved to lay her
 aboard in each Bow, and accordingly made the best of our
 Ways, I being then on her Weather Quarter, and Captain
Fry on her Lee: We designed to have told them we were
 Friends, till got out of the Way of their Stern-chace; but
 the *Duke's* Men, thinking the *Spaniards* had been going to
 give us a Volley, poured in their Shot among them, then
 laid in our Oars, and fell to it: The Dispute was hot for a
 long time, we keeping a constant Fire, and the Enemy
 answering; who killed two of Captain *Fry's* Men, and
 wounded one of his, and two of mine. One of the dead
 Men was Captain *John Rogers*, our second Lieutenant, and
 Brother to Captain *Rogers*, who behaved himself very well
 during the Action. The *Duke's* Boat, finding the Enter-
 prize too difficult, bore away; and some time after we did
 the like. Captain *Fry* having put some of his Men

aboard us, given us some Powder and Shot, and taken in
 our wounded Men, stood away for the Ships, whilst I
 made again to the Ship, resolving to keep her from the
 Shore, and, rather than fail, to clap her aboard; the *Spa-
 niards*, perceiving what we designed, edged off to Sea,
 and we after them. Our Ships came up space, and we
 kept close to the *Spaniard*, sometimes firing at him. The
Ducbefs, being come up, fired a Shot or two at him; and
 then he struck, and we clapt him aboard. The Men
 begged for good Quarters, and we promised them all Ci-
 vility imaginable. This Ship came from *Panama*, and
 was bound for *Lima*, to be fitted out for a Man of War,
 the Captain having his Commission accordingly. There
 were seventy Blacks, and many Passengers, with a con-
 siderable Quantity of Pearls aboard; the Lading, Bale-
 goods, and something belonging to the Bishop; but they
 had set him on Shore, with several Passengers, where they
 touched last. The Vessel was about 270 Ton Burden,
 commanded by *Don Joseph Arizabella*, who told us, the
 Bishop had been landed at Point *St. Helena*, and gone by
 Land to *Guaquil*. We found several Guns in the Hold,
 for the Ship would carry twenty-four, but had only six
 mounted. Many of the Passengers were considerable Mer-
 chants at *Lima*, and the briskest *Spaniards* I ever saw.
 When the French had this Vessel, she was called *la Lune*
d'Or, the Golden Moon. Captain *Cooke* (whose Account
 we follow) remained aboard her, sending the Captain and
 Prisoners to our Ships.

18. On the 21st in the Morning, the *Beginning* was
 sent a-head towards Point *Arena*, on the Island of *Puna*,
 for fear of any Danger; but she found there only an empty
 Vessel riding close under the Point: She proved to be a
 new Spanish Bark, that had been sent to load Salt; but the
 Men having Sight of us, thought proper to abandon her:
 All Apprehensions were now totally removed, and, at five
 in the Afternoon, the Transports rowed for the Town of
Guaquil, and at eleven saw a Light in the Town; where-
 upon we rowed as easy as could be, for fear of Discovery,
 till within a Mile of it; then heard a Centinel call to an-
 other, talk some time, and bid him bring Fire. Perceiv-
 ing we were discovered, we rowed over to the other Side,
 against the Town, saw a Fire made where the Centinels
 talked, and, soon after, many Lights all over the Town;
 and, at the Water-side, heard them ring the Alarm-bell,
 fire several Volleys, and light a Fire on the Hill where the
 Beacon was kept, to give the Town Notice, that we were
 come up the River. Hereupon the Boats came to a
 Grappling, and such an hot Dispute arose among some of our
 chief Officers, that they were heard ashore; but the *Spa-
 niards*, not understanding what they said, fetched an *Englisb-
 man*, and conducted him along the Shore, to interpret
 what they heard. However, before he came, the Dispute
 was over. This Account we had from that very *Englisb-
 man*, who afterwards came over to us, and proceeded in the
 Voyage. A Council was held in the Stern of one of the
 Boats, to resolve, whether we should land immediately, or
 stay till Day-break; and the Officers differing in their
 Opinions, it was agreed, since we did not know the
 Ground, and the Barks were not come up, which had near
 half the Men and the Artillery, to stay till Day-light, when
 it was hoped the Barks would join; and fell a little Way
 down the River to meet them, hearing several Musquet-
 shots in our Way, which, at first, we thought might be
 from the *Spaniards* along the Shore. On the 22d, at
 Break of Day, we saw one of our Barks at Anchor close
 under the Shore, within a Mile of the Town, and at Flood,
 the other coming up the River; then rowed back to the
 Bark which had fired those Musquets at some Fishermen
 passing by, whom we took. When all our Forces were
 joined, we held a Council in the Pinnace, proceeded up
 the River, and sent a Flag of Truce with the Captain of
 the French built Ship, the Governor of *Puna*, and another
 Prisoner; then rowed up the Barks a-breast against the
 Town, and came to an Anchor. When the Captain of
 the French built Ship came to the Corregidor, or Mayor
 of the Town, he asked our Number, which the Captain
 magnified. The Corregidor answered, They were Boys,
 and not Men: And the Captain replied, He would find
 they were Men; for they had fought him bravely in their
 open

open Boats, though he had killed one of the Commanders Brothers, and wounded others; and, therefore, advised him to agree for the Ransom of the Town, for, though he had 3000 Men, he would not be able to withstand them: To which the Corregidor replied, My Horse is ready. On the 23d, having towed the Barks cloie up before the Town, and brought them to the Pinnace, went up the River after some Vessels, and brought six of them to an Anchor by our Barks; we also took Possession of two new, of about 400 Ton each; then went ashore with a Flag of Truce, and the Governor came on board one of the Prizes, to agree about the Ransom of the Town and Ships; but could not be then concluded, but promised to meet the Captains again at seven in the Evening; yet he was not so good as his Word. The Boats went up the River again to see for more Ships, and returned without finding any: However, we took several Canoes, with some Plate on board. On the 24th in the Morning, the Governor came off again to treat: Our Captains thought to have seized him, because he had forfeited his Word in not returning over Night, and sending Word that Morning, that he had more People come into the Town; but he, alledging that it was contrary to a Flag of Truce, was let on Shore again, and an Hour's Time given him to get his Men ready. However, the Boat went and came two or three times with the Flag of Truce; but the Governor and Captains not agreeing, all Things were made ready, and towed nearer the Shore, wearing our Union Jack at our Main-top-mast-heads. At four in the Afternoon the Men landed, with so much Bravery, that the Spaniards fired only their first Volley, and fled, our People pressing them, and pursuing them to their Cannon, which they soon gained, only the Gunner, who was an Irishman, standing by them till he was wounded in four Places, whereof he died soon after, as we were informed by some Prisoners we took. Our Men marched in a Body through both Towns, driving out the Enemy, placed three Guards in the three Churches, and set Fire to five or six Houses in the old Town, that stood adjoining to the Wood, lest the Spaniards should have any Cover from them to annoy our Guard, which was within Pistol-shot. All this Night they kept firing out of the Woods at our Centinels, or any other, that stirred out of the Guard, yet did no harm; several Parties of Horse and Foot came down, without making any Attempt: In the mean while the *Duke's* Pinnace, which was commanded by Lieutenant *Connelly*, with twenty-two Men, went up the River, landed at every House, took their Plate, and what else of Value they found, and had some Skirmishes with the Enemy, in which one of our Men was wounded. On the 25th the Enemy appeared thick in the Woods, sometimes coming out, and our Guards had some Skirmishes with them, in which one Man was wounded, to that they expected to be attacked. In the Night, one of our Centinels shot another of ours, who was going a little Way from his Post, and did not answer when challenged three times. Our first Lieutenant's Pistol went off by his Side, and wounded him in the Leg; and another of our Men was shot through the Foot by one of our People. Our Surgeon cut off a Man's Arm, who had been hurt with one of our Grenade-shells, which broke in the Bark when fired out of a Colonne. The Afternoon was spent in shipping off Provisions from the Town, and disposing all Things, in case we should be attacked in the Night, the Enemy appearing about the Outhouses; for which Reason, the Captains thought fit to join all the Forces at the main Guard, where they had their Cannon mounted. On the 27th in the Morning, Captain *Courney* marched to his Guard again, to cover the Men who were getting down Provisions, &c. Several Prisoners were taken, and brought to the main Guard. Messengers, with a Flag of Truce, came about ransoming the Town, but could not agree: In the Afternoon brought one Boat of Provisions aboard the Barks, and at three returned, to ransom the Town, which was at last agreed on for 50,000 Dollars; we to have three Hostages, and to stay at *Puna* till they could raise the said Sum, the People having carried their Money out of Town, and being dispersed, that there was no raising it whilst we were there, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country having withdrawn all their Effects. On

the 27th in the Morning, the Hostages for Ransom were put on board, as was a Boat's Lading of Brandy: We took down our Union Flag, and hoisted a Flag of Truce, firing a Gun for a signal, that the Spaniards might come into the Town, and that no Hostilities should be committed on either Side during the Time we had agreed to stay for the Money, having before concerted with the Spaniards to make the said Signal for them to come in to secure what we had left, that the *Indians* and *Blacks* might not rob: And, I am apt to believe, they had plundered as much as we had taken; for we took several, as we went the Rounds, laden with Goods, which they owned they had stolen; and were afterwards informed, that, in the Hurry, the Inhabitants had given Plate and Money to *Blacks* to carry out of the Town, and could never hear of it after. In the Evening, Mr. *Halsey*, and Mr. *Duck*, were sent from the Ships in the last Prize, and the *Beginning* Galley, to the Island *Puna*, for Water, of which there began to be Want on board; and with Instructions to go up the River, to get Intelligence of the Forces on Shore, we at Sea having heard nothing from them since their Departure, and the Prisoners saying, they were certainly all cut off; which was but little regarded, any farther than to keep a strict Watch over them. In the Afternoon, the Men ashore went aboard the Barks, which carried them, and some others we had taken, up the River: At six weighed, and rowed off the Shore. On the 28th in the Morning, our Barks weighed with the first of the Ebb, the *Duke's* Pinnace making the best of her Way down to the Ships, and the Float going ashore to fetch off the great Guns, then weighed, and fell down the River. Two of the Barks ran a ground on the middle Shore, that lies right against the Island. In the Evening they were afloat again; then we towed them over on the Starboard Side, where the Chanel was, firing a Gun for the rest to weigh; and, at the last of the Ebb, came to an Anchor about a Mile from the Island, and saw the *Beginning*, and another Vessel, under the Shore, whither they were come for Water, took Water out of the Barks, and put into the *Beginning*, and dispatched her to the Ships. On the 29th in the Morning, the Barks weighed, and got down to *Puna*, where they anchored off the Town. Captain *Rogers*, in the *Duke's* Pinnace, came on board, and gave an Account, that they had taken, plundered, and ransomed the Town of *Guaque*; that three of our Men had been killed; two by our own People, and one by the Spaniards; and four wounded: That the Inhabitants, while treating, had carried off their Money and Plate, retiring to the Woods, and leaving their Guns; four whereof were taken, with a considerable Quantity of Meal, Pease, Sugar, Brandy, and Wine, which was coming down in the Barks. What we killed and wounded of the Enemy could not be known, because they carried them off. The same Day *Hugh Tidcomb*, who was shot by his fellow Centinel, died. Having from the Ship-side discovered a Sail standing up the River, with the Tide of Flood; we sent both Ships Boat after her, and, at four in the Afternoon, she struck to the Boats. They brought her in at Night. She was a small Spanish Bark from *Ceripe*, and bound up to *Guaque*, having on board 330 Bags of Meal, and 140 Attobats, that is, 35 hundred Weight of Sugar, some Onions, Quince, and Pomegranates: This, with the six Barks, and two great Ships ransomed with the Town of *Guaque*, makes fourteen Prizes taken in those Seas. Captain *Woods Rogers*, in his Relation, blames Captain *Courney* for being in a Hurry to quit the Place, though he acknowledges, that his Lieutenant Mr. *Straton*, was shot by Accident in his Leg, his own Pistol going off unaccountably, which rendered it necessary to send him instantly on board the small Craft; and that most of their Men were grown careles, weak, and heartily weary of their new Trade of being Soldiers. One Circumstance he mentioned, which deserves Notice for its Singularity. As he was marching out of the Town, he happened to miss one *John Gabriel*, a *Dutchman*, who served in his own Company; and took it for granted, that he was either taken or killed. But the poor Fellow had a better Time of it: He happened to take up his Quarters in a certain House, where there was some excellent Brandy, which the *Dutchman* attacked to drink

that, at last, it laid him down he was, when Captain *Place*. A little after, he found the *Dutchman* to last, that it was a difficult Experiment; but, first, who advised him to let being done without an and let him on his Feet, opened his Eyes, and visible that he was not all find himself awake, and however, soon set his Arms, and advising him join his Companions, who did not need many Instructions he moved with all the aboard. If this Story adds an Observation, that of all the Men who land a Soul, that drank a *Cum*; which if true, the to be plundered by the of their Profession. But of Capitulation, which interested in it, desired and so they were, with compliance, viz. that Arms, which, the *Spaniards* specified, to demonstrate they contented to treat; ingly yielded, which p Articles, which satisfied Money they wanted, and of Honour, a thing no

Contrast for the Ra

• Whereas the City
• Philip V. King
• and in the Possession
• *Woods Rogers*, and
• Body of her Majesty
• Underwritten are conti
• City, and to continue
• *Thomas Dover*, *Woods*
• 30,000 Pieces of Eight
• loms of the said City,
• during which time n
• either Side between
• paid at *Puna*, in six Da
• the Hostages to be deli
• delivered immediately
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• we have voluntarily
• April, O. S. and the
• our Lord 1709.

19 The Plunder we
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Cloathing and Necessari
in Plate, Ear rings, &c.
Guns; and about 200
Mullet barrels; a few
to; with about a Ton
of Goods in the Town,
Sea stores, with several
Ships on the Stocks, and
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at Anchor before the To
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gain; but this Ransom
what we could not carry
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that, at last, it laid him on the Floor; and in this Condition he was, when Captain Rogers and his Men quitted the Place. A little after, the Master of the House returned, and found the *Dutchman* stretched at his full Length, and so fast, that it was a difficult Matter to distinguish, whether he was dead or asleep. The *Spaniard* resolv'd to make the Experiment; but, first of all, called in his Neighbours, who advis'd him to secure the *Dutchman's* Arms; which being done without any Difficulty, they next rais'd him up, and set him on his Feet, when, after a little Tottering, he opened his Eyes, and began to stare about him, being sensible that he was not asleep, and not very well, being to find himself awake, and in such Company. His Landlord, however, soon set his Heart at Rest, by restoring him his Arms, and advis'd him to make all the Haste he could to join his Companions, who were not yet embark'd. There did not need many Intreaties to set the *Dutchman* forward; he mov'd wgh all the Alacrity imaginable, and got safely aboard. If this Story be a little strange, Captain Rogers adds an Observation, that is still stranger, which is, that, of all the Men who landed on this Occasion, there was not a Soul, that drank a Cup too much, but this poor *Dutchman*; which if true, the Town of *Guiaquil* had the Honour to be plunder'd by the soberest Set of People, that ever were of their Profession. But it is now time to come to the Form of Capitulation, which the *Spaniards*, as Persons most deeply interel'd in it, desired might be drawn up in proper Form; and so they were, with the Omission only of a single Circumstance, *viz.* that the Place was taken by Force of Arms, which, the *Spaniards* insist'd, should be particularly specified, to demonstrate, that they had been beaten, before they consented to treat; and to this the *English* very willingly yielded, which produced the following Scheme of Articles, which satisfied both Parties, procuring one the Money they wanted, and satisfying the other as to the Point of Honour, a thing no *Spaniard* ever willingly gave up.

Contract for the Ransom of the Town of Guiaquil.

Whereas the City of *Guiaquil*, lately in Subjection to Philip V. King of Spain, is now taken by Storm, and in the Possession of the Captains *Thomas Dover*, *Woods Rogers*, and *Stephen Courtney*, commanding a Body of her Majesty of Great-Britain's Subjects; we the Underwritten are content to become Hostages for the said City, and to continue in the Custody of the said Captains *Thomas Dover*, *Woods Rogers*, and *Stephen Courtney*, till 30,000 Pieces of Eight shall be paid to them for the Ransom of the said City, two new Ships, and six Barks; during which time no Hostility is to be committed on either Side between this and *Puna*; the said Sum to be paid at *Puna*, in six Days from the Date hereof; and then the Hostages to be discharged, and all the Prisoners to be delivered immediately: Otherwise the said Hostages do agree to remain Prisoners, till the said Sum is discharged in any other Part of the World. In Witness whereof, we have voluntarily set our Hands this 27th Day of April, O. S. and the 7th of May, N. S. in the Year of our Lord 1709.

19. The Plunder we took here, exclusive of the Ransom we received for the Town, was very considerable; for we found there 230 Bags of Flour, Beans, Peas, and Rice; fifteen Jars of Oil; 160 Jars of other Liquor; some Cordage, Iron ware, and small Nails; with about four half Jars of Powder, about a Ton of Pitch and Tar; a Parcel of Cloathing and Necessaries; and, as I guess, about 1200 l. in Plate, Ear rings, &c. and 50 Bales of dry Goods; four Guns; and about 200 *Spanish* ordinary useles Arms and Musquet-barrels; a few Packs of Indico, Cocoa, and Annotto; with about a Ton of Loaf-sugar. We left abundance of Goods in the Town, besides Liquors of most sorts, and Sea Stores, with several Warchouses full of Cocoa, divers Shipson the Stocks, and two new Ships unrigged, upwards of 400 Ton, which cost above 80,000 Crowns; and then lay at Anchor before the Town. We were also to deliver four Barks ashore, and leave two here, to bring down the Ransom. By this it appears, the *Spaniards* had a good Bargain; but this Ransom was far better for us, than to burn what we could not carry off. The Hostages informed us,

that, during the Treaty, 80,000 Pieces of Eight of the King's Money were sent out of the Town, besides their Plate, Jewels, and other things of the greatest Value; so that it is certain, that, if we had landed at first, and given them no Time at all, we had been much greater Gainers than we were; and I have great Reason to believe, that we might, in that Case, have made 200,000 Pieces of Eight, in ready Money, Plate, and Jewels; and yet the Place had never been so poor for forty Years past, as at the Time we took it, there having been a Fire about a Year and an half before, which had burnt down best Part of the Town, and occasioned a very great Expence in rebuilding it. As it was, we thought ourselves very happy; and all imaginable Care was taken, that every Man concerned in the Expedition found his Account in it; by which the Expediency of the Articles before-mentioned fully appeared; and our People were to perfectly satisfied with the Usage they received on this Occasion, that they expressed the greatest Alacrity in the Execution of every Enterprize, that was afterwards undertaken. To say the Truth, this is a Matter of the utmost Importance with Privateers; for, if the Men have the least Jealousy of their being ill-treated, such Disputes arise, as do infinitely more Mischief, than the Value of what can be gotten by such Practices. But to proceed with our Affairs: When May 2. came, which was the last Day appointed to wait for the Money, and no Boat arriving, we began to be very uneasy. At length, however, a Boat arriv'd, and brought us 22,000 Pieces of Eight; which we received, and dispatched the Boat back again, telling them we design'd to leave the Place the next Morning, and would carry away the Hostages, if they did not come time enough to prevent it. We staid, however, till the 6th; and then Captain *Courtney* was resolv'd to depart, being apprehensive, that we should be attacked by the *French* and *Spanish* Squadron. I endeavour'd, but in vain, to convince him, that, as yet, we were not in any Danger of being attacked; because it was not possible, that the *French* and *Spaniards* could have received notice by this time at *Lima*, and have fitted out a Force sufficient to engage us. We sail'd however, and came to an Anchor, about four in the Afternoon, a few Leagues before Point *Avena*. The next Morning about two o'Clock, we were preparing to sail, when Mr. *Morel*, and a Gentleman from *Puna*, related to our Prisoners, brought us 3500 Pieces of Eight more towards the Ransom. This put us in so good an Humour, that, in the Afternoon, we discharged all our Prisoners, except the *Morels*, the three Hostages, and three or four more. The Gentleman, that came from *Guiaquil*, had a Gold Chain, and some other things of Value, with which he bought our Bark the *Beginning*, which was now of no further Use. We gave the Captain of the *French* Ship, three Negro Women; Mr. *Morel*, another; and to most of the Prisoners, their Wearing-apparel; so that we parted very good Friends. They told us, that one Don *Pedro Cienfuegos*, whom we put ashore at *Puna*, and who was a Man of great Credit, had got together a considerable Sum of Money, and design'd to buy Goods of us; for which Purpose he would be down in twelve Hours time: But the Majority of our Officers would not believe them; but, conceiving this to be a Scheme for detaining us till the *French* and *Spanish* Fleet came, were in so much the greater Hurry to get away. But, before we proceed, let me give you a short Description of the Town of *Guiaquil*, as we found it.

20. *Guiaquil* is divided into two Parts, called the *Old* and the *New Towns*; both of them together consisting of about 500 Houses, joined by a long wooden Bridge, for People to pass over on Foot, above half a Mile in Length, with some Houses on each Side at a Distance. It is situated in a low boggy Ground, so dirty in Winter, that, without this Bridge, there would be scarce any going from one House to another: There is but one regular Street along the River-side to the Bridge, and from it along the *Old Town*. Before the Church of *Sant Iago* is a very handsome Parade; but the Church itself lies in Ruins. There are, in all, four Churches, *viz.* *Sant Iago*, or *St. James* the Apostle, which, as I said, is destroyed; *St. Augustin*, *St. Francis*, and *St. Dominic*; and before this last another Parade, with an Half-moon, on which six Guns may be planted; but there were none when we came. Besides these,

there is a Chapel, and there had been a Church of *St. Ignatius*, belonging to the Jesuits, but burnt down. They were all decently adorned with Altars, carved Work, Pictures, an Organ in that of *St. Augustin*; but the Plate belonging to them was carried away, the Priests and Students being all gone into the Woods: Some of the Houses were of Brick, particularly about the Parade, before the Fire; the rest of Timber, or Bamboes split, and some of them decently furnished. In the Merchants Storehouses, there were great Quantities of Meal, Brandy, Sugar, Cloathing, Cordage, and Iron. The Inhabitants had some Callines; but I know not of what use they could be, unless to carry them a Stone's-throw to Church; especially in Winter, all about being so foul and boggy, that there could be no Road made for them. This morass Ground was full of the largest Toads I ever saw, some of them as big as an English Two-penny Load. There were 2000 Inhabitants of all sorts, including *Indians*, Mulattoes, and Blacks. The *English*, who had lived in the Town, told us, that the *December* before, when they had made public Rejoicings for the Birth of the Prince of *Asturias*, which lasted three Weeks, they had mustered 1100 Foot, and 500 Horse, all in Arms, which came from the Country round about; besides a much greater Number unarmed, the greatest Part whereof must have been *Indians*. They baited 200 Bulls to Death after the *Spanish* Fashion, and ran at the King with their Spears; both which Exercises they are very expert in, and much addicted to. The *Sunday* before we landed, they had launched one of the new Ships in Presence of the Bishop; who asked what they might cost building; and was told, the one 40,000 Dollars, the other more, both of which designed to trade to *China*; and Orders were given not to employ the Carpenters about any other Work, till the King's two Ships, then expected from *Lama*, were rebuilt. This Town is well seated for Trade, and for building of Ships, as lying fourteen Leagues from Point *Avena*, and seven from *Puna*, up a large River, which receives several small ones that fall into it, with many Villages and Farm-houses round about. The Water is fresh for four Leagues below it, and all along the Banks grows abundance of Mangroves and *Sarsaparilla*, and, on account of this latter, the Water is accounted good for the *French* Disease: However, when the Floods come down from the Mountains, the Water is not reckoned so wholesome, by reason it brings along several poisonous Plants and Fruits, among which is the *Manchivilla* venomous Apple, whereof all Birds that taste die; and we saw Hundreds of them dead on the Water whilst we were there. They have great Plenty of Bees, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Ducks, *Majocoy* Ducks, and some Sorts unknown to us in *England*; as also Horses, and great Numbers of Carrion-crows, which the *Spaniards* will not suffer to be killed, preserving them to devour all Carrion. The Ships here are built under Sheds, to shelter the Men from the Sun. The Town is governed by a *Corregidor*, being the supreme Magistrate appointed by the King. At our coming, the Officer was one Don *Jeronimo Bis*, a young Man about twenty-four Years of Age, born in the *Canaries*. It may seem a little extraordinary, that so young a Man should be intrusted with such a Command; but it is to be considered, that native *Spaniards*, for so such are accounted that are born in the *Canaries*, have much earlier Titles to Honour, than Persons born in this Country; and, indeed, by the Regularity of the *Spanish* Government, it is no hard Matter for a young Man, of a reasonable Capacity, to perform the Functions of it with Credit to himself, and to as to give Satisfaction to the People. The Accounts which have been given of this Place by the *French* Buccaneers are so false, that there is not the least Degree of Truth in them; inasmuch that, from their Descriptions, it scarce appears to be the same Place, had they not left infamous Marks of their being here: For when they took the Town of *Guayaquil*, about twenty-two Years ago, they discovered little or no Bravery in the Attack, (tho' they lost a great many Men) and committed a deal of Barbarity and Murder after they had the Place in their Power, which was above a Month, here and at *Puna*. The Seasons here are improperly called Winter and Summer: The Winter is reckoned from the Beginning of *December* to the last of *May*; and all that

Season is sultry hot, wet, and unhealthy: From the latter End of *May* to *December* is serene, dry, and healthy, but not so violently hot as what they call Winter. Their *Cocoa* is ripe, and mostly gathered between *June* and *August*; and of the other Fruits, natural to those Climates, some are ripe, and others green, all the Year. But, as our Prisoners furnished us with a very full and exact Account of all the adjacent Country dependent on the Government of *Guayaquil*, I have judged it requisite to add to this Account of the Town, a View likewise of the Province, that the Reader may perfectly apprehend the Condition of the *Spanish* Inhabitants therein; and judge from thence, as from a Sample, of the State of this great Empire of *Peru* at the Time that we were thus engaged in attacking in Ports and Coast; where we acted as became Men who had legal Commissions, and did nothing that was not justified by the Law of Arms, which, in time of War, is the Law of Nations. Having done this, I shall return to our Expedition, and not trouble the Reader with any Digression for the future.

21. The City or Town of *Guayaquil* is the Metropolis of a Province of that Name in *Peru*, governed by a President, with five or six *Oredors*, which make a Royal *Audiencia*, or chief Court of Judicature, accountable only to the Viceroy in military Affairs; every Province has a Government of the same Nature. The Governors are commonly appointed, or, to speak more properly, purchased their Offices, in *Old Spain* for Life, or good Behaviour; and in case any die, or misbehave themselves, the Viceroy may name another during his Time, which ought to be but five Years; but sometimes he gets these Officers of his own placing confirmed by an Order from *Spain*, which is a considerable Part of the Viceroy's unknown Profits. The late Viceroy continued fourteen Years, several new ones having died by the Way. The King of *Spain* himself scarce lives in more Splendor, than his Viceroy in the City of *Lama*, where the chief Courts of Judicature are kept, and Appeals are brought thither from all Courts and Provinces of this extensive Kingdom. I should not here mention the vast Wealth the late Viceroy obtained during his Government, the Sun being so large, that I thought it labours; but that I was informed of it by so many Hands, who told me, that about four Years ago he died, worth, at least, 8,000,000 Pieces of Eight; and left it to his Widow and Children, but the greatest Part to his eldest Son, the *Conde de la Moncloa*, besides vast Sums he gave away in Charities during his Life-time, and the Churches, *Estades*, and Nunneries that he built. He left a better Character behind him, than any Viceroy had done for an Age past. The *Conde*, his eldest Son, waits here, expecting to succeed the present Viceroy of *Peru* or *Mexico*, if the Government holds in *Old Spain*; but the People hope he will follow his Father's Example, rather than that of the present Viceroy: For whereas all former Governors discouraged Foreigners as much as possible, to secure the Trade to the *Spaniards*, the present Viceroy does all for the *French*; he openly espouses their Interest, and encourages them; whereas the *Spaniards* say, that he racks, and heavily oppresses, their own Countrymen. The *Corregidor* that he died at *Guayaquil*, tho' he had possessed the Office but four Years, had amassed 300,000 Pieces of Eight, tho' his Post was not allowed to exceed above 2000 Pieces of Eight *per Annum*; but all the *Corregidores* make vast Advantages by Seizures, and trading privately by themselves. The Trade to and from *Mexico* is forbidden here, under the severest Penalty; especially transporting Quick-silver from *Peru* thither, because Quantities are brought from *Old Spain*, which is imposed on the Refiners at great Rates. Here are many Ships employed coasting in this Kingdom; but a Trade is so severely prohibited between them and *Mexico*, that all the Commodities, with Silver and Gold in Returns, may have little other Circulation in these vast Countries, but by the Flota and Gallions to and from *Old Spain*. Yet, notwithstanding the Severity used against private Traders by the Viceroy and *Corregidores*, there are some that use it, who have no Mercy showed them, if caught, all being shewed in the King's Name, tho' his Majesty has little or no Share of it, all such Seizures (as I am told) being divided amongst those Officers, and the poor Sufferer banished, or confined

to a Gaol. All *English* comes by the Gallions, private Traders, alter their course in the North Seas, all over *Peru*. And if a good Certificate from their Commodities come over the Goods are quick for fear of worse Punishment in the Viceroy, who serve; so that the Trade the chief Officers have a Viceroy are so severe on the *Corregidores* to be in Hand, which cannot be publicly known; so that on their Account, and of prohibited Goods, to stop all Complaints in which they trade for have three times; whilst others, if punished as above. Their unjustly are too many; there is no Country naturally terribly oppressed. The without Reason, that a Viceroy with all that he has, and comes hither like an hung and that every Officer un ten times more than necessary for him, that they. The Province abounds with which makes it the chief repairing of Ships; there at a time on the Stocks chief Commodity this Country is *Cocoa*, which is to plant the South Sea; they lay Year than 30,000 Carpa and sometimes double the perally at half a *Rial per* bush that the Carga m Eight and a half. Their Salt-fish from Point *Sa Quinto*, and other distant City of Timber is laden and other Sea ports, with Freight, and is a profitable here Rice, Cotton, and are no Mines of Silver or of all sorts of Cattle, a *Iland Puna*, where we could conveniently. He so that all their Flour is and other Places in the ways Southerly. They of Woolen Cloth, and *Lyta*. Their Wines, &c. come from *Pisco*, ward; All sorts of *Euro Puna*, whether they are *Bello* out of the North Sea that come and go from here are no less than forty Six the Port of *Guayaquil* is one of the World. A *Man* Boats in the River, ever that the Country affords Towns of the Province ruled by the *Corregidor* the same River, and its chief of the Capital in two Distance. *Peru* *Vaca* Province, before the *Guayaquil*. In the Towns, and *wards* compute at least five, there are many n between the *Spaniards*.

to a Gaol. All *English* and *Dutch* Goods, except what comes by the Gallions, are prohibited here; so that the private Traders, after they have, by Stealth, purchased them in the North Seas, must vend them in like manner all over *Peru*. And if the wholesale Merchants have not a good Certificate from the Commerce of *Seville*, that their Commodities come by the Flota or Gallions, whenever the Goods are questioned, they must discover them, for fear of worse Punishments, unless they have a good Interest in the Viceroy, which costs dear to purchase and preserve; so that the Trader makes little Profit, but where the chief Officers have a Feeling: Yet *tho'* these mercenary Viceroy's are so severe on others, they themselves employ the Corregidors to negotiate a Trade for them by a third Hand, which cannot be done to the Purpose without being publicly known; so that Ships are constantly employed on their Account, and carry *Quicksilver*, and all manner of prohibited Goods, to and from *Mexico*, out of bye Ports. Thus, being their own Judges, they get vast Estates, and stop all Complaints to *Old Spain* by Bribes. The Goods they trade for have a free Passage, and sail through the Continent; whilst others, if they do but offer at it, are punished as above. Their other Ways of getting Money unjustly are too many; but, in short, in my Opinion, there is no Country naturally more rich, nor any People more terribly oppressed. The *Spaniards* say, and I believe not without Reason, that a Viceroy, after purchasing his Place with all that he has, and quitting *Old Spain* as poor as *Job*, comes hither like an hungry Lion, to devour all that he can; and that every Officer under him in the Provinces (who are ten times more than necessary) are his Jackals to procure Prey for him, that they may have a Share of it themselves. The Province abounds with several sorts of good Timber, which makes it the chief Country of *Peru* for building and repairing of Ships; there is seldom less than six or seven at a time on the Stocks before the City of *Guayaquil*. The chief Commodity this City, and its chief Province, afford, is *Cocoa*, which is so plentiful, as to supply most Places of the South Sea; they say, there is never less exported in a Year than 30,000 Cargaus, each Cargau 81 lb. Weight, and sometimes double the Quantity: It was purchased generally at half a *Rial per Pound*, but now much cheaper, so that the Cargau may be bought for two Pieces of Eight and a half. Their Coasting Trade is for Salt and Salt-fish from *Santa Helena*, and most vend at *Quito*, and other distant Places within Land: A vast Quantity of Timber is taken here for *Truxillo*, *Cbana*, *Lima*, and other Sea ports, where it is scarce. It pays a great Freight, and is a profitable Trade. They export also from hence Rice, Cotton, and some dried jerked Beef. There are no Mines of Silver or Gold in this Province, but Plenty of all sorts of Cattle, and very cheap, especially on the Island *Pana*, where we supplied ourselves with what we could conveniently. Here is no other Corn but *Indian*; so that all their Flour is brought from *Truxillo*, *Cheripe*, and other Places in the windward Parts: It blows here always Southerly. They are also supplied with several sorts of Woollen Cloth, and very strong good Bays made at *Quito*. Their Wines, Brandy, Oil, Olives, and Sugar, &c. come from *Piscola*, *Nasca*, and other Places to Windward: All sorts of *European* Goods come hither from *Panama*, whether they are brought over Land from *Porto-Bello* out of the North Seas; so that the Number of Ships that come and go from hence, without including Coasters, are no less than forty Sail every Year; which shews, that the Port of *Guayaquil* is no mean Place of Trade in this Part of the World. A Market is also kept on Bark Logs and Boats in the River, every Day, before the Town, with all that the Country affords, in great Plenty. The other Towns of the Province are governed by Lieutenants, deputed by the Corregidor; above half of them border on the same River, and its Branches; so that they can join these of the Capital in two Tides, tho' at several Leagues Distance. *Porto Vaco* was formerly the Metropolis of the Province, before the Government was removed to *Guayaquil*. In the Towns, and the whole Province, the *Spaniards* compute at least 10,000 Inhabitants; but, I believe, there are many more, taking in all the mixt Races between the *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and Negroes, which they

divide and subdivide into eleven Denominations. The natural *Spaniards* are the fewest by far of all the Inhabitants; and, were it not for these Mixtures, which the Fathers of the Church keep united, the *Indians* might again take Possession of their Country; for the *Spaniards* would be too few to keep it, and much more incapable of peopling it. Few of those Prisoners that fell into our Hands were healthy and sound; near half of the *Spaniards* discovered publicly to our Doctors their Malady, in order to get Physic from them against the *French* Disease, which is so common here, that they reckoned it no Scandal to be deep in the Powdering tub; and, the Heat of the Country facilitating the Cure, they make very light of it. All the *Spaniards* I discoursed allow, that this rich Country is not a tenth peopled, nor are half the *Indians*, far within Land, civilized; tho' they affirm, their King has, in the *West Indies*, more Subjects of several Colours, than in all *Spain*, or the rest of his Dominions in *Europe*; which may be true.

22. On May 11. we had a strong Gale at South South-west. We bore away for the *Galapagos Islands*; and in a very melancholy Condition we were: For we had upwards of twenty Men taken ill on board the *Duke*, and near fifty on board our *Confort* seized with a malignant Fever, contracted, as I suppose, at *Guayaquil*, where I was informed, that, about a Month or five Weeks before we took it, a contagious Disease, which reigned there, swept off ten or twelve Persons every Day for a considerable time; so that the Floors of all the Churches (which are their usual Burial-places) were filled to fast, that they were obliged to dig a large and deep Hole, of about a Rood square, close by the great Church, where I kept Guard; and this Hole was almost filled with the Corpses half-putrefied. The Mortality was so very great, that many of the People had left the Town; and our lying so long in the Church, surrounded with such unwholesome Scents, was enough to infect us too. About this time Captain *Courtney* was taken ill; and Captain *Deer* went on board to prescribe for him. In twenty-four Hours, we had fifty Men down, and the *Duchess* upwards of seventy; and, in the following twenty-four Hours, there were ten more down in each Ship. On the 17th, we discovered Land; and, on the 18th at Day-break, we were within four Leagues of two large Islands, almost joining together, having passed the other that we saw Yesterday. We sent our Boat ahore to look for Water, and agreed with our *Confort* where to meet, in case of Separation. They turned towards the Windward, and let us to try this Island for Water. All our Prizes were to stay near us under Sail, by a remarkable Rock. But, in the Afternoon, the Boat returned with a melancholy Account, that no Water was to be found, the Prizes we expected lying to Windward for us by the Rock, about two Leagues off Shore; but Mr. *Hatley* in a Bark, and the *Harc de Grave*, turned to Windward, after our *Confort* the *Duchess*; so that only the Gallion, and the Bark that Mr. *Seikirk* was in, staid for us. We kept plying to Windward all Night, with a Light out; which they followed. At five in the Morning, we sent our Boat ahore again, to make a further Search in this Island for Water. In the Evening, the Boat returned, and reported, that there was no Water to be found, though the People went three or four Miles up into the Country. They likewise told me, that the Island is nothing but loose Rocks, and Cinders, very rotten, and heavy; and the Earth so parched, that it will not bear a Man, but breaks into Holes under his Feet; which makes me suppose there has been a *Vulcano* here, tho' there is much shrubby Wood, and some Greens, on it; yet there is not the least Sign of Water; nor is it possible, that any can be contained on such a Surface. In short, we found these Islands very little answered either our Expectations, or the Descriptions we had of them; and our Loss of Mr. *Hatley*, who, with five of our Men, two *Spanish* Prisoners, and three Negroes, lost us in a Bark, where they were provided only with Water for two Days, and scarce any other Necessaries, together with many unlucky Accidents, made us with ourselves from amongst these Islands; and therefore on May 26. Captain *Deer* and I went on board the *Duchess*, where, after a Consultation, it was resolved to run in for the Island *Plata* to water, and fo

come

came off again, for fear of meeting with two French Ships, one of sixty, and the other of forty-six Guns, and the Spanish Man of War, who, we were advised, would be suddenly in search of us, but, if we could find no Water in any of those Islands going in, we designed to fit our Ships there, and not go near the Main, our Ships being out of Order, and our Men sickly and weak, and several also having been buried. We sailed on the 27th; and, on the 30th, we held another Council on board the *Duke's*, where it was agreed to go first to *Gorgona*, to see if there were any English Ships there, and afterwards to *Mangla*, *Malaga*, or *Madahnar*, where are some Indians, Enemies to the Spaniards, who, as the Pilots informed us, seldom came thither, nor could thence get Intelligence of us; and, if we could trade with the Indians, might have Swine and Fowls, good Bananas, Plantains, and other Refreshments. In this Court, the *Duke's* took a Prize, which proved to be a Vessel of the Burden of ninety Ton, found from *Panama* to *Guayaquil*, called the *St. Thomas de Villa Nueva*, Juan Navarro Navaret Commander. There were about forty People aboard, including eleven Negro Slaves; but little of European Goods, except some Iron and Cloth. The next we made the Island of *Gorgona*; and, on the 5th, our Boats brought in another Prize, which was a small Bark, of about fifteen Tons, called the *Golden Sun*. She belonged to a Creek on the Main, and was bound for *Guayaquil*, *Andres Enriquez* Master, with ten Spaniards and Indians, and some Negroes; no Cargo, but a very little Gold-dust, and a large Gold Chain; together about 500*l.* Value, which were secured aboard the *Duke's*. On June 19, in the Evening, there was a Consultation on board the Ship above-mentioned, at which some of my Officers and Captain Devereux assisted. Being discomposed, I was not with them; but returned to act in Condonship, according to their Agreement. After they had examined the Prisoners, they resolved to go to *Malaga*, an Island which had a Road, where we designed to leave our Ships, and, with our Boats, row up the River for the rich Gold Mine of *Buracaco*, called also by the Spaniards the Mines of *St. Juan*, from a Village about two Miles up the River, of that Name. There we designed to surprise Canoes, as better than our Boats to go against the Stream; for this Time of the Year being subject to great Rains, which make a strong Fresh down the River, our Pilot, an old Spaniard, did not propose to get up to the Mines in less than twelve Days. I had often before inspected his Knowledge; but, according to their Resolutions on board the *Duke's*, we made Sail about twelve o'Clock that Night, and steered North-east for the Place. In the Morning, I discovered Captain *Mered*, as I had done several times before, and all the rest of the Prisoners, who agreed, that this Island called *Malaga* was an unfrequented Place, and not fit for Ships, that ever they heard of. I had also two Prisoners on board, that were taken in the last Prize, who had been at the said Island very lately. I examined them separately, and they agreed, that a Ship could not get up there; and that the Place being so narrow, it was impossible to get in, but with the Tide, which ran very strong; that the Entrance was full of Shoals, and had not Water enough, but at Spring-tides, for our Ships to get out of the Bays that, if a Ship gets loose, as we must needs have our Sterns, she would turn all a drift, and very much endanger the Whole. They added, that the River was so narrow, before we could get to the Mines, that the Spaniards and Spaniards might fall Trees across, and cut off our Retreat, there being thick Woods on the Banks of the River, from whence the Indians would gall us with their poisoned Arrows; that the Mines were at Anany with the Spaniards, and a bold and very numerous People. Upon this Information, I was surpris'd, that the Council had not inform'd themselves better, before they resolv'd on going to this Place, and immediately for Mr. *White* our Linguist, with the two Prisoners, on board the *Languist*, to leave Captain *Courteney*, and his Officers, and to desire our Company, with some of the rest, without Loss of Time, that we might agree how to act for our Safety and Interest; and not to proceed further on this hazardous Enterprise. On a solemn Consultation, this was accordingly resolv'd; and, in Compliance of that Resolution, we came back to *Gorgona*, our Condition being to bid at this Junc-

ture, that, if we had been attacked, we should scarce have been in a Condition to have defended ourselves.

23. On the 13th of June, about four in the Morning, we anchored in forty Fathom Water, and resolv'd to careen the *Duke's* first, and then the *Duke*; our Sick were removed aboard the Galleon, and the sick Officers on board the *Havre de Grace*, where they had all the Conveniences we could afford them. We likewise set up a Tent ashore for the Use of the Armourer, and Cooper's Crew, and directed a Place to be cleared for our sick Men's Tents; all which was performed with such Diligence, that, by the 28th, we got our Provisions on board, mounted all our Guns, having in fourteen Days caulked our Ships all round, careen'd, rigged, and stowed them again both fit for the Sea, which was great Dispatch, considering what we had to do was in an open Place, with few Carpenters, and void of the usual Conveniences for careening. The Spaniards, our Prisoners, being very dilatory Sailors, were amaz'd at our Expedition; and told us, they usually take six Weeks, or two Months, to careen one of the King's Ships at *Lima*, where they are provided with all Necessaries, and account it good Dispatch. On the 20th, we set up a Tent ashore for the Sick, who were, even by this time, much better than when we came to the Island, notwithstanding the Spaniards represented it as extremely hot and unwholesome; but the bare lying ashore, having many Doctors with them, and an Opportunity of walking about when they grew a little better, had so good an Effect, that, while our found Men were employ'd in fitting our Ships for Sea, our sick Men gathered Strength enough to return to their Duty. Our Spanish Prisoners went into the Wood with us, shew'd us Timber that was proper to be cut, and gave us every other kind of Assistance in their Power. We not only set up Coopers and Armourers Tents, but we set out Ground for a Rope-yard, erected a Tent for a Smith, another for a Block, the third for a Sail-maker, and each had his Crew to act under him, for the better Dispatch of Business. It is not to be supposed, that these People were all excellent in their Professions; but, however, they made a hit to carry on Things very well; our Work, Necessity and Practice having taught them many Resources, which the ablest Man, in their Branch of Business, would never have thought of, or, perhaps, could have been brought to believe practicable, if it had been told of them by others. By this Method of acting, we had settled not only a Plantation, but a Manufactory on the little Island of *Gorgona*; and, as every Officer had his Charge, and survey'd a particular Sort of Artizans, we had Buynets enough upon our Hands, and were thoroughly and pleasantly employ'd. Our Spanish Prisoners look'd on with Amusement at our working from Break-Day till Night in that Climate, and in that manner; and what most of all surpris'd them, was our finding out a new Expedient, when press'd by new Difficulties, which, in the Judgment of our Spaniards, it was impossible for us to proceed any further; so that our Industry and Success rais'd our Credit with them prodigiously. The Natives of *Old Spain* are accounted but mean Mariners; but here they are much worse, all the Parts we took being rather cobbled, than fitted out for the Sea; so that, had they such Weather as we often met with in the European Seas in Winter, they could scarce ever reach here again, as they are littled; but they sail here in hundred Leagues. The French used her as a Victualler, and so did she at *Lima*, as she had done several others, for four times the Money they cost in Europe. 'Tis certainly a good Method they took, at first trading hither, to bring a Victual Ship, with no other Goods but Provisions and Salt along with them. Generally one of these Ships comes out with two Traders; and since in six, nine or twelve, Months time which they stay in these Seas, they expend their Provisions, and sell their Men by Method or Detention, they sell their Victualling Ships, and being recruited with Men and Provisions out of her, they retail well victualled and manned, to France: But now they go into *Chili*, where they sell the remaining Part of the Cargo and salt up a new Stock of Provisions for their homeward-bound Passage; so that they need bring no more Victual-

24. While we were at the *Havre de Grace* we of each Ship aboard her refusing to carry her Ship to cruise in her Sea. This was the played from the 29th till she was completely fitted of the *Margus*, having We saluted each of the on board her, distributed drank her Majesty's own Success, in Conjunction after sent two of *Margus*, the *Duke's* taken at *Guayaquil*, and twenty very good ones repaired, that they were in England. The next to provide her with Money I agreed to put thirty Carrying twenty-six, for white Men, and twenty Commander, and our *Peppe*, to command us Captain, with his Officers Wages without in the

25. The next thing that Prisoners, which began no Use at all. It was should be all left ashore, to engage them in a several times discourag'd about ransoming the them to Advantage, but still now; because we have the Cargoes undeal with us. I propos'd Days as near it as the Money we should agree they left Hostages on would carry to England, provided we would take Prize-goods. Then I leon, and putting a gre provided one of those cure, would be Hosta that neither of them w World. I mention'd them here, provided pay us the Money at ar in six Days, if they Eight, being the low Prizes and Goods, Neg with Strangers, expect strictly prohib'd in th than the prime Coil of to deal with us; so that unless we sold the G finding it worth our I must run in treating w them all ashore, still the *Morrells* and *Nava* vent our burning the Some of our People w they were first taken, now every body seem Method, because it w tunity of trading, and which were of no Va hinder our sailing. B we put twenty two with our two Pinnac 13th in the Morning, our Prisoners, and bro twelve Hogs, and six which were very well of Value in the Village far up the River, they

24. While we were here, we agreed together to fit out the *Maure de Grace* with twenty Guns, and put Men out of each Ship aboard her under Captain *Cooke's* Command, resolving to carry her home with us, and to make a third Ship to cruise in our Company whilst we were in these Seas. This was the great Work on which we were employed from the 29th of *June* to the 9th of *July*, when she was completely finished; and we gave her the Name of the *Marquis*, having provided a good Entertainment: We saluted each of the other Ships with three Huzzas from on board her, distributed Liquor among the Company, drank her Majesty's and our Owners Healths, and to our own Success, in Conjunction with our new Comfort. We soon after sent two of our Main-deck Guns on board the *Marquis*; the *Duchess* did the like; which, with four taken at *Guiaquil*, and twelve that were in the Ship, made twenty very good ones; the Carriages all new, or so well repaired, that they were as good and strong, as if mounted in *England*. The next thing to be considered was, how to provide her with Men: This was very soon settled; for I agreed to put thirty-five on board her, and Captain *Courtesy* twenty-six, so that her Complement was sixty-one white Men, and twenty Negroes, Captain *Edward Cooke*, Commander, and our second Lieutenant, *Mr. Charles Pope*, to command under him. We agreed, that the Captain, with his Officers and Men, should have equal Wages with ours in the like Posts, to encourage them.

25. The next thing of Consequence was to get rid of our Prisoners, which began to be a Burden upon us, and of no Use at all. It was therefore determined, that they should be all let ashore, after trying every Method possible to engage them in a Scheme for trading with us. We had several times discoursed the two *Morells*, and *Don Antonio*, about ransoming the Goods, and were in Hopes of selling them to Advantage, but deferred coming to Particulars till now; because we plainly saw, that unless they could have the Cargoes under a Quarter Value, they would not deal with us. I proposed going to *Panama*, and lying six Days as near it as they pleased, till they brought the Money we should agree for, at a moderate Rate, provided they left Hostages on board us, whom, on Failure, we would carry to *England*. To this they would have agreed, provided we would take 60,000 Pieces of Eight for all the Prize-goods. Then I proposed their ransoming the Gallion, and putting a great Part of the Goods aboard her, provided one of those three, and another they could procure, would be Hostages for the Sum. They answered, that neither of them would go Hostage to *England* for the World. I mentioned deliv'ing the Gallion and Cargo to them here, provided two of them would be Hostages to pay us the Money at any other Place but *Panama* or *Lima*, in six Days, if they would give us 120,000 Pieces of Eight, being the lowest Price we would take for all the Prizes and Goods, Negroes, &c. They told us, that trading with Strangers, especially the *English* and *Dutch*, was so strictly prohibited in those Seas, that they must give more than the prime Cost of the Goods in Bribes, to get a Licence to deal with us; so that they could not assure us of Payment, unless we sold the Goods very cheap: Therefore, not finding it worth our Time, and knowing the Danger we must run in treating with them, we desisted, and ordered them all ashore, still hoping that this would compel the *Morells* and *Naturre* to get Money for us, and prevent our burning the Ships we could not carry away. Some of our People were for keeping several others when they were first taken, but they were over ruled; though now every body seem to confess, that had been a better Method, because it would have given us a greater Opportunity of trading, and of ridding our Ships of those Goods which were of no Value to us here, and served only to hinder our sailing. But to proceed: On the 10th of *July*, we put seventy two Prisoners on board the Bark, and, with our two Pinnaces, she sailed for the Main. On the 13th in the Morning, these Vessels returned from Landing our Prisoners, and brought off seven small Black Cattle, twelve Hogs, and six Goats, some Limes and Plantains, which were very welcome to us. They met with little else of Value in the Village they were at; and, the others being far up the River, they did not think it worth while to visit

them. The Country where they landed was so poor, that our Men gave the Prisoners five Negroes, some Bays, Nails, &c. to purchase themselves Subsistence. The Inhabitants ashore had Notice of our taking *Guiaquil*, and were jealous of our being at this Island, because they heard our Guns when we fired, in order to scale them after careening. According to the Report of our People, our Prisoners were not extremely well pleased with the Change of their Situation, or even with the Recovery of Liberty, in such a Place; and seemed to regret the Advantages they enjoyed on board us. To say the Truth of the Matter, I verily believe, that *Don Antonio*, the *Fleming*, *Sig. Navarre*, and the *Morells*, did not expect to part with us so suddenly; but, by continuing with us, and knowing we could not carry away all the Prizes and Goods, they hoped we should of course have freely given them what we could not keep: We apprehended that was the principal Reason of their not cloing with our Terms, which were advantageous to them; besides, should we have been attacked, they believed we must then put them in Possession of their Ships, which were of no Use for fighting. But, to obviate all their Hopes of benefiting themselves at this easy Rate, without participating of their Money, the Magnet that drew us hither, I made them sensible, at parting, that, as we had treated them courteously, like generous Enemies, we would sell them good Bargains for whatever Money they could bring us in ten Days time; but that we would burn what we did not dispose of, or carry away. They begged we would delay burning the Ships, and promised to raise what Money they could, and return within the Time to satisfy us. One of the chief Prisoners we now parted with, was *Don Juan Cordofo*, designed Governor of *Baldivia*, a brisk Man, of about thirty-five Years of Age: He had served as a Colonel in *Spain*, had the Misfortune to be taken in the North Seas by an *English* Privateer near *Porto-Bello*, and carried to *Jamaica*, from whence he was sent back to *Porto-Bello*. He complained heavily of the Usage he met with from the *Jamaica* Privateer; but we parted very good Friends, and he returned us hearty Thanks, and a Stone Ring for a Present to one of the *Duchess's* Lieutenants, that had lent him his Cabin while he was sick on board. We allowed Liberty of Conscience on board our floating Commonwealth to our Prisoners; for, there being a Priest in each Ship, they had the great Cabin for their Mass, whilst we used the Church of *England* Service over them on the Quarter-deck. On the 15th of *June*, came on board, in a small Canoe, one *Michael Kendall*, a free Negro of *Jamaica*, who had lived for some time as a Slave in the Village our People had plundered: He happened not to be there then; but, as soon as he had an Account of it, he fairly ventured his Life to get away to us. From him we received the following remarkable Account of an Attempt made upon the Gold Mines, in which he was himself concerned. His Relation was to this Effect: That, when War was declared at *Jamaica*, he embarked under the Command of one Captain *Edward Roberts*, who was joined in Commission from the Governor of *Jamaica*, with the Captains *Rush*, *Golding*, and *Pitkingston*. They had 100 Men, and designed to depart the Mines of *Iago*, at the Bottom of the Gulph of *Darien*. There were more Commanders and Men came out with them, but did not join in this Design. They had been about five Months out, when they got near the Mines undisturbed. They sailed fifteen Days up the River in Canoes, and travelled ten Days by Land afterwards: By this Time, the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, being alarmed, laid Ambuscades, and shot many of them. The Enemy having assembled at least 500 Men, and the *English* being diminished to about sixty, including the Wounded, the *Spaniards* sent them a Flag of Truce, and offered them their Lives, after a small Skirmish, wherein the *English* lost four, and the Enemies about twelve Men. The *English*, being in want of Provisions, quite tired out, and not knowing their Way back, agreed to deliver their Arms, on condition to be used as Prisoners of War. Having thus yielded, the *Spaniards* and *Indians* carried them in Canoes three Days up the River that leads to the same Mines they designed to attempt, treated them very well, and gave them the same Food that they eat themselves. But the

fourth Day, when they came to a Town beyond the Mines, and thought all Danger had been past, an Order came from the chief *Spanish* Officer to cut them all off, which the *Indians* and *Spanish* Troops did, as those poor disarmed Wretches sat at Victuals; so that in this barbarous Manner they were all massacred in a few Minutes, except a *Scots*, a *French*, and an *English* Boy, with twelve free Negroes, which, at the Intercession of a Priest, they kept for Slaves. This Man, being one of them, happened to be sold first to the Mines, where, he says, he cleared at least three Pieces of Eight a Day for his Master; and from thence he was sold to this Place. We took Notice of this to the *Morelli*, who came the next Morning with Money to ransom what they could of us, putting them in mind of the different Treatment they had from us, and how grateful they ought to be for it; which they seemed very readily to acknowledge, and, indeed, behaved, upon all Occasions, with much Honour. We sold them good Bargains, 'tis true; but, on the other hand, Privateers ran great Hazards in trading with us, and trusted us always with their Persons and Money, at the same time that we had the Effects in our Hands they came to purchase. On the 18th, a Negro, belonging to the *Duchess*, was bit by a small, brown, speckled Snake, and died within twelve Hours, notwithstanding the Doctor used his utmost Endeavours to save him. There are abundance of Snakes on this Island; and, the *Spaniards* say, some are as thick as the Middle of a Man's Thigh. I saw one as big as my Leg, and above three Yards long. Their Bite proves generally mortal. In the Afternoon we had a Consultation, and agreed, that the same Bark we took, belonging to the Main, right against this Island, should be given to the Lieutenant's brother that we plundered, and who came over with our Bark; for, being a Man in some Authority on shore, we hoped this Favour would influence them to trade with us whilst we were here. That Morning, Messieurs *Morell* and *Nazarre* went a second time in our Bark for Money. One of the same Sort of Snakes, that killed the Negro, was found on our Fore-castle, as they went off, and killed by our Men. We suppose it came aboard on the Cable, they being often seen in the Water.

26. On the 11th of *August*, the Officers we appointed to appraise the Plunder, met on board the *Galleon*, and valued the Clothing, in order to divide it amongst the Officers and Men of each, according to their respective Shares. On the 2d in the Afternoon, they made an End of appraising the Cloths, at a very low Rate, amounting to four hundred Pounds; and the Silver-hilted Swords, Buckles, Snuff-boxes, Buttons, and Silver Plate in Use aboard every Prize we took, and allowed to be Plunder, at four Shillings and Sixpence per Piece of Eight, amounted to 742*l.* 1*s.* 12*d.* besides 7*lb.* 12*oz.* which was in Rings, Gold Snuff-boxes, Ear-rings, and Gold Chains, taken about Prisoners. This I believe an exact Account. Early next Morning we had like to have had a Mutiny amongst our Men: The Steward told me, that several of them had last Night made a private Agreement, and that he heard some Ringleaders, by way of Encouragement, boast to the rest, that sixty Men had already signed the Paper. Not knowing what this Combination meant, or how it was designed, I sent for the chief Officers into the Cabin, where we armed ourselves, secured two of those mutinous Fellows, and presently seized two others: The Fellow that wrote the Paper we put in Irons. By this time, all Hands were upon Deck, and we had got their Agreement from those who were in the Cabin: The Purport of which was, to oblige themselves not to take their Plunder, nor to move from thence, till they had Justice done them, as they termed it. There being to many concerned in this Design, the Captains *Dover* and *Fry* desired I would discharge those in Confinement, upon their asking Pardon, and faithfully promising never to be guilty of the like, or any other Combination, again. The Reason we shewed them this Favour was, that there were too many guilty to punish them at once; and, not knowing what was designed aboard the *Duchess* and *Marquis*, we were of Opinion, they had concerted to break the Ice aboard the *Duke*, and the rest to Rand by them. Upon this, I used all the Arguments I could offer, shewed them the Danger and Folly of Com-

binations, and exhorted them to believe, they would have Justice done them in *England*, should any thing seem uneasy to them now, or in the whole Course of the Voyage; adding, that we had done all that we could for their Good, and would continue our Endeavours, not doubting their good Intentions, provided they were not misled. With these, and other healing Arguments, all appeared easy and quiet, and every Man seemed willing to stand to what had been done, provided the Gentlemen, that were Officers, and not Sailors amongst us, had not such large Shares, which they alledged was unreasonable; and that they could not possibly, in a Privateer, deserve what they were allowed, in proportion to the Ship's Company. This we did in part yield to, in order to appease these Malecontents, by making some Abatements on Mr. *White's*, Mr. *Baird's*, and Mr. *Vanbrugh's* Shares; so that we hoped this difficult Work would, with less Danger than we dreaded, be brought to a Conclusion; for Disputes about Plunder are the common Occasion of Privateers quarrelling amongst themselves, and ruining their Voyages. Another Paper was drawn up, for every Man to swear what Cloath, Goods, &c. he had received of the Agents, and to refuse whatever he had taken without the Agents Knowledge, in order to a just Distribution of the Plunder; and every one was to oblige himself in a Penalty of twenty Shillings for every Shilling Value that should be found about him concealed, besides the former Penalty agreed on, of losing his Share of any Prize or Purchase, for concealing above the Value of half a Piece of Eight. And, for the Encouragement of Discoveries, the Informer was to have half the Penalty, and the Protection of the Commander. This Paper was objected against by several of the Officers, who insisted, that there ought to be a greater Latitude allowed them to advantage themselves, since they had ventured their Lives thither on to difficult an Undertaking: Which made us defer signing it till a better Opportunity; but, unless such Agreements as these had been constantly promoted, as Occasion required, the Temptation of Interest would have made us fall into irrecoverable Confusion aboard, which generally end in a Separation, or worse. Some time after this, I proposed another thing, which I thought, would prove very advantageous for our Owners, and the common Interest; and this was, the sending Captain *Cooke*, in the *Marquis*, with a Cargo of our Provisions, to the *Brazils*; which Commission he would have executed. By this I proposed to save our Provisions, since he would not have required any great Stock for the Voyage, and, consequently, might have remained longer in the South Seas. In the next Place, I proposed Profit, for these Goods would have come to an extraordinary Market at the *Brazils*, and have yielded twice or three as much as we could make of them any other Way. Lastly, after securing, in this manner, so considerable an Advantage on our Voyage, as we must have reaped from the Produce of these Goods, our Ships had been sufficiently provided for attacking the *Acapulco* Ship. But my Contests did not understand, or at least would not approve, these Reasons; and so the Project fell to the Ground, what they, however, repented afterwards, when it was too late.

27. On the 7th, we gave Sig. *Morell* and *Nazarre* their Ships, and all the Goods we could not carry away, for what Money our Agents received of them. As for the Effects in the Bark, we agreed for 12,000 Pieces of Eight, which, with 3000 there remained of the old Debt for the Ransom of *Guazquil*, made 15,000 in the Whole, and which were to be brought in twelve Days. Captain *Cook* valued the Money now on board, for the Use of the Owners, 20,000 Pounds, and the Goods at 10,000 Pounds. We gave these Gentlemen a Paper, which might serve to protect them, in case they fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and we intended to have taken an Acknowledgment under their Hands, as to the Particulars of the Bargain; but the Bark sailed away from us in the Night. I cannot help taking notice here of the honourable Behaviour of our Crew during the Time these Prisoners were on board, in order to shew how much they regarded the Credit of their Commission, and of their Country. Amongst our Prisoners taken on board Sig. *Nazarre's* Ship from *Panama*, there was a Gentlewoman, and her Family; not

eldest Daughter, a pretty young woman, was newly married. We assigned them the same Cabin, and none were suffered to separate their Company. I shewed evident Marks of Dislike. But, I hope amongst us, my third Charge of the *Galleon* Years of Age, he applied to Females, that young Men had hitherto amongst Privateers: Yield them to Temptations, who behaved himself as was some Days in Possession of the *Galleon* where he gained their money, for his Civilian Husband extolled him some concealed female Negro, that we took from them narrowly; and I thought, cunningly before delivered to Captains of good Value. We apparel and Necessaries and parted very friendly who put them on shore they did expect, or been in the like Case Gold, to purchase some Island of *Gorgona* has therefore it is needless for which Reason we Voyage.

28. *August* 11. We set up with a bark which put Mr. *Schenk* and his wife but very thinly more Action than since therefore thought advising where we were. But the *Myllety* will be the Realer, that on board the *Duke*, and Fellow, it for Service them, that, it they fully, their Slavery was them engaged, and the Use of Arms, which aiding, that, if I would these would teach the *Kendall's*, the *Jamaica Spaniards* to us at *Gorgona* to be continually exercised how soon we might in the Names of those that I bestowed Names on I made them drink a Glass. At the same time, I got them, they must look no more as Negro Slaves expressed themselves we saw a Sail, and took her in an Hour's Time, and had four-and-twenty in her. After this, where the *Indians* are Help of a Priest, entered 27th, we began to be silent several of our best the *Marquis* ashore, while the rest loaded generally treacherous on them. Our People peculiar Notice, that were first daubed, we had amply treated

eldest Daughter, a pretty young Woman, of about Eighteen, was newly married, and had her Husband with her. We assigned them the great Cabin aboard the Gallion; and none were suffered to intrude amongst them, or to separate their Company: Yet the Husband (I was told) shewed evident Marks of Jealousy, the Spaniards epidemic Disease. But, I hope, he had not the least Reason for it amongst us, my third Lieutenant *Glendall* alone having Charge of the Gallion and Prisoners; for, being above fifty Years of Age, he appeared to be the most secure Guardian to Females, that had the least Charms, tho' all our young Men had hitherto appeared modest, beyond Example amongst Privateers: Yet we thought it improper to expose them to Temptations. At this time, Lieutenant *Conneley*, who behaved himself to modestly to the Ladies of *Guaguil*, was some Days in Possession of *Navarre's* Ship, before we stopped here to remove these Prisoners aboard the Gallion, where he gained their Thanks, and public Acknowledgments, for his Civilities to these Ladies; and even the Husband extolled him. We had notice these Ladies had some concealed Treasure about them, and ordered a Female Negro, that we took, and who spoke *English*, to search them narrowly; and found some Gold Chains, and other Things, cunningly hid under their Cloaths. They had before delivered to Captain *Courtesy* Plate, and other things, of good Value. We gave them most of their Wearing-apparel and Necessaries, with three Female Mullatto Slaves, and parted very friendly. They confessed to our People, who put them on shore, that we had been much wicker than they did expect, or believed their Countrymen would have been in the like Case; and sent back the Husband with Gold, to purchase some Goods and two Slaves of us. The Island of *Gorgona* has been more than once described, and therefore it is needless to trouble the Reader with it here; for which Reason we shall proceed in the History of the Voyage.

28. *August 11.* we sailed, and, the next Morning, came up with a Bark which created so much Uneasiness; and put Mr. *Sakak* and his Crew on board her. As our Ships were but very thinly manned, and there was likely to be more Action than since we had been in these Seas, it was therefore thought advisable to recruit a little; which, considering where we were, will seem a little extraordinary: But the Mystery will be very soon explained, by my telling the Reader, that, on the 10th, we mustered the Negroes on board the *Duke*, and found them thirty-five, strong able Fellows, fit for Service. When they were together, I told them, that, if they would behave bravely, and act faithfully, their Slavery was at an End; on which thirty-two of them engaged, and desired they might be improved in the Use of Arms, which some of them already understood; adding, that, if I would allow them Arms and Powder, they would teach the rest. Upon this, I made *Michael Kendall*, the *Jamaica* free Negro, who deserted from the Spaniards to us at *Gorgona*, their Leader, and charged him to be continually exercising them, because I did not know how soon we might meet with an Enemy. I took down the Names of those that had any; and those that wanted, I bestowed Names on them; and, to confirm our Contract, I made them drink a Dram all round, to our good Success. At the same time, I gave them Bays for Cloaths; and told them, they must look upon themselves as *Englishmen*, and no more as Negro Slaves to the Spaniards: At which they expressed themselves highly pleased. The next Morning, we saw a Sail, and both the *Duchess* and we gave Chace, and took her in an Hour's time. She was a Vessel of seventy Tons, and had four-and-twenty Negroes, Men and Women, in her. After this, we stood over to the Bay of *Jacames*, where the *Indians* are tree; and, with much ado, by the Help of a Priest, entered on Trade with them. On the 27th, we began to heel and clean our Ships Bottoms; and sent several of our best Sailors, and two Carpenters, to assist the *Marquis* ashore. Our Men kept one half at Arms, while the rest loaded the Boats, lest the *Indians*, who are generally treacherous, should watch an Opportunity to fall on them. Our People, that came off the Shore, took particular Notice, that the Red Paint, with which the *Indians* were first daubed, was a Declaration of War; and, after we had amicably treated with them, they rubbed it off; but

still kept their Arms. We sent them three large wooden *Spanish* Saints, that we had out of *Morell's* Ship, to adorn their Church; which they accounted a great Present: And I sent a feathered Cap to the chief *Indian's* Wife; which was likewise very well accepted: And I had a Present of Bows and Arrows in Requital. In the mean time, our Linguist and Prisoner managed their Business beyond Expectation, selling very ordinary Bays at one Piece of Eight and an half per Yard, and other things in Proportion; so that we had Provisions very cheap. On *September 1.* we sailed from thence; and, on the 6th, Captain *Courtesy*, Captain *Cooke*, and Captain *Dampier*, dined on board of me, when Captain *Cooke* complained of his Ship being crank; and that we need not have tacked so near the Shore, since we might easily have fetched the *Gallapagos* without tacking. All agreed to this, except our Pilot, who was positive of seeing other Lands about 100 or 110 Leagues from the Main, under the Equinox. He told us, he was at them formerly, and has described them in one of his Voyages; and that those Islands were at, lay to the West of them: But we judged him mistaken, or we had seen them in the last Run to and from these Islands. On the 8th, we ran over and beyond where our Pilot affirmed the Islands were; so that we all agreed, that the Island he was at, when a *Buccannering*, could be no other, but those we were at, and were going to now, the nearest Part of them lying 165 Leagues to the Westward of the Main-land. The same Day, we made one of the *Gallapagos* Islands; and, the next Day, hoisted out our Pinnace: Captain *Dover* and Mr. *Glendall* went in her for the Shore. The *Duchess's* Pinnace returned very soon, laden with Turtles. In the mean time, we came to an Anchor in about thirty Fathom Water, about two Miles off Shore, being rocky at Bottom. In letting go the Anchor, the Buoy-rope was immediately cut off, and our Ship drove; so that we thought our Cable was also cut: But, after driving about half a Mile, the Ship rode very well. In the Evening, our Boats, that left us after we came to an Anchor, returned, laden with excellent Turtle. We sent our Yawl and some Men ashore, to turn these Creatures in the Night: But to no Purpose; because we afterwards found, they only came ashore in the Day. I sent our Pinnace, and Lieutenant *Fry*, to sound out a better Anchoring place, while we hove up the Anchor, and came to Sail. Our Boat returned; and, by ten o'Clock, we had our Ship again to an Anchor within less than a Mile of the Shore, right against a white sandy Bay. I went ashore in the Pinnace, and carried Men to walk round the Bay, to get Turtles. The Island is high, like the rest; but some low Land on this Side down to the Sea. It is very rocky, dry, and barren, without Water, like those we had already seen. On the 12th, I sent to the *Duchess*, who was at an Anchor a good Distance from us, to know how they were stocked with Turtle. At ten the Boat returned, with an Account, that they had about 150 Land and Sea Turtles; but not generally so large as ours. We had no Land Turtles as yet; but about 150 Sea Turtles. The *Marquis* had the worst Luck. On the 13th, the *Duchess's* People having informed us where they got their Land Turtles, I sent our Pinnace, which, at Night, returned with thirty-seven, and some Salt they found in a Pond; and the Yawl brought twenty Sea Turtles: So that we were very full of them. Some of the largest of the Land Turtles are about 100 Pounds Weight; and those of the Sea upwards of 400. The Land Turtles laid Eggs on our Deck. Our Men brought some from the Shore, about the Bigness of a Goose's Egg, white, with a large thick Shell, exactly round. The Creatures are the ugliest in Nature; the Shell not unlike the Top of an old Hackney-coach, as black as Jet; and so is the outside Skin, but thrived, and very rough. The Legs and Neck are long, and about the Bigness of a Man's Wrist; and they have Club-feet, as big as one's Fitt, shaped much like those of an Elephant, with five thick Nails on the Fore-feet, and but four behind; and the Head little, and Visage small, like Snakes; and look very old and black. When at first surprised, they shrink their Neck, Head, and Legs, under their Shell. Two of our Men, with Lieutenant *Stratton*, and the Trumpeter of the *Duchess*, affirm they saw vast large ones of this sort, about four Feet high. They mounted two Men on the Back of one of them, which, with its usual

usual slow Pace, carried them, and never regarded the Weight. They supposed this could not weigh less than 50 lb. I do not affect giving Relations of strange Creatures, so frequently done by others; but where an uncommon Creature falls in my Way, I cannot omit it. The *Spaniards* tell us, they know of none elsewhere in these Seas; but they are common in *Brazil*. On the 15th, we had a fine Breeze, came up to the rest, and agreed to lie by, with our Heads to the Eastward, till Midnight, being in Sight of the Rock, where we lost poor *Hatley*, when last here. On the 16th at four o'Clock in the Afternoon, we sent our Yawl for Captain *Cooke* and Captain *Courney*, with whom we agreed to bear away, seeing to many Islands and Rocks to the Westward, we did not care to incumber ourselves among them in the Night. By six, we found the Remedy worse than the Disease, and, at Mast-head, could see all low Rocks, almost joining from Island to Island, that we seemed Land-locked for three Points of the Compass, and no way open, but to the South-east, from whence we came; so we resolved to return that Way, and made short Trips all Night, keeping continual Sounding, for fear of Sholes, and had from forty to sixty Fathom Water. In the Morning, we had got far enough to Windward to return. We could have no Observation, the Sun being in our Zenith, tho' we found the Weather here much colder, than in any Latitude within ten Degrees of each Side the Equator. The *Duck's* (not being so well provided with Turtle as we) sent her Boat ashore on another Island, where they got her Lading of excellent Turtle, leaving a vast Number on shore that they could not bring away. We had as many aboard as we had Room for. At seven we all joined, and agreed to lie by till two in the Morning, whence we continued our Course, with an easy Sail, till Day-break: We were abreast of the *Teeroughfort*, where we tried for Water the last time. I ordered a Gun to be fired at a venture, to see if it were possible *Mr. Hatley* could be there alive, and then seeing, or hearing us, might make a Smoke on shore, as a Signal; but we had no such good Luck; so that our Hopes for him were all vanished, and, we finally concluded, that we could do no more for him, than we have done already. The 18th and 19th, we saw several more Islands, one of them a large one, which we supposed reached near the Equinoctial, and abundance of small Islands betwixt us. The 19th at Noon, we had an indifferent good Observation, Latitude $2^{\circ} 2'$ North. We saw in all (some that we searched, and others that we viewed at a Distance at both times) no less than fifty, but none that had the least Appearance of fresh Water. *Sig. Morell* tells me, that a *Spanish* Man of War, employed to cruise for Pirates, was once at an Island that lies by itself in Latitude $19^{\circ} 20'$ or $30'$ South; they called it *St. Maria del Aquada*, a pleasant Island, and good Road, full of Wood, and plenty of Water, and Turtle of both Sorts, with Fish, &c. lying about 140 *Spanish* Leagues West from the Island of *Plata*; but, I believe, it is at least thirty Leagues more, and that it is no other but the same Island where Captain *Davis*, the *English* Buccaneer, recruited; and all the Light he has left to find it again is, that it lies to the Westward of these Islands he was at with the other Buccaneers, which, as I have before examined, can be no other than these Islands we have been twice at. We had no Occasion to look for this Island the second Trip, though, I believe, it is easy to find it without farther Directions. Here are most Sorts of Sea-birds among these Islands, and some Land-birds, particularly Hawks of several Sorts, and Turtle doves, both of very tame, that we often hit them down with Sacks. I saw no Sort of Beasts; but there are Guanias in abundance, and Land-turtle almost on every Island. 'Tis strange how the latter got here; because they cannot come of themselves, and none of that Sort are found on the Main. Seals haunt some of these Islands, but not so numerous, nor their Fur so good, as at *Juan Fernandez*: A very large one made at me three several times, and, had I not happened to have a Pike Staff, pointed with Iron, in his Hand, I might have been killed by him: I was on the level Sand when he came open mouthed at me, out of the Water, as quick and fierce as the most angry Dog let loose: I struck the Point into his Breast, and wounded him all the three times he made at me; which forced him

at last to retire, with an ugly Noise, snarling, and showing his long Teeth at me out of the Water. This amphibious Beast was as big as a large Bear.

29. On the first of *October* we made the Main-land of *Mexico*, which Captain *Dampier* no sooner saw, than he declared, it was in the Neighbourhood of that Place that he attacked the Letter *Manilla* Ship in the *St. George*. Our Men began to grow ill again, and two of them dropt down on the Deck, occasioned by a kind of scorbutic Apoplexy; but, upon bleeding, they came soon to themselves. The next Day we made *Cape Corientes*, which we knew by our Charts. Captain *Dampier*, indeed, had been here; but it was a long time ago, and, therefore, he seemed to know but little of the Matter; yet, when he came to land in Places, he recollected them very readily. Our Business now was, to look for the Islands called *Tres Marias*, to procure some Refreshments; and found this Work of Difficulty, being very uncertain as to their Situation. On the 4th in the Afternoon, *Cape Corientes* bore East North-east about ten Leagues: The next Morning, being very clear Weather, we discovered two Islands at the Distance of fourteen Leagues, one bearing North-west, the other North by East. At Noon we had in Observation, and found ourselves in the Latitude of $12^{\circ} 45'$ North. The Sight of these Islands was very satisfactory; for, though our Men had their Fill of Land and Sea-turtle, which kept them from the Scurvy, yet I found them weak, it being but a faint Sort of Food, except they had enough Bread or Flour with it; whereas they had but a Pound and a Quarter of Bread or Flour for five Men a Day; which was done to prolong our Stock of Bread against we came to live wholly on our last Provisions, and should be then forced to allow more. On the 6th, we sent Lieutenant *Fry*, in the Pinnace, on shore, to the Eastermost Island, to try whether there was any good Food or Convenience for us to recruit there. At nine they returned, and told me, the Island had foul Ground near half a Mile from the Shore, bad Anchorage, worse Landing, and no fresh Water, but Wood enough. A melancholy Fate to us, our Water growing short. We haled on a Wind for the middle Island, which Captain *Dampier*, I believe, can remember he was at, when he belonged to Captain *Swan*, and found Water. Having little Wind, we sent our Boat towards the Island, to view it, before we could get up thither with the Ship. The *Duck's* Peep, and our Pinnace, had been ashore at several Places on the South-east Side of the Island, and found better Water at every Place. On the 8th, those that had been on the Island reported, they saw no Sign of any Peoples being lately there, but found a human Skull above ground, which we supposed to be one of the two *Indian* Captives *Dampier* tells us were left here by Captain *Swan* about 17 Years ago; for Victuals being scarce with these Buccaneers, they would not carry the poor *Indians* any farther, but after they had served their Turns, left them to make a miserable End on a desolate Island. We kept a Lighted all Night, and a Fire in the Island, that, if the *Morgan* and *Bark*, who had left Company, saw it, and had a Gun, they might come into Anchor ground: But, having no Sight of them at Day-break, I went on board of *Comet*, and proposed my going out to look after them, but they made light of it, and thought it needless, believing they would be in after us without any Assistance. The Remains of Cattle, Hogs, and Plantains, at *Acamei*, held to the *Gallapagos*; and we fed on the Turtle ever since, excepting those two last Days. This accidental Stock of fresh Food was some Refreshment to our Men, and prolonged our Stock of *European* Provisions. On the 11th, Lieutenant *Glendall* to view the other Side of the Island, and he told me, on his Return, that it was much better than this, had several sandy Bays, in which he saw the Track of many Turtle. Upon this Intelligence, I sent back the Boat thither in the Evening, and next Morning they came aboard with a full Load of Turtle, and left no other behind them ready turned; and, which was of much greater Consequence, they found pretty good Water, whereas what we had hitherto drank was physical and purged excessively. As we wooded, watered, and furnished ourselves with fresh Provisions here, and as they

are Places very little Islands of *Tres Marias*, four Leagues asunder most, which appears five Leagues in Length Leagues the longest Leagues: These are Near the least Island Islands. One of the like a Ship under usual Signal for a These Islands have All Pigeons, Doves, and killed great Numbers than ours: We saw a coons; the latter bar were easily beat off worthy of Remark that we found but two good Streams near others, which, I suppose, is that grow in the *Turtle* here are very any I have seen; and but three Sorts of Infertent Sorts of Infertent them all, except the *Turtle*, as they are called some of them about of that Sort, because those at the *Gallapagos* observed, came about Night, quite different the rest. All that we them in the Night, and by their Eggs, and these had 200 Eggs in and ready for laying. *Turtle* were six *Ve* write, considering where ever those Eggs they have nothing but to be better informed shore to watch carefully Eggs without Disturb the Time and Place. ne, they found the Egg and, in about twelve in them, completely little longer, I might rough Satisfaction in From whence I am divers of our Sailors found Eggs in the 8 Days time after, in but Films: This they within that time. I objected, more than of the Sand every 10 Numbers, and quicke Fish about the Shore Sorts mentioned at Plenty of Turtle, at the chief Officers, together without Hares, Tur various Sizes and Colours with Tuns of Leather Anchor-ground about Soundings, from two the Shore. Between the same Depth, where the Shore, but what west Point, and a Sh same, with another at the least Island, but the Shore.

30. On the 11th of proved the Point of the Saviors call *Cape* Vol. 1.

These Places very little known, I shall describe them. The Islands of *Trei Marias* lie North-west, in a Range about four Leagues asunder. The largest Island is the Westermoll, which appears to be high double Land, and above five Leagues in Length; the Middle Island about three Leagues the longest Way; and the Easternmost scarce two Leagues: These are also high Lands, and full of Trees. Near the least Island are two or three small, broken, white Islands. One of the outermost of these appeared so much like a Ship under Sail at a Distance, that we gave the usual Signal for a Chace, but soon found our Mistake. These Islands have Abundance of different Sorts of Parrots, Pigeons, Doves, and other Land Birds, of which we killed great Numbers, with excellent Hares, but much less than ours: We saw abundance of Guanas, and some Raccoons; the latter barked and snarled at us like Dogs, but were easily beat off with Sticks. I think the Water more worthy of Remark than any I thing we saw here; because we found but two good Springs, which ran down in large Streams near others, that were very bitter and disagreeable, which, I suppose, might proceed from Shrubs and Roots that grow in the Water, or from some Mineral. The Turtle here are very good, but of a different Shape from any I have seen; and, though vulgarly there are reckoned but three Sorts of Turtle, we have seen six or seven different Sorts at several Times, and our People have eat of them all, except the very large Whooping or Loggerhead Turtle, (as they are called) found in *Brasil* in great Plenty, and some of them above 500 lb. Weight; we did not eat of that Sort, because then our Provisions were plentiful. Those at the *Galapagos* Islands, both Male and Female, I observed, came ashore in the Day-time, and not in the Night, quite different from what I have seen or heard of the rest. All that we caught in this Island, was by turning them in the Night, and were She's, which came ashore to lay their Eggs, and bury them in the dry Sand; one of these had 800 Eggs in its Belly, 150 of which were skinned and ready for laying at once. I could not imagine, that Turtle were six Weeks in hatching, as some Authors write, considering the Sun makes the Sand so very hot where ever those Eggs are found, and, instead of a Shell, they have nothing but a very thin Film: In order therefore to be better informed, I ordered some of our Men on shore to watch carefully for one, and suffer her to lay her Eggs without Disturbance, and to take good Notice of the Time and Place. Accordingly they did so, and assured me, they found the Eggs added in less than twelve Hours; and, in about twelve Hours more, they had young ones in them, completely shaped, and alive: Had we staid a little longer, I might have given myself, and others, thorough Satisfaction in this quick Production of Tortoises: From whence I am inclinable to credit the Report of divers of our Sailors, who assert, that where they have found Eggs in the Sand, and looked for them in three Days time after, in the same Place, they found nothing but Films: This shews, that the young ones are hatched within that time. They assured me also, that they had observed, more than once, that the young Brood run out of the Sand every Day, directly for the Sea, in great Numbers, and quicker than the old ones. There was little Fish about the Shores of this Island, and of the same Sorts mentioned at other Places in these Seas; but the Plenty of Turtle, at this time, supped that Defect: We, the chief Officers, fed deliciously here, being scarce ever without Hares, Turtle doves, Pigeons, and Parrots of various Sizes and Colours: Many had white, or red Heads, with Tufts of Feathers on their Crowns. We found good Anchor-ground about this middle Island, and gradual Soundings, from twenty to four Fathom Water, close by the Shore. Between this and the least Island, 'tis about the same Depth, where we were: Between them I found no Shore, but what was visible, as a Rock off the South-west Point, and a Shoal off the North-east Point of the same, with another at a great Distance from that Point of the least Island, but neither runs above half a Mile from the Shore.

30. On the 11 of *November* we saw High-land, which proved the Point of *California*, or that Head-land which the Sailors call *Cape St. Lucas*. It was now necessary to

put in Execution the Rules we had formerly laid down for Cruising; as also to settle our Regulations about Plunder, and against Gaming; which was done on the eleventh. According to our Agreement, mine was to be the outermost Ship, the *Duchess* in the Middle, and the *Marquis* next the Land; the nearest Ship to be six Leagues at least, and nine at most, from the Shore; the Bark to ply to-and-fro, and carry Advice from Ship to Ship: By this Agreement, we could spread fifteen Leagues, and see any thing that might pass us in the Day within twenty Leagues of the Shore; and, to prevent the Ships passing in the Night, we were to ply to Windward all Day, and drive all Night. On the 5th of *November* we changed our Situation, and the *Duchess* was next the Shore, and the *Marquis* in the Middle. It gave us great Satisfaction, to consider, that in this very Place, and about this very Day, Sir *Thomas Candish* took the *Manilla* Ship. On the 16th, we sent the Bark to look for Water on the Main, and next Morning they returned, having seen wild *Indians*, who paddled to them on Bark-logs: They were fearful of coming near our People at first, but were soon prevailed with to accept of a Knife or two, and some Bays; for which they returned two Bladders of Water, a couple of live Foxes, and a Deer's-skin. Till now, we thought the *Spaniards* had Missionaries among these People; but they being quite naked, having no Sign of *European* Commodities, nor the least Word of *Spanish*, we concluded they were quite savage. We dispatched the Bark and Boat a second Time with Trifles, in hopes to get some Refreshment from them. On the 18th, before Sun-set, we could perceive our Bark under the Shore; and, having little Wind, she drove most Part of the Night, to be near us in the Morning: We sent our Pinnace, and brought the Men aboard, who told us, that their new Acquaintance were grown very familiar, but were the poorest Wretches in Nature, and had no Manner of Refreshment for us: They came freely aboard to eat some of our Victuals, and by Signs, invited our Men ashore. The *Indians* swam ashore to guide the Bark-logs that our Men were on, there being too much Sea to land out of our Boat. After they got safe on shore, the *Indians* led each of our Men betwixt two of them, up the Bank, where there was an old naked Gentleman, with a Deer skin spread on the Ground, on which they kneeled before our People, who did the like, and wiped the Water off their Faces without a Cloth. These that led them from the Water-side, took the same Care of them for a Quarter of a Mile, and led them very slowly, through a narrow Pass, to their Huts, where they found a dull Musician, rubbing two jagged Sticks across each other, and humming to it, to divert and welcome their new Guests. After these Ceremonies were over, our People sat on the Ground with them, eat broiled Fish, and were attended back in the same Manner, with the *Indian* Music. The Savages brought a Sample of every thing they had, except their Women, Children, and Arms, which we find are not common to Strangers. Their Knives, made of Sharks Teeth, and a few other of their Curiosities, our People brought aboard to me, which I preserved, to shew what Shifts may be made. On the 28th in the Afternoon, we heard the *Marquis* fire a Gun, which was answered by the *Duchess*, who had the Middle Birth. We tacked immediately, and made all possible Sail, supposing they had seen a Stranger. The *Marquis* stood to us, towards the Shore, and we soon met her: By four o'Clock I was aboard them, and inquired into the Cause of the Alarm; was surpris'd to hear they took us for the *Manilla* Ship, and the Gun they fired, was to alarm the *Duchess* to give Chace, as she had done all the Day, though not regarded by us, who knew the *Marquis*, and admird they could mistake the *Duke*. Immediately each Ship returned to his Station. Soon after our main Tie gave way, and our main Yard came down at once, but did no other Damage. Next Morning we saw the Bark coming off Shore, where she had been becalmed: Being longer wanting than usual, we were afraid they were cut off by the *Indians*. We got our Bale-goods up from abaft, to see for the Leak; but all to no Purpose; we found several of the Bales that had received some Damage, which we dried and repacked, and sold what was damaged,

we came to an Anchor, and received the Compliments of all on board the *Marquis*, on our sudden and unexpected Success, and which afforded us no small Satisfaction: We found that Ship in good Condition, ready to sail, and all the Men on board her very brisk, and eager for Action. At eight in the Evening, we had a Consultation on the two great Points; first, what should be done with the Hostages; and, next, how we should act with respect to the other *Manilla* Ship, which we thought there was at least a great Probability of our taking, if we could remain here a little longer. We agreed that it would be best, since we had good Reason to believe the Hostages from *Guiaquil*, and the Commander of the *Manilla* Ship, who was a French Gentleman, viz. the Chevalier *Jean Picchetti*, Brother to the famous *Mr. du Cas*, to be Men of strict Honour, to make the best Terms possible, and then set them at Liberty. As to the other, we met with greater Difficulty. I was very desirous of going out with the *Duchess* to cruise for the other *Manilla* Ship; but there having been some Reflections cast, on account of the *Duchess* not engaging our last Prize so soon as it was thought the might have done, Captain *Courtney* was absolutely bent on going out with the *Marquis*; and the Officers of both Ships voting for this in the Committee, my Proposal was over-ruled, and we were forced to stay in the Harbour against our Will. It was, however, agreed, that we should put ten of our best Hands on board the *Duchess*, that the might be the better able to attack the *Acapulco* Ship, if we saw her; and, on *Christmas-eve*, she and the *Marquis* sailed. As soon as they were gone, we put Part of the Goods aboard the Bark into the Prize, in order to send away our Prisoners. The Agreement we made with them was this: As there were still 4000 Pieces of Eight due for the Ransom of *Guiaquil*, we agreed to sell them the Bark and Cargo for 2000 more; and to take the Chevalier *Picchetti's* Bills, payable in *London*, for the round sum of 6000 Pieces of Eight; which he very readily gave us, and an Acknowledgment under his Hand, that he thought it a good Bargain. When this was settled, we had nothing to look to but our own Security, during the small time that our Consorts were cruising, and for this we made the most prudent Disposition we could.

32. On *Christmas-day* we posted two Centinels on the Top of an Hill, from whence they had a fair View of the Sea, with Instructions, whenever they saw three Sail of Ships in the Offing, to make three Waits with their Colours, that we might have Time enough to secure our Prisoners, and to get out to the Relief of our Consorts; which indeed we expected, as having certain Intelligence, that this was a much stronger Ship than the other, better manned, and better provided in all Respects; so that, if the war was carried, it must prove very hot Work on both Sides, for which we were to prepare. On the 10th, in the Afternoon, the Centries made three Waits, and we immediately sent the *Yawl* to them for better Satisfaction, and found there were three Sail out at Sea: Upon which, we instantly put all the Prisoners aboard the Bark, taking away her Sails, and fetched our Men aboard, leaving only twenty two Hands belonging to us about the Prize, to keep, assist, and look after them. The Prisoners, who were about 170, being secured aboard our Bark without Arms, Rudders, Sails, or a Boat, and moored near a Mile from our Prize, a few more of our Men than was sufficient to give them Victuals and Drink, might have guarded them very easily, yet, for the more Security, we left a Lieutenant of each Ship, and the above Men well armed, aboard our Prize, and immediately weighed, in order to go and assist our Consorts to attack the great Ship, when she came in Sight. Captain *Dover* thought fit to go on board the Prize, and exchange Pools with one of the Lieutenants that guarded the Prisoners, and sent him to us in his Head. I was in so weak a Condition, and my Head and Throat so much swelled, that I yet spoke in great Pain, and not loud enough to be heard at any Distance; so that all the rest of the chief Officers, and our Surgeons, would have persuaded me to stay in the Harbour in Safety aboard our Prize. We weighed our Anchors, and got under Sail at seven o'Clock, we saw Lights several times in the Night, which we took to be our Consorts Boats making false Fires.

In the Morning, at Day-break, we saw three Sail to Windward of us; but were so far distant, that we could not make which were our Consorts, and which the Chace, till about nine a Clock, when we saw the *Duchess* and Chace near together, and the *Marquis* standing to them with all the Sail she could croud. We made what Sail we could, but were to Leeward of them three or four Leagues, and having a scant Wind, made little Way. At Noon, they bore South-east of us, being right to Windward about three Leagues. In the Afternoon, we saw the *Marquis* come up with the Chace, and engage her pretty briskly; but soon fell to Leeward out of Cannon-shot, and lay a considerable time, which made us think she was some way or other disabled. I ordered the Pinnace to be manned, and sent away to her; and, if what we suspected proved true, and we had no Wind to get up with them before Night, our Boat might dog the Chace with Signals till the Morning, that she might not escape us, and the other Ships; but, before the Boat could get up with them, the *Marquis* made Sail, and came up with the Chace; and both went to it again briskly for four Glasses and upwards. Then the Ship, which we took to be the *Duchess*, steered a-head to Windward of the Enemy, I suppose to fix her Rigging, or stop her Leaks. Meanwhile the other Ship kept her in Play, till she bore down again; and each, firing a Broadside or two, left off, because 'twas dark. They then bore South of us, which was right in the Wind's Eye, distant about two Leagues: By Midnight we were pretty well up with them, and our Boat came aboard, having made false Fires, which we answered. They had been aboard the *Duchess*, and the *Marquis*; and told me, the former had her Fore-mast much disabled, and the Ring of an Anchor shot away, with several Men wounded, and one killed, having received a Shot in the Powder-room, and several in their upper Works, but all stoop: They engaged the Ship by themselves the Night before, which was what we took to be the Boats Lights, being out of the Hearing of the Guns. At that time they could perceive the Enemy was in Disorder, her Guns not being all mounted, and consequently their Netting-deck and Close-quarters unprovided; so that had it been my good Fortune, in the *Duke*, to accompany the *Duchess*, as I desired, we all believed we might then have carried this great Ship; or if they, in the *Duchess*, had thought of taking most of the Men out of the *Marquis*, who did not sail well enough to come up to their Assistance at first, they alone, very probably, might have taken her, by boarding at once, before the *Spaniards* had experienced our Strength, being afterwards so well provided, as encouraged them to be driving, and give us all Opportunity to board them when we pleased. Captain *Cooke* sent me Word, that the *Marquis* had fired near all her Shot and Powder; but had escaped very well, both in Masts, Rigging, and Men. I sent our Boat with three Barrels of Powder, and Shot in Proportion, and Lieutenant *Fry*, to consult our Consorts how to engage the Enemy to the best Advantage at Break of Day. The Chace had made Signals to our Ship all the Day and Night, because she took us for her Consort, which we had in Possession; and, after it was dark, had edged away to us; otherwise I should not have been up with her, having very little Wind, and that against us. In the Morning, as soon as it was Day, the Wind veering at once, put our Ship about, and the Chace fired first upon the *Duchess*, who, by means of the Wind's veering, was nearest the Enemy; she returned it smartly; we stood as near as possible, firing as our Guns came to bear: But the *Duchess* being by this Time thwart the Haws, and firing very tart, those Shot that missed the Enemy, flew from the *Duchess* over us, and betwixt our Masts; so that we ran the Risk of receiving more Damage from them, than from the Enemy, if we had lain on her Quarters, and cross her Stern, as I designed, while the Enemy lay driving there: This forced us to be along-side, close aboard her, where we kept firing Round shot, and did not load with any Bar or Partridge, because the Ship's Sides were too thick to receive any Damage by it; and, no Men appearing in Sight, it would have been a Clog to the Force of our Round-shot.

33. We kept close aboard her, and drove as she did, as near as possible: The Enemy kept to their Close-quarters; so that we did not fire our small Arms, till we saw a Man appear,

appear, or a Port open; then we fired as quick as possible. Thus we continued for four Glasses, about which time we received a Shot in the Main-mast, which much disabled it: Soon after, the *Duckets* and we firing together, we came back close under the Enemy, and had like to have been all aboard her: so that we could make little Use of our Guns. Then we fell a-ftern in our Birth along-side, where the Enemy threw a Fire-ball out of one of her Tops, which lighting upon her Quarter-deck, blew up a Chest of Arms and Cartouch-boxes, all loaded, and several Cartridges of Powder in the Steerage; by which means Mr. *Vanburgh*, our Agent, and a *Dutchman*, were very much burnt. It might have done more Damage, had it not been quenched soon. After we got clear of each other, the *Duckets* stood in for the Shore, where she lay braced to, mending her Rigging, &c. The *Marquis* fired several Shot, but to little Purpose, her Guns being small: We were close aboard several times afterwards, till at last we received a second Shot in the Main-mast, not far from the other, which rent it miserably, and the Mast settled to it: so that we were afraid it would drop by the Board; and, having our Rigging shattered very much, we steered off, and brought to, making a signal to our Comitors what to do: In the Interim, we got ordinary Fishes for a Support to the Main-mast, and fastened it, as well as we could, to secure it at present. Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Cooke* came aboard, with other Officers; where we considered the Condition the three Ships were in, their Masts and Rigging being much damaged, in a Place where we could get no Recruit; that, if we engaged her again, we could propose to do no more than what we had already done, which was evident did her no great Hurt, because we could perceive few of our Shot entered her Sides to any Purpose; and our small Arms availed less, there being not a Man to be seen above-board; that the least thing in the World would bring our Main-mast, and likewise the *Duckets's* Fore-mast, by the Board, either of which, by its Fall, might carry away another Mast, and then we should be a perfect Butt for the Enemy, having nothing to command our Ships with; so that, by his heavy Guns, he might either sink or take us: That, if we went to board her, we should run a great Hazard in losing a great many Men, with little Hopes of Success, they having above treble the Number aboard to oppose us; and there being now, in all our three Ships, not above 120 Men fit for boarding, and those but weak, having been very short of Provisions; so that, if we had boarded her, and been forced off, or left any of our Men behind, the Enemy by that means might have known our Strength, and then gone into the Harbour, and took Possession of the Prize in spite of all we could do to prevent it. Besides, our Ammunition was very short, having only enough to engage a few Glasses longer: All this being seriously considered, and knowing the Difficulty we should have to get Masts, and the Time and Provisions we must spend before we could get them fitted, we resolved to forbear attempting her further, since our battering her signified little, and we had not Strength enough to board her: I therefore we agreed to keep her Company all Night, then to lose her, and make the best of our Way into the Harbour, to secure the Prize we had already taken. We engaged first and last about seven Hours, during all which Time we had, aboard the *Duke*, but eleven Men wounded, three of whom were scorched with Gunpowder. I was again unfortunately wounded in my Left Foot with a Splinter, just before we blew up the Quarter-deck; so that I could not stand, but lay on my Back in a great deal of Mischery, Part of my Heel-bone being struck out, and all under my Ankle cut above half through; which bled very much, and weakened me, before it could be dressed and stopped. The *Duckets* had about twenty Men killed and wounded: Three of the latter, and one of the former, were my Men. The *Marquis* had none killed or wounded, but two scorched with Powder. The Enemy's was a brave lofty new Ship, the Admiral of *Manilla*, and this the first Voyage she had made. She was called the *Ligenda*, of about 950 Tons, and could carry sixty Guns, about forty of which were mounted with as many Patternocks, all Brass; her Complement of Men on board, as we were informed, was above 400, besides Passengers; they added, that 150 of the Men

on board this great Ship were *Europeans*, several of whom had been formerly Pirates, and, having now got all their Wealth aboard, were resolved to defend it to the last. The Gunner, who had a Post in *Manilla*, was an expert Man, and had provided the Ship extraordinary well for Defence which made them fight so desperately. They had filled up all between the Guns with Bales, to secure the Men. She kept a *Spanish* Flag at her Main-top-mast-head all the Time she fought us: We shattered her Sails and Rigging very much, shot her Mizzen-yard, killed two of her Men out of her Tops, which was all the Damage we could do; we did them, tho' we could not place less than 500 Shot (Six Pounders, in her Hull. These large Ships are built at *Manilla*, with excellent Timber, that will not splinter, they have very thick Sides, much stronger than we build in *Europe*. Thus ended our Attempt on the biggest *Manilla* Ship; which I have heard related to many ways at home, that I thought it necessary to set down a very particular Circumstance of it, as it stood in my Journal. Had we been together at first, and boarded her, we might probably have taken this great Prize; but, after the Enemy had fixed her Netting-neck and close-quarters, they valued us very little. I believe also we might have burnt her with one of our Ships; but that was objected against by all the Officers, because we had Goods of Value on board all our Ships. The Enemy was the better provided for us, because they had heard at *Manilla*, from our *English* Settlements in *India*, that there were two small Ships, fitted from *Bristol*, that designed to attempt somewhat in the South Seas, and that Captain *Dampier* was Pilot; which was the Reason they had to many *Europeans* aboard the great Ship, most of whom having, as I said, their Wealth aboard, they would fight to the utmost; and having agreed to pay no Freight there, had filled up all between the Guns with Bales, to secure the Men. The two Ships were to have joined at Cape *St. Lucas*, expecting to meet us off Cape *Corientes*, or *Natividad*. This was a great Disappointment to us, and gave, no doubt, much Reputation to them: Indeed they defended themselves gallantly; and, as all human Probability, would have defended her to the last; and yet, perhaps, they were as much indebted to our Squabbles, as to their own Courage and Conduct: What shews what Care ought to be taken on board all such Vessels, to avoid Disputes, which are always fatal to great Undertakings, and small ones. We were sensible of it, when it was too late; but our Sense of it would not reach what we pass, nor could it prevent what was to come; for, instead of taking Warning, as reasonable People should have done, by the Effects of this gross Mistake, we, on the contrary, suffered ourselves to be thrown by it into new and greater Disorders, than had hitherto arisen during the Voyage.

34. On *January* 11. 1710. we returned again into *Manilla*, and, as we were now determined to make as quick Dispatch as possible in our Passage to the *East Indies*, we immediately parted with our Prisoners, giving them the Bark, with Water and Provisions sufficient for their Voyage to *Acapulco*. Then we applied ourselves to settling our own Affairs. We spent our Time to the 7th in refitting, wooding, and watering; and very satisfactory it was for us to find as much Bread on board the Prize, as, with our old Stock, might supply us in our long Run to *Guam*. On the 10. we fetched out three wounded Men from on board the *Duke*. One of them, whose Name was *Thomas Young*, a *Welshman*, had lost one of his Legs; another, who was also a *Welshman*, had his Face miserably torn; and a third, whose Name was *John Gold*, was wounded in the Thigh; and besides these, there was a very honest *Portuguese*, one *Francisco Gonzalez*, killed. About this Time, Captain *Courtney*, and his Officers, with those on board the *Marquis*, were too willing to complement Captain *Dover* with the chief Command of the Prize, which, till now, I thought he would not have accepted, his Poils already being above a Commander of any of our Prizes; but I and my Officers were against it, because we believed Captain *Fry*, or others, were fitter Persons to take Charge of her; which we insisted on. And Captains *Courtney* and *Cooke* came to me, where they agreed to a Paper, that was drawn up while we were all together, in such a Manner, as I thought would have satisfied every one. Captain *Courtney* carried this Agreement

to Captain *Dover* to be content with what prize, they spent the of making Captain *A* brought a Paper, w^h mander, without the that should navigate he should think fit. this Morning, to ke ward, having heard n and desired that the that the Committee would make use of ten all about the A our last Meeting, com me, and my Officers dately answered by signed on the 9th. *Dover* might be abo Owner, we all agreed care of her Cargo, an could be made for him Consequence to us, an instructions to me, th^o cursit Methods to br be to fortunate, as w pulco Ships; to that, Sides, I desired they determine what the Time might be lost: the *Batubelar*, to end long Devote, they w^o act in equal Poils, to Ship, tho' under Capt molested or contradic^t Duty it was to fee, th to the Interest of the Nature of an Agent, at first, only he had the which was to small a D^o mon, that we all conf^o they chose Officers, a Men aboard her, the L^o thirteen, which, with *Las-Car*, and other Pr^o plement about 110 M^o first Arrival in *Great* life Arrival in *Great* thirty-five good *Hands* *guns* put no more than and *Cooke*, and two or t^o to me, where we signed two Commanders, rec amongst them; and th^o of Rendezvous was to b where we delighted to r willing to have commit had not been satisfied, to conceal it; and that, in Justice to myself, n give the Whole; whic^h to able, because it may the like Circumstances^h cur: there is nothing t^o 35. As I have not fill^o fcriptions, so, before I to give the Reader I^o because most of what I^o fore it deserves the grea^o *Synards*, that some of the *Californians* and the Mai^o meeting with those War^o did not venture any ta^o Probability, it joins to^o Northward: For thole^o Sign of being near lum^o having more Territories^o Vol. I

to Captain *Dover* to sign it; not doubting, but all would be content with what we had concluded; yet, to our Surprise, they spent the Remains of the Day, and, instead of making Captain *Dover* comply with it, undid all, and brought a Paper, which empowered him to be sole Commander, without the least Restraint of not molesting those that should navigate the Ships, but to order every thing as he should think fit. I sent a Letter to Captain *Courtesy* this Morning, to know what Measures were going forward, having heard nothing from him since the 7th Instant; and desired that there might be no Loss of Time, but that the Committee might meet once more, to try if they would make use of their unbiassed Reason: They were then all aboard the *Marquis*, where I heard they had, since our last Meeting, concerted how to frame a Protest against me, and my Officers of the Committee, which was immediately answered by a Protest from me, both which were signed on the 9th. I had always desired, that Captain *Dover* might be aboard her; for, being a considerable Owner, we all agreed he was a very proper Person to take care of her Cargo, and to have all Accommodation that could be made for him in that Ship, which was of such vast Consequence to us, and our Employers: That, in their Instructions to me, they strictly charged me to use the severest Methods to bring her safe home, in case we should be so fortunate, as we now were, to take one of the *Acapulco* Ships; so that, after the Protests were over on both Sides, I desired they might assemble together, and finally determine what the Majority would agree on, that no Time might be lost: So all the Council met again on board the *Batchelet*, to endeavour an Accommodation. After a long Debate, they voted Mr. *Fry* and Mr. *Stretton* both to act in equal Parts, to take Charge of the navigating the Ship, tho' under Captain *Dover*; but they were not to be molested or contradicted in their Business by him, whose Duty it was to see, that nothing should be done contrary to the Interest of the Owners, and Ships Companies, in the Nature of an Agent, almost in the same manner I proposed at first; only he had the Title of chief Captain in that Ship, which was so small a Difference, where Titles were so common, that we all consented to it: And at the same time they chose Officers, agreeing, that we should put thirty Men aboard her, the *Duchess* twenty five, and the *Marquis* thirteen, which, with thirty-six *Manilla* Indians, called *Laf-Car*, and other Prisoners we had left, made her Complement about 110 Men. The Majority keeping to their first Agreement, I was obliged to come into it, according to my Instructions from our Owners; so that all our Differences about this Affair were at an End, and we drank to our safe Arrival in *Great Britain*. In the Morning, we put thirty-five good Hands aboard her: The *Duchess* and *Marquis* put no more than their Share. The Captains *Courtesy* and *Cocke*, and two or three more of the Committee, came to me, where we signed a Paper for Captain *Dover*, and the two Commanders, recommending Peace and Tranquillity amongst them; and that, in case of Separation, the Place of Rendezvous was to be *Guano*, one of the *Ladrone* Islands, where we designed to touch. I should have been very unwilling to have committed all this Dispute to Writing, if I had not been satisfied, that it was no longer in my Power to conceal it; and that, since it was known in part, I ought, in Justice to myself, my Friends, and to Truth itself, to give the Whole, which I conceive to much the more reasonable, because it may hereafter prove useful to Persons in the like Circumstances: And, in perplexed a Balinets as ours, there is nothing to serviceable as Precedents.

57. As I have not filled this Work with a Variety of Descriptions, so, before I quit *America*, it may not be amiss to give the Reader some Account of *California*; the rather because most of what I relate I was Eye-witness of, and therefore it deserves the greater Credit. I have heard from the *Spaniards*, that some of their Nation had sailed as far betwixt *California* and the Main as 42° North Latitude, where, meeting with shoal Water, and abundance of Islands, they could not venture any farther; so that, if this be true, in all Probability, it joins to the Continent a little farther to the Northward: For those Water and Islands are a general Sign of being near some Main-land. But the *Spaniards*, having more Territories in this Part of the World, than

they know how to manage, are not curious after further Discoveries. The *Manilla* Ships, bound to *Acapulco*, often make this Coast in the Latitude 40° North, and I never heard of any, that discovered it farther to the Northward. Some old Draughts make it join to the Land of *Teso*; but all this being yet undetermined, I shall not take upon me to affirm, whether it is an Island, or joins to the Continent. The *Dutch* say, they formerly took a *Spanish* Vessel in those Seas, which had sailed round *California*, and found it to be an Island; but this Account cannot be depended on, and I chuse to believe it joins to the Continent. There is no certain Account of its Shape or Bigness; and, having seen but little of it, I shall refer the Reader to our common Draughts for its Situation. What I can say of it from my own Knowledge is, that the Land where we were is, for the most part, mountainous, barren, and sandy, and had nothing but a few Shrubs and Bulbes, which produced Fruit and Berries of several sorts. Our Men, who went in our Bark to view the Country about fifteen Leagues to the Northward, say, it was there covered with tall Trees. The *Spaniards* tell us of several good Harbours in this Country; but we found none of them near this Cape. We frequently saw Smoke in several Places; which made us believe the Inhabitants were pretty numerous. The Bay, where we rode, had but very indifferent Anchoring-ground in deep Water, and is the worst Recruiting-place we met with since we came out. The Wind, at this Time of the Year generally blowing over Land, makes it good Riding on the Starboard Side of the Bay, where you anchor on a Bank, that has from ten to twenty-five Fathom Water: But the rest of the Bay is very deep; and, near the Rocks, on the Larboard Side, going in, there is no Ground. During the Time of our Stay, the Air was serene, pleasant, and healthful; and we had no strong Gales of Wind, very little Rain, but great Dews fell by Night, when it was very cold. The Natives we saw here were about 300. They had large Limbs, very straight, tall, and of a much blacker Complexion, than any other People, that I had seen in the South Seas; their Hair long, black, and straight, which hung down to their Thighs: The Men stark-naked; and the Women had a Covering of Leaves over their Privities, or little Clouts made of Silkg-rats, or the Skins of Birds and Beasts. All of them, that we saw, were old, and miserably wrinkled. We suppose they were afraid to let any of their young ones come near us; but needed not: For, besides the good Order kept among our Men in that respect, if we may judge by what we saw, they could not be very tempting. The Language of the Natives was as unpleasant to us, as their Aspect; for it was very harsh and broad, and they pronounced it so much in their Throat, as if their Words had been ready to choke them. I designed to have brought two of them away with me, in order to have had some Account of the Country, when they had learnt so much of our Language, as to enable them to give it; but, being short of Provisions, I durst not venture it. Some of them wore Pearls about their Arms and Necks, having first notched it round, and fastened it with a String of Silk-grats; for, I suppose, they knew not how to bore them. The Pearls were mixed with little red Berries, Sticks, and Bits of Shells, which they looked upon to be so fine an Ornament, that, tho' we had Glass-beads of several Colours, and other Toys, they would accept none of them. They coveted nothing we had, but Knives, and other cutting Instruments; and were so honest, that they did not meddle with our Coopers or Carpenters Tools; so that, whatever was left ashore at Night, we found in the Morning. We saw nothing like *European* Furniture or Utensils about them. Their Huts were very low, and made of Branches of Trees and Reeds; but not sufficiently covered to keep out Rain. They had nothing like Gardens or Provisions about them. They subsisted chiefly on Fish while we were here, which, with the Miserableness of their Huts, that seemed only to be made for a time, made us conclude, they had no fixed Habitation here, whatever they might have elsewhere; and that this was their fishing Season. We saw no Nets or Hooks, but wooden Instruments, with which they strike the Fish very dextrously, and dive to Admirable. Some of our Sailors told me, they saw one of them dive with his Instrument, and, whilst he was under Water, put up his Striker, with

a Fish on the Point of it, which was taken off by another, that watched by him in a Bark-log. The Reader may believe of this what he pleases; but I give it the more Credit, because I myself threw formerly Knives over-board, on purpose to try the Divers, who seldom missed catching a Knife before it could sink above three or four Fathom; which I took to be an extraordinary Proof of their Agility. Instead of Bread, they used a little black Seed, which they ground with Stones, and eat by Handfuls. Some of our Men thickened their Broth with it, and said, it tasted somewhat like Coffee. They have some Roots, that eat like Yams; a sort of Seeds, that grow in Cods, and taste like green Pease; a Berry, which resembles those of Ivy, and, being dried at the Fire, eats like parched Pease. They have another, like a large Currant, with a white tartish Pulp, a Stone, and a Kernel. This sort of Fruit they seem to value much. They have also a Fruit, which grows on the Prickle-pear-tree, tastes like Gooseberries, and makes good Sauce. They have many other Seeds and Plants unknown to us; but I was not in a Condition to view and describe them. They seem to have an hunting Season, by the Skins of Deer we saw among them. They paid much Respect to one Man, whose Head was adorned with Feathers, made up in the Form of a Cap. In other Respects, they seemed to have all things in common; for, when they exchanged Fish with us for old Knives, of which we had plenty, they gave the Knives to any that stood next; and, after they had enough, we could get no Fish from them. They appeared to be very idle, and seemed only to look after a present Subsistence. They observed our Men very attentively, while they cut Wood, and filled Water; but did not lend us an Hand at either, or indeed in any thing that required hard Labour. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, with which they can shoot Birds flying. Their Bows are about seven Feet long, and of a tough Wood, unknown to us, with Strings of Silkg-rass; their Arrows about four Feet and an half, made of Cane, and pointed with Fish-bones, that they shape for the Purpose. Most of their Knives, and other cutting Instruments, are made of Sharks Teeth. I saw two or three large Pearls in their Necklaces and Bracelets; and the Spaniards told me, they had Quantities of them from the inner Part of the Gulph of California, where they have Missionaries planted among them. Our Men told me, they saw heavy shining Stones ashore, which looked as if they came from some Mine; but they did not inform me of this, till we were at Sea; otherwise I would have brought some of them, to have tried what Metal could have been extracted out of them. The Spaniards likewise informed me, that the Country in general within, on the Main land of Mexico, is pleasant, and abounds with Cattle and Provisions of all sorts. The Natives grew very familiar with us, and came frequently aboard, to view our Ships; which they mightily admired. We saw no Boats or Canoes among them, or any Craft, but Bark-logs, which they steered with Paddles at each End. We gave one of the Natives a Shirt; but he soon tore it in Pieces, and gave it to the rest of his Company, to put the Seeds in, which they used for Bread. We saw no Utensils for Cookery amongst them; nor do I suppose they have any, for they bury their Fish in an Heap of Sand, and make a Fire over it, till they think it fit for eating. There were in this Bay all the Fish usual in these Seas. The fresh Water here is good; and they have abundance of Samphire. They make a Fire in the Middle of their Huts, which are very low and smoky. We saw no extraordinary Birds here. I was told by our People, that had been ashore, that they obtain Fire, by rubbing two dry Sticks one against the other, as customary amongst the wild Indians. The Entrance into the Harbour may be known by four high Rocks, which look like the Needles of the Isle of Wight, as you come from the Westward; the two Westernmost in form of Sugar-loaves; the innermost has an Arch, like a Bridge, through which the Sea makes its Way. Here you ride land-locked: from East by North back to the South-east by East: Yet it is but an ordinary Road, if the Wind should come strong out of the Sea; which it never did while we lay there. I think it may not be amiss to add to these Facts, which cannot be disputed, some Conjectures, that carry in them great Probability, and, if ever they should be demonstrated to be Certainties, would be attended

with very important, and to us, that inhabit this Northern Part of the World, advantageous Consequences. There have been many Opinions started about the Peopling of America; but that which, to me, appears the most probable, is, that its Inhabitants came thither from Tartary, by that Northern Continent, which is supposed to join this Country to some Part of Asia: I say, to me this appears the most probable, and my Reason for it is this; because the Spaniards, who come thither annually from Manila or Luconia, one of the Philippine Islands in the East Indies, are forced to keep in an high Latitude, for the Benefit of the Westerly Winds; and have often founded, finding Ground in Latitude 42° North, in several Places of the Ocean betwixt the East Indies and America, which makes me conclude there must be more Land, tho' none of them, as I have heard of, ever saw any Continent, till they fell in with California in about 38° or 39° North Latitude. I have often admired, that no considerable Discoveries have yet been made in South Latitude from America to the East Indies. I never heard the South Ocean has been run over by above three or four Navigators, who varied very little in their Runs from their Course, and, by consequence, could not discover much. I give this Hint, to encourage our South Sea Company, or others, to go upon some Discovery that Way, where, for aught we know, they may find a better Country than any yet discovered, there being a vast Surface of the Sea from the Equinox to the South Pole, of at least 2000 Leagues in Longitude, that has hitherto been little regarded, tho' it be agreeable to Reason, that there must be a Body of Land about the South Pole, to counterpoise those vast Countries about the North Pole. This I suppose to be the Reason, why our ancient Geographers mentioned a Terra Australis incognita, tho' very little of it has been seen by any-body. The Land near the South Pole in the South Sea, from California to Japan, is wholly unknown, altho' the old Maps describe the Straights of Anan, and a large Continent, which is but imaginary; for the Dutch themselves, who now trade to Japan, say, they do not yet know, whether it be an Island, or joins to the Continent. I have now done with California, of which the Spaniards would know very little, but for these annual Vessels, that sail from Manila to Acapulco. As I have mentioned these Ships, I shall take Occasion to observe, that, generally speaking, those that come from Manila, are much richer than our Prize; for they waited a long time for the Chinese Junk to bring Silk; which not arriving, she came away with a Cargo mixed with abundance of coarse Goods. Several of the Prisoners assured me, that it was a common thing for a Manila Ship to be worth 10,000,000 Pieces of Eight; so that, had it not been for this Accident, we had taken an extraordinary Prize indeed. After my Return into Europe, I met, in Holland, with a Sailor, who had been on board the large Ship, when we engaged her; and he let us into the Secret, that there was no taking her; for the Gunner kept constantly in the Powder-room, declaring, that he had taken the Sacrament to blow the Ship up, if we boarded her; which made the Men, as may be supposed, exceedingly resolute in her Defence. I was the more ready to credit what this Man told me, because he gave a regular and circumstantial Account of the Engagement, as I could have done from my Journal.

30. January 10. we weighed from Port Seguro, but were becalmed under the Shore till the 11th in the Afternoon, when there sprung a Breeze, which ran us out of Sight of the Land. We took our Departure from Cape St Lucas, which bore North by East, at twelve o'Clock. Distance fifteen Leagues: We were forced to go with little or no Refreshment, having but three or four Pows, and a very slender Stock of Liquor: Several of our Men were in a weak Condition, besides myself, Mr. Vanbrugh, and the rest that were wounded. We were forced to allow but one Pound and an half of Flour, and one small Piece of Meat, to five Men in a Meis, with three Pints of Water a Day, for twenty-four Hours, for Drink, and dressing their Victuals. We struck down ten of our Guns into the Hold, to ease our Ship. On the 16th, the Barbador made a Signal, to give us some Bread, they having found a good Quantity of Bread and Sweet-meats on board her, but little of Flesh-kind. We had one thousand Weight of Bread for

our Share, the Dutch hundred Weight; in Prize two Calks of Pork, they having in Flesh. On the very much discoloured, immediately founded, the Dutch, and agreed we got into the Latitude told us, it was dangerous Islands and Sholes, time ago. Ever since, Acapulco, runs in Latitude they make the Island missing some Pieces and found the Thieves fore, and forgiven, punished now, left to follow this bad Practice Runs so long, when I ordered them to the Watch to give them their Meis-mates, be Irons. March the 11th Northernmost bearing seven Leagues; and South-west five Leagues great Shole between. We ran along the South of Guam, from whence look at the Ships; it would venture on board of the Island bore Wood a low small Island, Japan and Guam. The pleasant: Off it there ward; but, keeping it near it, there is no the Shole. After we Lool, and flood in between this and the came heavy Flaws of and at other times again the Afternoon in twelve off Shore, where the Island to the South but Leagues; and another North North-west, about our stopping at these visions was very great hazled; and what we cially our Bread and fourteen Days, and the recruit quietly, we entered aboard, that were in case of landing any of them, as we were Colours, came under in the Boat, who, our Friends, came on board from the Governour, Letter, and the next with a generous Offer, which made us very ment was provided of Gentlemen, to which myself; but was hoisted the Barbador, where be sent from each Side handsome Present, in vility, and the Reading the 15th, there was Marquis, to which I after which, a Comm Resolution was confirmed went with several of who received them Respect, having near Landings, and the C

our Share, the *Duchess* as much, and the *Marquis* five hundred Weight; in lieu of which, we sent back to the Prize two Casks of Flour, one of *English* Beef, and one of Pork, they having but forty-five Days Provisions aboard in Flesh. On the 26th in the Morning, the Water was very much discoloured, as it being surpris'd, we immediately found it, but found no Ground. We spoke with the *Duchess*, and agreed to go away West South-west, till we got into the Latitude of 13° , because our *Spanish* Pilot told us, it was dangerous going into 14° , by reason of Islands and Shoals, where a *Spanish* Vessel was lost some time ago. Ever since, the *Manilla* Ship, in her Return from *Asapulo*, runs in Latitude 13° , and keeps the Parallel, till they make the Island of *Guam*. On the 28th, the Steward missing some Pieces of Pork, we immediately searched, and found the Thieves: One of them had been guilty before, and forgiven, on Promise of Amendment; but was punished now, lest Forbearance should encourage the rest to follow this bad Practice, Provisions being so short, and our Run so long, which might prove of ill Consequence: I ordered them to the Main-decks, and every Man of the Watch to give them a Blow with a Cat-of-nine-tails; and their Mess-mates, being privy to the Theft, were put in Irons. *March* the 11th, we had Sight of both Islands, the Northernmost bearing North North-west, distant about seven Leagues; and the Body of the Westernmost West South-west five Leagues. The *Spaniards* say there is a great Shoal between these Islands, but nearest to *Serpana*. We ran along the Shore, being satisfied it was the Island of *Guam*, from whence there came several flying Proes to look at the Ships; they ran by us very swift, but none would venture on board. At Noon, the Westernmost Part of the Island bore West; and, at the same time, we made a low small Island, joining to *Guam*, with a Shoal between it and *Guam*. The Island appeared green, and very pleasant: Off it there runs a Spit of Sand to the Southward; but, keeping it a good Birth from you, as you come near it, there is no Danger, being gradual Soundings to the Shoal. After we were clear of it, we sprung our LooL, and stood in for the Harbour, which lies Midway betwixt this and the North Part of the Island. There came heavy Flaws of Wind off Shore, sometimes for us, and at other times against us; but we got to an Anchor in the Afternoon in twelve Fathom Water, about half a Mile off Shore, where there was a little Village. The small Island to the South bore South of us, distant about three Leagues; and another small one to the Northward bore North North-west, about two Leagues. The Necessity of our stopping at these Islands to get a Refreshment of Provisions was very great, our Sea-store being almost exhausted; and what we had left, was very ordinary, especially our Bread and Flour, which was not enough for fourteen Days, at the shortest Allowance. In order to recruit quietly, we endeavoured to get some of the Natives aboard, that were in the Proes, to keep them as Hostages, in case of sending any of our Men to the Governor. One of them, as we were turning into the Harbour with *Spanish* Colours, came under our Stern: There were two *Spaniards* in the Boat, who, on our assuring them, that we were Friends, came on board; and, soon after, came a Message from the Governor, to whom we wrote a very respectful Letter, and the next Day received a civil Answer to it, with a generous Offer of any thing the Island afforded; which made us very easy. On the 13th, an Entertainment was provided on board the *Batcbelor* for the *Spanish* Gentlemen, to which I was carried, being not able to move myself; but was hoisted in a Chair out of the Ship into the *Batcbelor*, where we agreed, that a Deputation should be sent from each Ship to wait on the Governor with an handsome Present, in Acknowledgment for his great Civility, and the Readiness he expressed to supply us. On the 15th, there was another Entertainment on board the *Marquis*, to which I was carried as to the former; and, after which, a Committee was held, in which our former Resolution was confirmed. On the 16th, our Pinnace went with several of our Officers to the Governor's ashore, who received them with all imaginable Friendship and Respect, having near 200 Men drawn up in Arms at their Landings, and the Officers and Clergy of the Island, to

conduct them to the Governor's House, which was a very handsome Scar, considering where we found it. They entertained them with at least sixty Dishes of several Sorts, the best that could be got in the Island; and, when they took their Leave, each fired a Volley of Small-arms. They presented the Governor, according as we had agreed, with two Negro Boys, dressed in Liveries, twenty Yards of scarlet Cloth-ferge, and six Pieces of Cambrick, which he seemed wonderfully pleased with, and promised to assist us in whatever lay in his Power. The very next Day we got our Dividend, being about 60 Hogs, 90 Fowls, 24 Baskets of *Indian* Corn, 14 Baskets of Rice, 20 Baskets of Yams, and 800 Cocoa-nuts. On the 18th, there was an Entertainment aboard us, where we had most of our Officers, and four *Spanish* Gentlemen from the Governor. I made them as welcome as Time and Place would permit, diverting them with Music, and our Sailors dancing till Night, when we parted well-pleas'd on both Sides. We got some more Bullocks on board, being small lean Cattle, but what we gladly accepted. Each Ship had fourteen in all. Next Morning each Ship had two Cows and Calves more: Being the last, we had a Meeting on board the *Marquis*, where it was agreed to make an handsome Present to the Governor's Deputy, who got our Provisions together, wherein he used all possible Dispatch. We gave him, and the rest of the Gentlemen, what they esteemed double the Value of what we received of them; which they certified under their Hands, and that we had been very civil to them: We also gave them the like Certificate, signed by all our Officers, to shew to any *English* that might have Occasion to recruit there; and parted very friendly. Having finished that Affair, it was agreed, that we should steer from hence a West by South Course, to go clear of some Islands that lie in our Way; and then thought it proper to steer directly for the South-east Part of *Mindanao*, and from thence the clearest Way to *Ternate*. In the mean time I put an old *Spaniard* ashore, called *Antonio Gomes Figuero*, whom we took in the first Bark in the South Seas, and kept in order to carry him to *Great Britain*, to condemn all our Prizes taken there; but, he being now not likely to live, we agreed to dismiss him, he giving us a Certificate, that he saw us attack and take several Prizes, all Subjects to *Philip V.* King of *Spain*, &c. I gave him some Clothes, and other Things, to help him in his Sickness; then put him ashore to the Deputy Governor, and the rest of the *Spanish* Officers, who gave us a Certificate, that they received such a Person. The Governor presented us with one of their flying Proes or Prows, which I shall here describe, because of the Oddness of it: The *Spaniards* told me it would run twenty Leagues in an Hour, which I think exceeds the Truth; but, by what I saw, I verily believe they may run twenty Miles, or more, in the Time; for, when they viewed our Ships, they passed by us like a Bird flying. These Proes are about thirty Feet long, two broad, and about three deep; they have but one Mast, which stands in the Middle, with a mat Sail, made in the Form of a Ship's Mizzen. The Yards are hung in the Middle, and a Man sits at each End to steer her; so that when they go about, they don't turn the Boat as we do, to bring the Wind on the other Side; but only change the Sail, so that the Jack and Sheet of the Sail are used alike, and the Boat's Head and Stern are the same; only they change them, as Occasion requires, to sail either Way; for they are so narrow, that they could not bear any Sail, were it not for Booms that run out from the Windward Side, fastned to a large Log, shaped like a Boat; and near half as long, which becomes contiguous to the Boat: On these Booms a Sraze is made, above the Water, on a Level with the Side of the Boat, upon which they carry Goods or Passengers. The greatest Inconvenience in sailing these Boats is before the Wind; for, by the Outlayer, which is built out on one Side, if the Wind presses any thing heavy on the contrary Side, the Boat is overfet, which often happens. As soon as the Boat returned from landing *Signior Figuero*, we put under Sail, having a fine Breeze of Wind at East North-east. *April* 14. in the Afternoon, we made Land, which bore West North-west, distant about ten Leagues; and supposed it to be the North-east Part of *Celebes*. We saw three Water-spouts;

spouts; one of which had like to have broken on the *Marquis*, but the *Duchess*, by firing two Shot, broke it before it reached her. We saw a very large Tree afloat, with a Multitude of Fish about it, and two large Islands, the Southernmost bearing South-west, distant about eight Leagues, and the Northernmost West North-west, seven Leagues, both being the same Land we saw the Day before; and the latter we then supposed to be the South-east Part of *Moratai*; and the other, the North Part of *Gilelo*. In this Condition we sailed till towards the latter End of the Month; with this additional Vexation, that our Ship was so leaky, that it was as much as four Men were able to do to keep her free half an Hour. Captain *Dampier* discouraged us very much: He had been twice here, and therefore what he said amongst the Seamen, passed without Dispute; and he laid it down as a thing certain, that if we could not reach *Ternate*, or find the Island of *Tula*, it was impossible for us to get any Refreshment, there being nothing to be met with on the Coast of *New Guinea*. There were, in the mean time, great Heart-burnings on board all the Ships about the Reduction of our Allowance, so that we were obliged to enlarge it again; so little is Reason able to prevail against Hunger. We held frequent Consultations, but to very little Purpose; and, though we sailed the best Part of the Month of *May* through the Straights of *New Guinea*, yet we were able to observe nothing worth mentioning, except that it is most certain, these Islands, which are scattered through the Straights, and few or none of which are peopled, would all of them bear Spice, and afford immense Riches to this Nation, if they were settled. It may, indeed, be objected, that from the Account I have given of the Difficulty of this Passage, no great Encouragement can arise to the fixing Colonies or Plantations there: But to this I answer; That this Difficulty arises entirely from the Want of proper Charts, for the Direction of such as sail in those Seas; and these might certainly be very soon provided, if such Settlement came once to be considered as a national Concern. The Passage, otherwise, is not either difficult or dangerous: But, when Men are at a Loss how to steer, are short of Provisions, in leaky Ships, and clogged with great Cargoes, they may have many Reasons to complain, which, with good Management, might never befall any of the Vessels employed in settling those Islands. On the 18th of *May*, we passed between the High-land of *New Guinea* and the Low-land of *Gilelo*: And, on the 20th, we made another high Island, which we took to be *Ceram*; and Captain *Dampier* inclined to think our Conjecture was right.

On *May* 24, being in the Latitude of the Island of *Boura*, we expected to make that Land, which is about twenty Leagues to the South-west of *Ceram*, and near the same Distance, in a Parallel, with *Amboyna*, which we designed to have touched at, if the Wind had proved favourable: But, as the South-east Monsoon was now set in, we were out of hopes of reaching it; and, notwithstanding the Skill of Captain *Dampier*, we were still very doubtful, whether the Island we passed by last, was *Ceram* or *Boura*. By an Observation we had at Noon, it appeared, that we were in $4^{\circ} 35'$ South Latitude, and $237^{\circ} 29'$ Longitude West from *London*. As we were now in the Latitude of the Southern Part of *Boura*, we imputed our not seeing it, to the Currents setting us to the Westward of it. The next Day, we came to a Resolution not to spend any more Time in searching for *Boura*; as also to drop our Design of going to *Amboyna*, and to make the best of our Way for the Straights of *Bouton*; where, if we arrived safely, we might get Provisions sufficient to carry us to *Batavia*. In pursuance of this Agreement, we sailed away South-west by South for them, having a fresh Gale of Wind at East; but, by two in the Morning, we fell in with a Parcel of Islands to the Eastward of *Bouton*; and had certainly been ashore on one of them, had not the Weather cleared up at once. We made a shift, and wore: The Ships then stood off North-east from the Land till Day-break, when we saw it trending from South by East, to South-west by South, about six Leagues Distance, which made a fine large Bay; but, as we stood in, we perceived in Opening, and that there were two Islands, with three

lying thwart the Outlet to the Southward of both: We hoisted out our Pinnace, and sent her ashore; the *Duchess* did the same, from whence they brought off some Coconuts, of which there were Plenty there; and told us, there were *Malayan* Inhabitants, who seemed to be very friendly. Up the Bay we saw several Boats, Houses, and abundance of the native *Malayans* walking along the Shore: We sent in our Boats for Provisions and Pilots, and myself and the *Marquis* turned up very near to the Town; but, finding several times, found no Ground. The Natives informed us, there was a Bank, opposite to the Town, where we might anchor. Abundance of People came off with *Indian* Wheat, Coconuts, Yams, Potatoes, Papas, Hens, and several sorts of Birds, to truck with us for Cloaths, Knives, Scissars, and other Toys, being very civil to all Appearance. They are *Mohammedans*, of a middle Stature, and tawny; but the Women are somewhat clearer than the Men; having very long black Hair, their Mouths, Lips, Noses small; they wear a Linen Waistcoat, which reaches only to the lower Part of their Breasts; and about their Waist a Piece of Cloth, three or four Yards wide, and a Yard deep, which they wrap about them, instead of a Petticoat. The Men that came off were all naked, having only a Cloth rolled about their Middle, to cover what ought to be; some of the better sort of People had a loose sort of Waistcoat, and a Piece of Linen rolled about their Heads, with a Cap of Palm-tree leaves, to keep the Sun from scorching. They brought off several Cicoatoes and Parrots, very fine Birds. Among the Sideside, we saw several Weirs they had to catch Fish, by turning up, we found the Current very strong against us, and the Prize lost Ground considerably; wherefore, in the Evening, the *Duchess* fired a Gun; we ran out, and drove all Night. The Names of these two Islands are *Cambou* and *Wanbat*: These Islands lie in Latitude $5^{\circ} 13'$, Longitude 238° West from *London*. We stood from those Islands to the Westward, and ran along-shore, as near as we durst, to weather the Westernmost Point of Land, where we expected to find an Harbour; but, as we neared it, found a long Track of High-land, trending to the Southward as far as South-west and by South: We agreed in Opinion that was the Island *Bouton*, but that we had overshot the Straights. We made Sail to see if we could discover any Land farther to the Southward; but, finding none, we tacked on, keeping the Wind as near as possible, because of the Current, which sets strong to the South-west. By two a Clock in the Morning, we were near a small Island, that bore South South-west of us about two Leagues; but, having clear Weather, we stood from it till Day-break, there being no other Land near it that we saw, except that we came from, which we had opened five Points farther to the Westward. I was unwilling to act any longer without the Consent of the Committee: So the major Part of us met aboard the *Duchess*, where we agreed to stand back and make the Land plain, so as to be fully satisfied what it was, and withal to find a Recruit of Water and Wood, before we proceeded any farther, being in want of every thing being then in South Latitude $5^{\circ} 50'$, Longitude $238^{\circ} 38'$ West from *London*. In pursuance of this Agreement, we stood back the next Day, and made little or no Sail all Night: In the Morning, we had very fine clear Weather, and made the Land exceeding plain, which was very high, with Islands under it. It looked most of it as if inhabited, being pretty thick of Wood, and promising us, in other respects, Plenty of Refreshments; but our Misfortune was, that we could not meet here with any Ground that would hold our Anchors; and, the next Day, the *Duchess*, standing over to the other Side of the Bay, had no better Fortune, but was forced to return, without anchoring, to us again. A little before she came back, our Boat, which we had sent on shore, returned; the People on board having, by Presents, engaged some of the *Malayans* to come on board with them; in which they certainly judge it right, tho' we could make no Use of their Intelligence for want of an Interpreter: I sent to the *Batebelor*, who had one, but Captain *Dover* refused to let him come to me, notwithstanding he had no Use for him: Then I sent a second time, that I might know the best Anchoring-place for our Ships, and treated the People with Sweetmeats, and one

Chap. I.

Things they fancied, I sent them aboard the *Batebelor* water near us; but they on the Shores, not knowing the Language, I sent the *Malayans* that had Signs, and pointed to the they called *Booro*. On has been formerly through us of a Town, near the King refused; but the bare Story. Upon Pinnaces and the Language being willing to join the King of *Bouton*, for which we the better Appearance, may along with him. I met There are Places Northward six Leagues Ship might, on Occasion could have carried the were not willing to lose create more than one Pt enough to keep commu 38. On the 30th, in the King, with a Noble Shoes nor Stockings; a The first Question this on board, was, How without Leave first had *Bouton*? He brought a striped Cloth, a Bottle &c. as a Present from Officers we had sent ashore had been very well received the King refused, is large several great Guns: Another Guns fired by every Ship which he seemed very delighted at the Island *Samp* us with Fowl, *Indian* *Cinnamon*, &c. which ed Cloaths, &c. The day, yet our Officers than was intended, we by *Moeri* being very very from them every Day Pinnace came down with were four Lads of Rice King, and cut 600 Do allowed to make up the light; and that Mr. ment. The next Morning among the four deliver it, and receive the King, was detained sons began to come me Town of *Bouton* is seated Top whereof is a Fort on which there are Gun King, and a considerable Fort, where an Hea King has five Wives, is called *Pari Bassac*, who Heads, to manage their black Hair, wears a Spangles; goes always sometimes clad like a Z parts in State, has a Jacket. In Council, he Cloth, is always attended Match-locks, besides other holds a Shield; and sit at his Feet, one of other a lighted Match, fourth he Spitting before on his left Hand, at

Things they fished, but could not keep them, or send them aboard the *Batubolor* to secure her, seeing white Shole-water near us; but they passed by us, in danger of running on the Shoals, not knowing the best Anchoring-place for want of the Linguist, I so earnestly desired to understand the *Malayans* that had now left us. At parting, they made Signs, and pointed to the Land to the Northward, which they called *Boroo*. Our Pilot, Captain *Dampier*, says he has been formerly through the Straights; and, in his Book, tells us of a Town, near the South Part of them, where the King resided; but he knew nothing of it now, except the bare Story. Upon this, we agreed to send one of the Pinnaces and the Linguist along with him, to find out the Town, being willing to venture him to wait on his Majesty the King of *Bouton*, to solicit for a Supply of Provisions, for which we would gladly pay; and, to make the better Appearance, we sent Mr. *Vanbrugh* and Mr. *Conroy* along with him. The Water flows here above fifteen Feet. There are Places near to the Town, which lie to the Northward six Leagues, from whence we rode, where a Ship might, on Occasion, be laid a shore to rest; and we could have carried the *Duke* thither to stop her Leak, but were not willing to lose Time, since we found it did not increase more than one Pump could vent, which we had Men enough to keep continually going.

38. On the 30th, in the Morning, a Prow came from the King, with a Nobleman on board, who had neither Shoes nor Stockings; and a Pilot to carry us up to Town. The first Question this *Indian* Lord asked, after he came on board, was, How we durst come to an Anchor there, without Leave first had and obtained of the great King of *Bouton*? He brought each Commander a Piece of *Bouton* striped Cloth, a Bottle of Arrack, some Rice in Baskets, &c. as a Present from the King; as also a Letter from the Officers we had sent a shore, giving an Account, that they had been very well received; and that the Town where the King resided, is large, walled, and fortified, and has several great Guns: Another Present was returned, and five Guns fired by every Ship, at the Messenger's going off, at which he seemed very well pleased. We wooded and watered at the Island *Sampo*, and several Prows came off to us with Fowl, *Indian* Corn, Pompons, Papas, Lemons, *Gamb* Corn, &c. which they trucked for Knives, Scissars, and Cloaths, &c. The People were civil, but sold very dear; yet our Officers making a longer Stay at the Town than was intended, we began to suspect they were detained, those *Moor*s being very treacherous: However, we heard from them every Day; and, on June 5, the *Duke's* Pinnace came down with Mr. *Conroy*, who told us, there were four Laths of Rice coming, which was bought of the King, and cost 600 Dollars, 50 Dollars in Tale being allowed to make up the Weight, because the Royals were light; and that Mr. *Vanbrugh* was detained for the Payment. The next Morning it came, and was equally distributed among the four Ships; some great Men coming to deliver it, and receive the Money: A *Portuguese*, sent by the King, was detained till our Boat returned, and Provisions began to come more plentifully, and cheaper. The Town of *Bouton* is seated on the Ascend of an Hill; on the Top whereof is a Fort inclosed with an old Stone Wall, on which there are Guns and Pattereroes mounted. The King, and a considerable Number of People, live in the said Fort, where an Herb-market is kept every Day. The King has five Wives, besides Concubines, and four Men, called *Pary Bassac*, who carry great Canes, with Silver Heads, to manage their Affairs. His Majesty, on his long Black Hair, wears a sort of green Gauze, throwed with Spangles; goes always bare-footed and bare-legged; is sometimes clad like a *Dutch* Skipper; but, when he appears in State, has a long Calico Gown over his short Jacket. In Council, he sits on a Chair covered with red Cloth; is always attended by a Sergeant and six Men, with Match-locks, besides three others, one of which wears a Head-piece, and carries a large Scimitar in his Hand; another holds a Shield; and the third a great Fan. Four Slaves sit at his Feet, one of them holding his Betele-box, another a lighted Match, another his Box to smoke, and a fourth his Spitting-balon. The pretty Kings and great Men sit on his Left Hand, and before him; every one attended

by a Slave in the Council-chamber, where they chew Tobacco, and chew Betele, in the King's Presence; and speak to him sitting cross-legged, joining their Hands, and lifting them up to their Forehead. The Town of *Bouton* is very populous; and by it runs a fine River, which, they say, comes down from ten Miles up the Country, ebbs and flows considerably, and has a Bar at the Entrance; so that Boats cannot come out at Low-water. At least 1500 Boats belong to this River, fifty whereof are Prows for War, carrying Pattereroes, and forty or fifty Men each. About fifty Islands are tributary to the King, who sends some of his Prows, once a Year, to gather in the Tribute, which consists of Slaves, each Island giving him ten Inhabitants out of every hundred. There is one Mosque at *Bouton*, which is supplied with Priests from *Moca*, the People being *Mohammedans*. They are great Admirers of Music; their Houses are built upon Posts; *Dutch* Money is current here, and *Spanish* Dollars. On the 17th, our Pinnace returned, with Mr. *Vanbrugh*, and all our Men, having parted very friendly with his Majesty, but could not get a Pilot for Money: However, we resolved to stay no longer, and to trust wholly to Almighty Providence for our future Preservation. We dismissed the *Portuguese* Linguist, and began to unmoor our Ships. The next Day, we made three Islands to the Northward of *Zalayer*; and the Looming of other Land to the Westward of all which, we took to be the Southermost Part of *Celebes*. On the 18th, our Pinnaces came up with this small Vessel; who told them, they were bound for *Maccassar*, a *Dutch* Factory, on the South Part of *Celebes*. The Pinnace took the Matter of her on board, who promised to pilot us, not only through the Straights of *Zalayer*, but to *Batavia*, if we would keep it secret, for fear of the *Dutch*. He sent his Vessel to lie in the narrower Passage, between the Islands, till such time as our Ships came up. About four a Clock we entered the Straight, betwixt the Islands that are next to *Zalayer*, and another little one to the Northward of that, being the middlemost of the three; having found a good Passage, three Leagues over, all deep Water, steering through North-west by West, to give the Larboard Islands a good Birth; then we made the Southermost Part of *Celebes*. The same Morning, the Pilot promised to carry us through the Channel the great *Dutch* Ships generally went for *Batavia*, and by that means avoid the Shoals, called the *Brill* and *Bunker-ground*. The *Brill* has very uneven Soundings; and, in many Places, but three Fathom Water, and less: So we haled away to the Northward, keeping the Island *Celebes* aboard, the South-west Part of which trends away in Low-land, with high Mountains at the Back of it; and off the Point there lies a Rock, pretty high and remarkable. At four o'Clock we came in to Sounding, and had ten Fathom; the first call the Rock off; the South-west Point bore then North, distant about six Leagues; and we had an Island a-head of us, from North-west by West, to North North-west, being low and level, about three Leagues long, and near the same Distance from the Main: As we entered, it grew narrower; we stemmed with the North Part of the Island, till we came within a League and half of it; then steered North a little, to weather a Spit of Sand lying off the Island, by which means we opened three small Keys; after we were clear of the Shore, we haled up about seven, and came to an Anchor under the Island, behind the Spit of Land, in ten Fathom Water, very good clean Ground. The Rock of *Celebes* then bore North east by North four Leagues, the Northernmost of the Keys two Leagues, and the middlemost West South-west three Leagues: The other being shut in with the long Island, we kept the Land going all the Way constantly thro'; and had never less than six Fathom, nor more than ten: As soon as it was Day, we weighed, and went betwixt the two small Keys, keeping nearest the Northernmost Soundings all the Way, and had no more than ten Fathom. The Water still deepening, being clear of them, we haled away West, and then South-west, having a fresh Gale at South-east, and South east and by East; no Land in Sight at Noon, but Part of the High-land at *Celebes*, which bore East, distant about twelve Leagues. It was very well for us that we met with this Pilot; for, having no good Charts, nor any one acquainted with those Seas, we had

run greater Hazards. On the 14th, we ran by the Island *Madura*, which is about four Leagues long, lying East and West, on the North Side of *Java*, the Land we made in the Morning being the North east Part of it; which, agreeing with the Pilot's Knowledge, made us the more certain. On the 17th, we made the High land of *Cheribon*, which bore South-west. In the Morning, we saw a great Ship right a head; and, being very eager to hear News, I sent our Pinnace aboard, to know what she was. She proved a *Dutch* Ship, about 600 Ton, and fifty Guns, belonging to *Batavia*, and was plying to some of the *Dutch* Factories for Timber. They told us, that it was thirty *Dutch* Leagues from hence to *Batavia*; but no Danger. We borrowed a large Draught, which was very useful to us, and left them at Anchor. Towards Noon we made the Land, being very low; but had gradually Soundings, by which we were satisfied in the Night how to sail by the Sand. In the Afternoon, we saw the Ships in the Road of *Batavia*, betwixt thirty and forty Sail, great and small; and got happily to Anchor just after Sun-set, betwixt six and seven Fathom Water, at the long desired Port of *Batavia*, in Latitude $6^{\circ} 10'$ South, Longitude $252^{\circ} 51'$ West from *London*. By our Reckoning here, we altered our Account of Time, having, as is customary, lost almost one Day in running West so far round the Globe. When we came in Sight of *Batavia*, and especially after some Sloops had been aboard us, I found, that, after sailing so long with them, I was absolutely a Stranger to the Humours of our People. A few days before, they were perpetually quarrelling and jangling; a disputed Title to a Lump of Sugar would have created a Tumult, which could have been laid by nothing, but the Prospect of a small Dram: But now there was nothing but hugging and shaking by the Hand, and blessing their Stars, and questioning it there was such a Paradise upon Earth; and all this because they had Arrack for Eightpence a Gallon, and Sugar at a Penny a Pound: The next Minute all together by the Ears again, about who should put the Ingredients together; for, the Weather being hot, and the Materials excessively cheap, Labour was now become a very considerable Thing.

39. We anchored here in five Fathom Water, the Ground so soft and oily, that the Anchor sinks above a Fathom; so that it cannot foul: And therefore Ships always ride single. The Town bore South by East, distant a Mile and an half; and the Island *Omeh* bore North west by North, distant two Leagues and an half. At this Island the *Dutch* clean and careen all their Ships, and have two Windmills on it to saw Timber. They hale their Ships along the Side of a Wharf, where there are two Cranes to discharge them, and Storehouses to lay up the Goods. The *Dutch* fired thirteen Guns to salute the *Dutch* Flag; but, it being Night, he did not answer: Yet the next Morning he sent his Boat aboard, to beg my Pardon for that Omission, which he would then repair. Soon after, the *Dutch* fired thirteen Guns; and the *Dutch* Flag answered both our Ships Gun for Gun. Between twelve and one, two *English* Gentlemen came aboard us, the one Captain of an *English* Ship, there being three and a Sloop in the Road, all belonging to *Madras*. All of us, who were Commanders, went ashore, and landed at *Homb* Key, whence we proceeded to the Shabander, who conducted us to the Castle before *Awayam* an *Kitee*, General of *India*, who received us very civilly; but was very inquisitive, and showed visibly an Intention to find some Pretence for denying us what we asked, and had Occasion for. To satisfy him effectually, and prevent all Disputes, we not only showed him our Commissions, which, in Fact, was all he had a Right to demand; but we like wise granted him with an Extract of our Journal and Proceedings, that he might be convinced, that we had acted fairly, and done nothing, but what was justified by our Commissions. After all, we were forced to bear, not only with his haughty Air, and the natural Slowness of *Dutch* Councils, but with many other disagreeable Circumstances, that they told us plainly, we owed little, if any thing, to Friendship or Good will. Soon after our Arrival at *Batavia*, we went about Lutting the *Marquis*; but, being full ordered upon the Carreen, the Shabander having allowed us several *Malayan* Sails, which we came down to the Beach, we found them, as well as the Stern and Stern post, to

much worm-eaten and rotten, the Ship being very old, and having only a single Bottom, that we ordered a Survey of Carpenters to view her, who all agreed, there was no fitting her in that Place for going about the Cape of *Good Hope*, her Condition being extraordinary bad; which obliged us to hire a Vessel to take out her Lading. Then we applied ourselves to fitting of the other Ships; but could not, at any rate, obtain Leave of the Government to repair to the Isle of *Oronoff*; but were allowed to go to the low small Island *Hern*, which is near the other, inhabited by a few *Malayan* Fishermen: And on it was abundance of Coconuts, Plantain, Papa, Guava, and other Fruit trees. The Government allowed us a small Vessel of that sort they call *Cbantans*, to careen our Ships by. We then have down the *Duke* and *Duchess*, and found their Sheathing also very much worm-eaten in some Places. The *Duchess*, in being down, sprung her Fore-mast, but we soon got another. And the *Duke*, after careening, was still leaky. The *Marquis* took in all the Lading of the other Ships, and lay aboard on the Off side, to relieve the other Ships when in the Carreen. When the Ships were fitted, we returned again to *Batavia* Road, where we rigged the *Three*, and sold the *Marquis*, after taking out all the Goods, and most of the Stores, to Captain *Opie* and Captain *Oldham*. The all the Officers and Men were distributed among the other Ships, except one *Dutchman*, who ran away. The Weather was extreme hot during our Stay. Many Officers and Men fell sick; and I was one of the Number. The Miller of the *Duke*, the Gunner of the *Duchess*, and several of our Men, died of the Flux. *John Reid*, a young Man belonging to the *Duchess*, venturing to swim, had his two Legs snapped off by a Shark, which, at the second Bait, before we could get him on board, took off the Boat and his Belly; so that he was dead before we could take him on. During our Stay, we had the Liberty of the Town and Markets, to buy what we pleased; yet found it very difficult to get salt Provisions, and were therefore obliged to kill several Bullocks, and pickle the Fleesh, taking out the Bones. Arrack, Rice, and Fowls, were cheap, and Beet not above two Stivers a Pound. Several *English* Ships arrived here at this time, as the *Recheffer* and *Springer* to *Cbna*, Captain *Opie* in a separate Stock Ship; and others of those Parts. The Bay is seldom without some large *Dutch* Vessels, driving a great Trade from thence to all the Countries round about. There are various Descriptions of a famous City in all Languages; so that I might well be content with a Description of it here: But, as what I have to say regards Time as well as Place, and may serve to give a Picture of the State of Things at that particular Time, I flatter myself, that the following succinct Account will not be found either useless or disagreeable. The City of *Batavia* lies on the North west Side of the famous Bay of *Java*, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 50'$ South. The Fall and West Winds blow all the Year along the Shore, besides the ordinary Land and Sea winds, which exceedingly cool the Air, and make it pleasant; otherwise it would be intolerable. Their Summer begins in *May*, with continual Breezes from the East, and a very clear Sky, till the latter End of *July*, or Beginning of *November*, when the Winter begins with hard Rains, which hold sometimes three or four Days without Intermission. In *December* the West Winds blow very violently; so that there is little Trade on the Coast of *Java*. In *February* the Weather is changeable, with sudden Thunder storms. In *March* they begin to blow, and it is their pleasantest Month. In *September* they gather their Sugar and Rice. And, in *October*, they have a great deal of Fruit and Flowers, Plants and Herbs of smell. There is a large, fertile, plain Country before the City, which is exceedingly well improved by the *Dutch*. At the Fall, it is very full of Wood and Morasses. The City is square, with a River running thro' it, and fortified by a strong Wall, and twenty-two Battions. About ten Days past, there was an Earthquake, which overturned Part of the Mountains in the Country, and altered the Course of the River; so that the Canals in and about *Batavia* are not near so commodious as they have been, nor the Inflow of Water to keep it open, they are forced to employ an Engine to preserve the Mouth of the River navigable.

small Vessels to come in to a Bay, in which there is a great deal of Sand, which will break off the Sea, yet it is safe. The Banks are faced with Stone on which is shut up every Night by soldiers. There are no small Vessels; the Streets run in Strait Lane feet broad on each Side near the Houses with Bricks and inhabited, fitted with fifty six Bridges. The Country-seats and Houses are neat and well contrived and Flowers, in great Quantities of Cocoa nut Groves. They have fine Cross Church, built of Stone. There are two or three Churches for the *Portuguese* Protestants. There is one Church for the *Town* laic is built in the Centre of the City, two S where all Courts are held. Civil Government of the nation and Directors of the an inner Court, enclosed by a Row of Stone Pillars, where are Hospitals, Spinning in *Indiam*, with all most Cities in *Europe*.

In this City for their together Charity for well-lookers respectable in the greater Privileges in *Indiam*, for, on slight Occasions, Husbands, and share the told me at *Batavia*, he Cutes all depending in them were Divorces. *Grave* Criminals, are chained about, and a Guard, per Mounts round the City, of their Leagues West where all the Company's Magazines of naval stores. At the Castle at *Batavia* and the four Battions and are provided with Water Cisterns, the *Dutch* Governors Members of the Council of *Batavia*, have their Rooms of Brick, large and a Council chamber, the Secretary's Account. The Generals, and Flags, and Gray-mour gives Audience to him by the Shabander's Rooms. The Garrison strong; and all the Out Provisions, as well as cannon under, except the Privileges, and make a General lives in as great Iron and Guard, 172. of Foot, with Half-battions, adorned with silver Lace when he goes aboard, as those of most Princes. Gunners in *India*. He of the twenty-four Companies whom must always to the greatest Trade here, toms, live according to the idolatrous Worshipping; an Affairs with the Companies, and particularly a Vote, when any of the

small Vessels to come into the Canals of the City. It lies in a Bay, in which there are seventeen or eighteen Islands, which do break off the Sea, that, tho' the Road is very large, yet it is safe. The Banks of the Canals through the City are faced with Stone on both Sides, as far as the Boom, which is shut up every Night at nine o'Clock, and guarded by soldiers. There are Channels cut out of the main River for smaller Vessels; and every Boom pays Toll. All the Streets run in straight Lines, most of them being above thirty Feet broad on each Side, clear of the Channels, and paved near the Houses with Bricks. All the Streets are very well built and inhabited, fifteen of which have Channels; and they contain fifty six Bridges on them, most of them of Stone. The County-seats and Buildings round the City are generally neat and well-contrived, with handsome Gardens for Fruit and Flowers, Fountains, and Statues. The vast Quantities of Cocoa nut trees every where afford delightful Groves. They have fine Structures here; particularly the Cross Church, built of Stone, and the Inside very neat. There are two or three Churches for the *Dutch*, and two for the *Portuguese* Protestants, who are a mixt sort of People. There is one Church also for the Protestant *Malayans*. The Town house is built of Brick, in a Square, about the Centre of the City, two Stories high, and very finely built; where all Courts are held, and all Matters relating to the Civil Government of the City are determined; and the Senators and Directors of the Military Affairs meet. There is an inner Court, inclosed with an high Wall, and a double Row of Stone Pillars, where the Officers of Justice live. Here are Hospitals, Spin-houses, and Kail-houses, the same as in *Amsterdam*, with all other public Buildings, equal to most Cities in *Europe*. The *Chinese* have also a large Hospital in this City for their aged and sick Persons; and manage their Charity so well, that you never see a *Chinese* that looks despicable in the Street. The *Dutch* Women have greater Privileges in *India*, than in *Holland*, or any-where else; for, on slight Occasions, they are divorced from their Husbands, and share the Estate betwixt them. A Lawyer told me at *Batavia*, he has known, out of fifty-eight Causes all depending in the Council chamber, fifty two of them were Divorces. Great Numbers of the Natives, who are Criminals, are chained by Pains, and kept at hard Labour, under a Guard, perpetually clearing the Channels and Mounds round the City, or any other Work for the Publick. Three Leagues West from the Town is the Island *Onregh*, where all the Company's Ships are refitted. There are Magazines of naval stores, delcnded by Platforms of Guns. At the Castle at *Batavia* is quadrangular, lies in a Level, and has four battions and Curtains, faced with white Stones, and provided with Watch houses. In this Castle, or rather Citadel, the *Dutch* Governor General, and most of the Members of the Council of *India*, with the other Officers of *Batavia*, have their Residence. The Governor's Palace is of Brick, large and well-built. In this Palace is the Council chamber, the Secretary's Office, and Chamber of Accounts. The General's Hall is hung with bright Armour, Shields, Flags, &c. taken by the *Dutch* here. The Governor gives Audience to Strangers, who are introduced to him by the Subbender, who is Commissioner of the Customs. The Garrison on Duty is generally about 1000 strong; and all the Outworks are said to be furnished with Provisions, as well as can be; but the Soldiers are kept naked under, except the Governor's Guards, who have large Privileges, and make a fine Appearance. The Governor General lives in as great Splendor as a King: He has a Train of Guard, viz. a Troop of Horse, and a Company of Foot, with Halberds, in Laverses of yellow Sattin, richly adorned with silver Fringe and Fringes, to attend his Coach, when he goes abroad. The Guards are as well equipped as those of most Princes in *Europe*. His Lady has also her Guards and Train. He is chosen but for three Years, out of the twenty four Countellors, called *Rads of India*, twelve of whom must always reside in the City. The *Chinese* have the greatest Trade here, I am most of the Excise and Customs, live according to their own Laws, and are allowed their idolatrous Worship; and have a Chief, that manages their Affairs with the Company, who allows them great Privileges, and particularly a Representative in Council, who has a Vote, when any of the *Chinese* are tried for Life. But

these Privileges are allowed only to such *Chinese* as inhabit here; for others are not permitted to stay above six Months in the Town, or on the Island *Java*. The other Strangers, besides *Europeans*, are *Malayans*, with some from most Parts of *India*. The *Javanese*, or antient Natives, are numerous, and said to be barbarous and proud, of a dark Colour, and flat Faces, thin, short, black Hair, large Eyebrows and Cheeks. The Men are strong-limbed; but the Women are small. The former have a Wrapper of Calico three or four times round their Bodies; and the latter from their Arm-pits to their Knees. The Men have two or three Wives, besides Concubines; and the *Dutch* say, they are much addicted to lying and stealing. Those on the Coast are generally *Mohammedans*; but the others *Pagans*. The Women are not so tawny as the Men, and many of them handsome; but, in general, amorous, and unfaithful to their Husbands, being very apt to give Poison, which they do very cunningly. The Town is very populous; but not One-sixth of them *Dutch*. The *Chinese* here go all bare-headed, with their Hair rolled up, and long Gowns, carrying Fans in their Hands. The *Dutch* say, they are more industrious, and acute in Trade, than themselves. The Discipline and Order of the *Dutch* here, both in Civil and Military Affairs, is truly admirable. They have all the Necessaries for building and careening Ships, as well as in *Europe*; and their Officers as regular as in his Majesty's Yards; whereas we have nothing like it in *India*. They keep the Natives very much in Awe, being perfectly despotic in their Government; because, they say, the Natives are naturally so treacherous, that they are oblig'd to punish them severely for small Faults: But they are more tender to the *Chinese*, because of the great Trade they have by their Means; and that they pay great Rents for their Shops, besides large Taxes; and from 10 to 30 per cent. for Money, which they frequently borrow of the *Dutch*. I was told there are here about 80,000, who pay the *Dutch* a Dollar a Head each Month, for Liberty to wear their Hair, which they are not allowed to wear at home, since they were conquered by the *Tartars*. There come hither from *China* fourteen or sixteen large Junks yearly, being flat-bottomed Vessels, from 3 to 500 Tons Burden. The Merchants come along with their Goods, which are lodged in different Partitions in the Vessels, like Warehouses, for which they pay a certain Price, and not for the Weight or Measure of the Cargo, as we do; so they fill them with what they please. They come in with an Easterly Monsoon, and generally arrive in *November* or *December*, and return the Beginning of *June*; so that the *Dutch* have all *Chinese* Commodities brought to them, cheaper than they can fetch them: And, being conveniently situated for the Spice-trade, they have all in their own Hands. *Batavia* wants no Commodities that *India* affords. They have seldom less than twenty Sail of Ships at *Java*, from thirty to fifty and sixty Guns each, with Men enough for them on all Occasions; so that they might easily drive us out of most Parts, if not all *India*, should we ever have an unfortunate War with them. Their Soldiers are very well trained, and there is a Company always on Duty at every Gate of the City and Citadel; and they have 7 or 8000 disciplined *Europeans* in and about the City, who can be assembled and ready for Action at a very short Warning. It is the Metropolis of their *Indian* Settlements, and sends Governors and Officers to all the rest. The late General, before we came hither, had War with the *Indians*, which, I was informed, had like to have spoiled their Settlements; but, at last, they divided the Natives amongst themselves, brought them to a Peace on advantageous Conditions, and are now pretty secure of the Sea-coasts. There are many pleasant Seats about the City, and the adjacent Country abounds with Rice, Sugar cane-fields, Gardens, and Orchards, Mills for Sugar, Corn, and Gunpowder; so that this is one of the pleasantest Cities in the World. I do not think it so large as *Bristol*; but it is more populous. They have Schools for *Latin*, *Greek*, &c. and a Printing-house. They have lately begun to plant Coffee here, which thrives very well; so that, in a little time, they may be able to load a ship or two: But I am told, it is not so good as that in *Arabia*.

40. On the 17th of *October* we arrived at the Watering-place on the Main, having sailed from *Batavia* on the 15th.

On the 10th, at two in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor with our best Bower, in a Bay about a League to the Westward of Java Head, in fifteen Fathom Water, on a sandy Ground, about a Mile from the Shore; sent our Pinna- cles for Water, and then our Sail-maker, Woodlers, &c. Captain Pike, and Mr. Block, came in a Boat from *Batavia*, the first of them, chiefly, after his Steward, who I suppose, had concealed himself, unknown to most of us, aboard the *Batcbelor*. In the Evening, Captain Pike lent us his Boat and Men; we put into her several of our Men, with Arms and Provisions from each Ship; and sent her away to *Pepper Bay*, to buy Fowls, and other fresh Provisions, giving them for that Purpose Knives, and other Toys, which the Natives there value above Money. In the Evening we had much Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, which put us in Fear for the Men sent to *Pepper Bay*; continued wooding and watering till the 28th, and sent several Men ashore to kill Buffaloes, which being extremely wild, they could shoot none, and durst not stay ashore at Night, by reason of the many Tygers: One of them was very near seizing a Man of ours, who, to save himself was obliged to take the Water; at least twenty Shots were made at the Tyger before he went off, and they saw several others at the same time. The *Indian King*, and his People, dealt friendly with us, trucking Fowls, and what else they had to spare, for Knives, and the like. They generally came aboard every Day, and we giving them some Trifle at parting, they were kind to our Men ashore. The Wind being commonly at South-east, and a fresh Gale, we were under some Apprehensions for our Men sent to buy Fowls in *Pepper Bay*, having heard nothing of them since their Departure, and mistrusting the Boat might be overfet, or the Men detained by the *Jarans*. But, on the 27th in the Evening, the Boat returned, to our great Satisfaction, with the Men, bringing about twelve Dozen of Fowl, some Mangoes, &c. Captain Pike's Steward came on board the *Duchefs*, hoping we would conceal him; but was immediately sent on board the *Batcbelor* to his Commander, who gladly received, and promised to pardon him. On the 28th of *December*, Mr. *James Wije*, our chief Surgeon, died, and we buried him decently the next Day, with our Naval Ceremonies, as usual, being a very honest useful Man, a good Surgeon, and bred up at *Leyden*, in the Study of Physic, as well as Surgery. We made Land the 15th of *December*, came in with the Shore the 18th, and had Sounding in 60 and 70 Fathom, the Ground grey grit with small Stones and Shells; had a strong Southerly Current, South Latitude $34^{\circ} 2'$, Longitude $334^{\circ} 34'$ West from *London*. The same Day we had very hard Flaws of Wind off the High-land, till we came within Sight of the *Lion's Head* and *Rump*, two Hills over the *Cape Town*; and this Day we arrived in the Harbour of the *Cape*, saluted the *Dutch Fort* with nine Guns, and were answered by seven. We anchored in six Fathom Water, about a Mile off Shore, and found only one *English Ship*, called the *Donaga*, Captain *Cliff* Commander, homeward-bound from *Niobe*, and two *Middleburghers*, outward-bound for *Batavia*, in the Harbour, besides the *Guard-Ship*, and two or three *Gallies*. On the 20th, we moored our Ship, and got down our Yards and Top-masts, to guard against the hard Flaws of Wind on the *Table-land*, which frequently blow very fresh between East South-East and South-east. We sent sixteen sick Men ashore. On the 1st of *February*, I offered some Proposals, in Writing, to Captains *Dover* and *Courtenay*, with the rest of the Committee; wherein I told them, it was my Opinion, we should lose too much Time to stay for the *Dutch Fleet*, in order to have the Benefit of her Convoy to *Niland*, which would not only be out of our Way, but very tedious and chargeable; and we having large Quantities of decaying Goods on board, the Time we should lose by waiting for the *Dutch*, might be advantageously employed in *English*, where we could be in very little Danger of the Enemy, and vend them at great Rates, and thence get to *Profla* through the North Channel, having the Summer before us, continuing in the Latitude of 45° or 50° ; two or three hundred Leagues before we got the Length of the *North of Ireland*; and by that means, might avoid the Track of the Enemy. I earnestly

pressed, that, if they could not agree to this, one of our Privateers might take this alone, and the other keep with the *Batcbelor* and *Dutch Fleet*. But the Majority was against any thing but going home with the *Dutch Fleet* all together; so that all I could do more, was to remind them of examining the Goods aboard the *Batcbelor*, and to take out of her so much Goods in safe Package, as would lie in the like Room of *European Goods*, on board the *Duchefs*; that, if any Accident should happen to the *Batcbelor*, we might have Part of her Value in another Bottom. I desired, if any amongst them were not of this Opinion, they would give their Reasons to the contrary in Writing; but we could agree on nothing. On *April 5* at Day-break, the Flag hoisted a blue Ensign, looted the Foretop-sail, and fired a Gun, as a Signal to unmoor. As we were heaving in our Cable, it rubbed against the Oakum, which had got into the Leak, and occasioned the Ship to be as leaky again as ever, she having been mended tight for some time, and we were in hopes it would have continued. About Noon I came aboard very sick, and in no better Health than I was when I went first ashore at our Arrival here: Presently after I went aboard the Flag, there being a Signal made for all the *English* Commanders. We had before received our Orders, which were very particular, and to be punctually observed. About four in the Afternoon, the Flag, Vice, and Rear-admiral, weighed with Part of the Fleet, and fell down to *Rangoon* or *Penguin* Island, where they lay for the rest of the Night. On the 6th, in the Afternoon, we all weighed from *Penguin* Island, being sixteen *Dutch*, and nine *English* Ships, having a fine fresh Breeze at South South-east. The *Cape of Good Hope* has been so often described, that I do not think it necessary to detain the Reader with any Account of it here. There happened nothing remarkable in our Voyage till *June 5*, when the Admiral made a Signal for all the *English* Commanders, and some of the *Dutch* Skippers, to come on board; where we found an excellent Entertainment; and the good Humour of the *Dutch* Admiral soon made all the Company understand each other without a Linguist, tho' we had much ado to get our first meeting: We parted before the Sun set, and had a fine Day. The 28th, being got into the Latitude of 42° North, we had thick foggy Weather; so that the Flag fired two Guns every Half-hour, and each Ship answered with one. This continued several Days, which costed a great deal of Powder; but, by the Noise of the guns, it was easy to keep Company, tho' sometimes to thick for several Hours, that we could not see three Ships together. On *July 14*, we saw two Ships in the Afternoon, one of which we spoke with, being a *Dane*, bound for *Swatow*; she informed us of the *Dutch* Men of War that were coming for us off *Sketland*, (being ten Sail) whom we saw but or five Days ago, and reckoned herself now about thirty Leagues from the Land. We had Sounding then in twenty Fathom Water, brown gravelly Ground. I just had time to send the Owners a Copy of my Letters from the *Cape of Good Hope*; and to let them know, that we were now got to far late towards the Conclusion of a fatiguing Voyage. In the Morning, we made *Fair Island*, and *Fair Point*, lying off of *Sketland*. Presently after we saw the Men of War; but, having little Wind, and they a good Way distant from each other, we could join but one of them by Noon. The next Day all the Men of War joined us, except one or two, with the Fishing-doggers, which were cruising off to the North-east of *Sketland*. After mutual Salutations, both by the *English* and the *Dutch* Ships, one of the Men of War was sent out to see for the missing Ships. The Inhabitants of those Islands came aboard with what Provisions they had, being very poor Peoples, and subsist most by Fishing. On the 17th, I wrote a single Letter to the Owners in general, by a *Scott* Fishing-ship belonging to *Sketland*, advising them of our joining the Men of War who are ordered with the Fleet to the *West*, where we hoped to meet an *English* Convoy. The *Dutch India* Admiral, though but a Company's Ship, wears the Flag, gives Signals and Orders to the *Dutch* Men of War, which is not suffered among the *English*; and, in the whole Run from the *Cape*, kept an exact Distance with the Fleet, not suffering any of the Commanders to

out of the Ships to visit or Leave. On the 20th, the *Comimodore* made a Land; presently all the Colours. The Pilot-boat we parted with the *Rest* of the Men of War got the Flag, and all the *Comodore*, and afterwards him in Sight of *Holland* over the Bar, the *Dutch* their own Country, with *Futberland*. About 5 o'clock we anchored in six Fathom. On the 24th, in the Morning, we were ordered to go up to the *Bar*, we gave him three Cheers. Afternoon I went up to see our Owners, to bid them adieu, and from hence. On the 25th, we had Orders to be in the *Dutch* Convoy for *Amsterdam* aboard from *Amsterdam* on the 1st of *August*, charged what Men we had, and afterwards went to the *Dutch* and *Batcbelor* *Fleet*, being a better Convoy, we had News of *Holland*. Mr. *Pepe* was aboard in the Morning, came aboard they went for the *Dutch* for *Amsterdam*. We were their coming and going, and others, bound for *Amsterdam*. On the 26th, we weighed for our better Security the *India* Company vessel had dealt for nothing to obviate this, and the *India* Company, of our respect, the Officers find there never was any or any Insufficiency of provisions, and other Things. Suspicion might remain drawn up, and the *India* Company, had News of our Convoy was very acceptable to them in the utmost Unhealthiness, to that we had aboard, till now we got for falling down to the *Bar*. In the Afternoon, we got our Convoy at *Anchorage*, and *Dunwich*. In the Morning, the Wind blew from the *West*, and by ten o'clock, the *India* Men of War, and next Morning bore away again for *Amsterdam*. On the 27th, we weighed, as *London*: After leaving *Amsterdam*, with the *Convoy* next Morning. On consulting, that our time in the Sea, in case we were required, should be as little as possible, we could be provided for *Amsterdam*, which was our Day, we weighed, as *London*. On the 1st of *October*, we came on board, and went on Shore with the *India* Company.

our of the Ships to visit each other at Sea without a Signal, or Leave. On the 23d, the Weather being close, the Commodore made a Signal about ten o'Clock for seeing Land; presently the Fleet answered him with their Colours. The Pilot-boats coming off aboard the Ships, we parted with the *Rotterdam* and *Middelburgh* Ships, most of the Men of War going with them to see them safe in. The Flag, and all the *English* Ships, saluted the Commodore, and afterwards we saluted the Flag, to welcome him in Sight of *Holland*; and, as soon as they were got over the Bar, the *Dutchmen* fired at their safe Arrival in their own Country, which they very affectionately called *Fatherland*. About eight at Night we all came safe to Anchor in six Fathom Water, about two Miles off Shore. On the 24th, in the Morning, the *Dutch* Flag weighed, in order to go up to the unliving Place: As he passed by us, we gave him three Huzzas, and nine Guns. In the Afternoon I went up to *Amsterdam*, where we had Letters from our Owners, to direct us how to act, and proceed from hence. On the 28th, the *English East India* Ships had Orders to be in Readiness for sailing with the first *Dutch* Convoy for *London*. We got some Provisions aboard from *Amsterdam* on the 30th. When I came aboard, on the 1st of *August*, by Consent of our Council, we discharged what Men we shipped at *Batavia* and the Cape, and afterwards went away from *Amsterdam*. On the 4th, the *Duke's* and *Batcbelor* went up the Road called the *Flister*, being a better Road than the *Texel*. In the Evening, we had News of some of our Owners being at the *Helder*. Mr *Pope* went to wait upon them, and, in the Morning, came aboard with them: After a short Stay, they went for the *Duke's* and *Batcbelor*, desiring thence for *Amsterdam*. We welcomed them with fifteen Guns at their coming and going. The *English East India* Ships, and others, bound for *England*, weighed with the *Dutch* Convoy the same Day, having a fine Gale at North-east. On the 6th, we weigh'd from the *Texel*, and went up to our Conions, it being by a particular Order from the Owners, for our better Security, being obliged to wait here, fearing the *India* Company would be troublesome, although we had dealt for nothing but Necessaries in *India*. In order to obviate this, and convince the World, as well as the *East India* Company, of our Honesty and good Conduct in this respect, the Officers first drew up an Affidavit, setting forth there never was any Commerce carried on in the *Indies*, or any Transactions of buying and sellings, but for Provisions, and other Things, for the Ships; and, that no Suspicion might remain, an Abstract of our Journal was drawn up, and the best Part of the Ship's Company voluntarily swore to it. On the 10th in the Afternoon, we had News of our Convoy lying without the *Texel*; which was very acceptable to the Crews of each Ship, who were in the utmost Uneasiness at our long Stay, being just at home, so that we had much ado to keep the Companies aboard, till now we got every thing in Readiness, in order for falling down to them. On the 20th, about five in the Afternoon, we got down to the *Texel*, where we found our Convoy at Anchor, being the *Essex*, *Canterbury*, *Medway*, and *Dunwich* Men of War. On the 22d in the Morning, the Wind being at North-east, we weighed from the *Texel*, and by ten of the Clock got clear of the Channel. In the Afternoon, the Commodore took the *Batcbelor* in tow, and next Morning, the Wind being against us, we bore away again for the Harbour; as did likewise four *Dutch* Men of War, that came out with us, bound for *London*: After seeing us safe in, he stood off to the Northward, with the *Canterbury* and *Medway*, but came in the next Morning. On the 24th, our Officers met, where, consulting, that our three Ships wanted Necessaries to keep the Sea, in case we should meet with bad Weather, we requested Captain *Roffey* our Commodore, that he would please to stay, should the Wind be fair, till such Time as we could be provided with the said Necessaries from *Amsterdam*; which was granted. On the 30th, at Break of Day, we weigh'd, as did likewise four *Dutch* Men of War. On the 1st of *October*, about eleven o'Clock, we came to an Anchor in the *Dowens*, where several of our Owners came on board; and, after they had visited every Ship, went on Shore with some Prisoners, to examine them about

our Capture, &c. At three this Morning, the *Essex* made a Signal to unmoor; and betwixt nine and ten weigh'd, he being ordered up to the *Buoy in the Nore*, and we to make the best of our Way to the *Hope*. *October 14.* at eleven o'Clock, we and our Comfort got up to *Eriff*, where we came to an Anchor, which ends our long and fatiguing Voyage.

41. It was owing to this Expedition of *Woods Rogers*, that the Spirit of Privateering in the South Seas was not totally lost in *England*, where Abundance of Art had been used to propagate an Opinion, that it was simply impossible for any Privateer Squadron to act with Success, at least for their Owners; and that, if any thing was taken, it must be in a buccaneering Way, that is, for the sole Advantage of the Crew: But, in all these respects, this Voyage has undeceived us, and plainly shewn, that, under proper Command, our People are able to do as great Things now, as ever they did in the Days of *Elizabeth*; and, indeed, it is offering the greatest Indignity to our Seamen to think otherwise. Amongst the rest of the Bug-bears invented to terrify our People from going into those Seas, one was, the dreadful Treatment they met with from the *Spaniards*, when, by any Accident, they fell into their Hands. As to this, Captain *Rogers* has set the Matter in its true Light. He deplors the Lots of Mr. *Hatley* in the most affecting Terms; probably from an Opinion, that he might be starved at Sea, or forced to live ashore on some of the barren *Gallapagos* Islands; but he very fairly tells us, that, after that Gentleman fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, he was very kindly treated, and sent up to *Lima* as a Prisoner of War, which was what he had Reason to expect. It is indeed true, that, when he and his Boat's Company landed at *Cape Paffao*, and surrendered themselves, they were very barbarously used, having their Hands tied behind them, hung up by their Necks, and almost half-slayed with Whips: But then, by whom was this done? Why, by a mixed People, the Off-spring of Negroes and *Indians*, who bore an implacable Hatred to every Man of a white Complexion, out of mere Aversion to the *Spaniards*. In this Distress they had probably ended their Days, but for a Priest, who interposed, and preserved them. As for the *Englishmen* that remained in that Country, (which is perhaps the hardest Case that can be put, with respect to the Danger of those Expeditions) Captain *Straddling*, of whom we have said so much in the last Section, after returning safe to *London*, though he remained long a Prisoner in those Countries, gives us the following Account of their Condition, melancholy indeed, as Exiles from their native Country, but not very frightful in other respects.

" In *Mexico*, the Prisoners, who are employed in cutting Logwood, have no way to escape the Severity of the *Spaniards*, but to turn Papists, and be baptized after their manner: Then they have the Liberty to chuse a Godfather, who is generally a Man of Note, and they serve him as a Footman in Livery. One *Boysé*, who joined Captain *Rogers* at *Guiaquil*, was baptized there by an Abbot in the Cathedral of *Mexico*; had Salt put into his Mouth, and Oil poured upon his Head; and small Parcels of Cotton, which rubbed it off, were distributed as precious Relics among the Penitents, because taken off the Head of a converted Heretic, as they called him. The native *Spaniards* enjoy all Poits in the Church and Monasteries, and admit no *Indians*, nor any mixed Breed, to those Preferments; which they think a necessary Piece of Policy, that they may the better keep the Country in Subjection to *Spain*. Some of those Prisoners, who are forced to be pretended Converts, do now-and-then make their Escape, tho' it be dangerous to attempt it; for, if taken, they are generally confined to the Work-houses for Life. There are several *Englishmen*, who were Prisoners in this Country, that, by Compliance, have obtained their Liberty; particularly one *Thomas Bull*, who was born in *Dover*, and taken in *Campeche*. He was a Clockmaker, had been eighteen Years here, and was about forty five Years old, lives in the Province of *Tabasco*, and grown very rich. One Captain *Tkempson*, born in the *Ile of Wight*, had been here about twenty Years, is about fifty Years old, grown rich, and com-

manded the Mulattoes, who took Captain *Park* at the Beginning of the War. The Person who told me this, was a Coombmaker, and endeavoured to escape from *La Vera Cruz*; but was taken, and sent Prisoner to *Mexico*, where he came off to *Peru*, after he had his Liberty, by pretending he went to buy Ivory to make Combs. He gave me a long Account of his Ramble amongst the *Indians*, and says, that he was at the Mouth of the River *Mississippi*, which falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, but could not pass it: He adds, that the *Indians*, on the Bay *Pillachi*, have murdered several of the *Padres*, out of an Aversion to the *Spaniards*, but shewed a great Inclination to trade with the *English*. Such of them as will not turn *Papists*, are kept in close Custody, either in the Mines, or Workhouses, at *Mexico*, which City is about as long as *Bristol*. Those that are put in Workhouses are chained, and employed in carding of Wool, rapping of Logwood, &c. They have more Manufactures of Woollen and Linen in *Mexico* than in *Peru*: Abundance of Raw Silk is brought from *China*: and, of late Years, wrought up into rich Brocades, equal to any made in *Europe*. The *Mulattoes* and *Indians*, on very slight Occasions, are put into the Workhouses, and kept there till they pay their Debts or Tribute; but no *Spaniards*, except for the worst of Crimes. There are many *Englishmen*, who were taken cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campeche*, in several of those Workhouses. They have abundance of Sheep in the Country, which yield excellent Wool, of which the *English* Prisoners have taught them to make Cloth, which would be worth about 15 s. a Yard in *England*; but there it yields eight Pieces of Eight. They have also taught them to make Bays, and other Sort of coarse Woollens. At *Chospa* in *Mexico*, about Latitude 12° North, there is a great River, which sinks into the Earth at once, runs under the Mountains, and rises with a large Stream, about fifteen Leagues from the Place where it sunk. This River is twice as broad as the *Tamesis*; it afterwards joins that of *Tabasco*, and falls into the North Sea, as most of the great Rivers of this vast Continent do. About this Place there are high Mountains, with Plains on the Top, where the Air is very temperate, and all our *European* Fruits grow; whereas, at the Bottom of those Mountains, they have none but the Fruits of hot Climates, tho' tis not above five Leagues asunder. There are also Woods of Pines, &c. on those Mountains, amongst which there are Birds which sing together in an agreeable Concert, that resemble a fine Organ; so that Strangers are amazed to hear such Music strike up of a sudden in the Woods. There is also a strange Creature in those Woods, called by the *Spaniards* an *Ounce*, much of the Size of a Wolf-dog; but it has Talons, and the Head is more like that of a Tiger: It kills Men and Beasts, which makes travelling thro' the Woods dangerous; yet this Creature is reported to eat nothing but the Heart of its Prey. I had many more Relations from this Man, who had been seven Years a Prisoner in this Country; but they being too tedious, I shall add nothing more concerning *Mexico*, but that the Worm is larger, and eats the Bottoms of the Ship more, on its Sea coast, than any other Place. All the Coasts, from *Guayaquil* in *Peru*, to the Northward, as far as the Latitude of 20° in *Mexico*, are reckoned unhealthy, but the contrary from *Guayaquil* Southward.

The next remarkable Thing in this Voyage, is the Prudence shewn in the Oeconomy of it, which ought to recommend it as a Precedent on all such Occasions for the future; and this excellent Management appeared particularly in the Method taken of holding Councils before any Transactions of Importance, to consider the proper Means for effecting it; and then, when the Thing was fresh in every body's Head and Memory, to bring the Conduct of the Affair under Examination, so as to procure another Resolution of the Committee, either approving or disapproving it. By this Measure all Facts were to effectually settled, that they would admit of no Disputes after they came home; and it is very plain, that the Debates which happened aboard, were hindered from growing to a dangerous Height by this very thing: For, as nothing could be absolutely determined while they were aboard, every body was anxious and affi-

duous in settling properly the Papers, upon the Testimony of which, the Sense of their Owners, in regard to their Conduct, was to be determined; and thus the Hopes of prevailing at home, made People easy under what they took to be Hardships abroad. In saying this, however, I differ in Opinion from Captain *Woods Rogers*, who, tho' he had experienced the Benefits resulting from this Method of acting, yet is pleased to say, "Another great Inconvenience we laboured under, was the want of Power to try Offenders, as on board his Majesty's Ships of War; which obliged us to connive at many Disorders, and to be mild in our Punishments: But which was still worse, there was no sufficient Power lodged in any one Hand to determine Differences amongst our chief Officers; which was a great Omission, and might have proved of dangerous Consequence, because of the Divisions which happened amongst us." Yet I dare say it will be apparent, notwithstanding the Captain's Observation, that if any such Power had been lodged, even in himself, it must have done more Hurt than Good; since nothing but the Incertainty of whose Conduct would be approved or disapproved at their Return, prevented Malecontent Officers from endeavouring to form Parties among the Ship's Company, which, Reason and Experience shews us, is the most dangerous Thing that can happen in Expeditions of this sort; and which, as the Reader will remember, proved the Ruin of Captain *Dampier's* Design, of which we have given a long Account in the preceding Section: But it is natural for Men in Power to believe the Extension of their own Authority as profitable to others, as agreeable to themselves.

A third Circumstance that deserves Regard, is the Weakness of the *Spaniards*; for it appears plainly, that they were not, at this Time, in a much better Condition than when *Drake* and *Candish* ravaged their Colonies, and of this Captain *Rogers* was so sensible, that, in the Preface to his Book, he lays it down as a Thing extremely practicable, not only to plunder the *Spanish* Settlements on the Coast, but even to fix Garrisons there, which, he thinks, it would not be in the Power of the *Spaniards* to expel, before they received a Relief from *Britain*. "Our taking of *Guayaquil*," says he, with an Handful of raw undisciplined Men, is a sufficient Proof of this; and they may soon turn upon themselves, to as no Power, that can be brought against them, would be able to dislodge them. The whole Spanish Force in that Sea consists but of three small Ships, and their Land Troops are so little accustomed to War, that they are not able to look a Body of disciplined Men in the Face, as we ourselves and others have found by Experience: Besides, the Natives of *Chili*, who are a brave People, have such an Aversion to the *Spaniards*, because of their Cruelty and Oppression, that, when they find the Mildness of an *English* Government, they will readily join us, in order to be freed from that intolerable Servitude, under which they have groaned so long." I will not take upon me to say, that, at this time, such a Scheme as he recommends would be practicable; but this, I think, I may safely say, that nothing that has since happened, down to the Time of the present War, has shewn such a Design to be impossible. At the time Captain *Rogers* wrote, he had before his Eyes the Example of the *French* carrying on, partly with, and partly without the Consent of the *Spaniards*, such a Commerce in that Part of the World, as enabled them to make head against the rest of all *Europe*. Which is a Circumstance that deserves to be very well considered; since, if the Wealth of *Spain*, in the Hands of *France*, may prove the Ruin of all her Neighbours, it seems to be a natural Inference, that it is not only lawful, but absolutely incumbent upon us, to procure the only Method that can possibly prevent it. The Account he has given of the Matter is this: "The *French* sent from *Rebelle*, in 1698, two Ships, under the Command of *M. Heuchefne Gonn*, of *St. Malo*, to the South Sea, with a Cargo of Goods, to try what could be done in Trade there, as appears by his Journal. They have improved his Discovery, and carried on such a vast Trade in those Seas ever since, that there have been in the South Sea, in one Year, seventeen Ships of War and Merchantmen, with all Sorts of Goods; and the Advantage they made of it was so great, that I was in-

formed, by several Seas, that, by a more few of the first Year. Millions of Dollars Sterling, besides the to the North Sea. leons and Flota to a written before the Clo of Notice, that, since *French* and *Spaniards* Expedition, I mean that to trade to the South but in direct Violation *guards*, who cannot but Trade they have, and the heaven Burden of the Hands of Foreigners, it does not appear the Means of redressing whereas, so far as it affects by following the Sea, or by watching may render ineffectual of the new World to the If this cannot be done, where will fall short of temporary only, in this Commerce effectual great measure, supply Branches of their Commerce we can put an End to soon bring the War to Maxims, which Money depends agreeable to Truth, that which demand so great if a Nation cannot supply of those Terms, and Neighbours are willing Condition, to which I reduce the *French*.

Before I take my Leave bear putting the Real Voyages to the South can never be undertaken *Spaniards*, so that Oppression, otherwise, we are of that Navigation, to with the rest of Mankind may turn to the infinite The Reader has seen we has been from the Day all of whom have intimate might be expected from Part, rather than be corrected. The grand Objection furnish Provisions for our Ships sufficiently of settling when they come to inquire, whether the Design itself, or from undoubtedly, if there Conduct of a public Management of a private what will be the Fate of Attention of the *British* cautious they took for expedition, which effected And shall we be weak famed for the commerce might not be as well regulated as one which rendered chains in one of its Parts that it wrong Methods Ships go out at improper with Things unnecessary fresh-water Seamen, we need not wonder the Voyage of Captain *B* such a Design to be ver-

formed, by several Merchants whom we took in those Seas, that, by a modest Computation, the *French*, in a few of the first Years of that Trade, carried home 100 Millions of Dollars, which is near twenty-five Millions Sterling, besides the Advantages they made by trading to the North Sea, when they convoy the *Spanish* Gallies and *Flota* to and from the *West Indies*." This was written before the Close of the last War; and it is worthy of Notice, that, since the present War commenced, the *French* and *Spaniards* have had recourse again to the same Expedient, I mean that of licensing Ships from *St. Malo* to trade to the South Seas, contrary not only to Treaties, but in direct Violation of the Privileges of the native *Spaniards*, who cannot but be sensibly affected, to see the only Trade they have, and by which alone they are able to bear the heavy Burden of a *French* Government, thrown into the Hands of Foreigners. But, however angry they may be, it does not appear, that at this Juncture they have the Means of redressing this Grievance in their own Hands; whereas, so far as it affects us, we certainly have; and, either by following these *French* Interlopers into the South Seas, or by watching them closely in their Return home, may render ineffectual this Expedient for turning the Riches of the new World to the Subversion of the Peace of the old. If this cannot be done, our ruining the *French* Trade elsewhere will fall short of the End proposed; because, being temporary only, if they can find a Way to carry on this Commerce effectually in the mean time, it will, in a great measure, supply the Losses they sustain in the other Branches of their Commerce: As, on the other hand, if we can put an End to this, as well as to the rest, it must soon bring the War to a Conclusion; for the modern Maxim, that Money does all Things, is never found more agreeable to Truth, than when applied to military Affairs, which demand so great and so constant an Expence, that, if a Nation cannot supply it, she must be content to accept of those Terms, and remain in that Condition, which her Neighbours are willing she should be in; and this is that Condition, to which I conceive we would be willing to reduce the *French*.

Before I take my Leave of this Subject, I cannot forbear putting the Reader in mind of the great Utility of Voyages to the South Seas; and observing, that as there can never be undertaken but when we are at War with the *Spaniards*, so that Opportunity ought never to be let slip; since, otherwise, we are in Danger of losing all Knowledge of that Navigation, to which we have a Right in common with the rest of Mankind; which, some time or other, may turn to the infinite Advantage of the *British* Nation. The Reader has seen what Succession of Adventurers there has been from the Days of Queen *Elizabeth* to this time; all of whom have intimated the mighty Advantages that might be expected from our endeavouring to fix in some Part, rather than be continual Wanderers in the South Seas. The grand Objection has been, that it is very difficult to furnish Provisions for so long an Expedition, or to keep our Ships sufficiently manned, so as to be in a Condition of setting when they come thither. But, perhaps, we ought to inquire, whether these Difficulties really spring from the Design itself, or from our Method of managing it; for, undoubtedly, if there be not as much of Prudence in the Conduct of a public Scheme, as is generally seen in the Management of a private Concern, we may easily guess what will be the Fate of it. The good Sense and great Attention of the *British* Merchants, appear in the Pretensions they took for the right Management of this Expedition, which effectually answered their Intentions: And shall we be weak enough to believe, that a Project, formed for the common Benefit of the *British* Nation, might not be as well regulated, and as successfully executed, as one which tended only to the Benefit of a few Merchants in one of its Ports? It is easy enough to conceive, that if wrong Methods are used, or right ones neglected, if Ships go out at improper Seasons of the Year, heavily loaded with Things unnecessary, commanded by unexperienced or fresh-water Seamen, who think any Hardship intolerable, we need not wonder that things miscarry. But this very Voyage of Captain *Woods Rogers* clearly demonstrates such a Design to be very practicable, notwithstanding what

is daily thrown out to make the contrary Notion gain Belief; for their Ships were much fuller of Men than is usual for Ships of their Burden, and yet they carried Provisions for sixteen Months; which puts it beyond all Dispute, that Men of War, and Transports, may conveniently go on this Expedition, well filled with Men, and carry twelve Months Provision at least for each Ship: Besides, for every Man of War, or Transport, that carries considerable Numbers of Men, a proportionable Victualler may be allowed, with no more Men than are enough to sail her; so that she may carry eight or ten Months Provisions more for the other Ships, that embarque the Men. Thus a sufficient Number may go for a Settlement, and fully victualled for twenty-two Months, which is time enough, and to spare, to go and return from the South Seas; and, if any Ship should lose Company, there is little Danger of their meeting again at Places appointed for Rendezvous. 'Tis true, the Distance from Home is great, but the Ships that have traded thither find it an easy Passage in a proper Season; and their Men continue more healthful, than those that trade to the *West Indies* by the North Seas. The general Distemper in such long Voyages is the Scurvy; and the methods to prevent the ill Effects of it are so well known, that they may be easily provided against. The Ships may likewise refresh by the Way, first at the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and then at *Brazil*; betwixt which, and the South Sea, is the longest Passage, and that, in all Probability, cannot exceed ten Weeks at Sea; so that, when they arrive at *Chili*, the Climate is so wholesome, and agrees so well with *European* Constitutions, that such as are sick speedily recover. Then, as to proper Places for a Settlement, where Provisions abound, there are so many of them on the Coast of *Chili*, &c. that a Body of Men disciplined, and under good Commanders, may easily settle there. It is not indeed easy to say, where such a Settlement might be made with the greatest Probability of Success; but, sure, it is very strange, that no Attempt has been hitherto made to discover that Continent that lies between *California* and *Japan*; since, that there is such a Continent, seems to be a Point the *Spaniards* are as industrious to conceal, as other Nations are negligent of inquiring after it, though none of their Subjects, that ever were in those Seas, quitted them, without recommending it to the Notice of their Countrymen. Sir *Francis Drake*, the first, and, perhaps, the most knowing of our Discoverers, took Possession of *California*, with this view particularly. The brave *Candish*, his only Rival in Reputation, suggested the same thing; and, if I mistake not, delivered his Thoughts at large on this Subject, in a Discourse directed to the Queen his Mistress, and delivered to his Patron the Lord *Hunsdon*, in relation to a Map of *China*, which he brought over, and of which I shall have Occasion to speak more largely in another Place. Captain *Dampier*, though he was far from being a deep Politician, yet saw and mentioned the Expediency of some such Settlement; which was again hinted by Captain *Rogers*. If the Reader should incline to be farther informed, as to the Advantages that might be reasonably expected from our having a Colony in those Parts, I will endeavour to give him some Satisfaction in that Particular. First, then, this Situation would afford us an Opportunity of corresponding in both the *East* and *West Indies*, and that with much greater Ease than the *Spaniards* find in carrying on their Trade between *Manilla* and *Acapulco*; because we should not have above half the Run of their Ship to either of the *Indies*; and, as the Winds on that Coast are constant and regular, we must, in the Space of a few Years, establish a safe and certain Correspondence. In the next Place, there is the highest Probability, that, in such a Climate, we might meet with, or, in a short Space, create, a considerable Demand for our coarse Cloths, and other Manufactures, which would be doubly advantageous to the Nation, by encouraging Industry at home, and increasing and enlarging our Navigation. There is another Circumstance that deserves to be mentioned, and it is this; that such a Colony would give us an Opportunity of examining effectually, whether there be any such thing as a practicable Passage into these Seas, either from the North-east, or the North-west; which is an old Question revived of late Years, and with good Reason, since the Solution of it would not

only

only redound to the Benefit of several Nations, but to that of *Europe* in general.

It, notwithstanding all that has been said, there should appear something romantic, or, perhaps, ridiculous, in supposing the public Councils of this Nation in such a Situation, as that Projects of this Sort should be esteemed worthy their Notice, or any Part of our Naval Force employed at such a Distance, and where their Commanders could expect so little, even from the Success of their Undertaking, what hinders, that a private Company, by which I mean a Copartnership of particular Merchants, may not carry into Execution such a Design? We have seen, by a Variety of Instances, by the *East India* Company in *Holland*, by the *English East India* Company, by our *Levant*, by our *Hudsons Bay*, but especially by our *Russia* Company, what private Merchants are able to do, if properly countenanced and encouraged. The *Dutch* and *English East India* Companies rose both of them out of private Undertakings, while the State wisely assisted and supported them by her Authority, for the sake of promoting the public Good. It, therefore, at this Juncture, when there are so many private Men who have acquired large Fortunes, while the settled and ordinary Trade of the Nation is in some measure necessarily suspended by the War; while the Interest of the public Debt continues low, and yet that Debt is daily increasing; if, I say, while Things are in such a Situation, a Body of Merchants should undertake to discover new Countries, and to make new Settlements, what Reason is there to doubt of their meeting with Encouragement and Success? There needs no mighty Sum to fit out two Privateers, and a Tender; and, besides, the very Expences of the Voyage might be probably borne by the Prizes taken in the South Seas, or both Schemes pursued at once, by wintering in *California*, and waiting the Arrival of the *Acapulco* Ships upon those Coasts. It is on all Hands acknowledged, that the Climate is temperate and healthy, that the Natives are friendly and honest, that the opposite Continent of *America* is very rich, and but thinly peopled by the *Spaniards*; so that, on the Whole, there is nothing astonishing or absurd in supposing, that 3 or 400 Men, well-disciplined, and under experienced Commanders, should maintain themselves here, without any great Difficulty or Inconvenience, for seven, eight, or nine Months: We think it no Hardship to keep them continually on Ship-board, for two or three Years, in other Services, to at least as little Purpose. There is, however, another Thing to

be considered, and it is this; that, sailing from *California* in a higher Latitude than usual, they might, if they found it practicable, winter in any new-discovered Port, and be sure to return time enough to *California*, to accomplish the other Part of their Scheme; or, if they should fail of meeting with a proper Port in any of the Islands or Continents between *California* and the *East Indies*, they may continue their Voyage to *China*, where they might find themselves at Liberty to form and execute new Projects, equally honourable to themselves, and advantageous to their Owners. At all Events, therefore, a Scheme of this sort, judiciously carried into Execution, must be very beneficial to the Nation: It would serve to extirpate old Errors, by informing us of new Truths; it would heighten our Credit for Maritime Power and Skill, it would exercise Men of active Spirits, improve their natural Parts, and point out to them the Means of transmitting Wealth to their Descendants, and their own Fame to latest Posterity. If it should be demanded, why I am so warm in recommending such a Design; my Answer is, because I think it for the Service of my Country, which can never be made happy at home, or maintain her Reputation abroad, but from the Appearance of such a Spirit, as would be necessary to accomplish such a Design: And therefore to labour in exciting this, seems the highest Point of Patriotism, of which a private Man is capable. If a severer Critic should inquire, What Connexion this has with my History; I answer, The closest that can be: For, to what End do we record the Transactions of Times past, but that they may become Examples to succeeding Ages? This Voyage of the *Duke and Duchess* was, by far, the most successful of any that was ever set on foot at the Expence, and under the Management, of private Merchants; and, behold in that Light, is, of all others, the properest to encourage *British* Traders to exert themselves in the same Way. I might perhaps go too far, should I assert, that this Voyage gave rise to the *South Sea* Company; but thus much I can safely say, that the Success of this Voyage was what the Patrons of that Company chiefly insisted upon in their Defence, when the Plan of it was attacked as chimerical and chimerical. I shall, however, conclude with this Remark, that, as this is the last *English* Voyage of its kind to prosecute, and so well conducted, as to merit such Obligations, so the Succinctness with which I treat the rest, will sufficiently excuse my dwelling so long on so agreeable and so important a Subject.

SECTION XVII.

The Voyage of Captain JOHN CLIPPERTON round the World, from an authentic Journal.

1. The Occasion of the Voyage, and the Reason of obtaining the Emperor's Commission.
2. The English and Flemish disagree, and the Emperor's Commission is laid aside.
3. Captain Shelvoeke removed, and Captain Clipperton appointed Commander in Chief.
4. Instructions given by the Owners.
5. The Ships sail from Plymouth, February 15. 1719, and are separated in a Storm.
6. Captain Clipperton prosecutes his Voyage to the Canaries.
7. Arrival, and Description of the Cape de Verd Islands.
8. Continuation of his Voyage to the Straights of Magellan.
9. They arrive at the Island of Juan Fernandez, and cruise there for the Speedwel.
10. Proceed for the South Seas, where they make abundance of Prizes.
11. One of the Prizes escapes, and alarms the Coast.
12. They continue cruising with good Success.
13. A further Account of their Transactions in these Seas.
14. Their amazing Success, notwithstanding the Smallness of their Number.
15. A Conspiracy among the Crew to run away with the Ship, and seize the Prizes.
16. Sail for the Gallapagos Islands.
17. Meet with Captain Shelvoeke very unexpectedly in the Coast of Mexico.
18. Separate from him again, and go the East Indies.
19. Arrive at Guam, and are very ill treated by the Governor.
20. Continue their Voyage thence for China.
21. Come into the Port of Amoy with great Difficulty.
22. A Mutiny there, in which Captain Clipperton is deprived of his Command.
23. The Consequences of that Mutiny, and the Captain's Care for his Owners.
24. Their Arrival at Macao.
25. The Crew separate, and shift for themselves.
26. Captain Clipperton returns Home, and dies of a broken Heart.
27. Remarks on the Voyage.

AT the time that the Affairs of this Nation, and of all *Europe*, were extremely embarrassed, by Disputes between the late Emperor Charles VI. and his Catholic Majesty King Philip V. of *Spain*, and the Quadruple Alliance was negotiating, some Merchants here, foreseeing that it could not be long before we broke

with *Spain*, or *Spain* broke with us, resolved, about the Beginning of the Year 1718, to fit out two Ships for the South Seas, in hopes that they might make as happy a Voyage as the *Duke and Duchess* had done, under the Command of Captain *Woods Rogers*; and, with this View, they provided two fine Ships, in every respect fit for the

Voyage; the one called *Success*. But the War expected between the two had his Imperial Majesty's Scheme was settled and very necessary to find out on board the Royal Navy Command of the Expedition Authority over the Seamen, who were on induced the Gentlemen's mention of one of the of Captain *George Shelvoeke* in the Royal Navy Officer, and was certainly bore Command. Parts, ready Speech, a made him a very proper this Scheme, as it was tions he received, were commanded by Captain to wait for the Emperor's Officers and Sear as much Wine and Bra the Supply of both Shj cold a Climate, as th vision in the South Seas try for the sake of Chea

2. It was in the Month of *September* that Captain *Shelvoeke* sailed to *China* of his Commission. The Imperial Court, and, at the Air of a *German* Emperor, the Names of the Ships, six Guns, and 180 Men, and the lesser, of twenty named the *Starensberg*, Imperial Majesty's Prime Minister *Shelvoeke* was to 3 Officers; and when he with his Wine and Brand the *Dowry*, where he *Eugene*, that had been f was likewise instructed there, by hoisting of Co- viting Strangers aboard that might give inquiri ing into the Design of the Ship. But Captain *Shelvoeke* discretionary Power, an manage Things in that firing of Guns, and ne by degrees; and, at last *Livingstons*, and six Office Consort the *Prince Eugene* some time. The Acci the first of these Ships, his putes quickly grew hi *Flemish* Seamen, confid of being commanded such a manner, that it them; and, as there these Disputes were for Ship's Crew was in a they might easily have mixt Company, of *Eng the Spaniards*, was, in Event, a very impract Care and I expence it ha obliged to lay aside all Emperor's Commission induced, since they w making use of it, the between *Great Britain* obliged to procure King back all the Men and Charges, and allowing This Resolution was in Vol. I.

“ yours to procure the Writings and Proofs relating to
 “ the Goods aboard the Prize-ships, that the Action and
 “ Seizures may be approved by the Officers of the Admiralty
 “ above-mentioned; to which Officers he is to deliver
 “ those Proofs, together with the Prize; and also to ac-
 “ quaint them with the Day, Hour, and Place of the
 “ Sea, in which the Ship was taken: But if he should be
 “ compelled by Strefs of Weather, or Enemies, to make
 “ into another Port, he must inform the above-mentioned
 “ Office of Admiralty of all these Things; and, by the
 “ Direction and Appointment of the same, pay the tenth
 “ Part of the Value of the Prize, the Expences in unload-
 “ ing the Goods, and Warehouse-room, being first de-
 “ ducted.

“ Upon these Conditions we do allow and grant, to the
 “ above-named Captain *George Shelvocke*, the free Use of
 “ our *Cæsarean* and Imperial Flag, Arms, and Ensign;
 “ and we command our Generals, Governours, and chief
 “ Commanders, by Sea or Land, and all the Officers and
 “ Attendants of our Ports, (and we also desire of the
 “ Governours, Commanders, and Attendants, and Officers
 “ of our Allies, and neutral Princes) that they kindly
 “ receive the said Captain *George Shelvocke* into the Ports
 “ or Stations of their Jurisdictions, protect him with their
 “ Patronage, and allow and permit him freely to sail, pass
 “ and repass, and act in an hostile manner against our
 “ Enemies, under the Limitations above-mentioned, for
 “ we think it expedient for our Imperial Service; nor
 “ shall we act otherwise towards the Subjects, or any
 “ Commanders of Ships of our Allies, or neutral Princes,
 “ but treat them with the same Favour and Protection:
 “ In Testimony of which, we have ordered and com-
 “ manded these Presents, subscribed by our own Hand,
 “ and authorized by the Seal of our Imperial Arms, and
 “ under-written by *Ramondus a Siliis Perlas*, Marquis of
 “ *Rialp*, our Secretary of State, as usual, to be made.
 “ Given in our City of *Vienna*, 16 July, A. D. 1718, of
 “ our Government of the Empire 5. of *Spain* 13, of *Bo-
 “ heemia* and *Hungaria* 5.

“ CHARLES.”

“ The said Captain *George Shelvocke* may make use of
 “ this Imperial Commission in warring against the *Spa-
 “ niards*, and any Subjects of the Possessor of that Crown;
 “ but not against any other Power, though even Enemies
 “ to the Christian Name, on either Side of the Equinoctial
 “ Line, nor do them the least Injury. Done at *Brussel's*,
 “ the 28th of *Sept.* 1718.

“ CASTILLON.”

3. A Commission once obtained from his *Britannic* Ma-
 jesty, the Ships returned to their old Names, the *Success*
 and *Speedwell*; but another Revolution happened of a more
 extraordinary Nature, which was, the turning Captain
Shelvocke out of his Command, and making him but second
 in this Expedition. This was, in all Probability, owing
 to some little Mistakes in his Conduct when he made that
 short Trip to *Hlanders*, as well as to the Change of Cir-
 cumstances, which might have inclined the Proprietors to
 prefer another Officer, since now the whole Fate of the
 Expedition depending on the perfect Knowledge of, and
 right Conduct in, the South Seas, a Man of another Turn
 was necessary. This Officer, who was thus preferred to
 Captain *Shelvocke*, was a Person we have often mentioned
 before, viz. Captain *John Clipperton*, who, in Captain
Dampier's Voyages, is called *Cappington*, who served under
 him in the Capacity of a Mate, and of whole Adventures,
 after his Separation from *Dampier*, we have already given
 a Detail: But, as we are now to accompany him a
 second time round the World, it may not be amiss to give
 a farther Account of him: the rather, because what I de-
 liver, is from unquestionable Authority, having been fa-
 voured with many Lights in compiling of this Voyage.
 He was born at *Yarmouth*, in the County of *Norfolk*, and
 his Relations being most of them Seafaring People, he was
 from his Infancy bred up in that way; and, having sailed
 in almost all Sorts of Vessels to most of the Ports of
Europe, once to the *West Indies*, and once round the Globe,
 he had by this means gained great Experience, and was

allowed, by all who knew him, to be an able Pilot, an
 experienced Seaman, and an Officer as capable of conduct-
 ing the Expedition he undertook, as any Man then in
Great Britain. It is true, Captain *Clipperton* had his
 Faults; as, indeed, who is without them? but they were
 very far from being either gross in themselves, or dangerous
 to other Men. He was a blunt, rough, free-spoken Sailor,
 had not much the Air of a Gentleman, and, therefore, he
 never affected it; was free and easy amongst his Seamen,
 and, though he was somewhat passionate, yet he was soon
 appeased, and was ready to repair any Injury or Injustice
 he had done in Heat of Blood. He had a strict Regard
 to what he took to be his Duty, was a Man of honest Prin-
 ciples, and had a great deal of Justice and Humanity in
 his Nature. His Circumstances were but indifferent, which
 induced him to undertake this Voyage for the Relief
 himself, and his Family, which he left during this time in
Ireland. The Character Captain *Clipperton* had obtained
 amongst the Merchants for his Skill, Fidelity, and steady
 Courage, recommended him to the Proprietors of this
 Expedition, who, having now advanced upwards of fifteen
 thousand Pounds towards it, thought proper to put him
 into the *Success*, and intrust him with the chief Command,
 leaving Captain *George Shelvocke* in the *Speedwell*, where he
 had under him, as his second Captain, a Person we have
 often mentioned before, viz. Captain *Simon Hatier*, the
 same whom Captain *Woodes Rogers* lost among the *Galle-
 pages* Islands, and who was a long time afterwards Prisoner
 among the *Spaniards*.

4. The Instructions these Gentlemen received, were of
 Substance these: That they should proceed with all-pos-
 sible Diligence to *Plymouth*; from whence they were to
 sail, with the first fair Wind, for *Cape Horn*, or the
 Streights of *Magellan*, and to make their Passage either
 round that Cape, or through those Streights, as should in
 them appear most convenient; then to sail into the South
 Seas, cruise on the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*,
 and endeavour, if possible, to meet the *Spanish* Ships.
 To prevent all Disputes and Disorders, their Proprietors
 directed the Captains to adhere steadily to these three
 Maxims; First, To be careful, above all things, not to
 separate from each other; because that would, in all Pro-
 bability, prove the Ruin of their Voyage. They were
 next enjoined to undertake nothing of Importance without
 holding a Council of Officers, stating the Question in a
 Writing that was to be debated, drawing up the Resolutions,
 with the Reasons upon which it was grounded, in concise
 Terms, and obliging every Officer present to sign it. They
 were, lastly, directed to call a Council in the same manner,
 as soon as possible, after any Action had happened, or any
 Prize or Consequence been taken, in which the Conduct
 of the Officers concerned might be examined, and their
 Judgment passed upon it on the Spot, subscribed by the
 Persons assisting at the Council, to prevent all Possibility of
 Dispute. That neither of the Commanders might take
 Offence at the Strictness of these Rules, or not enter suffi-
 ciently into the Motives of them, the last thing the Pro-
 prietors did, was, to present each of the Captains with Mr.
Rogers's Voyage, that they might never be at a Loss for
 proper Precedents throughout the Expedition. But these
 Precautions proved in a great measure useless, since the
 Expedition wore an unfortunate Aspect from the Begin-
 ning; for the Ships were obliged to lie three Months at
Plymouth, waiting for a Wind. During which time, as
 Things fell into Confusion, and Factions were formed,
 which the Crews of both Ships were involved, as one of
 the Historians of this Voyage rightly observes, from the
 Captains down to the Cabin-boys. Captain *Shelvocke*
 highly stomached the Affront that had been offered him in
 giving his Ship, and the chief Command, to another
 Person; and Captain *Clipperton* being a boisterous Man,
 knowing *Shelvocke's* Relentment, having himself strong
 Passions, and not being able to conceal them, there was
 nothing but Debate and Disputes; so that every Post car-
 ried up Complaints to the Proprietors, and brought down
 Instructions, Reproofs, and Exhortations to Concord and
 Harmony, so long as they remained in Port. It is cer-
 tainly a very tedious and troublesome Office, to be oblig-
 ed to record these sorts of Quarrels; but, as the Fate of the
 Voyage

Voyage depends upon
 able to understand what
 Account, we must go
 had, indeed, been hap-
 and myself, it, on mat-
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 5. On the 13th of
Clipperton, and the *S*
 with a fair Wind, but,
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 had still on board the w-
 cther Liquors, designed
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 tus time, will very too
 fresh Gale, squally, w-
 unbent their best and fir-
 their Anchors, and for-
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 that he came this Day
 complained to Captain
 Ship, which proceeded
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 Voyage. On the 13th
 tween nine and ten at N-
 take in their Top-sails,
 made a Signal for the *S*
Shelvocke readily obeyed
 Ships were under bare
 Canvas all the Night
 in the Afternoon, the
 portion, in the *Success*,
 East, whereas Captain
 Journal, stood away to
 Day they never saw each
 Seas by mere Accident
 History we propose to
 Captain *Clipperton*, in
 which hitherto the We-
 though there are two
 extant, viz. one writ-
 other by Captain *Betage*,
 the Captain's Apology
 contains abundance of
 entertaining Style, and
 Account very agreeable
 some Years after, conta-
 tions, and is written
 Author professes an Im-
 Prejudice in his Power
 steadily in his Resoluti-
 in which, however, the
 some Extracts from
 Voyage. But this w-
 frictions and Inveective
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 Power, the Rule and Sta-
 done with it, and that
 Captain *Clipperton's* V-
 Voyage

Voyage depends upon them, and, as it would be impossible to understand what follows, without such a previous Account, we must go through it as well as we can. It had, indeed, been happy for the Proprietors, the Reader, and myself, if, on mature Consideration on the Consequences that must attend perpetual Heart-burns and Disputes between the Commanders, they had wisely removed one, or both; in which case, they might, very probably, have made as prosperous a Voyage as the *Duke* and *Duchess*. But it to tell out, that the Concern every Gentleman had for his Friend in Post, got the better of that Concern which he ought to have had for himself, his Fellow-Owners, and the common Good of the Voyage; so that in this, as well as in many other Cases, private Views proved the Cause of public Ruin.

5. On the 13th of February 1719, the *Success*, Captain Clipperton, and the *Speedwel*, Captain Shelbocke, sailed with a fair Wind, but, with as odd a Circumstance, as perhaps ever happened; which was this: That the *Speedwel* had still on board the whole Stock of Wines, Brandies, and other Liquors, designed for the Supply of both Ships; and, how fatal a Mistake it was not to divide them before this time, will very soon appear. On the 15th, they had fresh Gales, squally, with Rain. In the Evening, they unbent their best and smallest Bowers in the *Success*, showed their Anchors, and found themselves often obliged to shorten Sail for the *Speedwel*. Captain Shelbocke tells us, that he came this Day under the Lee of the *Success*, and complained to Captain Clipperton of the Crankness of his Ship, which proceeded from their having too much Weight aboard; and therefore desired him to lend for his Wine and Brandies, which would give him (Captain Shelbocke) an Opportunity of sinking down some of his Guns into the Hold, which would have enabled him to have sailed much better than he did: But this, it seems, was neglected; and was, undoubtedly, a very great Omission in Captain Clipperton, though, at the same time, we must acknowledge, it argued very little Distrust in him of Captain Shelbocke's leaving him; and is the fullest proof possible, that Clipperton had not any Intention to desert the *Speedwel*, in order to have the sole Conduct and Management of the Voyage. On the 19th, there arose a violent Storm between nine and ten at Night, which obliged both Ships to take in their Top-sails. The Gale increasing, the *Success* made a Signal for the *Speedwel* to bring to; which Captain Shelbocke readily obeyed; and, by eleven o'Clock, both Ships were under bare Poles, not able to suffer one Knot of Canvas all the Night through. On the 20th, about two in the Afternoon, the Storm abated, and Captain Clipperton, in the *Success*, made Sail, steering South and by East, whereas Captain Shelbocke, according to his own Journal, stood away to the North-west; so that from this Day they never saw each other, till they met in the South Seas by mere Accident. Here then properly begins the History we propose to include in this Section, viz. that of Captain Clipperton, in the *Success*, round the Globe, of which hitherto the World has had no distinct Relation, though there are two Histories of this Voyage already extant, viz. one written by Captain Shelbocke, and the other by Captain Betagh. The former is, strictly speaking, the Captain's Apology for his own Conduct; though it contains abundance of curious Things, is written in a very entertaining style, and has a Spirit in it, which enlivens the Account very agreeably. The other, though published some Years after, contains the Charge against Captain Shelbocke, and is written with uncommon Acrimony. The Author professes an Intention to do his Adversary all the Prejudice in his Power, and appears to have perused very readily in his Relation to the very last Page in his Book; in which, however, there are many curious Things, and some Extracts from a Journal of Captain Clipperton's Voyage. But this whole Book is so blended with Reflections and Invectives, that it is no easy Matter to pursue the Thread of the Relation, so as to judge of the Effects of either Voyage: And, therefore, I found it necessary to divide them; and, having rated, as fairly as was in my Power, the Rise and Subject of this Dispute, I have now done with it, and shall content myself with prosecuting Captain Clipperton's Voyage round the World; in which

he met with a great Variety of Accidents that deserve to be known; performed some Things worthy of Notice; and, certainly shewed as great an Inclination to do Justice to his Proprietors, and to maintain the Honour of his Country, as, from a Man under his Circumstances, could be expected: And therefore I have always thought it hard, that private Prejudices should hinder his Merit from being brought into public View.

6. As Captain Clipperton, who was now at Sea, was very indifferently provided, and without his Consort, he was obliged to take upon him a discretionary Power of dispensing, in some respects, with his Instructions; but this he exercised very rarely, and with the uttermost Caution. In regard to essential Points, he never digressed from them, but consulted his Officers constantly, and did his utmost to prosecute his Voyage with Effect. The first Place of Rendezvous appointed by them was the *Canary* Islands; and, therefore, he sailed thither with such Expedition, that he arrived there on the fifth of March; and, having taken in some Refreshments, for which, as all his Liquors were on board the *Speedwel*, he had great Occasion, he continued cruising, as directed by his Instructions, in that Station, for ten Days, in hopes of seeing his Consort; but, being disappointed, he resolved to continue his Voyage, for fear he should miss her at the next Place of Rendezvous, which was at the *Cape de Verd* Islands; and, accordingly, he left *Gomera* on the 15th, in order to be early in his next Station. These Islands, which the Antients called the *Fortunate Islands*, by reason of their Fertility and Temperature of Air, having been discovered by the *Spaniards* in the Year 1402, they named them the *Canaries*, or the *Islands of Dogs*, because they found great Numbers of these Creatures here. They are seven in all; viz. *Lancerota*, *Fuerte* or *Forte Ventura*, the *Great Canary*, *Teneriff*, *Gomera*, *Hero* or *Fero*, and *Palma*. The *Great Canary* is far distant from the others, and contains 3000 Inhabitants. It is the Seat of the Bishop, the Inquisition, and of the Council Royal, which governs all the seven Islands. There is a Mountain on the *Teneriff*, called the *Pic de Teneriff* or *Terraïra*, which, according to the common Opinion, is the highest in the World. It may be distinctly seen at sixty Leagues Distance. There is no travelling to the Top of it but in *July* and *August*, because all the Year besides it is covered with Snow; though there is none to be seen at other Places of that Island, nor in the other six, at any Time of the Year. It is three Days Journey to the Top of it; whence you may easily see all the *Canary* Islands, though some of them are sixty Leagues distant. *Hero*, or *Fero*, is also one of the biggest, but very barren, and so dry, that there is not one Drop of fresh Water to be found in it, except in some Places on the Sea-side, where it is also very troublesome and dangerous to fetch it; but this Place the Providence of God supplies with Rain, to remedy that Inconvenience; for there grows, almost in every Place, a sort of Tree, which is pretty big, and incomparably thick of Branches and Leaves; and its Leaves are long and narrow, always green and lively: This Tree is always covered with a little Cloud, that hangs over it, and wets the Leaves by its Dew, so that a fine clear Water distils from them into little Pails, which the Inhabitants set to catch it. This Water falls in such large Quantities, that it not only abundantly supplies the Necessity of the People, but is sufficient also to water the Cattle. The *Canaries* in general are very fertile, and abound with all Sorts of Provisions: They afford great Store of Cattle, Store of Corn, Honey, Wax, Sugar, Cheese, and Skins. The Wine of that Country is pleasant and strong, and transported into all Parts of the World. The *Spanish* Ships, that sail into *America*, commonly stay at those Islands to take in Provisions. On the Right-hand of those Islands, about 100 Leagues off, the Mariners very often perceived an Island named *S. Baranora*; they say it is all over green, very pleasant, and full of Trees, and has Plenty of all manner of Provisions: They likewise say it is inhabited by Christians, but no Man can tell of what Denomination they are, nor what Language they speak. The *Spaniards* in the *Canaries* often have attempted to go thither, but never could find the Way into it; which raised an Opinion in the People, that it was an Illusion,

Illusion, or an enchanted Island; or that the Island is only seen at certain times, and not always. But others alledge a better Reason, by saying, the Island is small, and almost covered with Clouds; and that the Strength of the Currents is so powerful there, that they drive the Ships from it. However, it is certain, that there is such an Island, at such a Distance from the *Canaries* as I mentioned before.

7. On the 21st in the Evening, they saw *St. Vincent*; and, about ten the next Morning, anchored in the Bay, where they found a *French Merchant-Ship*, and the *Diamond of Bristol*, taking in a Cargo of *Allies for Jamaica*. This was the next Place of Rendezvous. They spent ten Days cruising in the Neighbourhood, in hopes of meeting with their Consort the *Speedwell*, but in vain; which put the Crew much out of Heart: So that Captain *Clipperton* found it a very difficult Matter to engage them to continue the Voyage. And indeed, considering the Condition they were in, it is no Wonder, that they were a little diffident of the Success of their Expedition, considering the Courte they were to meet, which was for the Straights of *Magellan*, without any Supply of Wine, Brandy, or other Liquor, to keep up their Spirits; and withal their Force to inconsiderable, that they had great Reason to doubt, whether it would be possible for them to undertake any thing, or even get safely out of the South Seas, in case they found nothing worth undertaking. Before we quit these Islands, it will be proper to give a short Account of them, as they were at this time: The *Cape de Verd Islands*, which are, by the *Dutch*, called the *Salt Islands*, from the Quantity of Salt found there, were discovered by the *Portuguese* in the Year 1572, who inhabited some of them to this Day. They are ten in Number; viz. *St. Iago*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *St. Antonio*, *St. Nicolas*, *Isla Blanca*, *Isla de Sal*, *Isla de Mauo*, *Isla de Fogo*, and *Isla de Bona Vista*. They reach from the *Green Cape*, or which we shall speak hereafter, 160 Leagues into the Sea. Some were of Opinion, that they were named *Green Islands* from the *Green Cape*; others, because the Sea that surrounds them is covered with a green Herb, by the *Portuguese* called *Sergallo*, or *Cressles*; because it is much like *Water-cressles*. This Herb so covers the Sea, that you can hardly see the Water; nor can Ships sail thro' it, but with a stiff Gale of Wind. It produces Berries, much like white Gooseberries; but they have no manner of Taste. Nobody can tell how it grows; for there is no Ground or Land about the Place where it floats upon the Water: And it cannot come from the Bottom of the Sea, because the Sea is very deep, and, in many Places, unfathomable. You begin to see that Herb, when you come to the Latitude of 24°, where it lies so thick, that one would take it for so many Islands; but, what is more observable, you cannot see this Herb any-where else. When the *Portuguese* discovered those Islands, they were all desert and uninhabited; but now they afford plenty of Rice, Meal, *Tartarian Wheat*, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Bananas, Ananas, Ignames, Bataras, Melons, Cucumbers, Pompions, and several other sorts of Fruits. They produce also Garden and Wild-figs, have Vineyards which bear Grapes twice a Year, and abundance of great and small Cattle, but especially Kids. The Islands of *Bona Vista*, *Mauo*, and *de Sal*, have Meat enough to lade the Ships, that go to *Brazil*. The Capital City is *St. Iago*, the Governor whereof commands all the Islands under the King of *Portugal*, and resides there. It hath also an Archiepiscopal See; and the Jurisdiction of that Prelate reaches not only over the Islands, but over all the Conquests the *Portuguese* have made on this Side the *Cape of Good Hope*. All the Islands of *Cape de Verd* are good Places to take in fresh Water upon a long Voyage; for, in the Island of *Mauo*, as we said before, there is a little River to the East, and, the Land being uninhabited, nobody can hinder you from taking it; and, coming back, you may touch at the Island of *St. Antonio*, where there is also very good fresh Water, with good Retrenchment of Fruits, as Oranges, &c. There are in that Island some *Portuguese*; but so few, that they cannot hinder you from taking what you please.

8. On May 29. they had an Observation, and found themselves in the Latitude of 52° 15' South, being then off *Cape Virgin Mary*, the North Point of the Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan*, distant from *Fuego*, one of the *Cape de Verd Islands*, 1280 Leagues, meridional Distance 40-

4' West. The next Day, they entered the Straights, which appeared like a large deep Bay. Proceeding higher up to *Queen Elizabeth's Island*, they sent their Pinnace ashore on the Main to a fresh-water River, which was at this time frozen up. They saw large Flocks of Geese and Ducks hereabouts; but they were very shy. The Surgeon's Mate, by some Accident, was left ashore, when the Boat came off; and the next Morning, when he was brought aboard, he was near dead with Cold. They remained some time at *Queen Elizabeth's Island*, which is dry, and, generally speaking, barren, except as to Salads, of which they found great plenty, that were of infinite Service to them at that time, when they were sick of the Scurvy. The only Herb, that deserves to be particularly taken notice of, was a smallage of an extraordinary Size, which they eat raw, boiled in their Soups, and kept the Juice of it in Bottles. On June 10. they sent their Carpenter, with their Calks, on shore, to fill their empty ones, and to look a proper Piece of Wood for a Mizen-mast. They met with great plenty of Wild fowl and Shell fish on shore; which were very welcome to all the Ship's Company, who found their Stomachs increased, as they were obliged to come to Short allowance. On the 22d, they anchored in a fine Bay, which, from its Depth, they called *No bottom Bay*. The Trees on shore were very high, and loaded with Snow; so that there could not be more flourishing Prospect. On the 29th, came a Canoe, with four *Indians*, that is to say, two Men, a Woman, and a Boy, on board them. They were of a middle Stature, dark Complexion, their Faces broad and round, low Foreheads, black Hair, very lank, and short, with no Clothing, except a Piece of Skin to cover their Middles. What seemed most remarkable was, their having a kind of a Streak round their Wrists, of an Azure, perfectly fine. It seems, that these Savages are extremely jealous of their Women; for, notwithstanding all that could be said to them, they would not permit the Woman, who was with them, to come on board. Captain *Clipperton* ordered them Bread and Cheese, and a Dram of Brandy, tho' it was very scarce. The former they eat very heartily, or rather greedily; but the latter proved disagreeable to their Smell, and they could not be prevailed upon to taste it. They brought some wild Geese and Ducks, which they exchanged for Knives, and had a Fire in the Middle of their Canoe, which was made of the Bark of Trees sewed together. They had Bow and Arrows, and some Fishing tackle along with them. After about two Hours Stay, they rowed ashore, making Signs, that they would come again. The next Day in the Afternoon, the Pinnace was sent ashore, and returned in the Evening, with the *Indian* Canoe laden with large Muffins, which the *Indians* had trucked with their People for Bread, Knives, and other Things. In the Beginning of the Month of July, they found the Weather very moderate. The Natives were very far from being so mischievous a People as they are generally represented; of which they had two remarkable Instances: The first was, that one of the Men, whom they had on shore two Nights and a Day, was very kindly treated by them: The other, that one of the Natives being, by Accident, left on board the Ship, they sent the next Day, without any Fear, and carried him away with them; which shews, that, if they are well treated, they are not treacherous. Another *Indian* Canoe, that came on board, had several Women in it, each with a Necklace of very small shining Shells of five or six Rows, very strong, which looked like Mother-of-pearl. All this time, their Ship's Company was very sickly, and some of them perished, but some or other died; which was generally attributed to their want of something comfortable in the good Climate; for, tho' they had sometimes fair moderate Weather for two or three Days together, yet it was continually varying; and, perhaps, for two or three Days afterwards, they had nothing but Snow, Rain, and Scurvy, with great Flaws from the Shore, that were intolerably hot. On July 8. they buried their Master Gunner ashore, with a triple Discharge of their Small-arms. They had a wooden Plank to be driven at the Head of his Grave, on which was the following Inscription: *Mr. William Prudham, Gunner of the Success, deceased July the 7th, 1710, in the Straights, and is buried here*. On the 20th in the Morning, Captain *Mitcheil* and Lieutenant *Darrelson* went in the Pinnace

Terra del Fuego, or the Discovery of the Passage have went: through into it there was any ancient furnished with all: Next 29th, the Pinnace return which the *Tartan* passed hazardous to go far than short, and, that Place of were forced to return thoroughly; yet they lost well of *Cape Quad* to a Seel, which they brot well as any Venison. *Cavan Mitcheil*, with three to look for this new Pa mination, could not find but only into an icy Ba that their Ship could After Captain *Mitcheil's* voyage through t Danger and Difficulty, short Allowance, viz. 1 Men. On August 18. the Crew were then in that it was simply imp thing immediately: Be mined to pursue his In followed to flee to the li and last Place of Rende 9. On September 7. anchored before the I searched very diligently many of the *Speedwell's* net of Purple. His n spects, with his Intruck ing about the Island for an Inscription to be cut the Landing-place; fo the Crew to come ashore, at thus. Captain *John* — *Magre* was Surgeon on t extremely well known b Ship's Company. The Name was not inserted i that having cruised before also a long time Prisoner think fit to give them N He next sent ashore mo of all the Conveniences very, but found it extre Sick to Health, or to p ketable Spirits, without andy, or other strong given to drinking in an the Thoughts of being sick, dejected them ex changeable while they of falling, and they had al ever, they took a great them for the present eat their Sea store, because ing them; some *Frem* Island, having left a great likewise wooled and w cleaned their Ship, that to act in the South Seas, to cruise alone; for Cap tion, that the *Speedwell* so to his Ship's Compa them from curling cont ring away with their l the sick Men did with t very extraordinary, tha Island, compared with were sure to meet with Captain *Clipperton's* Me naining in Possession of source of which, they Vol. I.

Terra del Fuogo, or the South Shore, in order to make a Discovery of the Passage that the *French Tartan* is said to have went through into the South Sea May 1713. and to see if there was any anchoring beyond Cape *Quad*, being furnished with all Necessaries for that Purpose. On the 29th, the Pinnace returned, having found the Passage thro' which the *Tartan* passed, but so narrow, that it was judged hazardous to go far that Way: But their Provisions fell short, and that Place affording no manner of Supply, they were forced to return, before they could satisfy themselves thoroughly; yet they found several good Bays to the North-west of Cape *Quad* to anchor in. The *Indians* gave them a Seal, which they broiled and roasted, and said it eat as well as any Venison. On August 1. in the Mornings, Captain *Mitchell*, with three other Officers, went a second time to look for this new Passage; but, after the strictest Examination, could not find, that it led into the South Seas, but only into an icy Bay, and this Passage too so narrow, that their Ship could not have made Way through it. After Captain *Mitchell* returned, they resolved to prosecute their Voyage through the Straights, which, with much Danger and Difficulty, they did, being all the time at very short Allowance, viz. at one Piece of Beef or Pork to six Men. On August 18. they arrived in the South Seas, but the Crew were then in so weak and weary a Condition, that it was simply impossible for them to undertake any thing immediately: Besides, Captain *Clipperton* was determined to pursue his Instructions closely; and therefore resolved to steer for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, the third and last Place of Rendezvous.

9. On September 7. Captain *Clipperton*, in the *Success*, anchored before the Island *Juan Fernandez*, which he searched very diligently, in Hopes of finding some Testimony of the *Speedwell's* having been there, but to no manner of Purpose. His next Care was to comply, in all respects, with his Instructions, by remaining upon, and cruising about the Island for a full Month. He likewise ordered an Inscription to be cut, on a remarkable Tree, fronting the Landing-place; so that it was impossible for any Ship's Crew to come ashore, and not see it. This Inscription ran thus. Captain *John - W. Magee*, 1719. This *William Magee* was Surgeon on board the *Success*, and a Person extremely well known by Captain *Shelvoake*, and all his Ship's Company. The Reason why Captain *Clipperton's* Name was not inserted in this Inscription, was plainly this; that having cruised before in the South Seas, and having been also a long time Prisoner among the *Spaniards*, he did not think fit to give them Notice of his Return into those Parts. He next sent ashore most of his sick People, and made use of all the Conveniences the Island afforded for their Recovery, but found it extremely difficult, either to restore the Sick to Health, or to preserve those that were well in tolerable Spirits, without so much as a Drop of Wine, Brandy, or other Strong Liquor; not that his People were given to drinking in an extravagant Degree, but because the Thoughts of being without any Cordial, if they fell sick, dejected them excessively. The Weather was very changeable while they continued there, abundance of Rain falling, and they had also some hard Gales of Wind: However, they took a great many Goats, which not only served them for the present eating, but likewise served to increase their Sea Store, because they had an Opportunity of salting them; some *French Ships* that had touched on the Island, having left a great Quantity there ready made. They likewise wooded and watered with great Conveniency, and cleaned their Ship, that she might be in the better Condition to act in the South Seas, where it was now visible they were to cruise alone; for Captain *Clipperton* was clearly of Opinion, that the *Speedwell* was lost; or at least he gave out to his Ship's Company to pacify them, and to hinder them from cursing continually Captain *Shelvoake*, for running away with their Liquors, which, however, some of the sick Men did with their dying Breaths. One thing was very extraordinary, that the Beauty and Fertility of this Island, compared with the Dangers and Difficulties they were sure to meet with in the South Seas, tempted four of Captain *Clipperton's* Men to enter into a Scheme for remaining in Possession of so valuable a Country. In pursuance of which, they actually ran away from the Ship,

and betook themselves to the Mountains: As it was very inconvenient to lose so many good Hands at such a time, and not a little dangerous to leave them in such a Place, Captain *Clipperton* ordered the necessary Measures to be taken for apprehending them, but without Effect. At last, the Day before the Ship was to leave the Island, Captain *Mitchell*, with some more Officers, went into the Pinnace to the East Part of it, to look for these four Men, who had then absented a Fortnight, two of which Men they found in the Custody of the Goat-hunters, having met with them in Pursuit of their Game; who affirmed, they had greater Difficulty in securing these Fellows, than in killing double the Number of Goats; because they were forced to fire several times at them before they would surrender. The Prisoners acknowledged, that, for the first five Days, they were hard put to it, being forced to subsist wholly on the Cabbage-trees, of which here is great Plenty; but added, that, having, by good Fortune, one Night found some Fire that was left by their Hunters, it served them in good stead; for they could then dress their Flesh, and fill their Bellies. The same Evening, they brought on board all the Fish they had salted, four Casks of Seal-oil, and whatever else belonged to them. As soon as the Crew were on board and multered, on October 7. they prepared to sail; and, in the mean time, Captain *Mitchell* went on shore again in the Long-boat, to let up a Cross already cut for that Purpose, at the Foot of which he buried a Bottle, in which was contained a Letter for Captain *Shelvoake*, directing another Place of Rendezvous, and some proper Signal to know each other by at Sea. At eight in the Morning, they weighed from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, and left their two Men in Possession of it, who are to be reputed Successors to Governor *Selkirk*; tho' for any thing I know, we have not the slightest Memoirs of their Administration.

10. After leaving the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, Captain *Clipperton* sailed Northward, till he was in the Parallel of *Lima*, where he intended to act, though he was now in a very indifferent Condition, having lost thirty Men between the Time of his passing the Equator, and his leaving the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. His Men expressing some Uneasiness in relation to Plunder, he resolved, if possible, to set that Point to rights, by fixing a Paper to the Main-mast, which was assented to by the whole Ship's Company.

" I. The Man who first spies a Sail, proving a Prize, to have five Dollars for every hundred Ton the Prize measures.

" II. Every Man aboard a Prize, found drunk, or in any indecent Act with a white or black Woman, to be punished according to the Nature of his Offence.

" III. Every Man, of whatsoever Degree, concealing any Money, or other Thing, above the Value of half a Dollar, shall forfeit his Share of such Prize, and twenty Dollars out of his Share in the next that shall be taken."

On October 25. being in the Latitude of *Lima*, they gave Chase to a small Vessel, which they came up with, and took about eleven a Clock. She was their first Prize, and but an ill Omen of their Success in this Profession, since she proved, in all respects, hardly worth taking. She was a Snow of forty Ton Burden, laden with Sand and Rubbish for Manure: She had seven *Indians*, and two Negroes aboard, her Master being left sick ashore. All that Captain *Clipperton's* People could find worth taking, was two Jars of Eggs, as much Treacle, and a Couple of Pieces of Fight in ready Money. The next Day, they met with a better Prize, which was a Ship called the *St. Vincent*, of 150 Tons, laden with Wood from *Guaquil*. There were two Friars, sixteen *Indians*, and four Negroes aboard. On the 30th, they had the good Fortune to take a large Ship, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*: She was called the *Trinity*, of the Burden of 400 Tons; and had been taken by Captain *Rogers*, when he plundered *Guaquil* ten Years before: She had a great many Passengers on board, and a Laden of considerable Value. On November 2. they took another Prize, which was a Vessel of seventy Tons, on board of which were the Countess of *Laguna*, and several other Passengers, a great deal of ready Money,

Money, and upwards of 400 Jars of Wine and Brandy, which were Articles very much wanted. Captain *Clipperton* desired the Countess to inform him, whether she was inclined to stay on board the Prize, or accept of the Accommodations they were able to afford her on board the *Succesi*. She made the former her Choice, and the Captain very politely sent an Officer of Marines, with a Guard, on board the Prize, to prevent her being molested; and with strict Orders, to suffer nobody to enter her Cabin but her own Domesticks: And he likewise sent Part of the Wine and Brandy on board the other Prizes, for the Use of his Seamen, who were in Possession of them, and to whom, no doubt, this was a very welcome Refreshment.

11. It is a Mistake that many able Officers, both by Sea and Land, have committed, and therefore we need the less wonder at it in Captain *Clipperton*; that the Desire of Acquiring grows with Acquisition, till the Power of preserving is absolutely lost: He had already detached several Officers, and above a Third part of his Company, to take care of his Prizes; and yet was as eager to take more, as if, instead of a Privateer weakly manned, he had commanded a Squadron of Ships of War. On the 12th, they discovered a Vessel at some Distance, which was a *London* built Pink, of 200 Tons Burden, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*, with Wood, a Cargo of very little Value to them; yet this Prize they added to their Number. The Name of her was the *Rosario*; and her Master, who was a very cunning Fellow, soon saw the Error that *Clipperton* had committed, and resolved to take Advantage of it: He guessed, by the Number of Prizes that were already with the *English* Commodore, he could not send many Men on board his Ship; and, having about a dozen Passengers, he directed them, under the Command of a *French* Boatswain, to hide themselves in the Hold, with Orders, on his making a certain Signal, to seize as many of the *English* as came down; assuring them, that he, with the Ship's Company, would be able to manage the rest. As soon as the Ship struck, Captain *Clipperton* sent Lieutenant *Seyantson*, with eight Men, to take Possession of her; who, as soon as he came on board, ordered all that appeared to him, such as Seamen, *Indians*, and Negroes, into the great Cabin, and placed a Centinel at the Door of it. Thinking that all Things were now secure, he commanded the Top-sails to be hoisted, in order to stand to the Commodore: The Men not in the least apprehensive of Danger, went down into the Hold to see what was in the Ship; upon which the Passengers, who were concealed, sallied out; knocked most of them down; and the *French* Boatswain, coming behind Mr. *Seyantson*, knocked him down likewise, and then ordered them to be all bound. The *Spaniards* in the great Cabin, in the mean time, secured the Centinel, and, having thus recovered their Ship, began next to consider what they should do with her. The Captain was for getting ashore at all Events; which Design of his he pursued so eagerly, as to run his Ship upon the Rocks, where himself, his Company, and his Prisoners, were all in equal Danger; which he no sooner perceived, than he ordered all the *English* to be unbound, and, by good Fortune, every Man of them got safe on shore; after which, Lieutenant *Seyantson*, and his People, were sent away directly Prisoners to *Lima*. The Viceroy of *Peru* was no sooner acquainted with this hardy Action, than he gave Orders for the building a new Ship at *Guayaquil* for the Captain, and ordered all the Passengers to be taxed towards the Expense of her; intending this as a Reward for the Service he had rendered to the Public, and hoping thereby to encourage others to behave as he had done. On the Arrival of the Prisoners at *Lima*, they were closely examined; and one of them gave a full Account of every thing he knew, and particularly of the two Men left upon the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, and of the leaving there a Bottle, with a Letter in it for his Comfort: Upon which, the Viceroy ordered a small Vessel to be fitted out, to fetch away those two Men, and the Bottle containing the Signals; and this was accordingly performed. I have drawn the Whole of this Relation together, that the Reader might have it in one View, and shall now return to Captain *Clipperton*, and the manner in which he prosecuted his Voyage after this unlucky Accident.

12. It was the 20th, about three in the Afternoon, when he perceived, that his last Prize was retaken; for making a Signal to attack, and observing that the *Pink*, instead of obeying it, made all the Sail she could for the Shore, he immediately suspected what had happened; and, finding it impossible to come up with her, began to consider what was fittest for him to do, to prevent the bad Effects that might be reasonably apprehended from her Crew getting on shore: And therefore the next Morning he very prudently determined to let all his *Spanish* Prisoners at Liberty, as well to save Provisions, which, at that time, he could very ill spare; as that their good Usage might be speedily known, and returned to such of his Men as were in their Power. It is not easy to conceive, how a wise, or a better, Expedient could be thought of at such a Juncture; and therefore it is but doing Justice to this Officer to remark, that his so suddenly recollecting himself, and correcting his Error, was sufficient to excuse him; especially if we reflect, that, for one Officer, capable of making such an Amends for it, there might be twenty found, who, after falling into such a Mistake, could never think of making any Amends at all, but rather employ their Wits in framing Excuses to conceal it. On the 24th, they took another Prize, called *Coyotan*, of about 200 Tons Burden, laden with Wood from *Panama* to *Lima*, having on board forty Negroes, and thirty *Spaniards*, most of them Passengers. On the 17th, they came to an Anchor with all their Prizes at the Island *La Plata*, where the Captain began seriously to consider, how he should make the most of this Expedition for his Owners, as well as himself, and his Company. He knew that all the Coast was alarmed, and that two Men of War, one of fifty, the other of thirty Guns, were fitted out on Purpose to take him: He was sensible, that the Goods he had on board were not likely to be ransom'd in that Part of the World; and that they would prove mere Drugs, if brought into this; and therefore laid all their Things together; and, reflecting on a Proposition formerly made by Captain *Woodes Rogers*, to send a Cargo of such kind of Prize-goods to *Brazil*, he resolved to try the Experiment; and accordingly he fitted out the Bark, in which he took the Countess of *Laguna*, mounted her with eight Guns; and, putting on board her thirteen *Englishmen*, and ten Negroes, with what Provisions and other Necessaries he could spare, he called her the *Chesey*. Into this Vessel he put a Cargo of *European* Commodities, valued at 10,000 Pounds and upwards; and, on the 27th, she sailed for *Brazil*, under the Command of Captain *Mitchell*. As soon as she was gone, the Captain determined to part with his other Prizes, both of which he presented to the *Spaniards*, after taking out of them what he thought valuable, and retaining only the Captain of one of them for his Pilot, and all the Negroes; after which he sailed from that Island, in order to cruise in his former Station.

13. On December 12. they saw a Sail about five in the Evening, and, at eleven, took her. She was called the *Rigby*, bound from *Cherrie* for *Panama*, laden with Provisions. Their Launch and Pinnace were all Day employed in bringing on board the Flour, and other Provisions, in order to discharge her. Having got as much Flour out of her as they could well stow away, they cut her Main-mast by the Board, lest she should overtake, and so let her go. The Prisoners informed them, that their Men, who were lately taken by the *Spaniards*, were sent to *Lima* by Land. Here they continued to cruise, standing off all Day, and towards the Shore at Night; but nothing happened till the 25th, that they anchored in *Guanchico* Bay, in nine Fathom, on Ground, and found two Ships at Anchor. They fired a Shot at each; but they made no Return. Sending then their Boats aboard, they found them abandoned, and could discover that all the Lading had been just taken out, and nothing left aboard, except some Bread, and a few Jars of Water. They hung out a Flag of Truce, and fired two Guns at half an Hour's Interval, hoping they would have come aboard to ransom their Ships. They answered from Shore; but no Boat coming, they fired again, and remained there till the next Day, when, seeing it was in vain to wait any longer, and that they would neither ransom nor beg their Ships, they pulled down the Flag, and let the

Ships on Fire. After solved to bear away to the Shore, they there unmolested, and accordingly, towed put this Delight in *York* anchored in *York* *York's* Island, married they found good Wine and after ten Days qu Northward. I cannot that this intirely nullish thrown upon him by a careful account of choice to observe, that, another History of Circumstances comparing their Accidents, committed each other, and from them entertained, of rest.

14. On the 21st, they till eleven at Night on their firing of the proved to be the *Prize* having on board the President there, and *Lima*. This was the ton was circumvented Seas, when he was ve who now lay at his N banding, with all the a *Spaniard* dying of a this Ship, the Marquis ing to their Ceremony Office for the Dead h which lay ready on a C a large Bag of Ballst thrice, as their Custom agood Voyage, the Be presently floated, and lee it; which the Mar very ill Omen, and decing Accident to be Fruit, who was on be fwan of that Ship, d Island of *Teas*, whic they would persuade e rattle to the Shore, i Goods they liked be On the 16th, they ret some Fowls and Fruit the same time declar would not suffer the Captain *Mitchell* had of their Cattle; but they had been forced appeared the more pre Cloaths belonging to stody. The next Day *Vina Roche* were inte Honour, to which th since he endeavoured Men, and secure the ter. Upon this, Capa Days; yet, on the 2 Lady to go ashore, lea On April 14. the Ma came aboard; and, an Ransom, the Lady an Marquis only remained after delivered up to action, Captain *Clippe* and outwitted by this Word, and thereby p the Captain for trullin in the Gulph of *Amag* there, repaired to the with great Ease. On

Ships on Fire. After the taking of these Ships, it was resolved to bear away for Retirement to the *Gallapagos* Islands, there being a greater Probability of their doing it there unmolested, than in any other Part of the South Seas; and accordingly, towards the latter End of the Year, they put this Design in Execution. On *January 9. 1720*, they anchored in *Port Road*, on the North Side of the *Duke of York's Island*, immediately under the Equinoctial, where they found good Water, scrubbed and cleaned their Ship, and after ten Days quitted those Islands, and sailed to the Northward. I cannot help remarking upon this Occasion, that this intirely justifies Captain *Cowley* from the Aspersions thrown upon him by later Writers, as if he had given a fantastical account of those Islands; and I must intreat my Readers to observe, that, among other Advantages resulting in this History of Circumnavigators, it is no small one, that, by comparing their Accounts, we correct abundance of their Mistakes, committed chiefly from their Prejudices against each other, and from the Passion that almost every one of them entertained, of passing for an abler Seaman than the rest.

14. On the 21st, they made a Sail, and continued chafing till eleven at Night, when they came up with her; and, on their firing of their first Gun, the Truck. This Ship proved to be the *Prince Eugene*, bound from *Panama*, and having on board the Marquis *de Villa Roche*, who had been President there, and all his Family, who were going to *Lima*. This was the very Ship, in which Captain *Clipperton* was circumvented, and taken in his last Voyage in these Seas, when he was very indifferently used by this Marquis, who now lay at his Mercy, and whom he used, notwithstanding, with all the Civility possible. On *February 26*, a Spaniard dying of a Wound he had received at the taking of this Ship, the Marquis desired he might be buried according to their Ceremonies; which was granted. When the Office for the Dead had been performed, and the Corpse, which lay ready on a Grating, was thrown over-board, with a large Bag of Ballast tied at his Feet, the Spaniards crying thrice, as their Custom is on such Occasions, *Bon Voyage*, i. e. a good Voyage, the Body, to the Admiration of every one, pretently floated, and continued floating as far as they could see it; which the Marquis *de Villa Roche* concluded to be a very ill Omen, and declared, that he expected some surprizing Accident to be the Consequence. On *March 8*, a Priest, who was on board the *Prince Eugene*, and the Boatman of that Ship, desired Leave to go on shore on the Island of *Velas*; which was granted them, on condition they would persuade the Inhabitants to drive some Black-cattle to the Shore, in order to exchange them for what Goods they liked best; which they faithfully promised. On the 16th, they returned with four Head of Black-cattle, some Fowls and Fruit, as a Present to the Marquis; but at the same time declared, that their Alcald or Governor would not suffer them to trade. They likewise said, that Captain *Mitchell* had been ashore there, and had shot some of their Cattle; but that 200 Men appearing under Arms, they had been forced to retire: Which Account of theirs appeared the more probable, from their having Linen and Cloaths belonging to Captain *Mitchell's* Men in their Custody. The next Day, some Letters from the Marquis *de Villa Roche* were intercepted, very little suitable to that Honour, to which the Spanish Nobility usually pretend, since he endeavoured to stir up the People to surprize their Men, and secure the Boat, when they came ashore to water. Upon this, Captain *Clipperton* confined him for some Days; yet, on the 20th, he allowed the Marquis and his Lady to go ashore, leaving their only Child as an Hostage. On *April 14*, the Marquis, his Lady, and the Governor, came aboard, and, an Agreement being made for their Ransom, the Lady and Child were sent on shore, and the Marquis only remained as an Hostage. The Prize was soon after delivered up to the Captain. In this whole Transaction, Captain *Clipperton* appears to have been deceived and outwitted by this Nobleman, who basely broke his Word, and thereby provoked the Crew to murmur against the Captain for trusting him. On *April 20*, they anchored in the Gulf of *Anapalis*, and, not being able to water there, repaired to the Island of *Tigers*, where they did it with great Ease. On *June 4* they sailed to *Gorgona* on the

same Errand, and were well supplied. On the 24th, they made another Prize, which proved the *St. Vincent*, which they had taken once before. She was now commanded by *Don Clement de Andrade*, laden with Timber and Cocoa-nuts. On *August 11*, they anchored, with their Prize, at the Island of *Lobos de la Mar*, where they set up Tents on shore, scrubbed and cleaned their Ship, and took whatever they thought valuable out of their Prize.

15. The Ship's Company, while they lay here, talked over their Affairs, till they began to think them desperate. Sometimes they reflected on the Captain, for pretending to remain in these Seas without their Consort: At other times, they blamed him for giving into the Spanish Marquis's Project for ransoming his Ship, which, they believed, would never be performed: And now-and-then the Ship's Corporal, one *James Roch*, a bold, busy, intriguing Fellow, threw in some sly insinuations, that, if they must go through such Hardships, it was better they should do it for their own sakes, than for other Peoples. And one *Joseph Mynard*, the Boatwain's Mate, pulling Things still further, a Plot was at last formed for seizing the Captain, the rest of the Officers, and running away with the Ship. They likewise agreed, that, when their Design was brought to bear, the Officers should be set on shore on the Island of *Lobos*, and all, who afterwards opposed them, shot without Mercy. This wicked Contrivance, however, was happily discovered on *September 6*, the two Ringleaders severely punished, and the rest pardoned; by which wise Conduct the Conspiracy was suppressed. On the 17th, they took a Fishing-boat, with a good Quantity of Salt-fish, well cured; but found the *St. Vincent*, which they had left at Anchor under the Island of *Lobos*, driven ashore, and sunk; and, upon this, they put thirty-eight Spanish Prisoners on board the Fishing-boat, and sent them away. On *November 1*, they entered the Bay of *Conception*, where missing a Prize that outlaid them, they bore away for *Cogumbo*, where they took a Ship laden with Tobacco, Sugar, and Cloth, in their Passage. On the 6th in the Afternoon, they opened that Harbour, where they saw three Men of War lying, with their Top-sails loose, and these no sooner spied them, than they cut their Cables, and stood after them. The *Success* haled close on a Wind, and their Prize did the same; upon which the Spanish Man of War, that sailed best, gave Chace to the latter, and, at three in the Afternoon, came up with, and took her. The other two Ships crowded all the Sail they could, till about four in the Afternoon, when the biggest, having her Mizzen-top-mast carried away, fired a Gun, tacked, and stood in for the Shore; which favourable Opportunity the *Success* embraced to make her Escape. In the Spanish Prize, they lost their third Lieutenant *Mr. James Milne*, and twelve of their Men. The Captain of the Spanish Man of War, who took him, was the famous *Don Blas de Lesso*, who was Governor of *Carthagena*, when attacked by Admiral *Vernon*. *Don Blas* treated his Prisoner a little roughly at first, being enraged to find he had missed the English Privateer, and only retaken a Spanish Prize, and, in the first Transport of his Passion, struck *Mr. Milne* over the Head with the Flat of his Sword; but, when he came to himself, he sent for him up; and, finding him stripped by his Soldiers, he generously asked his Pardon, ordered him a new Suit of Cloaths, and kept him for some time on board his Ship. He afterwards procured his Liberty at *Lima*, paid for his Passage to *Panama*, where he gave him a Jar of Brandy, and another of Wine, for his Sea-Stores, put 200 Pieces of Eight in his Pocket, and sent him to *England*. This unlucky Accident of losing their Prize revived the ill Humours among *Clipperton's* Men, who did not indeed plot again, but became exceedingly dejected. On the 16th, they saw another Sail, and gave Chace, which, after a few Guns fired on both Sides, bore away, being a clean Ship, and left them; which was another lucky Escape: For she was likewise a Ship of Force, fitted out to take Captain *Sbelvecke*, and commanded by one *Fitzgerald*, who, knowing this was not *Sbelvecke's* Ship, and doubting what Strength she might be of, had no great Stomach to engage her. These repeated Disappointments, as they broke the Spirits of his Crew, so they had a very bad Effect on Captain *Clipperton* himself, who began now to betake himself to drinking; and, as this Vice generally grows upon

People under Misfortunes, he grew at last to such a Pitch, that he was hardly ever quite cool or sober. It was chiefly owing to this unhappy Practice, that he fell into so many Errors in his future Conduct. And, though it is true, that Drunkenness is rather an Aggravation than an Excuse, yet, if we consider, that this poor Man was a mere Sailor, and had not had the Benefit of a liberal Education, that he fell into it purely through Despair, and that he still shewed, upon all Occasions, great Marks of an humane and generous Disposition, together with an inflexible Honesty, in regard to his owners Concerns, we cannot help pitying him; because it is impossible to say, how far human Nature is able to bear, without the Help of certain Supports, such an heavy Load of Misfortunes as this poor Gentleman met with.

16. In this sad Plight they resolv'd to continue cruising to the North, not only in Search of Plunder, but also of a Supply of Provisions, and especially of Flour, having expended all they had, and being reduced to three Pounds of Indian Corn for a Meis of six Men, and that but once a Day. In this Cruise they had but indifferent Fortune; and, therefore, on the 27th, being in Sight of Point *Heleva*, they resolv'd to set ashore the *Spanish* Prisoners taken in the last Prize, in which they afterwards lost Lieutenant *Milne*; and then determin'd to go once more to the *Gallapagos* Islands, in order to refresh quietly, and restore their People to Health and Spirits; which Scheme they immediately put in Execution. In their Passage to these Islands, they began to suspect some Error in their Log-line; and, upon measuring, found it three Fathoms too short, which occasioned an Error in this Run of fifty-two Miles, or thereabouts. On the 4th of *December*, they lost Mr. *Thomas Furman* their Purser, and the same Day found themselves very near the *Gallapagos* Islands, and in the Latitude of 36° North, with a very strong Current to the South-west; against which they were oblig'd to ply. On the 6th, they sent the Pinnace to discover an Anchoring-place at one of the Islands, which return'd without finding any, but saw abundance of Tortoise ashore. Upon this they sent the Pinnace and Yawl to get some; and they return'd with Fish enough to serve the Company a Day; but, there running a prodigious Surf, they could not land or look for Turtle. They kept plying off and on, and found in foul Ground from eighty to fifty Fathom. The Lat. of the Island 9° North. It was a mere Rock; so they left it, and steer'd away for another South-west, being the same which the *Spaniards* make to be under the Equator; they run along shore, but could find no Anchoring, so that, being unwilling to lose more Time, they made the best Way they could to the Isle of *Coco*, where they hop'd certainly to get some Fish, Fowl, and Cocoa-nuts, most of their People being very sick and weak. On the 7th and 8th, they saw several Islands to the North-east, but pass'd through them very happily, and got quite clear of them by the 9th; but, as their People daily fell sick, they grew very apprehensive of the Dangers that must ensue in case of their missing the Island. On the 17th in the Morning, they had the Satisfaction of beholding the long-look'd for Island of *Coco*, at the Distance of about nine Leagues to the North-west, which fill'd them with inexpressible Joy. On the 18th, they went all ashore, that could be spared from on board the Vessel with Safety, in order to build a kind of Booth for the Reception of their Sick, which, as soon as it was finish'd, were carried ashore, and conveniently lodg'd. The Marquis *de Villa Rica* went also ashore, where they got great Plenty of Fish, Fowl, and Eggs, together with Cocoa-nuts, and other Refreshments. The Captain open'd here the last Hog-head of Brandy for the Use of the Ship's Company, and gave every Man a Dram a Day; and, on *New Year's day*, he allow'd a Gallon of Bragg Beer to every Meis; and, by having this Plenty of nourishing Food, and much Ale, the Crew began to recover, and were able to work and water, though with much Difficulty; for there was a great Swell coming in from the Northward constantly at Noon and Change, therefore they were forc'd to wait till the Spring tides were abated, before they could get any thing off. On the 17th of *January 1711*, the Captain made the necessary Dispositions for sailing; but it

was three Days before he could get his People on board, and then there were no less than eleven of them missing, viz. three *Englishmen*, and eight *Negroes*. It is not easy to conceive, what could induce the former to hazard themselves in such a Place as this, at so great a Distance from the Continent, so little frequented by Ships, and where they had but a small, indeed scarce any, Chance of ever getting off; but it must be attributed to their Dread of the Dangers and Fatigues to which they were continually expos'd on board, and to their living constantly at Short-allowance; whereas here they were sure of Plenty of Provisions, without any other Labour than that of procuring and dressing them. It is also more than probable, that they might receive some Assurances from the Marquis, of their having a Ship sent for them, when he obtained his Liberty; which, at best, was an hazardous Contingency, and, there is great Reason to doubt, was never perform'd, as the Reader will see in the Sequel of this Voyage.

17. On the 25th, they arriv'd on the Coast of *Mexico*, where they met with an extraordinary Adventure; for, discovering a Sail, about seven in the Evening, they sent their Pinnace to give Chase; to whom she struck about eleven: And, on the Return of the Pinnace, they had the surprizing Account, that this was a *Spanish* Ship, call'd the *Jesus Maria*, but now in the Hands of Captain *Sbelvocke*, who command'd her; and the Account he gave of the Matter to their People was this, that he had no more than forty of his Men aboard, the rest being all dead, or dispersed: That he lost the *Speeduel* at *Fernandez*, where they staid five Months, and built a Bark out of the *Speeduel's* Wreck; with which they put to Sea, and coasted along *Chili* and *Peru*, meeting several Ships; but could do nothing with them, till they came to *Pisco*, near *Lea*, where they took this Prize, being the Ship he went in there to look for. They differ'd much in their Account, but had no regular Command among them, being all alike. As the Method is in the *West India* Privateers, they had chosen a Quarter-master, carrying every thing by a Majority of Votes; so that they found they had quite broken their Articles with their Owners, and had shar'd all among themselves. On the 27th, Captain *Sbelvocke* hoist'd St. *George's* Colours, and fired three Guns, as a Signal to speak with them; on which the *Sucefs* lay-to for his Boat, which came aboard with a Letter for Captain *Clipperton*, who immediately sent back the Boat for their Purser, to be examin'd concerning their Actions on the Coast of *Brazil*, and elsewhere: They sent away the Boat; but the Purser, Mr. *Hendric*, staid, who gave a true Account of their Proceedings, that he was not allow'd to take any Account of the Treasure for the Owners: At eight Captain *Sbelvocke* came aboard, being sent for by Captain *Clipperton* and the Agent, to give an Account of his Transactions. The Boat brought Mr. *Dod*, their Lieutenant of Marines, to continue in the *Sucefs*, having been outed very ill for his Attachment to the Owners Interest; at least as he asserted, and was firmly believed by Captain *Clipperton*, and his Officers. The next Day Captain *Sbelvocke* sent on board them six Chests of Pitch and Dammer, and two Barrels of Tar, with six Slabs of Copper: Captain *Clipperton* spar'd him twenty-four Quarter-deck Guns, some great Shot, and Compa's, and a few other Necessaries. His People laid out a great deal of Money with the Crew of the *Sucefs*, for Cloaths, Shoes, Hats, and other Necessaries: There remain'd with them also two of the *Speeduel's* Officers; Mr. *Hendric*, the Purser, and Mr. *Dod*, the Lieutenant of the Marines, designing to go with them to *China*. The *Sucefs*, still keeping to the Northward of the Coast of *Mexico*, saw Captain *Sbelvocke* several times, as they were sensible, by his making Signals, but, considering, in the Beginning of the Month of *March*, that both Time and Place afforded them a fair Opportunity of coming up with the *Manilla* Ship, before she enter'd *Ampulco*, the Officers determin'd, the next time they saw Captain *Sbelvocke*, to propose to him the making such an Attempt. On the 3th, they made a Sail, which, by the Signals, proving to be Captain *Sbelvocke*, they brought to; and the Captain, with his Lieutenants, came on board them. At this general Consultation it was agreed, by the Officers of both Ships, that the Attempt should be

made jointly; and that the same Fate which befall'd her when they attempted the run her aboard at once for taking her. Account on the 15th, Captain *C*, wherein Proposals being to Captain *Sbelvocke*; that all the Money shar'd Articles with the Owners Stock, then all Faults would unite, and proceed. This Proposition was by *Sbelvocke*, and his People any shape, with what giving any Answer to the Section, mention the *K* seek for this manner of sent lies with Captain perceiving that there their Comfort, determining the best way they could filter'd, that the Time was by some Days elapsed weak and sickly; that, ance, they were victuals consequently, it was rectly to the *East Indies* to preserve what they had selves. This Resolution reasonable and well-fou Execution; and, without tam *Sbelvocke* any more South Seas, being then *Marquis*, and in the Latitude to understand the latter sary to lay somewhat of Ships fail. They usually the Beginning of *July*, about the Beginning of ceed to *Asapan*; in which spect'd about the Middle usually remains in Port Month of *April*, and the *Manilla*. Yet this is n Rule; for, according a it alters. In the preten wait'd for, was not the Galleon that was to ret board which, there is Silver. Yet it must be earlier than usual, or else they sail'd for the *Ea*, attend them.

18. The Run from the *Guam*, they perform'd 10th of *May*, arriv'd at the Latitude of 13.42. Charts, this Island is ge Passage they lost six of the so weak and low, that n to them than this Island. proceed to that of *Guam* where they were most which, perhaps, they j their prefer weak Con alv'able to have gon have not to great a For the Road, and sent th force, in order to obtai fit them for Answer days, they could not t Greens: And, therefore made to him for that P favourable Reception. who had been sent up to returned on the 10th of Mellage, importing, I paid handily, they paid

made jointly; and that, to prevent their meeting with the same Fate which belet Captain *Rogers* and Captain *Courtney*, when they attempted the biggest *Manilla* Ship, they should run her aboard at once, having indeed no other Chance for taking her. Accordingly they cruised for her; and, on the 15th, Captain *Clipperton* held another Consultation, wherein Proposals being agreed on, were signed, and sent to Captain *Selwaake*; that if he and his Crew would refund all the Mon. y shared among themselves contrary to the Articles with the Owners, and agree to put it in a joint Stock, then all Faults should be forgot, both Companies would unite, and proceed to cruise for the *Acapulco* Ship. This Proposition was but indifferently received by Captain *Selwaake*, and his People, who did not care to part, in any Shape, with what they possessed, and therefore declined giving any Answer to this Proposal. We shall, in the next Section, mention the Reasons assigned by Captain *Selwaake* for this manner of proceeding: Our Business at present lies with Captain *Clipperton*, and his People, who, perceiving that there was nothing to be expected from their Consort, determined to manage their own Affairs the best way they could. In the first Place, they considered, that the Time of meeting with the *Manilla* Ship was by some Days elapsed; that most of their People were weak and sickly; that, even at their present short Allowance, they were victualled but for five Months; and that, consequently, it was their Business to think of going directly to the *East Indies*, without Loss of Time, in order to preferve what they had got for their Owners and themselves. This Resolution appeared, in every respect, so reasonable and well-founded, that it was instantly put in Execution; and, without waiting for, or consulting Captain *Selwaake* any more, they concluded to leave the South Seas, being then to the South South-east of Port *Margus*, and in the Latitude of 16° 50' North. In order to understand the latter Part of this Account, it is necessary to say somewhat of the Times when these *Acapulco* Ships sail. They usually leave the *Philippine* Islands about the Beginning of *July*, and they arrive at the *Ladrones* about the Beginning of *September*: From thence they proceed to *Acapulco*; in which Port they are commonly expected about the Middle of *January*; and then the Ship usually remains in Port till towards the latter End of the Month of *April*, and then she sails again from *Acapulco* for *Manilla*. Yet this is not to be considered as a constant Rule; for, according as the Winds set in earlier or later, it alters. In the present Case, it is plain, the Ship they waited for, was not the Vessel expected from, but the Galleon that was to return to, the *Philippine* Islands; on board which, there is always a prodigious Quantity of Silver. Yet it must be owned, that either the Ship sailed earlier than usual, or else they left her behind them when they sailed for the *East Indies*, whither we now are to attend them.

15. The Run from the Coast of *Mexico* to the Island of *Guam*, they performed in fifty-three Days; and, on the 10th of *May*, arrived in Sight of the Island *Serpana*, in the Latitude of 13° 42' North; though, in the *Spanish* Charts, this Island is generally laid down in 14°. In this Passage they lost six of their People, and the rest of them were so weak and low, that nothing could be a more joyful Sight to them than this Island. They determined, however, to proceed to that of *Guam*, as best known to *Europeans*, and where they were most likely to meet with Provisions; in which, perhaps, they judged the Matter wrong; for, in our present weak Condition, it would have been more advisable to have gone to *Serpana*, where the *Spaniards* have not so great a Force. *May* the 13th, they anchored in the Road, and sent their Pinnace ashore, with a Flag of Truce, in order to obtain some Provisions; but the People set them for Answer, That, without the Governor's Leave, they could not trade with them for Fish, Fowl, or Greens: And, therefore, Applications were immediately made to him for that Purpose; which had, at present, a favourable Reception. Mr. *Godfrey*, the Owners Agent, who had been sent up to *Umatta*, where the Governor lives, returned on the 10th on board one of their Procs, with a Message, importing, That if they behaved civilly, and paid handsly, they should be furnished with Provisions.

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Soon after their own Launch arrived, and brought on board some Cattle, Bread, Sugar, Brandy, Fruit, and Greens. On the 17th, the Governor sent them an handsome Present of Palm-wine, Sugar and Brandy, with a large Quantity of Chocolate. In Return for which, his Health was drank by the whole Ship's Crew, under a Salvo of Seven Guns: This was the last Act of Civility that passed between them: But, before we come to these Disputes, it will be necessary to say something of the State of the Island at that Time. This Island lies directly North and South; and, according to the best Account that could be obtained of it, from a Negro belonging to the Marquis de *Villa Roche*, who travelled quite round it, it is near ten Leagues in Length, and five in Breadth: There are several Villages upon it; but the most remarkable are these that follow; viz. *Amatta*, *Atry*, *Agana*, *Anigua*, *Afa*, *Hugatee*, and *Rigues*. The native Inhabitants were formerly very numerous, not fewer, it is said, than 15,000; but, at this time, there were scarce a tenth Part so many, at least under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*; for there are still some hundreds that have established themselves in the Mountains, and preserve their Freedom, notwithstanding all the Efforts made by the *Spanish* Governor to reduce them. These *Indians* are a strong, active, vigorous, and warlike People; but, withal, reputed equally cruel and treacherous: Perhaps, the *Spaniards* exaggerate their ill Qualities to extenuate their own; for it is certain, they have used these People hardly. The *Spanish* Garrison consists of 300 Men, which are relieved from time to time from the *Manillas*; and his Catholic Majesty allows 30,000 Pieces of Eight per Annum for their Maintenance; though it is of no other Use, than to afford Succour to the annual Ship in her Passage to and from the *East Indies*, in which respect it is of great Service.

19. On the 18th of *May*, their Prisoner, the Marquis de *Villa Roche*, went ashore, in Company with the Agent, the first Lieutenant and Doctor having agreed with the Governor about his Ransom; they gave him five Guns at landing. Our Launch was employed six Days in bringing Wood, Water, and Provision aboard; during which time, the Governor desired he might have some Arms and Ammunition in Exchange: Accordingly Captain *Clipperton* sent him twelve Fuzees, three Jars of Powder, sixty round Shot, four Pair of Pistols, besides Cutlasses, long Swords, and Daggers. The 25th, they received a Letter, wherein the Governor demands the Marquis's Jewels, some consecrated Plate, and two Negroes, being Christians, and Subjects to the King of *Spain*; as also a Certificate, under the Captain and Officers Hands, that Peace was proclaimed, detaining Mr. *Godfrey* and Mr. *Pritty* till all this was performed. Hereupon the Captain sent a Letter, with a Certificate, that the *Solidad*, the last Prize we took on the Coast of *Chili*, told us, there was a Peace between *England* and *Spain*; but, withal, assured the Governor, that if he did not, in twenty-four Hours, send the Ransom with the two Gentlemen, he would demolish the Houses upon the Shore, burn the Ship in the Harbour, and do all the mischief he could at the *Philippine* Islands. Soon after they received a Letter, that the Governor would pay for the consecrated Plate, and desired more Powder and Shot: To which the Captain answered, That he would not spare any more, or Negroes. On the 28th, their Yawl went ashore for more Provision; but the Officer, who had the Government of the Village, told them, we should have no more, unless they sent more Powder and Shot: Upon which they immediately weighed, staying for no Answer by Mr. *Godfrey* or Mr. *Pritty*, and sent the Pinnace a-head to sound, making the best of their way to the Ship in the Harbour. The People ashore had raised a Battery during this short Treaty, from whence they began to fire at their Pinnace; which, being returned, gave Account, that what Chanel they found, was within Pistol-shot of the Shore. At six in the Afternoon, making up to the Ship, they ran a-ground, the *Spaniards* having carried her in shoal Water; so that now they sustained two Fires, one from the Battery over their Heads, and another from the Ship. At nine they got foul of the Rocks, where they cut away two of their Anchors, endeavouring to get the Ship off; during which time, the Enemy fired so warmly with Stones and Shot,

Shot, from a new Battery erected on a Hill, that they suffered extremely in their Hull and Rigging. They had three Men wounded, besides the Misfortune of losing Mr. Davison, their first Lieutenant, who was an honest Man and a good Officer. Thus the Success was forced to lie in a miserable Condition, exposed to the continual Fire of the Enemy, who, in the Night, had still this Advantage of them, that the Surface of the Water being as smooth as a Mill-pond, easily shewed them their Position; whereas they had no other Direction for their Aim than the Flashes of the Guns from the Spanish Battery. In this Emergency, the Captain being overcome with Liquor, and quite unable to command the Ship, the Officers came to a Resolution of running out clear of the Enemy as soon as they could get the Ship afloat; and signed a Paper to indemnify Mr Cook, if he would take upon him the Command. At four in the Afternoon they let her a floating, and cut away the small Bower-anchor; but, in ten Minutes, they run a ground again; at nine carried out the Kedge-anchor; but, in heaving, the Hawser broke: They immediately carried out another Hawser, with a Lower-deck Gun to it, having now lost all their Anchors, and still a ground. At two in the Forenoon the Enemy hailed them several times to surrender, or expect no Quarter; at five they carried out the Main-top-mast Shroud-hawser on the Starboard-bow, with another Gun, still plying the Enemy with their great Guns below, and Small-arms in the Poop. They did them little Mischiefs, though the Spaniards never missed them; especially their Boats, as soon as they saw them stir. At eleven in the Forenoon they carried out the rest of the small Bower, with two Lower-deck Guns, right a-head, into five Fathom; they cleared away the Hold, ready to start their Water, to make the Ship lighter; got their Upper and Lower-deck Guns forward, to bring her by the Head, the Ship hanging abait on the Rock; they kept two Guns out of the Stern-polls continually firing at the Enemy's new Battery, but could not bring them to bear: During this twenty-four Hours, they had happily only one wounded; but the Ship was wretchedly torn and mangled between Wind and Water. The 30th, at six in the Afternoon, the Ship floating, they cut away the Yawl, being sunk with the Shot; the other Boats were much damaged; they hove to their small Bower, then cut away it and the other two Hawsers, and sent their Pinnace a-head, to tow the Ship off: Just as they got afloat, the Enemy fired so smartly from the new Battery, that their Shot raked them through between Wind and Water, killing one of their People, and wounding two others. Thus they lost both their Bow-anchors and Cables, the Stern and Kedge anchors, four Hawsers, four of their Lower-deck Guns, and nineteen Barrels of Powder, two Men killed, and six wounded, having stood for no less than fifty Hours a fair Mark for the Enemy to fire at; and, if they had not got clear, it was believed they would have sunk them before Morning. The whole Crew were very sorry for Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Britts, not knowing how the Governour might use them ashore. At ten in the Forenoon they brought-to, and began to splice their Rigging, not a Rope of which escaped a Shot; as for the Masts and Yards, they were all severely peppered, and the Carpenters worked all Night, stopping the Holes in the Ship's Bottom. At seven in the Forenoon they Rowed their Guns in the Holdbar in the Ports, hoisted in the Launch and Pinnace, and at Noon steered away Well, with an easy Sail, hoping to save their Passage before the Monsoons came on. Their Carpenters were employed in fixing the Masts and Yards, and the rest of their People in fixing the Rigging. At six in the Afternoon the Body of the Island Guam bore East seven Leagues; from whence they took their Departure, North Latitude 13° 20', allowing half a Point North-east Variation, designing now for China. This was certainly one of the worst Errors committed by Clipperton, for he should never have quitted the Marquis, who had behaved so dutifully to him before, without having the Money in his Hand; nor had the Marquis any Title to Favour: A Nobleman, that acts the Scoundrel, degrades himself. Besides, if Captain Clipperton had kept the Marquis, there had been an End of all his Schemes, and either the Spanish Governour of Guam would not, or could not, have treated him as he

did; for it is more than probable, that he was forced to behave in this strange Manner by the Marquis. The last Mistake of Clipperton's was his pretending to attack the Town in the manner he did. The Commander of a Privateer should never attempt Revenge, unless he is certain of compassing his Design; and, if he had dissembled, as well as the Enemy, he might have found an Opportunity of making them repent their ill Usage.

20. It was a very dangerous Voyage upon which they were now to enter: The Run from Manila is generally esteemed 400 Leagues, and they were to sail much farther, without any considerable Addition to their Stock and Provisions, ruffled by the late Accident, and apprehensive that their Vessel would scarce last out the Voyage; for, on the 23d of June, they found her, on a strict Examination, in a very shattered Condition, having scarce a whole Timber in her upper Works, discovered one of their Fashion-pieces to be shot through, which, being the chief Support of the Alter-part of the Ship, they were obliged to trap her, to keep her together. It blowing pretty fresh, they durst not carry Sail, but were forced for a Week together, to go under bare Poles, through variable Winds, and bad Weather. This was a melancholy Condition for People to be in, in Seas with which they were little acquainted, and failing by Draughts on which they could not depend. Yet, the Journal I make use of, acknowledges, that both Dempier's Accounts and Charts were right, and that to a Degree of Exactness, much superior to those laid down by Persons of much greater Figure; so that if it had not been for his Assistance in his Books and Charts, they could scarce have extricated themselves from the Difficulties they were in. On the 24th of June, they were in Sight of the Bassoe Islands; and, on the last Day of the Month, they saw the Island-sholes of Prata. On the 1st of July, they fell in with other Islands, and found several Boats they were fishing; though no such Islands are laid down in any Chart, and this put them intirely out of their Way, that, not being able to form any Judgment of their Course, they anchored under one of these Islands, in 5 Fathom Water, and dispatched away their Pinnace for Intelligence, how Macao bore from them, for which Port they were bound.

21. On the 2d of July, the Pinnace returned with a Boat, in which there were three Chinese Sailors, whom they could not understand, and from whom all they could learn was, that Canton lay to the South-west. On the 3d finding they were too far to Leeward of Macao, and not being able to get a Pilot, they resolved to take the only Course there was left them to take, which was, to sail for Amoy, before which Port they arrived on the 5th in the Evening, but were afraid to enter it in the Night, and therefore plied off and on till Day-light. They took notice of a great Number of Snakes in the Sea, which were brought down by the Rivers that empty themselves on that Coast. The Entrance of the Port of Amoy is remarkable enough, for it has an high Mountain, on the Top of which is a Tower, which may be seen twenty Leagues off at Sea; on one Side of it is a little Island, that lies immediately before the Bay. The River Changehou discharges itself here into the Chinese Sea, and thereby forms a spacious Bay, about eight Leagues in Circuit, where Ships may lie very safely at Anchor, all the Difficulty being in their getting once into Port; which they accomplished very happily in the Evening of the 6th of July, and were extremely well pleased to find themselves once more in a Place where they might hope to obtain Refreshments, to be able to repair the Ship; or, if that should be found impracticable, to obtain a Passage from thence for Europe. The Captain too rejoiced as much as any of them; for, having had his full Share of Afflictions and Misfortunes at Sea, he was extremely delighted with the Prospect of securing a small matter of Money to his own Use, and sending home what belonged to the Owners, in case his Ship was really, as the People reported, past repairing.

22. They were no sooner anchored in this Port, than they had ten Customhouse Officers put on board them: Amoy, as in most other Ports in China, the Customs are under the Direction of a single Mandarin, styled the Hoppo, or Master General of the Customs. The French call this Officer

Officer Hoppo; who is the Pronunciation. Justly reputed the craftiest Man they can find to alter saying this, we shall only add, that thought to be the least of Honesty, in Customhouse Officers demand to be; and what Business answered, the Ship was; and that the prudent obtain Provisions Customhouse Officers next denier of Men and Gun intended to stay; all when they departed. continued, and insisted, pay them their Prize-money was in no Com made this Demand, was lar, to whom we are in the Captain's Behalf had best desist, unless Balls through his Head all regular Proceeding rity. The People brought some Cattle, Fowls, were paid: And, on to wait on the Hoppo, treated them with great anchor in the Harbour foons were over; for soon after received in Compensation, under ing to 1700 Dollars, already taken notice, the Captain Clipperton; Mr. Dreyon succeeded the unfortunate Affair who now demanded the in which he was supposed a continual Complaisance Clipperton, and the rethings were likely to Allowance should be n Pristons, and to Mr. board them from the S trustlets; for the Men While these Disputes la go ashore, without asking Clipperton would have co declared on their Side, things fell into Confus they had their Prize-money Credit of their Country due to their Officer, that the Place, whom the Cl he would do them Justice Mr Clipperton was the Mandarin's demanding Men Satisfaction, the Cl shewed that they were their Return to London now-ly) gave the which produced a Guat Ship, with a percentage Clipperton, unless them over to the Men ply. His Intractable but, as they must be dwell upon them, but suant to the Mandarin relieved for such as were of those who were dea served on board the Sp Officer

Officer *Hoppo*; which may, perhaps, set us right as to the Pronunciation. The *Chinese*, in general, are very justly reputed the craftiest People in the World; and it is an invariable Maxim of their Policy, to chuse the cunningest Man they can find to execute the Office of *Hoppo*; and after saying this, we need not descend to the particular Character of the Man Captain *Clipperton* had to deal with.

I shall only add, that the People of *Amoy*, in general, are thought to be the least nice in Points of Honour, or Principles of Honesty, in *China*. The first thing these Custom-house Officers demanded was, what the Ship was reputed to be; and what Business she had there. Captain *Clipperton* answered, the Ship belonged to the King of *Great-Britain*; and that she was put in there by Strefs of Weather, in order to obtain Provisions and other Necessaries. The Custom-house Officers next demanded an exact Account of the Number of Men and Guns, their Cargo, and the Time they intended to stay; all which they put down in Writing, and then they departed. The very next Morning, the Men mutinied, and insisted, that the Captain should immediately pay them their Prize-money, because they were satisfied the *Success* was in no Condition to put to Sea. The Man, who made this Demand, was one *John Dennison*; and Mr. *Taylor*, to whom we are indebted for this Account, interposing in the Captain's Behalf, one *Edvard Boreman* told him, He had bell desist, unless he had a mind to have a Brace of Balls through his Head; so that here was plainly an End of all regular Proceedings, as well as of the Captain's Authority. The People brought aboard a good Quantity of Rice, some Cattle, Fowls, Wood, and Water; for which they were paid: And, on the 12th, the Officers went on shore, to wait on the *Hoppo*, who had a very fine Palace, and who treated them with great Civility, and gave them Leave to anchor in the Harbour, and to remain there till the Monsoons were over; for which, however, he demanded, and soon after received in ready Money, a very extraordinary Compensation, under the Title of Port Charges, amounting to 1700 Dollars, which is about 400*l.* Sterl. We have already taken notice, that Captain *Mitchell* went out Second to Captain *Clipperton*; and that, on his going to *Brasil*, Mr. *Dreyon* succeeded him; and, on his being killed in the unfortunate Affair of *Guam*, Mr. *Cook* succeeded him, who now demanded thirty Shares, in Right of his Office; in which he was supported by the Men, whom he courted by a continual Compliance with their Humours. Captain *Clipperton*, and the rest of the Officers, seeing the Turn things were likely to take, were very desirous, that some Allowance should be made to the Officers, that were taken Prisoners, and to Mr. *Hendrie* and Mr. *Dod*, who came on board them from the *Speedwel*: But their Endeavours were fruitless, for the Men would hear of no such Allowances. While these Disputes lasted, some took it in their Heads to go ashore, without asking Leave; and, when Captain *Clipperton* would have corrected them, the whole Company declared on their Side, and prevented it. After this, all things fell into Confusion: The Men refused to work till they had their Prize-money; and, to show they valued the Credit of their Country no more than they did the Respect due to their Officer, they applied to the chief Mandarin of the Place, whom the *Chinese* style *Hibung*, and desired, that he would do them Justice against their Captain. Upon this, Mr. *Clipperton* was summoned before him; and, on the Mandarin's demanding a Reason why he refused to give his Men Satisfaction, the Captain produced the Articles, which shewed that they were not to share their Prize-money, till their Return to *London*. But Captain *Cook* (for so he was now styled) gave the Mandarin another sort of Account; which produced a Guard of Soldiers being sent on board the Ship, with a pre-emptory Order from the Mandarin to Captain *Clipperton*, immediately to settle the Shares, and pay them over to the Men; with which he was obliged to comply. This Transaction would admit of some Remarks; but, as they must be obvious to every Reader, I shall not dwell upon them, but proceed with my Relation.

23. On September 16 this Distribution was made, pursuant to the Mandarin's Order; and, no Allowance being retained for such as were taken Prisoners, the Representatives of those who were dead, or the two Gentlemen, who had served on board the *Speedwel*, the Prize-money stood thus:

The Share of Money and Plate	- - - -	Dollars.
The Share of Gold	- - - -	280
The Share of Jewels	- - - -	100
		39

The Total of a Fore-mast-man's Dividend - 4*l.* 9
Which, at 4*s.* 8*d.* a Dollar, makes *English* Money
97*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

According to this Distribution,	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Captain's Share was	- - -	1466	10 00
The second Captain	- - -	733	05 00
The Captain of Marines, Lieutenants of the Ship and Surgeon	- - -	488	16 08

But tho' Captain *Cook*, and his associates, had the good Luck to carry their Point in this manner, yet Captain *Clipperton's* Defence had so much Weight with the chief Mandarin, that, before he obliged him to proceed to this Distribution of Shares, he ordered one Half of the Cargo to be secured for the Benefit of the Owners; which, in ready Money, wrought Silver, Gold, and Jewels, amounted to between 6 and 7000*l.* Sterl. which he caused to be immediately put on board a *Portuguese East Indiaman*, called the *Queen of Angels*, Don *Francisco la Vera* Commander: Which Ship was unfortunately burnt at *Rio Janeiro* on the Coast of *Brasil*, June 6. 1722. So that of these Effects the Owners received no more, the Charges of Salvage deducted, than 1800*l.* I have drawn all these Facts together, tho' the last of them did not happen till their Arrival at *Macao*, that the Reader might, in one View, see the Consequences of this Mutiny, and the Means, by which the Proprietors of this Expedition were defeated of its Profits, notwithstanding all the Care that Captain *Clipperton* could take to secure their Property. The Reader will easily perceive, that there was a strange Mixture of Right and Wrong, of Justice and of Violence, in the Conduct of the *Chinese* Mandarin towards Captain *Clipperton* and his People. I have endeavoured already to throw some Light upon the Subject, by giving the Reader a general Account of the Disposition and Conduct of these People; but, as I have some very particular Memoirs, not only of this Transaction, but of the State of Things in general in this Port at that time, I presume I shall do him a Pleasure, if I dwell somewhat longer upon this Subject. The People, and even the Mandarins, at *Amoy*, have so managed Matters for a long Space of Time, that, amongst their Countrymen, who should know them best, they have acquired to their Port the Epithet of *Hiamuin Booz*, i. e. *Amoy* the wicked, or still more literally translated, *Amoy* the roguish. The Fishermen upon the Coast shake their Heads, and pronounce these Words with a very significant Air, whenever they meet with any *European* Ship inclined to put into that Port; but, for want of understanding the Language, or, perhaps, from a Confidence in their own Prudence, they very rarely make a right Use of these Warnings; which, in a short time, however, they are sure to repent: For it is a certain Rule, that particular Provinces never acquire such Marks or Characters of Dishonesty, without deterring them. The Custom of this Port is, to disarm every Ship that comes into it, and then to send two Frigates, or, as they are called in the *Chinese* Tongue, *Cbanpans*, full of Men, to ride near the Vessel, in order to observe her, and execute the Directions, which the Mandarins may send them. Besides the monstrous Impolition, under the Name of Port-Charges, which has been already mentioned, they have some other strange Methods of coming at Money here; for tho' the Small-craft of the Country seem to have free Liberty of carrying on board all sorts of Provisions, which, being in great plenty there, ought to be afforded at a moderate Price, yet, in Reality, every one of these Vessels goes on board the *Cbanpan* first, and there pays a Consideration for Leave to go on board the strange Vessel; and, by this means, the Price of all manner of Provision is raised about a third. Another mean Artifice, practised by the Mandarins, is sending Presents of Wine, Provisions, and costly Curiosities, to the Captains, and other Officers; of which, when the Ship is ready to sail, they send a very exact Memorial, with the Prices tacked to it; and the last Article is so much for the Clerk's writing the Bill: Which must be discharged in Money or Commodities,

six Dollars apiece being required for a Passage in one of the Chinese Boats thither, twenty of them agreed to it immediately, in hopes of getting a Passage from thence home to England; and of this Number Mr. Taylor the Mate was one: But, before they came to sail, he had a Foresight of the Danger; and therefore chose to lose his Money, and wait for another Convenience; and he had Reason to look upon this Lots as a Piece of Frugality, since the next News they heard was, that the Boat had been taken by a Pirate, and that most of the People had lost their Things. After a short Stay at Macao, an Opportunity offered for Mr. Taylor's getting speedily and safely to Canton, a Mandarin going thither in an armed Boat, for which he, and the rest of the English Seamen that went with him, paid twenty Dollars an Head: And their Passage taught them, that, in some Cases, there may be a Frugality in Expence; for, in their Passage, they saw a Pirate take a Boat in Sight of the Mandarin's; which plainly shewed, that the Government worked at those things, and perhaps thought it good Policy to raise a considerable Revenue, partly by Presents from the Pirates, and partly by Sums paid by Merchants and Passengers for their Protection; which is one among a Number of Facts that might be brought to prove, that the boasted Wisdom of the Chinese is nothing more, than the Science of dextrously hiding their Robberies from the Inspection of the Law; a sort of Practice, in which, perhaps, they are as much exceeded by some Northern Nations, as in the Use of the Compass, of which, notwithstanding, the Chinese boast that they were the first Inventors; and, perhaps, a better Title might be made to that Invention by them, than by any body else; but, with respect to the Improvement, their Compass, and their Manner of managing this piratical Trade of pirating, are equally clumsy.

23. On November 4. they arrived at the English Factory at Canton, where they were well received, and promised all imaginable Assistance towards their getting home, which was what they now chiefly aimed at. There were, at this time, several Ships there ready to sail, first for several Ports in India, and then for Europe. The Captains of these Vessels being invited by the Factory to take Captain Clipperton's Men on board, they met, and agreed to carry them to Great Britain for five Pounds a Man, being a very great Favour, and accordingly they all paid their Money. Mr. Taylor, and two or three more, went aboard the *Maurice*, Captain Peacock, at *Wampoa*, being the Place where the European Ships lay, about three Leagues down Canton River. The rest of their Company divided in several Ships. On the 6th, they sailed, in Company of the *Macclesfield*, an English East Indiaman, and an *Oxleyer*, called the *House of Austria*. Mr. Taylor arrived lately at *Batavia* in the Month of December, sailed from thence to the Cape of Good Hope in February, came to *St. Helena* in March, and, in May 1722, arrived in London. The rest of the Ship's Company returned, some sooner, some later, as Opportunities offered; but, as for Captain Mitchell, who was sent to *Brazil* with a small Crew, he was never heard of, and most probably was destroyed on the Island of *Velas*, where he went ashore for the sake of getting fresh Provisions. This has been generally considered as the greatest Blemish of Captain Clipperton's Administration, I must confess, I think, without any just Reason. In the first Place, I conceive the great Strefs Captain Rogers lays upon that Expedition might very well engage Captain Clipperton to try what might be done in this Way, especially since the Owners had so strongly recommended Captain Rogers's Account of his Voyage, as the Rule and Guide of that, which was to be made at his Expence. In the next Place, I must own, I think the Project in itself very reasonable, that I do not wonder an Officer, who had the Good of the Voyage at Heart, was desirous of trying the Experiment. They very well knew, that the Prizes they had taken would produce little or nothing in the South Seas, because the Sums demanded by the Governors for Licences to trade, were so extravagant, that no Profits could result from such a Commerce, either to Buyers or Sellers. They knew too, that carrying those Goods back again to Europe was doing little or nothing; and therefore, it there was a Probability of sending them to a Place, where they might be sold to great Advantage, and the Produce invested to, as to procure considerable Profit on this

Voyage from *Brazil* to London, it appears to me in the Light of a very good Design. As to the Vessel in which Captain Mitchell embarked, it was very fit for his Purpose, and every way well provided; and his Crew, of thirteen English, and ten Negroes, sufficient for the Navigation. Captain Mitchell himself was a very good Officer, and, for any thing that appears, was very well satisfied with the Command to which he was appointed: Neither is there the least Intimation, that this Scheme of Captain Clipperton's was censured, even by his own mutinous Crew, till the Event shewed, that it was unsuccessful: So that, on the Whole, I think, the Captain was rather to be commended than condemned for this Action, by which he could propose no Advantage to himself, but in common with the Owners, from the Success of the Voyage. But it is time to quit these Reflections, in order to come to the last Scene of Captain Clipperton's Life.

26. He failed in the *Success*, after she was sold, as a Passenger, from *Macao* to *Batavia*; from whence he procured a Passage home in a Dutch East India Ship, and arrived, in the Beginning of June 1722, at *Galway* in *Ireland*, where he left his Family in a very bad State of Health, occasioned partly by his great Fatigues, but chiefly through the Concern he was under for the Loss the Owners had sustained by this unfortunate Voyage. It may indeed be objected, that, on his Arrival in *Holland*, he ought to have returned thence to London, and given the Proprietors the best Account in his Power of the Undertaking, and of his Management. But when we reflect, first, on his sending home their Moiety of the Profits in the Portuguese Ship, which, by the way, very nearly reimbursed the Expence they had been at in fitting out the *Success*, the Purchase-money of the Ship being taken in, and if we next advert to the weak Condition he was in, when he went to *Galway*, where he did not live a Week, we may very well excuse him. He might very probably have hoped, that the Comfort of seeing his Wife and Children might contribute to restore his Health, and enable him to make a Voyage to London, when in a Condition, to settle his Accounts; or, if he found himself to very low, as absolutely to despair of recovering at all, it was very natural for him to desire the Satisfaction of seeing his Family in his last Moments. But, above all, we ought to remember, that it was not in his Power to do more for the Proprietors, than he had done; and therefore he was at the greater Liberty to take all the Care he could of his private Concerns. It is a very easy matter to censure the Conduct, blacken the Memory, and misrepresent the Actions of a poor Man in his Grave; but, from this plain and faithful Account of all his Transactions, I dare say, every impartial Reader will agree, that he was an Object of Pity, rather than Resentment, since, after so many long Voyages, in which he suffered for many and to great Hardships, he died at last of a broken heart, with a broken Fortune.

27. The Remarks that have been made on the last Voyage, have such a Relation to this, that, if I was not, as I really am, pretty much frightened for Room, I should not take up much of the Reader's Time in Observations. A very few Remarks are necessary, and I shall make but a few, and such as have a Tendency to explain the Nature of all Expeditions of this Kind. In the first Place, I shall take Notice, that the Expence of this Adventure, though much larger than it need have been, by procuring his Imperial Majesty's Commission, and the waiting some Money in *Flanders*, was not excessively great, or such as ought to discourage all future Undertakings of this Nature. It was, as the Proprietors themselves admit, no more than 14,000*l.* and, when it is considered, that two large fine Ships were fitted out, capable, in all respects, if their Commanders had agreed, and done their Duty, of combating the whole Force of the Spaniards in the South Seas; if, I say, we consider this, and suffer ourselves at the same time to remember, that at least as much is spent in a Season at *Vauxhall*, or *Ranelagh*, we may justly wonder, that the South Seas do not swarm with English Privateers. It is true, there are some French Ships gone thither by Permission, which may be of tolerable Strength; but, except these, there is no Reason to suspect, that the Spaniards are stronger, than at the Time Captain Clipperton made his Voyage. Our Efforts, during this War, have been chiefly made

made in the North Seas; and, therefore, the Spanish Governors have turned their Attention mostly on that Side, and, consequently, they neglected this. It must be owned, that Captain Clipperton's Voyage proved a great Loss to his Owners, who did not receive above 2000 *l.* for between seven and eight that they laid out: Yet, if we consider, that, notwithstanding his Separation from his Consort, and many other unlucky Accidents that he met with, he actually secured 6000 *l.* for his Owners, besides 5000 *l.* lost with Captain Mitchell, and one thousand more, for which the *Success* was sold, we shall find, that he made more than a saving Voyage of it; and that, consequently, if both Ships had done their Duty, the Expedition had been at least as gainful as that of the *Duke* and *Duchess*, which cost very little more than this, and which produced 170,000 Pounds, one Moiety of which belonged to the Proprietors; which is sufficient to shew, the ill Turn that this Affair took, ought by no means to discourage us from undertaking such an Expedition for the future; since we can scarce propose any other, that has a Prospect of being more advantageous, or less hazardous. I shall next observe, that the Skill of Captain Clipperton has fully shewn us, that there is nothing extremely dangerous in a Voyage to the South Seas. He sailed on the 15th of February, and he entered the Streights of Magellan the 29th of May, which makes but seventy-three Days in the Whole, out of which we are to take twenty, that he cruised for his Consort at the *Canaries*, and *Cape de Verde* Islands; so that we may very well suppose, that, if the Ships had been together, and had met with none of their unlucky Accidents, they might in three Months have doubled *Cape Horn*. To these Observations I shall add another, and so conclude. It appears to have been Captain Clipperton's Intention to have come home in the *Success*, instead of selling her at *Macao* for about half what she was worth; and, if he had done this, it is very highly probable, he had saved all the Money which was lost in the *Portuguese East Indiaman*, and made a tolerable Voyage. The contrary Scheme, of selling, destroying, and getting home at any Rate, appears to have been pursued by Captain Cook, and the Ship's Company, who, provided they got Possession of the Shares they had carved out for themselves, were not in any Pain about the Interest of the Proprietors. This shews how necessary it is to be secure as to the Characters of under Officers, before they are employed in Expeditions of this Nature. A Man

of a narrow and selfish Disposition, who has nothing at Heart but the adding to his own Fortune by any Method, and at any body's Expence, will never fail to invent, or to promote, any Scheme that seems calculated for his own Advantage, tho' diametrically opposite to the Design of the Voyage: And the having a Spirit or two of this Sort, is sufficient to disturb and confound any Privateer's Crew, since such are generally made up of Men low in Birth, mean in Understanding, and necessitous in point of Fortune, which was the Case here, as Captain *Betagh* acknowledges in the Account of the Voyage, where he professes, that, when they left *Phymouth*, he was sure the Ship's Company could not raise 5 *l.* among them all. It is true, there might be a Difficulty in getting many Persons of Sense, Probity, and in tolerable Circumstances, to undertake a Privateering Voyage to the South Seas: But this is what need not be endeavoured; for tolerable Terms, granted to half a dozen Seafaring People, would answer the End, and procure the Captain, or Commander in Chief, Friends enough to support him, whenever he was in the Right; for, though it be very easy to seduce the private Men by enticing Speeches, yet it rarely happens, that they plot and execute any wicked Design, without the Encouragement, or Connivance at least, of some of their Officers; but, when once they are satisfied, that a Party is formed amongst them against the Commander in chief, they are always backward in their Duty, think every thing that is expected from them a Hardship, and are never to be satisfied as to their Demands of Plunder, &c. As a further Proof of this, the Reader need only observe, that while Captain Mitchell, and Mr. Davison, were on board, there fell out none of these Disputes, none of these Mutinies; but after the unfortunate Business at *Guam*, when Captain Clipperton had made so free with the Glass, as not to be able to command when the Ship was in the utmost Danger, there was an End of Discipline; and Cook, who appears to have been raised on that Occasion to a temporary Command, by the Consent of the Ship's Crew, invested himself thenceforward with a Title and Authority of second Captain; and pushed the Business of sharing the Prize-money, that he might be considered in that Quality upon the Distribution of the Money; which single Act was the absolute Ruin of the Voyage. Such untoward Influence may one Man's Vices have on the Fortunes of many.

SECTION XVIII.

Captain GEORGE SHELVOCKE'S Voyage round the World, from his own Account.

1. *The Author's Departure from England, and Separation from Clipperton.* 2. *Proceeds to the Canaries, and Cape de Verd Islands.* 3. *Their Arrival at the Island of St. Catharine's, on the Coast of Brazil, Proceedings there, and Description of that Island.* 4. *Disputes and Disturbances among the Ship's Crew, and the Means taken to appease them.* 5. *Continuation of the Voyage to the Streights of le Maire, and Passage through them.* 6. *They cruise on the Coast of Chili, with indifferent Success.* 7. *Arrival at, and Description of, the Island of Chiloe.* 8. *Arrival in the Bay of Conception.* 9. *Sail for the Island of Juan Fernandez.* 10. *Prosecute their Voyage, and cruise on the Coast of Peru.* 11. *Arrival in, and Description of, the Port of Atica.* 12. *Transactions in the Cruise from thence to Payta.* 13. *Arrival at, and Attack of, the Town of Payta.* 14. *A smart Engagement with the Spanish Admiral in the South Seas.* 15. *Sail back to the Coast of Chili, and are shipwreck'd on the Island of Juan Fernandez.* 16. *Account of their Transactions while forced to remain on that Island.* 17. *Build a Bark there, in order to proceed again into the South Seas.* 18. *Description of the Island of Juan Fernandez, in the Condition in which they found it.* 19. *They attack and make themselves Masters of Iquique.* 20. *Take a large Spanish Ship, called the Jesu Maria, on the Coast of Peru.* 21. *Continue their Voyage to the Island of Quibo.* 22. *Their several Intercourses with Captain Clipperton in the Success.* 23. *Cruise on the Coast of Mexico, and take another large Spanish Ship, called the Sacra Familia.* 24. *Sail once more for Quibo, and are exposed to great Hardships in their Passage.* 25. *They are attacked by a stout Spanish Ship, and, after an obdurate Dispute, take her.* 26. *Other Adventures in these Seas.* 27. *Arrival at Puerto Seguro, on the Coast of California.* 28. *Description of the South Part of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 29. *Sail from thence for the East Indies, and arrive safely at Canton.* 30. *Proceed from thence for England, and arrive safely at London, August 1. 1722.* 31. *Remarks upon this Voyage.*

IN the Introduction to the former Voyage, I have given a large Account of the Motives on which it was founded; the original Plan of acting under

an Imperial Commission; the Reason why this Plan was changed, and Captain Clipperton advanced to the chief Command; so that there needs nothing more on that Subject here

here. I shall therefore scheme of the Voyage Command of the *Success*; his second Captain a very good Character. Mr. William Betagh, who was on board, has written therefore I have it in as it is in my Power; explanatory Circumstances may let the Reader of February 1719. The Company with the *Success* together no long nine and ten o'Clock storm of Wind at South our Top-falls: The Crew very much peevish, I *Success's* Lee; upon writing to: By eleven of with our Yards a-port Knot of Canvas all Night. About Mid Quarter, and drove in our Stern dead Lights, of Water before we were, for a considerable fions of loondering. The Danger; we were no Wind, nor could we see one being all this, had a Success on so that none could stand choly Streights, the Crew could have recourse to God that we were deliv On the 20th, we had a Vessel, so that at Noon at Midnight let the To In the Morning, the Storm is terrified the g that I was informed, t upon bearing away for a Complaint against the was so very crank, that us to the South Seas. Mariners by Reason, Purpose: They contain from Retention of pur ing to England; but who, appearing upon appearing resolute, the seemed inclinable to d hardy Rubborn Fellow the rest of the Crew into all Memory of past O future Conduct, obtain

2. As the *Canaries* delvous, we continued several Ships in our *Success*, but were able ever. On the 17th of and cruised there the in which Time there hept the taking a small Salt, and some Wine, latter the Boat's Crew Prize to the Ship. This was the *Cape de Verde* them, we might either Intelligence of, Captain 14th of April in the low a Wreck, and an Smoke on the Land. Boat came off, and at *East Indiaman*, Captain Mixture use of running Upon which, I began

here. I shall therefore observe, that, according to the new Scheme of the Voyage, Captain *Shelvocke* retained the Command of the *Speedwel*, a Ship of 24 Guns, and 106 Men; his second Captain was Mr. *Simon Hatley*, who has a very good Character in Captain *Rogers's Voyage*; and Mr. *William Intagb* was Captain of Marines. The Captain himself has written an Account of the Expedition, and therefore I have it in my Choice to make use of it as far as it is in my Power; adding, as Occasion requires, such explanatory Circumstances from Captain *Betagh's* Account, as may let the Reader into the whole Affair. On the 13th of February 1719, we sailed, says Captain *Shelvocke*, in Company with the *Success*, from *Plymouth*, and kept Company together no longer than to the 19th, when, between nine and ten o'Clock at Night, there came on a violent Storm of Wind at South-west, which obliged us to take in our Top-sails: The Gale increasing upon us, and being very much pressed, I haled up my Fore-sail under the *Success's* Lee; upon which they made a Signal for bringing-to: By eleven o'Clock we were under bare Poles, with our Yards a-portland, not being able to suffer one Knot of Canvas all Night, except for a little while a reefed Mizzen. About Midnight, a Sea struck us upon the Quarter, and drove in one of our Quarter's, and one of our Stern dead Lights, where we shipped great Quantities of Water before we were able to stop them again, and were, for a considerable time, under continual Apprehensions of foundering. This Accident exposed us to the greatest Danger; we were not able to get the Ship before the Wind, nor could we work the Pumps upon Deck, the Lee one being all the time under Water; and, besides this, had a Succession of prodigious Seas driving over us, so that none could stand on their Legs. In these melancholy Streights, the Chain-pump was the only thing we could have recourse to, by means of which it pleased God that we were delivered from impending Destruction. On the 20th, we had no Sight of the *Success*, or any other Vessel, so that at Noon we let the Main-sail double-reefed, at Midnight let the Top-sails, and stood to the North-west. In the Morning, the Helm-coat was washed away, which was not secured again without much Difficulty. This Storm so terrified the greatest Part of our Ship's Company, that I was informed, that seventy of them were resolved upon bearing away for *England*, and that they had formed a Complaint against the Ship; for they alledged, that she was so very crank, that she would never be able to carry us to the South Seas. I endeavoured to appease these Mutineers by Reason, and fair Usage: but to very little Purpose: They continued, in spite of all I could say, in a firm Resolution of pursuing their first Design, and returning to *England*; but, having recourse to my Officers, who, appearing upon the Quarter-deck, well armed, and appearing resolute, the Mutineers lost their Spirits, and seemed inclinable to do their Duty, except two or three hardy stubborn Fellows, whom I ordered the Geers; but the rest of the Crew interposed, and, promising to wipe off all Memory of past Offences, by the Regularity of their future Conduct, obtained their Pardon.

2. As the *Canaries* was the first Place of our Rendezvous, we continued our Course thither; and, meeting several Ships in our Passage, inquired carefully after the *Success*, but were able to gain no Intelligence of her whereabouts. On the 17th of March, we arrived at the *Canaries*, and cruised there the Time appointed by our Instructions; in which Time there happened very little remarkable, except the taking a small Prize of sixteen Ton, with a little Salt, and some Wine, on board; and the best Part of the Prize the Boat's Crew drank, before they brought the latter to the Ship. The next Place I thought of going to was the *Cape de Verde* Islands, in Hopes, that, amongst them, we might either meet with, or at least gain some Intelligence of, Captain *Clipperton*. We arrived on the 14th of April in the Road of the Isle of *May*, where we saw a Wreck, and an *English* Ensign flying near a great Smoke on the Land. As we stood in for Information, a Boat came off, and acquainted us, that it was the *Vanzieren* *Bay* *Indiaman*, Captain *Hale* Commander, who had the Misfortune of running ashore about three Weeks before. Upon which, I began to think, that this might be a good

Opportunity of suppling myself with such Necessaries as we wanted; and therefore asked the Mate, if I could have any Planks or Nails out of the Wreck? He told me, that the Ships in the Road to Leeward had got every thing that could be saved out of her. But, when I came to enter the Road, all the Ships that were there, being thirteen in Number, opposed it, from a Supposition, that I was a Free-booter; but, being convinced, the Commodore, and the rest of the Masters, came on board, and made their Excuses, promising I should have whatever I wanted. But, after all, I was able to obtain nothing more than two or three Sheathing-boards, and a few Tons of Salt. A little before we arrived here, my Gunner, whose Name was *Turner Stevens*, very gravely proposed to me, and the rest of the Officers, cruising in the Red Sea: For, said he, there can be no harm in robbing those *Mahomedans*: The poor *Spaniards* they are good Christians, and it would, doubtless, be a Sin to injure them. Upon which, I immediately ordered him into Confinement. After this, he, in a very outrageous Manner, threatened to blow up the Ship. Therefore, for these, and many other Reasons, I discharged him, at his own Request, being very glad to see every body else as well pleased as myself at his Departure: I also left my chief Mate here, at his own Desire, having been guilty of several Misdemeanours; but particularly, the Night after we anchored, he had the Imprudence to quarrel with Mr. *Brooks*, the first Lieutenant, and to fight with him; which caused no small Disturbance on board; for which I corrected him, and was very well satisfied to find him so inclinable to leave us, he having been a very troublesome Person. On the 18th, we weighed from the Island of *May*, and arrived the same Day in the Road of *Porto Praya*, on the Island of *St. Iago*, which is the chief of the *Cape de Verde*, and had Abundance of fair Promises from the commanding Officer; which ended, however, in nothing more than getting a little Provisions: And here I sold our small Prize for 150 Dollars to the Governor (Captain *Betagh* affirms, the Purchase-money was but eighty Dollars); and finding, after repeated Experiments, that there was no sort of Dependence to be made on this *Portuguese* Officer, I resolved to quit this Island without Delay; the rather, because I had thought of another Place, where I had Hopes of obtaining whatever was necessary for our Passage into the South Seas. The Place I intended for was the Island of *St. Catharine's*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, in the Latitude of 20° 30' South; which, according to the Account given of it by Mr. *Frezier*, abounds with all the Necessaries of Life, and with such Conveniences especially as are requisite in long Voyages. On the 20th, we sailed from *St. Iago*, from whence we had a very bad Passage, being twenty-one Days before we crossed the Equinoctial: While we were between the two Trade-winds, we had generally little variable Breezes all round the Compass, sometimes great Squalls of Wind and Rain, with Thunder, Lightning, &c. and, in short, the most uncertain Weather imaginable. We were fifty-five Days in going to *St. Catharine's*, during which, little remarkable happened; except that, on the 4th of June, we made *Cape Frio*, bearing West seven Leagues distant at Noon, Latitude, per Observation, 23° 41' South; and, on the 5th in the Afternoon, we saw a Ship stemming with us, whom we spoke with. I ordered the five-oar'd Boat to be hoisted out, and sent Captain *Hatley* in her, to inquire what News on the Coast; and gave him Money to buy some Tobacco; for the *Success* had got our Stock on board of that, as well as other Things, which created a West-country Lame among us. When *Hatley* returned, he told me, she was a *Portuguese* from *Rio Janeiro*, and bound to *Pernambuco*; that he could get no Tobacco; and had therefore laid out my Money in unnecessary Trifles, viz. China Cups and Plates, a little Hand-ness of Drawers, four or five Pieces of *China* Silks, Sweet-meats, Bananas, Plantains, and Pompions, &c. I gave him to understand, that I was not at all pleased with him for squandering away my Money in so silly a Manner: He answered, "That he thought what he did was for the best; that he had laid out his own Money as well as mine, and, in his Opinion, to a good Advantage; and that, to his Knowledge, the Things he bought, would sell for double the Money

" Money they cost, at the next Port we were going to." However, I assured him, I did not like his Proceedings by any means. The Account which Captain *Betagh* gives of this Matter, is very different. He asserts, that Captain *Skelcke* ordered Imperial Colours to be hoisted, and then obliged the *Portuguese* to bring to: Captain *Hutley*, going aboard with a Boat's Crew, armed each Man with a Cutlass, and a Pair of Pistols, put the *Portuguese* Captain in such a Fright, that he not only sent all Sorts of Refreshments, but a dozen Pieces of Silk, strewed with Gold and Silver, worth about three Pounds a Yard, several Dozens of China Plates and Basins, a Japan Cabinet, and three hundred Moldores in hard Gold, ninety-six of which were afterwards found upon *Hutley* when taken Prisoner by the *Spaniards* in the *West Indies*, where this Fact, having to strong an Appearance of Piracy, had like to have cost him his Life.

3. On the 23d of *June*, they anchored before the Island of *St. Catharine*, where, says Captain *Skelvoeke*, the first thing I did, was to send the Carpenter ashore, with all the People that could be useful to him, in felling of Trees and sawing them into Planks: The rest of the Crew were employed in other necessary Services: And, in the mean time, the Captain of the Island, and the rest of the Inhabitants, came off every Day with fresh Provisions; which was a very great Convenience, because it hindered our People from breaking in upon their Sea-stores, while they continued in this Harbour. I purchased likewise 21 Black Cattle, several Hogs, and 200 large salted Drum-fish, together with 150 Bushels of a sort of Meal which the *Portuguese* call *Farrino de Iao*, which is the Flour of Castor-root, as fine as our Oatmeal; a very hearty Food, and prepared with very little Trouble. I likewise bought 150 Bushels of Calavances, some with Money, at the Rate of a Dollar a Bushel, and some with Salt, exchanging one Bushel for another; adding to all this a very necessary Article; which was, a good Quantity of Tobacco. The Account given by Monsieur *Frezier*, of this Island, is very exact, except in two Particulars: The first is, that he takes no notice of an Island lying between that of *Gall*, and the Continent of *Brazil*; the next, a Reef of Rocks, which is a very material Omission. In all Descriptions of this Kind, Care should be taken to set down every thing plainly, so as to prevent any Doubts from arising in the Minds of such as are to make use of these Descriptions, especially with regard to Roads, Anchoring places, and where Water is to be taken in. For want of Accuracy in this respect, such as have no other Guide but their Books and Charts, which was our Case, are liable to run into dangerous Errors, and such, perhaps, as admit of no Remedies; and, for this Reason, where ever I venture upon any Descriptions, I shall be more careful to lay down what may be of Use, than to entertain the Reader with Matter of Amusement. But, to return from these Reflections, to that which occasioned them. In order to arrive at the Anchoring-place, you must continue to sail in the Chanel between *St. Catharine's* and the Continent, till you come within or near two small Islands, which, as yet, have had no Name given them: Over-against the Northernmost of these is the Watering-place on *St. Catharine's*, near to the Entrance of a small Salt-water Creek; opposite to which, you may come to in six or seven Fathom very safely, the Bottom being a fine grey Sand. The Island of *St. Catharine's* is about eight Leagues and an half in Length, but, in Breadth, nowhere exceeds two Leagues; and the Chanel, between it and the Continent, so narrow in one Part, as not to be much above a Quarter of a Mile in Breadth: It is all over covered with inaccessible Woods, so that, excepting the Plantations, there is not a clear Spot upon it. The least Island about it is in the same Manner, abounding with a great Variety of Trees, and Undergrowth with Brambles and Thorns, which hinder any Access, and the main Continent of *Brazil* may be justly termed a vast continued Wilderness. The Sassafras, so much esteemed in *Europe*, is so common there, that we laid in a good Quantity, instead of other Wood, for firing. They have there great Plenty of Oranges, both China and Seville, Lemons, Citrons, Limes, Bananas, Palm, Cabbage, Melons of all Sorts, and Potatoes. They have the Sugar-cane very large and good,

but make little or no Use of it for want of Utensils, so that the little Melasses and Rum they have they sell very dear. As to their Game, there is hardly any to be had, although the Woods are full of Parrots, which are good Eating, and are always seen to fly in Pairs, notwithstanding there may be some hundreds in a Flock, Maccaros, Cockatoes, Plovers, and a great Diversity of other Birds, of curious Colours, and peculiar Shapes, particularly one somewhat larger than a Thrush, which has a Spur in the Joint of each Wing. The Flamingoes are very often seen here in great Numbers; they are of a very fine Scarlet, and appear extremely beautiful when flying; they are about the Size of an Heron, and not unlike them in Shape. 'Tis quite otherwise with the Fishery; for, as they have abundance of several Sorts of good Fish, so they have almost every-where the best Convenience for halting the Seine. All their Bays and Creeks are very well stocked with Mulletts, large Rays, Grunters, Cavallies, and Drum fish, so called from the Noise they make, by which they are followed to Shore-water, and taken; some of which are twenty or thirty Pounds Weight, and their Scales are almost as big as a Crown-piece; the *Portuguese* call them *Moroes*. You may go up three or four Miles into the salt water Creek before mentioned, to be near the Watering-place, where each Rock, Stone, and even the Roots of the Mangrove trees, afford a delicious Sort of small green Oysters: Likewise, among the Rocks by the Sea-side, you find what is commonly called the Sea-egg; in its outward Form, it nearly resembles a Dockbur, excepting that they are generally three or four times as big, and are of a sea-green or deep-purple Colour; but, in the Inside, they are divided in Partitions, like Oranges; each Partition contains a yellow Substance, which is eaten raw, and, in my Opinion, exceeds all the Shell-fish I ever tasted; they have Prawns of an extraordinary Size; and, in our Nets, we sometimes caught the Sea-horse. On the Savannahs of *Ariziliba*, on the Continent, over-against the Southernmost Part of *St. Catharine's*, they have great Numbers of Black Cattle, some of which we were sufficiently supplied with from thence, and which we bought at a very reasonable Price. The Character of the *Portuguese* of this Island is, that they are a Parcel of Banditti, which come for Refuge here from the neighbouring and more strictly governed Colonies of *Brazil*: *Emanuel Manfa*, who was what they called the Captain of the Island, was still their Chief, as much as in *Frezier's* Time; however, for my Part, I can but do them the Justice to say, that they traded with me very honestly, and were very civil to every one, but those who gave them those gross Offences hereafter mentioned. They enjoy the Blessings of a fertile Country, and a wholesome Air; and stand in need of no Necessaries, except Cloathing. They have Fire-arms sufficient for their Use; and, indeed, they have need of them very often; for they are greatly troubled with Tygers; but *Ule* has made them easy under that Inconveniency; yet, in their Houses, they are obliged to keep a great many Dogs, to destroy those venomous Creatures, who oftentimes make a prodigious Havock amongst them. I have been told, that a Tyger has killed eight or ten Dogs in a Night; but, if it be Day-light, they seldom escape from them; for they then assist the Inhabitants a kind of Diversion, and an Opportunity to destroy them effectually. In short, nothing is more common, than to see the Prints of Tygers Paws upon the sandy Beach: As to their fine Dwelling-houses, mentioned by Monsieur *Frezier*, none of us could see any such thing, nor have they any Place worthy the Name of a Town, but any Fortification of any kind, except the Woods, which are a certain Retreat and Security against any Enemy that may attack them. As to the *Indians* of those Parts, I cannot say much of them, having never seen above two or three of them.

4. There happened, during the Stay we made at *St. Catharine's*, some Passages worthy of Notice, of which therefore I shall give a concise Account: On *July 2* we lay in a large Ship at Anchor under *Parrots* Island, about two Miles below the Place where we lay; upon which, after taking the necessary Precautions for securing the Watering-places, and what we had ashore there, I sent my Launch, well manned and armed, under the Command of a Lieutenant

to know what she was not to go on board. A Lieutenant reported to me, that he had taken one of our Men, a Squadron, commanded by Officers and Seamen, Number of about 420 the *Spanish* Service, yet, I must tell you, having quite a Rupture between us, I was extremely well pleased with this Information, in the Manner in which the Lieutenant had discovered the stranger. It was that *M. la Jonquiere* was next Day, he sent me with an Invitation to dine with him; he was extremely well heard, that *Hutley* had 100 Moldores, and had Boat's Crew, in order to be put into this as a trial, but he had been found guilty, to the satisfaction of the *Portuguese* I am such Proof as was sufficient against him; which was in the South Seas. The while Actions on the utmost Danger of their *Portuguese*, which till prevented or punished, because Favourite with my Mut Captain, with several of on board to dine with my Boatswain, whose which, with the Assistance easily quelled: And *Manoel*, made a very haughty Madness of their Behaviour, that, the next Day, they all the Blame upon the *Portuguese*, that he was the same time, that he was a *French* Ship, which I Experience, to be a very was continually incensed of whom, he pretended went, upon all Occasions. On the 15th, we saw a Mouth; who, as soon again: Which filled my Sensations of her being our immediately; and accordingly weighed, and fell down next Morning, and, at Guns. Three *Frenchmen* him; but I had two *Frenchmen* in lieu of them. *Jonquiere* the Justice to every respect, as became a Man of Honour. On again under *French* Command of *St. Malo*, of commanded by *M. la* Coasts of *Costa* and *Pe* law coming in before, This Gentleman behaved in a furious Manner, calling under a foreign Crown, being one of *Martin* South Seas was, to two Interlopers: Which they were not above two of that elapsed falling into all legal Prizes. He Character, and asserted takes in his Book; which I believe, because I was that Design of depriving

to know what she was; but with a strict Injunction to him not to go on board. About Noon, the Launch returned; and the Lieutenant reported, that she was the *Ruby*, formerly one of our Men of War, but now one of *Martinet's* Squadron, commanded by one *M. la Jonquiere*; that his Officers and Seamen were, most of them, *French*, to the Number of about 420; and that, tho' she was actually in the *Spanish* Service, yet they had not the least Design to molest us, having quitted the South Seas, upon a Report of a Rupture between *France* and *Spain*. I was very well pleased with this Information; but by no means satisfied with the Manner in which it had been obtained, because my Lieutenant had disobeyed my Orders, and had been on board the stranger. It appeared, however, afterwards, that *M. la Jonquiere* was a Man of strict Honour. The next Day, he sent me an Assurance of his good Intentions, with an Invitation to dine with him; which I accepted, and was extremely well entertained. About this time I first heard, that *Hatley* had plundered the *Portuguese* Captain of 100 Moidores, and had distributed Part of them among his Boat's Crew, in order to engage them to Secrecy. I examined into this as strictly as possible, with Intent, if he had been found guilty, to have delivered him up to the Captain of the *Portuguese* Island; but, not being able to obtain such Proof as was necessary, all I could do was to protest against him; which Protest I gave to Captain *Clipperton* in the South Seas. The same Man committed to many vile Actions on the Island, that our People were in the utmost Danger of their Lives, from the Retenement of the *Portuguese*; which ill Conduct of his I was neither able to prevent or punish, because he was now become the greatest Favourite with my mutinous Crew. On July 6. the *French* Captain, with several of his Officers and Passengers, came on board to dine with me. While they were in the Ship, my Boatswain, whose Name was *Hudson*, raised a Mutiny; which, with the Assistance of the *French* Gentlemen, was easily quelled: And *M. la Jonquiere*, when things were quiet, made a very handsome Discourse to them on the Madness of their Behaviour; which had to good an Effect, that, the next Day, they appeared very submissive, and laid all the Blame upon the Boatswain; who excused himself, by alleging, that he was mad with Drink, beseeching me at the same time, that he might have Leave to go home in the *French* Ship, which I readily gave him, knowing him, by Experience, to be a very dangerous Fellow, and one who was continually incensing the People against their Officers, of whom he pretended, there were too many; and was wont, upon all Occasions, to style them the Bloodthirsters. On the 15th, we saw a large Ship lying in the Harbour's Mouth; who, as soon as they discovered us, turned out again: Which filled *M. la Jonquiere* with such Apprehensions of her being our Consort, that he resolved to be gone immediately; and accordingly, when Night came on, he weighed, and fell down the Harbour, and went to Sea the next Morning, and, at his Departure, saluted me with five Guns. Three *Frenchmen* belonging to me went away with him; but I had two *Frenchmen*, and one *Moroccan Irishman*, in lieu of them. On the Whole, I must do *M. la Jonquiere* the Justice to say, that he behaved towards me, in every respect, as became a Gentleman, a good Officer, and a Man of Honour. On the 25th, the large Ship appeared again under *French* Colours. She was called the *Wife Solomon* of *St. Malo*, of forty Guns, and about 100 Men, commanded by *M. Dumain Girard*, and bound to the Coasts of *Costa* and *Peru* to trade, and the same Ship we saw coming in before, and had spoken with the *Ruby* at Sea. This Gentleman abused *M. la Jonquiere* to me in the most scurrilous Manner, calling him Renegado, for having served under a foreign Crown against his own Countrymen; for being one of *Martinet's* Squadron, their Business in the South Seas was, to sweep those Coasts clear of the *French* Interlopers: Which they did very effectually; for there were not above two or three, out of twelve or thirteen, that escaped falling into *Martinet's* Hands, who made them all legal Prizes. He likewise gave *M. Frezier* a very bad Character, and asserted, that there were many gross Mistakes in his Book; which, however, I did not absolutely believe, because I was a little suspicious of his having a sinister Design of depriving me of the Lights this Book affords:

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And indeed I found him, in every respect, a very subtle mercenary Man, full of Conceit and Vanity. I made, however, what Uses of him I could, by purchasing Cheese, Butter, Nails, and other Necessaries; which made me conceive myself in a pretty good Capacity for finishing the Voyage, which was now upon my Hands. This Success abroad did not hinder our having great Storms at home; for my Crew, being informed, that the People on board the *Duke* and *Duchess* had been but indifferently used with respect to their Prize-money when they came home, resolved to secure themselves in time; and, by the Advice of one *Matthew Stewart*, who was chief Mate, drew up a Paper of Articles relating to Plunder, and sent me a Letter, signed by them, in which they insisted on its being made the Rule of our Voyage. I took some time to consider of this, which did not please them; and therefore they drew up a Letter of Attorney to this *Matthew Stewart*, and sent him to solicit an Answer, or rather my Consent, to their Demands; which finding my Officers equally cold in advising or acting with me, I laboured to decline. But, after some few Days Murmuring and Uneasiness amongst themselves, and no Work going on, the Ship's Company came all on the Quarter-deck to me in a mutinous Manner, desiring to know my final Resolution, saying, that I knew theirs, which was that they would stand by; telling me, that they knew how to provide for themselves, without running such certain Hazards for uncertain Gain; and clamoured, in a most outrageous Manner, against *Mr. Godfrey*, who was our principal Agent, and against one of the chief of the Gentlemen Owners, saying, They had been well informed what a Pay-matter he would make, if their Fortunes should fall into his Hands, with a thousand scurrilous Expressions; which astonished me. In short, finding them deaf to any thing I could urge against them, and so perversely obstinate in requiring me to comply with them, by signing their Articles; and considering the Prospect I had of meeting Captain *Clipperton* in the South Seas, when they must be again reduced, and made subject, to their first Articles, or, at least, under the same Restriction with those under his Command; and verily believing, that the Consequence of my Refusal, in this Particular, would be no less than their running away with my Ship, and following the old Gunner's Scheme (it must certainly have been something like; for I could not think of any other way they could have of providing for themselves, as they called it); therefore, upon these Considerations, both myself, and all my chief Officers, thought it more advisable, for the general Good, to sign, rather than to suffer them to proceed in such a piratical Manner. As soon as they had gained their Point, they expressed a great Satisfaction; and promised me, that they would always be ready to hazard their Lives on any Undertaking, that I should think conducive to attain the Ends we were fitted out for. However, upon the Whole, tho' it may be called a desperate Remedy, when one was not certain what might be the Consequence of it, it ought to be looked on as applied to a desperate Disease, and as the only Means left to prevail on them to go on quietly in our Expedition; for the most favourable Conjecture that could be made, in case of my not condescending to their Request, was, that they would have certainly deserted, and have left me and a few others here, to have ended so promising an Undertaking in this Port. But to go on with our Voyage: August 3. there came in the *St. Francisco Xavier*, a *Portuguese* Man of War, of forty Guns, and 300 Men, from *Lisbon*, bound to *Manila* in *China*, commanded by Captain *Riviere*, a *Frenchman*. I made no doubt, but that Captain *Hatley's* Abair would be reported to this Gentleman by some of the Inhabitants, and therefore told him, that I expected he would go and vindicate himself to the *Portuguese* Captain, to prevent any Disturbances that might arise by the Account of his Mismanagement on board the *Portuguese*, which we met at Sea; to which he readily replied, that he would. Therefore, to give him an Opportunity of doing it, I sent a Compliment by him to *M. Riviere*, to whom he acquitted himself so well, as to give that Gentleman Satisfaction. On the 6th, three of my Men deserted; and, having Intelligence, that they had been seen at our Tents, I sent one of my Mates in the Pinnace after them, with Orders to go no farther than the Tents, but to return without Loss of Time:

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for I was heaving up my Anchor, with Design to fall below the Road that Night, that I might be in Readiness the next Morning: But, missing them at the Place they were sent to, they thought fit to go up to the *Portuguese* Plantations, which were two Leagues farther. It being Midnight, the Inhabitants were apprehensive it was *Hatley*, who was come to take his Leave of them in the Manner he had threatened. However, they suffered them to go up to their Dwellings, to search for those they wanted; but my Men, finding a different Reception from what they used to meet with, suspected some Malice against them, and therefore made their Way to the Boat. In the mean time, some of the *Portuguese* had placed themselves in Ambuscade, to destroy them as they returned to the Water-side. No sooner had they got into the Boat, than they heard them rushing from the Woods, crying, *Kill the Dogs! kill all the English Dogs!* This Outcry was followed by a Volley of Small-arms, which wounded three, two through their Thighs, and another through the Arm. After this, they discharged several times; but did no further Damage. The Wounded sustained a great Loss of Blood, being so long before they got aboard; for they were above three Leagues distant from the Ship. This Accident obliged me to weigh again the next Morning, and return into the Road, to try to punish those, who had been concerned in this Barbarity. With this View, I sent a Letter by *Hatley* to the Captain of the *Portuguese* Man of War; but, at his Entrance into the Ship, he was furiously assaulted by *Emanuel Mansa*, the Captain of the Island, crying out, That this was the Rogue, who had committed so many Insolences towards them: who had burnt one of their Houses, and had made it a common Practice to reproach him with the Name of *Querno*, i. e. Cuckold. Upon his Exclamations, the Ship's Company sided with *Mansa*, and mobbed *Hatley*, and would have certainly used both him, and his Boat's Crew, very scurvily, had not the Captain, and his Officers, with much Difficulty, prevented it; for they were exasperated to that outrageous Height, that it is more than likely they would have murdered him, had they not been hindered. The *Portuguese* Captain wrote me a Letter, to excuse what had happened, and to desire, that I would come aboard; which I did, and was very kindly entertained, receiving eleven Guns at parting. The next Morning, *M. la Riviere* came aboard, with his chief Officers, to breakfast with me, and tell a Tide's Work down the River with us. At his going away, I could give him but three Guns, having only four mounted, the rest being struck down into the Hold, to ease the Ship, and make her stiff when we came to Sea. We were now ready to depart, and I had made the Ship perfectly fit to go through the tempestuous Navigation we were to expect in sailing to the Southward. I had made our Stern as firm as possible, covering it entirely with thick Plank; and had only left two small Skuttles to give Light into the great Cabin, and had furnished ourselves with Plank to build an Awning; but chose rather to let it up at Sea, than make a longer Stay here.

It is proper to take notice, that Captain *Betagh*, in his Account, gives a very different Turn to every one of these Facts; for he asserts, that Captain *la Jonquiere* could not speak one Word of *English*; and that they had not five People in the Ship who could speak *French*: So that, had he really harangued the Company of the *Speedwell*, his Eloquence had been all thrown away. He asserts, that all the Business of *Matthew Steward* the Mate was the Captain's own Contrivance. He charges him likewise with breaking or reducing many of the Officers; denied, that he purchased a third Part of the Provisions he mentions; and positively asserts, that it was Lieutenant *Randal*, and not *Hatley*, who burnt the House on *St. Catharine's*, and thereby exasperated the *Portuguese* to such a Degree, that they would have been glad of any Opportunity to have cut off his People as they went ashore. But the worst of all is the Story he tells us of the Money, which purchased those Provisions at *St. Catharine's*, which, as it retells entirely on the Credit of Mr. *Betagh*, I shall give it you in his own Words, tho' I do not mean to perplex my Reader with many such Anecdotes. A *Creolian Spaniard*, says he, belonging to one of Captain *Jonquiere's* Lieutenants, having robbed his Master of 100 Quadruples, each of which is four Pistoles, absconded

into the Woods, designing to take his Passage with us round *Cape Horn* to his own Country again. *La Jonquiere*, and his Lieutenant, applied to *Shelbocke*, desiring, that, in case he should be found, and the Money upon him, he would secure him, and take it from him, giving *Shelbocke* Directions how to remit the Money to *France*, on his Arrival in *Europe*: All which he faithfully promised to perform. As soon as the *Ruby* sailed, the Fellow appeared to our Men at the Watering-place, with one Moiety of the Money in his Pocket, desiring, I suppose, to pay for his Passage with it; but *Shelbocke*, not content, ordered him to be seized to the *Geers*, where he was whipped and pickled; which was repeated every Monday for a Month. But the Fellow, who had run the Risque of hanging for it, and knew the Value of Money as well as the Captain, stood the Lash, without confessing he had any more: So he remained on board, and had his Passage. He attributes the Civilities of *M. la Jonquiere* to his having a great Sum of Money for the King on board a Ship, which was crudded likewise with twenty Priests; and, out of 400 Seamen, he had not sixty that were able to walk the Deck: Which was owing to his doubling *Cape Horn* in the Winter, and being furnished with but indifferent Provision, because the *Spaniards* knew not either how to cure, or to pack it.

5. On August 9. we took our Departure from the Northernmost Point of *St. Catharine's* in the Latitude of 28° 17' South, 50° Longitude West from the *Lizard*. From thence to the 19th, we had showery loud Weather. I kept the Lead constantly going on the Coast of *Patagonia*, and met with regular soundings; and, from the Latitude of 40° to that of 50° 30' South, we frequently saw Shoals of Sea and Penguins, and were constantly attended with Pintado-birds, about the Bigness of a Pigeon. The *French* call them *Damiers*, because their Feathers, being black and white, are disposed in such a Manner, as to make their Backs and Wings appear chequered, like a Draught-board. They were accompanied with Albitrosses, the largest sort of Sea-towls, some of them extending their Wings twelve or thirteen Feet: And, whilst we had the River of *Plate* open, the Sea thereabouts was covered with prodigious Quantities of large Sea-weed, which often incommoded us, it being impossible to avoid running sometimes amongst it, and at the same time deadened our Way: But, as we went Southward, we were freed from this Inconvenience; after which, we had, on the Surface of the Water, abundance of Things, like white Snakes. We took some of them up; but could not perceive there was any Life in them, nor were they torned into the Shape of any kind of Animal, being only a long Cylinder of a white sort of Jelly, and may probably be the Spawn of some of the large kind of Fish. As we advanced to the Southward, I observed, that most of my People's Stomachs increased; which was to be attributed to the Sharpness of the Cold, and was a Circumstance that had been observed before. This occasioned Disputes in all Quarters of the Ship, and even at my own Table, where Captain *Betagh* of the *Marines* insisted on an Augmentation of Provisions in such coarse Terms, and with such Circumstances of Distress, that I thought it necessary to confine him, till he wrote me a submissive Letter; and then I rebuked him. But, however, this Squabble occasioned my being obliged to grant the People an extraordinary Meal every Day, either of Flour or Calavants; which at once reduced our Stocks of Provisions, Wood, and Water, which, all then together, proved afterwards a great Inconvenience. But to return to our Voyage, and such Occurrences as were remarkable therein: I think, tho' it has not hitherto been noted, it is a Matter not altogether unworthy of our Observation and Reflection, that the Whales, Grampuses, and other Fish of a monstrous Bulk, are in such Numbers on the Coast of *Patagonia*, that they were really offensive to us very often; for they would come so close to us, as almost to stiff us with their Stench when they blew; and would be so near to us, that I have thought it impossible to escape striking upon them on every Scud of a Sea. I am a Stranger to the *Greenland* Fishery; therefore cannot say, whether a Trade might not be carried on here. I may venture to affirm, that it is a safer Navigation; and I am apt to believe, that there is a greater Certainty of succeeding. On

September 19th about Midnight, we discovered all at once found twenty-six Fathom, but did not deepen our Wire. At six the next Morning, no Sight of Land, tho' had; which I did not de- very near the Entrance of this Bank-hole, we saw g- ing like the Tops of Um- sorts of Colours; which from what I had ever seen my Course for the Streits proached the Coast of *Ter* Weather. On the 23d, Mountains of stupendous intirely covered with Snow us was at least eight Leap- but, before we could r Mill returned: Therefore then brought to. At fo- raly Sail to the South east very clear; when I tou- about five Leagues to the of *le Maire*. We had not of the most desolate Cou- be conceived, leaning to of Mountains one behind Snow. Before we came we had not been sensible of Currents, from the Time of the River of *Plate*; but with incredible Rapidity we had gained somewhat slack. We then found Fathom, a rocky Bottom Opportunity to make wh- We had a clear View of uncomfortable Landscap- with Snow to the very W- the Likeness of an huge These Streights seem to Map of them, being at Leagues wide, and lie a Northern Tide rushed up which had brought us in- ther Remarks, and affor- all, to see how fast we were ing we had a fresh fair C- the same time, we went cannot judge this Tide Hour. In short, we w- Hour's time. Upon the there arose such a short Sa- lo lotty, that we alternat- Poop lanterns into the V- most violent Manner, an- her Heim; but, at Mid- put through the Streights at North-west, without t- the Morning, had a ve- After we had got well to and brought them aft, an- our Bows, and make eve- had found it very cold- row began to feel the Ex- Winds of themselves wou- but they were always at which, continually beati- cated the Malls, and eve- manner, made our Sails a- we accustomed to the m- think it tolerable Weath- fail; for it was common- together lying-ro under Shocks of prodigious S- law. Now we began to- neth of our Awning; a- lived without it. The W-

September 19th about Midnight, I perceived the Water to be discoloured all at once; whereupon we founded, and found twenty-six Fathom: Which done, I stood off to Sea; but did not deepen our Water in the running of five Leagues. At six the next Morning, we had thirty Fathom; but had no Sight of Land, tho' some were of Opinion, that they had; which I did not depend upon. This Bank must lie very near the Entrance of the Straights of Magellan. On this Bank shole, we saw great Numbers of Blubbers, appearing like the Tops of Umbrellas, curiously streaked with all sorts of Colours; which were a Species intirely different from what I had ever seen before. From hence I shaped my Course for the Straights of *le Maire*; and, as we approached the Coast of *Terra del Fuego*, met with very foggy Weather. On the 23d, the Fog clearing up, we saw some Mountains of stupendous Height on *Terra del Fuego*, intirely covered with Snow. The nearest Point of Land to us was at least eight Leagues distant, bearing South-west; but, before we could make any further Discovery, the Mist returned: Therefore I stood off for some time, and then brought-to. At four the next Morning, I made an easy Sail to the South eastward, and, at Day-light, it proved very clear; when I found I had fallen in with the Land about five Leagues to the North-westward of the Straights of *le Maire*. We had now a full, but melancholy Prospect of the most desolate Country (to all Appearance) that can be conceived, seeming to be no other than continued Chains of Mountains one behind another, perpetually hid by the Snow. Before we came on the Coast of *Terra del Fuego*, we had not been sensible of any Help or Hindrance by any Currents, from the Time that we had got to the Southward of the River of *Plate*; but, this Afternoon, we were hurried with incredible Rapidity into those Straights; and, just as we had gained somewhat more than Mid-passage, the Tide slack'd. We then founded, and had but twenty-seven Fathom, a rocky Bottom. At the same time, I took an Opportunity to make what Observation I could of the Place. We had a clear View of *Staten-land*, which yields a most uncomfortable Landscape of a surprizing Height, covered with Snow to the very Wath of the Sea, and bears more of the Likeness of an huge white Cloud, than of firm Land. These Straights seem to answer very well to Mr. *Frezier's* Map of them, being about seven Leagues through, six Leagues wide, and lie almost North and South; but the Northern Tide rushed upon us with a Violence equal to that which had brought us in. It prevented my making any further Remarks, and afforded Matter of Astonishment to us all, to see how fast we were driven out again, notwithstanding we had a fresh fair Gale at North-west, and when, at the same time, we went six Knots by the Log; by which I cannot judge this Tide to run less than ten Knots in an Hour. In short, we were quite carried out in about an Hour's time. Upon the shifting of the Tide to Windward, there arose such a short Sea, which, at the same time, was so lott, that we alternately dipped our Bow-sprit and our Poop lanterns into the Water. Our Ship laboured in the most violent Manner, and did not anole the Guidance of her Helm; but, at Midnight, the Tide shifted, and we put through the Straights, steering South, with a brisk Gale at North-west, without seeing the Land distinctly; and, in the Morning, had a very good Offing to the Southward. After we had got well to Sea, we unstocked our Anchors, and brought them ast, and got in our Sprit-sail-yard, to ease our Bows, and make every thing as snug as possible. We had found it very cold before we came this Length; but now began to feel the Extremity of it. The bleak Westerly Winds of themselves would have been sufficiently piercing; but they were always attended either with Snow or Sleet, which, continually beating on our Sails and Rigging, had cated the Masts, and every Rope, with Ice, and had, in a manner, made our Sails almost useless to us. So much were we accustomed to the most severe Storms, that we used to think it tolerable Weather, if we could bear a reefed Main-sail; for it was common with us to be two or three Days together lying-ro under bare Poles, and exposed to the Shocks of prodigious Seas, much larger than any I ever saw. Now we began to be thoroughly sensible of the Benefit of our Awning; and indeed we could have scarce lived without it. The Winds reigning thus tempestuously,

without Intermision, in the Western Board, we were driven to the Latitude of $61^{\circ} 30'$ South. Add to this, our Misfortune of having continual misty Weather, which laid us under hourly Apprehensions of running foul of Islands of Ice; but, thank God, we escaped that Danger, though we had many Alarms by Fog banks, and other false Appearances. Notwithstanding we had the Days very long, yet it was very seldom that we could get a Sight of the Sun; so that we had but one Observation of the Variation in all this Passage, which was in the Latitude of $60^{\circ} 37'$ South, 5° to the Westward of the Straights of *le Maire*, where we found it $22^{\circ} 6'$ North east. On October 1. at seven in the Evening, as they were turling the Main-sail, one *William Camell* cried out, That his Hands and Fingers were to be numb'd, that he could not hold himself; but, before those that were next him could come to his Assistance, he fell down, and was drown'd. The Cold is certainly much more insupportable in these, than in the same Latitudes to the Northward; for, altho' we were pretty much advanced in the Summer-season, and had the Days very long, yet we had continual Squalls of Sleet, Snow, and Rain; and the Heavens were perpetually hidden from us by gloomy Clouds. In short, one would think it impossible, that any living Creature could subsist in so rigid a Climate; and indeed we all observed, that we had not had the Sight of one Fish of any kind, since we were come to the Southward of the Straights of *le Maire*, nor one Sea-bird, except a disconsolate black Albitrofs, which accompanied us for several Days, hovering about us, as if it had lost itself; till Mr. *Hatley*, observing, in one of his melancholy Fits, that this Bird was always hovering near us, imagin'd, from its Colour, that it might be an ill Omen; and so, after some fruitless Attempts, at length thro' the Albitrofs, not doubting that we should have a fair Wind after it. On the 22d about eight at Night, our Fore-top-mast was carried away; and we rigg'd another the next Morning. We kept creeping very slowly to the Northward, having, from that time we pass'd the Straights of *le Maire*, met with contrary Winds, and the most uncomfortable Weather; under which nothing could have supported us, but the Hopes of coming speedily into a warmer and better Climate.

6. We cleared our Spirits as well as we could with these Expectations till the 14th of *November* at Noon, when we first saw the Coast of *Chili*; and here again we found ourselves under very great Difficulties; for our tedious Passage, and extraordinary Consumption of Provisions, had reduced us to such an extreme Necessity of Water and Wood, as well as dry Food, that every body saw the Necessity of our repairing to some Place where, we might supply ourselves with all we wanted; but, where this Place was to be found, was the next Question, and that none of the easiest to resolve. I thought first of *Narborough's* Island; but, when we came thither, we found the Road so unlate, that I was forced to sail for the Mouth of the River *St. Domingo*, on the Continent; at the Entrance of which, we found twenty-eight Fathom Water; but, as we advanced, we found it shole from eighteen to less than five Fathom, as fast as a Man could heave the Lead; Being therefore unwilling to run too great a Risque in a Place so unrequented, and being only a single Ship, I instantly stood out to Sea again, where, meeting with windy, rainy, and thick Weather, we were blown farther to the Northward than we design'd. In this Distress, a *Frenchman* I had on board, whose Name was *Joseph de la Fontaine*, propos'd going to the Island of *Chiloe*, which lay a little to the Northward, and where he assur'd us we could not fail of meeting with whatever we wanted, there being, as he asserted, no Place in the South Seas capable of accommodating us so well in all respects. He told us farther, of his own Knowledge, having been there, that the Towns of *Chacao* and *Calbuco*, the first on the Island, and the second on the Continent, were rich Places; that the former was the usual Residence of the Governor; and that, at the latter, there was a wealthy College of Jesuits; and that there were considerable Magazines, which were always well-stocked with Provisions of all Kinds. At the same time that he acquainted me with this, he insinuated the same Account, with some Additions, into his Shipmates, who, with one Voice, concluded, that, if I pass'd by

by this Island, our Expedition might probably end without doing any thing; since it was likely, that Captain *Chaperton* had already alarmed the Coast, the natural Consequence of which must be, an Embargo laid on all Ships trading to Leeward. Yet it was not without mature Deliberation, that I formed a Resolution of going to *Chiloe*, and could not but think myself happy in having so good a Prospect, in this Exigence, of preventing such Evils as might, in all Likelihood, have ensued. The chief Thing that encouraged me to make an Attempt at *Chiloe*, was to get such an additional Supply of Provisions, as should (in case the Coasts were already alarmed) enable us to retire to some obscure unfrequented Island, there to remain till the *Spaniards* should imagine we had abandoned their Seas; and then to come upon them again, where they had not the least Apprehensions of being molested by us. On the 30th, we entered the Chanel that divides the Island of *Chiloe*, and the Continent of *Chili*, and stood in for the Harbour, under *French* Colours, with Intent to surprize and attack the Towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*; but, when we came into the Chanel, our Pilot seemed to be as much a Stranger to it as myself; and the Wind beginning to blow fresh, and thick Weather coming on, I anchored at ten in the Morning in thirteen Fathom, between the Point of *Castelampo*, and a small Island called *Pedro Nunez*. Immediately after we had come to the Windward, the Tide made out with a prodigious Rapidity, which instantly caused a great Sea; and the Wind increasing, made the Chanel all about us appear like one continual breach. In the mean time our Ship laid a great Strain on her Cable, which parted at two in the Afternoon. We could have no Hopes of recovering our Anchor, because the Buoy had been staved and sunk an Hour or two before we had been thus forcibly set adrift. In short, I did not think it safe, or prudent, to hazard the Loss of another Anchor, where there was nothing to be looked for but Misfortunes; and therefore directly crossed the Chanel for the Island of *Chiloe*, in a boisterous Gale, thick rainy Weather, all surrounded with seeming Shoals, and in a manner lost in a Navigation unknown to any of us: When we had advanced within a Mile of *Chiloe*, we ranged along-shore to the Southward, in hopes to discover the Town of *Chacao*: We passed by two commodious Bays, but had nothing like a Town appearing near them; and at length came about a Point of Land, which is to be known by an high Rock, like a Pyramid, which almost joins to it. Having rounded this Point, I found myself intirely out of the Tide, and commodiously sheltered from all other Inconveniencies, and therefore anchored over-against a Crofs which was fixed on the Northern Side of the Harbour, and had just Day-light enough to direct us to a Retreat from the Dangers we might have been exposed to amongst such Variety of violent Tides, unfrequented Channels, and foul Weather. In order to execute my Design effectually, I sent the next Morning my second Lieutenant in my Pinnace, well manned and armed, to look for these two Towns; and, at the same time, Captain *Hatley* went in the Launch, to find out, if he could, a Watering-place; nor was it long before he returned with an *Indian*, who had shewn him as convenient a Place as he could desire, where he might at once get both Wood and Water without any great Trouble, even under the Command of our Cannon, and out of all Danger of being surprized; upon which I sent some Hands into the Launch with Calks immediately to be filled, and People to cut Wood, well armed, with an Officer of Marines, and ten Men, to be on the Guard. The *Indian* gave us Hopes of a sufficient Supply, but came in the Evening to my People who were ashore, to acquaint them, that the Country was forbidden to bring any thing to us. The Pinnace not being yet returned, this Information made me apprehend, that the Enemy had taken her, and had by that means learnt what we were. This gave me inexpressible Concern, inasmuch as I knew not which way to go; for, being in an absolute State of Uncertainty, I was more at a Loss, and more confounded, than if I had been sure that the Pinnace had been in the Enemies Hands, for then there had been but one Way left for me to take; which was to have proceeded by Force, and to have been contented with what, by this means, we could have ob-

tained. On the 3d of *December*, about seven in the Evening, a *Spanish* Officer, in a Boat rowed by eight *Indians*, came on board from the Governor, to know what we were. As I intended to pais upon him for a *French* Captain, who was well enough known in those Seas, at least by Name, I ordered, that none should appear upon Deck but such a spoke either *French* or *Spanish*, that this Officer might see or hear nothing which might give him just Grounds to suspect the Truth of that Account which I thought proper to give him. This Precaution was taken as soon as the *Spanish* Boat appeared in Sight: As it drew near, I showed *French* Colours, and, when the Officer came on board, I told him, that my Ship was the *St. Rose*, homeward-bound; that my Name was *Jamés le Breton*, and that all the Buffines I had upon this Coast, was to intreat the Governor to spare me what Provisions he could with Convenience afford. The Officer heard me with great Civility, and seemed to yield an implicit Credit to all I said; I staid on board all Night, and went off the next Morning, at all Appearance, very well pleased. On the 5th in the Morning, two Boats lay towards us, full of armed Men; was, after taking a View of us, went to a small Island in the Mouth of the Harbour; upon which, I ordered about thirty Men to put on their Grenadiers Caps, and to march themselves upon the Deck, in order to appear as terrible to them as possible. On the 6th, we saw a white Flag flying on Shore; on which I sent away my Launch, completely manned and armed, to the Place where the Flag was; but they found none to treat with them, nor any thing there except a Letter, which was made fast to the Flag-staff, and a Dozen of Hams lying close by. This Letter was from Don *Nicolas Salve*, Governor of the Island, who first intimated, that he much doubted, whether the Ship was the *St. Rose*; next, he complained of the Behaviour of the People in the Pinnace; and, lastly, he desired me to quit the Coast. To this Letter I returned an Answer in the properest Terms I could devise. Early the next Morning the white Flag was hoisted again; and, on landing ashore, I obtained an Answer, couched in civil Terms indeed; but, at the same time, refusing me absolutely any Refreshments, which was what I wanted; and insinuating, that I should restore the *Indians* taken by my Pinnace, when, in Fact, I knew less of the Pinnace than he did, and was really of Opinion, that he had the People in his Hands, of whom he pretended to complain. As I was now in Despair of ever seeing my People, which were absent in the Pinnace, and being as much at a Loss to know how or whereabouts *Chacao* was situated, as I was the first Day I came here, because we had no Draught of this Island that I could depend on, I determined to alter the Style of my Letters, and try what could be done by breaking with him, being determined, by some means or other, to make Amends for my Loss of Time in coming hither, by such a Recruit of Provisions as could be got, though even in the most hazardous Manner, since it was impossible I should proceed without it. In pursuance of this Resolution, I wrote him a very brisk Letter; in which I told him, that Provisions I was determined to have; by any Means, I could; but by other Means, if they could not be had that Way; adding, in order to strike a Terror, that if they brought down all the Forces of the Country upon the Coast, it should not deter me from the Prosecution of my Design; and this Letter was conveyed in the same manner with the former. But, by this time, beginning to doubt, whether much was to be got by a Negotiation with the Governor, I the next Day dispatched my first Lieutenant, Mr. *Brooks*, in the Launch, with nine and twenty Men, completely armed, and ordered him to bring on board all the Provisions he could meet with. In a short time after he was gone, there came a Boat, with a Message from the Governor, signifying, that, if I would send an Officer to *Chacao*, he would treat with me. But, I gave him no Answer, that I would treat no-where except on board my own Ship; and farther gave him to understand, that it was now too late, since I had already dispatched eighty Men to take all they could find. In the Evening the Launch returned, and brought with her a large Piragua the had taken, and were both laden with Sheep, Hogs, Fowls, Barley, and green Pease and Beans; and, soon after, the

Pinnace arrived, with all that I had no Hopes of getting. The Officer told through several Canoes with great Difficulty he did by making his Pass seventy Leagues. This could have urged them Numbers to encounter when there was but one *Spanish* Sergeant, who came of Violence, as the Governor and some of themselves this Addition, that there were, whom they were. The Officer had no Excuse Reason for not returning Sight of the Town, but and that in the Fight he in the Boat, to come to this strange Mismanagement favourable Opportunity, seized, of reducing the before it in forty eight the Governor was totally been for a whole Week Force of the Island, an *Indian*, who were on that there were) near the Island; and my *F* nion, but both agreed, in their City, I might do where the poor *Indians* were; upon this, I la to their Towns, under what we wanted from which, in the Sequel, a self in coming hither, a which Purpose, I kept employed in bringing Provisions full of live Cattle, and such Quantities of *W* am Corn, that I was satisfied, we had added four we brought from *England*, with the Effects of our my Departure. I might for my own Credit, and properly seconded by my any exact Description of as I had a very good of with it. I think it my Description of it in my Po

7. *Chiloe* is the first of of *Chili*; and, though it is considered by them as and for which they would when strange Ships enter they did not confide in which, for this Part of dinary; at which the R has gone through this Place it is. The Body South, is, from North length, but in Breadth it is watered by several of useful Trees; and you are near it, when one Farms and Plantations, stances from one another Grounds. Within it contains more Islands than which are said to have itic. Among these, there tents, so violent, that it I would advise all Strangers to keep the Island-side Northernmost Point of C it at a pretty good Dist

V c. 1

Pinnace arrived, with all their Crew; but were so terrified, that I had no Hopes of their being fit for Service in a little time. The Officer told me, that he had fought his Way through several Canoes of armed *Indians*, and that it was with great Difficulty he got clear of them; which he did by making his Passage round the Island, which was seventy Leagues. This nothing but an Excess of Terror could have urged them to, even if they had had such Numbers to encounter as they reported; but, especially, when there was but one Boat of unarmed *Indians*, with a *Spanish* Serjeant, who came off to them without the least Shew of Violence, as the Governor mentions in his first Letter, and as some of themselves afterwards confessed; but, with this Addition, that there were great Numbers of People on shore, whom they were apprehensive would follow them. The Officer had no Excuse, nor could he alledge any better Reason for not returning on board as soon as he had got a Sight of the Town, but that the Tide hurried him away; and that in the Frigate he had forgot, that he had a Grappling in the Boat, to come to with, till the Tide had shifted. By this strange Mismanagement of theirs, I missed a favourable Opportunity, which otherwise I should have seized, of reducing the Town of *Chacao*. Had I appeared before it in forty eight Hours after my Arrival, when the Governor was totally unprovided, whereas now he had been for a whole Week together mustering the whole Force of the Island, and had brought together (as the *Indians*, who were on board my Pinnace, told me, that there were) near a thousand armed *Spaniards* on the Island; and my *Frenchman* was of the same Opinion, but both agreed, that, if I would let them s'one in their City, I might do what I pleased in the Country, where the poor *Indians* must bear the Weight of all Damages; upon this, I laid aside all Thoughts of going to their Town, under Hopes of furnishing myself with what we wanted from the *Indian* Plantations and Farms, which, in the Sequel, afforded us, what I proposed to myself in coming hither, a competent Stock of Provisions; to which Purpose, I kept one of my Boats continually employed in bringing Provisions. By the 16th, we had our Decks full of live Cattle, Poultry, and Hams in abundance; and such Quantities of Wheat, Barley, Potatoes, and *Indian* Corn, that I was satisfied: On a moderate Computation, we had added four Months Provisions to the Stock we brought from *England*; so that I was very well satisfied with the Effects of our Stay at *Chilee*, and prepared for my Departure. I might certainly have done much more for my own Credit, and my Owners Profit, if I had been properly seconded by my Officers. As I do not know of any exact Description of this Island in our Language, and as I had a very good Opportunity of being acquainted with it, I think it my Duty therefore to give the best Description of it in my Power.

7. *Chilee* is the first of the *Spanish* Possessions on the Coast of *Chili*; and, though it produces neither Silver nor Gold, is considered by them as a Place of very great Consequence; and for which they would be under much greater Concern, when strange Ships enter the Ports or Harbours of it, if they did not confide in the Number of its Inhabitants, which, for this Part of the World, is really very extraordinary: at which the Reader will be led to wonder, when he has gone through this Description, and finds how fine a Place it is. The Body of this Island, lying in 42° 40' South, is, from North to South, about thirty Leagues in Length, but in Breadth not above six or seven Leagues. It is watered by several Rivers, and produces several kinds of useful Trees; and yields an agreeable Prospect when you are near it, when one sees the great Number of *Indians* Farms and Plantations, which are dispersed at small Distances from one another, among the Woods, on rising Grounds. Within it is formed an Archipelago, which contains more Islands than are well known; the least of which are said to have many Inhabitants, and abound in Cattle; among these, there are very uncertain Tides and Currents, so violent, that it is by no means safe to venture near. I would advise all Strangers, who go in at the North-end, to keep the Inland-side of the Chanel aboard, giving the Northernmost Point of *Chilee* a good Birth; that is, keeping it at a pretty good Distance; which done, run along thore

to Southward, and you will pass by two Bays, which seem to be commodious; but hold your Way till you come to a Point, almost contiguous to which is a high Rock, somewhat like a Pyramid; pass between this Rock and a small high Island, which you will see near it, and run a little Way directly up the Harbour, which looks like the Entrance of a River, and you will have a safe Port to drop your Anchor; but, in going in, take care that you do not fall under five Fathom Water from the Shore; for the nearer you advance to the small Island before-mentioned, the less Water you meet with; therefore keep your Lead going, and be bold with the Shore towards the North Side of the Harbour; when you are in, you will have the greatest Depth, but the Southernmost Side is Shole. My Pilot carried me a contrary Way to what I have now directed; for he advised me to keep to the Main-land of *Chili*, which I did till I had got the Length of the Point of *Caremapo*, having to the Southward of me several small Islands, which you will see as soon as you have the Chanel open. This proved a frightful and unfortunate Passage to me, since the Loss of my Anchor here was one of the greatest Damages I could have sustained: In short, if any Ship should be by Necessity, or otherwise, driven to this Island, I have given the safest Instructions they can follow. The Soil is very fertile, and produces all sorts of our *European* Fruits and Grain; together with fine Pasture-lands, where-with they graze great Numbers of Cattle, particularly Sheep. The Air is wholesome, it being situated in a temperate Climate: But I think it reasonable to conclude, that their Winter Season is very rigid, the Island being bounded on the West by an immense Ocean, without any other Land to screen it from the cold moist Vapours, which are brought thither by the Violence of the tempestuous West-erly Winds, which, for the Generality, reign in these Latitudes; all which must render it an uncomfortable Place in the Winter Months; forasmuch as it is to be considered, that the same Parallel of Latitude to the Equator are much more cold, than they are to the Northward. They have abundance of very handsome middle-sized Horses, which are said to mount with great Dexterity; and have likewise a Creature, which they call *Guanaco*, or *Caneros del Tierra*, i. e. the Country Sheep; these partake very much of the Resemblance of a Camel, but are not near so large: They have long Necks, and I have seen of them between five and six Feet high; their Wool (which is no other than a fine sort of Hair) is extremely fine; they smell very rank, and move with a very slow majestic Pace, which hardly any Violence can make them quicken. Nevertheless, they are of great Service at the Mines in *Peru*, where they are employed in carrying the Ore, &c. Their Flesh is very coarse, which we experienced by some of them we had salted for our future Use: Besides these, they have *European* Sheep, and great Numbers of Hogs, but are not overlooked with Black Cattle. Here is no want of Fowl, both wild and tame: Of the wild there are several sorts peculiar to the Country; and, in particular, a sort of small Geese, which are found on the Banks of their Rivers, which not only afford an agreeable Prospect of their beautiful Whiteness, but are also of an excellent Taste: As to their tame Poultry, they are of the same kind with ours. The Inhabitants are almost, in all respects, the same with those on the main Continent of *Chili*. They are of a moderate Stature, of a deep olive coloured Complexion, and have coarse shaggy black Hair, and some of them have Countenances by no means disagreeable: They seem to be naturally of a fierce warlike Disposition; but the common Oppressions of the *Spaniards*, and the Antiques of the *Jesuits*, who are Millioners in those Parts, have sufficiently curbed and broken their Spirits. Monsieur *Frezier* gives us an Account, that the *Indians*, inhabiting the Continent to the Southward of this Island, are called *Chonos*; and that they go quite naked; and that, in the inland Part, there are a Race of Men, of an extraordinary Size, called *Cacabues*; that these, being in Amity with the *Chonos*, have sometimes come with them to the Dwellings of the *Spaniards* at *Chilee*. He adds, he was credibly informed, by several who had been Eye-witnesses, that some were about nine or ten Feet high: But I had a Sight of two, one whereof was a *Carique*, who came from the Southward of the

the River *St. Domingo*, who seem'd to me to differ little or not at all from the *Cibilians* as to their Persons; as to their Habit, they are decently clad, in what they call *Poncho Montana*, and *Poulans*: The *Poncho* is a sort of square Carpet, with a Slit cut in the Middle of it, wide enough to slip over their Heads; so that it hangs upon their Shoulders, half of it falling before, and the other behind them; under this, they generally wear a short Doublet on their Heads. They have the *Montera*, which is a Cap made almost in the same manner with those of our Potlions, and on their Legs they sometimes have the *Poulans*, which are a sort of knit Buskins, without Feet to them; in short, their Appearance bears little or no Likeness to the Savage. Their Habitations are better than are commonly made use of by such a sort of People, being indifferently large, and firmly built with Plank, but have no Chimneys: Their Houses are very black and sooty within-side; they inclose some of their Grounds with Palisadoes. Notwithstanding a sufficient Plenty of every thing necessary for a comfortable Subsistence, the Inhabitants are debarr'd, in some measure, from tasting of the Fruits of their Labour, particularly in the Article of Bread; for, not having the Conveniencies for grinding and preparing their Wheat, they are put to the miserable Shift of making Cakes of the Sea-weeds, which, however, through Use, are esteem'd by them, and were not disapproved of by several of my People, who eat some: Besides this, they have their Maize, or *Indian Corn*, which they manage in several manners to answer the End of Bread, and add to all this, their Abundance of Potatoes, and other Roots. As to Liquors, these *Indians* have not been contented with the Produce of Brooks and Springs, like many Nations of their Complexions; but have found out a Means of making a Liquor called *Chicha*, of the *Indian Corn*: In this they, doubtless, followed the Footsteps of their near Neighbours on the Continent of *Cuba*; but their Drunken-bouts being generally the first Rise of Seditions and Revolts, the *Spaniards* take care to set Bounds to them in that Particular, as much as they possibly can. Their Arms are of several Sorts; those that have no *European Weapons*, retain their own, such as Pikes, Darts, &c. They are particularly dextrous in throwing a slinging Noose, at the End of a long Thong of Leather, wherewith they are sure of catching an Ox, Horse, &c. or any thing, even in its full Career; this they call a *Lazo*. In short, by all I could see of these, and hear of the *Cibilians*, they seem to resemble them in almost every respect; and there can be no Wonder at that, when one considers their close Neighbourhood with the Mainland of *Cuba*. They make use of small Drums, some of which I have seen; they are very small, and the Heads of them made with Goat-skins with their Hair on, and make a sad dull Sound. They carry on a small Woolle- Manufacture, consisting in Carpets, and Necessaries for Apparel before mentioned. They likewise export Cedar, both in Plank, and wrought in Boxes, Chells, Utensiles, &c. wherewith they supply *Chili* and *Peru*. As to their *European Trade*, they have none; but the *Spaniard*, who came from the Governor, told me, that the People of this Island wonder'd, that trading Ships never put in here: For, had he, we have a great deal of Money amongst us; and have here a safe Port, free from the Dangers incurred by going to *Beeward*, where they are in perpetual Uneasiness for fear of the Men of War; whereas Business might be done, and as be over, before they could be advic'd of it at so great a Distance as *Spain*, could be there fitted out, and come to far to Windward. It has been observ'd of the *Indians of Cuba*, that, in two Articles in their way of Living, they differ from all other Nations that have yet been heard of. The first is, that they have no Notion of a superior Being of any sort, and of consequence pay no Worship to any Supreme Power. And the second is, that they are such Enemies to civil Society, that they never live together in Towns and Villages; so that the Country seems to be thinly inhabited, tho' it is very populous; for they live dispers'd in Farms at a good Distance one from the other, every one having their Plantations; so that almost every Family enjoys the Necessaries of Life of their own manuring and feeding: However, though they are thus scatter'd, they are not wholly independent; for they have

all of them a Chief of their particular Tribe or Clan, who is call'd a *Cacique*; and his Dwelling is conveniently situated amongst them, for the more speedy summoning them together on Affairs of Importance; which he does by sounding a sort of Horn, which heard by his Vassals, they repair to him without Delay. The *Cacique* commands them in War, &c. and has an absolute Power of executing Justice amongst his Subjects, who are likewise his Relations, he being only the Head of a Family, all the inferior Branches of which adhere to the Interest, and obey the Commands of their Lord, whose Authority is hereditary. In all these respects, the Inhabitants of this Island resemble those of the neighbouring Part of the Continent, excepting that their *Caciques* are, in some measure, stript of their real Authority by the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; who, having their People in a more secure Subjection than those of the Continent, keep them in the most laborious Servitude by their Menaces, and hard Usage; whilst the Millionaries blind them with the delusive Dust of an imperfect Conversion to Christianity, of which none of them know any more, than that they were baptiz'd, without learning for what End; so that their Devotion consists of mere Idolatry to the Image of the Cross, or any of the Saints. The *Spanish* Clergy take no Pains to undeceive them; but probably think they have gain'd their Ends, if their Ignorance contribute towards the making them contented under the Rigour of the *Spanish* Government. Thus the common Sort being deluded, and the *Caciques* having changed their lawful Prerogative for the vain Ostentation of being allowed to wear a Silver-headed Cane, which puts them upon the Rank of the *Spanish* Captains in outward Appearance, they are become a miserable Prey to the Will of their despotic Masters. The *Spaniards*, notwithstanding all this, have sometimes stretch'd their Administration to so great a Height, that the *Indians* have been oblig'd to detest themselves, and have begun to think, that Death is preferable to their Slavery; for Mr. *Prezier*, in his Voyage, has given us an Account of what happened at the Time that he was at the South Seas, wherein the *Indians* killed fourteen or fifteen of the *Spaniards*, who took a sufficient Revenge; for, in Return, they massacred 200 of them, going into the very Islands to destroy them; which struck such a Terror to those poor people, that they were glad to sit down quietly under their Mistortune: And, though the *Spaniards* are but badly equipped with Arms, they have never dared to take such Advantages over their Oppressors as they daily might, since the Number of Whites is but inconsiderable, when compar'd with the Multitude of the Natives, and to which they might be encouraged by the indolent Neglect of the *Spaniards*, who suffer what better fortified Places they have in this Island to run to Ruin; so that any *European Power* might, with Ease, possess themselves of it, which might be of the greatest Consequence, since it is capable of affording a Subsistence to a very numerous Colony, which might be of uncalculable Detriment to the Inhabitants of *Cuba* and *Peru*. In regard to ourselves, of what Benefit (in case of a War with the Crown of *Spain*) the taking of this Island might be, I leave to more penetrating Judgments to consider; and shall only add, that the Artifices of the Millionaries are the chief Security of the *Spaniards* in this Place, as well as the most of the rest of their Settlements in *South America*. Their Embarkations are particular in this, that, for want of Nails, and other Utensils, they lash their Boats together very articially with Oziers: They are compos'd of three Pieces, viz. the Sides and the Bottom, each of which is an entire Piece of Timber; and row in the same manner that we do, with more or fewer Oars, according to their Bigness. Our Business being now over, I propos'd to set from hence for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*.

It is now requisite to take notice of what Captain *Bosch* says, as to some of the Points mentioned in the foregoing Part of the Relation: He admits, that there were Differences between him and Captain *Stelvocke* on the Subject of eating; and he gives this Reason for it, that *Stelvocke* drank hard, and had a very small Stomach; which made him think other People, who had a better, were downy Gluttons: And, upon this falling out, he was order'd into Confinement, and such a Confinement, as might very well

induce him to take any procure his Enlargement on the Arms-chest at a confined just there; and the Bedding, the Early Room to lie extubility of sitting up; so there: And, when he the Centinel was always Sword. And thus he nobody daring to speak before this, was also to Occasion it was, that he but he asserts, that it was has produced in his Book have been produced, as in the Book been print acknowledge every Tit thought as bad a Man pleated to repent him a very fair Proposal. he represents it as the avoid meeting Mr. C asserts, that the People, He says, that this was its being unrequited and difficult Navigation Captain *Stelvocke*, but Difficulties and Danger they were no looner furnished with terrible certainty and Rapidity meeting there, as at a judicious Manner to descend under the Bow with a Cannon, then immediate so that the Ship could not most powerful of those West Shore into three I rent ran with such Impet that the Sand appeared all which together affor the Anchor brought her when they did, every M fer, had the touched the ment, have broken to E the Current. He rid the Ship's Name, and a very poor Contrivance, the *Spanish* Governour w worse Opinion of the F ing thus to impute upon alone to exercise, he r than a formal Delign of the *Spaniards*. As to not allow it any kind e going in, which must e Peril. Such is the Co of the Voyage. Let u *Stelvocke*, and the Pro Island of *Chico* to the will hear Captain *Retard* I was determin'd Island of *Juan Fernandez* and should certainly ha pay were un luckily p Advantages that might Bay of *Conception*. The *Frenchman*, who perform that Expedition was no rather through the Fault Mistakes in the *French* Whole, had answer'd inclined to credit him; Part of the World, who steer, and where he, s ledge than the rest, w than he really was. Bu tivated our Company t

induce him to take any Step, that was thought necessary to procure his Enlargement; for he was laid at his full Length on the Arms-chest at the Bulk-head in the Steerage, and continued just there; and, what with the Height of the Chest, and the Bedding, the upper Deck was so very close, he had hardly Room to lie extended upon it, there being no Possibility of sitting up; so that his Victuals were brought him there: And, when he offered to make Water upon Deck, the Centinel was always close at his Heels, with a drawn Sword. And thus he continued twelve or fourteen Days, nobody daring to speak to him, except Mr. *Kendric*, who, before this, was also turned out of the Mess. Upon this Occasion it was, that he wrote a Letter to Captain *Shelvoeke*; but he asserts, that it was not the Letter that the Captain has produced in his Book; and avers, if such a Letter could have been produced, as it might have been, had the Copy in the Book been printed from the Original, he would acknowledge every Title of the Charge, and submit to be thought as bad a Man by the Reader, as the Captain was pleased to represent him; which, to me, I own, appears a very fair Proposal. As to the Scheme of going to *Chiloe*, he represents it as the Captain's own, calculated purely to avoid meeting Mr. *Cipperin* at *Juan Fernandez*; and asserts, that the People, generally speaking, were against it. He says, that this was a Port known to nobody; and that its being unfrequented was a Proof, that it was a dangerous and difficult Navigation; which was often represented to Captain *Sebetour*, but to no manner of Purpose. All these Difficulties and Dangers they experienced in the End; for they were no sooner entered, but they found themselves surrounded with terrible Breakers; for such were the Uncertainty and Rapidity of the several Tides or Currents meeting there, as at once to astonish and baffle the most judicious Manner to describe them. They were first taken under the Bow with a Current setting from the Lee of one Island, then immediately under the Quarter with another; so that the Ship could not answer her Helm. At last, the most powerful of those Currents hurried her away on the West Shore into three Fathom and an half, where the Fore-run ran with such Impetuosity, and the Ground was so foul, that the Sand appeared on the Surface from the Bottom; all which together afforded a dismal Prospect. However, the Anchor brought her up, which if they had not let go when they did, every Man must inevitably have perished; for, had she touched the Bottom, there the mast, in a Moment, have broken to Pieces, or overlet by the Strength of the Current. He ridicules the whole Affair of changing the Ship's Name, and assuming the *French* Captain's, as a very poor Contrivance, which had little or no Effect; for the *Spanish* Governor was not so easily cheated, but had the worse Opinion of the Person he dealt with, for endeavouring thus to impose upon him. And, as to the sending Men ashore to exercise, he represents that as very little better than a formal Design of throwing them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. As to the Project of seizing *Chiloe*, he will not allow it any kind of Merit, because of the dangerous going in, which must expose Ships of any Size to the utmost Peril. Such is the Commentary of *Retagb* upon this Part of the Voyage. Let us now return to the Text of Captain *Shelvoeke*, and the Prosecution of the Voyage from this Island of *Chiloe* to the Bay of *Conception*; after which we will hear Captain *Retagb* again.

I was determined, says he, to go from hence to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, as my Instructions directed; and should certainly have done so, but that the Ship's Company were unluckily possessed with an Opinion of mighty Advantages that might be obtained by a short Trip to the Bay of *Conception*. This was put into their Heads by the *Frenchman*, who persuaded us to go to *Chiloe*; and, tho' that Expedition was not over-advantageous, yet, as it failed rather through the Faults of our own People, than from any Mistakes in the *Frenchman's* Information, which, on the Whole, had answered tolerably well, the Crew were still inclined to credit him; a thing natural enough in a strange Part of the World, where we knew not well what Countenance, and where he, who had never so little more Knowledge than the rest, was sure to be esteemed much wiser than he really was. But the Secret, by which this Man captivated our Company to such a Degree, was this: He flat-

tered them with the Hopes of making their Fortunes in a very short Time, and at a very small Hazard. He promised, that he had been there before, and therefore knew what he said; and next laid it down as a Fact absolutely certain, and not at all to be controverted or called in question, that there were always five or six Sail of Ships in the Road of *Conception*, and others daily coming in and going out; that they had very often, both Ways, considerable Sums of Money and Plate, and other valuable Things, on board; that, tho' they were large Ships, they had little or no Force; and that there was no Fortification to protect them, so that, if there were twenty Sail, we could not meet any Opposition in the taking them all; that their Cargo consisted chiefly of Corn, Wine, Brandy, Flour, Bread, jerked Beef; that the Ships bound to *Conception*, always bring Money with them to purchase their Cargoes, besides the Booty that might be got from rich trading Passengers, who carry on a considerable Commerce between this Port and *Buenos Ayres* over Land; and that we could not fail of having the Ships ransomed, that should fall into our Hands, at very great Rates; inasmuch that, if we could but get into *Conception* before they had any Knowledge of us, it was past all Doubt, that we should make our Fortunes. He therefore advised them to endeavour to prevail upon me to make the best of my Way thither: For, tho' it was certain, the Governor of *Chiloe* would send our Defetter to *Conception* with all imaginable Dispatch; and that, since it would be two or three Months Journey by Land, he would infallibly convey him by Sea in some small Vessel; and that, if they arrived at *Conception* before us, the rest of the Coast would, in a very small time, be universally alarmed; by which means we should not have an Opportunity left of meeting with any thing, till they had imagined, that we had abandoned their Seas; as every-body, in those Cases, are fond of delivering their Sentiments, and as it is impossible to keep a Ship's Company in so much Awe, in so remote a Part, as in short Voyages near home, every one of my Ship's Company, who could say any thing at this Juncture, did not fail to speak their Minds somewhat insolently. One *William Morplew*, who was one of those I had out of the *Ruby*, and had been in these Seas several Years, took upon him to tell me, that it could not signify much, if we arrived two or three Days sooner or later at *Juan Fernandez*; that I was a Stranger here; but that the *Frenchman* and himself were so well acquainted, that every body hoped I would be advised, and go to *Conception*: And begged I would not put a mere Puntilio of Orders in the Balance against such a Prospect, nay, Certainty of Success, if we were so happy as to arrive there in time. In short, they all together assured me, that they had the Proprietors Interest in View, as much as their own; and that they would perish, before they would injure them in any respect: But at the same time told me, that, if I had not Success in my Proceedings, nobody could be blamed, but myself; intreating me not to lose this Opportunity, wherein they were resolved to stand by me, and the Gentlemen in *England*, with all Fidelity. In our Way to *Conception*, we made the Islands of *Mecka* and *St. Mary* on *December 23*. and, the same Evening, arrived in the Bay of *Conception*; but could not be certain, that we saw any Ship in the Road: And therefore I immediately gave Orders to man and arm our Boats, to go up in the Night to surprize whatever Vessels might be there; with strict Orders, if they found any thing too strong for them, to make it their Business to prevent the Ships sending any thing ashore, till the Wind permitted me to work up to them; which I endeavoured all Night long, but to very little Purpose: For, at Day light, I could discern nothing above us. Captain *Hatley* returned about Noon in the Pinnace, and informed me, that he had taken a Ship called the *Salidad d'Auday*, which was the only one there, that was about 150 Tons Burden; and, being lately come from *Baldivia*, had nothing on board, except a few Cedar-planks; that there was nobody on board of her, except the Boatwain, an old Negro, and two *Indian* Boys; and that he had left Mr. *Brooks* the first Lieutenant in Possession of her, with Orders to bring her down the first Opportunity. In his Return to my Ship, he took a small Vessel of about twenty five Tons, near the Island *Quiriquier*, (which lies in the Harbour) where she had been to take in

Pears, Cherries, and other Fruits, for the *Conception* Market. This Vessel belonged to a Priest, who had been gathering Fruits, and was now made a Prisoner in her; for, having the Curiosity to advance too near my People, in order to discover what they were, he and his Cargo unluckily fell into their Hands, together with four or five *Indians*. Immediately after they had taken this, there was another small Boat, which came in between the Island of *Quarique* and *Talaguana*. I perceived by my Glafs, that she passed within less than Pistol-shot of my Pinnace, and yet Captain *Hutley* did not engage her; for which he made no other Excuse when he came aboard, but that he did not mind her, tho' his Boat's Crew all agreed, that she was full of Men. On the 26th about Noon, Mr. *Brooks* brought down the Ship they had taken, and anchored about half a Mile short of us. The Boatswain of her had not been aboard of us above two Hours, before he gave an Information of a Vessel laden with Wine, Brandy, and other valuable Things, bound to the Island of *Chive*, lying at Anchor in the Bay of *Herradura*, about two Leagues to the Northward of us. Upon this, I ordered Mr. *Randall*, second Lieutenant, with the Boatswain of the *Soidad*, with twenty-five Men, to go thither in the *Mercury*, as we called our Fruit Bark, with positive Orders not to set a Foot on Shore, or make any hazardous Attempt. But, the next Evening, they returned with a dismal Story; viz. that they went into the Bay, and found the Vessel haled dry ashore; upon which the Officer ordered his People to land, and bring away what they could out of her, whilst himself, and three or four more, kept the Bark aloft. When they came up to her, and found her empty; but, at the same time, seeing a small House just by the Vessel, they began to be of Opinion, that the Cargo was lodged there: Upon which, the Officer immediately ordered them up; so away went the poor Fellows, with nobody at the Head of them, without any Regard to Order, every one endeavouring to be foremost: But their Career was soon stopped; for they had no sooner got upon the Bank, than they discovered the Enemy rushing furiously upon them. Some of our Seamen were of Opinion, that they might have made a safe Retreat, if they had not been astonished at the very strange Manner in which they were attacked, by having a Number of Horses come up without Riders; but, as soon as they heard those behind them, my People besetted themselves, in order to make the best of their Way to the *Mercury*; by which means, all, except five, escaped, and these five were taken after they were gotten into Shore-water. It was very fortunate for them, that, by some Accident, their Vessel was aground, for otherwise they must have been all cut off. As it was, the *Spaniards* thought fit to retire as soon as they were within Musquet-shot, and our People then found it no difficult matter to get their Vessel aloft again. The Water being now very low, they were obliged, as they went out, to keep near to a Point of Land, from whence the *Spaniards*, under the Shelter of the Wood, galed them; but, the Wind being fair, they soon passed it, and, lying all close in the Bottom of the Bark, they had only one Man wounded, who was shot through the Thigh. They told me, they perfectly saw the Manner how the *Spaniards* came down upon them; viz. that they were preceded by twen or more Horses abreast, linked to each other; these were two deep, then came the Enemy mounted, and lying upon their Horses Necks, driving the others along, and were not once seen to sit upright in their Saddles, except when there was no Danger, or to fire their Musquets. When they had got near my People, they threw out Lines, with Nooses at the End of them, to catch them; and, accordingly, *James Daniel*, one of my Foremast-men, was captured, after he had run a good Way into the Water, but was dragged out again after the Rate of ten Knots an Hour. In short, they are universally dexterous at this; so I have seen a *Spaniard* bring a Man up by the Foot as he ran along the Deck, and, they say, they are sure of any thing they find at, at the Distance of several Fathoms. These Misfortunes and Disappointments made my Crew extremely uneasy, and might have had very bad Consequences, if, when we least expected it, we had not been agreeably surpris'd by the Sight of a large Ship, which we saw coming about to the Northernmost Point of the Island of *Quarique*. It being

almost dark, she could not perceive what we were, so that they stood in without Fear or Apprehension. This sudden Appearance put us into no Hurry; for we were always clear, and ready for Action; our Launch was immediately manned to intercept their going ashore, or going to Sea again, and my Cable was ready to slip, if there had been a Necessity for it. As soon as she had approached us near enough, I hailed her; to which they returning no Answer, I fired into her; which was no sooner done, than I ordered the Launch to put off directly: The Enemy, upon this, shortened Sail, but kept fast their Anchor; and, just as I was going to slip my Cable, the Launch came up with her, and gave her a Volley of Small-arms, and they instantly came to, and called for Quarter. It was about two o'Clock in the Morning before my Boat returned to inform me of any News of her, when they brought with them the *Spanish* Captain, and some of the chief Passengers, who acquainted me, that their Ship was called the *St. Fernin*; that she belonged to, and came last from *Callao*; that she was about 300 Tons Burden, and had a very small Cargo on board, which consisted of Sugar, Melasses, Rice, coarse French Linnen, and some Cloths and Bays of *India*, together with a small Quantity of Chocolate, and about a 6000 Dollars in Money and wrought Plate. I sent Mr. *Henry*, the Owners Agent, on board of her in the *Mercury*, to inspect her Lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her; and the Ship's Company sent their Agent likewise: In the Afternoon they returned, and brought all the Bales, Boxes, Chests, Portmanteaus, &c. that were in her; and also all the Rice, with a great Quantity of Sugar, Melasses, and Chocolate, and about 7000 Weight of very good Rusk, with all the other eatables and Stores. Don *Francisco Larragan* who was the Captain, intreated the Liberty to ransom this Ship; which I willingly consented to, and gave him Leave to go in his own Launch to *Conception*, with a Merchant, who was likewise a Prisoner, to raise the Money: In the mean time we were busy'd in searching our Prize, that nothing might be concealed; and every body was strictly looked after, by People appointed for that Purpose, who examined the Pockets, &c. of all such who at any time came from on board the *St. Fernin*; and our Carpenter was employed in making a slight Deck over the *Mercury*, it being probable, that the would be of great Use in coasting along shore. On the 30th, a Boat came aboard from the Governor, with a Flag of Truce, and an Officer, who acquainted us, that two of the People taken in the last Siege were alive, but much wounded; he likewise brought a Present of seven Jars of very good Wine, and a Letter from the Governor Don *Gabriel Cano*, in which he demanded a Sight of my Commission, the sending about *Joseph de la Fontaine*, who had been Servant to Captain *de Jansone's* Mate, and some other Things, that I thought unreasonable; with a Promise, that, in case I complied with them, he would enter into a Treaty. To cut Matters short, I resolv'd to send Captain *Betago* to the Governor, in order to treat by Word of Mouth. In the meantime I received other Messages, and other Letters, from the Governor; and, at last, a formal Treaty was begun, which I demanded 10,000 Dollars for the Ransom of the *St. Fernin* alone, and they offer'd 12,000 for both the Ship and Bark. And, while Things remained in this Situation, the Governor employ'd all his Skill and Care to draw together such a Body of Men, as might not be surpris'd from any Apprehensions of our attempting to land ashore, but likewise enable him to make some Attempt upon us; so that, finding all his *Spanish* Points render'd us entrant and able us, I first set Fire to the *Sociedad*, and then, having first given them Time to comply with the Proposal I made, I next set Fire to the *St. Fernin*, and had threaten'd to do, having taken care beforehand to send Condition to quit the Bay of *Conception* immediately. Captain *Betago*, in his Remarks, asserts positively, that *Hutley* chased the Bark, which Captain *Stekelate* had suffered to escape, till he was within the Reach of the *Spanish* Guns upon their Platform. He informs us likewise, that the Cargo of the *St. Fernin* was worth about 100,000, and that the five Men out of the *Mercury* were all attempting to take an empty Ship

9. On the 7th of the Captain, to *Juan Fernand* the Sea was perfectly was occasioned by the which, for any thing next Day Mr. *Stewart* count of the Prize; and for the Owners, to take Plunder was sold at the extravagant Prices. C that whatever was not on board upon Freight, This might have occa had not referred them *Spanish's*, telling them enough in these, and t upon which they acquie *Betago's* Motion. The calculated, they deman refuse: Accordingly ea Plunder, after the Rate in Money or Goods. ing, we saw the Island Body of it bore West Meridian Distance from riation, per Amplitude, standing off and on the fishing, who, not havi that *Clipperton* had been stop her Leaks, while a Fish, of which we talte At length, going on th thing that might inform lone of my Men accide was the Name of *Clippe* cut out under it, upon was agreed on, by him Actions being thus grof was evident, he never in pany, or join with him confirm'd in the Certain directly made the best of the additional Stock of Condition as to Provide On the 21st, having a went along shore, I sent Manned, with eight *Mary's* Crew; and the r in for the Land, whilst being discovered from Officer have a Copy of necessary Instructions. land of *Copapo*, to be of Business was to look int is called *Candera*, near t and from whence they Quantities, in small Vantage, that, being b they could have no Suff fell in the Ship came in and lay to to the South perceived by the Port, ing in this Posture ove althwart the Mouth of nate to fish between th after law a Sail croudin to be too big for the A Officer told me, that could see no Shipping sensible of his Error, which was about six Le order'd him to be ready The next Morn'g, as nace returned with noth had taken on the Island *Mercury* had looked in and saw nothing, but, wind to come off to a Bottom of the Bay, th

9. On the 7th of January 1720. I failed, says the Captain, to *Juan Fernandez*; and, on the 8th, we observed the Sea was perfectly red; the *Spaniards* say, that this was occasioned by the Spawn of Camarones, or Prawns; which, for any thing I know, may be a Mistake. The next Day Mr. *Steward*, the Ship's Agent, took an Account of the Prize; and I ordered Mr. *Hendrie*, the Agent for the Owners, to take an Account on their Behalf. The Plunder was sold at the Mast, by the Ship's Agent, at very extravagant Prices. Captain *Betagh* insisted positively, that whatever was not entered in Bills of Lading, or put on board upon Freight, ought to be considered as Plunder. This might have occasioned very bad Consequences, if I had not referred them to their own Articles at *St. Catharine's*, telling them plainly, that they had gone far enough in these, and that they should not exceed them; upon which they acquiesced, not a Soul seconding Captain *Betagh's* Motion. The Account being taken, and Shares calculated, they demanded a Division; which I could not refuse: Accordingly each Man had, for Prize-money and Plunder, after the Rate of ten Pieces of Eight per Share, in Money or Goods. On the 15th, at six in the Morning, we saw the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; at Noon, the Body of it bore West South-west, distant five Leagues; Meridian Distance from *Cape Horn* 275 Miles West; Variation, per Amplitude, $69^{\circ} 23'$ East: To the 15th, I kept standing off and on the Shore for my Boats, which were a fishing, who, not having hitherto discovered any Marks, that *Clipperton* had been here, sent the *Mercury* ashore to stop her Leaks, while the Boats were employed in catching Fish, of which we salted as many as filled five Puncheons. At length, going on shore to make a nicer Search for any thing that might inform us of some News of my Country, some of my Men accidentally saw the Word *Magee*, which was the Name of *Clipperton's* Surgeon, and Captain *John* cut out under it, upon a Tree, but no Directions left, as was agreed on, by him, in his Instructions to me: His Actions being thus grossly repugnant to his Instructions, it was evident, he never meant I should ever keep him Company, or join with him again. However, being by this confirmed in the Certainty of his Arrival in those Parts, I directly made the best of my Way from hence, being, with the additional Stock of Fish caught here, in a pretty good Condition as to Provisions, and having all our Casks filled. On the 21st, having a Design to look into *Copiapo*, as I went along shore, I sent Mr. *Dodd*, second Lieutenant of Marines, with eight Men, as a Reinforcement to the *Mercury's* Crew; and the next Evening they left us, steering in for the Land, whilst I kept the Offing, to prevent our being discovered from the Shore. I took care to let the Officer have a Copy of my Commission, together with all necessary Instructions, and appointed the Moro, or Head-land of *Copiapo*, to be our Place of meeting again: Their Business was to look into the Harbour of that Place, which is called *Callera*, near to which there are some Gold Mines, and from whence they export that Metal in considerable Quantities, in small Vessels; and the *Mercury* had this Advantage, that, being built in the Manner of the Country, they could have no Suspicion of her. The next Day myself in the Ship came in Sight of the Head-land of *Copiapo*, and lay to to the Southward of it, that I might not be perceived by the Port, which lies to the Northward. Lying in this Posture over against a small Island, which lies almost at the Mouth of the River *Copiapo*, I sent the Pinna- re to fish between the Isle and the Continent, and soon after saw a Sail crowding towards us; she at first appeared to be too big for the *Mercury*, but proved the same. The Officer told me, that he had looked into the Port, but could see no Shipping there; upon which I made him sensible of his Error, and sent him to the right Place, which was about six Leagues to the Northward of us; and ordered him to be ready to look into *Callera* by Day light. The next Morn- ing, as soon as they were gone, the Pinna- re returned with nothing but a few Penguins, which they had taken on the Island, which abounds with them; the *Mercury* had looked into the *Callera* the next Morning, and saw nothing, but, instead of making use of the Land- wind to come off to me, they kept along shore, in the Bottom of the Bay, till the Sea breeze came in to strong,

that they were very near losing their Vessel on a Lee-shore, and could not come to me till the Morning; by which they hindered me almost a whole Day and Night's sailing, which was more than our Circumstances could dispense with. On the 27th, I sent Mr. *Brooks*, the first Lieutenant, and Mr. *Ranor*, first Lieutenant of Marines, to relieve Mr. *Randal*, and Mr. *Dodd*, in the *Mercury*. I had fitted her up with a Gang of Oars; and, upon Trial, they gained Way, after the Rate of three Knots, which might render her extremely beneficial and useful to us in a Calm. February 5. I dispatched Mr. *Brooks* a-head, to discover if there were any Shipping at *Arica*, in the Latitude of $18^{\circ} 20'$ South. The next Day, at one in the Afternoon, (after having ranged along-shore by the Breaks of *Pijagua*, *Camarones*, and *Vitor*) I had a Sight of the Head-land of *Arica*, and the Island of *Guano*, with a Ship at Anchor on the Northern Side of it, and saw the *Mercury* standing out of the Bay; by which I judged the Ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all possible Haste to get up to her with my Ship. When we came into the Port, we found the Ship had been already taken, and that the *Mercury* was accidentally adrift. This Prize was called the *Rofario*, of the Burden of one hundred Ton, laden with Cormorants Dung, which the *Spaniards* called *Guano*, and make use of it for manuring the Land which produces the Codepepper, of which they make a vast Profit in the Vale of *Arica*. There was not in this Ship one white Face, except the Pilot, whom I resolved to send ashore, to see if the Owners would ransom the Ship, knowing that the Cargo was worth Gold to them, though it was downright Dung to us; and the Event verified my Conjecture.

10. The next Morning I received a Letter from the Owner, wherein, after insinuating pitifully on his Distress and Poverty, as well as his having a large Family to provide for, he promised to meet us at *Ille*, or at *Quaco*, in order to treat for a Ransom: This Letter was signed *Miguel Diez Gonzales*. Soon after, we took a small Vessel, of ten Tons Burden, with a Cargo of dried Fish and *Guano*, lying within a Mile of the Town. By this Time all the adjacent Country was in Arms, and drew down in great Numbers to the Coast, well mounted and armed, and, to all Appearance, well disciplined. However, to make Trial of their Courage, and, indeed, to give my own People Spirits, by shewing them what sort of an Enemy they had to contend with, I ordered the *Mercury* and Launch to advance towards the Shore, as if I had really intended to make a Descent, though the Landing-place is altogether impracticable there, at least to *European* Embarkations. I likewise cannonaded the Town very briskly, and, though the Balls did not do Execution, yet they plowed up the Sand before the *Spaniards* Line of Horse, and threw it all over them; but neither this, nor the Approach of my Small craft, made any sort of Impression, but they remained firm, and shewed, at least, the Countenance of as good Troops as could be wished for, to my very great Disappointment, since it shewed my People, that the *Spaniards* were far from being such Cowards as they were represented. The Merchant that wrote to me in the Morning, came on board as soon as it was dark; and, having Reason to believe him perfectly honest, but frightened in his Circumstances, I agreed on restoring to him his Ship, and six Negroes, for 1500 Pieces of Eight, with this Reservation, that I would have every thing out of her that might be useful to us. In short, he was so punctual, and so expeditious, that at ten the next Night he brought the Sum agreed for; viz. 1300 Dollars Weight in Ingots of Virgin-silver, which the *Spaniards* call *Pinnas*, and the rest in Pieces of Eight; for which I restored him his Ship and Negroes. This Gentleman made a great Inquiry after *English* Commodities, and offered great Prices for them, complaining, that the *French* only supplied them with paltry Things, and Trifles, for which they ran away with many Millions; and asked, Whether all the *English* Merchants were asleep, or grown too rich, since, notwithstanding their Ports were not so open as in other Parts of the World, yet they knew how to manage Matters very well; and that their Governors, being generally *Europeans*, whole Stay in the Country seldom exceeds above three

Years, they made use of any Means to improve their Time; and that there were Ways of gaining them so far, as to make them act very obligingly: Much more he said, as to the Blindness of the *English*, who had suffered the *French* Pedlars to carry on, uninterrupted, the most considerable Branch of Commerce in the World. Before he took his Leave, he desired me to carry his Ship to Sea with me two or three Leagues, and then turn her adrift: The Intent of which was, to deceive the Governor, and the King's Officers: And told me farther, That if I would meet him at *Hilo*, which was about twenty-five Leagues to the North-westward, he would purchase what little coarse Merchandize we had, which might be done there with all imaginable Privacy: The Matter also of the small Boat came off upon a Balle, which is an odd Sort of Embarkation, made of two large Seal-skins, separately blown up like Bladders, and then made fast, and joined together by Pieces of Wood; on this he brought off two Jars of Brandy, and forty Pieces of Eight, which, considering his mean Appearance, was as much as I could have expected. One Part of his Freight was valuable, which was a good Parcel of excellent dry'd Fish.

Captain *Betagh*, in his Remarks, is very severe on almost every one of the Transactions mentioned: In two long Paragraphs, he defends himself from the Imputation of Mutiny, by absolutely denying the Facts Mr. *Skelvoeke* produces in Support of it. He observes, that Captain *Clipperton*, during his Stay at the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, did every thing that became him, in order to secure the Company of his Consort, by burying a Bottle, with Instructions, at the Foot of the Cross he erected on that Island; and if this, by an unforeseen, unavoidable Accident, was afterwards discovered to, and taken away by the *Spaniards*, that was none of *Clipperton's* Fault; and, as the Fact was known to Mr. *Skelvoeke* before he wrote, he ought to have forbore any Reflections on that Subject. Then, as to the Attack on *Arica*, he puts it in this Light: The Captain, says he, went on board the *Mercury*, accompanied by Mr. *Stewart*, three more Officers besides myself, and a few Men; brought the *Speedwell* and *Mercury's* Broad-side to bear on the Town; he began to cannonade it, which really had no other Effect, than to scare away the Women and Children; for the Men, contrary to our Expectation, assembled on the naked Beach, and suddenly erected a good Breast-work of Stones, and what Rubbish they could find, gallantly standing our Fire; but the Swell giving us some Motion, we could not bring our Guns to bear, so as to dislodge any of them. Mr. *Skelvoeke*, being tired with destroying his Ammunition, sends an *Indian* Prisoner, under a Flag of Truce, to demand of the Town what they would please to give to be rid of us; and, though he says nothing of this, the *Indian* leaped out of the Boat, swimming through the terrible Breakers, which made Landing there impossible, delivered his Message, and returned faithfully the same Way to the Boat, with their Answer, viz. That they cared not a Fig for any such *Ferracibo*, that is, Drunkard, the most contemptuous Name they can make use of. Upon which, our Captain called for his Pinnace, and, taking *Stewart* with him, went aboard in a Pet, but left the rest of us to unmoor the *Mercury*, and carry her out into the Road: At his getting into the Boat, the Inhabitants gave us a regular Hedge fire, and three Huzzas, or Hoarse-laughes. The Number of *Spaniards* which assembled on this Occasion, might be about five or six hundred. It is certain, that these Accounts are very different, and yet I am very far from conceiving them irreconcilable. Mr. *Betagh* tells us very truly what he saw, and what his Opinion was; but, as to Captain *Skelvoeke's* Design, nobody could let us into that but himself, and he owns it very fairly; and, at the same time, frankly acknowledges, that he was disappointed, and that the *Spaniards* behaved in a manner very different from what he expected, in which his Antagonist also agrees. We are now to take a View of the Town of *Arica*, at the time these Gentlemen were there; and, to be sure, nothing is more useful, than such accurate Descriptions, drawn by Eye-witnesses, because they shew us, how Things alter in that Part of the World, and hinder Idleness from thinking they are to find every Place in the

South Seas in the same, or a better Situation, than it was fifty or an hundred Years ago.

11. The Port of *Arica*, which was formerly so famous for the great Quantities of Plate continually shipped off there, is now much diminished in its Riches, and appears to be no other than an Heap of Ruins, except the Church of *St. Mark*, and two or three more, which look tolerably well: That which helps to make it look the more desolate is, that the Houses below are covered only with Mats. This Town, being situated on the Edge of the Sea, in an open Road, has no Fortification of any kind to defend or command the Anchoring, they thinking it sufficient, that Nature has provided for their Security by the great Breach of the Sea, and the rock Bottom near the Shore, which threatens inevitable Destruction to an *European* Boat, or any other Embarkation, but what is contrived for that Purpose. To obstruct the Landing of Enemies, the *Spaniards* had made Intrenchments of unburnt Bricks, and a Battery, in the Form of a little Fort, which flanks the three Creeks; but it is built after a wretched manner, and is now quite falling to Ruin, so that the said Village deserves nothing less than the Name of a strong Place, given it by *Dampier*, because he was repulled there in the Year 1680. The *English* being convinced of the Difficulty of landing before the Town, landed at the Creek of *Chacota*, which is to the Southward of the Head-land, whence they marched over the Mountain to plunder *Arica*. The Earthquakes, which are frequent there, at last ruined the Town; for what bears the Name of *Arica* at present, is no more than a Village of about 150 Families, most of them Blacks, Mulattoes, and *Indians*, and but few Whites. On the 26th of *November* 1606, the Sea, being agitated by an Earthquake, suddenly flooded, and bore down the greatest Part of it: The Ruins of the Streets are to be seen to this Day, stretching out near a Quarter of a League from the Place where it now stands. What remains of the Town, is not subject to such Accidents, because it is seated on a little rising Ground at the Foot of the Head-land. Most of the Houses are built with nothing but Fascines, of a sort of Flags or Sedges, called *Totora*, bound together, standing Endways, with Leather Thongs, and Canes, crossing them; or else they are made of Canes set upright, and the Intervals filled up with Earth. The Use of unburnt Bricks is reserved for the stately Houses, and for Churches; no Rain falling there, they are covered with nothing but Mats, which makes the Houses look as if they were Ruins when beheld from without. The Parish church is handsome enough, being dedicated to *Saint Mark*. There is a Monastery of seven or eight Mercenarians, an Hospital of the Brothers of *St. John of God*, and a Monastery of *Franciscans*, who were coming there to settle in the Town. After having destroyed the Houle, they had half a Quarter of a League from it, though in the pleasantest Part of the Vale, and near the Sea. The Vale of *Arica* is about a League wide, next the Sea, all a barren Country, except the Place where the old Town stood, which is divided into little Meadows of Clover grass, some Spots of Sugar-canes, with *Olive* and *Cotton* trees intermixed, and Marthes full of the Sedges, used, as above, to build Houses. It is thrust in to the Eastward. Growing narrower that Way, a League up, is the Village of *St. Michael de Sapa*, where they begin to cultivate the Ags, that is, *Guiney* Pepper, which is found throughout all the rest of the Vale; and there are several scattered Farms, which have no other Product but that Pepper. In that little Space of the Vale, which is very narrow, and not above six Leagues long, they sell more of it to the Value of above 80,000 Crowns. The *Spaniards* of *Peru* are so addicted to that Sort of Spice, that they can dress no Meat without it, though so very hot and biting, that there is no enduring of it, unless well used to it, and as it cannot grow on the *Puna*, that is, the Mountain-country, abundance of Merchants come down every Year, and carry away the *Guiney* Pepper that grows in the Vale of *Arica*, *Sama*, *Yauca*, *Loumba*, and others ten Leagues about, whence it is reckoned, there is exported to the Value of above 600,000 Pieces of Eight, though sold cheap. Considering the Smallness of the Place, it is hard to believe that such vast Quantities should go from thence; for ex-

cepting the Vales, the Town of *Arica* is not so great, but that there is no Grain produced by means of the Earth in such a manner, for one of all Sorts of Cattle, particularly the *Andean*, know how to manage it, and fit to be transplanted, is, not in a Strait Line, the Disposition of the Field, may carry it, when they lay about each Guanoan Birds dung, about the Hollow of a Man's Hand, add a little more; and, they add a good Handful, because it never rains, Salts it contained, not Plants, as has been found, it is laid down at several times, the Necessity whereof the Difference of the Climate, the Guano, or Dung, *Arica* make use of that *Indian* of *Peru*, called *Tobacco*; and, by the *Spaniards*, the Country Sheep. Tion to their Bodies, sometimes a Sheep's Head the Upper Middle, thro' which they any that offend them; Faces, it makes a reddish an Itching: Their Neck like the Camels, towards would well enough rest on the Back: The Figure plain what is wanting in four Feet, to four and an hundred Weight, and with wonderful Gravity a ro-beating will make it impossible to make them lie down till it is taken off Food is a Sort of Grass, except that it is a little the End; it is called *Tela* with nothing else; they are they are Creatures easily Feet, like Sheep, yet they to carry Ore to the Mill out any Guide to the Flooded. Above the Flooded them sure rooted among use of it to hold or hold Scent, and even disagree Ruffet, in Spots, and what of the Vicunna's like the *Lamas*, except lighter; their Wool be valued. They are some as deserves to be related drive them into some Cords fast across, three with Bits of Wool and *Guano*, coming to purchase of these Bits of Wool go any farther, so that and then the *Indians* kill End of the Leather Thong with them, they leap off Vicunna's follow them. more corpulent; they are another Sort of black *Alpacas*, whose Wool Legs are shorter, and has some Resemblance *Indians* make several Use them carry a Burden of

cepting the Vales, the Country is every-where so parched up, that there is no Green to be seen: This Wood is produced by means of that Bird's Dung, which, as was said before, is brought from *Iquique*, and fertilizes the Earth in such a manner, that it yields four or five hundred for one of all Sorts of Grain, Wheat, *Indian Corn*, &c. but particularly the *Agü*, or *Guiney Pepper*, when they know how to manage it right: When the Seed is sprouted, and fit to be transplanted, the Plants are set winding, that is, not in a straight Line, but like an S; to the end that the Disposition of the Furrows, which convey the Water to them, may carry it gently to the Foot of the Plants; then they lay about each Plant of *Guiney Pepper*, as much *Guanan Birds dung*, above-mentioned, as will lie in the Hollow of a Man's Hand: When it is in Blossom, they add a little more; and, lastly, when the Fruit is formed, they add a good *Hantul*, always taking care to water it, because it never rains in that Country; otherwise, the Salts it contained, not being dissolved, would burn the Plants, as has been found by Experience. For this Reason it is laid down at several times, with a regular Management, the Necessity whereof has been found, by Use, and the Difference of the Crops produced. For carrying of the *Guana*, or *Dung*, to the Lands, they generally at *Arica* make use of that Sort of little Camels, by the *Indians* of *Peru*, called *Llamas*; by these of *Chili*, *Cbillo bucuas*, and, by the *Spaniards*, *Carneros de la Tierra*, or the Country Sheep. Their Heads are small, in proportion to their Bodies, something resembling both an Horse and a Sheep's Head the Upper-lip, like an Hare's, is cleft in the Middle, thro' which they spit ten Paces from them against any that offend them; and, if that spittle falls on their Faces, it makes a reddish Spot, which is often followed by an Itching: Their Necks are long, bowing downwards, like the Camels, towards the Fore-part of the Body, which would well enough resemble them, if they had a Bunch on the Back: The Figure I here insert, may serve to explain what is wanting in Description; their Height is from four Feet, to four and an half. They generally carry only an hundred Weight, and walk, holding their Heads up with wonderful Gravity and Majesty, so regular a Pace, that no beating will make them go out of it. At Night it is impossible to make them move with their Burden; they lie down till it is taken off, to go and graze; their common Food is a Sort of Grass somewhat like the small Rush, except that it is a little finer, and has a sharp Point at the End; it is called *Tzbo*. All the Mountains are covered with nothing else; they eat little, and never drink, so that they are Creatures easily kept. Though they have cloven Feet, like Sheep, yet they make use of them in the Mines to carry Ore to the Mill: As soon as loaded, they go without any Guide to the Place where they are used to be unloaded. Above the Foot they have a Spur, which, makes them sure rooted among the Rocks, because they make use of it to hold or hook by. Their Wool has a strong Scent, and even disagreeable; it is long, white grey Rustle, in Spots, and very fine, though much inferior to that of the *Vicunna*s. The *Vicunna*s are shaped much like the *Llamas*, except that they are much smaller and lighter; their Wool being extraordinary small, and much valued. They are sometimes hunted after such a manner, as deserves to be related: Many *Indians* get together to drive them into some narrow Pass, where they have made Cords fast across, three or four Feet from the Ground, with Bits of Wool and Cloth hanging at them; the *Vicunna*s, coming to pass them, are so frightened at the Motion of these Bits of Wool and Cloth, that they dare not go any farther, so that they press together in a Throng, and then the *Indians* kill them with Stones made fast at the End of the Leather Thongs. If any *Guanacos* happen to be with them, they leap over the Cords, and then all the *Vicunna*s follow them. The *Guanacos* are larger, and more corpulent, they are also called *Vitcachas*. There is another Sort of black Creatures like the *Llamas*, called *Alpacas*, whose Wool is extraordinary fine, but their Legs are shorter, and their Snouts contracted, so that it has some Resemblance of an human Countenance. The *Indians* make several Uses of these Creatures; they make them carry a Burden of about 100 Weight; their Wool

serves to make Stuffs, Cords, and Sacks; their Bones are used to make Weavers Utensils; and lastly, their Dung serves to make Fires to dress Meat, and to warm them. Before the last Wars, the *Armadilla*, a little Fleet, composed of some Ships of the King's and of private Persons, resorted every Year to *Africa*, to bring thither the *European* Commodities, and Quicksilver, for the Mines of *La Paz*, *Oruro la Plata*, or *Cbuguzaca*, *Potosi*, and *Lipes*, and then carried to *Lima* the King's Plate, being the fifth of what Metal is drawn from the Mines; but, since no more *Galleons* came to *Porto-Bello*, and the *French* have carried on the Trade, that Port has been the most considerable Mart of all the Coast, to which the Merchants of the five Towns above, being the richest in Mines, resort. It is true, that the Port of *Cobija* is nearer to *Lipes*, and *Potosi* than *Arica*; but, being so desert and barren, that there is nothing to be had for Men or Mules to subsist, they chuse rather to go some Leagues farther, and be sure to find what they want; besides that it is not a very difficult Matter for them to bring their Plate thither privately in the Mass, and to compound with the *Corregidores*, or chief Magistrates, to save paying the Filth to the King.

12. As soon as I got out of the Road of *Arica*, says Captain *Shelvocke*, I shaped my Course for the Road of *Filo*, in Sight of which we came in the Afternoon, where we saw a large Ship, and three small ones, at Anchor: The great Ship immediately hoisted *French* Colours, and proved to be the *Wise Solomon*, of forty Guns, commanded by Mr. *Dumain*, who was now resolved to protect the Vessels that were with him, and obstruct my coming in. It being dark before I could get into the Road, I sent my third Lieutenant, Mr. *La Porte*, who was a *Frenchman*, to let him know who we were; but my Officer had no sooner got into the Ship, than they tumbled him out again, calling him Renegade; and sent me Word, that, if I offered to anchor there, they would sink me. Mr. *La Porte*, upon this, told me, that, to his Knowledge, the *French* Ships had often taken *Spanish* Commissions, at such times as there were *English* Cruisers on those Coasts; as a Recompence for which Service, they had great Liberties allowed them in the way of Trade. He farther assured me, that he could plainly see, that Mr. *Dumain* had double-manned his Ship with the Inhabitants of the Town, who were partly *French*; and that, in short, he designed to be with me as soon as the Wind came off shore. While we were talking this Matter over, the *Frenchman* fired several Guns at us, to shew they were ready, and designed to be with us speedily. I must confess, this heated me not a little; and the first thing that occurred to me, was turning the *Mercury* into a Fireship, by the Help of which I might, without any great Difficulty, have roasted this insolent *Frenchman*. But, reflecting on the Situation of Things at Home, and fearing that, however unwarrantable his Conduct might be, my attacking him might be thought as unjustifiable, I thought it best to stand out of the Harbour, which accordingly I did. On *February* 12. the Moiety of the Money taken at *Arica* was divided amongst the Ship's Company, according to the Number of their Shares. On the 22d, we found ourselves in the Height of *Ca'ao*, which is the Port of *Lima*; upon which I furled all my Sails, to prevent being seen, resolving to get away in the Night; because, if we had been discovered from thence, we were morally certain of being pursued by some of the *Spanish* Men of War that are always in that Harbour. On the 26th, the Officers in the *Mercury* desiring to be relieved, I spoke to Captain *Hatley*, whose Turn it was to command her. As this Gentleman had been for a long time Prisoner among the *Spaniards*, he knew the Country perfectly well; and, having travelled between *Lima* and *Payta* by Land, he had observed several rich Towns; which put it into his Head, that something might be made of cruising along that Coast, as far as the Island of *Lobos*, which lies in the Latitude of 7° South; and I, as it was very natural for me to do, approved of this Proposition, the rather because it was extremely probable they might meet with some of the *Panama* Ships, which always fall in with the Land, in order to receive the Benefit of the Land Winds. As the whole Ship's Company seemed to be extremely delighted with Captain *Hatley's* Project, I judged it requisite to augment their

their Complement of Men, put a Month's Provision on board, mounted two Quarter-deck Guns on the *Mercury*, lent Captain *Hatley* my Pinace, gave him a Copy of my Instructions; though it was very likely, that I should have frequent Sight of the *Mercury*, between the Time of our Separation and our coming to the Island of *Lobos*, where was our Rendezvous, and not above sixty Leagues from us. As soon as every thing was ready for their Departure, Captain *Betagh*, whose Turn it was to relieve the marine Officer in the *Mercury*, being unwilling to go, went amongst the People; and, with a frightful Countenance, told them, that he, and the rest that were to go with him, were sent for a Sacrifice. Upon this, I address'd myself to the Ship's Company; telling them, that I did not know what this ungovernable Fellow meant by this Uproar; and appeal'd to them all, if it had not been customary with me to relieve the Officers in this manner, ever since we had this Vessel in Company; and ask'd them, if ever they heard me call upon any particular Person by Name to go on any Enterprize, but left it to every Man's Choice to go out of the Ship upon any Service; and, in a Word, desired to know who among them were of *Betagh's* Opinion: Upon this, they with one Voice declared that they had never entertain'd any such Thought, but, on the contrary, I should find them obedient to any Commands I should lay upon them. This done, I order'd the *Mercury* alongside, and acquainted her Crew with the Speech *Betagh* had made in the Ship; and desired to know, if any of them were under any Apprehensions of being sold or sacrificed: At which they set up an Huzza, and begged that they might go on the intended Cruise in the *Mercury*. Accordingly, *Hatley* and *Betagh* went on board of her, and put off from us, gave me three Cheers, and flood night in for the Land. I think it will not be altogether improper to take notice of their Proceedings after they left me, as I have been inform'd by themselves and by Prisoners; viz. The very next Day they took a small Bark, laden with Rice, Chocolate, Wheat, Flour, &c. and the Day following another, on the 4th Day, they became Masters of a Ship of near 200 Tons, 150,000 Pieces of Eight. Flushed with this Success, *Betagh* prevail'd on *Hatley*, and the greatest Part of the People with them, not to join me again; telling them, that they had sufficient to appear like Gentlemen as long as they lived, but that it would be nothing when the Owners Parts were taken out, and the Remainder divided into 500 Shares: And therefore he thought, since Fortune had been so kind to them, they would be highly to blame, if they did not lay hold of this Opportunity of going to *India*; since they had Provisions, and every thing they could wish for in their Voyage, and the Happiness, into the Bargain, of having a Gentleman amongst them, Captain *Hatley*, who was, doubtless, able to conduct them to some Part of the Coasts of *Asia*. This was soon resolv'd on, and they fell to Leeward of the Place of Rendezvous. But *Hatley*, weighing within himself the vast Run, and the many Hazards of the Undertaking, and knowing well what Treatment he should find in *India*, if his Treachery was discover'd, could not readily determine what he had best do in this Case, but kept hovering on the Coast, and, in the Interim, some of his Crew went away with his Boat to surrender themselves to the Enemy, rather than be concern'd in such a piratical Action. But *Betagh* and his Gang still kept *Hatley* warm in Liquor, and, in the End, brought him to a fixt Resolution of leaving these Seas. But no sooner had they clapp'd their Helm a weather, than they saw a Sail standing towards them, which, in short, prov'd to be a Spanish Man of War, who caught them, and spoil'd their *India* Voyage. The *English* were treated very indifferently; but *Betagh*, who was of their Religion, and of a Nation which the *Spaniards* are very fond of, was made an Officer, and us'd very respectfully. On the 29th, in the Morning, we saw a Sail at Anchor in the Road of *Guanchaca*, at 11, we came up, and anchored along side of her: There was no body on board of her but two *Indian* Men and a Boy. She was call'd the *Carnafista*, of about 100 Tons, and had nothing on her but a little Timber from *Guacas*, from whence she lately came. By these Prisoners I was inform'd, that there was a rich Ship in the Cove of *Paya*, who put in there to repair some Damages

she had sustain'd by a Gale of Wind: Upon which I immediately went to Sea; but, in purchasing the Anchor, the Cable parted, and I lost it. I took my Prize with me, she being new and well-fitted, and like to sail well: I call'd her the *St. David*, and design'd to have made her a complete Fireship as soon as the *Mercury* join'd us, who had Materials on board of her for that Purpose. The next Day I look'd into *Cheripe*, from whence I chased a small Vessel, of which when I came within half a Cannon-shot, the Crew ran her ashore. The next Morning, finding myself in the Neighbourhood of the Island of *Lobos*, where I had appointed our Rendezvous with the *Mercury*, I sent *Mrs. Kendall*, my second Lieutenant, ashore, with two Letters in two Bottles, directing Captain *Hatley* to follow us to *Paya*, towards which Port I now made the best of my Way; and, on *March* 8. found myself before it; and sent *Mr. Kendall* to look into the Cove, in order to bring us an Account what Ships were there, that we might know what to think of the Information we had received.

There is scarce a Circumstance in all this Account, which Captain *Betagh* does not only dispute, but deny. As to the *Mercury*, on board which they were sent to cruise, he observes, that she was a flat-bottomed Vessel, that would neither row nor sail, and in short, an absolute Lighter. He says next, that the Coule they were directed to steer, was exactly in the Track of the Enemy; so that he really judg'd it to be the Captain's Design he should be taken. And he likewise admits, that, upon his hinting this to the Porter, Captain *Stelwerke* call'd up all Hands, and discourag'd them in the manner before mentioned. With regard to Prizes, he admits the taking of two, one a Bark, the other an old *English* Pink, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*; which, instead of having a 50,000 Dollars on board, after they had examin'd her very closely, did not appear to have on board her so much as a single Halt-crown, the Vessel being bound in her Ballast with a small Parcel of Pedlary Ware from *Panama* to *Lima*; whereas, had she been going from *Lima* to *Panama*, she might probably have had a considerable Sum on board. We went into this Prize immediately, leaving only a Hand or two to take care of the *Mercury*, says Captain *Hatley*; and we were soon afterwards taken by one of the Spanish Cruisers, call'd the *Brilliant*, of thirty Guns, as we were plying between *Lobos* and *Cape Blanco*, having been twice on shore in this Island, without being able to discover any Signs of our Captain's having been there, much less meeting with any Instructions to join him at *Paya*. As to the persuading Captain *Hatley* to go to *India*, and all that depends upon that Story, Captain *Betagh* denies it utterly; affirms, that, though he was brought up a Papist, he became a Protestant to himself, and came to Years of Discretion; that he never was in the Spanish Service; tho' he owns he was very kindly treated by *Don Pedro Miranda*, Admiral of the South Sea, on account of Mr. *Betagh's* having some Knowledge of Sr. *Charles Wager*, to whom *Don Pedro* thought himself particularly oblig'd. As the Author of this History, I do not pretend to enter at all into the Discussion of these Points. I only report Facts as I find them, and leave it intirely to the Reader's Judgment, who was, and who is not, in Fault. I proceed now with the Voyage, as it is represented by Captain *Stelwerke*, whom we left bearing off for *Paya*.

13 On the 21st, says he, I came within seven Leagues of the Place, and, steering directly for it, enter'd the Cove of *Paya* about four in the Afternoon, with *Force* Cohen, there being a small Ship in the Harbour, of which *Mr. Brack*, my first Lieutenant, soon became Master, being sent in with the Launch well manned for that Purpose. About 7 in the Evening, I came to an Anchor about three Quarters of a Mile from the Town: The taking of *Paya* being in the Scheme of our Voyage treated as a Matter of great Importance, I consult'd my Officers concerning the properest Methods of doing it. The Town appear'd to be indifferently large and populous; and it was very probable there might be some Land Forces, to defend a Place so well known as this, which is the Rendezvous of Ships coming from *Panama* and *Callao*: However, I land'd with forty six Men at two of the Clock the next Morning, leaving *Mr. Cochran*, the Master, and some others, not only

book after the Negroes with the Ship by them; that we might be able to fight with the great Church and, indeed, found the hearts. At Day-light, Hills on each Side of us as a Visit, but found, them, we drove them Prisoners, except an old Captain *Glapperton* had Prisoners ashore, who them no Injury, nor give habitants, not thinking Effects of the Mountain King's Treasure, amount which would have been ten thought fit to have a he would have met with this Place, than I did: fired, I halted; and, when the Ship was ashore, I hurried carrying with us the Unbe planted in the Church, we re embarked, the Evening following after us: Wholly intirely ashore, but with Water being innooth, I which, we returned to the manner we had done before, returned up the Hills again, ply over, the Remainder of what Plunder we had Fowls, brown and white Wheat, Flour, Sugar, were able to flow away, ces for preparing it; so that meat for the whole one kind or other. In a tenger to know what I y Town and ship, to which 10,000 Pieces of Eight, ty-four Hours, it he int either. At eight the ne from the Governor, sign neither he, nor any about tents, but, if I would let of *Spanish*, I should not in Afternoon, I sent one of which, being mounted at Midnight, and Break of the Messenger returned, of the Ship I had taken their Arrival, I went on propose. I very long and ventor was determin'd Events, and that he did the Chereenes were not but I should have no Regard when I fit the Town or design'd to destroy any 1 Ship. As for the Captain that, if he did not intirely to her in Flames. I Impression upon him, as the 12 hours time, to be c as I had given their Pro long to be taken out of the to us, and, when they s on Fire in two or th that were old and dry Party. In the midst of t board a Ship made cou board, and kept firing pe Harbour. As I could nces, that something extra Measure left for me take, Vol. I.

look alter the Negroes we had, who ought not to be trusted with the Ship by themselves, but also to bring the Ship nearer in, that we might the more expeditiously embark what Punder we might get. Being now ashore, I marched up to the great Church without meeting any Opposition; and, indeed, found the Town intirely deserted by the Inhabitants. At Day-light, we saw great Bodies of Men on the Hills on each Side of us, who, I expected, would have paid us a Visit, but found, as we marched up the Hill towards them, we drove them before us. All this time, we took no Prisoners, except an old *Indian* and a Boy, who told me, Captain *Clipperton* had been here, some time before, to let Prisoners ashore, who assured them, that he would do them no Injury, nor give them any Trouble. But the Inhabitants, not thinking fit to trust him, had removed their Effects up the Mountains, amongst which was Part of the King's Treasure, amounting to 400,000 Pieces of Eight, which would have been a fine Booty, had Captain *Clipperton* thought fit to have accepted of it; since it is certain, he would have met with no more Difficulty in subduing this Place, than I did: But suddenly, upon hearing a Gun fired, I halted; and, Word being brought me, that the Ship was ashore, I hurried off with some Precipitation, carrying with us the Union Flag, which I had caused to be planted in the Church Yard ever since Sun-rising. As we were unbarbed, the Enemy came running down the Hills following after us: When I came on board, I found her intirely aloof, but within her Breath of the Rocks; the Water being smooth, I soon warped her off again; alter which, we returned to take Possession of the Town in the manner we had done before, and the *Spaniards* as peaceably retired up the Hills again. But this Accident being happy over, the Remainder of the Day was spent in shipping off what Punder we had got, which consisted in Hogs, Fowls, brown and white Calavances, Beans, *Indian* Corn, Wheat, Flour, Sugar, and as much Cocoa-nut, as we were able to flow away, with Pans and other Conveniences for preparing it; so that we were supplied with Breakfast-meat for the whole Voyage, and full of Provisions of one kind or other. In the Afternoon, there came a Messenger to know what I would take for the Ransom of the Town and Ship; to which I answered, that I would have 20,000 Pieces of Eight, and those to be paid within twenty-four Hours, if he intended to save the Town, or Ship either. At eight the next Morning, I received a Letter from the Governor, signifying, that, as I wrote in *French*, neither he, nor any about him, could understand the Contents; but, if I would let him know my Demands in *Latin* or *Spanish*, I should not fail of a satisfactory Answer. In the Afternoon, I sent one of the Quarter-deck Guns ashore; which, being mounted at our Guard, was fired at Sun set, Midnight, and Break of Day. The next Morning early the Messenger returned, and brought with him the Captain of the Ship I had taken; and, as soon as I had heard of their Arrival, I went on Shore to know what they had to propose. I very soon understood from them, that the Governor was determined not to ransom the Town at all Events, and that he did not care what I did to it, provided the Churches were not burnt: To which I answered, that I should have no Regard to Churches, or any thing else, when I set the Town on Fire; though, in fact, I never designed to destroy any Place consecrated to Divine Worship. As for the Captain of the Vessel, I told him plainly, that, if he did not ransom her immediately, he might expect to see her in Flames. This seemed to make as great an Impression upon him as I desired; and he promised, in three Hours time, to be down with the Money. As soon as I had given these People the Hearing, I caused every thing to be taken out of the Town that could be of any Use to us; and, when this was done, I ordered it to be set on Fire in two or three Places at once; and, as the Houses were old and dry, the Place became a Bonfire in a Moment. In the midst of this Conflagration, the People on board our Ship made continual Signals for me to come on board, and kept firing perpetually towards the Mouth of the Harbour. As I could only guess, from these Appearances, that something extraordinary had happened, the sole Measure left for me to take, was to get on board as soon as

I could, which accordingly I did, in a Canoe, with only three Men aboard with me.

14. It was evident enough to me, before I reached my Ship what had thrown my People into such a Panic; for I saw a large Ship lying, with her Fore-top-sail a-back, with her *Spanish* Flag flying at her Top-mast head; at which Sight two of my three Men were ready to faint; and, if it had not been for my Boatwain, I doubt whether I should have got on board the Ship. When I looked back to the Town, I could not help wishing I had not been so hasty, since, had the *Spanish* Admiral acted with Vigour, he had taken the Ship long enough before I could have gotten on board. In Justice to Mr. *Coldsea* the Master, I must observe, that he fired so smartly on the *Spaniard* as he came in, that he put him upon taking those Precautions, which, had he known our Strength, were very unnecessary; and, as this took up Time, it gave me an Opportunity of coming on board. In the mean time, my Officers ashore were so unwilling to leave behind them a Gun we had mounted in the Town, that they spent to great a Space in getting into the Boat, that I began to be much afraid the Enemy would have attacked us, before the Launch could have rowed aboard. But he was not in such a Hurry, thinking that I could not well pass by him, and therefore suffered my Men to come off, who were about fifty in Number; but was within less than Pistol shot of us, before they had all got into the Ship. Upon which, we cut our Cable, and, our Ship falling the wrong Way, I had but just Room enough to fall clear of him. Being now close by one another, his formidable Appearance struck an universal Damp on every one's Spirits. Some of my People, in coming off, were for jumping into the Water, and swimming ashore, as some actually did; But now, when they saw a fine *Europe* built Ship of fifty Guns, the Disproportion was so great between us, that there could be no Hopes of escaping him, being under his Lee. I endeavoured to get into shoal Water; but he becalmed and confined me for the greater Part of an Hour, handling me very roughly with his Cannon; but made little Use of Small arms. He never had Patience to let us be quiet along his Side; but, whenever he was ready with his Fire, he gave his Ship the starboard-helm, to bring as many of his Guns as he could to bear on us, and, at the same time, kept me out of the true Wind. We made the briskest Returns we could; but the Misfortune was, that, in the precipitate Contusion in getting off from the Town, most of our Small-arms were wet; so that it was late before they were of any Use. There was, during this, a confused Scene ashore, of the Town on Fire, and the People, who had flocked down the Hills to extinguish it, some of whom answered the End of their coming, whilst others were employed in beholding the Engagement. I was long in Despair of getting away from the *Spaniard*, and could force nothing, but that we should be torn in Pieces by him, unless we had an Opportunity of tying our Heels with him whilst our Masts were standing. I expected every Minute they would board us; and, upon hearing an Haltowing amongst them, and their Fort-cattle full of Men, I concluded they had come to a Resolution of entering us: But I presently saw the Occasion of these Acclamations was, their having shot down our Ensign-staff, upon which they were in hopes we had struck; but I soon undeceived them, by spreading a new Ensign on the Mizzen-throwds; upon Sight of which, they lay as snug as before, and held their Way close on our Quarter. Intending at last to do our Business at once, they clapped their Helm a starboard, in order to bring their whole Broadside to point on us; but their Fire had very little Effect, and it muzzled themselves; which gave us an Opportunity of getting away from them. This was certainly a lucky Escape, after an Engagement for about three Glasses with an Enemy so much superior, for he had fifty-six Guns, we but twenty mounted; they had 450 Men, we, on our Part, did not exceed seventy-three, and eleven Negroes and two *Indians* included in that Number: He had further this vast Odds over us, of being in a settled Readiness, whilst we were in the utmost Distraction. Add to all this, our Small-arms being useless, by being wet; and, in the Middle of the Engagement, One-third of my People, instead of fighting, were hard at Work to make a further Preparation for an obstinate

obstinate Resistance: particularly the Carpenter, and his Crew, were busied in making Ports for Stern chale Guns, which (as it happened) we made no Use of. Yet we were not altogether unhurt; the Lots of my Boat and Anchor was irreparable, and may be said to be the Cause of that Scene of Trouble, which followed; for we had now but one Anchor, that at *Payta* being the third we had lost; and were intirely destitute of a Boat of any kind. I have been since informed, that we placed some Shots very well, and that we killed and wounded several of the Enemy.

It is a very different Account that Captain *Betagh* gives of this Matter, of which, however, he tells us, he was extremely well informed; because, in the first Place, he had the Story fresh at *Payta*, within a Day or two after the Thing happened, and was afterwards on board the *Peregrine* at *Lima*, by which means he was an Eye-witness of the Force of the Ship. Instead of fifty-six Guns, he insists, she carried but forty; and, instead of 450 Men, he is clear that 250 were the most that ever were on board, and these such a mixt Crew of ignorant Wretches, that twenty expert Seamen, in his Opinion, had been more than a Match for them. As for the Commander, continued he, whom Captain *Shelvoike* calls an Admiral, he was a *Croonian*, a mere fresh-water Man, who never saw any Action before; And, as for the People aboard him, they were compos'd of Negroes, *Mestizos*, and *Indians*: besides which, there were not above a dozen white Faces in all: For this Ship was designed to carry the late Viceroy Prince *Santo Bruno*, his Family, and Retinue, to *Acapuleo*; but, in the mean time, being ordered a short Cruise on the Coast, she failed to heavy, that the Spaniards never expected she would be of any Use against the *English* Privateers, and, for that Reason, put all their able-bodied Men aboard the other three Cruisers, the *Zelrin*, *Brilliant*, and *San Francisco*, which were light Ships, and good Sailors. The *Peregrine* was so unable and unwilling too, that if she had not found the *Speedwell* in Harbour, she would never have followed her to Sea; for it was related at *Payta*, the first Fire from the *Speedwell* terrified the Enemy to very much, that they could not tell whether they were dead or alive. They all immediately ran from their Quarters, and the very Steer-man, who had the Helm, quitted it; so that the Ship, which was then clove-haled standing in, came with her Head-tails in the Wind, and muzzled herself; that is, she lay bobbing up and down, with her Sails flapping against the Mast; nor could it be otherwise, where there were only a few good Officers among a mere Mob of black People, scared out of their Wits. The Commander, and his Officers, did all they could to bring them to their Duty: They beat them, swore at them, and pricked them in the Buttocks: But all would not do; for the poor Devils were resolv'd to be frightened. Most of them ran quite down into the Hold, while others were upon their Knees, praying the Saints for Deliverance. The *Speedwell* did not fire above eight or nine Guns, and, as she were found sufficient, Captain *Shelvoike* had no Occasion to waste his Powder. But it is plain the *Peregrine* might easily have run him aboard, if there had been but a few good Seamen to stand by the Bowlines and Braces. However, this Panic of theirs gave *Shelvoike* a fair Opportunity to get his Men aboard, cut his Cable, and go away right afore the Wind. Thus, he assures us, was the Truth of the Matter. But to return to the Captain, and his Relation:

16. In the Evening, I, with much ado, slipped away from the *Brilliant*, the Admiral's Contort, on board of which was *Betagh*, who desired he might have the Honour to board me first; and this Escape I made with Difficulty enough, and found myself, when at Liberty, in a very uncomfortable Condition; for we had not the least Hopes now, or at least any Certainty, of meeting with the *Success*; so that we had little Good to expect from Friends. Astour Enemies again, I was informed at *Payta*, that they had laid an Embargo of five or six Months; so that we had nothing to expect on that Side. A third Misfortune was, that I saw our Prize, which I intended for a Fireship, taken by the *Brilliant*; and therefore had all the Reason in the World to expect, they had perfect Information of all our Designs. Add to these Mischiefs, that I had but one Anchor, and no Boat at all; and it will not be wondered, that I gave up

all Views on the Town of *Guiaquil*, where I propos'd to have made an Attempt, having certain Intelligence, that several Ships of considerable Value lay in that River, by dint of the Embargo, which, if I had been better provided, would, in this Case, have done me a Service. In this Situation, I called my Officers together, to let them know, that it was my Sentiment, that we had much better go to Windward, hence, in spite of all their Embargos, the Spaniards must carry on their Trade with *Cebila*; after which, I propos'd watering at *Juan Fernandez*, and then cruising out the whole Season on the *Concepcion*, *Valparaiso*, and *Caguanay* Traders, amongst whom we should be stocked with Anchors, Cables, Boats, and a Vessel to make a Fireship of, on which I mightly depended, since I could see but a small Probability of joining the *Success*. I also propos'd, before I left the Coast of *Cebila*, to make the Town of *La Serena* or *Cogumbo*. This being universally approved of, we got our Tacks aboard, and stretch'd to Windward. My Intention, after this, was for the Coast of *Mexico*, there to run to the Height of the *Tres Marias* and *California*, as the most likely Place to meet the *Success*; both of which Places would have been commodious, the first for salting Turke, and the last for Wooding and Watering. There I should also be ready in the Season to lie in the Track of the *Manila* Ship, which I should have the Fortune to meet, saving a Fireship I would have tried what I could have done against her; but, if I could not have prevailed, I might have contented myself with cruising on the *Peruvian* Ships, who bring Silver to *Acapuleo*, to purchase the *Indian* and *Chinese* Commodities, which the *Manila* Ships bring trade. On the 26th, we secured our Masts, and bent a new set of Sails, and stood to the Southward, expecting to go our Passage in about five Weeks. The Day after, the Carpenter began to build a Boat to water the Ship. On the 28th, as we were pumping the Ship, the Water came out at the Well, not only in a greater Quantity than usual, but so as black as Ink; which made me judge, that some Water came at our Powder; and accordingly, going into the Powder room, I heard the Water come in like a little Gun, which had quite spoiled the greatest Part of our Powder; so that we only saved the Quantity of six Barrels, which I order'd to be blow'd away in the Bread-room. It pleases God, that we had fair Weather; otherwise it would have been an hard Matter for us to have kept ourselves afloat. We found the Leak to be on the Larboard-side, under the lower Check of the Head, occasion'd by a Shot, which had lodged there; which, falling out, let Run a Stream of Water. We brought the Ship by the Stern, and, with great Difficulty, stopp'd it securely. At this time, we had a large Stock of Provisions, and every one lived as well as he could have wish'd, each Man having a Quart of Chocolate, and three Ounces of very good Rum for Breakfast every Morning, and fresh Meat or fish twice every Day, or which we had such a Plenty, a sou't the Sea, that we could almost always take our Choice of Dolphin or Albicore. On May 6, we made the Westermost of the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, the Body of it being North by North, distant twelve Leagues; and, the Day after, the Carpenters completed the Boat, which would carry eight Hogheads. On the 11th, we saw the great Island of *Juan Fernandez*, bearing East half South, by Observation the Body of it lying in the Latitude of 33° 27' South. A joyful Sight at that time, tho' so unfortunate to us afterwards. In Captain *Betagh's* Account, the going to *Juan Fernandez* is represented as a direct Design to lose the Ship, and to cruise for the future in a Bottom, to which, in our Judgement, the Owners had no Title. I must, for my own Part, acknowledge, that I cannot understand this; because, in a Bark built out of the Remains of three other Ships, they were as much in an Owners Bottom, as if they were her self; and, if they could imagine this would be avoid'd by taking and cruising in another Ship, then they might as well have quitted the *Speedwell*, under Protection of the Law, and gone to Sea in a Prize, without the hazard of the Sinking of the Shipwreck. Captain *Betagh* mentions the Shipwreck of the Seamen, as direct Evidence of the Truth, that they look'd for it, and expected it would happen, as it really did. It is also touch'd by Captain *Betagh*, that abundance of Flings of Value were brought on board

without their knowing not comprehend; for not carry a vast Quantity very plain to me, that Ship, who, if he had would not have dived Captain's Relation: I 214; but could not pended; which made Road for a few Hours; twenty Tuns of Catk anchored in forty Fathoms of the Length of being made fast to the gave us an Opportunity and aboard. The next sea, but had no Opportunity together, during which On the 25th, an hard upon us, and brought in a few Hours, our this, there being no Method of avoiding immediate p'd in our Behalf to the Length farther to the where we did, we mull as the touch'd the Rock some Part or other of the Shocks she had in all have thrown us in our small, fore-mast, and in the fore, Words are was dition we were in, or the unfortunately shipwreck cers came to bear me some Necessaries out of the rate, wrapped themselves round it, and, notwithstanding very soundly. I was in doing what we proposed were so scattered, that them together; so that any things, but for they were employ'd in the Preparations to settle they destroyed, and every thing Calk of Beet, and one washed whole on the Str. all sorts irrecoverably gone of it to us, except I should have order'd, ing to the Gentlemen of Chelt in the great Cabin of the Bread-room for St took some Pans in finding Tent, and at length found not half a Mile from the within a Stone's cast of e hand, and I recs proper People settled within Call and, having a cold Season ed theirs, and others cov'd Sea-lions, whilst others them, under the Cover of outlives, as well as possible approaching Winter, we I envis in making a gen which my Officers in general sives quietly in toasting times bewailing our unhappiar, at other times teach something might be done hat with the Carpenter, a make Brack without Straw a lurly Humour. From whom I found at the Way could do for us in his Way the building of a small Ve hoped he could do all the

without their knowing how; which is another thing I cannot comprehend; for Captain *Shelvocke*, and his Son, could not carry a vast Quantity on shore themselves; and it is very plain to me, that there was not a single Man in the Ship, who, if he had been trusted with so dark a Secret, would not have discovered it. But to proceed with the Captain's Relation: I plied, says he, off and on till the end; but could not get to much Water as we daily expended; which made me think it requisite to anchor in the Road for a few Hours: And, in order to it, I prepared twenty Tuns of Casks to raft ashore; then worked in, and anchored in forty Fathom Water, and made a Warp, which was of the Length of three Haufers and an half, which, being made fast to the Rock, kept the Ship steady, and gave us an Opportunity of hauling our Raft of Casks ashore and aboard. The next Morning, we were ready to go to Sea, but had no Opportunity of doing so for four Days together, during which we anchored in the same Manner. On the 25th, an hard Gale of Wind came out of the Sea upon us, and brought in a great tumbling Swell; so that, in a few Hours, our Cable parted: A dismal Accident this, there being no Means to be used, or the least Prospect of avoiding immediate Destruction. But Providence interposed in our Behalf to save us, that, if we had struck but a Cable's Length farther to the Eastward or Westward of the Place where we did, we must have inevitably perished. As soon as the Ship touched the Rock, we were obliged to hold fast by some Part or other of the Ship, otherwise the Violence of the Shocks she had in striking might have been sufficient to have thrown us all out of her into the Sea. Our Main-mast, Fore-mast, and Mizzen-mast, went all away together. In short, Words are wanting to express the wretched Condition we were in, or the Surprise we were under of being unfortunately shipwrecked. In the Evening, all the Officers came to bear me Company, and to contrive to get some Necessaries out of the Wreck; and, having lighted a Fire, wrapped themselves up in what they could get, lay round it, and, notwithstanding the Coldness of the Weather, slept very soundly. I would have let the People to Work in doing what we proposed the Night before; but they were so scattered, that there was no such thing as getting them together: So that all Opportunities were lost of regaining any thing, but some of our Fire-arms. But, while they were employed in building Tents, and making other Preparations to settle themselves here, the Wreck was entirely destroyed, and every thing that was in her lost, except one Cask of Beet, and one of *Farina de Pao*, which were washed whole on the Strand. Thus were our Provisions of all sorts irrecoverably gone, and whatever else might have been of Use to us, except what I have already mentioned. I should have observed, that I had 1100 Dollars belonging to the Gentlemen Owners, which were kept in my Chest in the great Cabin. The rest, being in the Bottom of the Bread-room for Security, could not be come at. I took some Pains in finding a convenient Place to set up my Tent, and at length found a commodious Spot of Ground, not half a Mile from the Sea, and a fine Run of Water within a Stone's cast of each Side of it, with Firing near at hand, and Trees proper for building our Dwellings. The People settled within Call about me, as well as they could; and, having a cold Seaton coming on, some of them thatched theirs, and others covered them with Skins of Seals and Sealions, whilst others got up Water-butts, and slept in them, under the Cover of a Tree. Having thus secured ourselves, as well as possible, against the Inclemency of the approaching Winter, we used to pass our Time in the Evening in making a great Fire before my Tent, round which my Officers in general assembled, employing themselves quietly in roasting Crayfish in the Embers; sometimes bewailing our unhappy State, and sinking into Despair, at other times teaching ourselves up with Hopes, that something might be done to let us afloat again. I consulted first with the Carpenter, who answered, That he could not make Bark without Straw; and walked away from me in a hilly Humour. From him I went to the Armourer, whom I found at the Wreck, and asked him, What he could do for us in his Way, that might contribute towards the building of a small Vessel. To which he answered, He hoped he could do all the Iron-work, that was necessary for

such a thing; that he had, with much Labour, gotten his Bellows out of the Wreck, with four or five Spadoes, which would afford them Steel; and that there could be no want of Iron along the Shore; and that he did not doubt, but we should find a great many useful Things, when we came to let to work in good Earnest; and desired I would, without Lots of Time, order some Charcoal to be made for him, whilst he let up his Forge. Upon which I called all Hands together, and gave it them as my Opinion, that there was a great Probability we should be able to effect the building a Vessel to transport us; but that it would undoubtedly be a laborious Task, and would require the utmost Endeavours from them all; and put the Question to them, Whether we should make a Beginning, or no. To which they, with one Voice, consented, and promised to be extremely diligent in Work; and begged me to give them Instructions how to proceed. I then ordered those, who were working before the Ship was lost, to bring in their Axes, that I might lend them to cut Wood to make Charcoal, while the rest went down to the Wreck, to get the Bowprit ashore, of which I intended to make the Keel; and prevailed on the Carpenter to go with me, to fix on the properest Place to build upon. In a Word, the People found a great many useful Materials about the Wreck, and, amongst the rest, the Top-mast, which, being made fast to the Main-mast, was washed ashore, and, tho' of no small Weight, would not, at this time, have been exchanged for Gold.

10. On June 8. we laid the Blocks to build upon, and had the Bowprit ready at hand. The Carpenter, suddenly turning short upon me as I stood by him, swore an Oath, He would not strike another Stroke upon it; that he, truly, would be nobody's Slave; and thought himself now upon a Footing with myself. I was at first angry; but at last came to an Agreement to give him a tour Pistole Piece as soon as the Stern and Stern-post were up, and 100 Pieces of Eight when the Bark was finished; and the Money to be committed to the Keeping of any one he should name till that time. Upon this, he went to work on the Keel, which was to be thirty Feet in Length, her Breadth by the Beam sixteen Feet, and seven Feet deep in the Hold. In two Months time we made a tolerable Shew, which was, in a great measure, owing to the Ingenuity of *Poppleson* my Armourer, who did not lose a Minute's time from the Work of his Hand, and Contrivance of his Head. This Affliction of his, I dare say, was greatly owing to the just Sense he had of our torlorn State, with which he seemed to be much affected. This Man made us a little double-headed Mallet, Hammets, Chisels, Files, and a sort of Gimblets, which performed very well; nay, he even made a Bullet-mould, and an Instrument to bore our Cartouch-boxes, which we made of the Trucks of Gun-carriages, which washed ashore (these we covered with Seal-skins, and contrived so as to be both handy and neat): And had enabled himself to perform any Iron-work the Carpenter wanted; and did not only do us this Service in his Way, but also began and finished a large serviceable Boat, which was what we much stood in need of. But I must observe, that, in the Beginning, the People behaved themselves very regularly, half of them working one Day, and half another, and seemed to be easier and easier under our Misfortunes every Day. They treated me with as much Regard as I could wish, and, in a Pody, thanked me for the Prospect they had of a Deliverance. I never failed to encourage them by such Stories of Things or Actions that I heard to have been done by the Number of Men in Distresses of this kind; and always pressed them to stick close to the Work, that we might get the Bark ready in time; and told them, that to our Comfort, we had three of the best Ports in *Chili* within 120 Leagues of us. This infused new Life into them; and they often declared, that they would do their utmost to finish her with all Expedition, which was a most agreeable Hearing. But, instead of enjoying Peace long, we became a Prey to Faction; so that it was a Miracle, that we got off from this Place by any Endeavours of our own: For, after they had gone through the most laborious Part of the Work, they entirely neglected it; and many of my Officers deserted my Conversation, to herd with the meanest of the Ship's Company. I was now confirmed in the Suspicion I had

some time before, that there was a black Design in Embryo; for, when I met by chance any of my Officers, if I asked them, What they were about, and why they would act so contrary to their Duty, as to divert the People from their Work, one would answer, That he did not know whether he should go off the Island, or no, if my Bundle of Boards was ready; and others told me, That they did not care how Matters went; they could shift for themselves, as well as the rest. And, when I spoke with the meaner Sort, some would be lurchy, and say nothing; others would be Slaves to nobody; but would do as the rest did. In the Midst of these Confusions, I ordered my Son to secure my Commission on some dry Place of the Wood or Rocks, if such could be found; for I well remembered how *Dampier* had been served in these Seas. At length I, one Afternoon, missed all the People, and could see nobody, but Mr. *Adamsen*, Surgeon, Mr. *Hendry* the Agent, and my Son, and Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines, who, for some Reasons but unknown to himself, had resigned Loyalty. I could not devise what could have become of them all; but at Night was informed, that they had assembled at the great Tree, to consult together; where they had formed a new Regulation, and new Articles, whereby they excluded the Gentlemen Adventurers in *England* from having any Part of what we should take for the future; and divested me of the Authority of their Captain; and had regulated themselves according to *Jamaica* Discipline. The chief Officers, among the rest, had chosen one *Morpbew* to be their Champion and Speaker. This Man addressed himself to those that were present, to acquaint them, "That they were now their own Masters, and Servants to none, that altho' Mr. *Skelvocke*, their former Captain, took upon him to command them to do this and that, &c. he ought to be made sensible, that whoever was their Commander now, it was their Courtesy that made him so; but that, however, Mr. *Skelvocke* might have the Refusal, if the Majority thought fit, but not else. But, at the same time, observed to them, that my Command was too lolly and arbitrary for a private Ship; that I should have continued in Men of War, where People were obliged quietly to bear all Hardships imposed upon them, whether right or wrong." To which some present, who had a Regard for me, answered, "That they never knew or saw me treat any body unjustly or severely; and that, however rigid I might be, they had nobody else to depend on; and that they would all do well to consider, how many Difficulties I had already brought them through; that, supposing we were preserved out of the Hands of our Enemies, how many more were to come, no one could tell, that, if they expected or intended to return to *England*, it could be by no other Means than taking a Turn round the World; and that, in that Case, there was none capable to undertake the Care of them, but myself: And reminded them of my Commission, and the Respect due to me upon that, besides the Protection they would receive from it, should they fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*." This had some Effect on the meaner Sort; but they were diverted from the Thoughts of returning to Obedience by the chief-concerned, who were no less than my first Lieutenant *Brooks*, &c. who had made the fore-mentioned *Morpbew* his Command, even on board the Ship; for having served as Foremast man the Voyage before he was made my Lieutenant, he had contracted a mighty liking to the Forecastle Conversation. And, besides this, they were again supported by Mr. *Kandall* my second Lieutenant, who was *Brooks's* Brother in law, and others, who, forgetting all the Obligations they owed to the Gentlemen in *England*, and all the Respect due to me, were now running into Ingratitude, and into an irrecoverable Damage to their Characters and Interests. The first and most remarkable Outrage committed by this Gang of Levellers, was on Mr. *la Porte* my third Lieutenant, whom *Morpbew* assaulted in a barbarous Manner, and knocked him down on the Beach, whilst Mr. *Brooks* stood by an Eye-witness of this Brutality. I expostulated with him upon his Conduct warmly; but with very little Effect: So that I saw plainly, that there was an End of all regular Authority amongst us. Very soon after, the Affair came to be fully expanded; for the Men framed a new Set of Articles, by which they put themselves upon the

Jamaica Discipline, declaring, that, as I had been their Captain, so they were content I should be their Captain still; and, as a further Mark of their Regard, they were willing to allow me six Shares; whereas, according to the *Jamaica* Model, I ought to have only four. Upon the same Plan, many of my Officers were reduced; for Instance, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *Dodd*, and Mr. *Hendry*, were declared Mulattos: And to this Scheme their superior Officers readily consented; so that there was no hindering it from being carried into Execution. Only Mr. *Colden* the Miller maintained a kind of Neutrality, and neither promoted nor opposed the Designs, that were going forward. In this Affairs, I thought it lawful, and even necessary, to comply with their Demands; and therefore, in Conjunction with the rest of my Officers, I signed those Articles: And then I thought I should have been able to have got them to work hard on the Bark, that was to carry us off; but I soon found, that I was sure to be mistaken, whenever I entertained any good Opinion of them. Instead of listening to my Advice, which, at the same time, was intrinsically calculated for their Service, they broke into another Murmur at the great Tree, where they came to a Resolution to demand what little Money I had saved for the Owners, which amounted to 750 Pieces of Eight in Virgin Silver, a Silver Dish weighing 75 Ounces, and 250 Dollars in ready Money; with which I was obliged to comply, and was treated worse than ever, having only the Refuse of the Fish, when they had chosen the best, being glad, after an hard Day's Work, to dine upon Seal; while Mr. *Morpbew* and his Councilors, feasted on the best Fish the Sea afforded. The next Stroke of their Intolerance was, to put the Arms out of my Hands, of which I had hitherto taken the greatest Care, because, having but one Flint to a Musquet, and but very little Ammunition, I foresaw, that, if it was wasted, we must be undone: All which I represented to them, when they made their Demand, but to no manner of Purpose; for they not only took the Arms, but did imagine, they squandered away the little Powder, and the few Bullets we had left, in killing Cats, or any thing else that came in their Way, and they could fire at. This is a concise History of our Transactions in the Island of *Jamaica*, from May 24. to August 15. and, I believe, an impartial Reader will agree, that no Man could suffer more than I did, lead a worse Life, or have a more uncomfortable Prospect.

The Account Captain *Betagg* gives, is so diametrically opposite to what we have already had from Captain *Skelvocke*, that, to show my Impartiality, I am obliged to report what he has delivered. All his People, says Captain *Betagg*, have assured me, and many others, that there was no Wind at all when the Ship was lost; for, as Captain *Skelvocke* very well knew, that if he should be caught by a Gale in that perilous Road, and so poorly furnished with Ground tackle, they must inevitably have perished, or at least of the prodigious Breaks the Sea makes in a Storm of Weather against the sunk Rocks and Stores along the Shore, he therefore took care to secure all the Mats by destroying his Ship in fine serene Weather, when the ingenious Captain performed by bringing a Spring Gun Cable, with which he stowed his Ship's Broadside against the Swell, and kept her in that Position while the Gale was torn aunder. Mr. *Dodd*, who did not prefer to be a Seaman, asserted, that, about three Hours before we went ashore, some Hands were at work on the fore-castle deck, hauling in an Hauler, which was made of a Gun Cable; and that he inquired of *Gilbert Henderson* the Gunner, what that was for. *Henderson* answered, that it would be rightly informed, he must go and ask the Captain. To confirm this, several of his People, says Captain *Betagg*, that it blew no Wind at all; that very soon after they got commodiously on shore, and returned to the Beach, he lost the Ship on Purpose: And it is remarkable, he made not one Trial to prevent it. As soon as the Cable parted, Mr. *la Porte*, his third Lieutenant, who, in immediate Ruin, cry'd out, Set the Fore-castle Boards thereby to do some good; and, while *Island* and others, were actually upon the Yard, *Skelvocke* ordered them down, and, taking the Helm in his Hands, Never mind it, Boys, stand all fast; I will not let

Leather-bed; which, his great Indifference either thing Captain *Betagg* says; That, by the *Colden* was to far from a miserable Garter; and in manner: According to the Value of every Prize, and the remaining Part of the whole Ship's Store out of which the Captain had as second Captain *Morpbew*, twenty; and in instances, the less than pay, and the Reduction there were now less than a Captain was to have five. The Day, is Captain's Proposition; but, to make an Example will pose a Spanish Prize taking thirty Pounds Sterling; Owners, the Shares are consequently, the Captain's Pounds: But, according to Share would be worth it, therefore, the Captain's Pounds: As to the get-
tain *Beage* gives a very says, that Captain *Skelvocke* treated the Captain of *Jamaica* having got the Arms, upon that Occasion, the men: But, according to this must have happened it was the eighth before Stocks, which gave Occa-
It is impossible to lay at Cause, since there are and no absolute Evidence so that all I can do is, to Side have stated them; the Captain's Relation.

17. On the 15th of a Sea put us into the ut-
the Bay, I ordered the the Negroes and Indians, under the Land, and an-
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came to seek us; yet I
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Feather-bed; which, as it proved a very hard one, shewed his great Indifference as to the Fate of the Ship. Another thing Captain *Betagh* insists peremptorily upon, is this; That, by the Change of Circumstances, Captain *Shelvocke* was so far from losing, that he was a very considerable Gainer; and this he demonstrates in the following manner: According to the original Articles, half the Value of every Prize was to be set aside for the Owners, and the remaining Part divided into Shares, in Proportion to the whole Ship's Company, which made them 650; out of which the Captain was to have fifty; Captain *Brooks* as second Captain, thirty; Captain *Betagh*, of the *Miner*, twenty; and so on from the Alteration of Circumstances, the lessening the Number of the Ship's Company, and the Reduction of the Officers that still survived, there were now less than fifty-two Shares; out of which the Captain was to have six, according to the new Regulation. The first Day, is Captain *Betagh's* manner of demonstrating this Proposition; but, upon considering it attentively, I think an Example will make it much clearer. I will suppose a Spanish Prize taken of the Value of six hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling; then half of it belonging to the Owners, the Shares are plainly worth ten Shillings apiece, consequently, the Captain's fifty Shares come to thirty Pounds. But, according to the new Rule of dividing, each Share would be worth twelve Pounds ten Shillings; and, therefore, the Captain's six Shares were worth seventy-five Pounds. As to the getting Possession of the Arms, Captain *Betagh* gives a very strange Account of it; for he says, that Captain *Shelvocke*, for certain Reasons, celebrated the 10th of June as a Festival; and that the Men having got the Arms, with his Consent, to fire Volleys upon that Occasion, they absolutely refused to part with them. But, according to Captain *Shelvocke's* Relation, this must have happened long after the 10th of June, since it was the eighth before their Bark was put upon the Stock, which gave Occasion to all the subsequent Disputes. It is impossible to lay any thing as to the Merits of this Cause, since there are positive Assertions on both Sides, and no absolute Evidence, or authentic Proof, on either; so that all I can do is, to report the Facts fairly, as both Sides have stated them; which having done, I return to the Captain's Relation.

17. On the 15th of August, the Sight of a large Ship at Sea put us into the utmost Confusion. Before he crossed the Bay, I ordered the Fires to be put out, and confined the Negroes and *Indians*, lest the Ship should be becalmed under the Land, and any of them should attempt twining off to her. I conceived it impossible, that she should be a Man of War, which, having Advice of our being lost, came to seek us; yet I knew, if she discovered what we were about, and the Wreck on the Shore, we should soon have the whole Force of the Kingdom of *Cuba* upon us. I was not long under these Apprehensions; for she kept away large, and at too great a Distance to perceive any thing of us. On this Occasion I got most of the People under Arms, and was glad to see to many of them, in some measure, obedient to my Command. I, upon this, told them, I was pleased to see their Arms in such good Order; to which they answered impertinently, That it was for their own Sakes. But, before they were dispersed, I told them, that the Necessity of our Affairs was such, that it required every one to give their Assistance, and use their best Endeavour, to get the Bark afloat, instead of caballing against their Captain, which would in the End be legally prejudicial; that, if we were discovered, all Hopes would be gone, and we could reasonably expect no other, than to be Slaves in some of the Mines; that we had still a great deal of Work, and never above ten of the more courageous, and commonly but six or seven, who attended to it; and that, as they knew to shew an Example, I was always one of the Number. But they were so obstinate, and so vitally intentive to the impending Destruction, and so likely to fall upon us, that the more I made use of Reason, to reclaim them, the more I remonstrated to them the ill Consequences that would attend their continual Mutinies, and the more I encouraged them by future Prospects of Advantage, the more they ran into a confused Distracted and Interruption of any thing that might be of Service to them in any respect. The next Day they divided

amongst themselves, upon this Question, Whether the Bark should be carried on, or whether they should build two large Shallops, and set what was done of the Bark on Fire. The Favourers of this new Design, who were headed by *Morpheus*, and his Friend, aimed at a Separation by this Means, and did not doubt they should have their Ends, considering the great Influence they had as yet had over their Fellow sufferers; but, as this must be carried by a Majority of Votes, according to their own Articles, they assembled before my Tent to debate this Matter; which they did in a noisy clamorous Manner on both Sides. But, in order to come to a Conclusion, I positively assured them, that Boats would be impracticable; because our Tools, and Materials too, were almost worn out and gone; therefore it was in vain for them to dispute about it. The Workmen, and a considerable Majority of the rest, sided with me in the Behalf of the Bark; but, at Night, the Carpenter lent me Word, that if I did not deliver him the Money agreed at the Beginning, notwithstanding the Terms for the Payment of it were not executed, I should not see his Face again; so I was obliged to raise the Money for him. The most provoking Part of this Proposal was, that the Fellows who took upon them to harangue and thistle-trill, were those who had never done an Hour's Work since we had been cast away; but, not gaining their Point, they openly declared I should not be their Captain, and that none but *Brooks's* should be their Commander; which was (perhaps) what that young Man aspired to, and had long expected, if one may draw reasonable Conclusions from his Deportment to me; and he, undoubtedly, might have been their Commander, had it not been for the People of the Boatwain's Tent, who, although they were fond of thinking themselves their own Masters, and would not submit to regular Command, yet had that Respect left, as not to give their Consents, that I should be left on the Island. I must own, that it was a thing very indifferent to me, had I not thought, that I acquitted myself of my Duty, in doing what in me lay, to hinder so many of his Majesty's Subjects, entrusted under my Care, from becoming Vagabonds. To complete our Divisions, there arose a third Party, who relolved to have nothing to do with the other two, purposing to stay on the Island. There were to the Number of twelve, who had separated from the rest, and never appeared, except in the Night, when they used to come about our Tents to steal Powder, Lead, and Axes, and, in short, whatever else they could lay their Hands on. But in a little time I found means to manage them, and took all their Arms, Ammunition, and the rest of their Plunder from them; and threatened, that, if they were found within Mutquet-hot of our Works or Tents, they should be treated as Enemies. A little afterwards, these Divisions so weakened the Power of the whole Body, that by degrees they began to listen to what I said; and I prevailed to lay, as to get most of them in a working Humour. Mr. *Brooks* came now with a feigned Submission, to desire he might eat with me again; but, in the main, did not lessen his Hatred for *Morpheus*: However, his Dissimulation proved of singular Service, in contributing to the finishing the Bark, which claimed the Assistance of all our Heads and Hands; for, when we came to plank the Bottom, we had very vexatious Difficulties to encounter with; for, having no Plank, except Pieces of the Wreck's Deck, we found it to dry and stubborn, that Fire and Water had hardly any Effect in making it pliable, and fit for Use; it rent, and split, and flew, like Glass; so that now I had substantial Reasons to believe, that all our Labour was vain, and that we must quietly sit down with the disagreeable Hopes of being taken off by some Spanish Ship some time or other, and, after all our Troubles, be led to a Prison to reflect on our past Misfortunes: However, by constant Labour, and Variety of Contrivances, we in the End patched her up, in such a manner, that I dare say, she was never seen; and I may safely affirm, that such a Bottom never swam on the Surface of the Sea before. September the 9th, the Boat that I have already mentioned to be begun by the Armourer, was launched; and, being now in a way of completing our Bark, there yet remained undecided, and undetermined, what Provisions we could get to support us in our Voyage: This was as necessary to be looked into, as the finishing our Em-

barkation, the one being useless without the other; and all the Stock we had, was one Cask of Beet, five or six Bushels of Farina, or Callador Flour, together with four or five live Hogs. I made several Experiments to save both Fish and Seal, but it was impossible to be done without Salt: At length, we luckily thought on a Method of curing the Conger-eel, by splitting them, and taking out the Backbone; then dipping them in Sea-water, and, lastly, hanging them up to dry in a great Smoke. But no other Fish could be preserved after that manner: Therefore the Fishermen were ordered to make it their Business to catch what Congers they could; and now several of the People, who had not yet struck a Stroke, began to repent of their Folly, as they grew weary of living on this Place; and offered their Service to go a fishing, with some foolish Excuse or other, for being so long idle, and asked my Pardon, promising not to lose a Moment for the time to come. The new Boat, being sent to try her Fortune, returned at Night, and brought with them a great Parcel of Fish of several Sorts; amongst which were 200 Fels, which was a good Beginning, and every Tent took their Proportion of them to save and cure, and the Boat was haled up every Night, and a strict Watch was kept over them, to prevent any making their Escape. Having this Convenience of a large Boat, I desired Mr. Brooks, our only Diver, to try what he could recover from that Part of the Wreck which lay without: He accordingly went, and could find but one small Gun, which he weighed, and brought ashore, together with two Pieces of a large Church Candlestick, which was a Part of the Gentlemen Owners Plate. Our Boat was daily employed in fishing, the Armourer constantly supplying them with Hooks, and there was no want of Lines, which were made of twisted Ribband, of which a great Quantity was driven ashore. In the mean time, those who were ashore made Twine-luff for Rigging, &c. and patched up the Canvas for Sails; the Cooper completed his Casks, and, in a short time, we had Masts on-end, tolerably well rigged, and made a good Figure. But, notwithstanding this Show, I had a Damp upon my Spirits, when I reflected within myself on the certain and unavoidable Difficulty we should find in calking her tight, which was like to prove a very ugly Piece of Work, where one had bad Seams, wretched Tools, and indifferent Artificers to deal with, which was our Case: However, when we had done it, and came to put it in the Water, to try the Fitness of our Work, it was followed by an universal Outcry, 'A Sieve! a Sieve!' And now every one appeared truly melancholy and dispirited, inasmuch that I was afraid they would not have used any farther Means; but, in a little time, by incessant Labour, we brought her into a tolerable Condition, and, having repaired the Ship's Pumps, I contrived them to fit our Bark. Thus, they cry'd, was a poor Dependence; but I desired them to have Patience, and to continue their Aid, in doing what more could be thought of, and prepare to launch her, and then we should be better able to judge what we might expect before we ventured to Sea in her; and that, in the mean time, the Cooper should make a Bucket for each Man, if his Materials would hold out. This being approved on by all, we agreed to put her in the Water the next Spring-tide, which fell out the 6th of October 1700. by which time we had faved 200 Fels, weighing, one with another, one Pound each, and about sixty Gallons of Seals Oil, to try them in. This, with what I mentioned before, was all our Sea Stock. The appointed Time being come, we were all ready; but, in launching her, as she fell from the Blocks, that which was to receive her abate gave way, and down she settled, and stuck fast, our Launch being with the Head towards the Sea. I thought we were irretrievably spoiled now; but, when we came to make Purchases to raise her again, happily found she did not hang so heavy as I dreaded; by which means we got her clear off, and saved the same Tide. As she went off, I named her *The Recovery*, though I was sadly afraid of hearing ill News from those afloat in her. All Things, however, answering pretty well, we resolved to run the Hazard of going off in her; and, with that View, made all possible Dispatch in getting Things on board. After all, a dozen of our People chose to remain on shore, rather than run the Hazard of going to Sea in such a Vessel; and sent me Word,

when I pressed them to it, That as yet they did not think themselves sufficiently prepared for the other World, and with them remained about as many Negroes and Indians. When we first came on shore, the Weather would not permit us to go a fishing, so that we were then constrained to live upon Seals; the Entrails of which, I must confess, are tolerable Food; but the constant and prodigious Slaughter we made of them, frightened them from our Side of the Island. Such as eat Cats, which I could not do, declared them to be sweet nourishing Food. We were able to fish, we were in a great measure debarred from these Hardships; but some of our mischievous Crew, for what Purpose it is impossible to say, let the Boat adrift, and so the was lost. We were then reduced to the Necessity of making Wicket-boats, covered with Sealers Skin, which did well enough on the Coast; but we did not venture with them into the Bay, and, consequently, were worse provided with Fish than we need have been. We fry'd our Fish in Seal-oil, and then eat it, without Bread, Salt, or any thing to relish it, except a little wild Sorrel. We slept under an indifferent Covering as ever People are, our Habitations being partly covered with the Bark of Trees, and partly with Seal and Sealers Skin, which were often torn away in the Night by sudden East or West Wind from the Mountains. It is certain, that, if we had together, a most wretched Life we led; and therefore there is nothing more allowable, than that the Sealers common Misery did not oblige us to live in Unity and in a friendly Correspondence; which might have brought many of these Inconveniences, and have rendered it more tolerable. Some Men, however, are of such bold and untuly Tempers, that neither good Usage can oblige, or Hardships compel them to a reasonable Behaviour.

18. This Island of *Juan Fernandez* has been so described, that I shall give the Reader only my particular Remarks as an Eye-witness, intending thereby to represent the State of the Island as we left it. It lies in the Latitude of 43° 30' South, at the Distance of about 60 Leagues West from the Continent of *Chili*. It may be about three Leagues long, and two broad, made up intirely of Mountains and Valleys; so that there was no walking a Quarter of a Mile upon a Flat. The Anchoring place is on the North Side of the Island, which is distinguished by a little mountain, with an high sharp Peak on each Side. It is not safe to anchor in less than forty Fathom Water, and even there, Ships are very much exposed to the Gale from the North, which blow frequently, and do sometimes a great deal of Mischief. To say the Truth, there cannot be a more unpleasant Place to anchor in; for the Bay being surrounded with high Mountains, there is a constant succession of dead Calms, and of sudden stormy Gusts of Wind. But it is now time to confine ourselves to the Land, and describe what is met with on shore. It is upon a fine wholesome Air, inasmuch that, out of several of us that were on it for the Space of five Months and ten Days, not one had an Hour's Sickness, notwithstanding that we fed on such foul Diet without Bread or Salt, to make had no Complaints amongst us, except an incessant stinging Appetite, and the want of our former Strength and Vigour. For my own Part, I must acknowledge the Bounty of Providence, that gave me Strength to cope with the Vexations as I met with; for, although I lost much of my Flesh, I became one of the strongest and most active Men on the Island. From being very corpulent, and almost crippled with the Gout, I walked much, and worked hard every Day, without being in the least afflicted with that Dilemper; and may say, that, if it had not pleased God to have enabled me, we might probably have remained there for Years to come, since it is a Place little frequented by the *Spaniards*. The Soil is fruitful, abounding with various sorts of large and beautiful Trees, mostly aromatic; the Names of those we knew were the Pine-tree, which bears a Leaf like a Myrtle, but somewhat larger, with a blue Blossom; their Trunks are short and thick, and their Heads very bushy, and as round and regular as if they were kept so by Art. There is another Sort, much superior in Bulk to the former, which I find to be somewhat like that which affords the Jetons Bark. On the Tops of some of the Mountains are Plants called with Groves of the *Italian Laurel*, mentioned by *Pliny*

in his Description of Italy, from which is the Root to the Top smaller Palm trees. The Island, growing in its some forty Feet high, a Cocoa nut tree, except Green, and bear than a Shoe; they are being as that of an Palm-cabbage, is the Tree, which being spreading Leaves, and had included a white Leaves and Berries in the Place of the old were obliged to cut a got. One good Quantity cover this Island is, the rest, there being no deepst Valleys, where of which there are ever Substante. Some of them, have sowed Tur as have also two or three but my Men had never to Maturity. We like and wild Sorrel: The fine red Earth, which which the Inhabitants which is almost as the Northern Part is very which come down the well at Sea, and is, I do Down the Western Peninsula, tall two Cascades close by each other, and probably supply most of with the rapid Descent which grow up close by vast Bunches of red Ber spect as can be. We the Mountains, could w and Cats are also numer exactly the same with o have assured me, that t from one Meal of them Fish; and, to their great which would catch alon Flour or two. The Span let a Breed of Goats he destroy them, by leav with no great Effect. but, the Sea, on the Co of all sorts of fine Fish, the Seals, and Sea lions others, that I need not called by the *Spaniards* resemble of a Wolf, I My Opinion is, that the wolves, their Heads re a fine iron-grey Fur, ar grown, of a large Malhi on the Approach of which compole their Fa get along much taller the unwieldy Creatures, bus 19. October 6. in the ting to subsist at Sea w of which was allowed to one Cask of Beet, and the time on the putref killed, with three or four wards of forty crowded of Fels, in no Method that all our Seales were a wasout a Drop of Water of the Cask with the H ale of by everybody pro

in his Description of *Chili*; these grow up in a strait slender Body, from which sprout small irregular Branches, from the Root to the Top, bearing Leaves like the Laurel, but smaller. Palm-trees are likewise found in most Parts of the Island, growing in smooth Joists like a Cane, some thirty, some forty Feet high: The Head of them is like that of a Crooknut tree, except that the Leaves of them are of a paler Green, and bear large Bunches of red Berries, bigger than a Sloe; they taste like our Haws, and have a Stone as big as that of an Heart cherry. That which we call the Palm cabbage, is the very Substance of the Head of the Tree, which being cut off, and dismembered of its great spreading Leaves, and all of it that is hard and tough, you find inclosed a white and tender young Head, with its Leaves and Berries perfectly formed, and ready to supply the Place of the old one. When in Search of them, we were obliged to cut down a lottly Tree for every one we got. One good Quality belonging to the Woods which cover this Island is, that they are every-where easy of Access, there being no Undergrowth, except in some of the deepest Vallies, where the Fern grows exceeding high, and of which there are even large Trees, with Trunks of good Substance. Some of the *English*, that have been here formerly, have sowed Turneps, which have spread very much; as have also two or three Plantations of small Pumpions; but my Men had never Patience to let any of these come to Maturity. We likewise found Plenty of Water-cretles, and wild Sorrel: There are some Hills remarkable for a fine red Earth, which I take to be the same with that of which the Inhabitants of *Chili* make their Earthen-ware, which is almost as beautiful as the red *China*. The Northern Part is very well watered, by a great many Streams which come down the narrow Vallies: This Water keeps well at Sea, and is, I dare say, as good as any in the World. Down the Western Peak, contiguous to the Table-mountain, fall two Cascades, at least 300 Feet perpendicular, close by each other, about twelve Feet in Breadth, which probably supply most of the other Ruus of Water: What with the rapid Descent of these Waters, and the Palm-trees which grow up close by the Edges of them, adorned with vast Bunches of red Berries, it yields as agreeable a Prospect as can be. We should have had no want of Goats in the Mountains, could we have conveniently followed them; and Cats are also numerous; they are, in Size and Colour, exactly the same with our Houle-cats; those who eat them have assured me, that they found a more substantial Relief from one Meal of them, than from four or five of Seal or Fish; and, to their great Satisfaction, we had a small Bitch, which would catch almost any Number they wanted in an Hour or two. The *Spaniards*, before they settled in *Chili*, left a Breed of Goats here, and have since endeavoured to destroy them, by leaving another Breed of Dogs, but with no great Effect. There are not many sorts of Birds; but, the Sea, on the Coast, abounds with a greater Variety of all sorts of fine Fish, than almost any I know: As for the Seals, and Sea lions, so much has been said of them by others, that I need not dwell upon them. The former are called by the *Spaniards* *Lobos de la Mar*, from their Resemblance of a Wolf; but the *Dutch* call them Sea-dogs. My Opinion is, that they may very probably be called Sea-wolves, their Heads resembling that Creature: They have a fine iron-grey Fur, and are of the Bigness, when full grown, of a large Mastiff: They are naturally torly, and Inart on the Approach of any body: They have two Pins, which compose their Tails, with which they make Shift to get along much faster than the Lions, which are very large unwieldy Creatures, but withal prodigiously full of Oil.

On October 6. in the Evening, we departed, with nothing to subsist at Sea with but the smoked Congers, one of which was allowed to each Man for twenty-four Hours, one Calk of Beef, and four live Hogs, which had fed all the time on the putrefied Carcasses of the Seals we had killed, with three or four Butthels of Meal. We were up-wind of forty crowded together, lying upon the Bundles of Fels, in no Method of keeping themselves clean; so that all our Bodies were as much offended as possible. There was not a Drop of Water to be had, without sucking it out of the Calk with the Barrel of a Mulet, which was made use of by every body promiscuously; and the little unwhoury

Morsels we daily eat, created perpetual Quarrels, every one contending for the Frying-pan. All the Conveniency we had for a Fire, was only a Half-tub filled with Earth, which made it so tedious, that we had a continual Noise of frying from Murning to Night. I proposed that we should stand to the South-east, toward the Bay of *Conception*, that being nearest to us. Every Day, while the Sea-breeze continued, we were hard put to it; for, not having above sixteen Inches tree Board, and our Bark tumbling prodigiously, the Water continually ran over us; and, having only a grating Deck, and no Tarpawlin to cover it, except the Bark's Top-sail, which was but thin, our Pumps would but just keep us free; notwithstanding which, I was unequal by bearing away, *Conception* being our chief Dependence. On the 10th, at four in the Morning, we fell in with a great Ship; and, by the Moon-light, I could plainly see she was *Europe* built. We were obliged to act in such a manner, as the Nature of our Case required, which was desperate: Therefore I stood for her; and, we being rigged after the manner of the Small-craft of the Country, they did not regard us till Day-light; which coming on, before we could get quite up with her, they discovered the Brownness of our Canvas, and immediately suspected us, wore Ship, and haled close on a Wind to the Westward; then hoisted their Colours, and fired a Gun, and crowded away from us, and left us behind them at a great rate; but, it falling calm two Hours after, we had recourse to our Oars, and approached them with tolerable Speed; and, in the mean time, overhauled our Arms, which we found to be in a very bad Condition, One-third of them being without Flints, and but three Cutlasses; so that we were not at all prepared for boarding, which was the only means we could have of taking any Ship: We had but one small Cannon, which we could not mount, and therefore were obliged to fire it as it lay along the Deck; and, to supply it, we had no more Ammunition than two Round-shot, a few Chain-bolts, and bolt-heads, the Clappers of the *Speedwell's* Bell, and some Bags of Beech-Itones to serve for Partridge. In four Hours we came up with them, every one seeming as easy in their Minds, as actually in the Possession of her; and were only sorry, that she was not deeper laden than she seemed to be: But, as we advanced nearer, I saw her Guns, and Pattericoes, and a considerable Number of Men on the Deck, with their Arms glittering in the Sun. The Enemy desired us to come on board them; and, at the same time, gave us a Volley of great and small Shot, which killed our Gunner, and almost brought our Fore-mast by the Board. This unexpected Reception staggered a great many, who before seemed to be the forwardest, that they lay on their Oars for some time, notwithstanding that I urged them to keep their Way; but, recovering again, rowed close up with them, and engaged them, till all our small Shot was expended, which obliged us to fall afein to make some Slugs: In this manner we made three Attempts, without any better Success. All the Night we were busied making Slugs, and had provided a large Quantity the next Morning, when we came to a final Resolution, of either carrying her, or of submitting to her; and accordingly, at Day-break, I ordered twenty Men, in our Yawl, to lay her athwart the Hawke, whilst I boarded her in the Bark: The People in the Boat put off, giving me repeated Assurances of their good Behaviour; but the very Instant we were coming to Action, a Gale sprung up, and she went away from us. This Ship was called the *Margaretta*, and was the same which had been a Privateer belonging to *Saint Malo*, and mounted forty Guns all the last War. In the Skirmishes we had with her, we had none killed, except *Gilbert Henderson*, our Gunner; and three wounded, which were Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, thro' the Thigh, Mr. *Coldsea*, the Master, thro' the Groin, and one of the Fore-mast-men in the Small of his Back: Two of these did very well; Mr. *Coldsea*, indeed, lingered in a miserable manner for nine or ten Months afterwards, but at length recovered. Our Condition now grew worse and worse: The Seas being too rough for our uncomfortable Vessel, I proposed that we might get into fair Weather, but to take *Cequimbo* in our Way, to try what could be done there. This was agreed on; but, the very Morning we expected to go into *Cequimbo*, there came on a very hard

cept the 16000 Dollars offered him for the *Jesus Maria*; because it gave him an Opportunity of cruising in the South Seas, or of going to *Asia*, whenever he thought it necessary. But let us now return to the Voyage:

21. On *January 13, 1721*, we entered, says the Captain, between the Islands of *Quibo* and *Quivetta*, in twenty Fathom Water, over-against a sandy Bay, which promised us great Conveniencies for Wooding and Watering. I therefore sent the Boat thither to view it, who reported, that there was a good close Harbour a little to the South; and that they saw no Signs of Inhabitants, except three or four Huts by the Water-side, which, they supposed, had formerly been made use of by Pearl-fishers, there being great Quantities of Mother-of-pearl-shells about them. I considered the Matter attentively, and at last resolved not to thrust myself up in a close Harbour, for fear of bad Consequences. As soon as Day broke the next Morning, we saw two large Boats rowing in for *Quivetta*, one of them having *Spanish* Colours flying; which gave me some Apprehensions, that they might have some Intelligence of, and intended to attack us. It may not be amiss to inform the Reader here, that the Mulattoes on the Coast of *Mexico* are remarkable for their Courage, and have sometimes done very bold Actions in such small Embarkations as these. However, as to the People we had to do with, they continued their Course, till we saw them go into a small Cove on the Island of *Quivetta*; which gave us very great Satisfaction, as it convinced us, that they had no Thoughts of attacking our Ship. The Tables were now turned, and, from contriving how to defend ourselves, we began to turn our Thoughts on the Means of engaging them; and, after a little Debate, whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our Boat, it was resolved, on all Hazards, to go after them in our Yawl, which Enterprize was commanded by *Mr. Brooks* first Lieutenant, who found them all ashore, brought away their Praguas, and two Prisoners; the one a Mulatto, the other a Negro. The rest fought for Refuge in the Woods. We took all their Provisions, which consisted of a little Pork, and some green, ripe, and dried Plantains. There was a large Quantity of the latter, which, being pounded, made a grateful Flour to the Taste, indifferently white; and, all together, made up a Month's Bread. The Mulatto merited us very much, by telling us, that a Vessel, laden with Provisions, had passed very near to us in the Night, but, to make amends, promised to conduct us to a Place, where we might supply ourselves without Hazard, provided we were not above two or three Days about it, wherefore we were very brisk in getting our Wood and Water. On *January 16*, we weighed anchor from hence for *Martina*, that being the Name of the Place we were bound to. In going out from *Quibo*, we were in imminent Danger of being toried by the Current upon two Rocks, lying at a small Distance from one another off the Northern Part of *Quivetta*; but, having cleared them, we steered through *Canal Bueno*, or the Good Channel, to look it in my Safety, being free from dangerous Shoals and Rocks. It might as properly be called the Straights of *Quibo*, which form the Western Side of it, extending about eight or nine Leagues North and South. Over-against the South Entrance of these Straights, at the Distance of a League from *Puerto Martina*, which is the Westernmost Point of the Gulph of *St. Martin*, lies the Island of *Sevaca*, which is, to the best of my Judgment, about ten Leagues in Circumference. I ran along the South End of it, and found every Point flat at least a League from the Shore, and, on the north in the Evening, we got safe in between *Martina* and the Island of *Sevaca*, and anchored in six Fathom Water, over-against a green Field, which is fruitful and sufficient, there being but that clear Spot thereabouts. Our Pilot desired we might be gone at least three Hours before Day-light, and that then we should be in good time at the Plantations. Accordingly, I went at two the next Morning in our own Boat, and ordered the two Lieutenants in the two Praguas, leaving my Son, and a few with him, to take care of the Ship. My Pilot, having given Charge, carried us up some Part of the Coast of *St. Martin*, and, out of that, into several Bayes of very narrow Creeks, amongst many Groves, where we had not Room to row. I could by no means approve of the Navigation, and there-

fore kept a strict Eye upon our Guide, and was ready to suspect, that he had no good Design in his Head. We landed just at Day-break, and, when we came on the Bank, found ourselves in a fine Savannah or Plain; and, after a March of about three Miles, came to two Farm-houses. But those belonging to them made their Escape, except the Wife and Children of one Houle. We had the Satisfaction of seeing, that this Place answered the Description that had been given us of it, being surrounded by numerous Herds of Black Cattle, Hogs, and plenty of Fowls of all sorts, together with some dried Beef, Plantains, and Indian Corn; and, for the present, we were entertained with a Breakfast of hot Cake and Milk: A Diet we had been long unacquainted with. When it was broad Day, I saw our Ship close by us; upon which I asked our Mulatto, How he came to bring us so far about? Who answered, That there was a River between us; and that he did not know, whether it was fordable, or not. I therefore sent some to try, who found it was not above Knee-deep: Wherefore, to avoid carrying our Plunder so far by Land and Water, I ordered, that our Boats should row out of the River of *St. Martin*, and come to the Beach over-against the Ship. We had not been long here, before we had the Master of the Family in Custody, who brought Horses with him, and desired we would make use of him in any thing he could serve us. This Offer was kindly received; and I presently employed him to carry what I thought fit to our Boat. This done, he went among his Black Cattle, and brought us what Number I thought we could save, for we had but little Salt, and I could not afford Water to keep them alive when we came to Sea; so that, as soon as they were on board, they were killed, and their Flesh preserved by salting it into long Slips, of the Thickness of one's Finger, and then sprinkling it with so small a Quantity of Salt, that we did not use above four or five Pounds to a Weight. Having let it lie together two or three Hours, we hung it up to dry in the Sun two or three Days successively, which perfectly saved it, which could not have been done any other way, by any other Quantity of the best Salt. As we had now done all we proposed, we departed the next Morning, with our Decks full of Fowls and Hogs, amongst which one had his Navel on his Back, which the *Spaniards* say, when wild in the Woods, is a true Cure to meet with, although, at their full Growth, they are but small. We returned by the same Way, passing through *Canal Bueno*, and made a Stop at *Quivetta*, to complete our Water; and, when we sailed, gave the Prisoners the largest Pragua, that those still remaining at *Quivetta* might return from whence they came. I shall not here inform my Reader, that the Wine and Praguas taken, had worked so busily with my Ship's Company, as to divide them into two Parties, inveterate to disagree one against another, who used to be at it, and at it, so much that I have had, in one of our Voyages, the Ringleaders of both of them drinking in the same Cause, both assuring me, that the other had a Design to take me, and urged me to take the Opportunity of the battle, who were not of their Faction. It is evident, that it is not possible to myself, how the Mitchell was diverted, by the use of no Means, but speaking calmly to them, to suffer them, indeed it was out of my Power, to get them to get drunk as often as they would; and, in the end, they have often, all together, been drinking one against another, and I have had, more than once, almost one of my Boats crew endeavouring to get drunk, who was happy, that this Trade did not last long, as they had any thing to drink, I judged it best to let them drink as much as they pleased, which almost wearied me. But their first Accels to the Liquor produced a Term of the miserable Way of passing out Time, while it held, it was attended by some vexatious Consequences, yet it had this one good Effect, that it cleared the Head of a great rate. Nevertheless, I observed that they were not so quiet and vigorously to get drunk, but, after having galled themselves a little, they relapsed again, and were as distracted as ever, now in the midst of a moderate Plenty. My Lieutenants, as sea officers, were now obliged to learn, at least to flee, in order to take their Turns with the Sea.

such was the Pass that, by thinking my own, and were as much as the Crew, to have recourse to me, punctually while those soon as they were over. On the 25th of covered a Sail about gave them Chase till *Europe* built; and the *Lucines* Men of War an Hour it fell calm. towards us, which pro- *sway*, commanded by This interview amazed me in such a Condition of the Seas. I entered *Molortanes*, which is since we were separated, pretend Meeting; and with remarkable Incidents, particularly, that about a new *French* Brigs Company's Plunder valued at 10,000 Pounds. *Mr. Mitchell* was not and was ordered to go Coast of *Mexico*, and joined him with his Ship the Island since, and the and his Men, were *Spaniards* or *Indians*, who et Work, or that he *Captain Cupperon*, and sunk, since by all their cut. Startled at so important continued, that I need not mention were very content me of a dreadful I which had happened a tun, having a Desire when we arrived there Part of the Land, which was, but, I understand how they would leave is, that *Captain Cupperon* we were in my Navy. I do not say, that I should be impetuous to them. Expedient to evaluate the story of *Captain* *Man*, and an exact Survey of them, there was an my Captain, who ordered to give him in never could be found as never was above Water without count, perishing in the Quarters of a Fleet never was to be covered. I am of the Value of the did not exceed prices of Opportunities: That is *Baron Cuperon*, an the use in Ship's bell; was coming into the to take to them, that though it was I had taken them all to them to Advice, that they had never thought they had it, that they had it. My Neglect in their Return, where it the same Ship after it by the favour of trees, they got out of them.

Such was the Pass they had now brought themselves to; for, by linking my Authority, they had absolutely lost their own, and were even in a worse Situation than I; inasmuch as the Crew, for their own sakes, were obliged to have recourse to me upon all Emergencies, obeying me punctually while those lasted, and abusing me plentifully as soon as they were over.

22. On the 25th of January in the Morning, we discovered a Sail about two Leagues to the Leeward: We gave them Chase till such time as we discovered they were Europe built; and then, fearing they might be one of the Enemies Men of War, I clapped on a Wind, and in half an Hour it fell calm. We loon after saw a Boat rowing towards us, which proved the Pinnace of our Consort the *Succes*, commanded by their first Lieutenant Mr. *Davison*. This interview amazed us both; he was surpris'd to find me in such a Condition, and I no less at finding him in those Seas. I entertained him with a Rehearsal of our Misfortunes, which had happened in the long Interval, since we were separated near the Coast of England, till our present Meeting; and he, on his Part, entertained me with remarkable Incidents which had fallen out with them; particularly, that about a Twelvemonth before they had taken a new French Brigantine, and put their Officers and Ships Company's Plunder on board of her, which they valued at 10,000 Pounds Sterling; that their second Captain Mr. *Mitchell* was intrusted with the Command of her, and was ordered to go with her to some Island on the Coast of Mexico, and there to stay till Captain *Clipperton* joined him with his Ship; but that they never could find the Island since, and therefore judged, that poor *Mitchell*, and his Men, were either starved, or murdered by the Spaniards of *Guiana*, who are very dexterous at that kind of Work, or that he had perished with the Island, which Captain *Clipperton*, and some others, were of Opinion was sunk, since by all their Endeavours, they could not find it out. Startled at so improbable a Conjecture, Mr. *Davison* continued, that I need not be surpris'd at it, since such Subterfuges were very common on the Coasts; and began to tell me of a dreadful Instance of it on the Coast of Peru, which had happened a little before; for, says he, my Captain, having a Desire to look into the Road of *Cherispe*, when we arriv'd there, we found the Town, and a great Part of the Land, which formed the Road, intirely under Water, but, I undeceived him in this, by telling him, how they would be seen that very Place. The Truth of it is, that Captain *Clipperton*, though he was reputed to be well vers'd in the Navigation, was always unfortunate in finding out any Port, &c. and, left his continual Blanders should be imputed to his Ignorance, he always found out some Expedient to evade any Suspicion of his Inability. The story of Captain *Mitchell*, who was a very worthy Man, and an expert Sailor, is, in all its Circumstances, yet true; there was always a Jealousy between him and his Captain, who order'd him to a Place (and pretended to give him infallible Directions to find it) which never could be found afterwards, and, it is my Opinion, never was above Water; and the unfortunate Gentleman, without doubt, perished in some obscure miserable Manner, in the Quest of a Place that was never yet, and perhaps never will be, discover'd. In our Discourse, I ask'd Mr. *Davison* the Value of their Booty, who assur'd me, that it did not exceed seven or eight Dollars; but that they had lost great Opportunities: That in October 1720, they were in the Bay of *Clipperton*, and had the Misfortune of leaving three or four Ships behind them; and milk'd a fourth, that was entering into the Bay, which was so near as to had time to take to them, and was becalmed by them; and though it was probable, that their Launch would have taken them all four, yet, through their Captain's Desire to Advise, they took none of them; and that, since they had never cleaned their Bottom, notwithstanding they had it several times in their Power to do so, that this Negligence had like to have cost them more than their Return from *Concepcion*; they looked upon the Bay, where they saw five Ships at Anchor, three of which had suppl'd them, and near'd their space; but, by the favour of weak Weather, and a hard Gale of Wind, they got out of them. And further, that off the Port of

of *Calao*, they fell in with the *Flying Fish*, a Frigate, which by unpardonable Mismanagement on the Part of *Clipperton*, got safe from them, although deeply laden with a valuable Cargo. Such was my Discourse with Mr. *Davison*, when a Gale sprung up, which interrupted us, and bore down upon the *Succes*, and went on board of her. I gave Captain *Clipperton*, and Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent General, the whole History of my Voyage hitherto, and expected that I should have been treated by them as one belonging to the same Interest, but found I was mistaken; for they were unwilling to have any thing to do with me, since my Ship was lost. I however, I conceived, he would not be so inhuman as to deny me the Supply of such Necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare. The Answer was, That I should know more of his Mind the next Day. Amongst other Discourse, he told me, that he was just come from the Land of *Caros*; that his People were sickly, and at very short Allowance; Whereupon I offer'd my Service to pilot him to *Mariato*, which was not above thirty Leagues distant from us, where he might have refresh'd his Company, and suppl'd himself with what he would. But this was not accepted, he being resolv'd to make the best of his Way to the *Tres Marias*, where he said there was Turtle enough to be had; so I left him for that Night. The next Morning, as I was going on board of him again, with some of my Officers, he at once spread all his Canvas, and crowd'd away from us who were in the Boat; upon which I returned to our Ship again, and made Signals of Distress, and fired our Gun several times, which was not regarded by him, till his very Officers exclaimed at his Barbarity, and at last he brought-to. When I had fauk'd up with him, I sent Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, to know the Reason of his abrupt Departure, and to tell him, that we stood in need of several Necessaries, which I would purchase of him: Upon these Terms he spar'd me two of his Quarter-deck Guns, sixty round Shot, some Musquet balls and Flints, and a Spanish Chart of the Coast of Mexico, and Part of *India* and *China*, an half Hour and an half Minute Glass, a Compass, and about 300 Weight of Salt; but, all the Arguments I could use, could not persuade him to spare us the least thing out of his Surgeon's Chest for the Relief of Mr. *Coldea*, our Maller, who was still very ill of his Wounds received in the Engagement with the *Margareta*, about three Months before. We return'd, for what we had of him, some Bales of coarse Broad-cloth, as much Pitch and Tar as he would have, some Pigs of Copper, and I gave him a large silver Ladle for a dozen of Spadoes. When this was concluded, I ask'd him if I could be of any Service to him; and assur'd him, that I had a pretty good Ship under Foot, though she made but a poor Figure; and believ'd that I could hold him Way, and that he knew that our Cargo was pretty valuable. To which he answer'd, That, if I had a Cargo of Gold, he had no Business with me; and that I must take care of myself. Mr. *Hendry* the Agent, Mr. *Ramer*, and Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenants of Marines, seeing but little Prospect, that we should ever get Home, and being weary of the hard Work that was impos'd on them, desired I would let them go on board the *Succes* for a Passage to England; which I having consented to, they went on board accordingly, and *Clipperton* left us to shut our selves near the Island of *Cano*. Having this Supply, I was for going to the Southward into the Bay of *Panama*, to try our Fortunes there; but the Majority oppos'd me through Fear, and were for going to the *Tres Marias*, to salt Turtle there, and then stretch over for *India*. We directed our Course thither, but the Wind near the Land continued reigning in the Western Board, and the Coast of Mexico lying nearest North-west by West, and South east by East, we crept to Windward, but very slowly, and at so tedious a Rate, that we began again to be very short of Provisions before we had got the Length of *Rio Leyo*; which renew'd our Design of landing there, which had been laid aside on our Supply got at *Mariato*. But this Intention was no longer retained, than frustrat'd; for we were blown past it by a *Yegantepaque*, for so the Spaniards on this Coast call a violent Gale at North-east.

came on board of us to visit his old Ship-mates, and to stay with us all Night. I constantly kept reminding *Clipperton* of our want of Water, and he as often promised to supply us with a large Quantity at once. Thus we cruised in good Order, and with a great deal of Hope, until *March 7*: the Time appointed for me to fulfil the most prodigious Piece of Treachery that could be committed. But, in order to give my Reader an exact Account of the Circumstances of it, I must inform him, that we used to cruise off-and-on the Shore at such a convenient Distance, as not to be discovered from the Land: At the same time it was next to impossible, for any Ship to stir out of the Harbour of *Acapulco* without our seeing them, and we, not failing so well in the *Sacets*, it was *Clipperton's* Custom to shorten Sail for us, particularly in the Night, and shew us Lights on all necessary Occasions; But, towards this Evening, he pitched a head of us about two Leagues, and I could not perceive, that he so much as lowered a Top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him: However, I kept standing after him, till we were almost on the Breakers of the Shore, which of consequence obliged us to tack and stand out to sea. The next Morning we had no Sight of any Ship near us, which had me under the most terrible Apprehensions, considering the sad Condition we were in for want of Water, and the vast Distance we were from any Place where we could expect to get any; having now no Choice but either to beat up 220 Leagues to *Tres Marias*, or to clear away for the Gulf of *Anapala*, at a much more considerable Distance. I was afterwards informed, at the time of Captain *Clipperton's* Officers: I met with a *Spaniard*, that he committed this Cruelty absolutely against the Will, and even against the repeated Remonstrances, of all Officers, who abhorred such an Act of Barbarity. I was likewise informed by some *Spaniards* from *Acapulco*, that the *Acapulco* Ship sailed about a Week after we set our course: This Ship was called the *Santo Christó*, carried up sails of forty Brass Guns, and was exceedingly rich; so that I leave the Reader to judge, how the Thoughts, of such a Disappointment must affect me.

These several Interviews with Captain *Clipperton* are the most important Circumstances in the History of this Voyage, and the more delicate to be very seriously examined. We have traced them in the former Section in quite another Light, than from unexceptionable Authority, that of such a man, who had no particular Prejudice to contend against, and who was far enough from being liable to *Clipperton's* Errors. From the Consideration of this *Captain Betagh*, speaking of *Sbelvocke's* Account of the *Acapulco* Captain *Mitchell* in the *Cowboy*, makes the most judicious Observations. The Journal, says *Clipperton*, Mr. *Town's*, tells how he was fitted out, and what he carried, that his Cargo was 100000 Pounds Value; that he had on board a great many, supposing a real Misunderstanding, that *Clipperton* would pay to clear to get rid of the *Acapulco* man. It is certain, he never embarked his Men in Lighters, or in empty Prizes, with any Design to make away with them, as *Sbelvocke* served us. Captain *Mitchell* was put aboard a clean Ship, well manned, and provided with Stores and Necessaries, and a valuable Parcel of Goods, for the use of *Clipperton*, for the Owners Advantage, in case he should see them something; and it is true, that neither he, nor the twenty-three Men with him, were ever to be seen of us. But now was *Clipperton* chargeable with Treachery, and I scarce can Captain *Sbelvocke* make for these Reflections, but a sort of Pleasure he has in being ignorant on the Memory of the Dead! Thus far *Mitchell* has accounted for: The Journal tells us, that, being at *Acapulco*, Wood and Water, he touched to the Northward of *San Blas*, where it is very probable, he and his Men were taken Prisoners to the Enemy; for the same Article tells several of *Clipperton's* Men saw some Sluts, who were worn by the Natives, which, by the *Acapulco* man, convinced them *Mitchell* had been there. As to what was said from *Drayton's* Conversation, we are assured, that the Man was dead before it was published; therefore could not confirm, or disavow it. It is also clear from the Journal, that Captain *Clipperton* and his Company, looked upon *Sbelvocke*, and his, as a very different Looking. And, indeed, how could

they think otherwise? Does not Captain *Sbelvocke's* own Account speak it? And might he not very well apprehend, that Captain *Clipperton* might fear the Corruption of his Crew, by their associating too freely with Men who had given such Evidence of their bad Principles. As to their adjutting all Differences, and consorting together again, let us hear what Captain *Betagh* says on it. As to the Remarks, says he, that Captain *Sbelvocke* has made upon this Transaction, and the Pains he has taken to represent *Clipperton* as a Monster, they do not deserve any Regard. The Journal says, the Proposal to *Sbelvocke* was this; That if he and his Crew would refund all the Money shared amongst themselves, contrary to the Owners Articles, and put it in a Joint-stock, then all Faults should be forgot, both Companies unite and proceed to cruise for the *Acapulco* Ship: The very next Article in the Journal is, that, not hearing from Captain *Sbelvocke*, and the Time for the *Acapulco* Ship setting out for *Manilla* being several Days past, resolved in Council to make our best Dispatch for the *East Indies*. Here is the plain true Account of the Affair, and how the Treaty broke off. But *Sbelvocke* has laboured hard to pervert the Truth of this Fact, as he has done all the rest, thinking to gain Pity from Mankind, by telling what he suffered through the Deceit of *Clipperton*, never expecting that these Things would be refuted and cleared up. Besides, there may be other Reasons assigned for *Clipperton's* sudden Separation, though not entered in the Journal; for he knew, before he left *England*, that the *Spanish* Fleet were all taken and destroyed by Admiral *Burg*, and therefore a Peace was probably concluded, being two Years past; and might think *Sbelvocke*, who had not made his Fortune while the War lasted, and had really ruined the Project, ought, of the two, to be the Sufferer: It is very likely *Clipperton*, for these Reasons, did not care to embark his Ship just upon the Point of his leaving the South Seas; but, on second Thoughts, concluded, it was better to keep what he had got. These, I say, are very fair Conjectures; but the Reason, mentioned in the Journal above, is sufficient of itself; for *Sbelvocke* thought the Conditions proposed by *Clipperton* were too strict: He did not care to refund what he had unlawfully shared, which, doubtless, he ought to have done; and, for the Neglect of which, it is evident, the whole Affair ended. Discussing this Business has taken up a great deal of Room, though I have been as concise as possible; but it is some Comfort, that we have now, in some measure, arrived at the End of these Disputes, and may pursue our Relation without any farther Interruptions. We will therefore resume the Captain's Narration, and take notice of that Change of Fortune he met with, at a time, when, in his own Opinion, his Affairs were most desperate; which shews, that, in these Seas, Men never want Resources, if there be any Degrees of Courage and Conduct in their Commander.

23. In the Situation we were in, all Things were to be hazarded, and any Experiment to be tried, which had the least Appearance of succeeding. We continued our Course therefore, under all the Inconveniences that perhaps any Ships Company ever endured, distressed for Provisions, weak in point of Number, and so far from being united, that the Sense of common Danger, could not restrain us within the Bounds of common Civility to each other, though all Things depended upon right Behaviour. The Winds and Weather, however, continued so favourable to us, that on the 30th of *March* we found ourselves before the Port of *Sayonmate*: It was about Sun set when we looked into this Harbour, where we discovered a Ship of good Size, lying at anchor: Upon this, as it was a fine Moon light Evening, I sent my first Lieutenant, with some of our best Hands, in the Yawl, to see what she was. The Boat had not been long gone before we heard two Guns fired; and soon after my Lieutenant returned, and reported, she was a stout large Ship, with one Fire of Guns at each. We little regarded her strength, or our own Weakness, believing our Necessities would make us a Match for her; and therefore I continued plying in all Night, and prepared to engage her. At Sun rising, the Land breeze blew to us off from the Shore, that we worked in but slowly; in the mean time, we received all

their Fire upon every Board we made, without making them the least Return, and their Boat was employed to transport Soldiers from the Shore to the Ship. They hoisted a Jar, of about ten Gallons of Powder and Match, at each Main and Fore-yard-arms, and Bow-sprit-end, to let fall on our Decks, if we boarded them; which Contrivance, if it had taken Effect, would have soon made an End of both Ships, and those that were in them. Seeing them to deliberate in their Preparations to receive us, I could not but expect a warm Dispute; but, as our Case would not admit any Neglect of what offered, though at ever to hazardous a Rate, their Contrivances for Defence did not much dismay us. About eleven in the Morning the Sea-breeze came in; and, that I might make our small Force the most beneficial to us, I ordered our three Guns to be brought over on the Side we were like to engage them; and, being within less than Musquet-shot, discharged them: The Sea-breeze freshing ran us upon them very fast, whilst our Small-arms were effectually employed to break the Powder-jars before we actually boarded them; which we did without Delay; and, after the Exchange of a few Shot, when aboard of each other, they submitted. This Ship was called the *Sacra Familia*, of three hundred Tons, six Guns, and seventy Men. She had a great Number of Small-arms, Grenade-shells, and Shot; they had been for some time before arrived from *Calao*, with Wine and Brandy, but had now nothing in her but fifty Jars of Gunpowder, a small Parcel of Rusk, and jerked Beef: In short, she could hardly be said to be worth the Trouble we took, or the Risque we ran; but the having the Character of being a better Sailer, and visibly better fitted than ours, I changed Ships, and we all went on board our Prize, which had been equipped in the warlike Manner we found her, and commissioned on Purpose to take us, if she should chance to meet us in her Way. Our Small-arms (to do Justice to my People) were handled with the greatest Dexterly; but, being employed mostly in shattering the Powder-jars, that the combustible Matter in them might fall into the Water, there was none killed but the Boat-swain, and only one slightly wounded; but, if our Small-arms had not been so usefully diverted, there could not have failed of being a considerable Slaughter amongst them; on our part, we did not receive the least Damage. The Merchant we had taken in this Action, seemed to be inclinable to purchase the *Jesus Maria*, which we had quitted; and, when he heard, that her Cargo consisted of Pitch, Tar, and Copper, he immediately consented to my Demand, and went ashore to raise the Sum. We had little Provisions to spare, that we could not afford to keep any Prisoners in Possession; and therefore dismissed all the Whites, *Indians*, &c. detaining only the Negroes; and, that we might lose as little Time as possible, we let immediately to work, to overhaul our Rigging and Sails, that we might get our Ship ready for the Sea: But I was interrupted in this, by a Letter which came from the Governor of the Place in the Evening, which none of us could understand: But, by the Messenger that brought it, we found it was some Account of a Truce or Truce between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*; and that the Governor requested me to stay five Days, that he might thoroughly satisfy me in it, by shewing me the Articles of Accommodation. I thought this very odd; and told the *Spanish* Gentleman, that it was not a peaceable or friendly Reception I met withal; and asked, how they came to arm themselves in to deliberate a Manner, and why the Governor did not chuse to send a Flag of Truce to me with this Information, before we engaged, having the whole Morning before-hand; and why these Articles were not on board the Ship, the coming from *Lima*, from whence they said they received these Papers. And proceeded to tell him, that it was very strange to me, that none of the Officers we had taken Prisoners, should know any thing of the Matter: But that, notwithstanding all this, I had such a Regard for the very Name of Peace, that I would stay fifteen Days, if the Governor would supply us with Water and Provisions; and that, if he did not, I could not pretend to make above Twenty-four Hours stay here. I sent him also a short Answer to his Letter, expressing myself, on account of our underriding *Spanish* but indifferently, in which I told him,

that if, as he suggested, there was a Peace concluded between their *Britannic* and *Catholic* Majesties, I was ready, on due Proof, to act as he expected; but, in the mean time, I hoped, that as we were now Friends, he would permit me to have such small Retirements as we wanted from his Port. The Governor, upon the Receipt of my Letter, expressed great Satisfaction, and seemed to make no Difficulty of granting my Request. Our Boats therefore, went on shore every Morning with their Flag of Truce. We received, for the first four Days, eight small Jars of Water; and, on the 5th, they reduced us to five Jars; and, during the whole time, had but one small Cow, which was attended by a Boat full of Men; amongst which were two Priests, who, with a Shew of Friendship, brought with them a Paper in *Spanish*, which they called the Articles of Peace, so wretchedly written and boxed, that had it been *English*, we should have been puzzled to read it. I therefore desired the Priests to translate it for me. *Latin*, which they promised to do; they took the Paper with them, and, for my farther Satisfaction, told me, that the Governor would lend for some *Englishmen*, who lived at the City of *Guatemala*, if I would continue in the Road three Days longer: To which I answered, that he might take his own Time. In two Days after this, when the Boat went ashore as usual, the Governor ordered them to be made Prisoners as soon as they landed. I was at the Ship in Suspense, not being able to guess what could detain them on shore; but was far from imagining, that the Governor would make such a Breach in the Laws of Nations. But, in the Evening, I was astonished to see only two of my Boat's Crew, in a small leaky Canoe, with two Letters, one from the Governor, the other from Mr. *Brock*, my first Lieutenant: The Governor in his required me to deliver up the *Sacra Familia*, and surrender myself, in case otherwise he would declare us Pirates: And Mr. *Brock* his told me, that all he could learn, since he had been Prisoner, was, that the Governor was endeavouring to bully me. The Governor proposed two Ways of conveying us out of the *Spanish* Dominions; the one to let *Cruz* by Land, or to *Lama*, by Sea. These two Officers I equally disliked; for I did not like a Journey of 1300 Miles at least, through such a Country of barbarous People, nor yet a Voyage to *Lima*, under the Conduct of My two Men, who brought these Letters, to *Frederic Mackenzie* had let the Governor into our Secret, and of my former Delinquency on the Island of *Yzges*, in the Gulf of *Paraguay*; and he had he would take care to prevent, that I should attempt it; and believed, that he had us now in his Canoe. Notwithstanding this, and though I had no relying on the Honour of these People, I chose to come to a farther Treaty; but I desired the Governor to communicate my Mind to the Governor, that I might have been an unreasonable Request in me, to require any of my Men to carry a Message to a Place where they were to be made Prisoners: But the two who brought the Letters, voluntarily offered their Service; and went with them to throw out the Water, and to deliver a Letter by them, in *French*, to this Purpose: "I am assured of a safe and sure Conduct, if you will send Effects to *Panama*, and from thence, by the Ship *Portobel*, to loose of the *British* Plantation, and to come to a farther Treaty; which, if he will, I will sign by firing two Guns, and by giving you my People, and the usual Supply; otherwise, I will not oblige me to fail that Night." But I received no manner of Answer to this; therefore I went on shore the next Morning, and lay in the Bay till the next Day the Clock, expecting I should hear from the Ship; nothing appearing, I made Sail, leaving behind me the *Jesus Maria*, a much more valuable Ship than the *Sacra Familia*. The Actions of this Gentleman shewed their own Nature: However, I instantly ordered a formal Protest to be drawn up against him.

24 When we got out to Sea, we reduced to us a Pint of Water for twenty-four Hours, and then a Courte for *Amagana*, which was about thirty five Miles to the South South east of this Place, in the

Ware there on the Officers and Boat's Crew of white Faces amongst them, but to much weaken them, but as I thought of *Quetzaltenango*, where we were it was really Peace, I had to get such a Quantity of three Days time. I arrived there in ten Days the Gulf, we found small Islands, amongst which we expected a Supply proved vain; for, after it, not only on that, but on the Islands, there was not to be found on any of them happy Circumstances, of *April*, before Day before us, I brought to a Resolution, not by any means the Coast, let the Countess this unanimous Agreement, Water in the Ship, and small Allowance as had been Hours, and even the considering that there were we could get any, near were about two hundred were five three in the Thus resolved, we left having very uncertain Day at this Allowance that has not experience in a forty nine, by which would not permit a Day. We continued it mottled our Mouth the more. Some after the sea-water, which

We were, however, *April* the 24th, we came to the Latitude of 9° North, and desired to yield us Water Under Hopes of Success, an Anchor on the North, much as we could do. We soon began to Water, but, at the Surt, which broke on the 15th of it. Nevertheless, I sent the Jars, to try what could till it was very late at or that, not ending the Continent; but, to come aboard with their Excess of Joy, which of who were thus oppressed Death, but, as they did Galions of it, I took care of it, allowing to each of us, to be equally distributed to the This was, that Mr. *Ka* we were at *Zaragoza*, the to be more, but a Shower of Rain, which I did not know what we could Do; this I thought, was that, and had, when I had the, which I thought, then Burden of it, being wanting, I sent the Boat-swain, a *Africa* by; but, after and wasted the whole

Water there on the Island of *Tygers*. The Loss of my Officers and Boat's Crew sensibly diminished the Number of white Faces amongst us, and our Strength would have been too much weakened by it, that we should never have been able to have managed this great Ship, with her large heavy Cotton Sails, if we had not taken our Negro Pri-soners along with us, who proved to be very good Sailors. The Loss of our Boat was a great Inconveniency to us; but, as I thought of only taking Water enough to *Panama*, where we were fully bent to surrender ourselves, if it was really Peace, I thought we could make shift with her to get such a Quantity as we should want in two or three Days time. The Winds being favourable, we arrived there in ten Days following: As soon as we entered the Gulph, we found ourselves in the midst of several small Islands, amongst the rest the Island of *Tygers*, where we expected a Supply of Water: But our Expectations proved vain; for, after an hazardous and fruitless Search for it, not only on that, but some of the greenest of the other Iles, there was not the least Drop of fresh Water to be found on any of them. Surrounded on all Sides with unhappy Circumstances, we weighed our Anchor on the 13th of April, before Day-break; and, having now open Sea before us, I brought my People in general to an obstinate Resolution, not by any means to surrender on this Part of the Coast, let the Consequence be ever so miserable. Upon this unanimous Agreement, having not forty Gallons of Water in the Ship, and no other Liquids, we came to our small Allowance as half a Point of Water for twenty four Hours, and even this Allowance was rather too large, considering that there was no Place that we knew of, where we could get any, nearer than the Island of *Quibo*, which was about two hundred Leagues Distance from us; and we were but three in Number, reckoning our Negroes. Thus reduced, we shaped our Course for *Quibo*; but, having very uncertain Winds and Weather, were thirteen Days at this Allowance, during which time, there is none, that has not experienced it, can conceive what we suffered in a sultry Climate, by the perpetual Extremity of a Hurst, which would not permit us to eat an Ounce of Victuals in a Day. We constantly drank our Urine, which, though it moistened our Mouths for a time, excited our Thirst the more. Some attempted to drink large Quantities of the Sea water, which had like to have killed them.

We were, however, unexpectedly assisted; for, on April the 26th, we came up with the Island of *Cane*, in the Latitude of 9° North, which, by the Verdure of it, promised to yield us Water, if we could get our Canoe ashore. Under Hopes of Succour from this little Isle, we came to an Anchor on the North-west Side of it, and it was as much as we could do to hand our Sails, stop the Cable, &c. We soon began to imagine that we could see a Run of Water, but, at the same time, dreaded the dangerous Surf, which broke on the Beach all round those Parts we had seen of it. Nevertheless, Mr. *Randal* was sent with some Jars, to try what could be done; but they not returning till it was very late at Night, I was fearful they were lost, or that, not finding Water there, they were gone to the Continent; but, to my unpeakeable Satisfaction, they came aboard with their Jars filled. Any one may guess the Excess of Joy, which there must naturally be amongst Men who were thus opportunely delivered from the Hands of Death, but, as they did not bring above sixty or seventy Gallons of it, I took care to restrain them from the Use of it, allowing to each Man only a Quart to be immediately distributed to them. What made me the more strict in this way, that Mr. *Randal* assured me, that the Breakers were so dangerous, that he believed we should not be able to get ashore; but that very Night we chanced to have a Shower of Rain, which we made the best Use of, by carrying what we could of it in Sheets, Blankets, &c. During this Night, we constantly wished for rainy Weather, and had often good Reason to expect it by lowering black Clouds, which seemed every Minute to be ready to discharge their Burdens; yet never did before to any Purpose. Being willing to make another Essay the next Day, I sent the Boatswain, and some with him, to make a second Attempt; but, after having been quite round the Island, and walked the whole Day in Search of a smooth Beach, he

could not see one Spot where he might venture on shore. Therefore, thinking we had a Stock sufficient to carry us to *Quibo*, which was about thirty Leagues from us, I weighed the next Day, and, in ranging near the Island, saw a smooth Beach, which induced me to send the Boat a third time, that we might be provided against such contrary Currents or Calms as we might meet with in our Way: Accordingly they went and filled nine Jars; which done, we held our Way to the South-eastward, and in a few Days arrived at *Quibo*, and anchored at the same Place where we had been twice before.

Captain *Betagh* is very severe in his Reflections on Mr. *Shelvocke's* Management at *Sanjonnate*, where he says expressly, that he got rid of six more of his People; after which, he explains his Meaning, and vindicates his Assertion thus: I don't expect, says he, the World will judge of this Affair as I do, because those who are ignorant of the Circumstances of these Things, and unacquainted with *Shelvocke's* personal Behaviour, cannot make a proper Censure. When a Man dies in a Course of Phylsic, who knows whether it is Chance or Design in the Doctor? The Patient is gone by legal Prescription: So here, a Gentleman is clearly ordered ashore into the Enemy's Hands, and, if he never returns, who can say it is a Design, or Accident? Thus much is certain, they went without a Hostage, though *Shelvocke* always had strong Notions of the *Spaniards* Relentment, and their manner of Revenge, especially in *Mexico*, where the *Indians* are the cruellest People alive; and, while he was speaking of *Mitchell's* Story, we find him quick enough to leave it past Doubt, that he and his Men perished in some obscure Manner; and yet he must now send a young Gentleman ashore into the Clutches of this Enemy, at a time, when he knew the whole Coast was exasperated, and himself destitute of all common Necessaries, with a very indifferent Force, and, consequently, not able to resent any Affront, much less to avenge himself on the Governor, in case he detained *Brooks* and his Men. *Shelvocke*, immediately before and after this, acted in a hostile Manner on that Coast; and, even in their View, he took the Ship, called the *Holy Family*, where the Boatswain lost his Life; so that, if poor *Brooks* and his Men were sacrificed by way of Atonement, it is no severe Suspicion. He adds to this some other Circumstances to support the Opinion he has given; but as these are not at all material to the History of the Voyage, I shall not dwell longer upon them, but proceed.

25. We pursued our Business of wooding and watering in this Island pretty cheartully, and yet without being in any great Hurry, for several Reasons; but the principal was, that we were now within fourscore Leagues of *Panama*, it was very requisite to deliberate seriously on our Scheme of surrendering there to the *Spaniards*, since we all knew, that this Step once taken, there would remain no room for Deliberation afterwards. We considered, that the very Situation of this Place afforded us many Advantages; for *Panama* is by no means strong towards the Sea, and, therefore, having a good Ship, we thought it would be no difficult Matter to settle the Terms of the Treaty while we continued at a Distance. We likewise reckoned upon some Assistance from the South Sea Company's Factors who were settled there, who might have interceded for us, and, in case a Peace was concluded, procure us a safe and speedy Passage to *Europe*. But as there was something exceedingly disagreeable in the Notion of a Surrender, especially to such kind of Enemies as the *Spaniards*, it cannot be wondered, that we were not much in a Hurry about it, especially as we were here a little at Ease, and enjoyed a great many Conveniences that we had been strangers to a long time before. The true Use we made of the excellent Fruits of this Island brought the Flux amongst us, which, though in the main, I believe, did little Hurt, but served rather to preserve us from the Scurvy; yet it weakened us very much, and interrupted our Work for two or three Days; which time we spent in Consultations about our future Conduct, whatever it should please God we should put to Sea again; but our Views were so different, and our Minds so distracted, that we could come to no Resolution, but that of con-

tinuing

tinuing here, till we saw what might happen, and in hopes of meeting with something to our Advantage.

It may not be amiss to enter into a particular Account of so remarkable a Place as this, because hitherto our Travellers have scarce vouchsafed to take notice of it, as it there was not as much Reason to give Descriptions of Places where good Settlements may be made, as where good Settlements are made. This *Island of Cocha* or *Quebo* is almost in the same Parallel of Latitude with *Panama*, and is about nine Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth, of a moderate Height, covered all over with inaccessible Woods, always green; and though it was, perhaps, never inhabited, yet it abounds with *Papas*, *Limes*, and some other Fruits I never saw before, which are near as good, though wholly neglected, as those that have the greatest Care taken of them in some other Islands in as promising a Latitude; from whence we inferred, that the Soil is fruitful; And, if ever it be inhabited, and cleared of the Incumbrances of Woods, with which it is choaked at present, it might be made productive of every thing our best Islands yield in *America*. But the *Spaniards* having so much more on the Continent, than they know what to do with, and it being Prudence in them not to send away Colonies from amongst them to people Islands, which might weaken their Force on the Continent, and knowing they are secure from the Attempts of an *European* Nation to settle on them, who might, by that means, annoy their Coasts, it lies neglected; though I cannot help thinking, being a very considerable Pearl-fishery, it would be worth while to make a small Settlement here: But the Pearl-fishers, not being able to dive with their *Piraguas* in the time of the *Vandevals*, which is a black stormy Season, for four or five Months in the Year, beginning about *June*, and ending in *November*, and being withal so near the Continent, and *Panama* in particular, which must be the Market for a Commodity of that Price, they have not yet thought it worth while, to that all the Settlement they have here, are a few Huts feathered up and down in several Parts of this Island and *Quetzona*, made use of by the Divers at the Season they come hither, to open the Oysters, eat, and sleep in. The sandy Beach is covered with Shells of fine Mother-of-pearl of all Sizes; and, in going no farther than up to the Middle in the Sea, you may reach large Oysters from the Bottom. This pleased us at first, not to much from the Hopes of finding any valuable Pearl in them, as to eat them; but, when we came to make Trial, we found, that Nature had not ordained this Fish to be at once Riches and Food; for they are tough as to much Leather, and by no means palatable. As to any other Sorts of Fish, as we had no Saw, I cannot say much of them, nor give any Account of their various Kinds, but only take notice, that we used to observe a large Sort of flat Fish, that often jumped a great Height out of the Water. These are reported to be very destructive to the Pearl-divers; for, when they return up again, if they take not great Heed, these wrap their broad Sides about them, and keep them in their mortal Embraces, till they are drowned: Therefore, to prevent this, I was always carry a sharp-pointed Knife, and, upon Sight of any of these, as they look upwards, they carry the Point of it above their head, by that means, they stick it into his Belly, and hinder him from his mischievous Intent. There is yet another thing, which will make Diving here a Matter of great Danger, since the Sea hereabouts is dreadfully peppered with *Alligators*, one of which some of us saw, by we saw swimming under the Water near *Point Viento*, which is but a few Leagues from hence. There is a great Variety of Birds, and also great Numbers of black Monkeys and *Guanoes*, who mostly frequent the Streams of fresh Water. There are some *Guanoes* here of an extraordinary Size, mostly of brown, with yellow streaks about the Head, and in other Places grey, with black Streaks, &c. There cannot be a more convenient Place for Wooding and Watering in, for the fresh Water runs in several Streams, larger and smaller, on the Sand of the Beach; and Wood grows within less than twenty Yards of the Sea side. Having got clear of this Place, and nothing thought of but our speedy Return, we met with strong Currents against us, together with contrary Winds and Calms, which detained us several Days under the Mountains of *Guamabli*. On the 15th of May, a small Bark, sailing from *Panama*, came

down to us. The Master of her was mightily surpris'd, when he found his Mistake; but soon recovered, when he learned we were bound for *Panama*; and readily offered to pilot us thither, but had heard of nothing like a Frigate he belonged to, and was bound for, that Port. This Vessel was called the *Holy Sacrament*, and came last from *Chiriqui* laden with dried Beet, Pork, and Hogs. He desired I would take her in tow, complaining, that the Current drove him off Shore; so that he could not fetch the Land, though he had constant Sight of it; and that by this means, all his live Cattle were almost dead for want of Water, and that he was, at the same time, so leaky, that his People were no longer able to stand at the Pumps. Upon the hearing of this, I took her into tow, and kept the Matter of her on board, sending some of my Hands to assist them, and spared them as much Water and *Indian* Corn as I could; it may appear strange, that this Opportunity of supplying ourselves with Provisions did not make an Alteration in our intended Proceedings; but every one was so tired of the Sea, so worn out by a continual Want of all Necessaries, and disheartened by our perpetual Misfortunes, that they were willing to embrace any Opportunity of going ashore at any rate. Indeed, as to myself, I was glad, that this Bark came into our Hands; because, if we found the Governor of *Panama's* News to be false, we might be thoroughly enabled by this Help, to go to *India*. To this End, I designed to anchor a great Way short of the Town, and keep Possession of the *Holy Sacrament*, in case the President should not be complied with such Terms as I esteemed late and unreasonable; and then we should have it in our Power to supply ourselves, by keeping out of their Hands. But, alas! while we had not determined who should be the first intruded with the Flag of Frise; for my People, being known to much Treachery acted amongst themselves, we apprehensive the Periton sent would only make us in Case good to the Governor, and not return again. Therefore, after all, my Son was thought the properest to be being sure of his Return, if it was purely for my sake. This, and many other Objections, were flatted, that could not be so easily removed; notwithstanding we kept our Way, fixed in our Resolution.

On the 17th, another Bark came down upon us, but pretty near us, and then steered off again. I sent Mr. *Randal* in our Canoe, to inform them of our Design, but they no sooner law him approach, than they hoisted *Spanish* Colours, and such. The next Morning, we looked into the Bay, to see if they had Anchor there all Night; and, as soon as he was returning, he renewed her Fire. Upon which, at my own Request, I sent the Matter of our Bark, with four Men, in a Canoe, with a Flag of Frise, to inform them of our Intentions. A Gale of Wind interrupted this Design, so that at last I ordered the Canoe we sent on shore, with a Flag of Frise, to their Lives; for they seemed to make their Choice. On the 19th, we saw a Sail a great Way standing along shore: Upon which, we let go the Boat of Frise, and spread all the Sail we could; but that Night, we were at a considerable Distance from the Ship, which had four of our own People, and five *Spaniards*. I was for lying by in the Night, that our own Vessel might come up; but my Company differed from me, and was carried by a great Majority, that we should come off, and crowd Sail all Night; so that, by Day break, we were within less than Gun-shot of the Chace. I immediately ordered our Colours to be spread, and a Gun fired forward, and sent a Man upon our Poop to warn them of Frise; but they, upon the first Sight of our Colours, fired a Gun, fired at us, and so continued to do, till the Decks full of Men, hollowing, and abusing us with gross Appellations. Notwithstanding this, I returned, until I came close upon their Quarter, I sent one of their Countrymen to the Bow, to bid them get down in *sponges*, that we were bound to treat them as we desired to treat peaceably with them, and to give them that they would have some Regard to the white Flag, which they saw flying: But still they continued to fire, till *Rebeco*, and *Pecos* *Ingates*, &c. *Dismantled* the *Frige*, was all we could get from them. And, upon the 20th, we did not see our Departure, and

inhumanly they insulted with them; and they soon convinced them that they were to war with us. We just missed the calm, we continued of two or three Hours, but at length a breeze sprang up, as we approached the Coast, the Captain, still bravely exposing himself in the front, shot through the Body, and fell; they immediately ran to the Quarter, and put an end to their shooting; they then went to their Tackle, and altered, that they could therefore we hoisted out of the *Holy Sacrament*, and two or three Prizes. They found five Posture, asking the great Cause to expect, of Arms and Nations considerable of the Prize Ship was called the *le Cacao*, but came last 200 Ton, laden with Marmelade, Jars of powdered six Guns, adorned with Small-arms, those Ships, which were net, and commissioned of those warlike Merchants, the *Spaniards* and one of 140 flight Malt, and Salt, we were not, which, by the time, was much shattered or hurt done, except wounded in the Fore-mast, which had a small We had now about eight or twenty-six of our men came on board, to them, how it came to our precious Officers; living in the fault upon the Terms, but my own; And in deed it was my own of them, till they were their own Cale del Amor, our Prisoners, *Don Baltazar de Ab*, Nobleman, who had been on the Coast of *Peru*, *Spain*; and Captain *Al*, by *Cañan Rogeri*, Secretary of Civilities, which a Prejudice they had a conviction of their own they could not expect roughly.

In this Situation, we were bound to *Panama*; that Place, few in Number, Considerations moved us, examining the Contents of the best Part of the yet it took us up full as well as by fair Wind, returning our Bark, till her, and came pretty far, that the only arm were let, and what an body stirring in her. I sent the Boat on board immediately called out

inhumanly they insulted us, I conceived it full time to begin with them; and therefore met them with our Helm, and soon convinced them of their error, and, in a Word, gave them to warn a Reception, that they sherrd round off from us. We lost milled getting hold of them; but, it falling almost cabin, we continued our Engagement for the Space of two or three Hours, at the Distance of Musquet-shot: But at length a Breeze waiting us nearer to them, we found, as still as we approached, their Courage cooled. But their Captain, still bravely persisting, and encouraging them, and exposing himself in the most open Manner, was at length shot through the Body, and dropped down dead. Upon this, they immediately, with one Voice, cried out for Quarter, and put an end to our Dispute. We commanded them to hoist out their Launch; but they answered, That their Tackle, and all their Rigging in general, were so shattered, that they could not possibly do it in any time. Therefore we hoisted out our Canoe, which we had taken out of the *Holy Sacrament* the Day before; and Mr. *Randall*, and two or three more, went in her on board the Prize. They found all the Prisoners in the most submissive Posture, asking Mercy; which they could have no great Cause to expect, after their direct Breach of the Laws of Arms and Nations. Mr. *Randall* sent away the most considerable of the Prisoners, who informed me, that their Ship was called the *le Conception de Recoiva*, belonging to *Cuba*, but came last from *Guanchabaco*, of the Buden of 200 Ton, laden with Flour, Loaves of Sugar, Boxes of Marmelade, Jars of preserved Peaches, Grapes, Limes, &c. mounted six Guns, and had seventy odd Men, well provided with Small arms, &c. and was, in particular, one of those Ships, which were fitted out in an extraordinary Manner, and commissioned to take us; so that she was the second of those warlike Merchant-ships that we had taken. In this Engagement, the *Spanish* Captain and a Negro were killed, and one or two slightly wounded; but their Rigging, Masts, and Sails, were much disabled, particularly their Fore mast, which, by a Shot that passed through the Body of it, was much shattered. On our Part, there was little or no Hurt done, except to our Gunner, who was slightly wounded in the Forehead by a Pistol-ball, and our Main-mast, which had a small Piece carried out of the Side of it. We had now about eighty Prisoners of all Colours, and not above twenty-six of ourselves. When the *Spanish* Gentlemen came on board, they would not give me Time to ask them, how it came to pass, that they would not hearken to respectable Officers; but fell to excusing themselves, and living on the Fault upon their dead Captain *Don Joseph Defoja*, who vowed in a Passion, that we should have no Terms, but his own; and that he would take us by Force. And indeed it is my Opinion, that this was the Inclination of all of them, till they found our Strength; and then, seeing their own Case desperate, would have been for a Parly. Amongst our Prisoners, we had several of Note, particularly *Don Baltazar de Abarca Conde de la Rosa*, an *Egyptian* Nobleman, who had been for some time Governor of *Pisco*, on the Coast of *Peru*, and was now upon his Return to *Spain*; and Captain *Merell*, who had formerly been taken by Captain *Rogers*, &c. All of them were treated with the utmost Civilities, which they wondered at; because, from a Prejudice they had against our Cruisers, and from a Self-convinction of their own Behaviour towards their Prisoners, they could not expect but to have been dealt with very roughly.

In this Situation, we were in the very Track of all the Sipping bound to *Panama*, not above thirty Miles from that Place, few in Number, and Part of us sick; all which Considerations moved us to be as expeditious as possible in examining the Contents of our new Prize the *Conception*; and, tho' the best Part of the Work was done by our Prisoners, yet it took us up full two Days. We were, by this means, as well as by taint Winds, and stark Calms, hindered from reaching our Bark, till the 22d. As we bore down towards her, and came pretty near, we were extremely surpris'd to see, that the only came to, and fell off, altho' all her Sails were set, and what amazed us most was, that we few nobly flaring in her. As soon as we came up with her, I sent the Boat on board; and the Officer, that went in her, immediately called out to me, that there was no Soul in her;

but that her Decks and Quarters were covered with Blood. This was a melancholy hearing, since it plainly appeared, by many Circumstances, that the *Spanish* Crew had murdered those of my People, who were sent to assist them: A cruel Return for our Civilities and Services to them! It seem'd strange to me, that our Men should run the least Hazard of exposing themselves to be thus butchered; for they were four in Number, completely armed, and there were but five of the *Spanish* Crew, two of whom were Boys. These vile Wretches doubtless took the Opportunity of the *English* being lost in Sleep, and then murdered them, not doubting, but they should meet with Thanks and Encouragement for so foul a Barbarity. The Names of those thus destroyed were *John Giles*, *John Embin*, *John Williams*, and *George Chappel*. But it is very probable, that these Murderers paid with their Lives for those they had taken away; for, being above four Leagues from the Land, and having no Boat, they probably jumped into the Sea on the Appearance of our Ship, thinking they should meet immediate Death, if they had fallen into our Power, as a just Reward of so horrid a Crime; which they themselves were so sensible of, that they endeavour'd to hide the Deck, which was dyed with Gore all over, by throwing the Flocks out of Beds over it; so that, till they were removed, the Blood was not to be seen. This tragical Accident was the Cause of a general Melancholy amongst us, and spoil'd the Satisfaction we had enjoy'd a Day or two past, on account of our late Prize. Our Prisoners, seeing such an universal sudden Change in us, began to be alarmed, and looked at each other, as if they all expected to undergo the same Fate our unhappy Companions had met with. This made me fearful, on the other Side, lest their dreadful Apprehensions of our Revenge upon them, should stir them up to offer at some desperate Attempt upon us, they being eighty in Number, and we not above seventeen on board at that time, and, when we were all together, not above twenty-five, that could stand on their Legs: Therefore I was directly forced to shew some Heat, in ordering all our Prisoners to go into the Stern gallery, (which was very large) except the Nobleman, and some of the chief of them, whilst we kept Guard in the great Cabin. The *Spanish* Gentlemen, who were not confined, in a very moving Manner, lamented to me the unhappy Deaths of my Men, and their own hard Fate, in having been, in some measure, Eye-witnesses of this bloody Murder; and let fall some Expressions, whereby I perceived, that they were afraid, that I intended to shew some Severities towards their People on this Occasion. Having a good Interpreter between us, I assured them, that, if I had so revengeful an Inclination, the Laws of my Country would restrain me from putting it in Execution; that I acted by virtue of my King's Commission, who, in his Orders, forbade, in the strictest Manner, all Acts of Inhumanity or Oppression towards our Prisoners; which Assurance, I desired, might make them perfectly easy: And they solemnly promised, that, if it was possible any of those Murderers could be found living, the two Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* should be alarmed to bring them to Justice; and begged of me to think myself secure as to themselves, and the rest of their Countrymen my Prisoners, who would sooner suffer any thing, than harbour any Thought, that might be prejudicial to our Lives and Liberties, even though they should have the most encouraging Opportunity of putting it in Execution; and assured me, on their Honour, that they thought they should never be able to make a just Return for the generous Entertainment they had met with from me. Notwithstanding this, I took some Measures to secure our Prisoners of the meaner Sort; and then haled the *Holy Sacrament* along-side of us. She was half-full of Water, and the greatest Part of her dried Beef was wet, and spoil'd; but all that was not damaged we took out, together with some live Hogs, and then gave her to *Don Baltazar de Espina*, who, by the Death of Captain *Joseph Defoja*, became Commander of the *Conception*; and, that Night, kept a stricter Watch than we had before, tho' none of us had had scarce any Sleep since we had taken this Ship. The next Day, being as willing to get rid of them, as they were to have their own Ship restor'd to them, and pursue their Voyage, I delivered the *Conception* into the Possession of *Don Baltazar de Espina*, &c. after having

taken out of her twelve Months Provision of Bread, Flour, Sugar, and Sweetmeats, and a like Proportion for the *Sweets*, which I expected to find at the *Tres Marias*. I likewise took away their Launch, and their Negroes, to assist us in the Management of our Ship, knowing, that we could not well hold out much longer, if the Work was not made easier; and, since we had a large Ship, and a Run of 1750 to sail, I thought we could do no other, than reinforce ourselves by the Assistance of these Blacks, who are commonly good Sailors in those Parts; and indeed, as it afterwards happened, we should never have reached the Coasts of *Asia*, or any other Land, without them.

The most important and remarkable Part of Captain *Betagh's* Book is that which has Relation to the Circumstances mentioned in the foregoing Paragraphs, every one of which he either controverts or denies. He thinks, that the Sailing to *Panama* is a full Proof, that the Men set on shore with Lieutenant *Brooks* at *Sanjoniste* were sacrificed; because, says he, had the Captain intended them fairly, he would have gone to *Panama* at once, where he was sure of a better Reception than in any other Port of the South Seas. He next remarks, that the Captain got rid of four of his Men more, by putting them on board of the Bark, out of pure Civility, as the Captain calls it; upon which Mr. *Betagh* is extremely severe: But then the Reader is to consider, that the Justice of his Observation depends on the Truth or Falshood of Captain *Shelvocke's* Relation; for if we take the Thing upon his Stating, that he actually informed the Captain of the Bark of his Intention to surrender, and put his Men on board purely to assist in working the Vessel, then there is nothing absurd or ridiculous in Captain *Shelvocke's* styling this a Piece of Civility, which aggravated the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, in killing the Men that were put on board: But if these Men had Possession of the Bark, as a Prize, that will alter the Case, and justify Mr. *Betagh's* Reflections. I must confess, it seems very probable, that the *Spaniards* considered the Thing in this Light; for otherwise, why did the Master of the Bark, and those who were with him, run themselves on board out of Civility, they were to trull the *Spaniards*; if they did not, it is plain they were in Possession, and the Bark was their Prize. For my own Part, I take the Truth of the Matter to be this: The Captain of the Bark understood her to be a Prize; and, after he got ashore, procured sufficient Assistance to retake her; but, doubting whether he should be able to get into *Porto-bello* before *Shelvocke's* Return, he carried off his own Crew, and murdered the *English*. Thus, I say, is my Notion of the Matter; and I leave it intirely to the Reader's Consideration, whether 'tis probable or not. But we are now come to a Matter of far greater Consequence, indeed a Matter which gives us the greatest Light into the true Scheme of, at least, the latter Part of the Voyage, and therefore I shall give it in Mr. *Betagh's* own Words, from whom we have this Information. It is, indeed, a very extraordinary Piece of secret History, and worthy the Reader's Attention: the rather as it seems to be supported by Evidence, and explains abundance of dark Things in the preceding and in the subsequent Part of this Expedition, and is intirely different from any thing that is to be met with in the Conduct of Captain *Clipperton*, who is loaded with so many heavy Charges by Captain *Shelvocke*. Thus speaks Captain *Betagh*: "This being the great Crisis of Captain *Shelvocke's* Voyage, I shall be more particular in relating the Affair of this last Prize, which will open the most notorious Scene of Deceit that has appeared yet. This Ship was called the *Conception*. Don *Stephen de Rivera* Commander, bound from *Calao* to *Panama*, having on board several Persons of Distinction, particularly the *Conde de la Reja*, a *Spanish* Noobleman, who had been some time Governor of *Ptyco* and was now going to *Spain*, laden with Flour, Sugar, Marmelade, Peaches, Grapes, Limes, &c. Now, be it known to all Men, that that *et cetera* was an hundred and eight thousand six hundred and thirty-six Pieces of Eight; and *Shelvocke* little thought, when he took

" this Prize, or compiled his Book, that I, of all Men, should have this exact State of this Affair. He often said, he would never give the Gentlemen Owners a true Account, and I have often promised, in this Treatise, to prove that he did say so; and now we have been made our World's good, I have not only an authentic Account, but I will declare also how I got it. When I was carried Prisoner to *Lama*, I had Leisure enough to reflect on my Misfortunes, how likely I was to be deceived, and the Owners to be cheated; so that, to prepare them in Defence of their Rights, I wrote over to one of them the Substance of what had occurred to me; how *Shelvocke* had mismanaged, how arbitrarily he had acted in the Defiance of their Articles, and what his private Intensions were in the future Part of the Voyage. A few Days after I came to *London*, which was in *October* 1721, I confirmed the Purport of my Letter, with several new Circumstances, for all which Performance of my Duty, I do suppose my Name has met with much Respect in Captain *Shelvocke's* Book; but, besides my Advice, the Gentlemen had many Proofs from other Prisoners, and other People. Eleven Months after, being *August*, Captain *Shelvocke* himself arrived, and was immediately on the said Gentlemen, to compound in the Lump for all his Transactions, not owning any thing of the Prize, which he had unjustly shared, and every thing else, among three-and-thirty of them. Instead of promising the Matter, the Gentlemen read him a Letter, secured him, and the same Day had him confined in *Wood-street Compter*. A few Days after, his pupil *Stewart*, arrived at *Dover*, and was seized by the Warden of the Castle, according to *Dire* 1693, who faithfully secured his Book of Accounts, and brought it, with the Prisoner, to the Owners, from whom I had the Book, and copied the Dividend, which is as follows:

Names	Quality	Number of Share	Dollars	Engl. Money
George Shelvocke	Commander	6	11120	44100
Samuel Rowan	Lieutenant	2	4718	18500
John Raven	Capt. Marines	2	4718	18500
Blowhard Collins	Master	2	4718	18500
William Adams	Surgeon	2	4718	18500
Matthew Stewart	First Mate	2	3775	14800
Matthew Logan	Second Mate	2	3775	14800
George Herbert	Boatswain	2	3775	14800
Robert Davenport	Carpenter	2	3775	14800
William Davis	Janney	2	3775	14800
James Carr	Midshipman	1	2830	11200
David Co. Hill	ditto	1	2830	11200
Christopher Hooke	ditto	1	2830	11200
George Loxley	Sail makee	1	2830	11200
John Dodge	Surgeon's Mate	1	2830	11200
William Magan	ditto	1	2830	11200
John Pappafone	Stimouret	1	2830	11200
James Moyer	Coopei	1	2830	11200
John Pearson	Carpenter's M	1	2830	11200
Geo. Southgate, jun		1	2830	11200
William Clement	Able Seaman	1	1887	7350
John Norris	ditto	1	1887	7350
James Hainville	ditto	1	1887	7350
George God	ditto	1	1887	7350
Peter Fero	ditto	1	1887	7350
John Smith	ditto	1	1887	7350
Edward Atacks	ditto	1	1887	7350
John Theobald	Barber	1	1887	7350
William Barrowe	Old Seaman	1	1412	5450
Daniel M. Donald	ditto	1	1412	5450
Richard Craft	ditto	1	1412	5450
John Robins	Grommet	1	943	3650
Frederick Harris	Cook	1	943	3650
33			98604	389000

" Here the Reader perceives the Sum Total of this Dividend to be short of what I said the Capture amounted to; but, in order to set that Matter right, there is an erect Article of 627 Quadruples of Gold, which *Shelvocke* graciously shared among private Friends, of which Quadruple, or double Doubleton, is worth 100 Dollars, or Pieces of Eight.

And makes 2 Dollars in whole } 10,034
which being } 98,604
added to the }

makes 108,638

" All which Money *Shelvocke* so conceal; and of Flour, Sugar, &c. the 627 Doubletons added, so that we see both the *Shelvocke's* Agent, Cashier, to hide a Bag of Gold afterwards in a *Conception*. It was not only *Shelvocke's* Prisoners, but our own Conduct, *Shelvocke's* and all our Days in our Possession much Humanity, that have they retained a great Point now to be sent of my People to our intended Voyage were not in as good a were, at least, in a better Things considered, we had a good Ship, to supply them, and we still wanted, how Wood and Water for this was naturally our thought of going to the deed, the nearest Place attended with two great first was the Danger of Seaton was coming on, provided with Ground many Dangers: The was at a very small Distance to tear the *Spaniards* hence in Search of us our Designs, since there being a peace, a Thoughts of surrendering was determined to ply Boat, we took the on the Sweetmeats of all kinds but one of the Men could he could not be changed. I opened silver in it, moulded on very porous, was of Marmelade, the Weight overhauling the rell, a Contrivance to defraud which he lays a Claim of the Mines in *Peru*. Behind us; so that this party, of wronging the men. An Affair, as a Prize the *Succes* had a considerable Quantity of Bricks, very attended in the *Str.* As a Country, they took the threw a great Number of ball, and made no Difference. How true this is, I can Matter of Fact by Lieutenant *Clipperton*. I must in the *Conception* was deferted at the Island Words, according to which gave me six Shares related to allow me an

And makes	Dollars	which, at 4s. 8d. 2	l.	s.	d.
in whole	10,932	each, makes	2340		
which being	98,604	--- or ---	23,007	15	6
added to the					
makes	108,604	--- or ---	25,348	11	6

" All which Money *Shelvocke* has the prodigious Modesty
 " so conceal; and only says, the Prize was laden with
 " Flour, Sugar, Fruit, &c. *Stewart's* Book mentions
 " the 627 Doubloons, but not a Word how they were di-
 " vided, so that we must imagine them to be sunk among
 " both the *Shelvockes* and *Stewart*; for, as *Stewart* was
 " Agent, Cashier, and Paymaster, it was an easy Matter
 " to hide a Bag of Gold from the Public, and dispose of
 " it afterwards in a Committee of two or three."

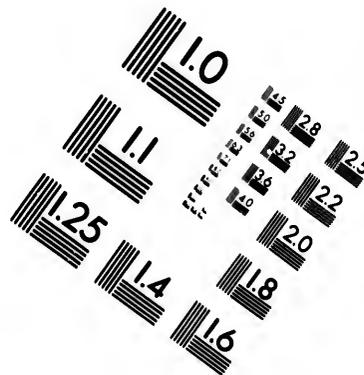
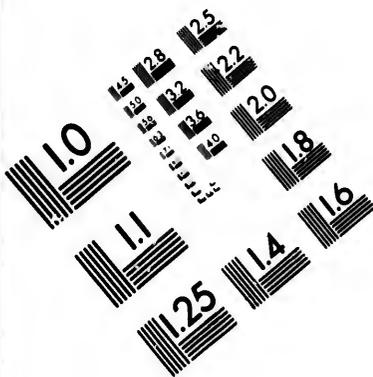
26. It was not only an Act of Generosity towards our
 Spanish Prisoners, but an Act of Prudence also with regard
 to our own Conduct, the parting, as we did, with the
Conception, and all on board her. They were but three
 days in our Possession, and in that time treated with so
 much Humanity, that we had the uttermost Reason to be-
 lieve they retained a grateful Sense of our Kindness. The
 great Point now to be managed, was to obtain the Con-
 sent of my People to sail as far North as *California*, before
 our intended Voyage to the *East Indies*, for which, if we
 were not in as good a Condition as we could wish, we
 were, at least, in a better than we were before, or than, all
 Things considered, we had any Reason to expect, since
 we had a good Ship, fifteen Guns, Ammunition enough
 to supply them, and a reasonable Quantity of Provisions.
 We still wanted, however, somewhat to complete our
 Wood and Water for so long a Voyage, so that the procuring
 this was naturally our first Care. The Ship's Company
 thought of going to the Island of *Quibo*, which was, in-
 deed, the nearest Place to us: But the going thither was
 attended with two great Inconveniencies: Of these, the
 first was the Danger of the Road; which, as the stormy
 Season was coming on, and we were but very indifferently
 provided with Ground-tackling, must have exposed us to
 many Dangers: The second, that, as the Island of *Quibo*
 was at a very small Distance from *Panama*, we had Reason
 to fear the *Spaniards* would send a Ship of War from
 thence in Search of us; which would have put an End to
 all our Designs, since we had now no further Hopes of
 there being a Peace, and consequently had laid aside all
 Thoughts of surrendering. Upon these Considerations, it
 was determined to ply up to *Cano*, where, having a good
 Boat, we soon did our Business. In our Passage thither,
 the Sweetmeats of all kinds were divided among the Messes,
 but one of the Men complained he had a Box of Marme-
 lade he could not stick his Knife in, and desired it might
 be changed. I opened it, and found a Cake of Virgin-
 silver in it, moulded on purpose to fill such Boxes; and, be-
 ing very porous, was of near the same Weight of so much
 Marmelade, the Weight being 200 Pieces of Eight: In
 overhauling the rest, we found five more: This was a
 Contrivance to defraud the King of *Spain* of his Fifths,
 which he lays a Claim to in all the Silver taken out of any
 of the Mines in *Peru*. We, doubtless, lost a great many
 behind us; so that this Deceit served them in a double Ca-
 pacity, of wronging their King, and blinding their Ene-
 mies. An Affair, as vexatious as this, fell out on board
 a Prize the *Success* had taken, where they found a very con-
 siderable Quantity of Pinas, or Virgin-silver, in the Form
 of Bricks, very artfully plastered over with Clay, and
 dried in the Sun. As they never burn their Bricks in that
 Country, they took them to be really such; and therefore
 threw a great Number of them overboard, as so much Rub-
 bish, and made no Discovery till the four or five last Pieces.
 How true this is, I can't say; but it was reported to me as
 Matter of Fact by several of the Officers belonging to Cap-
 tain *Chipperton*. I must observe here, that every thing taken
 in the *Conception* was divided according to the Articles last
 settled at the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; or, in other
 Words, according to the usual Custom of Privateers,
 which gave me six Shares only instead of sixty; and they
 refused to allow me an hundred Pounds, which I had laid

out of my own Money for necessary Supplies at the Island
 of *St. Carbarine's*. I found myself also under many other
 Difficulties as to the Course we were to steer, because the
 Ship's Company were well enough informed, that, in order
 to go to the *East Indies*, there was no Necessity of running
 farther to the North than the Latitude of 13°; and there-
 fore I was obliged to insist, in the best manner I could, on
 the Advantages that might be drawn, with respect to clean-
 ing and refitting our Ship, from the favourable Situation
 of *Porto Seguro* in *California*; and it was not without a
 great deal to do, that I induced my People to listen to
 this with a Degree of Patience. At last, having brought
 them to my Purpose, I weighed from *Cano*, and steered
 Northward, having favourable Winds for forty-eight Hours,
 and afterwards inconstant Gales, and very bad Weather,
 which induced me to think of getting farther out to Sea,
 in hopes of meeting there with more settled Weather,
 which, in our Circumstances was a Point of the utmost
 Importance. This Design I immediately put in Execution,
 and found, that, at sixty Leagues Distance, we had Winds
 variable, and between seventy and eighty Leagues Distance
 they settled at East North-east and North-east: Therefore
 I kept this Distance from the Land, till we had run the
 Height of 20° North; and were not, in all this Passage,
 in the least sensible of any Currents, being also entirely out
 of the Way of the frightful Ripplings, and Overfalls of the
 Water, which we frequently met withal nearer to the Land,
 which alarmed us in the Night, when we have been be-
 calmed in deep Water; for we frequently heard a Noise,
 as of the Fall of Water passing through a Bridge, a con-
 siderable time before it came to us, which afterwards passed
 by us at a very great Rate: All the Effect it had on the
 Ship, was to make her answer her Helm wildly, if we had
 any Wind; but when it has happened, that we have met
 these moving Waters very near the Shore, we could not
 perceive, that we either gained or lost any Way by them,
 though we have continued in them for a Quarter of an
 Hour together. I have observed these Overfalls both to
 come from the Westward and Eastward; but, by getting
 out to Sea, we were not only clear of these Inconveniencies,
 but were also out of the Way of the black Season, which
 began to be fixt on the Coasts; for, at *Cano*, in going thi-
 ther, we felt very hard Gulls, with black rolling Wea-
 ther, frequent and violent Thunder and Lightning, at-
 tended by heavy Showers of Rain. In this Passage, we
 were continually accompanied by vast Shoals of Fish, such
 as Dolphin, Bonita, Albicore, and Angel fish, which are
 in Shape like Salmon, and have Scales like them, but
 a Tail like the Dolphins; and also nearly resembling them
 when in the Water, they appearing in all the beautiful Co-
 lours that the Dolphin has; and as for eating, are by much
 the best Fish that swim near the Surface. We were al-
 most continually plagued with Flocks of those sorts of Birds,
 so well known to Seamen by the Name of Boobies; and
 their Dung, which stinks intolerably, proved a Nuisance not
 to be described, notwithstanding all the Pains we could
 take to keep the Yards, Tops, and Decks clean. In the
 Beginning of *August*, we reached the Island *Tres Marias*,
 but could see no Sign of Captain *Chipperton's* having been
 there; and were also disappointed in our Hopes of find-
 ing Water; since, on the strictest View we were able to
 take of all three Islands, nothing like a Spring was to be
 discovered in any of them, notwithstanding what some
 former Writers have said of their meeting there with Wa-
 ter in abundance.

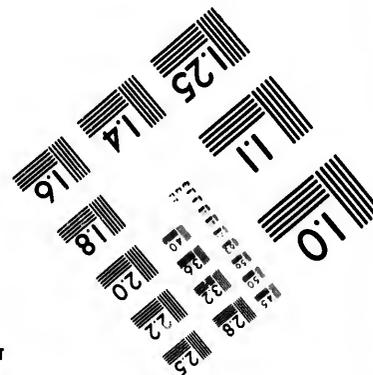
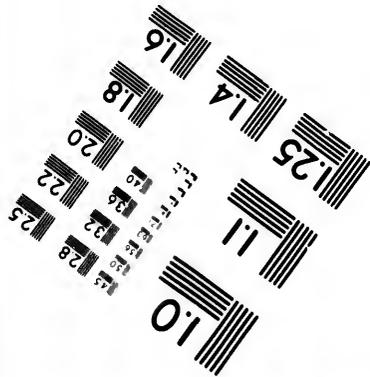
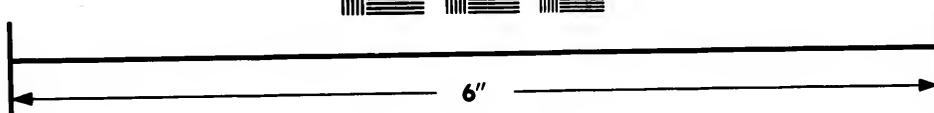
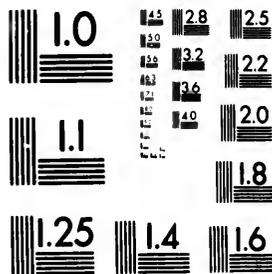
27. After having spent about three Days in searching
 of these Islands, I thought it best to stand over for the
 Main land of *California*, as well for procuring what was
 wanting in our own Ship, as in Hopes of meeting once
 more with the *Success*. Accordingly, on *August* 11. we
 made that Coast; and the Inhabitants, as soon as they dis-
 covered us, made Fires on the Shore as we ran by them:
 Towards the Evening, two of them came off to us on a
 Bark-log, but were a long time before they would accept
 of our Invitation to come into the Ship; at length, after
 a great many Signs which we made to them, they ventured;
 when, in a Moment, seeing the Whites and our Blacks
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 nances, separated them from us, and would hardly suffer
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them to look upon us: They then made Signs to us all to sit down; which done, one of them put himself into strange Postures, and ran from one to the other of us, talking to us with great Vehemence, and seemed to be in a perfect Transport of Ecstasy, continually singing or speaking, and running about so fast, till he was quite out of Breath. The Night coming on, they were for departing, and we gave them a Knife or two, an old Coat, and some other Trifles, which pleased them very well; and they, by Signs, gave us repeated Invitations to go ashore with them. On the 13th, at Day-break, we found ourselves near *Puerto Seguro*; some of the Natives came out on Bark-logs to meet us, whilst others got upon the Tops of the Hills and Rocks near the Sea side, making Fires for us: There was an universal Joy spread through them; those that were near the Rocks to see us, came in running up-and-down to one another; and those that came out to see us on Bark-logs, paddled with all their Strength, impatient to have a nearer View of us. Our Anchor was no sooner down, than they came off to us in Crouds, some few on their Bark-logs, but most of them swimming, talking and calling out to one another in a confused Manner; our Ship was in an instant full of these swarthy Gentry, quite naked; amongst the rest was their King, or chief Man, whom we could not distinguish by any particular Ornament, nor by any Defequence that was paid to him; the only Ensign of Sovereignty which he bore about him, was a black round Stick, made of an hard Wood, of about two Feet an an half in Length; this being observed by some of my People, they brought him to me; upon which, he concluding that I was the Chief in the Ship, in a very handsome manner delivered his black Sceptre to me, which I immediately returned to him. This Man, notwithstanding his savage Appearance, had a good Countenance, and his Behaviour had something noble. I soon found a way to regale them; for we had a great Quantity of Sweetmeats: I therefore ordered what deep Dishes I had to be brought upon the Deck; the Jars were broached, and the Dishes filled with the choicest of *Peruvian* Conferences; they were every one accommodated with Spoons, and, though they could not sit regularly to their Entertainment, because of their Numbers, who had all an equal Welcome to the good Cheer, yet, as we kept continually replenishing their empty Dishes, they were all satisfied with as much as they cared to eat: Their Food they liked extremely well; and the Spoons, which were mostly Silver, they returned with great Honesty, which they would doubtless have done, had they been Gold, the Value of those Metals being unknown to them. Having thus commenced a Friendship with them, I sent an Officer ashore to view the Watering-place; and, to make him the more Welcome, I sent with him some coarse blue Baile, and some Sugar, as a Present to the Women, amongst whom it was to be equally distributed. The King, seeing our Boat ready to put off, was for waiting on her with his Bark-log, but I intreated him to take a Passage in our Boat; which he seemed to be mightily pleased with. The Remainder of the Day was spent in an Interview between us and our wild Visitors, who behaved themselves in general very quietly and peaceably. The Officer returning with an Account of his civil Reception, we prepared our Calks to send ashore the next Morning. Indeed, from some Accounts which I had read concerning these People, I apprehended no Molestation from them in wooding and watering; though, at the first View, the Country and Inhabitants would dissuade me from venturing freely amongst them; they even appeared so terrible amongst our Negroes who had been born in *Guinea*, that one of them, who had been sent with the Officer on shore, was afraid to stir from the Boat, and all the while kept an Ax in his Hand to defend himself from any that might attack him: But this Dread proceeded from the Contempt which the two first that came off to us had expressed towards our Negroes, in separating them from the Whites. As soon as the Night approached, all the *Indians* swam ashore again, so that we had the Pleasure of a clear Ship to rest ourselves in after the Fatigues of the Day.

The next Morning by Day-break our Boat went ashore with those designed to cut Wood, and fill Water; and, before the Sun was up, we were again crowded with our

former Guests, who seemed as if they were never tired with gazing at us, and our Ship. But, that nothing should be wanting in us to keep up the Amity we had already contracted, I ordered a great Boiler to be carried ashore, with good Store of Flour and Sugar, and a Negro Cook, to be continually boiling Hally-pudding for the numerous Spectators on the Beach; and it really behoved us to keep in their Favour, since, whether in the Ship, or on the Strand, we were wholly in their Power; those on shore being perpetually surrounded by Multitudes, and we in the Ship were from Morning till Night so incommoded by them, that we could hardly move fore and aft through the Crouds of them that were staring at us. They at first were idle Lookers on, till their natural Compassion for the few Men, whom they saw rolling of great Casks of Water over the heavy Sand, in the sultry Heat of the Day, induced them to help us, together with the kind Treatment they met with from us, and the particular Readiness of their Chief to serve us, by shewing his People a good Example; for, after Mr. *Randall*, my Lieutenant, took up the first, he took up the second Log of Wood, to carry to the Boat, and was immediately followed by two or three hundred of them, so that they eased my Men of a great Fatigue, and shortened the Time we had Occasion to stir at this Place: They likewise rolled our Calk down to the Boat, but always expected a white Face to assist them, who, if he did but touch it with his Finger, was sufficient Encouragement for them to persevere in their Labour. We even found Means to make them, who used to be all Day on board, useful to us; for when we came to heft the Ship, we crowded them all over on one Side, which, together with other Shifts, gave us a very considerable Heel, while we cleaned and paid our Bottom with Pitch and Tallow; and so tractable were they, that they would sit very quietly on the Side they were bid to go to, till we ordered them to disperse themselves, that we might bring the Ship upright again. Thus they repaired our Civilities by their Services, and every Day they seemed more and more fond of us. When our Boat went on shore in the Morning, there was a constant Retinue waiting for our People on the Beach, and particularly those, who, by a better Dress, they guessed to be above the common Rank; these they always received with such formal Ceremonies, it could not be expected in such a Place; for, as soon as they came out of the Boat, they were immediately laid hold on by two *Indians*, who led them between them, and were followed by a great many Couples, Hand-in-Hand; thus they led them up to the River, and then left them to their own Liberty, to proceed in the Direction and Execution of their Business. By this time the Rumour of our Arrival was spread through all the neighbouring Parts, and some of different Clans, from those who inhabited the Land about this Bay, came daily to view us; those who came from any Distance in the Country could not swim; and, that they were different from those we had first seen, appeared by the Manner of painting themselves, and other little Distinctions, which were visible amongst them; but they all united amicably to assist us, and hardly any were able but the Women, who used to sit in Circles, on the scorching Sand, to give Attendance for their Share of what was going forwards, which they used to receive without any quarrelling amongst them about the Inequality of the Distribution, although some, who had no Spoons, fared but poorly; but, at last, there were few of them that had not something to serve them to eat their Broon-meat, encouraged thereto by our constant Supplies of it, with which we fed several Hundreds every Day. Thus, by a mutual Exchange of good Offices one toward another, they thought themselves happy in us, and we thought ourselves fortunate in meeting to timely and necessary Assistance; for it is probable, that my Men might have contracted a dangerous Sickness by working to laboriously in the Heat of the Day, after being in a manner worn out by what they had already undergone. Having already completed our Business in the Space of five Days, we, on the 18th of *August*, prepared for our Departure, and employed the Morning in making a large Distribution of Sugar amongst the Women; and to the Men we gave a great many Knives, old Axes, and other Iron, which we had taken in our Prizes; there was

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the most useful Things to them, and of which they stood most in need. In Return, some of them gave us Bows and Arrows, Deer-skin Bags, live Foxes and Squirrels, &c. That we might appear as awful to them as possible, I ordered five Guns to be fired on the loosing our Top-sails; the Noise of which mightily frightened them; and, upon seeing our Sails loosed, there was a universal Damp upon their Spirits, which might be easily perceived by the lively Sorrow that was painted in all their Countenances; Their Women were all in Tears, when my People had executed their Orders, and were coming off to the Ship; and a great many of the Men staid in the Ship all the while we were purchasing our Anchor, and did not offer to stir till we were under Sail; and then, with the most dejected Aspects, leaped overboard. That Evening we took our Departure from Cape *St. Lucas*, in our Way to *China*.

28. After making some Stay in *California*, and having so thorough an Acquaintance with its Inhabitants, it is but natural for me to attempt, as others have done, to give some Account of it, the rather, because great Things have been expected from a perfect Knowledge of its Extent and Boundaries; though, for my Part, I must confess, I believe such a Discovery would produce few real Advantages, how much Satisfaction soever it might give to the Curious. The *Spaniards*, whose Interest and Opportunities are greater than ours, or, indeed, than any other Nation in *Europe*, have, of late especially, been extremely negligent in this respect. Their annual *Acapulco* Ships are often obliged to run into high Latitudes for the Benefit of Westerly Winds; and, in doing this, have sometimes had Soundings in their Passage, which certainly afforded a great Probability of finding Land, tho' I never heard, that they pushed any such Discovery. However, for this, and many other Reasons, I am inclined to think, that *America* and *Asia* are joined by some Tract of Land to the Northward. Leaving, however, these Conjectures to be supported or confuted by future Discoveries, I shall confine myself to Facts, and report only what I have seen or known, for the Information of the present Age, and of Posterity. The Eastern Coast of that Part of *California*, which I had a Sight of, appears to be mountainous, barren, and sandy, and very like some Parts of *Peru*; but, nevertheless, the Soil about *Puerto, Seguro*, and (very likely in most of the Valleys) is a rich black Mould, which, as you turn it fresh up to the Sun, appears as if intermingled with Gold-dust; some of which we endeavoured to wash and purify from the Dirt; but though we were a little prejudiced against the Thoughts that it could be possible, that this Metal should be so promiscuously and universally mingled with common Earth, yet we endeavoured to cleanse and wash the Earth from some of it; and the more we did, the more it appeared like Gold. In order to be further satisfied, I brought away some of it, which we lost in our Confusions at *China*. But, be that as it will, it is very probable, that this Country abounds in Metals of all Sorts, though the Inhabitants had no Utensils or Ornaments of any Metal whatsoever; which is no wonder, since they are so perfectly ignorant in all Arts.

This Soil produces Plenty of Wood; but the Trees are very small, hardly deserving a better Name than that of *Bushes*: But Woods, which are an Ornament to most other Countries, serve only to make this appear the more desolate; for the *Locusts* swarm there in such abundance, that they don't leave a green Leaf on the Trees. In the Day-time, these destructive Insects are perpetually on the Wing, roving in Clouds, and are extremely troublesome by flying in one's Face: They are in Shape and Bigness exceedingly like our green Grasshoppers, but differ from them in their Colour, which is yellow. No sooner had we come to an Anchor, than they came off in such abundance, that the Sea about us was strewn with their dead Bodies. Thus, by the incessant Ravages of those *Locusts*, the Prospect of the Country thereabouts is stripped naked, notwithstanding the natural Warmth of the Climate, and the Goodness of the Soil. I don't know, that any of our former Navigators have observed this in their Accounts of this Place; and therefore am persuaded, that they are

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troubled with this Plague only at this Season of the Year; and, in Confidence of this, I gave them a large Quantity of Calavances, and shewed them how to sow them. But, if I should be mistaken in my Conjecture, and these Vermin infest the Country the whole Year round, the sowing these, or indeed any other kind of Vegetable, will be of very little Use. The Harbour of *Puerto Seguro* was so called by Sir *Thomas Candish*: It lies about two Leagues to the North-east of Cape *St. Lucas*; and is, when you are in it, a very safe and good Port, and extremely convenient for Privateers that are cruising for the *Manilla* Ship. The Watering-place is on the North Side, in a small River, which there empties itself into the Sea, and may be known by the Appearance of a great many green Canes, which grow in it, and which always preserve their Verdure, because the *Locusts* will not touch them, which is owing to something in those Canes noxious to that Insect.

It is now requisite, that I should enter on a particular Description of the People of this Country, for various Reasons, but particularly these: That hitherto they have been little known, have been sometimes misrepresented, and have been particularly considered by me, in Lights, which, very probably, no other Man will enjoy, as it is certain no *Englishman* ever had them before me. The Men are all tall, strait, and well-set, have very large Limbs, with coarse, black, shag Hair, which does not reach down to their Thighs, as a late Navigator reports in his Voyage, nay, descends hardly down to their Shoulders. The Women are of a much smaller Size, their Hair much longer than the Mens, with which some of them almost cover their Faces. Some of both Sexes have good Countenances, but of a much darker Complexion than any *Indians* I saw in these Seas, being of a deep copper Colour. Such is their Simplicity, that the Men go quite naked, without the least thing to cover them, and wear nothing but a few Trifles, which they look upon as Ornaments; such as a Band or Wreath of red and white Silk-grass, which some wear round their Heads, adorned on each Side with a Tuft of Hawks Feathers; others have Pieces of Mother-of-Pearl, and small Shells, tied in their Hair, and hanging about their Necks; some have a large Necklace, of six or seven Strings, composed of small red and black Berries; some are scarified all over their Bodies; others use a kind of Paint, some besmearing all over their Faces and Breasts with black, and others are regularly painted all over, from the Face to the Navel, with black, and from thence, down to their Feet, with red. The Women, on the contrary, wear a thick Fringe of Silk-grass, reaching from their Middle down to their Heels, and have a Deer-skin carelessly wrapped over their Shoulders; some of the better Sort have the Skin of a large Bird wrapped about them in the same manner. From what I have been relating, the Reader may reasonably conclude, that nothing can be more savage: But there is a wide Difference between what one would upon the first Sight expect to find from them, and what they really are; for all that I could discern in their Behaviour towards one another, and their Deportment towards us, they are endued with all the Humanity imaginable; for, all the time we were there, and constantly among so many Hundreds of them, there was nothing to be perceived but the most agreeable Harmony, and most affectionate Esteem for one another, insomuch that when any of us gave any thing that was eatable to any one of them in particular, he always divided it into so many Shares as there were Persons about him, and commonly reserved the least for himself: They seldom walk single, but go most by Pairs, Hand-in-Hand: They appear to be perfectly meek; and there is no Indication of Cruelty in either their Aspects or Actions: They, indeed, seem to be pretty haughty towards their Women; which, perhaps, may proceed from too great an Opinion of the Superiority of their own Sex. They lead a careless Life, and have every thing in common, searching for nothing beyond the necessary Supports of Life; by which means they are free from the anxious Troubles to which those are subject, amongst whom Luxury and Pride have got any Footing. They never offered to pilfer or steal any of our Tools, or other Utensils,

which might have been of Service to them: So strict was their Honesty in this particular, that some of my Men, who had been cutting Wood all Day, and were coming on board in the Evening, forgetting that they had left their Axes in the Wood; it being observed by one of the *Indians*, he immediately spoke to the King; who sent him into the Woods to fetch the Axes; which he did, and delivered them to my People, with an apparent Satisfaction, that they did not go away without them.

In a Word, they pass their Lives in the pure Simplicity of the earliest Ages of the World, before Discord and Contentment were heard of amongst Men. They, as yet, have never been tainted with the Morals; and have never been irritated by the Oppressions of a Conqueror, who, by exercising Cruelties over them, might have taught them to delight in Barbarity, as happened to the *Indians of Mexico and Peru*, who doubtless had their Propensity to Inhumanity greatly augmented by the *Spaniards*, who shewed them an horrid Example, by their continual Butcheries of the *Indians*. Hitherto the *Californians* may be said to act according to the Dictates of Nature, whilst we act contrary to Reason. One of our late Navigators has represented them as idle and lazy, and jealous of their Women; alledging, that he could never have a Sight of any, but such as were old. I cannot tell how that Gentleman, and his People, treated them; but we found, that they are not so by Inclination, but rather from their being under no Necessity of doing any thing laborious. And, as to their Women, we have had the Company of some Hundreds of young and old every Day, who never made any Scruple of appearing amongst us; nor did the Men shew the least Discontent at it: And I may venture to say, that we engaged them so far by trifling Presents and Entertainments, that nobody, upon those Terms, need want their Assistance for the future, tho', perhaps, scarce any may have so much Provisions to spare, as I had at that time, to regale them.

I must not omit one thing, in which they would always have the Mastery of us; and that was in taking Snuff, which they would never permit any of us to use, but immediately, upon seeing us take a Pinch out of our Boxes, they would run to us, and, with great Earnestness, twist it from between our Fingers, and throw it away. What could be the Ground of this Aversion, I cannot conceive, except that some of them had suffered Death or Sickness by taking some particular Thing up their Noses. They likewise would never suffer me to look through my Prospective, imagining, that there was something extraordinary in that Piece of Wood, that I had so often recourse to it to look on the Shore; which I did to observe how the Work went on on the Beach, they not apprehending, that it was possible that my Eyes could receive any Assistance by it. Their Language is guttural and harsh; they talk a great deal; but we never could so much as understand one Word. I had once some Thoughts of bringing some of them away with me, especially the youngest, that they might learn our Language, and give us some Information of their Country; but, as we could not make them understand us, we must have seemed to them to have taken them away by Force; which perhaps would have exasperated them: And as this would have been of ill Consequence to such Ships as may have Occasion to go thither for the future, I therefore laid aside all Designs of that kind. Their Manner of living in their Dwellings is very mean; for they can scarce shelter them. And, as to their Diet, I believe it is mostly Fish, which they frequently eat raw: They sometimes bake it in the Sand. They seldom want plenty of this, because the Men, being expert Harpooners, go out to Sea on their Bark-logs. On these they venture out, rowing with a double Paddle, and, with their Harpoons, (which are made of a sort of hard Wood) strike the largest Albicores, and bring them in. This was surprising to us, who had often experienced the Strength of that Fish; for, tho' we frequently got hold of them with very large Hooks, made fast to eight-strang-ropes, we were obliged to bring the Ship to, in order to get them in, and that by the Help of nine or ten Men; which is as much as they can sometimes do: So that one would imagine, that, as soon as the *Indians* had struck one of those on his light Embarkation, it would run away with him, and his Bark-

log; but they have some Slight in their Way of managing them, that their Resistance and Struggling is in vain. There are hardly any Birds there, except a few Pelicans. When they want to drink, they go up to their Middle in the River, and there take up the Water between their Hands, or stoop down, and suck it up.

Thus, between Hunting, Fishing, Eating, and Sleeping, their Time is divided, which, between their Exercises, and the Spariness of their Diet, is prolonged to a great Extent; and many of both Sexes live to a very old Age, as their grey Hairs, and extraordinary Wrinkles, testify. Their Bows are about six Feet in Length; and their Arrows seem to be somewhat too long for their Bows. Considering they have not Tools requisite to make such Things, it must take them up a great deal of Time. Their Bow-strings are made of Deer-sinews; and their Arrows are composed of an hollow Cane, Two-thirds of their Length; and the other, next the Point, is of an heavy kind of Wood, headed with a Piece of Flint, and sometimes Agate, the Edges of which are cut in Teeth, like a Saw; and the Point is very sharp. They made no manner of Shew with their Arms to us; and it was rare to see any in the Hands of the Men. The Women commonly go out with them in the Woods, in Search of Game; which is their chief Employment. They have need of some Arms to defend them against the wild Beasts; for I saw some of the Men, who had received great Hurts from them, particularly one old Man, who had his Thigh almost torn in Pieces by some Tyger or Lion, and his Thigh, tho' quite healed, was frightfully scarred. It is impossible for me to say any thing particular concerning their Government, except this, that it is not very strict or rigorous. When their King went abroad, he used to be attended by a Train of a great many Couples, Hand-in-Hand. In this Manner he was coming out of the Woods the first Morning after our Arrival, when, perceiving one of my Officers cutting down a Tree, with Silver Lace on his Waistcoat, he judged him to be better than ordinary, and immediately took an Opportunity of shewing both his Authority, and his Civility, by ordering one of his Attendants to take the Ax from him, and work in his stead. In short, in every respect, they seemed to enjoy perfect Tranquillity, to the Happiness of which nothing could be added, but the true Knowledge of God, and the right Way of worshipping him.

As remarkable Accidents naturally strike the Spectator in such a manner, as to create deep Impressions, I cannot conclude this Description of the Country and People of *California*, without taking notice of a Circumstance in relation to their Fishing, which surprised me very much; and, as it is a remarkable Instance of their Agility in the Water, and will convey a clearer Idea of their Manner of Fishing, than can be given any other way, I lay it before the Reader, to whom, I persuade myself, it will be very agreeable: It happened one Day whilst I was there, that a monstrous kind of flat Fish was turning himself on the Surface of the Water, near the Shore. Some of the *Indians*, seeing it, went into the Water, to the Number of twelve, and surrounded him; which, upon finding himself disturbed, dived; and they went down after him, and it was with much Difficulty that he got from them the first time. In an Hour afterwards, he came again; and sixteen or seventeen of the *Indians* swam off, and encompassed him, as before; and, by tormenting him after their Manner, they, by their Art, insensibly drove him ashore; for all their Strength, put together, was certainly insufficient to him, when in the Water. When his Belly touched the Ground, the Force, with which he struck the Beach with his Fins, is not to be expressed, no more than their Agility about him, who were endeavouring to kill him, for fear the Surf should let him afloat again. They at length dispatched him by the Help of a Dagger, which my Lieutenant *Randall* lent them, who was standing by. They soon cut him in Pieces, which were distributed to all that came. The Fish, by the nearest Computation, was fourteen or fifteen Feet broad, but not so much in Length. Notwithstanding he was of the flat Kind, he was very thick, and had an hideous large Mouth. But it is now time to return to our Voyage.

29. On August 18. 1721, we sailed from *Puerto Seguro* for *Cantón* in *China*, as the Place where it was most likely

Book. I.

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The Inhabitants of CALIFORNIA in their respective Dignities. VOL. I. p. 24



An Indian Man returned from Fishing.

An Indian Fishing on his Bark-Log.



An Indian Woman of Distinction covered with the Skin of a Bird in her Feathers.

An Indian Woman in the ordinary Deer-Skin Dress.

Chap. I.

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to find *English* Ships, on board which we might secure our Passage home. Our Ship was in a very bad Condition, the Length of our Voyage considered, since our Sails and Rigging were so thin and rotten, that if, in this very long Passage, any Accident had befallen us, either in our Malts or Sails, it would have gone very hard with us, having no Change of either, and being at such a dreadful Distance from any Place, where we might hope for Relief; but, as this was a Case of Necessity, we were obliged to run all Hazards, and to endeavour, by Care and Industry to supply those Deficiencies, which were not to be remedied any other Way: And, as we had already happily got over many Difficulties, that seemed unfathomable in their Prospect, it filled us with Hopes, that we should likewise get over these; which, with the pleasing Expectation of reaching our native Shore, gave us Spirits enough to undertake so tedious a Navigation in so weak and comfortless a Condition; for, besides the bad State of our Ship, we were now so thinly manned, that, without the Assistance of our Negroes, it would scarce have been possible for us to have managed the Vessel, there not being now thirty white Faces amongst us: So much had untoward Accidents reduced our Crew!

On the 21st, we discovered an Island, bearing West South-west, 110 Leagues distant from Cape *St. Lucas*: I endeavoured to get in with it, but could not approach it nearer than the Distance of two Leagues; and, the Night coming on, and it blowing very fresh, I did not think it proper to lose so much Way, as we might in the Night, by lying-by, or plying in, for it. I judged it to be seven or eight Leagues in Circumference; on the South-west of it there appeared a large Bay, with an high Rock in the Middle of it. This Isle my People called *Shelvocke's* Island, after my Name. From hence we steered down gradually, into the Parallel of 13° North, but had our Way stopped for two or three Days by Westerly Winds, which none could ever have expected in such Latitudes, and at a Distance of 5 or 600 Leagues from any Land. We grew impatient at such an uncommon Delay, and began to dread meeting with many such contrary Winds in this Passage; we made several Conjectures on what might be the Cause of it, but none that were very probable; but the Trade-wind prevailing again, we kept in the Tract of 13° North, except when we judged ourselves to be near the Shoals of *St. Bartholomew*, and then haled a Degree more Northwardly, and so continued for a Run of about sixty or seventy Leagues. A Fortnight after we had left *California*, my People, who had hitherto enjoyed an interrupted State of Health, began to be afflicted with a Sickness which particularly affected their Stomachs, which was undoubtedly, owing to the Quantities of Sweetmeats they were continually devouring; and also to our common Food, puddings made of very coarse Flour, and Sweetmeats, and salt Water instead of fresh to moisten them; and dried Beef, the best Part of which was destroyed by Ants, Cockroaches, and other Vermin. We could not afford fresh Water to boil the Kettle once in the whole Passage; so that this way of living brought the Scurvy and other Distempers upon us, which was a very melancholy State. This Sickness increased upon us every Day, inasmuch that, out of our small Number, we buried two in one Day, which were *John Popplestone*, the Armourer, and the Carpenter's Mate; besides whom, the Carpenter, Gunner, and several others, together with some of our best Negroes, died.

We now laboured under the greatest Misfortunes that could happen to us, the greatest Part of my People being disabled, and my Ship being very leaky; and we had just at this time the ill Luck to have one of our Pumps split, and rendered useless: Under these unhappy Circumstances we were pushed forward by favourable Gales, till we came within eighty Leagues of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones* Islands, where we met with dismal Weather, tempestuous Winds, varying round the Compass: This was the more frightful to us, as we were not in a Condition of helping ourselves, were not being above six or seven that were able to do any Work, though Necessity obliged even those that were extremely low and weak to lend what Help they could. These distressing Gales had raised a Sea, wherein our Ship laboured so much, that the Knee of her Head, and the whole Beak-

head, became loose; so that the Bow-sprit fetched away, and played with the Motion of the Ship, continued so to do all the rest of the Time we were at Sea: Our Main-mast stood for some time without Shrouds on the Larboard-side, till we could unlay our best Cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old ones, till our Labour was in vain. In the midst of this I was taken violently ill, and had no Expectation of living much longer, till the Gout, seizing me, gave me some painful Hopes of the Continuance of my Life. In the Beginning of *October*, we made the Island of *Guam*, 100 Leagues short of Captain *Rogers's* Account, who makes 105° Difference of Longitude between this and Cape *St. Lucas*, and we did not make quite 100°. We passed between the formentioned Isle and *Serpaina*, and saw several flying Procs, but none came near us that Day: We had heavy squally Weather, which obliged me to keep the Deck, where in the Rain, I caught a Cold, which threw me into a worse Condition than before, in which I continued all the Time I was in *China*. The Island of *Guam* appears very green, and is of a moderate Height; the Prospect of Land was very agreeable to us, after having run so great a Length; and we could, with the greatest Pleasure, have stopped to have purchased some Refreshments of Fruits, such as Lemons, *Seville* Oranges, &c. which would have been very good for such of us as had the Scurvy: But tho' we were upon the Point of perishing, we dared not venture in for fear the Inhabitants should take the Advantage of our Weakness, to make some Attempt upon us. The Night after we had seen the Island of *Guam*, we had our Main-top-sail split, which, as it happened, proved no loss of Way; for, during several Days afterwards, we had such Weather, that we could bear no more than our lower Canvas, which sufficiently tried the Strength of our Ship, which was now very much impaired. I shaped my Course from *Guam* for the Island of *Formosa*, to which we had a very long Voyage, and of course a very melancholy one, since the sickness increased daily; so that, by *November* 3. when we had Sight of that Island, the Ship and Ship's Company were both in a manner worn out. The next Day, we doubled the South Cape of that Island, and passed within a League of the Rocks of *Vele Rete*, and by them were sensible of a very strong Current. The Inhabitants of the Island of *Formosa*, from the Time they had Sight of our Vessel, made Fire continually along the Coast; but we were so weak, that we did not think it prudent to put into any of their Harbours. We directed our Course from thence for the neighbouring Coast of *China*; and on the 6th, found ourselves at the Mouth of the River *Loma*, where we had twelve Fathom Water. Here we saw abundance of Fishing-boats, but, the Weather proving hazy, we could not plainly discover whereabouts we were; and therefore used all the Methods we could devise, to get some of the Fishermen on board, who might pilot us to *Macao*; but, as we neither understood them, nor they us, we soon found that was impracticable; and therefore were forced to keep the Land close aboard all Day, and come to Anchor every Evening; which was a mighty Fatigue to our Ship's Company, who were so universally down with the Distemper reigning amongst us, that it was as much as we could do to find any body to steer the Ship: Thus we were four Days lost in the Mist, and surpris'd at the Sight of a great many Islands, which were omitted in our Charts, on some of which we saw large Fortifications: This made us believe that the Current had carried us to the Southward of our Port, and suggested to us every thing that might cast us down; for, though the Sea was covered with Fishing-barks, we could not find any of them that could set us right, or give us any Directions we could understand. On the 10th, towards the Evening, as we were passing thro' a very narrow Chanel, between a Couple of Islands, a Fisherman that was near us, observing, by our manner of working, that we were afraid to venture thro', made Signs to us with his Cap to bring to, till he came up with us: When he came, he seemed to understand, in general, that we inquired of him about the Situation of *Macao*; and therefore made Signs to us, that he would conduct us thither, if we would give him as many Pieces of Silver, as he counted little Fish out of his Basket, which amounted to forty: We accordingly counted out forty

Dollars

Dollars in an Hat, and gave them to him; upon which he came into the Ship, and took us in Charge, and carried us through the narrow Chanel, and, at Sun-set, brought us to an Anchor: The next Morning we weighed again, and kept the Main-land of *China* close aboard; and, at Noon, he brought us abreast of *Pulo Lantoon*, from whence we could see two *English* Ships under Sail, who were passing by the Island of *Macao*, in their Way from the River of *Canton*. They took no Notice of us, and kept on their Way: This made us very uneasy, fearing that we should miss of a Passage to *England* this Season. The next Day, in the Afternoon, we anchored in the Road of *Macao*, near the Entrance of the River of *Canton*, which we never should have found out by any of our Charts. I much admire at the Inconcreteness with which these Coasts are laid down to the Eastward of *Pulo Lantoon*; for there runs a Cluster of Islands, extending upwards of twenty Leagues, which are not in the least taken notice of by our Hydrographers; nor did I ever meet with any Navigator that knew any thing of them. The Coast of *China*, near them, is rocky, mountainous, and barren; but, as to the particular Situation of these Isles, my Sickness hindered all the Observation I should have made of them. *Macao* being a Place where Ships always stop for a Pilot to carry them up the River of *Canton*, I sent an Officer with a Compliment to the Governor, and with Orders to bring off a Pilot with him; but I heard nothing of him till the next Morning, which gave me many disquiet Apprehensions.

Early the next Morning, there came off a great many of the *Success's* People; I was amazed at the Sight of them, and was at first very glad to see them; but my Mind changed a little when I heard their Story; wherein they acquainted me, that their Commander *Clipperton* had left me designedly; that they went directly to *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Islands, where they were very well refreshed and supplied with Provisions; that their Captain there sold the Governor a great Quantity of Powder and Shot, and several other valuable Things; and permitted the Marquis of *Villa Rica* to go ashore, with Mr. *Godfrey* the Agent, and a marine Officer, who went to settle the Accounts. As soon as they were landed, and the Boat came off again, Captain *Clipperton* weighed with his Ship, in order to attack a Ship of twenty Guns from *Manilla*, which had lain quietly in the Road with them all the time till now: In approaching her, he ran his Ship upon the Rocks, and soon found the Enemy was prepared; for they had raised two Batteries, of half the Ship's Guns, to receive him. I am almost ashamed to relate this Man's Behaviour in this Skirmish; for *Clipperton*, perceiving his Case desperate, and the Loss of his Ship past Redemption, had recourse to his Case of Brandy for a Supply of Spirits, to animate him in making a vigorous Defence; but he took so abundantly of that intoxicating Cordial, that he, in an instant, became dead-drunk, tumbled down on the Deck, and inured out his Time in a beastly Manner, whilst his first Lieutenant, *Davison*, undertook the Command of the Ship, which he bravely executed till he was killed. He was succeeded by Captain *Cooke*, their second Lieutenant, who made a gallant Resistance, and got the Ship afloat again, after she had lain on the Rock forty-eight Hours, all which Time *Clipperton* had been lost between sleeping, and drinking as fast as he waked; so that he did not recover himself, till they were out at Sea. Thus they lost their Prisoner the Marquis de *Villa Rica*, and also Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent-general, and one of their Marine Officers; which gave the Ship's Company such a Dislike of *Clipperton*, that they would not suffer him to have the Command of them, but locked him up in his Cabin, and intreated Captain *Cooke* to take the Command of the Ship. They endured bad Weather between *Guam* and *Amy*, in *China*, whither they got with much Difficulty: There they made a Dividend of all they had taken, half to the Owners, and half to the Ship's Company. From thence Captain *Clipperton* designed for the Streights of *Malacca*; but his People, fearing he had no good Intention in his Head, would go no farther than *Macao*, that being a Christian Port. They told me, the Gentlemen Adventurers in *England* were much obliged to the Governor of this Place, who, being informed that *Clipperton* could not be prevailed on to remit their Effects

Home in the *English* Ships lying at *Canton*, obliged him to send what belonged to them in one of their own Ships, which was ready to depart for *Lybon*: There he sold his Ship the *Success* for about 1000 l. Sterling. I must observe on this Passage, that whatever these Officers told him, in Excuse of themselves, the Facts were quite otherwise, as appears in the foregoing Section; where it is fully shewn, that Captain *Clipperton* lent the Money to the Owners of his own Motive, and would have brought the Ship Home, if he had not been hindered. But to return to the Captain's Relation. On the 12th, about Noon, a Pilot came off to us, and we immediately weighed, and entered the River of *Canton*, being assured, that there still remained some *European* Ships at *Wampo*, where they lie in this River, about ten Miles short of the City of *Canton*. We were four Days plying up to the Road, between the lower Bars, where, finding the *Bonetta* and *Hosings*, two *English* Indian Traders, I anchored, and sent an Officer, to desire them to instruct us how to behave ourselves in this Port, and to acquaint me with the Customs of it: To which they answered, that since the *Cadogan* and *Francis*, two *European* *English* Ships, were lying at *Wampo*, they would advise me to send up to their Factories at *Canton*, to acquaint them of our Arrival, and the Reasons which obliged me to come thither. Which I accordingly did the next Day, and borrowed one of their Flags the next Day, to hoist in our Boat, without which we should have met with great Trouble from the *Hoppomen*, or Custom-house Officers. I sent, by my Officer, Letters to the Captains of the *English* Ships, signifying the Necessity which forced me into such Parts; and desired they would, as far as in them lay, succour and protect us; assuring them, that I acted by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, which I also sent to them, that they might peruse it. I weighed the next Morning, and worked up to *Wampo*, where I found, besides two *English* Ships, three *French* ones, viz. the *Gaietta*, the *Prince de Conti*, and the *Maur*; and also one *Chinese*, and a small Ship from *Manilla*. Here I was in Hopes that all my Troubles would have ended, and that I should have had full Leisure to refresh myself after so many and great Fatigues: But I soon found, that these Expectations were very ill-grounded; and that, after all the Perils from which I had escaped, I was to fall into that which is least to be endured, I mean Perils amongst false Brethren.

30. A most unlucky Accident, which happened the very same Evening that we anchored at *Wampo*, gave Birth to my Troubles in *India*, though, with respect to me, it was not only unforeseen, but absolutely unavoidable, and the pure Effects of that Ingratitude, which possessed all the Ship's Company, to get out of this Part of the World at any rate. If there had been any Government among the *English* settled here, so as that my Authority might have been supported, undoubtedly this unlucky Business never would have fallen out; but, as it was, it could be imputed to nothing, but the Want of such an Establishment. The Thing, in few Words, fell out thus: One of my Men, whose Name was *David Griffith*, being in a Hurry to remove his Effects on board the *Bonetta's* Boat, in which he was, happened to be chased by an *Hoppo* or Custom-house Boat. The fellow, being a little in Liquor, and fearing they would take what Silver he had from him, fired a Muiquet at them, and killed an *Hoppoman* or Custom-house Officer. Early the next Morning, the Corpse was laid at the Door of the *English* Factories; and there were *Chinese* Officers lying in Wait for the first *Englishman* that came out. It happened, that a Supercargo belonging to the *Bonetta* was one of the first; and they immediately seized on him, carried him away, and afterwards led him about the Suburbs of *Canton* in Chains. All that could be said or done by the most considerable of the *Chinese* Merchants, who were Correspondents with the *English*, availed nothing. In the mean time, my Men, who had committed the Fact, and another, were put in Irons on board the *Francis*, which was stopped, that is, seized, till the Man guilty of the Crime was delivered to them; and when he was put into their Hands, and carried to *Canton* in Chains, the Supercargo was released. I had not been here many Days, before I was deserted by all my Officers and Ship's Company, who were continually employed in removing their Effects from on board my Ship, to some of the

European, contrary to my Bed. My Officers, men in their Interest, goes, to look after my I thought on the Brink of *Chinese* Avarice. I shou Ways of disposing of t oblige them to do what Gentlemen in *England* recovered of their Illne and were become their gistrates to appeal to me so much Service, their own Ship; and m *English* Ships, could no tion of their Actions to cargo, afford me suc have been inclined to, the Gentlemen, who p garded it, that they li one of their Ships; and as one Enemy would tr such they looked upon *East India* Company's necessities that forced me

The Captains *Hill* and *me*, were altogether at and could scarce think dretaken so long a Stru age, and the Raggedne miration and Pity of their first Visit, when my Voyage, and delin and ship's Company. That, since they plain to stir any farther, up would entertain us, as I upon, and expected n ourselves at any time; norance, applied to the goes were angry, that ashore, are the chief I when aboard; so that I Captains ordered to fa Miles below us. Thus of five foreign Ships, men were so careless of their Service, and afflic had it not been for the have suffered to the fall Apprehensions, that t Ship. When the Murd in a manner, forgott, t mitted by what they c Beginning of these Tr take all the *English* he all was over: But, pa ordered his Attendants in the Shops thereabou or ten, as well *French* with Halters about the roy's Palace in the City made to the *Hoppo*; w stuck in favour of the Mandarin, who was g and he, being unable to his Post, bamboo'd, w most of the Eastern G of acting again; and However, in the mean tyrannized over by the of every Magistrate; be on board one of the discovered my Milita had disguised the Sup not to deliver, but to de and ship's Company; refuse: And indeed t was accompanied with

European, contrary to my Knowledge, then confined to my Bed. My Officers were engaging the *Indian* Gentlemen in their Interest, and had left my Son, with a few Negroes, to look after my Ship, and defend my Effects, which I thought on the Brink of falling into the bottomless Pit of *Chinese* Avarice. I shorth the Ship's Company had for many Ways of disposing of their Effects, that it was impossible to oblige them to do what I should have thought Justice to the Gentlemen in *England*. In few Words, they were all soon recovered of their Illness, by the Assistance they met with, and were become their own Masters. There were no Magistrates to appeal to on shore, that would have done me so much Service, as to have obliged them to keep to their own Ship; and my Brother Officers, commanding the *English* Ships, could not, through Fear of a Misrepresentation of their Actions to the *India* Company by their Super-cargoes, afford me such an Help, as, perhaps, they would have been inclined to, through a Sense of their Duty. But the Gentlemen, who presided over the Trade, so little regarded it, that they had a mind to refuse me a Passage in one of their Ships; and, in Effect, I was treated by them, as one Enemy would treat another in a neutral Port; for as such they looked upon me, for offering to come within the *East India* Company's Limits, without considering the Necessities that forced me to commit that Trespass.

The Captains *Hill* and *Newsham*, when they came to see me, were astonished at the ruinous Appearance of my Ship, and could scarce think it was possible the should have undertaken so long a Stretch. The Rottensness of our Cordage, and the Raggedness of our Sails, filled them with Admiration and Pity of my Condition; insomuch that, at their first Visit, when I had given them a short History of my Voyage, and desired they would receive my Officers and Ship's Company, with their Effects, they answered, That, since they plainly saw my Ship was in no Condition to stir any farther, upon Payment of our Passages, they would entertain us, as soon as we pleased. This I depended upon, and expected no further Trouble, than to remove ourselves at any time; but I found that I had, through Ignorance, applied to the wrong Persons; for the Super-cargoes were angry, that I had not sent to them, who, when ashore, are the chief Men, tho' they are only Passengers when aboard; so that I was quite neglected, and the *English* Captains ordered to fall down with their Ships five or six Miles below us. Thus was I left destitute, in the Company of five foreign Ships, who, seeing that my own Countrymen were so careless of me, were so kind as to offer me their Service, and assisted me with what they could: And, had it not been for them, I do not know but that I might have suffered to the last degree; for I was under perpetual Apprehensions, that the *Chinese* had a Design to seize my Ship. When the Murder of the Custom house Officer was, in a manner, forgot, there was an out-ragous Action committed by what they call a *Little Mandarin*, who, at the Beginning of these Troubles, had Warrants given him to take all the *English* he should meet; which he neglected, till all was over: But, passing by the *European* Factories, he ordered his Attendants to seize on all the *English* they saw in the Shops thereabouts; and accordingly they took nine or ten, as well *French* as *English*, and carried them away, with Halts about their Necks, to the *Chantock's* or *Viceroy's* Palace in the City. Upon this, there was Application made to the *Hoppo*; who represented Matters to the *Chean-sock* in favour of the injured *Europeans*: Upon which, the Mandarin, who was guilty of this Violence, was sent for; and he, being unable to vindicate himself, was degraded from his Post, bambooz'd, which is a severe Punishment used in most of the Eastern Governments, and rendered incapable of acting again; and the *Europeans* directly discharged. However, in this mean time, the *English* seem to me to be tyrannized over by the *Chinese*, and exposed to the Caprices of every Magistrate; which made me the more urgent to be on board one of the *European* Ships: And, as I had now discovered my Mistake in addressing the Captains, which had disgusted the Super-cargoes, I sent a Letter to them, not to desire, but to demand, a Passage for me, my Officers, and Ship's Company; which, I was sensible, they could not refuse: And indeed they did not; but their Comdemtion was accompanied with a Charge to the *India* Captains, not

to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was consigned to the *East India* Company in *England*. I was now informed of the *Hoppo's* Demand for Anchorage in the River. I had been long in Suspense upon that Head, and all along apprehended, that I should have some extravagant Exaction imposed upon me: And indeed so it happened; for they demanded 6000 *Tabel*; and, to quicken me in the Payment of it, and to shew me they were in Earnest, there was a Penalty annexed to this Extortion, of 500 additional *Tabel* for every Day we failed in the Payment. In short, there was no means by which I could evade this unconscionable Imposition. In vain I shewed the *Hoppo* my Commission, which was also read in the *Chinese* Tongue to him; and to as little Purpose did I also remonstrate, that I came with no other Design, than to obtain a Passage home in one of our Country Ships, my own being incapable of going farther. It was insisted upon, though it was but a Day before I could possibly send that sum up, I should add 500 *Tabel* for Neglect of Payment; so that they received from me 6500 *Tabel*, 2166l. 13s. 4d. Sterling; which was about six times as much as the *Cadogan* paid, which was the largest *English* Ship there, and measured a third more than mine. I soon after sold her for 2000 *Tabel*; which Money, and the rest of my Effects, were consigned to the *India* Company: And I prevailed with most of my Officers and Ship's Company to take their Passages in the *English* homeward-bound Ships.

It cannot be expected, considering the short Stay I made here, the bad State of Health I was in, and the Troubles I met with during that Space, I say, these Circumstances being considered, it cannot be expected, that I should be able to give any tolerable Account of this Place, from my own Observation; and, to copy others, would be inconsistent with the Design of this Work. I shall content myself therefore with observing, that, at the time I was there, the *English* had no settled Factory at *Canton*, but were only permitted to hire large Houses, or, as they are called in the Language of the Country, *Hongs*, with convenient Ware-houses adjoining, to receive their Goods before they are shipped off; and, when this is done, they pay the Proprietors their Rent, and take other Warehouses, if they think proper, the next time they have Occasion for them. The Business I had to transact kept me, notwithstanding the utmost Diligence I could use, in a constant Hurry, till the Ships were ready to depart, which was in *December* 1721; at which time, heartily tired of the Country, and the Usage I had met with, I failed in the *Cadogan*, Captain *John Hill*, in Company with the *Francis*, Captain *Newsham*, who, sailing better than we did, left us as soon as we got out to Sea. Captain *Hill*, finding his Ship very tender, put into *Batavia*, to bring her into a better Trim. At *Batavia* we continued about ten Days; but I can give no particular Description of this Place, being, at that time, not able to stand on my Legs, and was abroad but twice in a Coach to take the Air two or three Miles out of the City; in which little Tour we had a great Variety of very beautiful Prospects of fine Country-seats and Gardens: And indeed every thing round us carried a Shew of the greatest Industry. As to the City itself, the Buildings are, in general, very handsome, which form very regular Streets, having Canals running through most of them, with Trees planted on each Side of them; so that this City may be justly called a fine Place. But, I confess, the Sight is the only Sense that is gratified here; for, when the Tide is low in the Canals, they smell very offensively, and breed great Numbers of *Mutkitoes*; which are more troublesome here, than ever I felt them in any other Part of the World. A great Part of the Inhabitants of *Batavia* are *Chinese*, who are remarkable there for wearing their antique *Chinese* Dress, with their Hair rolled up in such a manner, that there is no great Difference between the Mens Appearance and the Womens: Ever since the Revolution in *China*, the *Tartarian* Dress has been imposed upon the whole Kingdom, which was not effected without great Bloodshed; for many of the *Chinese* were so superstitiously fond of their old Modes, that they unaccountably chose the Loss of Life, rather than the Loss of their Hair, it being the *Tartarian* Custom to shave their Heads all over, except the Crown, from whence hangs a long Lock, which they plat in much such a manner as we

do a Thong. The *Dutch* have laid hold of this superstitious Folly of those *Chinese*, who live under their Protection, and exact from all the Men a Poll-tax, of a Dollar a Month, for the Liberty of wearing their Hair, which, if they contented themselves with a Dollar a Year, would amount to a considerable Revenue.

While we were at *Batavia*, Captain *Hill* was informed, that there were several Pirates in these Seas: He therefore joined the *Dutch* homeward-bound Fleet in *Bantam* Bay. The *Dutch* Commodore promised to assist Captain *Hill* in Wooding and Watering at *Mew* Island, the Water at *Batavia* being very bad. We met the *Francis*, in the Straights of *Sunda*, who, we imagined, had been a great Way ahead of us. Upon our joining Captain *Newsham*, the *Dutch* made it a Pretence to leave us before we had got the Length of *Mew* Island; and Captain *Newsham* also deserted us the same Evening; so that we were left by ourselves. We continued at *Mew* Island six or seven Days, during which time several Boats came from *Prince's* Island, and brought us Turtle, Cocoa-nut, Pine-apples, and other Fruits: Some of these informed us, that there had been two or three Ships at this Island a few Days before us, which gave us some Uneasiness, not knowing what they could be: Some of the People, having seen some wild Cattle grazing near the Island, went on shore to kill them; but, before they had advanced near enough, they discovered a small Tyger, and a Track of an old one, upon which they retired to the Boat. From *Mew* Island we had a very pleasant Passage to and about the Cape of *Good Hope*, which, in my Opinion, was greatly owing to Captain *Hill's* good Conduct, in coming in with the Land betimes; I mean, upon the Easternmost Part of the Bank, and keeping a moderate Distance from the Land; I cannot be positive, but I think we never exceeded a Degree, generally less, and sometimes even made the Land. The three Voyages I have been this Way, I had the good Fortune of being with Gentlemen who proceeded in the same manner as Captain *Hill* did, and with the like Success. The small Experience of my own before, and an Instance or two in this last Passage, makes me of Opinion, that there is too much Caution used in coming in with the Land in Soundings; for it is known, that the severest Gales in this Part reign from the North-west to the South-west, the first Quarter blows off from the Land, and the other is a bold Wind on the Coast; and it is certain, that the Wind out of the Sea has scarce ever been observed to blow strong for any time, and never home to the Shore. This I have been informed of, both by *English* and *Dutchmen*, of greater Experience than myself in those Part of the World. I don't remember, that in all the time we were approaching the Cape of *Good Hope*, we took in our Top sails above once for a Squall, which was over in an Hour's time; and another time, being threatened by the Appearance of bad Weather, Captain *Hill* made all the requisite Preparations to receive it; which done, he stood in for the Land, under Hopes of avoiding the seemingly approaching Storm; and he was undoubtedly right in his Judgment; for, in a few Hours, we had fair Weather, a favourable Gale, and all our small Sails set; and, at the same time, there remained a great Appearance of foul Weather to the Southward, and so continued to do for several Days afterwards. This I should not have observed, did not what I am going to relate evidently demonstrate, that it blows hard Westerly some Distance from the Land, when you have fair Weather nearer the Shore. I have observed before, that the *Francis*, and *Dutch* Ships, had seven Days Advantage of us, by leaving us in the Straights of *Sunda*; notwithstanding which, we gained the Cape as many Days before the *Francis*, did, altho', at the same time, she failed very considerably better than we; and, as to the *Dutch* Ships, there was no Shew of their Arrival when we left the Cape. The Officers of our Ship, by comparing their Accounts with some of the Gentlemen belonging to the *Francis*, found that she had suffered a great deal of bad Weather; whilst we, who were within ten Leagues, or thereabouts, to the Northward of them, or nearer Shore, enjoyed fine pleasant Weather, and fair Wind, continually, till we arrived in *Table Bay*, which we did the latter End of *March* 1722. This I should think of sufficient Weight to induce others to pursue

the same Track. We found here Governor *Beun*, in the *London East Indiaman*, and others, bound for *England*. From the Cape of *Good Hope* we had an agreeable Passage to *St. Helena*, and from thence to *England*. We made the Land's End the latter End of *July*, and, being come into the *British* Chanel, met with brisk Gales from the Western Quarters, with thick foggy Weather. The 20th, in the Evening, we anchored under *Dungeness's* and, the same Night, some of the Supercargoes and Passengers, and myself, hired a small Vessel to carry us to *Dover*, where we arrived early the next Morning, and, the same Day, proceeded towards *London*, where we arrived the 1st of *August* following. Thus ended a long fatiguing Voyage, of three Years, seven Months, and eleven Days, after having sailed considerably more than round the Circumference of the Globe; and having undergone a great Variety of Troubles and Hardships, both by Sea and Land, and made some Discoveries, which, it is hoped, are worthy the Notice of the Curious.

31. As we have been obliged to take up a great deal of Room in giving the Reader the History of this Voyage, we shall be as succinct as possible in our Remarks upon it, though there are many Things which might justly a fuller and more copious Criticism on the Captain's Conduct. It is very clear, from the Whole of this Relation, that the Captain's Work was intended to be what we have represented it, viz. An Apology for his own Behaviour; which was occasioned by a Law-suit commenced by the Proprietors against him upon his Return home. This created a great Noise in the World, and People gave their Opinions very freely, without, perhaps, entering into the Merits of the Cause. Captain *Shelcocke*, therefore, wrote this Book to bring the Affair before the Public, and to leave, for the Judgment of Posterity, his State of his own Case. It must be confessed, that he has put it into a very fair Light, and shewn a great deal of Skill and Address in finishing, to the very utmost, such Parts of the Picture as are likely to strike the Reader most, and to give him strong Impressions in the Captain's Favour. Such are the Mutinies that fell out in the Beginning of the Voyage; the tedious, troublesome, and melancholy Sojournments in the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; the Diligence, Skill, and Care, he shewed in getting a Bark framed out of the Wreck, and carrying off in it such a Body of People, almost against their Consent, at least without their Assistance; and many more, which the Reader will easily discern, without my pointing them out. But Captain *Betagh*, being returned from the *Spanish West Indies*, thought it requisite, for his own Justification, to attack Captain *Shelcocke's* Account almost in every Part of it, as we have already shewn, in which Remarks tend to support a Charge which falls naturally under the three following Heads:

The first is, that the Disputes which happened amongst the Crew were of his own contriving and forwarding; in Proof of which, he alleges, that *Matthew Stewart*, who was at the Head of all these Mutinies, was absolutely *Shelcocke's* Creature. He takes notice likewise, that the seditious Temper of his Crew serves for a general Excuse for every wrong Step taken through the Voyage. It was an Attempt of his Men to return to *England*, that made him do many strange Things at first setting out. At *St. Catharine's*, he says, that they forced him to sign the Articles, or else they would have run away with the Ship. Going into *Chiloe*, he says, was the Men's Fault, when they narrowly escaped a Shipwreck. At going into *Concepcion*, a little to Leeward, he says the same. At *Juan Fernandez*, he says, they forced him to divide the Owners Money, and enter upon the new *Jamaica* Discharge. Upon meeting *Chipprian*, he says, it was his Men's Command a Confirmation of the first Articles with the Owners, after they had twice made new ones for themselves. When he left the four Men aboard the Bark, who they were murdered, he says, his People would not let them bring-to till the came up; yet it was these very Men, that professed themselves willing to obey him in every thing, when he put Captain *Hatley* on board the *Mercury*, and treated with Scorn the Objections made to his Conduct, though founded in a Desire of preserving them from the bad Effects of it: It was these Men, also, who thanked

him for their Preservation, some of them may might, with full as their Shipwreck; and that made him a Proud and obstinately perfit Captain they neither strange, and does it very inconsistent, a Credit? This, I say, ing; of the Justice of feet Cause.

The second Head o taken in the *Conception* of an *Escastra*. the Owners, but a *Francis* them, he durst trust to seems to speak a great expected from the C Book. It he really t End to the Claim of his taking of this large S in his own Notion right him no hurt? On the t, what Hopes could unless, notwithstanding satisfied they would n portant Point? The p Jealousy, that other M which may be added, the unfortunate Captain true Cause of his leas *Shelcocke*, and his Com original Articles, and, considered as Men acti in the Success, who had Rule of their Conduct.

The last, and by mu sation is, that of sacri manage his own Desigu on the sharing of Prizes ministration in lower H dorous in this Supporti think it incredible, it or shouly to the contrary sation for this very Heba *English* Captains capable racking to every honest to support this heavy C out of what became e put on board the *Speed* in *Shelcocke*, being in *Mr. Betagh*, there were *Catherine's*, before we *Andrew Padder*, chief M *Charles Turner*, Gunner *Sam Parson*, and *W* *George Hints*, and *Chor* shore near *Concepcion*, in three, *John Eady*, Mid *Boigne*, Marines. Sent *Steen*, *Simon Hatley*, *William Betagh*, Captai *Ensign*; *John Sprake*, *Southwain*; *Christopher* *Fort Cabb*, Sergeant o *Martin Hayden*, *Richard* *Thor*, Seamen; *John W* *Land*, Marines. Orde *Week's* Provision, a *the Coast*, eleven, *Jam* *Bevelins*, Midshipman; *on*, *Edward Oyling*, *Jo* *Sam Kitching*, *Richard* *Wandy*, Seamen. Left o *ann Indians*, *John Wisde* *John Riddelley*, *Edmund* *Weddy*, *John Robinson*, *Jacob Beviden*, Seamen.

him for their Preservation at *Juan Fernandez*; though, if some of them may be believed upon their Oaths, they might, with full as much Reason, have thanked him for their Shipwreck; and, after all, it was these very People that made him a Pretence of an Island in his Passage home, and obstinately persisted in calling it by the Name of a Captain they neither loved nor feared. Is not this very strange, and does it not prove, that these Accounts are very inconsistent, and, consequently, deserve no great Credit? This, I say, is Captain *Beagb's* way of Reasoning; of the Justice of which, the Reader will decide as he sees Cause.

The second Head of the Accusation is, as to the Money taken in the *Conception*, and sunk in the unaccountable Article of an *Escastra*. This was not only a Fraud upon the Owners, but a Fraud, that, after all his Quarrels with them, he durst trust to his whole Ship's Company, which seems to speak a greater Confidence in them, than might be expected from the Character given them in the Captain's Book. If he really thought the Loss of his Ship put an End to the Claim of his Proprietors, why did he conceal the taking of this large Sum of Money, since, if he believed his own Notion rightly founded, the owning it could do him no hurt? On the other hand, when he had concealed it, what Hopes could he have of its remaining a Secret, unless, notwithstanding all he has said of his Crew, he was satisfied they would not make any Discovery of this important Point? The passing over of which gives a great Jealousy, that other Matters are not very fairly stated. To which may be added, the palpable Miscalculations of the unfortunate Captain *Clipperton*, and the suppressing the true Cause of his leaving them; *viz.* because Captain *Shelvoeke*, and his Company, would not comply with their original Articles, and, consequently, were no longer to be considered as Men acting on the same Bottom with those in the *Success*, who had made these Articles the constant Rule of their Conduct.

The last, and by much the worst, Head of this Accusation is, that of sacrificing his People, that he might manage his own Designs more easily, gain greater Sums on the sharing of Prizes, and keep the Secrets of his Administration in fewer Hands. There is something so barbarous in this Supposition, that one would be tempted to think it incredible, if one had not Captain *Shelvoeke's* Authority to the contrary, who, by blaming Captain *Clipperton* for this very Behaviour, admits, that there are some English Captains capable of such things. A Circumstance shocking to every honest Mind. Captain *Beagb*, in order to support this heavy Charge, produces the following Account of what became of the People who were originally put on board the *Speedwel*, under the Command of Captain *Shelvoeke*, being in all 106 Men. Out of these, says Mr. *Beagb*, there were turned ashore, at *St. Iago* and *St. Catherine's*, before we got into the South Seas, eight, *Andrew Padder*, chief Mate; *Henry Chapman*, third Mate; *Charles Turner*, Gunner; *Hemy Hudson*, Boatwain; *William Parsons*, and *William Coon*, Boatwain's Mates; *George Hints*, and *Charles Perry*, Seamen. Commanded ashore near *Conception*, in *Chili*, where they were murdered, three, *John Eady*, Midshipman; *John Daley*, and *George Boigne*, Marines. Sent a cruising, to be taken Prisoners, fifteen, *Simon Hatley*, second Captain of the *Speedwel*; *William Beagb*, Captain of Marines; *Gilbert Hamilton*, Ensign; *John Sprake*, second Mate; *Nicolas Laming*, Boatwain; *Christopher Prejick*, Surgeon's first Mate; *Robert Cobbs*, Sergeant of Marines; *Matthew Appleton*, *Martin Hayden*, *Richard Bond*, *Richard Gloyns*, *John Pantler*, Seamen; *John Wilson*, *John Nicholson*, and *Thomas James*, Marines. Ordered on a Cruise, in a Bark, with one Week's Provision, and obliged then to surrender on the Coast, eleven, *James Hopkins*, third Mate; *Robert Williams*, Midshipman; *William Dolson*, *Thomas Wilkin*, *Edward Oving*, *John Bone*, *Charles Weatherly*, *William Kitching*, *Richard Cross*, *John Guatber*, and *John Sundry*, Seamen. Left on *Fernandez*, eleven, besides thirteen Indians, *John Wisdom*, *Joseph Mowro*, *William Blew*, *John Riddleclay*, *Edmund Hyces*, *Daniel Harzey*, *William Saddy*, *John Robinson*, *Thomas Hawkes*, *James Rose*, and *Jacob Bowden*, Seamen. Left in a Prize, and murdered,

four, *John Giles*, Sergeant of Marines; *John Enlin*, Seaman; *John Williams*, Marine; *George Chapple*, a Lad. Sent ashore, into the Hands of the Enemy, without a Hollarage, and never since heard of, six, *Edward Brook*, first Lieutenant; *William Tamly*, Midshipman; *Frederic Makenzie*, *Robert Bowman*, *Richard Philips*, and *John Poulton*, Seamen. Begged their Passage with *Clipperton*, to be freed from *Shelvoeke's* Tyranny, three, *James Hendrie*, Agent for the Owners; *Thomas Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines; and *William Morphew*, Midshipman. Died four, *Richard Arscott*, in the *Speedwel*; and *Edmund Philips*, in *Shelvoeke's* Bark; *William Campbell*, drowned, going round *Cape Horn*; and *Richard Hannab*, drowned, going to the Wreck of *Fernandez* Island. Deserted at *St. Catharine's*, three, *Abraham Dutour*, *Antony Wood*, and *William Leveret*. Staid on board the *Ruby*, at *St. Catharine's*, two, *William Muriner*, sailmaker; and *Laurence Lancelle*, of the Carpenter's Crew. Lost ashore at *Payta*, *Richard Bavin*. Deserted at *Cbiloe*, *Robert Morris*. In all seventy-three. Staid with *Shelvoeke*, and divided all, thirty three; which, taken together, makes the Total of the Ship's Company one hundred and six.

It is certain, that all these Instances are far enough from being positive Evidences of the Charge before-mentioned; but it must be at the same time allowed, that they are abundant Influences of Carelessness and Indifference: For, after an Officer had once met with such a Misfortune as losing a Part of his Crew, either by sending them on shore, or exposing them in Prizes, it ought to have rendered him excessively cautious for the future; more especially when Captain *Beagb* had told him, in the Face of his Men, that the true Deligh of putting him on board the *Mercury* was to get rid of him. Upon the Whole, the Affair had so insufferable an Aspect, and the Proprietors thought themselves so much injured by the Loss of all the Expences they had been at in fitting out these Ships, that they took every Method possible to embarrass and distress Captain *Shelvoeke* on his Return. He was, at the same time, attacked by the Spanish Minister, who presented to the late King *George I.* at *Hanover*, a Memorial, complaining of his attacking and taking a Spanish Ship worth 100,000 Pieces of Eight, in Breach of the Treaties between the two Crowns. But, after all, there does not seem to have been any just Foundation for this Complaint, the Spaniards themselves having being the Aggressors; and there is no Law so cruel as to oblige a Man to suffer his Crew to be killed, and his Ship beaten to Pieces, rather than dispute the Power of those, who are inclined to so barbarous an Action. The then Administration seem to have been sensible of this; for we do not find, that they directed any Prosecution against the Captain for this Conduct, as at that time they certainly would have done, if they had conceived him punishable by Law. As to the Disputes between him and his Owners, I know not how they ended; but, very probably, in a Way little satisfactory to either, since such Prosecutions as they carried on must have given Mr. *Shelvoeke* a great deal of Trouble, at the same time that they could not in the least contribute to the repairing of their Loss. The worst of it was, that the Issue of this Voyage gave the Public a bad Idea of all Expeditions to the South Sea, and induced many to suppose, that whatever Offers were made of that kind on the Disputes that happened afterwards between us and Spain, were calculated purely for the private Advantage of the Persons by whom they were propounded: And I doubt, that somewhat of this sort still prevails; for otherwise, surely something had been undertaken before this time by Privateers in the South Seas.

It cannot be denied, that this was, almost in every respect, an ill-conducted, as well as an unsuccessful Expedition; and yet, if we examine Things closely, we shall see, that there is no Reason to be discouraged by the Unluckiness of this Attempt. There is a Light, in which this Voyage may be viewed, that will afford quite another kind of Prospect. It is a Fact not to be controverted, that the *Speedwel* made her Voyage round *Cape Horn* into the South Seas, and took afterwards abundance of Prizes on the Coast of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, without the least Assistance from her Consort. This then furnishes us with the following Observations, that it is possible for a Ship of 200 Tons, with 100 stout Men

on board, under proper Officers, to make such an Expedition into these Seas, as may prove very advantageous to them, and to their Owners; for, according both to Captain *Shelbocke* and Captain *Betagh's* Account, the Expence of their Voyage, if prudently and honestly managed, could not have amounted to less than 50,000 *l.* If therefore we consider this Case as it is now stated, instead of frightening, it ought to encourage us to Undertakings of a like kind; for, if such a Ship, in indifferently manner, subject to perpetual Mutinies, and without any just Regard to the true Interests of the Voyage, could perform so much, and the principal Officers on board her come off so well, it is a natural Conclusion, that a Ship of the same Force, well manned, and properly commanded, might do much more, and return safe. If we suffer our Opinions to be governed purely by Events, we may come to fancy, that the greatest Naval

Power in the World can perform little by Sea, because, perhaps, some Instances may be given in some certain Period of Time, wherein something like this may have happened; but, alas! this is a very wild Way of Reasoning, and we may, with the same Justice, imagine, that, because a stout Man does not resent a Scratch on the Forehead in his Sleep, he could not avenge himself, if awake, upon the feeblest of his Enemies. To say the Truth, it is such Nations as these that keep us asleep. One such Expedition, as that of Captain *Rogers*, proves more in favour of our trading Ships to the South Seas, than ten such unlucky Adventures as this can prove against it; for these only shew, that, when Commanders disagree, and their Men become mutinous, Mistake follows upon Mistake, till all falls to Ruin; Which is a Lesson that may be learnt, without going to the South Seas; and therefore concludes nothing as to the Point in question.

SECTION XIX.

Captain BETAGH's Observations on the Country of Peru, and its Inhabitants, during his Captivity.

[By Way of APPENDIX to the former Section.]

1. The Reason of adding this Relation to the foregoing Voyage.
2. The Manner of the Captains Hatley and Betagh's being taken by the Spaniards.
3. Are sent to Lima.
4. Observations on the Pedlars, or Travelling Merchants, on that Road.
5. Arrival at Lima; and Captain Hatley's Misfortune there.
6. Condition of the English Prisoners in those Parts.
7. Description of the City of Lima.
8. Account of the Government of that City.
9. The excessive Gallantry of its Inhabitants.
10. Their public Devotion.
11. The backwardness of the Spaniards in making Discoveries in America.
12. The principal Mines in Chili and Peru.
13. The Manner of Working these Mines.
14. Some Remarks on their Product, and of its different Value at different Times.
15. Observations on the Trade of Chili.
16. A short History of the French Interlopers.
17. The Author's Return to England.

AFTER having given the Readers so much dry and unpleasent Matter from Captain *Betagh's* Book, I think it but Justice to him, and to myself, to extract, from the same Performance, what may serve to justify the Character I have already given this Work, and which, I really think, it deserves. The Time he lived among the Spaniards, and the Manner in which he was treated by them, gave him such an Opportunity of not only acquainting himself with their Manners and Customs, but with their Genius, and Maxims of Government, as no Englishman, of late Years, can pretend to; and the lively Manner, in which he tells his Story, gives it so much Beauty and Spirit, that, I think, I cannot do better, than to keep as near his own Words as possible. And, as to its finding a Place here, the principal Motive that determined me was, its coming in more naturally as a Supplement to Captain *Shelbocke's* Voyage, to which there are frequent References, than it would have done any where else.

2. It was, says he, in the Beginning of the ever-memorable Year 1720, and about the Middle of *March*, when Captain *Shelbocke* sent *Hatley*, and the rest of us, to seek our Fortunes in the Lighter called the *Mercury*. Himself, in the *Speedwel*, went to plunder the Village of *Payta*, where we might easily have joined him, had he imparted his Design to us. However, we had not cruised long in Sight of *Cape Blanco*, before we took a small Bark, with a good Parcel of Chocolate and Flour. There was an elderly Lady aboard, and a thin old Friar, whom we kept two or three Days; and, after taking out what we wanted, we discharged the Bark, and them together. Soon after this, we took the *Pink*, which *Shelbocke* calls the rich Prize. She had no Jealousy of our being an Enemy, but kept her Way, till, seeing the *Mercury* standing towards her, she began to suspect us. About Noon, she put the Helm hard-a-weather, and crowded all the Sail she could store the Wind; and, being in her Ballast, this was the best of her Sailing, which also proved the greatest Advantage they could give us; for, had she held her Wind, we, in our flat Bottom, could never have come up. About ten at Night, with rowing and hard sailing, we got within Shot of the Chace, and brought

her to, being pretty near the Shore. They were about twenty Perious aboard, thirty of whom were Negroes. *Hatley*, upon going aboard, left myself and *Prebble*, with four more Hands, in the *Mercury*, where we continued two or three Days, till an heavy Shower of Rain spoiled all our Bread, and other dry Provisions. It was then time for us to get aboard the Prize; which we did, sending three Hands to take care of the *Mercury*.

We stood on and on the said Cape seven or eight Days, expecting to meet the *Speedwel*; and there we met after the Spanish Captain, the Padre, and some Gentlemen Passengers: At last we spied a Sail plying to Windward. Not doubting it was the *Speedwel*, or the *Success*, we stood towards her, whilst she edging towards us, about ten in the Morning, we were got near enough to discover she was a Ship of War, as she proved, tho' neither of these we wished for. The Matter of our Prize had before informed us, that he met the *Brilliant* cruising for our Privateer, which, till now, we intirely disregarded. Upon this, Captain *Hatley* advising with me what to do, we concluded, that some Advantage might be made of the Information given us by the Spaniards; that, as the *Brilliant* had spoken so lately with the *Pink*, probably there would not be many Questions asked now: Upon which, *Hatley* and I dressed ourselves like Spaniards, and hoisted Spanish Colours, we confined our Prisoners in the great Cabin, suffering none of them but the Indians and Negroes to appear upon Deck, that the *Pink* might look as she did before: In which Contrivance we had succeeded, but for the Obstinacy of *John Sprake*, whom we could not keep off the Deck. As the Admiral came up, he fired a Gun to Leeward: Hereupon we lowered our Top-sail, making easy Sail till we got alongside of him: Their first Question was, It we had heard and thing of the English Privateer? We answered, No. The next was, How it happened we were got no farther in our Way to *Lima*? We answered, By reason of the Currents: They asked us two or three more Questions, which we did answer in Spanish. They seemed thoroughly satisfied, and were getting their Tacks aboard in order to leave us, when *Sprake*, and two or three more of our Men, appeared

appeared on the Main-deck, looking out their long Trowels, they are Englishmen, I should like to see of which *Hatley* was.

3. As soon as we all the English on board, the Prize was fired directly down upon us, and twenty Guns, and through; but, extraordinary Vessel, not Weight enough were in her escape. Spanish Commander, Ship, in which he intended gave Directions, that Country, to a Place, leave Mr. *Prebble*, the keep me Company: they were ordered to of four hundred Miles Misfortune to be done returning into those Seas and being to well up Cape *Erio* Business, Captain, a good Quantity about him. The De have that Affairs feared severely punished, was Danger. Here, there Captain *Hatley* for the pre I made on the Road, me up into the Count *Payta*, when, as I sh Place, I again rejoine

As the Weather . . .

too hot to permit P Day, the Custom is eight in the Morning, he had, wh I led my Fellow-trave Day-light lulled. I ol with Indian Plantation Side of us. This ch one hundred Miles bro along shore; for I was the *Cordelier* Mountain Ocean on the Right. the Soil is pleasant, and try as any in the Wor to carry Water for the Approach of Night often found myself th my Mule as often ende Hand; which proving me to throw the Reins as that was done, the Sands are often thick to be occasioned by t betated from the Mou at an old empty Hou which the Guide told *Payta*, for the Accom Viceroy of Peru, when his Government, and r ing we arrived at *Payta* situated on the Banks conducted us to the Ho and his Wife, who hav returned to *Payta*. In Town's-people flocked head of being stuck entertained with Respe fore to meet with. Our Name, was *Don Fernan* ters; upon the Sight of of receiving us, we ha

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appeared on the Main-deck; a *Frenchman* aboard the Admiral, looking out at the Mast-head, cried out, seeing their long Trowlers, *Par Dieu, Monsieur, ils font Anglois*; they are *Englishmen*: Upon this they immediately fired a Broadside into us, with round and Partridge-shot, by one of which *Hatley* was slightly wounded in the Leg.

3. As soon as we struck our Flag, the Enemy sent for all the *English* on board, and ordered two of their own Officers into the Prize. The *Spanish* Admiral then bore directly down upon the *Mercury*, and fired into her sides and twenty Guns at least, which bored her Sides through and through; but, such was the Construction of that extraordinary Vessel, that, though full of Water, there was not Weight enough to sink her, and the three Men who were in her escaped unhurt. Don *Pedro Miranda*, the *Spanish* Commander, ordered these three Men into his own Ship, in which he intended to sail to *Payta*: As for me, he gave Directions, that I should be sent forty Miles up the Country, to a Place called *Pura*; and was so kind as to leave Mr. *Preffick*, the Surgeon, and my Serjeant *Cobbs*, to keep me Company: As for Captain *Hatley*, and the rest, they were ordered to *Lima* by Land, which was a Journey of four hundred Miles; for that poor Gentleman had the Misfortune to be doubly under their Displeasure; first, for returning into those Seas after having been Prisoner so long, and being to well used amongst them; and next, for the *Cape Friso* Business, I mean the stripping the *Portuguese* Captain, a good Quantity of whose Mouldores were found about him. The Design of the Admiral, in this, was, to have that Affair searched to the Bottom, and the Guilty severely punished, without exposing the Innocent to any Danger. Here, therefore, I shall take my Leave of Captain *Hatley* for the present, and proceed to the Observations I made on the Road, as the Admiral was so good as to send me up into the Country till his Return from his Cruise to *Payta*, when, as I shall inform the Reader in its proper Place, I again rejoined him.

As the Weather in this Part of the World is much too hot to permit People to labour in the midst of the Day, the Custom is to travel from six in the Evening till eight in the Morning. My *Indian* Guide set me on the best Mule he had, which not caring to follow Company, I led my fellow-travellers the Way till ten o'Clock, while Day-light lasted. I observed the Country one open Plain, with *Indian* Plantations, regularly enough laid out on each Side of us. This champagne Country is from thirty to one hundred Miles broad, and extends three hundred Miles along shore; for I was moving to the Southward, having the *Coracier* Mountains on the Left Hand, and the great Ocean on the Right. If this Land was well watered, as the Soil is pleasant and fertile, it might be as fine a Country as any in the World; but Travellers are here obliged to carry Water for their Mules, as well as themselves. At the Approach of Night we were puzzled in the Way; I often found myself stopped by great Hills of Sand, and my Mule as often endeavoured to pull the Reins out of my Hand; which proving troublesome, the *Indian* advised me to throw the Reins on the Mule's Neck; and, as soon as that was done, the Creature easily hit the Way. These Sands are often shifted from Place to Place, which I take to be occasioned by the strong Eddies of Wind reverberated from the Mountains. At Night we rested a little at an old empty House in a Coppice, about half Way, which the Guide told us was built by the Inhabitants of *Pura*, for the Accommodation of the Prince *St. Bueno*, Viceroy of *Peru*, when they met him at his Entrance on his Government, and regaled him. At seven in the Morning we arrived at *Pura*, being an handsome regular Town, situated on the Banks of the River *Collan*. The *Indian* conducted us to the House of an honest *Spanish* Gentleman, and his Wife, who having received his Charge, the Guide returned to *Payta*. In a Quarter of an Hour's time, the Town's-people flocked in to see the *Karee*-shew; and, instead of being used like Prisoners at Discretion, we were entertained with Respect and Civility, which we were not sure to meet with. Our Landlord, I should say, Keeper's Name, was *Don Jeronimo Baldivieso*: He had five Daughters; upon the Sight of whom, and their beneficent way of receiving us, we hoped our Time would slide easily

away, and our Captivity prove no-way disagreeable. I began now to be sensible of the Admiral's Favour, in ordering us to this Place; for he had such Interest in all the Kingdom of *Peru*, that, for his sake, we found very good Treatment. After we had refreshed ourselves, according to the Custom of the Place, with Chocolate, Biscuit, and Water, we were diverted with the Sound of a *Welsh* Harp in some inner Apartment: The Artist had good Command of it; for I heard Parts of several famous *Italian* as well as *English* Compositions; and, upon inquiring, found, that all the honest *Spaniard's* Daughters had learned Music, and sung or played upon some Instrument or other. Though, at first, this seemed a little unaccountable to us, yet I afterwards found, that Music was common in *Peru*; for the *Italian* Party having a few Years before prevailed at the Court of *Madrid*, the last Viceroy, Prince *St. Bueno*, who was an *Italian*, had brought a great many Musicians of that Country along with him, which has now spread Music every-where; and it is as good in *Peru*, as in *Old Spain*. I rather take notice of this, because, by our being Lovers of Music, and behaving peaceably and civilly to the Inhabitants, we passed our Time very quietly and cheerfully, being exposed only to one Inconvenience, which lasted so long as we remained here: This was, the daily assembling of the People to stare at us, which myself, and my Serjeant *Cobbs*, bore pretty well; for, being used to exercise in Public, we could turn to the Right and Left without being much incommoded: But our Companion Mr. *Preffick*, being a graver Man, at first hung down his Head, and was very melancholy; but, by degrees, he grew better acquainted with the People, and found Reason to like them to well, that, when we were to remove, we had much to do to make him change his Quarters.

4. Almost all the Commodities of *Europe* are distributed through the *Spanish* America by a Sort of Pedlars or Merchants, on Foot, who come from *Panama* to *Payta* by Sea, and, in their Road from the last mentioned Port, make *Pura* their first Stage to *Lima*, disposing of their Goods, and lessening their Burdens, as they go along. Some take the Road through *Caxamarca*, others through *Truxillo*, along shore from *Lima*: They take their Passage back to *Panama* by Sea, and perhaps carry a little Cargo of Brandy with them: At *Panama* they again stock themselves with *European* Goods, returning by Sea to *Payta*, where they are put on shore; there they hire Mules, and load them, the *Indians* going with them, in order to bring them back; and to these Traders keep in a continual Round, till they have got enough to live on. Their travelling Expenses are next to nothing; for the *Indians* are brought under such Subjection, that they find Lodging for them, and Provender for their Mules: This every white Face may command, being a Homage the poor *Indians* are long accustomed to pay; and some think they have an Honour done into the Bargain, except, out of Generosity, they now and-then meet with a small Recompence. In the *British* and *French* Nations, a Pedlar is despised, and his Employment looked upon as a mean Shift to get a Living; but it is otherwise here, where the quick Return of Money is a sufficient Excuse for the Manner of getting it; and there are many Gentlemen in *Old Spain*, who, when their Circumstances in Life are declining, send their Sons to the *Indies* to retrieve their Fortune this way: Our Lodging was in an Out-house purposely for these travelling Merchants. According to the *Spanish* Custom, we had our Dinner sent to the Table under Cover, where *Don Jeronimo* and we eat together, while the good Lady of the House, and her Daughters, sat together in another Room. This is the Practice at all Meals; and, if any strong Liquors are drank, it is then. In all our Conduct, I think the good *Spaniard* was never disobliged, except once, when he saw me drinking a Dram with the Doctor at a little Victualling-house. As nothing is more disagreeable to the *Spaniards* than Drunkenness, I had much ado to make Amends for this Step towards it; though they admit of Gallantry in the utmost Excess; so that it is only changing one Enormity for another. After we had passed about six Weeks at *Pura*, our *Indian* Guide came again to conduct us to *Payta*, the Man of War being returned. When we were

upon the point of taking Leave, our Surgeon was missing, which retarded us a Day longer. They had concealed him in the Town, and designed to keep him there, as he was a very useful Man; and if he could have had a small Chest of Medicines, he might soon have made a handsome Fortune. However, the next Day we mounted our Mules, and parted with great Reluctance, especially with our kind Host *Don Jeronimo*, and his Family. We went aboard the *Brilliant* at *Payta*, which, having done nothing at Sea, made a sort of cruising Voyage to *Calao*, the Port of *Lima*. The Civility I received from the Admiral or General of the South Seas, as he is there called, is what I have already mentioned. I shall here only add one Circumstance to the Honour of *Monfieur de Grange*, a Captain under the General. As soon as we were taken by the *Brilliant*, as aforesaid, this Gentleman, seeing the Soldiers had stripped us, being the Conquerors useful Perquisites in all these Cases, he generously gave me an handsome Suit of Cloaths, two Pair of silk Stockings, a Hat, Wig, Shirts, and every thing according; so that instead of suffering, I was, in reality a Gainer by this Accident.

5. Our Voyage to *Lima* took up about five Weeks; and, as soon as we arrived there, we were immediately sent to the same Prison in which the Ship's Company were confined, who were sent hither before us, Mr. *Hatley* only excepted; who, for the Reasons before-mentioned, was confined by himself, and very roughly treated. In a short time after our Arrival, Commissioners were appointed to hear our Cause, and to determine, whether we should be treated as Criminals or as Prisoners of War: The Reason of this was, the Charge brought against us for Piracy, not for what we had done in the South Seas, or, at least, not for that only, but upon a Supposition, that we plundered the *Spaniards* there, because none but *Spaniards* were to be met with, having used the like Violence, as their Charge set forth, against other Nations, before our Arrival in these Seas: Which would have shewn a piratical Disposition through our whole Conduct. And of this they thought they had probable Proof, since, by the *Moidores* found upon *Hatley*, it appeared they were taken from the Subjects of a Prince in perfect Amity with the Crown of *England*: But, it was happy for us, that the Viceroy, *Don Diego Morfillo*, who was an Archbishop, and in the Decline of Life, was pleased coolly to discriminate the Affair, and, finding really but one of us guilty, would not sign any Order for shedding innocent Blood: As for *Hatley*, some were for sending him to the Mines for Life, others for hanging him; but the several Accounts of Captain *Shelvoeke's* vile Proceedings contributed to his Deliverance, the Truth of which here were enough of our People at *Lima* to witness; for, besides Lieutenant *Serjeantson*, and his Men, who were brought hither, came the Men who *Shelvoeke* sent with *Hopkins* to shift for themselves in a poor empty Bark, who, for want of Sufenance, was forced to surrender to the *Indians*; so that the Court believing *Shelvoeke* more a Principal in that piratical Act than *Hatley*, and supposing we had been plagued enough before we came hither, they thought fit to let us all go by degrees: *Hatley* indeed was kept in Irons about a Twelvemonth, and then was allowed to return to *England*. I was much more happy in this respect, since my Imprisonment lasted but a Fortnight; which was owing to the Interposition of Captain *Pitzgerald*, a Gentleman born in *France*, who had a great Interest with the Viceroy, and who, upon his becoming Security for me, permitted me to have the Liberty of the City, provided I was always forthcoming when I was called for. As I was now pretty much at Ease, I began to look about me, and to inform myself of what was passing in this Part of the World.

6. Among the first of my Inquiries, was that after the Condition of other *English* Prisoners, in the Place; and, upon asking for Mr. *Serjeantson*, and his Men, who were here before us, I understood, that most of them had taken up the Religion of the Country, had been christened, and were dispersed among the Convents in the City. The first that I saw, had got his new Catechism in one Hand, and a Pair of large Beads dangling in the other. I smiled, and ask'd the Fellow. How he liked it. He said, very well; for, having his Religion to chuse, he thought theirs better than none,

since it brought him good Meat and Drink, and a quiet Life. Many of *Shelvoeke's* Men followed this Example; and I may venture to say, this was a good Reason as most of our People could give for their occasional Conformity. It is here reckoned very meritorious to make a Convert, and many Arguments were used for that End, yet was there no Rigour shewn to bring any of us over. Those who thought fit to be baptized, had generally some of the Merchants of *Lima* for their Padrons or Godfathers, who never failed giving their Godchildren a Suit of Cloaths, and some Money, to drink their Healths. About this time, four or five of *Clipperton's* Men, and as many of *Shelvoeke's*, got Leave from their Convents to meet together at a Publick house kept by one *John Bell*, an *Englishman*, who had a Negro Wife, that, for some Services or other, had got her Freedom. The Design of this Meeting, was to confirm their new Baptism with a Bowl of Punch: The Consequence of which was, they all got drunk, and quarrelled; and, forgetting they were true Catholics, mistook an Image of some honest Saint, that stood in a Corner, for one of their own Company, knocked him down, and demolished him. I, missing the Fellows for a few Days, inquired at *John's* House what was become of them: He told me the Story, and said, they were all put in the Inquisition; for, the thing having taken Air, he was obliged to complain of it, or go thither himself; but promised, that, underhand, he would endeavour to get them released; which, I found afterwards, was done in five Days, so that they had time to repent, and be sober. *Bell* said, if the Men had still remained Heretics, this Drunken-bout had not come within the Verge of the Ecclesiastical Power; but, being Novices, and just admitted into the Church, they were the easier pardoned, as their Outrage upon the Saint was no Proof of their Relapse into Error, or an Affront to the Catholic Faith, since done when they were all disordered in Liqueur. At length, about a dozen Men in both our Ships, being well instructed, were discharged from the Cloysters, and sent to *Calao*, to help to careen and fit out the *Flying Jib*, then designed for *Europe*: Here they entered into a Project to run away with the *Margarita*, a pretty sailing Ship, that lay in the Harbour, and go upon the Account for themselves, which differs nothing from Piracy; but, not knowing what to do for Ammunition, and a Company, they applied to Mr. *Serjeantson*, telling him, they had a Design to steal away by Land to *Panama*, where, being an *English* Factory, they might have a Chance to get home, that they had got half a dozen Firelocks, with which they might kill wild Hogs, or get some Game, as they went along, if he would be so kind as to help them to a little Powder and Shot, and a Compass to steer their Way through the Woods. The Fellows, by begging, and making Catholic Signs to the good People at *Lima*, that they were poor *English* newly baptized, had got together some Dollars, which they desired *Serjeantson* to lay out, who, not mistrusting the Plot, took their Money, and bought them what they wanted. Thus furnished, one of them came to me at *Lima*, and said, there was an Opportunity offered to make my Fortune, by running away with the *Margarita* at *Calao*, if I would embrace it: Whereupon he told me the Story, and that *Sprake* was to have the Command, as being the only Artist among them. I answered, that it was a bold Design; but, as Captain *Pitzgerald* had engaged for my Honour, I was obliged not to meddle with it. In a few Days the Plot was discovered, that Lodgings were searched, their Arms taken away, and they put in Prison. The Government was greatly provoked, and had near determined their Execution, when an Order came to release all but *Sprake*, who, being the Proprietor, was kept in Irons two or three Months, and then set at Liberty. If this shews the restless enterprising Temper of our Seamen, it proves, at the same time, that the *Spaniards* in *Peru* are by no means so cruel, either in Religion or State Prosecutions, as in *Europe*; though I am inclined to think, that the Conversion of these People, such as it was, operated greatly in their Favour: It may be a so, that they were some way influenced by Fear, since the *English* Privateers were still upon the Coast; and, in case they had received Intelligence of these People being severely dealt with,

Book I.

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with, might have revenged it on some of their Prisoners. But it is to little Purpose to employ one's Thoughts in attempting to discover the Motives of an Act of Spanish Policy, since, whatever those Motives were, the Act in itself was compassionate and good.

7. The Dominions, which the Spaniards possess in America, are so large, and so valuable, that there is no Doubt, if they were properly governed, they might render that Monarchy equally formidable in Europe, and the Indies. The long Stay I made in Peru, the present State of which there are few Opportunities of knowing in this Part of the World, afforded me the Means of examining with Leisure and Attention their Manner of Living, the Form of their Government, the Nature of their Amusements and Diversions, which, in this Country, take place of Business, and furnished me with many Opportunities of inquiring into those Things very minutely, which did not fall immediately under my Observation as an Eye-witness: And of these I shall endeavour to give the Reader as clear, as distinct, and as accurate an Account, as is in my Power, with the greatest Regard to Truth, and constantly distinguishing between what I tell immediately under my Knowledge, and what was derived to me by the Information of others. This was certainly the best Use I could make of that Leisure I enjoyed, while a Prisoner in the Hands of the Spaniards; and may possibly contribute more to the Service of my Country, than if I had employed myself in Privateering on the Coast. I shall begin with the Description of the Place, where I spent most Part of my Time, and which, as it is the Centre of the Spanish Government in these Parts, enabled me to gain a greater Insight into their Affairs, than if I had passed my Days in any of their Ports, or in an inland City, less frequented. The Liberty I was allowed, and the kind Usage I received, made this still the more easy; and therefore it may be depended upon, that what I offer the World is a fair and genuine Representation of Matters of Fact, and not a fine spun Story, framed from Conjecture and Hear-say. If, after all, the wide Difference between the Manners of these People and those in the Northern Part of Europe, should give it an Air of Extravagance, I must desire the Reader to reflect, that this is not owing to me, but to the Subject. A Man, who undertakes to describe Things he has seen, must describe them as they are, without Regard to the Appearance they may make in the Eyes of others. But to come to the Point: The great and rich City of Lima is the Metropolis of Peru, and the Seat of an Archbishop. It is a regular-built City, the Streets all straight and spacious; so that you go through it any Way, without turning a Corner. It is composed of little Squares, like of *Lyon*, the Capital of *Cebils*; which was copied from this. It stands in an open Vale, having only a gentle Stream to water it, and which divides it, as the *Tamesis* does *London* from *Southwark*, allowing for the great Disproportion. The Port of Lima is at *Callao*, seven Miles below it. The Houses are only one Story high, of twelve or fourteen Feet, because of the frequent Earthquakes in that Country. There are about eight Parishes, three Colleges for Students, twenty-eight Monasteries of Friars, and thirteen Monasteries of Nuns; so that the Religious take up a fourth Part of the City. However, by the quick Flow of Money, and the vast Sums requeathed, being the Effects of Cehibac, they are all well endowed and supported; besides which, there are two Hospitals for the Sick, Poor, and Disabled, and where several of our Men were kindly looked after. The Length of the City, from North to South, is two Miles, the Breadth one and an half, the Wall, with the River, making a Circumference of six Miles. On the East Part of the Stream lies the other Part of the City, being joined by a very handsome Stone Bridge of eleven Arches. I computed that there were 60 or 70,000 Persons in Lima, all Sexes and Colours included; and I do not wonder at any Multiplication in a City, which is the Centre of so much Affluence and Pleasure; for, besides the natural Increase of the Inhabitants, all Ships that trade that Way, whether private or public, generally leave some Detesters, who chuse to stay behind, from the Encouragement all white Faces meet with. Of all Parts of the World, the People here are most expensive in their Habit. The Men dress as they do in England, their Coats being either of Silk, or fine English

Cloth, and Hair Camlets, embroidered, or laced with Gold and Silver; and their Waistcoats commonly the best Brocades. The Women never wear Hoops or Stays, only a stitched Holland Jacket next their Shifts. They generally throw over their Shoulders a square Piece of Swan-skin Flannel, intirely covered with Flanders Lace; besides the Silver or Gold Lace round the Petticoat. When they walk out, the Creolian Women are veiled, but not the Mulatto; and, till the Age of thirty or forty, they wear no Head-cloaths, their Hair being tied behind with fine Ribbands: But the Pride of the Sex appears chiefly in *Meeblin* and *Brussels* Lace, with which they trim their Linen in a most extravagant Manner, not omitting their Sheets and Pillows, besides the outward Covering of the Mantle aforesaid. Their Linen is doubly bordered with it, Top and Bottom, with Ruffles of four or five Furbelows hanging down to the Knee. Then, as to Pearls and precious Stones, which they wear in Rings, and Bracelets for the Neck and Arms, they are very extravagant, though the Value is hardly equal to the Shew they make.

8. The Viceroy has an handsome Palace in the great Quadrangle of the City, which I take to be near as large as *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, *London*. His Salary is ten thousand Pounds a Year; and his Perquisites double that Sum: And though his Government expires at three, four or five Years End, as the King pleases, yet, it is supposed, he makes a good Fortune for Life; for he has all Places in his Gift, both in the Government and Army, throughout Peru, except particular Persons are sent or nominated by the King. The judicial Court consists of twelve Judges, not to mention the inferior Officers, Counsel, and Solicitors: Here all Causes should come to be decided, but they are too often determined beforehand in Favour of the Party who gives most Money; and though these vast Dominions abound in Riches, yet there is not abundance of Work for the Lawyers, because the Statutes are few and plain, which is certainly happier than a Multitude of Laws explaining one another, till they are so intricate, that the Issue of a Cause depends more upon the Craft of a Solicitor and Advocate, than the Truth of the Case. Besides all this, a Multiplication of Laws begets an Infinity of Attorneys and Counsellors, who live high and great upon the Distresses of other People, and as often argue a Man out of his Right as into it. These Hardships are past retrieving; because every Magistrate knows his Reign to be but short, and, if he don't make a Fortune he is laughed at; so that they wink one at another; and the great Distance between Peru and Spain, is a Reason the King's Orders are seldom regarded, being two Years going backward and forward; whence arise many clandestine Doings; for, according to Law, the King should have a twentieth Part of the Gold, and a fifth Part of all Silver; but there are vast Quantities that never pay Duty, carried privately over the Continent the North Way, as well as the South, by trading Ships; and tho' there are prodigious Sums allowed for the Militia, Garrisons, and Repairs of Fortifications, yet it is not One-half applied: From all which it is easy to imagine, what immense Revenues would come to the Treasury at *Madrid*, if his Catholic Majesty was but faithfully served.

The Country in Peru is naturally subject to Earthquakes; at Lima they had two great ones about fifty Years ago, which overturned Houses, Churches, and Convents; and, in the Reign of *Charles II.* the late King of Spain, there was an Earthquake near the Equinoctial Line, that lifted up whole Fields, and carried them several Miles off: Small Shocks are often felt without doing any Harm; and I have been two or three times called out of Bed when such a thing has happened, tho' we have heard no more of it; but, upon these Occasions, the Bells always toll to Prayers. Notwithstanding this Country, especially nigh the Coast, has suffered much by Earthquakes, yet their Churches are lofty enough, and neatly built: That Part of their Architecture, which requires most Strength, is generally finished with burnt Bricks; but their Houses are all built with Bambo, Canes, and Bricks, dried only by the Weather, which are durable enough, because it never rains: The Covering is a Matting with Althes upon it, to keep out the Dews, which is all the Wet they have. The small River of Lima is mostly Snow-water, descending from the neighbouring

Mountains, which are covered all the Year with Snow, but partly dissolved in the Summer Season, which is from *September* to *March*. One would expect it much hotter thereabouts than it is, there being no Proportion between the Heat of this Climate in *America*, and the same Degree of Latitude in *Africa*: For which there are two Reasons; the one is the cool Temper of the Air, proceeding from the congealed Snow on the Mountains, which diffuses itself every Way; the other is the Humidity of the Vapours, which hang over the Plains, and which are so frequent, that, when I came first to *Lima*, I often expected it would rain. These Vapours are not so coarse, low, and gloomy, as our Fogs; nor separated above, like our Summer Clouds; but an Exhalation between both being spread all round, as when we say the Day is overcast: So that sometimes a fine Dew is felt upon the outward Garments, and discerned by the Eye upon the Knap of the Cloth. This is an happy Convenience at *Lima*, the People being thus screened One half of the Day from the Sun; and, tho' the Afternoon be Sun-shine, 'tis very tolerable, being mixed with the Sea Breezes, and not near so hot as at *Lisbon*, and some Parts of *Spain* in *Europe*, which are thirty Degrees further from the Equator. The want of Rain in this Part of the Continent obliged the poor *Indians*, before the Conquest, to make Drains and Canals, for bringing down Water from among the distant Mountains; which they have done with such great Labour and Skill, that the Valleys are properly refreshed, producing Grains, Corn, and Variety of Fruits, to which the aforesaid Dews may also a little contribute; and therefore this shews, that there is no judging from Circumstances, whether a Country be habitable or not, since, in this respect, nothing would seem more conclusive, than the absolute want of Rain. A *Spanish* Historian has given us the natural Cause of this perpetual Drought: He observes, that the South-west Winds blow upon the *Peruvian* Coast all the Year round, and the Ocean is therefore called *Pacific*, because the Winds never disturb the Waters: These ealy Gales always bear away the Vapours from the Plains, before they can rise, and form a Body sufficient to descend in a Shower; but, when they are carried farther and higher, they grow more compact, and at length fall, by their own Weight, into Rain. They have Plenty of Cattle, Fowl, and Fish, and all Provision common with us, except Butter, instead of which they always use Lard; they have Oil, Wine, and Brandy enough, though not so good as in *Europe*. They drink much of the Jesuits Herb Camini, brought from *Paraguay* by Land; for all *East India* Tea is forbid: They make a Decoction of it, and tuck it thro' a Pipe; it is generally here called *Mattea*, being the Name of the Bowl out of which they drink it. Chocolate is their usual Breakfast, and a Grace-cup after Dinner; sometimes they drink a Glass of Brandy for Digestion, but scarce any Wine at all. In the Kingdom of *Chili* they make a little Butter, such as it is; and their way of doing it is remarkable: The Cream is put into a Sheep-skin, and kept on purpose for that Use; two Women lay it on a Table, and shake it between them, till it comes.

9. The *Spaniards* are no Friends to the Bottle; yet Gallantry and Intrigue are here brought to Perfection; for they devote so much of their Time to the Service of the Fair Sex, that it is unmanly not to have a Mistress, and scandalous not to keep her well. As for the Women, they have many Accomplishments, both natural and acquired; their Conversation is free and sprightly, their Motion graceful, their Looks winning, and their Words engaging: They have all a delicate Shape, not injured with stiff-bodied Stays, but left to the Beauty of Nature; so that there is no such thing as a crooked Body among them. Their Eyes and Teeth are particularly excellent; and their Hair, being generally of a dark polished Hue, is finely combed, and platted and tied behind with Ribbands, but never disguised with Powder; for the Brightness of their Skins round the Temples appears very well shaded through the Hair, like Light through a Landkip. Tho' Amours are universal at *Lima*, yet the Men are careful enough to hide them; for no indecent Word or Action is allowed in public: They have two Seasons for these Entertainments; one is at the *Scysa*, or Afternoon's Nap, which is commonly with the Mistresses; the other is in the Evening, cross the Water,

in Calashes, or at the great Square in the Town, where the Calashes meet in great Numbers towards the Duke; these are slung like our Coaches, but smaller, and many of them fit only for two, sitting opposite: They are always drawn by one Mule, with the Negro Driver upon his Back, and it is usual, among those Calashes, to observe several of them with the Windows close up, standing still for half an Hour together. In these Amusements, they have several Customs peculiar to themselves: After Evening Prayers, the Gentleman changes his Dress from a Cloak into a Montero, or Jockey-coat, with a Linen laced Cap; and a Handkerchief about his Neck instead of a Wig: If he wears his Hair, it must be tucked under a Cap, and that flapt all down; so that it is an universal Fashion to be disguised some way or other; for those who have no Mistresses, are ashamed to be thought virtuous, and must be in some Mask or other to countenance the Way of the World. But, as all this is Night-work, they have an established Rule to prevent Quarrels, which is, never to speak or take Notice one of another, whether they are going in quest of, or visiting their Ladies; so that, in short, the Forepart of the Night is a Masquerade all the Year round. Among the Rank of People who do not keep Calashes, there are several Points to be observed, particularly when they take the Evening Air; one Couple never walks close upon the Heels of another; but, to prevent the publishing any secret Whispers, each Couple walks at the Distance of twelve Yards at least; and if any Lady drops a Fan, or any thing, by Accident, a Gentleman may civilly take it up; but he must not give it to the Lady, but the Gentleman who is with her; for she may be the Sister or Wife of him that takes it up; and, as the Women are all veiled, these wise Laws are invented to prevent any impertinent Discoveries. A Freedom of that kind is looked upon as the highest Air-front in all Gallantry, and merits a drawn Sword through the Liver: They are to be careful in these Rules, that if any Man sees his intimate Friend any-where with a Woman, he must in no wise take notice of him, or speak of it afterwards: Things of this Nature are all done with the greatest Gravity imaginable, and the Practice of Gallantry becomes, by this means, decent, soft, and easy: But, notwithstanding the Commerce of Love is here so regularly settled, yet there are Jealousies now-and-then subsisting, which sometimes have ended fatally. There was a Story of this sort pretty fresh when I was at *Lima*: A young Lady had for some time, as she thought, been the sole Sovereign of her Lover's Heart; but, by Chance, she found him in Company with another Woman; and, as our imitative observers have it, "Trilles, light as Air, are, to the Jealous, confirmations strong," she waited therefore no further Proof of his Infidelity, nor expected any Excuse for the Wrong done her; but suddenly drew his Dagger, and dispatched him. She was soon brought to Trial; and, when every one expected she would pay the Forfeit of her Life, her Judges gave it this Turn, that it was not Malice, but Excess of Love, that prompted her to the rash Deed: She was therefore acquitted; but some nice Casuists thought the blood, in Honour, have hanged herself. How agreeable were these Practices are to the *Creole Spaniards*, yet they cause an Inconvenience to Society; for the Men are to be kept taken up with these sorts of Matters, that the Women employ most of their Time, and spoil public Conversation. For this Reason, there are no Taverns or Coffee-houses, so that the Men are only to be met with at their Offices, or at Church. The same Inconvenience, in a greater or less Degree, attends this Propensity to Gallantry, where ever it prevails; and may be justly considered as the Bane of Industry, corrupting the Minds of both Sexes, and insinuating the Principles of Indolence and Debauchery.

10. It is chiefly owing to this effeminate disposition, that all manly Exercises, all useful Knowledge, and that noble Emulation, which inspires Virtue, and keeps alive Respect to the public Good, are unthought of here: For, as there is naturally a great Mixture of Phlegm and Stubbness in *Spanish* Constitutions, so whatever settles amongst them into a Custom, obtains the Force of an inviolable Law; and, however absurd, however contrary to Reason or Virtue, however noxious to Society, or fatal to private Peace, is not to be rooted out by Art or Force. The

Amusements, therefore the Industrious in our Vigour and Activity known in *Peru*; and them, would be confessed *Spaniards*, is a fright themselves to be conversary Conferences, are however, a sort of Pleasure and Students divert what Performances they mean, that they are hure Stories interwove worse, with Obscurity.

It was at this Theatre *Martinez's* Squadron, to *Lima*: They first exercise at the usual Wax, most of the Ceremonies, to bring by beat of Drum, in saluting the Spectator the Sword; so that, the Thing, the whole Some gave Gold, but the Company, Male ther, the Masters most Compliment, peculiar Hands before they stood upon their Guard out much Wrath or Meeting being more one of the Matters had small Hurt on the began to make the Company fearing, from Zeal of the Championceiving, till they were was late, unanimously *Enough, Enough* Sailors, finding this a with at Sea, humbly a Licence for another all the People, were that could never be less should kill one One cannot help officers, that the pulshew the Temper of of introducing, undements of a dejected time, they every-wh today, they mould thro into the lame Temp rived; and I dare fa as in *Peru*, we shou with Prize-fighting, nity with Labour or for the Love of Ple People.

11. A further In Spirit in the *Spaniards* to those Countries and bourhood of their vast the Assurances threasure richer, and of they have already ce Governors of *Mexico* and unanspiring Temp endeavouring to of sible of the Places bo tive Governments; is absolutely extingui shed of aiming at with plundering their old. The Regions *Mexico*, are known to and other rich Com decline their Conque

Amusements, therefore, that serve to relax the Labours of the Industrious in other Countries, and yet keep alive the Vigour and Activity of Body, and of Mind, are never known in *Peru*; and whoever should attempt to introduce them, would be considered as an Innovator, which, among *Spaniards*, is a frightful Thing: Nor would they suffer themselves to be convinced, that martial Exercises, or literary Conferences, are preferable to Intrigues. They have, however, a sort of Playhouse, where the young Gentlemen and Students divert themselves after their Fashion; for what Performances they have in the Dramatical Way are so mean, that they are hardly worth mentioning, being Scripture Stories interwoven with Romances, and, which is still worse, with Obscenity.

It was at this Theatre, that two *Englishmen*, of Monsieur *Martinet's* Squadron, fought a Prize a little before I came to *Lima*: They first obtained Leave of the Viceroy to exercise at the usual Weapons; and, after the Shew-day was fixed, most of the Time was taken up with preparatory Ceremonies, to bring, as we phrase it, an House; preceded by beat of Drum, in their *Holland* Shirts and Ribbands, saluting the Spectators at the Windows with a Flourish of the Sword; so that, by the extraordinary gallant manner of the Thing, the whole City came to see the Trial of Skill: Some gave Gold, but very few less than a Dollar: When the Company, Male and Female, were close packed together, the Masters mounted the Stage; and, after the usual Compliment, peculiar to the *English* Nation, of shaking Hands before they fight, they retired in great Order, and stood upon their Guard. Several Bouts were played without much Wrath or Damage; but the Design of this Meeting being more to get Money, than Cuts or Credit, one of the Masters had the seasonable Fortune to receive a small Hurt on the Breast, which, having blooded his Shirt, began to make the Combat look terrible; upon which the Company fearing, from such a dreadful Beginning, that the Zeal of the Champions might grow too warm, and conceiving, till they were reconciled, no Man in the House was safe, unanimously cried out *Basta, Basta*, which signifies *Enough, Enough*; and so the House broke up. The Sailors, finding this a better Prize than any they ever met with at Sea, humbly besought his Excellency to grant them a Licence for another Trial of Skill; but the Viceroy, and all the People, were against it, from a religious Objection that could never be got over; and that was, lest the Fellows should kill one another, and die without Absolution. One cannot help observing, when so fair an Opportunity offers, that the public Diversions of any Place always shew the Temper of a People; whence appears the Danger of introducing, under the Notion of Elegance, the Amusements of a dejected or an effeminate Nation, because, in time, they every where produce the same Effects; that is to say, they mould those, amongst whom they are introduced, into the same Temper with those from whom they are derived; and I dare say, if Gallantry prevailed here as much as in *Peru*, we should soon grow as much out of Love with Prize-fighting, and with whatever else had any Affinity with Labour or Danger, as they: So natural it is, for the Love of Pleasure to dastardize the very bravest People.

11. A further Instance we have of this Deficiency of Spirit in the *Spaniards*, from their Carelessness with respect to those Countries and Islands yet undiscovered, in the Neighbourhood of their vast Dominions in *America*; notwithstanding the Assurance they have had, that some of these Countries are richer, and of much greater Consequence, than those they have already conquered or settled. The first *Spanish* Governors of *Mexico* and *Peru* were not of this indolent and uninspiring Temper; but bestowed great Care and Pains in endeavouring to obtain the most perfect Knowledge possible of the Places bordering upon those under their respective Governments; but now that generous Thirst of Fame is absolutely extinguished, and the *Spanish* Governors, instead of aiming at new Discoveries, content themselves with plundering their Fellow-subjects, that are settled in the old. The Regions which lie North of the Kingdom of *Mexico*, are known to abound with Silver, precious Stones, and other rich Commodities; yet the *Spaniards* not only decline their Conquest on that Side, but discourage, as

much as they can, the Reports spread of the Wealth and Value of those Countries. Upon the same Principles; they give no sort of Encouragement to attempt penetrating into the Heart of *South America*, whence the best Part of the Riches of *Peru* is known to come; the Mountains, which are at the Back of the Country, being extremely rich in Gold; and the Regions on the other Side towards the North Seas, known to be inhabited by Nations that have abundance of that valuable Metal; though, for fear of being oppressed by the *Europeans*, they conceal it as much as possible. If this proceeded from a Maxim of true Policy, viz. that of being content when they have enough, and applying themselves to govern well what they already possess, it would be extremely commendable, and would certainly contribute to the Safety, Peace, and Continuance of their Empire in those Parts. But while it appears plainly, from the Conduct of their Viceroy and other Officers, that they have nothing in View but accumulating Wealth, at the Expence of those they should protect, it is natural for the People to wish, that they would apply themselves to Discoveries, which would afford the Governors means of making their Fortunes, without distressing such as are already Subjects to the Crown of *Spain*.

But, of all the Discoveries that have ever been talked of amongst the *Spaniards*, that which has made the most Noise, is the Island or Islands of *Solomon*. These are supposed to be the same with those discovered by the famous *Ferdinand de Quiros*: He reported them to be excessively rich, as well as extremely populous; and desired, by repeated Memorials, that he might be authorized, by the Crown of *Spain*, to proceed in, and finish that Discovery; but, as all his Instances were neglected, in the Space of a few Years it became a Question, whether there really were any such Islands or not; and the Treating this Matter as a Romance, was, for some time, a political Maxim with the Viceroy of *Peru*; and perhaps, by degrees, the very wisest People in *America* would have been brought over to this Opinion; but it so happened, that, towards the latter End of the last Century, such Discoveries were made as to the Reality of these Islands, that *Don Alvaro de Miranda* was sent in the Year 1695, upon discovering them, in which he miscarried; but, in the Search, met with four Islands, between 7 and 10° of South Latitude, wonderfully rich and pleasant; the Inhabitants of which were a better looking People, and far more civilized, than any of the *Indians* upon the Continent. This occasioned a good deal of Discourse at that time; but the Disturbances that followed soon after, took up Peoples Thoughts to such a degree, that all Hopes of finding, or even endeavouring to find, these happy Islands, were intirely laid aside.

Yet, while I was in *Peru*, this Attempt was renewed again, though to very little Purpose, by an odd Accident. Before I enter upon this, I must be obliged to say something of the Person employed in the Discovery: Amongst the rest of the *French* Traders or Interlopers, that were destroyed by *Martinet's* Squadron, there was one *Mr. Thayer*, with whom I was well acquainted at *Lima*, who lost all his Effects; But even this hard Usage could not drive him out of *Peru*; he came thither to make a Fortune, and he did not, by any means, care to return home a Beggar. He had formerly commanded several good Ships, and was an expert Artificer. He offered his Service to the Government, and this Offer of his was very kindly received. The first Affair of Importance in which he was employed, was an Expedition to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to find there the Bottle, with the Instructions, which Captain *Clipperton* left behind him for Captain *Sbelvocke*, when, in pursuance of his Instructions, he touched at that Island, and cruised in its Neighbourhood for a Month. Of this the Viceroy was informed by one of *Clipperton's* Men, that was taken Prisoner; which Information immediately produced a Resolution to send for those Instructions, in order to prevent the *English* Privateers from joining; and a more proper Man for such an Expedition could not have been found than *Mr. Thayer*, who, in point of Ingenuity and Practice, was a much more capable Man than most in the *Spanish* Service. This Circumstance of sending for the Bottle is the most authentic Testimony that can possibly be expected of the Truth of *Thayer's* Journal, and the History already given of *Clipperton's*

per's Proceedings. I might add, that it is as direct a Refutation of all that Captain *Shelvoeke* has advanced upon this Subject; so that it is impossible for any Man, who considers it, to believe what he charges Captain *Clipperton* with to be true; or to dream, that it ever was the Intention of *Clipperton* to desert *Shelvoeke*. It might also be observed, that the latter does not so much as pretend to have left any Instructions for *Clipperton*, in case he should come to any of the Places where *Shelvoeke* had touched; the Inference from which is very easy.

While Mr. *Tbaylet* was gone upon his Cruise, a Spanish Ship arrived at *Calao*, the Master of which reported, that being driven out of his Course, he had made the Islands of *Solomon*. This occasioned much Discourse on that Subject, and the comparing all the different Accounts that had been given of these Islands, and their Inhabitants, which appeared to clear, to probable, and well connected, as scarce to leave any Doubt of the Veracity of such as pretended to have made this Discovery. In the Midst of the Discourses raised by this Accident, another Ship arrived, with the like Account, attended with Circumstances, which rendered it evident, that there could not be any Fraud or Collusion in the Case; but that both had, by pure Accident, been driven upon the same Island. This was very lucky for Mr. *Tbaylet*, since, while he was employed in one Expedition, another was thus unexpectedly provided for him. On his Return with the Instructions, and the two Men who deserted there, the Viceroy, willing to encourage him, thought of this short Expedition for him in the same Vessel, being an English Ketch of about sixty Ton, and in which he had served Captain *Martinez* as a Tender; for the Intelligence he had received of *Solomon's* Island made his Excellency curious to pursue the Discovery. He therefore ordered the Ketch to be fitted out for two Months, under *Tbaylet's* Command; who accordingly sailed into 10° South, in which Latitude the Island was said to lie. He cruised thereabouts till his Provision was very high expended, and returned, without Success. However, as the same Account came by two different Ships, who touched there, the Spaniards verily believe there is such a Place; for the Men reported, that the Natives, as to their Persons and Behaviour, were much like the Indians on the Continent; that they had Gold and Silver Things among them; but that their Language was strange and unintelligible. The Reason why Mr. *Tbaylet* could not meet with *Solomon's* Island, might be from the Uncertainty of the Latitude, and his Inability of making further Search, being provided only for two Months; for I have been informed in *London*, that the said Island or Islands lie more Southerly in the *Pacific Ocean*, than where they are laid down in the *Dutch Maps*; and the two Spaniards, who had been there, were only small trading Vessels, carried thither by irregular Currents; and could give no certain Account of the Latitude, because they kept no Reckoning. And thus ended all Thoughts of prosecuting this Discovery at that time.

12. As the Riches of *Peru* consist chiefly in their Silver Mines, I shall endeavour to treat of these, not only from my own Experience, but from the best Lights I have been able to derive from the strictest Inquiry I had in my Power to make from others. There are two Sorts of Silver Mines, the one where Silver is found scattered about in small Quantities; the other, where it runs in a Vein between two Rocks, the one excessively hard, and the other much softer: And it is these last, which best deserve, and are generally distinguished by, the Name of Silver Mines. This precious Metal, which is, in other Countries, the Standard or Measure of Riches, is, in *Peru*, the Riches of the Country, considered in another Light, I mean that of a natural Commodity; for, throughout the Whole of that vast Country, there are almost every-where Silver Mines to be met with, of more or less Value, according as the Ore produces more or less Silver, and can be wrought at a greater or less Expence. There are some, but not a great many, Mines to the Northward of *Lama*; but, to the South, they are very numerous. On the Back of the *Andes*, there lies a Nation of Indians, called *les Plateos*, or the *Plate men*, from the vast Quantities they possess of Silver; but the Spaniards have very little Communication with them. The best part of the Mine countries are to the South of *Cuzco*, from thence

to *Potosi*, and so to the Frontiers of *Chili*; and where, for the Space of 300 Miles, there is a continued Succession of Mines, some being discovered, and others deserted, every Day.

It is a common thing for the People here, as well as elsewhere, to complain of the present Times, and commend the past, as if heretofore there were infinitely greater Quantities of Silver dug out of the Mines than at present. And, perhaps, with regard to particular Mines, it may be so; but, upon the Whole, doubtless the Quantities of Silver that are annually obtained in the Spanish West Indies abundantly exceed what were formerly exported from thence. As to the Names of those, which have been most remarkable, or are so at present, in the Country of *Peru*, they are these; *viz.* the Mines of *Loxa* and *Camora*, *Cuenca*, *Paria Vieja*, *St. Juan del Oro*: These are wrought at present. Those of *Oruro* and *Titiri* are neglected. Those of *Poro* and *Plata* filled up. At *Potosi* there are a great Number of Mines. And those of *Tomina*, *Cboata*, *Atacama*, *Xava*, the *Calbaques*, *Gualco*, *Iquique*, &c. are all wrought with more or less Profit; and this according to the Skill of their Proprietors, or of such as have the Direction of these Works. It is generally believed, and there seems to be some Reason for it, that Experience has taught the Creolians here a perfect Acquaintance with Minerals, and the Art of treating them, so as to obtain the largest Profit. But, however, when one considers their Ignorance in other Arts, their going on constantly in the same beaten Track in this, together with their vast Waste of Quicksilver, one is almost tempted to believe, that our European Miners might manage their Works to still greater Advantages. This seems the more probable, when one reflects, that this Knowledge of them is not at all founded upon Principles, but is, properly speaking, an Art built upon accidental Discoveries, in which there is little of Accuracy, and abundance of Uncertainty, which will be more evident to the Reader, when he has perused and considered the following Account of the Manner, in which the Silver is extracted from the Ore at the Mines.

The most perfect Silver that comes from thence, is in that Form which the Spaniards call *Pinna*, which is a Lump of Silver extremely porous, because it is the Remainder of a Paste, made of Silver-dust and Mercury; and the latter being exhaled, leaves this Remainder of the Mafs spongy, full of Holes, and light. It is this kind of Silver that is put into different Forms by the Merchants, in order to cheat the King of his Duty, though that is but very inconsiderable, and therefore all Silver in this Condition, if found any-where on the Road, or on board any Ship, is looked upon as contraband Goods, and is liable to Seizure. In regard to the Art of Refining, therefore, I am to shew the Progress of the Ore from the Mine to this kind of Mafs or Cake: After having broken the Stone taken out of the Vein of Ore, they grind it in their Mills with Grind Stones, or in the *Ingenios Ruales*, or Royal Engines, which consist of Hammers or Pounders, like the *French* Plaster mills. They have generally a Wheel of about twenty-five or thirty Feet Diameter, whose long Axle-tree is set with upright Triangles, which, as they turn, hook or lay hold of the Iron Hammers, lit them up to a certain Height, from whence they drop at once at every Turn; they generally weigh about 200 Weight, and fall so violently, that they crush and reduce the hardest Stones to Powder by their Weight alone. They afterwards sift that Powder through Iron or Copper Sieves, to take away the finest, and return the rest to the Mill. When the Ore happens to be mixed with some Metals, which obstruct its falling to Powder, as Copper, then they calcine that in an Oven, and pound it over again.

In the little Mines, where they use none but Mills with Grind Stones, they, for the most part, grind the Ore with Water, which makes a liquid Mud, that runs into a Receiver; whereas, when it is ground dry, it must be afterwards steeped, and well moulded together with the best for a long time. To this Purpose they make a Court or Floor, where they dispose that Mud in square Pieces about a Foot thick, each of them containing half a *Cason* or Chest, that is, twenty-five Quintals, or 100 Weight of Ore; and these they call *Carpas*, that is, Bodies. On each of these

they throw about 200 or less, according to mould, and incorporate Days. Then they take silver, squeezing a Piece put it, to make it fall the Body or Mafs of Quality of the Ore, or twenty Pounds; to requires to draw to know not the Quantity is employed to many times a Day, to the e with the Silver. To it, when the Ore happens to be used; for they they neither find Me incredible. Sometimes of Tin-ore, to facilitate which is slower in vererate; for which Re often obliged to mou a Month and an half the Amalgama is made.

To facilitate the Operation, as at *Puno* and Floors on Arches, un Powder of the Ore, fo of Bricks. When it attracted all the Silver each Parcel apart, with wooden Bowl; and at the Bottom of the Effect: For, when it ed; and then they say they, that then t or flies away. If the under the Thumb, and is amongst it remains Mercury slips away in they perceive, that all Ore to a Basin, into to wash it, much in t wash the Gold, except out Stones, instead of with his Feet, to disse into a second, where to dissolve it thorough second it passes into a the end that what ha and second, may not

When all has been they find at the botto Leather, the Mercury they call *Capella*. It is for some of the Quick beat and press it as m it, with flat Pieces o out as much as they of wooden Planks, w form the Figure of a Bottom whereof is a C they stir, in order to make many *Pinna*s, various Weights, the ers of Earth, which End the *Pella* or M thirds for the Mercu in a small Matter, take off the Mould, Copper Base, on a t ing over a great ear with an earthen Cap with lighted Coals; that the Mafs may g is in it evaporate in Passage out, it circ Mafs and Cap, or Water that is unde

they throw about 200 Weight of Sea or common Salt, more or less, according to the Nature of the Ore, which they mould, and incorporate with the Earth for two or three Days. Then they add to it a certain Quantity of Quick-silver, squeezing a Purle made of a Skin, into which they put it, to make it fall in Drops, with which they sprinkle the Body of Mafs equally, according to the Nature and Quality of the Ore. They allow to each Mafs ten, fifteen, or twenty Pounds; for, the richer it is, the more Mercury it requires to draw to it the Silver it contains: So that they know not the Quantity, but by long Experience. An *Indian* is employed to mould one of these square Parcels eight times a Day, to the end that the Mercury may incorporate with the Silver. To that Effect they often mix Lime with it, when the Ore happens to be greasy, where Caution is to be used; for they say, it sometimes grows so hot, that they neither find Mercury nor Silver in it; which seems incredible. Sometimes they also strew among it some Lead or Tin ore, to facilitate the Operation of the Mercury, which is slower in very cold Weather, than when it is temperate; for which Reason at *Potosi* and *Lipes*, they are often obliged to mould the Ore during a whole Month, or a Month and an half: But, in more temperate Climates, the Amalgama is made in eight or ten Days.

To facilitate the Operation of the Mercury, they in some Places, as at *Puno* and elsewhere, make their *Busterons* or Floors on Arches, under which they keep Fires, to heat the Powder of the Ore, for twenty-four Hours, on a Pavement of Bricks. When it is thought, that the Mercury has extracted all the Silver, the Assayer takes a little Ore from each Parcel apart, which he washes in a little earthen Plate, or wooden Bowl; and, by the Colour of the Mercury found at the Bottom of the Bowl, knows whether it has had its Effect: For, when it is blackish, the Ore is too much heated; and then they add more Salt, or some other Drug. They say, that then the Mercury *dispara*, that is, shoots or flies away. If the Mercury is white, they put a Drop under the Thumb, and, pressing it hastily, the Silver there is amongst it remains sticking to the Thumb; and the Mercury slips away in little Drops. In Conclusion, when they perceive, that all the Silver is gathered, they carry the Ore to a *Bafon*, into which a little Stream of Water runs, to wash it, much in the same Nature as I shall then they wash the Gold, excepting that this being only a Mud without Stones, instead of an Hook to stir it, an *Indian* stirs it with his Feet, to dissolve it. From the first *Bafon* it falls into a second, where another *Indian* is, who stirs it again, to dissolve it thoroughly, and loosen the Silver. From the second it passes into a third, where the same is repeated, to the end that what has not sunk to the Bottom of the first and second, may not escape the third.

When all has been washed, and the Water runs clear, they find at the bottom of the *Bafons*, which are lined with Leather, the Mercury incorporated with the Silver; which they call *Lapella*. It is put into a wollen Bag, hanging up, for some of the Quick-silver to drain through. They bind, beat and press it as much as they can, laying a Weight upon it, with flat Pieces of Wood; and, when they have got out as much as they can, they put the Paste into a Mould of wooden Planks, which, being bound together, generally form the Figure of an Octagon Pyramid, cut short, the Bottom whereof is a Copper-plate, full of little Holes. There they stir, in order to fasten it; and, when they design to make many *Pinnas*, as they call them, that is, Lumps of various Weights, they divide them with little Beds or Layers of Earth, which hinder their coming together. To that end the *Pella* or Mafs must be weighed, deducting two-thirds for the Mercury that is in it; and they know, within a small Matter, what net Silver there is. They then take off the Mould, and place the *Pinna* or Mafs, with its Copper Base, on a *Trivet*, or such-like Instrument, hanging over a great earthen Vessel full of Water, and cover it with an earthen Cap or Covering, which they again cover with lighted Coals; which Fire they feed for some Hours, that the Mafs may grow violent hot, and the Mercury that is in it evaporate in Smoke; but that Smoke having no Passage out, it circulates in the Hollow that is between the Mafs and Cap, or Covering, till, coming down to the Water that is underneath, it condenses, and links to the

Bottom again, converted into Quick-silver. Thus, little of it is lost; and the same serves several times: But the Quantity must be increased, because it grows weak. However, they formerly consumed at *Potosi* 6 or 7000 Quintals or hundred Weight of Quick-silver every Year, as *Acosta* writes; by which a Judgment may be made of the Silver they got.

When the Mercury is evaporated, there remains nothing, but a spongy Lump of contiguous Grains of Silver, very light, and almost mouldering, which the *Spaniards* call *la Pinna*; and is, as I observed, a contraband Commodity from the Mines, because, by the Laws of the Kingdom, they are obliged to carry it to the King's Receipt, or to the Mint, to pay the fifth to his Majesty there. Those Masses are cast into Ingots, on which the Arms of the Crown are stamped, as also that of the Place where they were cast, their Weight and Quality, with the Fineness of the Silver to answer the Measure of all Things, according to an ancient Philosopher. It is always certain, that the Ingots, which have paid the fifth, have no Fraud in them; but it is not so with the *Pinnas* or Masses not cast. Those who make them, often convey into the Middle of them Iron, Sand, and other Things to increase the Weight; so that, in Prudence, they ought to be opened, and made red-hot at the Fire, for the more certainty; for if falsified, the Fire will either turn it black, or yellow, or melt it more easily. This Trial is also to extract a Moisture they contract in Places where they are laid on purpose to make them the heavier. In short, their Weight may be increased one-third by dipping them in Water when they are red-hot, as also by separating the Mercury, with which the Bottom of the Mafs is always more impregnated than the Top. It also sometimes happens, that the same Mafs is of different Fineness. The Stones taken from the Mines, the Ore, or, to speak in the Language of *Peru*, the *Mineray*, from which the Silver is extracted, is not always of the same Nature, Consistence, or Colour. There are some white and grey, mixed with red or bluish Spots, which is called *Plata Blanca*, or white Silver. The Mines of *Lipes* are most of them of this sort. For the most part there appear some little Grains of Silver, and very often small Branches extending along the Layers of the Stone. There are some, on the other hand, as black as the Dross of Iron, in which the Silver does not appear, called *Negrillo*, that is, blackish. Sometimes it is black with Lead, for which Reason it is called *Plomo ronco*, that is course Lead, in which the Silver appears as if scratched with something that is harsh; and it is generally the richest, and got with least Charge, because, instead of moulding it with Quick-silver, it is melted in Furnaces, where the Lead evaporates by dint of Fire, and leaves the Silver pure and clean.

From that Sort of Mines the *Indians* drew their Silver, because, having no Use of Mercury, as the *Europeans* have, they only wrought those whose Ore would melt; and, having but little Wood, they heated their Furnaces with Ylo, and the Dung of Llamas, or Sheep, and other Beasts, exposing them on the Mountains, that the Wind might keep the Fire fierce. This is all the Secret the *Historians* of *Peru* speak of, as of something wonderful. There is another sort of Ore like this, as black, and in which the Silver does not appear at all; on the contrary, if it be wetted, and rubbed against Iron, it turns red; for which Reason it is called *Rosiller*, signifying the Ruddyness of the Dawn of the Day. This is very rich, and affords the finest Silver. There is some that glitters like Tale or Jinglys; this is generally naught, and yields little Silver; the Name of it is *Zorabe*; the Peel, which is of a yellowish Red, is very soft, and broken in Bits, but seldom rich; and the Mines of it are wrought on account of the easiness of getting the Ore: There is some green, not much harder than the last, called *Cobrillo*, or copperish; it is very rare: However, though the Silver generally appears in it, and it is almost mouldering, it is the hardest to be managed, that is, to have the Silver extracted from it; sometimes, after being ground, it must be burnt in the Fire, and several other Methods used to separate it; doubtless, because it is mixed with Copper. Lastly, there is another Sort of very rare Ore, which has been found at *Petzsi*, only in the Mine of *Cotamiso*, being Threads of pure Silver, intangled

or wound up together like burnt Lace, so fine, that they called it *Arana*, Spider, from its Resemblance to a Cobweb.

The Veins of Mines, of what Sort soever they be, are generally richer in the Middle, than towards the Edges; and, when two Veins happen to cross one another, the Place where they meet is always very rich. It is also observed, that those which lie North and South, are richer than those which lie any other Way. Those which are near Places where Mills can be erected, and that are more commodiously wrought, are often preferable to the richer, that require more Expence; which is the Reason, that, at *Lipes*, and at *Potosi*, a Chest of Ore must yield ten Marks, of eight Ounces each Mark, of Silver, to pay the prime Charges: and, at those of the Province of *Tarama*, five pay them. When they are rich, and sink downwards, they are subject to be flooded; and then they must have recourse to Pumps and Machines, or else drain them by those they call *Cocabones*, being Passages made in the Side of the Mountain for the Water to run out at; which often ruin the Owners, by the excessive Expence they insensibly draw them into. There are other ways of separating the Silver from the Stones that confine it, and from the other Metals that are mixed with it, by Fire, or strong separating Waters, made use of at some Mines, where other Means fail, and where they make a sort of Ingots, which they call *Bollos*; but the most general and useful Method is to make *Pinnas* or *Masses*, above-mentioned, which are preferred to other Forms, on account of their easiness in making, and that they save Fire, and other Ingredients; which is a thing of great Consequence in Works of this Nature, where, to save in the Expence, has the same Effect as finding the Mine.

It is very natural to suppose, that, in Mines, as well as other Things, there happen great Variations in their Products, and in the Value of the Product. The Mines which very lately yielded most Silver, are those of *Oruro*, a little Town eighty Leagues from *Arica*. In the Year 1712. one so rich was found at *Ollathea*, near *Cusco*, that it yielded 2500 Marks, of eight Ounces each, out of every Chest, that is almost one fifth Part of the Ore; but it has declined much, and is now reckoned but among the ordinary Sort. Next to these are those at *Lipes*, which have had the same Fate. Lastly, those at *Potosi* yield but little, and cause a vast Expence by reason of their great Depth. But, notwithstanding the Mines here are far diminished in their Product, yet the Quantity of Ore that has been already wrought, and lain many Years upon the Surface, is thought capable to yield a second Crop; and, when I was at *Lima*, they were actually turning it up, and new-milling it, with great Success; which is a Proof, that these Minerals generate in the Earth like all other inanimate Things; and it is likewise certain, from all Accounts of the *Spaniards*, that Gold and Silver, as well as other Metals, are continually growing and forming themselves in the Earth. This Opinion is verified by Experience in the Mountain of *Potosi*, where several Mines have fallen in, and buried the Workmen, with their Tools; after some Years, they have dug the same Place, and discovered many Bones, and Pieces of Wood, with Veins of Silver actually running through them. These Mines belong to him who first discovers them: He immediately presents a Petition to the Magistrates to have such a Piece of Earth for his own; which is no sooner done than granted: They measure eighty *Spanish* Yards in Length, and forty over, which is about 1200 Foot in Length, and 100 in Breadth, and yield it to the Discoverer, who chuses what Space he thinks fit, and does what he pleases with it. Then they measure just the same Quantity for the King, which is sold to the best Bidder, there being many who are willing to purchase a Treasure which may prove inestimable. If any other Person has a mind to work Part of the Mine himself, he bargains with the Proprietor for a particular Vein. All that such an one digs out is his own, paying the King's Duty, which is for Gold a 20th Part, and for Silver a 5th; and some Landlords find such an Account in letting out their Ground, and their Mills, that they live upon the Profit.

At *Copiapo* there are Gold Mines just beyond the Town, and all about the Country likewise, which have brought many Purchasers and Workmen thither, to the great Damage of the *Indians*, for the *Spanish* Magistrates take away not only their Lands, but their Horses, which they sell to the new Proprietors, under Pretence of serving the King, and improving the Settlements: There is also a great deal of Magnet and Lapis Lazuli, which the *Indians* know not the Value of: And, some Leagues in the Country, there is plenty of Salt and Saltpetre, which often lies an Inch thick on the Ground. About an hundred Miles East, upon the *Cordelier* Mountains, there is a Vein of Sulphur two Feet wide, so fine and pure, that it needs no cleaning. This Part of the Country is full of all Sorts of Mines; but, in other respects, is so barren, that the Natives fetch all their Subsistence from *Coquimbo*, and that Way, being a mere Desert for 300 Miles together; and the Earth abounds so much with Salt and Sulphur, that the Mules often perish for want of Grass and Sweet Water. There is but one River in 200 Miles, which the *Indians* call *Amalulac*, or *Hypocrite*, because it runs only from Sun-rise to Sun-set: This is occasioned from the great Quantity of Snow melted from the *Cordeliers* in the Day time, which freezes again at Night, where the Cold is often so great the People's Features are quite distorted. Hence *Cobis* takes its Name, *Cobis* signifying Cold in the *Indian* Language; and we are certainly informed by the *Spanish* Historians, that some of their Countrymen, and others, who first traded this Way, died still with Cold upon their Mules; for which Reason the Road is now always lower towards the Coast.

The Mine Countries are all so cold and barren, that the Inhabitants get most of their Provision from the Coast; this is caused by the Salts and Sulphurs exhaled from the Earth, which destroy the Seed of all Vegetables. The *Spaniards* who live thereabout, find them so stinking, that they drink often of the *Maittea*, to moisten their Mouths. The Mules, that trip it nimbly over the Mountains, are forced to walk gently about the Mines, and stop often to fetch Breath. If these Vapours are so strong without, what must they be within the Mine itself, where it a fresh Man goes, he is suddenly benumbed with Pain? And this is the Case of many an one; but this Distemper seldom lasts above a Day, and they are not so affected a second time; but Vapours have often burst out so furiously, that Workmen have been killed on the Spot, so that one way or other Multitudes of *Indians* die in their Calling. An Observation occurs here to my Memory, that upon the Road to *Pura*, at Night, when we lay down to sleep, our Mules went eagerly to search for a certain Root, not unlike a Parsnep, though much bigger, which affords a great deal of Juice, and, in such a sandy Plain, often serves instead of Water: But when the Mules are very thirsty, and they cannot easily rake up the Root with their Feet, they will stand over it and bray, till the *Indians* come to their Assistance. One would wonder, that, throughout all this Part of the World, that Portion of the Country should be best inhabited which is most barren and unwholesome, while those Spots, that seem to vie with Paradise itself for Beauty and Fertility, are but thinly peopled. Yet, when one considers, that it is not the Love of Ease, but the Lust of Wealth, that draws People thither, the Difficulty is very easily resolved; and we see at once, how much the Hopes of Living rich, gets the better of the Hopes of Living; as if the sole End, for which a Man was created, was to acquire Wealth, at the Expence of Health and Happiness.

It is generally understood, that Silver is the peculiar Wealth of *Peru*; and the *Spaniards* usually talk, as to Gold Mines, of those that are to be found in *Cobis*; but, notwithstanding this, there are one or two Washing-places for Gold in the South Part of *Peru*, near the Frontiers of *Cobis*. About the Year 1709. there were two surprising large Lumps of Virgin Gold found in one of these Places, one of which weighed thirty-two Pounds complete, and was purchased by the Count de *Monclod*, then Viceroy of *Peru*, and presented to the King of *Spain*; the other was shaped somewhat like an Ox's Heart; it weighed twenty-two Pounds and an half, and was bought by the Corregidor of *Arica*.

Arica They find their dig in the Corners of kens, they judge the carrying away the N and keep turning it u When they are come Stream another Way Earth they carry upo together by small Chan of Water, to loosen away. The *Indians* out all the Stones, th a black Sand, and har and separated, which places differ; for, in third-thoe; and in on *paraiso*, some were fo Pound and an half W much better than fro Crows, Mills, or Quic Expence are much lea in washing their Gold. Plenty makes them r ticks.

It would be ne scription of the large E already done by many to give such a Represe der to comprehend the which it is connected by which the Wealth re. It is in Length Miles, the Breadth of temperate and wholes petillential Exhalations quakes, to which this ter Rains, during the *August*, are excessively together, they have, ge Soil is prodigiously fer- such Fruit trees as are the greatest Perfection ward all the Year; and that Situation, which that is to say, with Bl Apples, and ripe Fruit where-ever they have- dure; and the Hills are useful in Physic. Th ever; kind of Use; Gold Mines, *Cobis* m richest and finest Coun there are some Places ting the warmest Lima Town of *Coquimbo*, at the Sea, standing on Yards high, which Na racter, North and Sou a Mile, turning at ea Street makes a delig the Country round it, sweetly placed in a V. River, which, taking flows through the Vale to the Sea.

But notwithstanding ty is very thinly inha whole Extent, there that Appellation, an *Lago*; throughout all they call *Esfancias*, fo whole Country, as I h cannot raise 20,000 V larly St. *Lago* 2000; and *Indians*, whose N without including tl *Biobio*, who are recko delity, however, is a Trade of this Country Vol. I.

To find these Lavadores, or Washing-places, they dig in the Corners of a little Brook, where, by certain Tokens, they judge the Grains of Gold to lie. To assist in carrying away the Mud, they let a fresh Stream into it, and keep turning it up, that the Current may send it along. When they are come to the Golden Sand, they turn off the Stream another Way, and dig with Mattocks; and this Earth they carry upon Mules to certain Balcons, joined together by small Channels; into these they let a smart Stream of Water, to loosen the Earth, and carry all the gross Part away. The Indians standing in the Balcons, and throwing out all the Stones, the Gold at Bottom is still mixed with a black Sand, and hardly to be seen, till it be farther cleared and separated, which is easily done. But these Washing-places differ; for, in some, there are Gold Grains as big as Bird-shot; and in one, belonging to the Priests near *Valparaiso*, some were found, from two or three Ounces to a Pound and an half Weight. This Way of getting Gold is much better than from the Mines; here is no need of Iron Crows, Mills, or Quick-silver; so that both the Trouble and Expence are much less. The Creolians are not so curious in washing their Gold, as the People in *Europe*; but great Plenty makes them careless in that and many other Articles.

It would be needless to attempt in this Place a Description of the large Kingdom of *Chili*, because it has been already done by many Authors: All that is designed here, is to give such a Representation of it, as may enable the Reader to comprehend the Nature of its Trade, the Manner in which it is connected with the general Commerce of *Peru*, by which the Wealth drawn from it is transmitted to *Europe*. It is in Length, from North to South, about 1200 Miles, the Breadth of it very uncertain; the Air is very temperate and wholesome, unless rendered otherwise by pestilential Exhalations, that are most common after Earthquakes, to which this Country is very subject. The Winter Rains, during the Months of *May, June, July, and August*, are excessively heavy; but then, for eight Months together, they have, generally speaking, fine Weather. The Soil is prodigiously fertile, where it admits of Cultivation; such Fruit trees as are carried thither from *Europe*, come to the greatest Perfection; so that the Fruit is coming forward all the Year; and it is common to see Apple-trees in that Situation, which we so much admire in Orange-trees; that is to say, with Blossoms, Apples just formed, green Apples, and ripe Fruit all at the same time. The Valleys, where-ever they have any Moisture, wear a perpetual Verdure; and the Hills are covered with odoriferous Herbs, very useful in Physic. There are Trees of all sorts, and fit for every kind of Use; insomuch that, independent of its Gold Mines, *Chili* might be well accounted one of the richest and finest Countries in the Universe. And, indeed, there are some Places in it, which are as beautiful as any thing the warmest Imagination can paint: For instance, the Town of *Caquambo*, in Lat. 30° South, a short Mile from the Sea, standing on a green rising Ground, about ten Yards high, which Nature has regularly formed like a Terrace, north and South, in a direct Line, of more than half a Mile, turning at each Side to the Eastward. The first Street makes a delightful Walk, having the Prospect of the Country round it, and the Bay before it; all this is sweetly placed in a Valley ever green, and watered with a River, which, taking its Rise from among the Mountains, flows through the Vales and Meadows, in a winding Stream, to the Sea.

But notwithstanding all these Advantages, this vast Country is very thinly inhabited; insomuch that, through its whole Extent, there are scarce five Towns that deserve that Appellation, and but one City, which is that of *St. Iago*; throughout all the rest there are only Farms, which they call *Ejencias*, to remove from one another, that the whole Country, as I have been informed from good Hands, cannot raise 20,000 Whites fit to bear Arms, and particularly *St. Iago* 2000; the rest are all *Mestizos*, *Mulattos*, and *Indians*, whose Number may be three times as great, without including the friendly *Indians* beyond the River *Bio Bio*, who are reckoned to amount to 15,000, whose Fidelity, however, is not much to be depended on. The Trade of this Country is chiefly carried on by Sea, and is,

at present, rather in a declining than flourishing Condition. The Port of *Baldivia* was formerly very famous, on account of the very rich Mines of Gold that were in its Neighbourhood, which are now, in a great measure, disused; so that it is only kept as a Garrison, and serves in this respect to *Peru*, as the Fortresses on the *Barbary Coast* do to *Spain*, viz. to receive Malefactors, who are sent thither to serve against the *Indians*. All the Trade of that Town consists in sending ten or twelve Ships a Year to *Peru*, laden with Hides, tanned Leather, salt Meat, Corn, and other Provisions, which are to be had here in great Plenty.

The Port of *Conception* is more considerable, by reason of their Commerce with the *Indians*, which are not subject to the Crown of *Spain*. These *Indians* are of a Copper Colour, have large Limbs, broad Faces, and coarse lank Hair. The Nation of the *Puelches* differ somewhat from the rest, because amongst them there are some pretty white, and who have a little Colour in their Cheeks, which is supposed to be owing to their having some *European Blood* in their Veins, ever since the Natives of this Country revolted from the *Spaniards*, and cut off most of their Garrisons. They preserved the Women, and especially the Nuns, with whom they cohabited, and had many Children, who have a sort of natural Affection for their Mothers Country; and, though they are too proud to submit to the *Spaniards*, yet they are not willing to hurt them. These People inhabit that Ridge of the Mountains which the *Spaniards* call *La Cordilera*; and, as the Manner of Trading with them is very singular, it may not be amiss to give an Account of it.

When the *Spanish* Pedlar, or walking Merchant, makes a Tour into this Country, he goes directly to the Cacique, or Chief, and presents himself before him without speaking a Word: The Cacique breaks Silence first; and says to the Merchant, Are you come? Then he answering, I am come. What have you brought me? replies the Cacique. I bring you, rejoins the *Spaniard*, Wine (A necessary Article!) and such a thing. Whereupon the Cacique fails not to say, You are welcome. He appoints him a Lodging near his own Cottage, where his Wives and Children, bidding him welcome, each of them also demand a Present, which he gives, though never so small: At the same time the Cacique, with the Horn-trumpet which he has by him, gives notice to his scattered Subjects of the Arrival of a Merchant, with whom they may trade: They come and see the Commodities, which are Knives and Axes, Combs, Needles, Thread, Looking-glasses, Ribbands, &c. The best of all would be Wine, were it not dangerous to supply them therewith, to make them drunk; for then they are not safe among them, because they are apt to kill one another. When they have agreed upon the Barter, they carry the Things home without paying; so that the Merchant delivers all without knowing to whom, or seeing any of his Debtors: In short, when he designs to go away, the Cacique orders Payment by founding the Horn again; then every Man honestly brings the Cattle he owes; and, because these consist of Mules, Goats, and especially Oxen and Cows, he commands a sufficient Number of Men to conduct them to the *Spanish* Frontiers. By what has been said may be observed, that as much Civility and Honesty is to be found among these People, whom we call Savages, as among the most polite and well-governed Nations.

The great Number of Bullocks and Cows, which are consumed in *Chili*, where abundance are slaughtered every Year, comes from the Plains of *Paraguay*, which are covered with them. The *Puelches* bring them through the Plain of *Yapapapa*, inhabited by the *Piebeingues*, or unconquered *Indians*, being the best Pass to cross the Mountains, because divided into two Hills, of less difficult Access than the others, which are almost impassable for Mules. There is another, eighty Leagues from *La Conception*, at the burning Mountain, called *Silla Fellada*, which now-and-then calts out Fire, and sometimes with so great a Noise, that it is heard in the City; that Way the Journey is very much thortened, and they go in six Weeks to *Buenos Ayres*. By these Communications, they generally make good all the Herds of Beeves and Goats, which they slaughter in

Chili by Thousands, for Tallow and Lard, made by trying up the Fat and the Marrow of the Bones, which, throughout all *South America* serves instead of Butter or Oil, not used by them in their Sauces: The Flesh they either dry in the Sun, or in the Smoke, to preserve it instead of salting, as is used in *France*. These Slaughters also afford the Hides, and especially the Goats-skins, which they dress like *Morocco* Leather, by them called *Cordovans*, and sent to *Peru* to make Shoes, or for other Uses. Besides the Trade of Hides, Tallow, and Salt-meat, the Inhabitants of *La Concepcion* deal in Corn, with which they, every Year, lade eight or ten Ships, of forty or fifty Tons Burden, for the Port of *Calao*; besides the Meal and Biscuit they supply the *French* Ships with, that take in Provisions there to proceed to *Peru*, and to return to *France*. All this would be inconsiderable for so fine a Country, since, if the Land were well improved, it is so extraordinary fertile, and so easy to till, that they only scratch it with the Plough for the most Part, made of one single crooked Branch of a Tree, drawn by two Oxen; and, though the Grain is scarce covered, it seldom produces less than an Hundredfold: Nor do they take any more Pains in procuring their Vines to have good Wine; but, as they know not how to glaze the Jars they put it into, they are fain to pitch them, which, together with the Taste of the Goats-skins, in which they carry it about, gives it a bitterness like Treacle, and a Scent, to which it is hard for Strangers to accustom themselves. The Fruit grows after the same manner, without any Industry, on their Part, in Grafting: Apples and Pears grow naturally in the Woods; and, considering the Quantity there is of them, it is hard to comprehend how these Trees, since the Conquest, could multiply, and be diffused into so many Parts, if it is true, there were none before, as they affirm. The Mines of *Quillogoya* and *Quilacura* lie within four Leagues of this Port, and afford vast Quantities of Gold; and the *Estancia del Rey*, or King's Farm, which is also at no great Distance, is by very far the most plentiful *Lavadero*, or Washing-place, in all *Chili*, where there are sometimes found Lumps of pure Gold of a prodigious size. The Mountains of *La Cordillera* are reported to be a continual Chain of Mines, for many hundred Miles together; which is so much the more probable, because, hitherto, scarce any of these Mountains have been opened, but vast Quantities of Metals have been found in them, particularly Copper, remarkably fine, of which all the Artillery in the *Spanish West Indies*, or at least in the South Seas, are cast.

There is another considerable Port in *Chili*, and, indeed, the most considerable of them all, which is that of *Valparaiso*, which is esteemed one of the best Harbours in the South Seas. It lies upon a River, fifteen Leagues below *St. Jago*, the Capital of *Chili*. To this Port all the Riches of the Gold Mines behind it, and on every Side, are brought, particularly from those of *Tiutil*, which are immensely rich, and lie between this Port and the City of *St. Jago*. The Gold here is found in a very hard Stone, some of which sparkles, and betrays the inclosed Treasure to the Eye; but most of it has not the least Sign of Gold, but appears to be an hard harsh kind of Stone, of very different Colours, some white, some red, some black. This Ore, broken to pieces, is ground in a Mill, by the Help of Water, into a gross Powder, with which Quicksilver is afterwards mixed: To this Paste they let in a sharp Stream of Water; which having reduced it to a kind of Mud, the earthy Particles are carried off by the Current, and the Gold and Quick-silver precipitated, by their own Weight, to the Bottom: When this Mud has settled a little into a sort of Paste, they put it into a Linen Bag; from it very hard, by which Operation the Mercury is driven out, or at least the greatest Part of it; and the Remainder they evaporate by the Help of Fire; so that they have all the Gold together in a little Wedge, like a Pine-apple, and thence it derives its Name of *Pinna*. In order to clear the Gold from the Silver it is first impregnated with, the Lump must be run; and then they know the exact weight, and the true Fineness; it is not done any otherwise there. The Weightiness of the Gold, and the Facility of its making an Amalgama, or Paste, with the Mercury, makes the Dross immediately part from it: This is an Advantage the Gold-miners have

over those of Silver; they every Day know what they get; whereas the others sometimes do not know it till two Months alter, as has been said in another Place. According to the Nature of the Mines, and the Richness of the Veins, every Cason, or fifty Quintals, that is, Hundred-weight, yields, four, five, or six Ounces: When it yields but two, the Miner does not make good his Charge, which often happens; but he has also sometimes good Amends made him, when he meets with good Veins; for the Gold Mines are, of all Mines, those which produce Metals the most unequally. They follow a Vein, which grows wider, then narrower, and sometimes seems to be lost in a small Space of Ground. This Sport of Nature makes the Miners live in Hopes of finding what they call the *Paric*, being the Ends of Veins, so rich, that they have sometimes made a Man wealthy at once: And this same Inequality sometimes ruins them; which is the Reason, that it is more rare to see a Gold-miner rich than a Silver-miner, or of any other Metal, though there be less Expence in drawing it from the Mineral, as shall be said hereafter. For this Reason, also, the Miners have particular Privileges; for they cannot be sued to Execution on civil Accounts, and Gold pays only a twentieth Part to the King, which is called *Coto*, from the Name of a private Person, to whom the King made the Grant, because they used before to pay the fifth, as they do of Silver.

On the Deficent of this Mountain, there runs, during the Winter, or rather during the rainy Season, a pretty brisk Stream of Water, which, passing through the Gold Ore, washes away abundance of that rich Metal, as it ripens and breaks from its Bed: And therefore, for about four Months in the Year, this is accounted one of the richest *Lavaderos* in *Chili*; and very well it may, since there are sometimes found Pellets of pure Gold, of the Weight of an Ounce. At *Palma*, which is but four Leagues from *Valparaiso*, there is another rich *Lavadero*; and every where, throughout the Country, the Fall of a Brook, or Rivulet, is attended more or less with these kind of Golden Showers, the richest of which fall into the Laps of the *Jelmas*, who farm or purchase abundance of Mines and *Lavaderos*, which are wrought for their Benefit by their Servants. The Soil about this Port is excessive rich and fruitful; so that forty Ships a Year go from hence to *Lima*, laden with Corn, and, notwithstanding their prodigious Exportation, that Commodity is so cheap here, where Money at the same time is so plenty, that an *English* Bushel may be bought for less than three Shillings; and it would be much cheaper still, if all the Country could be cultivated; but, as they have dry Weather for eight Months together, this is impossible, except where there are Brooks, or little Rills, running from the Mountains through the Vales.

But before we close this Subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that there is a great Trade carried on through all *Chili*, from the North Seas, by the Way of *Buenos Ayres*, by which they receive some *European* Goods, and a very large Balance of Silver in Return for their Commodities. This is, perhaps, the greatest Inland Commerce in the World; for the Road, from *Buenos Ayres* to *Peru*, is 1500 Miles; and, though the Distance from *Valparaiso* be not above 160 Leagues more, yet it is crossed with greater Difficulty than all the rest; because they are obliged to pass that Chain of Mountains so often mentioned, called by the *Spaniards* *La Cordillera*, which Passage can be attempted only during the three first Months in the Year, when the Passages are open, and the Merchants come from *Montevideo*, which is an Inland Town, about 300 Leagues from *Buenos Ayres* to the City of *St. Jago*, which lies at the Opening of the Passes from the *Cordilleras*. This Journey through the Mountains takes up six or seven Days, tho' not above sixty Leagues; and the Passengers are obliged to carry with them not only Provisions for themselves, and their Assistants, but Provender likewise for their Mules, the whole Road being a continual Track of Rocks and Precipices, and the Country round about so excessively barren, and withal so exposed to Snows in the Winter, that there is no living in it. The Journey, however, from *St. Jago* to the Mines, and from thence to *Valparaiso*, is equally safe and pleasant; and the Merchants have nothing to trouble them, but the Fear of staying too long, and losing their Passage.

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Home through the Mountains; in case of which, they must be obliged to stay at least nine Months longer than they intended. The Reader will observe, that this journey, from *Buenos Ayres* to *Valparaiso*, is directly athwart the whole Continent of *South America*; which is a clear Proof of the mighty Extent of the *Spanish* Empire, which reaches here from Sea to Sea. On the Whole, though a very great Part of the Country be absolutely desert; and, in some Places where it is inhabited, the People do not acquire great Fortunes; yet, unquestionably, the *Spaniards* settled in *Chili* acquire annually immense Riches; since, as we observed before, the Country is very thinly peopled, and all the Gold that is drawn from the Mines, or *Lavadores*, must be divided amongst them.

Yet it is agreed, that a great Part of the Inhabitants do not seem to abound in wealth; which, however, may be very well accounted for, if we consider, that such as deal in Cattle, Corn, and the other Product of the Country, acquire but moderate Fortunes; and such as are concerned in Mines are frequently ruined, by launching into too great Expences about them. But, after all, such as are easy in their Circumstances, and, in consequence of that Ease, retire to *St. Jago*, live in such a Manner, as sufficiently demonstrates the Riches of *Chili*, since all their Utensils, even those that are most common, are of pure Gold; and it is believed, that the Wealth of that City alone cannot fall short of 20,000,000. Add to this, that the Gold Mines are continually increasing, and it is only for want of Hands that they are not wrought to infinitely more advantage, those already discovered, and neglected, being sufficient to employ 40,000 Men. It may be likewise observed, that the Frauds practised for deceiving the King increase daily; and, as they measure the Riches of the *Spanish West Indies* by the Standard of the King's Revenue, this must necessarily make them appear poorer than they really are. We have an Instance of this in the Mines of *Potosi*, which are said to yield less Silver than they did formerly; yet, on a Computation for fifty Years, the King's annual Revenue from those Mines has amounted to 220,000 *Peſos* of thirteen *Rials* and a quarter each; which shews, that the annual Produce of these Mines, for which the legal Duty is paid, amounts nearly to 2,000,000 *Pieces* of Eight *per annum*; and we may boldly assert, that the King does not receive above half of what is due: And from this Example we may judge of the rest.

16. As the Policy of the *Spaniards* consists chiefly in endeavouring, by all Ways and Means possible, to restrain the vast Riches of those extensive Dominions from passing into other Hands, so the Knowledge that other Nations have of the mighty wealth of these Countries, on the one hand, and of the great Demand for *European* Manufactures among their Inhabitants, on the other, has excited almost every Nation in *Europe* to practise all Methods possible, in order to gain a Share in them; and this with so good Effect, that it is very doubtful, whether any considerable Part of the Riches in the *West Indies* centres among the Inhabitants of *Old Spain*. This will appear very plainly to the Reader, if he considers, that, in the first Place, the very Trade carried on from *Spain* is of much greater consequence to Foreigners, than to the *Spaniards* themselves; for, as there are few Commodities, and scarce any Manufactures in that Country, the *Spanish* Merchants at *Cadiz* make up their Cargoes out of what they purchase from other Countries; or rather, the Merchants at *Cadiz* are barely Factors for the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, whose Goods they send to *America*, and pay them out of the Returns made by the *Plate Fleets*. We are likewise to consider, that *Spain* itself is a Country very ill provided with some of the Necessaries, and most of the Conveniences, of Life; so that prodigious Sums of Money are annually exported to obtain these.

But, besides such Drawbacks as those we have mentioned, to which the *Spaniards* would willingly submit, there are many others, which they are forced to endure: For Instance, all the Negroes they employ in their Plantations, where every kind of Labour is done by these sort of people, all these Negroes, I say, are purchased from Foreigners, particularly the *English* and *Dutch*, at a very large Expence every Year. Add to this, that, under Pretence of furnishing them with Negroes, there is a clandestine Trade

continually carried on from one End to the other of their Coasts upon the North Sea.

But, in the South Seas, they were pretty safe from every thing, but the Depredations of pirates, till the last general War on account of the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*; which created a new kind of contraband Trade, unknown to former Times, I mean, that of the *French* Interlopers, who carried vast Quantities of Goods directly from *Europe*, into the South Seas, which, till then, scarce any other nation had attempted. This was always looked upon with an evil Eye by the Court of *Madrid*, as being directly repugnant to the Interest of *Spain*, and the Maxims of their Government; but, as there were many Circumstances at that time, which rendered this a kind of necessary evil, the *Spaniards* were forced to submit to it, I mean by *Spaniards*, the Inhabitants of *Old Spain*; for, as to the *Creolians*, if they had *European* Goods, and at a cheaper Rate, it would not give them much Concern who took their Money for them. The History of these *French* Interlopers is, in itself, so important, as well as curious, and is, at the same time, so very little known in *England*, that there is good Reason to believe, it will prove acceptable, and be well received; the rather because it is composed of such Remarks, as fell immediately within my own Sphere of Observation, and as to the Truth of which I am myself a competent Witness: So that every thing may be taken for certain, that I advance. I may have Leave also to put the Reader in mind, that, having a great Intimacy with most of the Officers I mention, this enabled me to come at many Particulars, which another Man, in my Situation, would have been absolutely unacquainted with. But to come to Matters of Fact:

The Town of *St. Malo* has always been noted for good Privateers: They annoyed the *English* and *Dutch* very much in their Trade during the whole Reign of King *William*, and Part of Queen *Anne*; and tho' some religious-headed People fancy, that Money got by Privateering won't prosper, yet I may venture to say, the *St. Malo-men* are as rich and flourishing, as any People in *France*. It has thrived so well with them, that all their *South Sea* Trade is owing to their Privateering; and, in the late war, they were so generous, that they made several free Gifts to *Lewis* XIV. And tho' our *English* Admiralty always kept a stout Squadron cruising in the *Atlantic* Ocean, yet we never took one of their *South Sea-men*: And my Reason for it is this: they kept their Ships extremely clean, having Ports to careen at, which we did not think of; for, in the Year 1709, when I belonged to her Majesty's Ship the *Loo*, being one of the Convoys that Year to *Newfoundland*, we saw upon the Coast a fifty-gun Ship, which we chased, and soon discovered she was *French* built; but the crowded Sail, and left us in a very little time. She had just been cleaned at *Placentia*: And we might well wonder to find such a Ship in that Part of the World; but were afterwards informed by the *French* Prisoners, that she was a *Frenchman*, and bound to *St. Malo*, with two or three Million of Dollars aboard; and was then so trim, that she trusted to her heels, and valued nobody. By their going so far to Westward, and Northward withal, they had the Advantage of Westerly Winds, which seldom failed of sending them into Soundings at one Spirt, if not quite home. But, since *Placentia* has been yielded to *Great Britain*, they now make use of *St. Catherine*, the Island *Grande* on the Coast of *Brazil*, and *Martinico* in the *West Indies*.

This Trade succeeded so well, that they all fell into it, sending every Year to the Number of twenty Sail of Ships. I saw myself eleven Sail together on the Coast of *Chili* in the Year 1721, among which were several of fifty Guns, and one that could mount seventy, called the *Flower-de-Luce*, formerly a Man of War. This being contrary to the *Uffsensto* Treaty between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, Memorials were frequently presented at *Madrid*; and the King of *Spain*, willing to keep to his Engagements with *England*, resolved to gratify the *British* Court, by destroying the *French* Trade to the *South Sea*. His Catholic Majesty knew there was no Way to do this, but by a Squadron of Men of War; he knew also, that few of his own Subjects were acquainted with the Navigation of *Cape Horn*, or could bear the extreme rigour of the Climate; therefore was obliged to make

round the Cape, when our two Privateers, *Success* and *Speedwell*, were known to be in the South Sea, this famous Ship *Zelara* was one of those Ships commissioned by the Viceroy of Peru to cruise for us. *Fitzgerald* sold his Goods at Lima to great Advantage, where he continued, while *de Grange* served as Captain under the Admiral *Don Pedro Alonzo*, who took myself, and the rest of us, Prisoners. The *St. Malo* Merchants, though great Sufferers by so many Confiscations, were not much discouraged; for, in the Year 1720, we found the *Solomon* of *St. Malo*, carrying forty Guns, and 150 Men, at *Hilo*, on the Coast of *Chili*, with several small *Spanish* Barks at her Stern. She had her Cargo in six Weeks time, got a fresh Supply of Provision, and left the Coast without Interruption; for by this time *Marinet's* Squadron was all come away.

The *Solomon's* great Success gave such Encouragement, that they immediately fitted out fourteen Sail together, all which arrived in the South Sea in the Beginning of the Year 1721: three of whose Commanders, having the best Acquaintance among the Creolians, quickly sold their Cargoes, and returned Home: About this time the People of *Lima* judged the *English* Privateers were gone off the Coast, at least, that no more Hostilities would be committed, because of the Truce made between the two Crowns; whereupon the three *Spanish* Men of War, fitted out to cruise on us, were ordered against those fresh Interlopers. I was on board the Advice-boat, called the *Flying Fish*, in Company of the said three Men of War, when they came up with the eleven Sail of *St. Malo* all together, on the Coast of *Chili*; and, instead of firing upon them, the *Spaniards* joined them like Friends. The *French*, expecting to be attacked, kept altogether in a Line, and dared the Men of War to begin. This to me seemed new, that three such Ships, purposely fitted for this Cruise, should, on their own Coast, decline doing their Duty; for, had they proved too weak, they had Ports of their own under their Lee. In short, the Men of War contented themselves to watch the others Motion, keeping them always in Sight; and, when any of the *French* Ships steered to the Shore, the *Spaniards* sent their Pinnace, or Long-boat, with the *Spanish* Flag hoisted, the Sight of which effectually deterred the Creoles from treating or trading with the *French*. Thus they made shift to hinder all these Ships disposing of their Goods, except they were met by chance at Sea, and sold some clandestinely. At length, being tired out, the *Frenchmen* got I gave to take in Provision, and went Home with at least half their Goods unsold. Notwithstanding all this, and the severe Edicts against it in *France*, I know they still continue the Trade, tho' privately; nor is it probable they will ever leave off to lucrative a Commerce, except some other Power prevents it.

17. I shall now return to my own Affairs, and the manner of my Return from that Part of the World: A plain Relation of which will be a sufficient Refutation of what Captain *Stelvocke* has been pleased to deliver to the World in his Book upon this Subject. I have acknowledged the kind Reception I met with from the Admiral of the South Seas, and the Reason of his treating us so civilly. In eleven Months time that I continued at *Lima*, I think it is but Justice to mention the several Favours I received, particularly from *Don Juan Baptista Palauo*, a Native of *Spain*, and Knight of the Order of *St. James*, who came weekly to the Prison while we were there, and gave Money to all of us, according to our several Degrees. Captain *Nicholas Fitzgerald* procured my Enlargement by becoming Security for me, gave me Money, and furnished me with Necessaries then necessary to the time of my Departure; and gave not only me, but twenty more, a Passage to *Cadiz* in a *Spanish* Advice-boat, called the *Flying Fish*; Mr. *Preslick*, our Surgeon's Mate, acted as Surgeon in her, receiving Wages; and so did all our Men, being released from Prison to assist in navigating the Vessel home. For my part, as I was well treated, I would not eat the Bread of Idleness, but kept my Watches, as all other Officers; And, Pray, where is the Harm of all this? Though *Stelvocke* had the Stupidity to call it Treason; and it must appear a very malicious Charge, as well as an ignorant one, that, after a Man has been driven amongst the Enemy, he must be called a Traitor for being used kindly, and accepting

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his Passage back again; that, because I was not murdered there, I ought to be executed at home! This is *Stelvocke's* great Christianity, and good Conscience! But, to return to what I was saying: On my Arrival at *Cadiz*, Captain *John Evers*, of the *Britannia*, gave me his Table, and my Passage to *London*, where, upon my Arrival, and the Representation of my Hardships, the following Persons of Honour and Distinction were pleased to express their Concern for my Sufferings, by making me a Present each of ten Guineas; viz. *Edward Hughes*, *William Sloper*, and *Alexander Strahan*, Esquires; *Samuel Winder*, *Beak Winder*, *Hony Neal*, and *John Barnes*, Merchants; *Humphrey Thayer*, and *Thomas Strathfield*, Druggists. This afforded me the Satisfaction of seeing, that such as were the best Judges, had a proper Idea of the Miseries I had sustained, and approved of the Manner in which I behaved, the only Consolation which I could receive in the Circumstances in which that unfortunate Voyage left me. The fair Account I have given of Facts, the Detail of my Proceedings in the *Spanish West Indies*, and the Account of what I observed worthy of Notice during my Stay in those Parts, will, I hope, acquit me in the Opinion of every candid and impartial Reader, from the Allegations thrown upon me in *Stelvocke's* Book; and acquire me, what every Man would wish to have, the Approbation of him, to whom, of his own free Choice, he submits the Censure of his Actions.

As we have already given the Reader our Remarks on the Voyages of *Clipperton* and *Stelvocke*, we shall not detain him very long in our Remarks upon Mr *Betagh's* Narrative, which contains, however, some things of such Importance, that they cannot be slipped over without Reflection. In the first Place, let it be observed, that he has fully shewn us the Navigation round *Cape Horn* is no such dangerous, no such wondrous Voyage, as some People would make it. If twenty Ships from *St. Malo* could perform it in one Year, and not a single Vessel either shipwrecked, or put back, what should hinder, not an *English* Ship, but an *English* Fleet, from doing the same, if the Service of the Nation required it? Must it not inspire Strangers with a very indifferent Opinion of the Skill and Courage of *English* Seamen, when they hear, that our stoutest Ships take Shelter, like the *Spaniards*, whom we so much despise, in the River of *Plata*, or in the Ports of *Brasil*, and relinquish, as impracticable, a Voyage which a *French* Privateer can make at Pleasure? Will it not affect the Heart of every *Englishman*, who has not lost all Jealousy for his Country's Honour, when he thinks of this? And can he be blamed, either for thinking, or expressing his Sentiments, by any who have the least Concern for their Country's Glory? Could *Drake* and *Candish*, in an *English* Bark, do more than an *English* Man of War can now? What Days then were those of *Elizabeth*, and how just that ignominious Sarcasm of a *French* Wit; That the *English* of the present Age are no more comparable to their Ancestors, than the *Italians* to the old *Romans*! Happy, happy, for us, that we have still a SEAMAN left, who has wiped off this Reproach, and shewn, that the Race of Heroes is not extinct; that we have a *Drake* and *Candish* (I will not add more, for Fear of offending his Modesty) in Admiral *Asson*, that great, that fortunate Commander, who enjoys this singular Felicity, in an Age of Sloth, Luxury, and Corruption, that his Ease is the Result of his Labour, that his TITLE is the Reward of his MERIT, and that his WEALTH does HONOUR to his COUNTRY.

But to return from so pleasing a Digression, to what is more immediately our Subject. We see, from Captain *Betagh's* Account, with how much Ease the *French* carried on a prodigious Trade to the South Seas, at a Time when the Appearance of an *English* Ship there was considered as a Prodigy. Had the *French* any more Right than we, or the Catholic King give them a better Right, if he would? If the preserving to Spain an exclusive Right to the Riches of *America* be, as sometimes it has been, asserted to be the common Interest of all the European Powers, but especially of the *English* and *Dutch*, How comes the *French* to invade it without exciting that Jealousy, the Fear of which is pretended to be a Motive sufficient to hinder us from making such an Attempt? Are the Riches of the *Indies*, in

French Hands, less dangerous to the Peace of Europe than in ours? Would they more affect the Balance of Power, would they create greater Cause for the States of Europe to be uneasy? Surely not. It is plain, that France does not seek Wealth with a View to make her People rich and happy, but from quite a different Motive, to extend the Power of her King, to increase the Number of his Subjects, and to gain an Influence destructive to the Freedom of other Nations. If the Wealth of the Indies must, by the Violence of War, or any other Accident whatever, be diverted from falling into the *Spanish* Coffers, why should it not come immediately into the Hands of the *English* and *Dutch*?

Amongst them it would not be expended to the Detriment of others, but for the general Good of their Subjects: It would be spent in improving their native Countries, in converting every Waste, every Common, into a rich and plentiful Field of Husbandry of some sort or other, and in making the Owners of Land at Home, the better for what was acquired at their Expence Abroad. The Maritime Powers have often supported, but never attempted to subject, their Neighbours; it is not agreeable to the Maxims of their Government; nay more, it is absolutely repugnant to those of their Interest. Such States as depend upon Commerce, must always desire to see other Nations as free as themselves; because there can be no Safety nor Profit in dealing with Slaves. Such as send their Goods into Countries under arbitrary Government, run a double Hazard, that of feeling the Weight of such a Government, and of meeting with no Returns, if they should escape the first Danger. It is impossible, that Slaves should be rich; Captain *Betagh's* Remarks are a Proof of it: He shews us, that the hapless *Indians* of *America* are miserable in the finest Climate, flourishing in the richest Soil, and indigent amongst Mines of Gold and Silver, where they work, nay, work themselves to Death, for the Benefit of others. He shews you, that this is the Result of the Tyranny of the *Spanish* Government; but I will shew you more, the *Indians* in *America* are what *Europeans* must be, if the Influence of *France* prevails.

Of all Nations, therefore, the *French* have the least Title, though hitherto they have had the best Luck, in becoming Interlopers in the South Seas. My Arguments have the same Weight, whether it be War or Peace. We are vying to ourselves, if, while we contend with them in Europe for our Liberties, we suffer them to draw from the *West Indies* the Means of Oppressing. They have, since the present War began, had recourse to the old Method: The *St. Malo-men* are again abroad; and it is the great Scheme of the *French* Ministry, to supply the vast Expences of the present War, from the same Source which supplied the last; which renders our Attention to this Account so much the more necessary. But, in a time of War, we have it certainly in our Power to deprive them of this, as of most other Resources. We can send our Frigates thither, as well as the *Saint Malo-men*; and we might make it worth the while of our Merchants to send Ships laden with proper Goods under their Convoy. This would have a double Effect; it would annoy the Enemy, and enrich our own People: It would answer the Question that the *Spanish* Trader put to Captain *Skelvoeke*, viz. Whether the *British* Merchants were all asleep, or too rich to mind Trade any longer, that they suffered the *French* Pedlars to run away with the Wealth of *Chili* and *Peru*? It was a wise and well-put Question; for when we are at War with *Spain*, when all the Effects of Treaties are suspended on her Side, it is certainly not lawful only, but a Piece of Justice due to ourselves, to repair that necessary Loss of Trade, which is the Consequence of a *Spanish* War, by protecting another sort of Trade, a Trade in the South Seas on *English* Bottoms.

In time of Peace we have a Title, by Treaties, that never can expire, or lose their Force, to exclude the *French* from all Commerce in the South Seas: I say, that these Treaties can never expire, or lose Efficacy, because, when his Catholic Majesty shall disclaim those Treaties, he must, at the same time, renounce his Title to the Crown of *Spain*, at least with regard to us, and the rest of the contracting Powers in the Treaty of *Utrecht*. It is by the Concessions

made in that Treaty, that he is known to, and acknowledged by, us, and the other contracting Powers, for King of *Spain*; and whenever he breaks through these Concessions, or attempts to rescind them, he loses all Title to his Crown under that Treaty, which is the very Title that he professes to hold by, and without which he would be no more than a Viceroy to his Neighbour and Nephew the King of *France*. It is for this Reason, and hereafter, as prudent Men, they cannot help foreseeing to how low a State their Country must be reduced, that the *Spanish* Grandees always insist upon the same Point. For tho' *Spain* should lose the Money equally both ways; that is to say, should have the same Balance of Trade against her by the ordinary Method of sending Goods from *Cadiz*, and by the extraordinary Method of their being carried by the *French*, with the Permission, or at least by the Connivance, of the *Spanish* Court; yet *Spain* would greatly suffer by such a Commerce: Because, in the first Place, tho' she is not absolute Mistress of the Money, she still enjoys the Influence that results from the Distribution of it, which, to People in the Condition the *Spaniards* now are, is of very great Consequence; to say the Truth, it is of the last Consequence; for Influence is a Species of Power, and almost the only Species of Power the *Spaniards* can manage with Effect; and there is Reason therefore to believe, that whenever this Crown is in Earnest inclined to a Peace, she will not hesitate a Moment at renewing this Exclusion of the *French*, which is as much her Interest, as it is ours, and a Point of such Consequence to other *European* States, that it never can be given up, while they are resolved to maintain their Liberty and Independency.

I know very well, that it may be objected, that the *French* Trade to the South Seas ruined itself, that so early, the *French* Interlopers sent such vast Quantities of *European* Goods into the *Spanish West Indies*, that at last they could not sell for prime Cost; and that this induced the *French* Court to comply with repeated Remonstrances from the *Spaniards*, and to concur in prohibiting this illicit Trade. But this is very fallacious Reasoning; for, let us consider first, what it was induced the *French* to overtrade themselves; and, this on all Hands, is allowed to be the prodigious Gain of the first Traders. These then were a fate; the *French*, as a Nation, had possessed themselves of many Millions of Silver, in Return for Goods and Manufactures; that is to say, they were possessed of an immense Mass of solid, intrinsic, and permanent Wealth, instead of the Ribbands, Laces, and other Baubles, that had been sent abroad. This was their Profit, and well may we much they must be the better for it. Let us next consider their Loss: They exported a vast Quantity of the same kind of Goods, and received for them no more than they were worth. This might, and possibly did, hurt the Merchants; but the *French* Nation gained as much, or so much indeed, but still it was Gain. The Goods sent converted into Silver; and those who were employed in making up these Goods, remained possessed of what they received for them: Will any Man say, that this was a mighty Advantage to *France*? Did it not make the People in general richer? Did it not make Money circulate? Did it not put it in the Power of the *French* King to raise Taxes? And, which is of the greatest Consequence to us, and to them, did it not contribute to the Support and improvement of the *French* Manufactures, and the raising and destroying those of this Nation, with which the *Spaniards* in *America* would have otherwise been, by the Way of *Cadiz*, supplied? This plainly shews, what a prodigious Benefit resulted to *France* by this Trade, and how great a Loss we suffered thereby; for tho' it be certainly true, that the *Spaniards* in *America* will always prefer *English* Goods, when they get them, yet this Preference is out of the Case, when the Market is only stocked with *French* Besides, when Things came to that Pass, which the *French* complain of, that their Goods produced little or no Profit, we suffered much more than they; for the *Spaniards* had their Hands full of *French* Goods, for which they had paid at some Rate or other, because brought in *French* Bottoms to their very Door; while our Goods, by the Way of *Cadiz*, and upon which the *Spaniards* received Freight, were rotting in our Factors Warehouses, and would have been

Price at all. It must have not much to do but they have a very our Reading, all our the Service of our Co Recommendation of lects no Opportunity amongst the many T entertaining. There that must affect every be acknowledged the to convince us, that I envious Disposition.

Spaniards, are very ha which he owns, and His Account of the just and natural; he Offers, and censures is the Reproach of t Characters of the *Fre and, I dare say, he ha served, by representi People in the World.*

I had well-nigh slippi given by *Betagh* in hi particular Notice. I made of *Placencia*, v rving in thither their clean and careen ther Pan for the *English* Coal. This shews ments in those Parts of the Importance o *Spain*, at any rate, a from practicing the f, wondering, on the *Br Britain*, to find this fered, to save the Re gle Ships or Squadro *chet* tells us plainly, so seldom did what v to their being foul Sh always clean. In the an Influence of any o is very surprising, e fimes, tell often, e fimes Hands.

But if their lucky tainly do, on their S than ours, then it is from them, it is car where they may clea our Hands, and can Attention. We hav ficient to protect all to spare Ships enou rnes, or the *Rio Gr to prevent the *Fre met with much lets own. In the Month best outward-bound tioned River: he sailed from *Cadiz* in day; her whole C drowned, together Missionaries, that v Cargo being about a one of the first *Fre since the present W here at the proper meet with the *Fre and either way they Goods come to a and the taking suc South Seas.****

As I have mentio Voyage from *Cadiz* to inform the *Engl *St. Malo-men*, that*

Price at all. It must be confessed, that these Reflections have not much to do with the Voyage round the World; but they have a very near Relation to the great End of all our Readings, all our Study, all our Endeavours, I mean the Service of our Country. I look upon it as the strongest Recommendation of Captain *Betagh's* Book, that he neglects no Opportunity of reporting what may be useful, amongst the many Things he tells us that are curious and entertaining. There is an Air of Sincerity in what he says that must affect every Reader; and the Readiness with which he acknowledged the Obligations he received, is sufficient to convince us, that he was far from being of a furlly, or an envious Disposition. The Civilities he received from the *Spaniards*, are very handsomely repaid by the Candour with which he owns, and the Gratitude he expresses for them. His Account of their Conduct at Sea appears perfectly just and natural; he commends the Generosity of their Officers, and censures that want of Skill and Courage, which is the Reproach of their Seamen in the *West Indies*. His Characters of the *French* are equally curious and pleasant; and, I dare say, he has done them all the Justice they deserved, by representing them as the most self-interested People in the World.

I had well-nigh slept over a very useful and important Hint, given by *Betagh* in his Account, which, however, deserves particular Notice. It is, as to the great Use the *French* make of *Placentia*, while it was in their Hands, by carrying in thither their Homeward-bound South Sea-men to clean and careen them; so that afterwards they were in no Pain for the *English* Men of War that might be upon the Coast. This shews the Usefulness of the *French* Settlements in those Parts in a new Light, and fully informs us of the Importance of defending *Newfoundland*, and *Nova Scotia*, at any rate, as the only means of hindering them from practising the same Thing again. One cannot help wondering, on the Perusal of the Naval History of *Great Britain*, to find this Excuse of clean Ships perpetually offered, to save the Reputation of our Cruisers, either in single Ships or Squadrons: And, indeed, Mr. Secretary *Burckett* tells us plainly, that the Reason why our Men of War so seldom did what was expected from them, was owing to their being foul Ships, whereas the Enemies Vessels were always clean. In the Course of that War, there was scarce an Instance of any of these *St. Malo* Ships taken; which is very surprising, since the Fleets, from most of our Colonies, fell often, either in whole, or in part, into the Enemies Hands.

But if these lucky Escapes of theirs depend, as they certainly do, on their Ships being cleaner, and in better Trim, than ours, then it is plain this Advantage may be taken from them, if we can prevent their getting into any Ports, where they may clean or careen. *Placentia* is at present in our Hands, and cannot be lost, but through the want of Attention. We have, most certainly, a Naval Power sufficient to protect all our Colonies; and, at the same time, to spare Ships enough to cruise off the Island of *St. Catharines*, or the *Rio Grande*, on the Coast of *Brasil*, in order to prevent the *French* from careening there, where they met with much less Convenience, than in any Ports of their own. In the Month of *January* last, they lost one of their best outward-bound Ships, at the Mouth of the last-mentioned River: she was called the *Marchioness d'Autin*, sailed from *Cadiz* last *October*, and was lost on *Novo Year's Day*; her whole Crew, consisting of 400 Men, were drowned, together with twenty-four Jesuits, and fourteen Missionaries, that were on board her, the Value of her Cargo being about a Million of Pieces of Eight. She was one of the last *French* Ships heeded by the King of *Spain* since the present War began. A small Squadron, cruising here at the proper Seasons of the Year, might be sure to meet with the *French* Ships, going out or coming Home; and either way they must prove rich Prizes, since *European* Goods come to a quick Market on the Coast of *Brasil*, and the taking such an Interloper, saves a Voyage to the South Seas.

As I have mentioned the Loss of this *French* Ship in her Voyage from *Cadiz* to the South Seas, it may not be amiss to inform the *English* Reader of the Distinction between the *St. Malo-men*, that proceed with Licences, and the Inter-

lopers. There is a regular and constant Correspondence carried on between *St. Malo* and *Cadiz*. The *French* Ships carry thither all sorts of Goods of the Manufacture of that Kingdom, from the rich Brocades of *Lyons* and *Tours*, to the slight Stuffs of *Amiens*. All these are sent to the *West Indies* in the regular Way; and, in about eighteen Months, the *St. Malo-men* carry home the Return from *America*, consisting of Gold, Silver, Cochineal, Indigo, Dying-woods, and other rich Commodities, to the Amount of from seven to twelve Millions, or 600,000*l.* of our Money. In times of War, the *Spanish* Merchants are glad to employ some of these *St. Malo-men*, which are always stout large Ships, and well equipped, to go to *Buenos Ayres*, or any other Port, with a Cargo from *Cadiz*; and these are the licensed Ships. But, as this Intercourse gives the Captains of these *St. Malo-men* a perfect Knowledge of the *West India* Commerce, they frequently go thither, without Licence, on their own Account; and this is what is properly called Interloping.

There are, however, a third Sort of Ships that go from this Port; *viz.* such as are fitted out directly from *St. Malo* for the South Seas, by Permission of the *Spanish* Court, which is but rarely granted, as being directly against Treaties. There has been of late, indeed, a Scheme projected in *France* for establishing an *Affiento* Company at *St. Malo*, to whom the Commerce of our South Sea Company, as settled by the *Utrecht* Treaty, is to be transferred; but, perhaps, before the End of the War, we may oblige the *Spaniards* to think of some other Expedient. All this, however, contributes to shew, how fast the *French* are growing upon us in this Branch of Trade, and how much it improves and increases their Seamen, at the same time that it raises their Reputation for maritime Skill, while there are Hundreds of People, at this single Port, capable of carrying a Ship round *Cape Horn*, which, to the *Spaniards*, and some other Nations, appears so frightful a Navigation. But the best way, beyond Question, to deal with the *St. Malo-men*, is to send some Men of War, or Privateers, into the South Seas, with Tenders, laden with Goods and Provisions, which must necessarily produce great Returns from their Trade, and their Prizes, at the same time that it would facilitate the making Discoveries in these Seas, and exercise our Sailors in a sort of Navigation, which, through Disuse, is almost forgotten; for, by an unaccountable Piece of ill Luck, since our erecting a Company for carrying on that Commerce, there has scarce been an *English* Ship, except those mentioned in the two last Sections, seen in the South Seas; so that there are various Reasons for renewing this kind of Navigation, which could not be any-where so properly laid open, as at the Close of these Remarks of Captain *Betagh*, who seems to have had the same thing in View, and to have written them with no other Design, than to induce his Countrymen to struggle for a Share in that Trade, with the Value of which, and the Possibility of improving it, his long Stay in those Countries had made him so perfectly acquainted.

We have now run intirely through the History of the Circumnavigators, so far as they have been hitherto published in our Language; having also made use of such foreign Assistance as was necessary to render them more complete. The regular Order in which they lie, enables the Reader to take in at once the Whole of this kind of History, so as to be able to digest and compare their Discoveries, and proportion the Praises due to every one of those great Commanders. He will, doubtless, make many Observations that have escaped me; but there are some few, relative to this general History, which incline me to conclude this Section, with recommending them to his Notice: In the first Place, I think it very memorable, that this Art of sailing round the Globe, was not, as some other Arts are, the Effect of a lucky Accident, and struck out by Chance, but proceeded from the judicious Observation of that great and wise Man *Columbus*, who, for practical and useful Knowledge, was scarce ever equalled, and never exceeded. *Magellan*, who perfected what the other had begun, and passed through that Streight, which will preserve his Memory as long as the World lasts, did not proceed by Guess, or at Random, but pursued his Discovery with fewer Difficulties than some have met with, who have followed him.

All these Discoveries had something in them noble and surprising; they excited a generous Emulation among all great Minds of that Age all Europe over; inasmuch that we every-where hear of Attempts of that kind, since to that we may refer the Attempts for finding a North-eall, and a North-west Passage to the Indies, which, in Fact, would have proved but a new Route for a Circum-navigating, being all founded on the same Principle, that there are Passages from one Ocean to the other at both Poles. While this Spirit prevailed, the Practice of Navigation grew to Perfection, and these long Voyages were performed more happily, than they have been since; the Reason of which I take to be this, that, in those Days, Men of great Abilities made such Voyages in Person; whereas they now content themselves with forming Systems in their Closets: And, except the late famous Professor Halley, we have scarce heard of any Man of acknowledged Capacity, who has ventured on a long Voyage, merely to compare the Notions derived from Theory with the Result of Practice.

After the establishing the Trade of the English and Dutch to the East Indies, exclusive Companies came in, which put a Stop to Discoveries, and to the nobler Expeditions in Search of new Lands, as the great de Witte long ago observed in his admirable Maxims of the Policy of Holland. From this time Disputes about Trade commenced; and, instead of extending their Commerce, by finding out fresh Markets, all the great Maritime Powers have been employed in circumscribing each others Trade, and even in running one another. This Evil, indeed, has been accidentally productive of fresh Discoveries, by the Means of Privateers, who, not by Design, but through Force, have become Circum-navigators; which is the Reason, that most of their Discoveries have been lame and imperfect, as being made by Men more intent on Plunder, than on acquiring Fame, or on rendering Service to the Public. By degrees, this Humour of confining Trade to particular Nations, and to particular Companies of Men in each of those Nations, has increased to such a Degree, that Proposals for new Discoveries have fallen into Disrepute, and such

as turned their Heads that way treated as Projectors, whereas, with us, is looked upon as only a toster Name for Madmen.

We have a notable Instance of this in the Conduct of the French Court, about the Year 1660, when they rejected an Offer made them by two of their own Subjects, for the Discovery of *Hudson's Bay*; by which A. Columbus and Rich Trade fell into our Hands, and has been a Bone of Contention between the two Nations ever since. There is, however, Reason to believe, that this kind of Temper is wearing out; and that, in most trading Nations, the true Spirit of enlarging Trade, by the finding new Markets, begins to revive. The late Czar Peter was the first that endeavoured to promote the Commerce, not only of his own Subjects, but of Mankind in general, by causing a fresh Search to be made into all the hitherto unknown Countries, bordering upon his wide Empire, of which we shall have occasion to treat in another Place. His Example excited a like Disposition in the Swedes and Danes; and here in our own Country, some Projects of the same Nature have been better received, than formerly they were.

But the latest and most remarkable Voyage that has been for Discoveries, is that which will be the Subject of the next Section, performed by the Direction, and Assistance of the Dutch West India Company; which is a very singular Instance of a right Application of a Company's Powers; and it would be a very happy thing, if some great Companies, in another Country, would follow their Example. Most certain it is, that in all Countries, this was the original Motive to their Institution, as appears by Charters and other public Acts; and, indeed, many of them prosecuted this Design for some time, and made considerable Progress that way, till the Love of Money, and Over-tenderness of Power, and the Desire of providing for their own Dependents at the public Expence, got the better of those old-fashioned Principles, and taught Men to venturish, with far Pretences, the Pursuit of private Advantage, tho' at the Expence of the common Good.

SECTION XX.

An Account of Commodore Roggewein's Expedition, with three Ships, for the Discovery of Southern Lands, under the Direction of the Dutch West India Company, * from an original Journal.

1. An Account of the original Scheme of this Voyage, and the Discoveries proposed thereby.
2. The East sails from the Texel, July 16, 1721.
3. Account of their Passage to the Island of Teneriffe.
4. The same continued till their Arrival on the Coast of Brazil.
5. Description of the City of St. Sebastian of the Country round it, and Things remarkable therein.
6. Other Occurrences in the Voyage.
7. Discovery of a new Island, called Belgia Australis.
8. Passage through the Straights of Le Maire into the South Sea.
9. Adventures in those Seas, and Description of the Island of Juan Fernandez.
10. Reflections on the Nature and Importance of the intended Discoveries, with the Reasons which render it probable, that such Discoveries may be made.
11. Discovery and Description of a new Island, with an Account of its Inhabitants.
12. Arrival at Badwater Island, and Discovery of five other Islands.
13. Shipwreck of the African Galley.
14. Discovery and Description of nine new Islands.
15. Resolution taken to quit this Coast, and the Reasons for and against it.
16. Continuation of the Voyage to New Britain and New Guiney.
17. Five new Islands discovered and described.
18. Description of New Britain, and of several Islands in its Neighbourhood.
19. Unhappy Dispute with its Inhabitants, and the Consequences of that Dispute.
20. A large Account of that Country, and its Inhabitants.
21. Description of the Islands of Moa, and Atimoa, with an Account of their Inhabitants.
22. Discovery of an Archipelago, to which they give the Name of the Thousand Islands.
23. Description of the Islands Bouru and Buton.
24. Arrival at the Island of Java, and Description of the Coast.
25. The Vessels seized at Batavia, and their Companies made Prisoners.
26. The present State of Batavia, with a large Account of its Inhabitants.
27. The Manner in which the Affairs of the Dutch Company are administered in the East Indies.
28. The Distribution of their Government into all its Parts, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military.
29. Further Description of Batavia, and the Island of Java.
30. Description of the Island of Ceylon, or Ceylon, its Government and Inhabitants.
31. The present State of Amboyna, with an Account of the Clove Trade.
32. The Island of Banda, its Government and Inhabitants described.
33. A distinct Account of the four Governments of Macassar, Ternate, Malacca, and of the Cape of Good Hope.
34. Description of the four Directories of Coromandel, Surat, Bengal, and Persia.
35. The Commanderies of Malabar, Gallo, Java, and Bantam, described.
36. An Account of

* There never was any Account of this Voyage in our Language.

the References to Borneo, and in Description of Good Hope, p. 41. commenced before 43. Remarks of

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or where, at the shown to it by the C. faults by Trade, e. as an Affair of a public and strictest Attention, as in other P. considered in some considered in other. ginally erected in the Charter, the Com. Tropic of Cancer, America, from the Straights of the South Seas. The bers, and consisted, out of whom eight filtration of the C. was added by the Company were once were not only on a to the East India C. Success of their A. their Admiral, Peter which was immen. They made them. Brazil, and were t. Maurice of Nassau of a Commission fr. neral of Brazil; w. immense Sums to

The Term of th. Years, which, in twenty-five more, very perplexed, fo they were content. Year 1074, a new the same Powers, neral, which Com. Reputation. The of six Millions of thousand Pounds Authority are, the to say, all the Est. ties, are under th. any new Scheme, those Parts, must pany.

It was thus that of great Parts and the Discovery of t. what are supposed and of which the. fact Notices from the Reasons in Se. designed Discover. East India Comp. received, and he he could desire Company would after followed, p. tentions; and, be given breathed li. vince of Zealand. himself to mathe. the service of his and perhaps not. Vol. I.

the Residences of Cheribon, Siam, and Moca. 37. The State of the Company's Commerce in the Island of Borneo, and in the Empire of China. 38. The Author's Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, with a Description of the Country belonging to the Dutch East India Company. 39. Departure from the Cape of Good Hope, and Occurrences in the Voyage. 40. Description of the Island of St. Helena, and the Ascension. 41. The Author's safe Arrival in the Texel, July 11. 1733. 42. An Account of a Suit commenced between the East and West India Companies, on account of this Voyage, and the Issue of it. 43. Remarks on this Expedition.

THERE is, perhaps, no Country in the World, where Commerce is either more honourable, or more profitable, than in *Holland*; or where, at the same time, there is a greater Respect shewn to it by the Government, for, as the Republic chiefly subsists by Trade, every thing that relates to it, is considered as an Affair of public Nature, which deserves the quickest and strictest Attention. The great Companies in *Holland*, are, as in other Parts of *Europe*, destructive to Trade, considered in some Lights; but very necessary to it, when considered in others. The *West India Company* was originally erected in the Year 1621. and held, by an exclusive Charter, the Commerce on the Coast of *Africa*, from the Tropic of *Cancer*, to the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, in *America*, from the South Point of the *Newfoundland*, by the Straights of *Magellan*, or of *le Maire*, to the suppos'd Strait of *Amian*, including both the North and South Seas. The Directors were divided into five Chambers, and consisted, in the Whole, of Seventy-two Persons, out of whom eighteen were again chosen for the Administration of the Company's Affairs, to whom a nineteenth was added by the States General. The Affairs of this Company were once in so flourishing a Condition, that they were not only on a Level, but, in some measure, superior to the *East India Company*, which was owing to the happy Success of their Affairs at Sea; for, in the Year 1629. their Admiral, *Peter Hames*, took the *Spanish Plate Fleet*, which was immensely rich, and brought it into *Holland*. They made themselves Masters of the greatest Part of *Brasil*, and were so considerable, that the great Count *Maurice of Nassau* did not think it beneath him to accept of a Commission from this Company, to be Governor General of *Brasil*; which, however, alter it had cost them immense Sums to defend, they at last lost.

The Term of their Charter was limited to twenty-four Years, which, in 1647. being expired, was renewed for twenty-five more; during which time, their Affairs grew very perplexed, so that towards the Close of that Term, they were content, that it should be dissolved; and, in the Year 1673. a new Company was erected, with pretty near the same Powers, by Letters Patent from the States General, which Company has subsisted ever since with great Reputation. The Capital of this new Company consists of six Millions of *Florens*, which amount to six hundred thousand Pounds of our Money; and the Limits of their Authority are, the Coasts of *Africa* and *America*; that is to say, all the Establishments of the *Dutch*, in those Countries, are under their Direction; so that whoever proposes any new Scheme, for the Improvement of Commerce in those Parts, must necessarily apply himself to that Company.

It was this that induced Mr. *Roggevein*, a Gentleman of great Parts and Penetration, to frame a Project for the Discovery of that vast Continent, and the many Islands which are supposed to lie in the Southern Part of the Globe, and of which the World has hitherto had but very imperfect Notices from others; which Project, together with the Reasons in Support of it, and a Plan for carrying his designed Discovery into Execution, he presented to the *East India Company* in 1696. by whom it was very well received, and he was assur'd of having all the Assistance he could desire or expect, as soon as the Affairs of the Company would permit: But the Disturbances that soon after followed, put a Stop to the Company's good Intentions; and, before any thing could be done, Mr. *Roggevein* breathed his last. He was a Gentleman of the Province of *Zealand*, who, from his Youth, had addicted himself to mathematical Studies, and had a true Zeal for the service of his Country; of which he gave many Proofs, and perhaps none, that, in his own Judgment, was to

great as the Framing this Scheme; at least, we have Reason to believe, since, upon his Death-bed, he recommended it to his Son, and exacted from him a Promise, that, at a Time convenient, he would endeavour in Person to execute what himself had propos'd. The young Gentleman, after his Father's Decease, applied himself to his Studies with the utmost Vigour, and made so happy a Proficiency in them, as to qualify himself for the Post of Counsellor in the Court of Justice at *Batavia*, whither he went, and resided there many Years.

2. After his Return from the *East Indies*, in which he had acquired an handsome Fortune, he bethought himself of performing the Promise he made his Father on his Death-bed; and, in the Year 1721. presented a Memorial to the *West India Company*, setting forth, that, at such a Time, his Father had propos'd discovering the Southern Continent and Island; which Proposal they had been pleas'd to accept, and he was now ready to perform. The Company received this Memorial with the same Readiness they did his Father's; and, as their Affairs were now in better Order, they acquainted Mr. *Roggevein*, that they would immediately give Directions for equipping such a Squadron as might be necessary for executing his Design. It consisted of three Ships; viz. The *Eagle*, of 36 Pieces of Cannon, and 111 Men, commanded by Captain *Job Coſter*, on board of which embarked the Commodore: The *Trenboven* of 28 Pieces of Cannon, and 100 Men, commanded by Captain *James Bowman*: The *African Galley*, of 14 Pieces of Cannon, and 60 Men, commanded by Captain *Henry Rosenthal*. This small Squadron sail'd from the Port of *Amsterdam* the 16th of July, in the same Year; and arriv'd happily, in the Space of 36 Hours, in the *Texel*. Before we proceed farther, it is requisite, that I should acquaint the Reader, that we stand indebted for the Journal of this Voyage to the Gentleman who commanded the Land Forces that were on board the Commodore, whose Name I am not at Liberty to mention, or that of another Person, who made the Voyage, and from whom I have received considerable Assistance. The Nature of the Expedition is sufficient to recommend it to the Perusal of the Curious; and the many remarkable Particulars it contains, with regard to the State of the *Dutch* Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, will, I dare say, justify what I think myself oblig'd to say of it; that it is at once as instructive and as entertaining a Piece in its kind, as I ever perus'd.

3. As soon as the Ships could be provided with every thing necessary for so long a Voyage, they sail'd, which was on the 21st of August 1721. with a fair Wind; which, however, changed the next Day, and oblig'd them to spend three Days beating through the Chanel. They continued their Course to the South-west, in order to gain the Coast of *Barbary*; but were prevented by a great Storm, which did them much Damage. To this succeeded a stark Calm; during which, the Waves ran Mountain-high, as having not yet lost that Agitation into which they had been put by the late high Wind. This brought upon them new Mischiefs; one of their Vessels lost its Main-top and Mizzen-mast, and, in the Commodore, the Main-sail Yard came down, with such Force, as wounded several People upon Deck, and all this from the Rolling of the Ship; so that our Author concludes, that, in the *Spanish Seas*, there is infinitely more Danger from the sudden Calm, which usually follows a Storm, than from the wildest Tempest; inasmuch that he positively declares, that, in the *Baltic*, and other Northern Seas, in which he had often sail'd, he never met with any Tempest comparable to this, which he attributes to the Deepness of the Sea, supposing, that the greater the Mass of Water, the longer, when once put in Motion, that Motion lasts. But, as this is a Conjecture only,

only, I presume to offer the Reader another Reason; which is, the Nearness of the Shores, or opposite Coasts, in the *Mediterranean*; for, as we see in a Basin that has been shooke, the Motion of the Water remains after the Basin stands still; so it is plain, that the Violence of the Motion is greater in proportion to the Smallness of the Vessel, because the Strokes from the opposite Side are repeated quicker, and the Water has less room to play.

After two Days the Wind freshened, and they began to recover the Fatigues they had sustained: During that Space of Time, they continued to steer South-west, in hopes of gaining the *Canaries*; and diverted themselves by observing the Manner in which the Flying-fish endeavours to escape its Enemies, the *Albicore* and *Bonitos*. The Flying-fish is not much bigger than a Herring, and the Fins it flies with, are, for Strength and Texture, not unlike the Wings of a Bat. The *Dutch* Sailors esteem them very good Food, and, therefore, are never better pleased, than when they meet with Plenty of them. The *Bonito* is a Fish about two Feet long, of a greyish Colour, and finely streaked from Head to Tail; the Flesh dry, hard, and of a disagreeable Taste. The *Albicore* resembles the *Bonito* in every respect, except its Size; for the *Albicore* is, generally speaking, five or six Feet long, and weighs sometimes 150 lb. They saw likewise some Water-fowl, and particularly Teal, which the Seamen always account a Sign of the Land's being near.

At last, finding themselves in the Latitude of 28°, they expected they should have seen very soon some of the *Canary* Islands; when, of a sudden, the Man at the Mast-head informed them, that he discovered a Sail, which carried *English* Colours. As soon as they drew near enough to discern her Motions, they perceived that she struck her Colours, and bore away from them. In about an Hour's time she appeared again, with four Sail more in her Company, which sometimes carried white, and sometimes black, and, at last, red Colours; which gave Reason to suspect, that they were Pirates. The Commodore immediately made the Signal for a Line of Battle; all Hands were employed in making a clear Ship, in filling Grenades, and preparing every thing that was necessary for the ensuing Engagement, in which they were so lucky as to have the Advantage of the Wind. The Pirates, observing this Disposition, immediately put themselves in a fighting Posture; and began by striking their red, and hoisting a black Flag, with a Death's Head in the Centre, a Powder-horn over it, and two Bones across underneath. They likewise formed a Line; and, in an Hour's time, the Action began. The Pirates fought briskly for some time, supposing them to be Merchantsmen; but, after a Dispute of two Hours, and perceiving that the Commodore sought to board the Vessel with which he was engaged, they spread all the Canvas they could, and crowded away as fast as possible. The *Dutch* Commodore cried out, as soon as he saw them bearing away, *Let the Rascals go*. In which he strictly obeyed his Instructions; for all the *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their *East* and *West* India Companies, have strict Orders never to give Chase, but to pursue their Course. It is true, that sometimes their Captains neglect this Order; but it is at their Peril, and they are always made answerable for the Consequences on their Return home.

This unlucky Accident cost the Squadron a great many Men. In the Commodore they had four killed, among whom was a Quarter-master, and nine wounded; and there were seven killed, and twenty six wounded, in the other two Ships. The Carpenters likewise found themselves fully employed in stopping Leaks, and repairing the Damage they had received. As soon as this was done, which was by the 1st of November, they continued their Voyage, and arrived in Sight of the Island of *Madera*, which afforded a beautiful Prospect at a Distance. There is good Anchorage on its Coasts, where Wood and Water may be conveniently taken in, but, notwithstanding this, the *Dutch* *East* and *West* India Ships rarely touch there. In the Neighborhood of *Madera*, they saw a desert Island, which is much frequented by the Pirates, who wood and water there, and obtain other Refreshments. They had likewise a Sight of the Pike of *Tenozil* at the

Distance of about twenty-five Leagues. This is generally esteemed the highest single Mountain in the World, which is the Reason that Geographers place there the first Meridian; a Custom, however, from which many of the Moderns vary, but with which the Globe and Map-makers in *Holland* constantly comply, believing, that, from this Regularity, they derived great Advantages. On the other hand, the *French* and *English*, of late Years especially, incline to fix the first Meridian in their respective Maps at *Paris*, or at *London*; which creates great Confusion in the Longitude of Places, when this Distinction is not previously taken notice of by the Writers who make use of such Maps. King *Lewis* the XIIIth of *France* endeavoured to prevent this Inconvenience by an Edict, dated April 25, 1634, by which he directed the first Meridian to be placed in the Island of *Fero*, the most Westward of the *Canaries*.

From these Islands they continued steering South-west, for those of the *Cape de Verde*, of which they had likewise a Sight. This *Cape Verde*, or *Green Cape*, is a Point in *Africa*, or rather a Mountain, shooting forth into the Sea, which *Ptolemy* calls *Arlinarium*. It was discovered by the *Portuguese* in the Year 1474, in the Reign of *Alphonso* the Vth; it is bounded by the two Rivers *Gambia* and *Senega*, formerly called *Stachiris* and *Garratus*: To the West Side of it there is an Island full of an infinite Number of Birds, whose Eggs are commonly gathered by the Mariners. This Cape is a dangerous Landing place, because of a great many Rocks about it sunk under Water, therefore it is better to land three Leagues off it, though in a Place uninhabited, and which affords nothing but Wood and Stones. The Continent is peopled by Negroes, who trade with all Nations, and speak several Languages, especially *French* and *Portuguese*. The most Part of them go naked, having only a Piece of linen Cloth about their Middle, to cover their privy Parts: But the Noblemen and Grandees clothe themselves a little better; for they wear a long Garment of Calico, made like a Woman's Shift, and striped with Blue: They hang little square leather Bags upon their Arms and Legs, but we could not learn of them what they put in these Bags: They wear Necklaces made of Sea-hortles Teeth, with glass Beads between, on their Heads they wear a Cap of Calico, striped with Blue: They are a prudent and wise People, employing themselves in cultivating the Ground, which bears good Rice, and other Things, sufficient to maintain them: They never see among them keep Cattle, which are very dear in that Country, because there are but a few. Here are a great many good Blacksmiths; for Iron is much valued among them; and you find long iron Bars, forged like spears, which serve them for fishing, and plowing the Ground: They make likewise several Sorts of Weapons, as Arrows, Darts, Javelins, &c. They have little or no Knowledge of Almighty God, except some of them, who were old Christians. In general, what Religion they have, comes nearest to the *Mohammedan*; for they are circumcised: They are very lascivious Men, and may have as many Wives as they please, and Women are seldom at such ease with one Husband, but, above all, they love Strangers passionately. The *Portuguese* who live there are free to trade with all Nations, but have no Authority of Power but over their Slaves and Servants. The Country is altogether under the Subjection of the Governors of the Town or Village, who row in little Boats to the Ships when they arrive, to make them pay the Custom.

They had at this time only a Sight of those People in their Boats; for, having the Advantage of a strong North-east Wind, they continued their Course for six Weeks, without coming to an Anchor, or handling a Sail. In this long Passage they had some Days in which the Heat was almost insupportable; and the Crew began to murmur exceedingly, on account of their being at that a long time for Water, of which they had, they had too little to subsist on, especially considering the hard Labour they were obliged to undergo. This short Allowance produced hereafter a very extraordinary Accident: One of the Swabbers being exceedingly thirsty, got down into the Hold, to pierce a Cask, which very unluckily proved to be full of salt Water, at which he pulled so heartily, that he

soon intoxicated himself, made him quarrel with the Cook-room. The Cook, not dreaming in a pretty quick Time to break your Neck. I will cut your Throat with his Knife as he spoke out the least Notice immediately, and endeavoured to get the Knife out of his hand, but not being able to do so, he ran across the Cook's Face heartily, which he received as he got loose, he took three or four Stabs in taken of him, till his blood ran out, and he had him a public Examination: The Accidents might be prevented if the recovery he was treated in the first Place, he was then thrice Keel-hauled; and, lastly, he was taken to the Mall with his hands in this Condition some time in the Castle, and chained; he was allowed only to eat in Irons, till he could not be taken to an uninhabited Island that

There happened no Passage, except that the Islands, in some of which the Dew falls so copious, and the abundance of Herbs, and other, so much as to be a great Probable, because where, it is certain, the *Rio de Logoa*, on the *Cape Verde*, where the neighbourhood, never remembrance, it never, of from *Cape Blanco* to seldom; which in many South-east Winds. These Winds, as I have said, are so humid, as those that as tall in Dew. It is a South-east Wind by the North Wind, but has exactly the same use. It is also observed, that the South-east Winds reign constantly; the North-west Winds the South-east is the West Wind, which is intermixed with this; it seems reasonable to conclude, that it flows constantly towards the East, and certain Cause, which is not to be left, but to leave ever, far from being in the End of our Relation. They continue the Lane: The frequent exceeding; the same time, many Scary; and when the Calmy, when the Calmy, some of the Calmy, into high Fevers, at times, most of them five Third. They sunk abominably, but Provisions were only to turn their only is generally said, greater; but these ill-founded; and the

soon intoxicated himself to a degree of Madnefs. This Liquor made him quarrelsome, and in this Condition he ran directly into the Cook-room, where he threw down a Pan of Greafe: The Cook, not dreaming that the Fellow was drunk, said in a pretty quick Tone, *You Rascal, I have a great mind to break your Neck. Say you so?* replied the Swabber; and *I will cut your Throat, if you speak another Word*, drawing his Knife as he spoke to him, and rushing upon him without the least Notice. Some of the Crew gathered about immediately, and endeavoured, as soon as it was possible, to get the Knife out of the Fellow's Hands, which at last they did; but not before he had drawn it twice or thrice across the Cook's Face. For this they drubbed the Fellow heartily, which he resented to such a degree, that, as soon as he got loose, he took up a Knife, and gave himself three or four Stabs in the Belly. The utmost Care was taken of him, till his Wounds were cured, in order to make him a public Example to the Ship's Crew, that such Accidents might be prevented for the future. After his Recovery he was treated in the following manner. In the first Place, he was declared infamous at the Foremast, he was then thrice Keel-haled; then he had 300 Strokes upon the Buttocks; and, last of all, his Right-hand was fastened to the Mast with his own Knife. When he had stood in this Condition some Minutes, he was carried to the Fore-castle, and chained; where, for a certain Number of Days, he was allowed only Bread and Water, and, after all, put in Irons, till he could be set on shore in the first barren uninhabited Island they came to.

There happened nothing very remarkable besides, in this Passage, except that they saw several of the Cape de Verde Islands, in some of which, it is said, it never rains; and yet the Dew falls so copiously, that the Soil produces abundance of Herbs, and excellent Fruits. I cannot add the Author, is much as to this, but I think it so much the more probable, because we are acquainted with other Countries, where, it is certain, it never rains. For Instance, about the *Rio de Lagoo*, on the Coast of *Africa*, near the Tropic of *Capricorn*, where the *Cbristians*, who inhabit in that Neighbourhood, never remember to have seen Rain. In like manner, it never, or at least very rarely, rains in *Peru*, from *Cape Blanco* to *Coquimbo*. In *Egypt* also it rains very seldom; which in my Opinion, is owing to the North-east and South-east Winds blowing constantly in their Turns. These Winds, as I apprehend, do not bring Vapours so humid, as those that attend a West Wind, but rather such as fall in Dew. It is very rare, on this Side the Line, that a South-east Wind brings any Rain; and, on the other Side, the North Wind blowing along the Line is warm, and has exactly the same Effects that a South Wind has with us.

It is also observed throughout *Asia*, that the Monsoons reign constantly the whole Year through; that is to say, the North-west blows six Months, and the other six Months the South-east; and it is also observable, that it is the West Wind that brings Rain. This Rain is often intermixed with Thunder and Lightning; from all which it seems reasonable to infer, that the South-east blowing constantly towards the North Pole, and the North-east blowing as constantly towards the South Pole, is the true and certain Cause why in some Parts of the World it never rains. But to leave these Speculations, which are, however, far from being useless, let us now return to the Thread of our Relation.

4. They continued their Voyage, till they approached the Line: The frequent shifting of the Wind incommoded them exceedingly; their Thirst increasing excellently at the same time, many of the Ship's Crew were down of the Scary; and when they met, as they sometimes did, with a Calm, when the Heat of the Sun was greater than ordinary, some of the Crew were quite distracted, others fell into high Fevers, and some had Fits like the Falling Sickness; most of them lost their Appetite through an excessive Thirst. Their fresh Water, as it grew low, not only stunk abominably, but was also full of Worms: Their salt Provisions were, in a manner, quite spoiled, and served only to turn their Stomachs, and increase their Drought. It is generally said, that, of all Fortments, Hunger is the greatest; but these People apprehended that Maxim to be ill-founded, and that, instead of Hunger, we ought to

infert Thirst, if we would be thoroughly acquainted with the utmost Misery incident to human Nature. About this time, their Cares were somewhat diverted, by an Accident which very much surprised them: They observed often, towards Evening, that the Sea appeared to be all on Fire, as if covered with flaming Brimstone: They took up several Buckets of Water when it was in this Condition in order to examine it more closely; they then found it to be full of an infinite Number of little Globules, of the Size, Form, and Colour of Pearls: They observed farther, that they retained their Lustre for some time after they were held in their Hand; but that, when pressed between the Fingers, they discovered themselves to be nothing more than an earthy fat Substance like Mud: The most experienced Mariners on board confessed, that they had never seen any thing like it: and withall owned, they knew not what to make of it. The Author says, that he leaves it to such as are skilled in Physics, to explain an account for this Phenomenon; and, in order to give them some Assistance, he delivers this as his own Opinion, viz. that these Globules contain nothing, either of Sulphur or Salt-petre, as at first Sight they seemed to do; but are, in reality, nothing more than the phlegmatic and grosser Part of the Salts contained in the Water, concentered by the excessive Heat of the Sun in calm Weather, and again broken and dispersed among the Water, by the Motion of the Winds and Waves; to which, perhaps, the Current of the Coast of *Guinea*, in the Height of which they saw the same thing, might in some measure contribute.

At length they passed the Line, with the Loss only of a single Man, who died of a high Fever. When they arrived in the Latitude of 3° South, they met with the true Monsoon, before which they bore away at a great Rate. In the Latitude of 5° , they had the Sun directly over their Heads; which casting then no Shadow, they were for some Days without making an Observation. In the Latitude of 6° South, they caught a great Number of *Dorados* and *Dolphins*. Our Author says, that, strictly speaking, these are the same Fish; that the *Dolphin* is the Male, and the *Dorado* the Female. There are some of them six Feet in Length, but not at all proportionable in Bulk; they appear in the Water excessively beautiful, their Skins shining as if streaked with Gold, but they lose all these fine Colours as soon as they are taken out of that Element. Their Flesh is very sweet and well-tasted, so that the Seamen always feast, so long as Plenty of this Sort of Fish is to be had. They likewise saw abundance of *Sharks*, many of which were ten Feet long; the Flesh of these Creatures is hard, stringy, and of a very disagreeable Taste; notwithstanding which, the Seamen very frequently hang them up for a Day or two in the Air, and then eat them; which Compliment the *Sharks* never fail to return, if, by any Accident, a Seaman comes in their Way, either dead or alive; and seem to attend their Ships for that Purpose.

They now drew near the Coast of *Brazil*, and passed by, though at a pretty good Distance, some of the uninhabited Islands that lie on the Coast, such as *Trinity Island*, and some others. Their Design was to have anchored at the Coast of the Island *Grande*; but, finding they were past it, they continued their Route, till they arrived off *Porto*, in the Latitude of 24° South, where they came to an Anchor. As soon as they arrived in Sight of *Porto*, some of the Ship's Company, of whom our Author was one, got into the Shallop in order to go ashore, as well for the sake of getting Water, Wood, and other Refreshments, as in order to bury one of their Seamen. Before they could get on shore, they saw a Body of *Portuguese* well armed, moving along the Coast, and who appeared to have no other Design than to keep them from landing; and, as they drew nearer, they beckoned to the *Dutch* to keep off, threatening to fire upon them, if they attempted to land: But, upon shewing them the dead Body, they suffered them to land, and even shewed them a Place where they might inter it.

As the *Dutch* were very desirous of gaining some Intelligence, they asked a good many Questions about the Country; to which they could obtain no other Answer than this, that *Porto* was an Advance port to *St. Sebastian*,
not

not marked in the Chart; and that they were Inhabitants of *Rio Janeiro*, which lay about eight Miles off. The *Dutch* endeavoured to persuade them to go on board their Vessels; but they refused, fearing that they might be Pirates. This, to say the Truth, was no unreasonable Supposition, since such Vessels frequently appear on the Coast; and, under Pretence of getting fresh Water, land and pillage any of the little Towns that are near the Sea. About six Months before their Arrival there had been one there, the Crew of which were preparing to make a Descent; when, unluckily for them, a *French* Ship of Force arrived, and with one Broadside sunk her to the Bottom. It was believed she had near seven Millions on board her; and, as she sunk in thirteen Fathom Water, they had sent for Divers from *Portugal*, in order, if possible, to recover Part of her Treasure. Another, not long after, had the same Fate upon that Coast: However, with the warmest Intreaties, and the strongest Assurances possible, two of them were prevailed upon to go on board the *Dutch* Ship, where they were very kindly received, had Presents made them of Cloaths, which induced them to promise they would carry the whole Squadron into a safe Port; and they were as good as their Words, which was extremely acceptable to Men in their Condition, almost worn out with Fatigues, and, in a manner, destroyed for want of Liquids.

This Harbour of *Porto* affords good Anchorage, from six to eight Fathom Water. In entering it on the South west, they had the Main land on the Right, and a large Island on the Left. All the Coast, along which they sailed, appeared to be very high Land, intermingled with Mountains and Valleys overgrown with Shrubs. *Porto* lies in a pleasant Situation, but there were no Inhabitants there at this time. The Fish and Tortoises caught here were of an exquisite Taste, and very nourishing; so that most of the People, who were ill of the Scurvy, which, at the Time of their Arrival there, might be about forty, recovered very fast. After staying there two Days, in which Time they supplied themselves with Wood and Water, they weighed Anchor, and continued the same Course to the South west; After sailing about six Leagues, and seeing many small Islands at a Distance, they found themselves in the Road of *St. Sebastian*. At the very Instant they entered the Mouth of the River, there arose a Storm, which blew with such Violence, that for fear of being driven on the Rocks, they were forced to drop their Anchors, and wait the Return of the Tide. The next Day they weighed, entered the Port, and came to an Anchor before the Town; which they saluted thrice, with seven, five, and three Pieces of Cannon, but without receiving the least Answer, either because the *Portuguese* Guns were not in Order, or because the People were not very well pleased with their Arrival, as shrewdly suspected, notwithstanding they hoisted a *Dutch* Flag, that they were very little better than Pirates. In order to remove those Doubts, the Commodore wrote a Letter to the Governor, informing him who they were, and desiring that he would furnish them with Cattle, Herbs, Fruits, Wood, and Water, for ready Money. He likewise desired, as a Matter of Favour, that his Excellency would be pleased to allow them a few Huts on shore, for the Refreshment of their sick Men. The Governor returned for Answer, that nothing of this Sort was in his Power, as he was subordinate to the Governor of *Rio de Janeiro*; that, however, he would dispatch an Express thither immediately, and hoped they would allow him Time to learn the Sense of his superior Officer. The *Dutch* Commodore was very far from being satisfied with this Answer; and gave the *Portuguese* Governor to understand, that, as he was very willing to deal with him for Money, so, if he could not obtain what he wanted by fair Means, he should be obliged to take it by force, now much more against his Inclination; but, having learned that there was a *Franciscan* Monastery in the Town, at the same time that he dispatched this Message, he went to acquaint the Father, with his Arrival, accompanied with a Present.

It happened very luckily for them, that, in this Monastery, there was one Father *Honora*, a Native of *Utrecht*, who immediately came aboard with several of the Monks. This honest Father was so delighted at the Sight of his

Countrymen, that he declared he should now die in Peace, having, for twenty-two Years, earnestly wished to enjoy this Satisfaction. The Commodore made him exceedingly welcome, and gave them whatever they desired for the Use of their Monastery. The Prior, who was of the Number of those that came on board, desired the Commodore to have Patience a little, till the Return of the Express from *Rio de Janeiro*; and promised that he would use his utmost Interest with the Governor, in order to engage him to comply with the Commodore's Demands, so that they parted on both Sides very well satisfied with each other. In the mean time, the *Portuguese* came down in great Bodies, well armed, to the Coast, and posted themselves particularly in those Places where it was believed the *Dutch* Shallop might attempt to put her Men on shore. On the Approach of the Shallop, the *Portuguese* thought fit to fire upon them, by which one of the *Dutchmen* was dangerously wounded in the Shoulder: Thereupon the Boat's Crew returned the Compliment, by a general Discharge of their small Arms, by which two of the *Portuguese* were laid on the Ground; at the Sight of which, the rest made a precipitate Retreat, and the *Dutch*, landing immediately, filled what Water they had Occasion for, and then returned on board.

On the Report of what had happened, the Commodore made the necessary Dispositions for the Attack of the Place, and stationed his Ships accordingly: The smallest was ordered in as near the Town as possible; the *Zeemeeuw* was ordered to watch the Coast; and the Commodore anchored as near as could be to the Convent, as at he had intended to set it on Fire, or beat it down to the Ground: All this, however, was designed only to fright the *Portuguese* into a better Behaviour; and it had the designed Effect; for the Deputy-Governor soon after came on board, and entered into a Treaty, by which the *Portuguese* granted all that had been desired; but, at the same time, expressed a great Diffidence of their being paid for what they furnished; because, having lately treated with a *French* Ship in the same manner, the Captain at his Departure, threatened to beat the Town about their Ears, in case they insisted on being paid according to his Promises when he came in. The Sick, being landed on the Island, were furnished daily by the *Portuguese* with Beef, Mutton, Pork, Herbs, Fruits, and whatever else they wanted. The Ship's Company also, having Leave to go ashore, contracted Acquaintance among the *Portuguese*, from whom they obtained Sugar, Tobacco, Brandy, and whatever else they desired, in Exchange for *European* Goods, notwithstanding the Governor had prohibited any kind of Commerce, on the severest Penalties. Thus, in a very short time, the Scene was effectually changed, and the *Portuguese* so well satisfied as to the Honesty and good Intentions of the *Dutch*, that they brought back, in mutual Accord, all the rich Effects that had been carried out of the Town, when their Ships first appeared there. The *Portuguese*, however, complained bitterly of the large sum met with from the *French*; who, according to their Accounts, frequently came before the Place with their Ships, took whatever they pleased by Force, and placed in the Houses, in which they were permitted to lodge themselves, which was all the *Portuguese* to believe, that all the *Frenchmen* would treat them in the same manner.

The Town of *St. Sebastian* is situated in the Latitude of 24°, and in the Longitude of 60°, it is a Place of moderate Extent, indifferently fortified, being surrounded with Palisadoes, and furnished only with a few Pieces of Cannon. The Church, however, is a very beautiful Building, the Palace of the Governor very magnificent, and the Houses of the Inhabitants, such as are commonly met with in the *Indies*. The *Franciscan* Monastery has above thirty Monks, who live there very comfortably, and believe themselves as become Perilous of their Protection. The Prior showed the Commodore, and the rest of the Officers, an Idol, which had been worshipped by the ancient Inhabitants of the Place. This was the Statue of a Creature half Tyger, half Lion, about four Feet high, and one and an half about. They were told, that this Statue was of massy Gold; but the Author suspected, that it was

only gilt: The Feet of a Lion; his Head in which stuck up two each Side, was bro on each Shoulder, a Stork. In the last completely armed, ing at his Back a Q Bow, and in his R frous Idol was ver round the Body of the Country, who this Statue *Nasli* L Atonishment, and Collection of *Europ* in the Possession of River, of *St. Sebast* and about one in B fine Island, of abou of it lie smaller T Town, is called *St* as all the World kn much that the King Riches from thence, of *America*; and th Majesty is content w Silver found in his *ugal* sweeps all. T East, and North: or *St. Salvador*, *Star* &c. This Country but then it is to be co have not penetrated Land. The Soil is lels, produce Corn a Inhabitants at least, People were not hin and constantly supp from the *Portuguese* are, *Tapuca*, *Janeiro* *Parayba*, &c. It is here, that the antie Man-eaters; and it sold in their Markets this there is no autho *Dutch* law were larg lipped, that Nules, an here are very numer as those that flock ov time, in order to re other Riches, the A their Arrival, the Mine not far from s they were not in t Expedition against sole Masters of so v they invited the *Dut* in case they succee Insinuations mine of The Author says, e were so lucky as to did; because, since monds have been in said, that they are amongst a red kind Gold, washed out by the Torrents inc employed in washing *Brazil* abounds w tame and wild. T deal of Mischief: plants, the Teeth of Creatures, are mor Popish Religion p *Portuguese* can extend of the native Inhab their old idolatrous diction, that, if a C Vol. I.

only gilt: The Feet of this Creature resembled the Paws of a Lion; his Head was adorned with a double Crown, in which stuck up twelve Indian Darts, one of which, on each Side, was broken in the Middle; behind his Head, on each Shoulder, there was a large Wing, like that of a Stock. In the Inside of the Statue was that of a Man, completely armed, after the manner of the Country, having at his back a Quiver of Arrows, in his Left Hand a Bow, and in his Right a Shalt. The Tail of this monstrous Idol was very long, and turned three or four times round the Body of the armed Man: The Inhabitants of the Country, who worshipped so frightful a God, called this Statue *Nasli Lichma*. The Dutch looked upon it with Astonishment, and saw, with great Pleasure, a numerous Collection of European and American Curioities that were in the Possession of the Monks. The Port, or rather the River, of *St. Sebastian*, is three or four Leagues in Length, and about one in Breadth. On the North-east lies a very fine Island, of about four Miles round, and on every Side of it lie smaller Islands. The Haven, as well as the Town, is called *St. Sebastian*. The Country of *Brasil*, is, as all the World knows, very large, and very rich, inasmuch that the King of *Portugal* is said to draw as great Riches from thence, as the King of *Spain* from all the rest of *America*; and this may very well be, since his Catholic Majesty is content with a very small Part of the Gold and Silver found in his Dominions, whereas the King of *Portugal* sweeps all. The Province of *Brasil* extends South, East, and North: The Capital of this Country is *Babia*, or *St. Salvador*, *Siara*, *Olanda*, *Rio de Janeiro*, *St. Vincent*, &c. This Country was discovered about the Year 1500; but then it is to be considered, that, even to this Day, they have not penetrated much above eighty Leagues within Land. The Soil is good, and the Country would, doubtless, produce Corn and Wine sufficient for the Use of its Inhabitants at least, if, from a Principle of Policy, the People were not hindered from cultivating their Grounds, and constantly supplied with these necessary Commodities from the *Portuguese*. The principal Rivers in this Country are, *Tapuca*, *Janeiro*, *Patipa*, *Daspedres*, *San Francisco*, *Parayba*, &c. It is the common Opinion of the *Portuguese* here, that the antient Inhabitants were *Antropophagi*, or Man-eaters; and it is even said, that human Flesh was sold in their Markets as common as Peef or Mutton; but of this there is no authentic Proof. Those of the Natives the Dutch saw were large Men, of a dark Complexion, thick-lipped, flat Noles, and very white Teeth. The *Portuguese* here are very numerous, as well Natives of the Country, as those that flock over hither from *Portugal*, from time to time, in order to repair their broken Fortunes. Among other Riches, the Author assures us, that, a little before their Arrival, the *Portuguese* had discovered a Diamond Mine not far from *St. Sebastian's*, of which, at that time, they were not in full Possession, but were meditating an Expedition against the *Indians*, in order to become the sole Masters of so valuable a Prize; and, with this View, they invited the Dutch to join with them, promising them, in case they succeeded, a Share in the Riches; by which Insinuations nine of their Soldiers were tempted to desert: The Author says, that he does not know whether they were so lucky as to succeed; but, in all Probability, they did; because, since that time, great Quantities of Diamonds have been imported from *Brasil* into *Europe*. It is said, that they are found on the Tops of Mountains, amongst a red kind of Earth, which holds a great deal of Gold, washed out of it by great Rains, and carried down by the Torrents into the Valleys, where the Negroes are employed in washing it.

Brasil abounds with all Sorts of Birds, Fish, and Beasts, tame and wild. They have Tygers there, that do a great deal of Mischief: There are likewise abundance of Elephants, the Teeth of which are of great Value; neither is there any Country, where Serpents, and other venomous Creatures, are more frequent, or of a larger Size. The Popish Religion prevails as far as the Power of the *Portuguese* can extend it. There are, however, vast Numbers of the native Inhabitants, who are yet unsubdued, live in their old idolatrous Religion, and are to cruel and vindictive, that, if a Christian unluckily falls into their Hands,

the best thing he can expect, is to have his Throat cut; for very often they put them to Death by intolerable Tortures. The Air of the Country is extremely wholesome, though, at some certain Times of the Year, it is excessively hot. The Author experienced the Excellency of the Climate by his speedy and perfect Recovery from the Scurvy, and other Distempers; and it had the like Effect on the rest of their sick People. There are vast Numbers of a venomous Kind of Maskitoes about *St. Sebastian's* which sting People to such a Degree, that they are all covered over with Bliters. An Accident of this Kind happened to their Pilot, who, having drank too freely of the Rum made in that Country, slept afterwards in the open Air, and had his Face, Arms, Head, and Legs, so stung, that his Life was in the utmost Danger; and it was not without abundance of Care, and after a long Space of Time, that he thoroughly recovered. The Dutch Commodore, while they remained here, obliged his People to observe a very strict Discipline; and, upon Complaint being made, that some of his Sailors were too familiar with some of the *Indian* Women, he caused them to be severely chastised, and would never afterwards permit them to go on shore. But, how well soever the Dutch and *Portuguese* might agree, the Governor was far enough from being satisfied with his new Guelts; He had learned from some of the Deserters, that the Design of their Voyage was to make Discoveries towards the South, which displeased him very much; and therefore he practised every Art he could devise to hinder and distress them: With this View, he furnished them with Provisions only from Day to Day, to prevent their adding to their Sea Stores; he likewise talked of five or six Men of War coming from *Rio de Janeiro*, in order to put the Dutch in Fear of being attacked: To carry this as far as it would go, he actually lent for the only Ship that was then there, to come to *St. Sebastian's*. The Commodore understood the Meaning of all this very well, and took no notice of it, complying exactly with the Terms stipulated by the Treaty with the Deputy-Governor, saving Part of his fresh Provisions daily, and salting them, cleaning and repairing his Ships one by one, taking on board Tobacco, Sugar, and whatever else he wanted, till he thought himself in a Condition to continue his Voyage; and then he fully satisfied the Governor in Fire-arms, Hats, silk Stockings, Linen, Stock-fish, and other *European* Commodities, for whatever he had received; and made him a very considerable Present besides. The Governor, in Return, sent him some Black Cattle, and a Certificate of his honest Behaviour, to be made use of in *Europe*. And, all Things being thus settled, to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties, the Dutch Commodore sailed with his Squadron, keeping still to the South west; and, finding a desert Isle, about three Leagues from the Coast, he set on shore there the Swabber, who had attempted to murder the Cook, according to the Sentence that had been passed upon him, as has been before related.

6. After leaving the Coast of *Brasil*, the Commodore proposed visiting the Island of *Aukes Magdeland*, so called from its first Discoverer, who, about one hundred Years ago, saw a Light in that Island, which is said to be situated in the Latitude of 30° South; but did not go on shore. As the Situation of this Island must have been very advantageous, and in a good Climate, the Commodore intended to settle a Colony there, for the Service of such Ships as should afterwards be bound to the Southern *Indies*, that, by this means, they might obtain Wood, Water, and other Refreshments, without being obliged to touch at any of the Countries subject to the *Portuguese*. He found it, however, absolutely impracticable, because, in spite of all the Pains he could take, he never could discover that, or any other Island, in or near the Latitude of 30°; which obliged him to change his Course, and to steer towards the *New Islands*, so called by the Dutch; but, by a *French* Privateer, that first discovered them, named *St. Lewis*. The Squadron prosecuted its Voyage very happily, by continuing always within 40 and 50 Leagues of the *American* Shore, by which they enjoyed the Benefit of the Land and Sea Winds; whereas, if they had kept farther from Land, they would have infallibly fallen in with the West Monsoon.

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the Commodore Attack of the r: The final- ties; the *Treiman* Commodore an- r, as it had to the Ground: might the *Port- the designed E- came on board, tugee granted time, expres- r what they far- with a *French* Ship departure, there- in case they in- omies when he Island, were fat- Mutton, Fort- y wanted. The altho, in some- re, from whom and whatever it Good, or some- ny kind of Com- in a very great and the *Port- and good land- ck, or that on in certain of d rations. The of the 1 together along to their A- with their ships d pleasure: re lodge there, so- that all the ve- r**

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On the 21st of *December*, when they were in the Latitude of 40° South, they were surpris'd by an Hurricane, attended with Thunder and Lightning. All they could do was to turl their Sails, and lie at the Mercy of the Wind and Waves: The Sea ran so very high, that they expected every Moment to be swallowed. In this Storm they were separated from the *Tienhoven*, and did not meet with her again till three Months afterwards. The Violence of the Hurricane lasted about four Hours, but was not intirely over in some Days. It was very happy for the Commodore, that, in spite of the prodigious Force of the Wind, his Masts stood firm. These Hurricanes are extremely dangerous, and Ships often founder through their Violence. They are far more frequent in the *West*, than they are in the *East Indies*. They happen usually at one Season of the Year, particularly when the West Monsoon reigns, which is from the 20th of *July* to the 15th of *October*. For this Reason, on Coasts where they are frequent, Vessels often continue in Port, till they imagine they have nothing of this kind to fear. But, as Storms of this sort are not exactly periodical, and as there are some Years in which happen no Hurricanes at all, Ships trusting to such Calculations, or to certain pretended Prognostics, are very often caught. In the *Mediterranean* they have a kind of Hurricane, which returns every Year at the same time, or very near it. In the Neighbourhood of the *Ganges*, they have annually eight Hurricanes, as the most experienced Mariners report. They call these kind of Storms here, as well as in the *Mediterranean*, by the Name of the *Elephant*. Such as sail to *Japan*, are often exposed to such rough Encounters; and, therefore, the Voyage to that Island is justly reputed the most hazardous of any in the *Indies*. It is reported, (but I do not assert it) that Ships have sometimes spent three Years in the adjacent Seas, without being able to hit their intended Port. The ordinary, or at least the surest, Sign of an Hurricane, is very fair Weather, and so dead a Calm, as that not a Wrinkle can be discern'd; then a Cloud, about the Size of a Man's Hand, rises in the Air, very dark; and, in a little time, the whole Sky is covered. The Wind then begins to blow from the West, and, in a small Space of Time, whisks round the Compass, swelling the Sea to a dreadful Height; and, as the Wind blows now on the one Side, and then on the other, the Shock of the contrary Waves beats the Vessels so furcibly, that they very rarely escape Shipwreck. Such as perceive the Cloud early, cannot do better than to get out to Sea. It is very remarkable, that, as Ships approach either Pole, those Hurricanes are less frequent, so that, in an higher Latitude than 55°, they are not to be feared. It is true, that the Winds towards the Poles blow with greater Force, and the Air is more sharp and piercing; but then contrary Winds are not so often met with, or, to speak with greater Propriety, the Wind does not move so rapidly round the Compass. The Winds also in that Quarter sink more gradually than under the Tropics, where they suddenly swell to the greatest Height, and then as suddenly cease to blow. The Cause, possibly, of this Difference may be, the Warmth of Air between the Tropics, and the constant South or North Wind under the Pole. It is likewise observed, that this Hurricane rarely happens in the midst of the wide Ocean, but chiefly on the Coasts of such Countries as abound with Minerals, or at the Mouths of great Rivers. Another surpris'ing Phenomenon at Sea is, what they call a Whirlwind, and which, in some Countries, is call'd a Siphon. These are occasioned by the Sun, and are distinguished from other Winds by a kind of spiral Motion, which carries up into the Air whatever comes within the Circle of their Force. It sometimes happens, that they carry Fish, Grass-hoppers, and other Things, very high in the Air, where they appear like a thick Vapour or Cloud. The *English* fire at a Whirlwind, in order to stop its Progress; and in this they often succeed; and, the circular Motion ceasing, all that it had taken up, falls itself, and the Sea becomes presently calm. But it is time to leave this Digression, and to return again to the History of our Voyage.

As soon as the Hurricane was intirely over, the Commodore, and his Consort the *African Galley*, continued a South South-west Course, till, by the Assistance of the

Land Winds, they were in the Height of the Streights of *Magellan*.

7. Here they discovered an Island of near 200 Leagues in Circumference, and at the Distance of about fourscore Leagues from the Main-land of *America*; and, as they saw no Smoke, nor any Boat, or other Embarkation, on the Coast, they concluded that it was uninhabited. A *French* Privateer discovered the West Coast of it, and call'd it the Island of *St. Lewis*; but the *Dutch*, observing its many Capes, fancied them to be so many different Islands; and therefore bestow'd on them the Name of the *New Islands*. This Squadron first discovered the Island all round, and particularly the East Coast of it; the first visible Points of which they nam'd the Points of *Resistance*, because they were first discovered by a Captain of that Name, who commanded the *African Galley*; the uttermost Eastern Point they call'd *New-Year's Cape*, because discovered upon that Day: This Island lying in the Latitude of 52° South, and in the Longitude of 95°, they call'd it *Belgia Australis*, because, whenever it comes to be inhabited, such as dwell thereon will be strictly and properly Antipodes to the Inhabitants of the *Low Countries*. The Land appeared extremely beautiful, and very fertile: It was chequered with Mountains and Valleys, all of which were clothed with very fine *Irrat Trees*. The Verdure of the Meadows, and the Freshness of the Woods, afforded a most delightful Prospect, insomuch that all the Ships Companies agreed, that, if they had land'd, they should have found excellent Fruits: But the Commodore would not allow them to land, for fear of losing Time; and, from an Apprehension, that any Delay might hinder his getting round *Cape Horn*, he therefore chose to defer a thorough Examination of this new Country, till he should return from the Discovery of the Southern Continents and Islands; but that, alas! however reasonable, proved, as in the Sequel we shall see, a vain Expectation, because he was oblig'd to return home with his Squadron by the *East Indies*. This fine Island, therefore, is like to continue till, in a great measure, unknown; and the Commodore regretted excessively his not laying hold of that fair Opportunity of spending a few Days there, which, perhaps, might have produced the fixing a Colony on that Island; from whence, without doubt, many other considerable Discoveries might, in a short time, have been conveniently made.

8. Quitting this Island, they returned to the Mouth of the Streights of *Magellan*, in order to wait there for a Wind favourable to their Navigation; and, in a few Days, it very luckily chang'd; for, if it had continued to blow from the West, they could not possibly have obtained their Passage into the South Seas. This they were oblig'd to attempt by the Streights of *Le Maire*, because this last Passage is infinitely more commodious than that of *Magellan*, where the Sea has but a small Depth, and the North and South Currents, by their meeting, occasioned constant rough Seas. Add to this, that the Bottom is rocky, and affords no good Anchorage; and that the Flaws from the Mountains on both Sides endanger all Ships that venture into these perilous Streights: But, having, as is before observ'd, a fair Wind, they continued their Course to the South, in order to pass the Streights of *Le Maire*. In their Way they saw abundance of Whales, and other large Fish of that kind: Amongst the rest, they were follow'd for a whole Month by that kind of Fish which the *Dutch* Sailors call the *sea Devil*. They took the utmost Pains to catch it, but to no Purpose. It has a large Head, a thick short Body, and a very long Tail, like that which Partes bestow on the Dragon. Arriving at length in the Height of 55°, they began to conceive they could not be far distant from the Mouth of the Streights, and immediately after they saw *Stateland*, which makes one Side of them. The Fury of the Waves, and the Clashing of contending Currents, gave such terrible Shocks to their Vessels, as made them reel in such a manner, that they expected every Moment their Yards would have broken, and their Masts come by the Board. In this Situation they would have been glad to come to an Anchor, especially when they found, by found'ing, that the Bottom was very good; but the Weather was so rough as not to permit it.

They pass'd the Streights in Length, and fix'd a Swiftnet's not to be Force of a Current. joined to a strong Way from the Coast of sure to get round Latitude of 62° 30' they sustained the Wind, accompanied piercing Frost. The Violence of the Wind with thick Mists, however, which must have Whenever the Weather any Night at all; for Summer was at its Height at their utmost Length which they were to Height of *Cape Horn* Southern Countries except those under the North Hills of Ice cannot formed by the common be concluded, that the Currents, and of shallow Gelves, or the Mouth other Side, no less than this Ocean proceed all rolling down from such Impetuosity, that Force, even after they city of Birds that are so Land cannot be far off.

It may be demand'd, whether or not: For my own seems the most possible, how it can be such a Climate: as that is very long, the Season great Part of the Year perpetual Night? To this come hither only in a retreat on the Approach of the *Russian* Empire. Streights, who, after themselves with Fish on the farther within Land, a Cabin, the Fish they further, says he, that with in *Greenland*, and on, they inform us, that the Height of 70° is what is practicable in an incredible when suppos'd having driven these Continent, the Commerce beyond *Cape Horn*, a by North, in order to continuing this Course Land, they began to *Cape Horn*, but had the 10th of *March*, 1770, they discover'd the Coast of the Island of the Continent. They Island, at least, a Part more especially fresh Surprise, were disappointed, and that themselves to the Main the Island, a Multitude Cabins near the Shore stricter and closer Sea Spanish Ship, from whom got on shore. As to they were left there to at certain times from

They passed the Streights, which are about ten Leagues in Length, and six over, where they are the broadest, with a Swiftness not to be expressed, which was owing to the Force of a Current. These Currents without the Streights, joined to a strong West Wind, carried them out a great Way from the Coast of America; and, that they might be sure to get round Cape Horn, they sailed as high as the Latitude of $62^{\circ} 30'$. There, for three Weeks together, they sustained the most dreadful Gulls of a furious West Wind, accompanied with Hail, Snow, and the most piercing Frost. They were very apprehensive, lest the Violence of the Wind might, while they were enveloped with thick Mists, have driven them upon Mountains of Ice, which must have exposed them to certain Shipwreck. Whenever the Weather was a little serene, they had scarce any Night at all; for, being the midst of January, the Summer was at its Height in that Climate, and the Days at their utmost Length. These Mountains of Ice, of which they were so much afraid, were visible from the Height of Cape Horn; and are certain Proofs, that those Southern Countries extend quite to their Pole, as well as those under the North; for, without Question, such vast Hills of Ice cannot either be produced in the Sea, or formed by the common Force of Cold. It must therefore be concluded, that they are occasioned by the Violence of Currents, and of sharp piercing Winds, blowing out of Gulphs, or the Mouths of large Rivers. It is, on the other Side, no less certain, that the Currents discerned in this Ocean proceed all from the Mouths of Rivers, which, rolling down from an high Continent, fall into the Sea with such Impetuosity, that they preserve a great Part of their Force, even after they have entered it. The great Quantity of Birds that are seen here, is an additional Proof, that Land cannot be far off.

It may be demanded, whether this Continent is inhabited or not: For my Part, says the Author, the Affirmative seems the most probable to me. It may, possibly, be asked, how it can be imagined, that Men should live in such a Climate as that of 70 Degrees, where the Winter is so very long, the Summer so short, and where, for a great Part of the Year, they must be involved in perpetual Night? To this I answer, that such as dwell here, come hither only in the fine Season, in order to fish, and return on the Approach of Winter, as many of the Subjects of the Russian Empire, and the Inhabitants of Davis's Streights, who, after they have thoroughly provided themselves with Fish on the Coasts of a frozen Climate, retire farther within Land, and eat, during the Winter, in their Cabins, the Fish they have taken in the Summer. I say farther, says he, that if the People, who are to be met with in Greenland, and Davis's Streights, are to be relied on, they inform us, that the Country is inhabited, even to the Height of 70° in Winter as well as Summer; and what is practicable in one Country, cannot justly be reputed incredible when supposed in another. The contrary Winds having driven these Dutch Ships 500 Leagues from the Continent, the Commodore believed, that he was now beyond Cape Horn, and therefore steered North-east and by North, in order to fall in with the Coast of Chili. After continuing this Course for three Weeks, and seeing no Land, they began to conclude, that they had not doubled Cape Horn, but had stood away Northerly too soon. On the 10th of March, however, being in the Latitude of $37^{\circ} 30'$, they discovered, to their great Joy, the long wished-for Coast of Chili; and soon after anchored on the Coast of the Island *Mocha*, which is three Leagues from the Continent. They were in hopes of finding on this Island, at least, a Part of the Refreshments they wanted, but more especially fresh Meat and Herbs; but, to their great Surprise, were disappointed, by perceiving it intirely abandoned, and that all its Inhabitants had transported themselves to the Main-land. They saw, however, upon the Island, a Multitude of Horses and Birds; and, in two Cabins near the Shore, they found some Dogs. Upon a stricter and closer Search, they discovered the Wreck of a Spanish Ship, from whence they concluded the Dogs had got on shore. As to the Horses, they concluded, that they were left there to graze, and that their Owners came at certain times from the Main to take them up, as they

had Occasion for them. They killed abundance of Geese and Ducks; and, after having traversed every Part of the Country, finding the Coast extremely rocky, and no Place where they could anchor with Safety, they resolved to put to Sea again without Delay.

9. But, before they executed this Resolution, the Commodore held a Council with his Officers, in order to consider how they should proceed, and what Course was to be taken next; in which it was determined to continue, for some time, on the Coast of Chili, in hopes of meeting with some Port where they might anchor with Safety, and get some Refreshments. This Resolution, however, they afterwards laid aside, because they perceived the Spaniards every-where upon their Guard, and their Coasts so well provided, that it would have been dangerous for them to have made any Attempt. They likewise observed, that, notwithstanding the Country of Chili appeared extravagantly high at a Distance, yet, as they sailed along-shore, they discovered it was not higher than the English Coast, and that they had been led into this Mistake by the prodigious Height of the Mountains behind it; the Tops of which were hid in the Clouds, and covered with perpetual Snows. After much Deliberation, the Commodore and African Galley, which no Storms could ever separate from him, steered West North-west for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, at the Distance, as they apprehended, of about ninety Leagues. As they had a favourable Wind, they made Way at a great Rate, so that on the 4th Day they had Sight of the Island, but could not come to an Anchor in the Road, by reason of its falling calm.

The next Day, when they were just ready to go in, they saw, to their excessive Surprise, a Ship riding there. At first Sight they conjectured, that she was either a Spanish Ship of Force, or a French Interloper; but, upon more mature Consideration, they concluded, she must be a Pirate. While they were consulting what was best to be done, they saw the Shallop, belonging to the Ship, in the Road, making towards them, with a Spanish Flag; upon which they prepared for an Engagement; but their Amazement was not to be described, when, on its nearer Approach, some of the Sailors cried out, That it was the Shallop of the *Tienboven*, their Consort, separated from them three Months before in the Storm, and which they concluded had been buried in the Waves. Captain Bowman himself was in the Shallop, who, upon this Occasion, shewed how well he deserved the Trust that had been reposed in him; for, by the Commodore's Orders, in case of a Separation, this was to be the first Place of Rendezvous; and, after cruising for six Weeks, they were to repair to the Height of 28° South Latitude, and to cruise there for the same Space of Time; but, in case they failed in meeting the Commodore in both Places, they were then to open their sealed Instructions, delivered with their Commissions, and to pursue them exactly. As soon as Captain Bowman was on board, he made the Signal agreed on with his own Ship, in order to acquaint them, that these two Ships were their Consorts; so that, entering into the Harbour, they saluted each other reciprocally with five Pieces of Cannon. As soon as they had Leisure to enter into Particulars, the Captain gave them an Account of all that had happened since their Separation. He acquainted them with the Dangers he had run through in passing the Streights of Magellan, what Storms and Tempests he had met with on the Coast of America; and, in the End, freely acknowledged, that he concluded the Commodore, and the African Galley, were both lost in the Hurricane, and never expected to see them more. He likewise told them, that his Ship was in a very bad Condition, and that he arrived in this Road only the Evening before. After hearing this, the Captains dined very cheerfully together on board the *Tienboven*, where they commiserated their past Misfortunes, and rejoiced at their present Meeting in Safety. As there still continued a dead Calm, it was impossible for them to come to an Anchor in the Place where they intended, and therefore they were obliged to remain that Night in four-score Fathom Water; but the next Day they got up close by the *Tienboven*, where they anchored in forty Fathoms Water, that Vessel lying within Musquet-shot of the Shore.

As soon as the Ships were brought to an Anchor, they hoisted out their Shallops, in order to send the Sick on shore, as well as to look for Provisions and Refreshments: And as soon as the Men landed, who were appointed to take a View of the Island, and amongst whom the Author was one, they began to consider the properest Method for collecting together what might be necessary towards forming Cabins or Huts for the Use of the Sick: Accordingly they got together a great Quantity of Out-grass, with which they thatched the Huts, that were soon run up with green Boughs. This may reasonably surprize the Reader, who probably might not expect to hear of Oats in an uninhabited Island: And, indeed, the Author does not pretend to account for their coming there; for he says plainly, that it was a Doubt with him, whether they grew there of themselves, or had been sowed. He speaks likewise of Mustard-seed and Turneps, but complains that the latter were very bitter. In the Course of these Voyages, we have met with several Descriptions of these Islands of *Juan Fernandez*; and therefore we shall dispense here with some of the *Dutch* Author's Remarks; but there are others of too great Importance to be slighted, especially when we consider the Design with which they were made. According, therefore, to this Writer, the larger Island of *Juan Fernandez* is one of the finest and best situated Countries in the World; the Climate equally pleasant and wholesome; the Air to temperate and sweet, as to restore Health to the Sick, and give a constant Flow of Spirits to those that were well; which the Author himself experienced by recovering here from a bad State of Health, and a Complication of Dilempers. The Hills are covered with tall Trees of different kinds, fit for all sorts of Uses; and the Valleys are so fruitful, as to produce, with a very little Cultivation, all the Necessaries of Life.

Here are abundance of little Rivers and Brooks, the Banks of which are covered with wholesome Plants, and the Waters that run from the Mountains, though not in the least disagreeable to the Taste, are so charged with mineral Particles, that they never corrupt. On the East Side of the Bay there are three Mountains, the middlemost of which resembles the *Table* at the Cape of *Good Hope*: Behind these, there are many other Mountains, that rise to a prodigious Height, and are generally covered with a very thick Mist, especially in the Mornings and Evenings: Whence our Author conjectures, that these are mineral Exhalations; and that, in these Mountains, rich Mines might be found, which is an Observation that I have not met with before. He concludes his Description with this Remark; that, in order to give a just Idea of the Island to his Reader in a few Words, he cannot think of a better Expedient, than telling him, that the Country resembles, in all respects, that about the Cape of *Good Hope*, where, every body knows, the *Dutch* have one of the finest Plantations in the World, and the greatest Plenty of all *European* and *Indian* Fruits. He speaks much, as all our *English* Writers do, of the vast Plenty of wild Goats here; but adds, that they were so unable to catch them by hunting, and so much at a Loss how to come at their Bodies when shot, that, during the Time they layed here, they scarce tasted them. But the Truth seems to be, that an unlucky Accident, which befel one of their Ship's Stewards soon after their Arrival, frustrated them from this sort of Sport: for this Man, rambling towards Evening among the Mountains, pitched suddenly from the Top of a Rock, and was found next Morning beat to pieces.

Our Author mentions not only sea-calves and Seals, which are called *Sea-calves*, but *Sea-cows* also of an enormous Size, some of them weighing, as he assures us, near a thousand Weight; and adds, that this Creature is well known in *Guinea*, where they not only eat the Flesh, as sweet and well tasted Meat, but believe it also exceedingly wholesome. The same Notion prevails likewise among the Inhabitants of the Illiusms of *Darien*, who esteem this Food a kind of universal Medicine. He mentions the Plenty and Excellency of the Fish on that Coast with Admiration; and informs us, that, during their short Stay there, they caught and cured many thousands of them, which proved extraordinary good, and were extremely serviceable during the rest of their long Voyage. They took

so much Time also, as to examine very closely the *Spanish* Wreck before-mentioned, but to very little Purpose; for all that was any way valuable had been taken out of her as soon as she was cast away. I cannot help interposing an Observation here, the Truth of which will be obvious to every attentive Reader, viz. that our Author was mistaken in thinking this a *Spanish* Wreck; since, without Question, it was the Remains of the *Speetuel*, Captain *Selkoeke* lost here exactly a Year before: However, the *Dutchmen* did not altogether lose their Labour, since some of the Sailors, by diving, recovered several Pieces of Silver Plate.

The *Dutch* Commodore, having attentively considered the advantageous Situation, and the many Conveniences this Island afforded, immediately conceived a Design of settling it, as the most proper Place that could be thought of, for affording Shelter and Refreshment to Ships bound, as he was, to southern Lands: And he was encouraged particularly to persevere in this Design, from the Consideration of the Island's Fertility, which, as our Author observes, allowed them no Reason to doubt, that it would afford sufficient Subsilience for 600 Families at least: However, this, like the Settlement of *Belgia Australis*, was put off to their Return; by which Accident it happened, that neither of these Islands was settled at all. It must be allowed, that both these Projects of the *Dutch* Commodore were every way wise and prudent, and showed how fit a Man he was to execute what his Father had designed; for, by the Help of these two Colonies, undoubtedly the Southern *Indies* had been, by this time, especially discovered. The former Settlement would have afforded a proper Place for Ships to careen in, and rest after to long a Voyage as from *Europe* to the Straights of *Magellan*; and the latter would have furnished them with all imaginable Conveniences for repairing whatever Injuries they might have received by so hazardous a Passage as that round *Cape Horn*. I therefore venture to pronounce it the best-laid Scheme for promoting Southern Discoveries, that ever yet entered the Head of Man; and I make no manner of Question, that whatever Nation had reviewed proleptically *Mr. Roggewein's* Plan, will become, in a few Years, Master of as rich and profitable a Commerce, as the *Spaniards* have from their own Country to *Mexico* and *Peru*, or the *Portuguese* to *Brazil*.

As they were now ready to enter on the Discoveries, the Hopes of which had brought them into this sea, it was but natural for the Commodore, and his principal Officers, to lay before the Ship's Company a Part of the Reason, which induced them to believe their Pain and Labour would not be thrown away. Our Author has preserved the Substance of those Discourses, which are, beyond Question, the most valuable Part of his Book, inasmuch as they distinguish between Wanderers or Adventurers, who know not what they seek, and such as have a real Title to the honourable Name of Discoverers, as going in actual Search of what their prudent Foresight has shewed them might be found; and also plentifully reward their Troubles finding. The main End proposed, in such States as subsist by Commerce, with regard to Discoveries, is the finding such Countries as may take off their Commodities, and be in a Condition to furnish them with what may be most valuable in return. It is agreeable to Reason, and supported by Experience, that Countries excellently cold are generally barren; and that those which are immediately hot, are not the most fruitful: It follows therefore, that the middle Climates are, by the Laws of Nature, the most fruitful. In order to distinguish those, we are to remember, that, in the Height of 60° $30'$, the Days are twenty-four Hours long; and consequently the middle Climate, which Geographers have distinguished in their Tables for the most will be found in the Height of 35° . If this appears agreeable to Reason, it seems to be put out of doubt, when we join the Arguments derived from Experience; for it must be allowed, that such Provinces of *Barbary*, *Peru*, *Siberia*, *Chaldea*, and *Indistan*, as well as the Islands *Candia*, *Ceylon*, and *Japan*, which lie all in this Climate, that is to say, from the thirtieth to the thirty-sixth Degree of Latitude, are the richest, pleasanter, and most fruitful Countries in the World. The same thing is remarkable in the Count

of *Canaan*, where the farell, and moist to the North, and consequent commend.

In the New World, *Florida*, *New Mexico*, North Climate, are fertile, to any Part, a great Fault in vated those Countries again, the Province in *Piches*, any Count of *Good Hope* is to cl few Countries that eq. Ar there is exceeding abundance, Wine, C they have likewise lute and wild Fowl, that die. The Country of of the finest in the W Capital, lands in the *Spaniards* would have equal to it at it is Provinces behind it. Seas, are all well incre

Such are a quiet agree with me, that the *Celebs*, and on the *Celebs* situated under the On the other Side it gal, and the Count *Malabar*, as being in is in the second. The City of the Soul, inc the Capital of the I found lying in 21° , a Heat is much greater Gulph of *Bayona*, the fourth Climate. All wishal so certain, that From these Remarks, justly infer, that w Climate is superior to them, the best and Health under the fo- able, the Earth wou doing any thing for silence of Beasts, O ties, even in the m Heat, that they wo ever, that a our No *Sweden*, *Poland*, and dices, in a Fortnigh in two or three Mo itself: The Reason, Countries, the Negl has not time to cool, that, to a Degree, t first Climate. But if the Rays of the Sun grow long, which is richer Plants nor f

The Countries in those in the fifth, at eighth, and ninth C the Richness and E early commeth, to hie the *Lapland*, e To conclude, if a Telt, by making a rates of the Earth before had down, = light, and, of cons lie in the fifth C the Journey would lea which all Writres a he ought to proce bary, celebrated ill Air, and the bestil

of *Canaan*, where the Province of *Gabilee* was esteemed the fairest, and most fruitful, because situated farthest to the North, and consequently nearest to that Latitude we recommend.

In the New World again, the Provinces of *Carolina*, *Florida*, *New Mexico*, and *California*, all lying in the fifth North Climate, are comparable, in point of Beauty and Fertility, to any Part of the known World; and it is certainly a great Fault in their Inhabitants, not to have cultivated those Countries as they deserve. In *South America*, again, the Provinces in this Climate equal in Beauty, and in Riches, any Countries hitherto discovered. The Cape of *Good Hope* is so charming a Place, that there are very few Countries that equal, and none that surpass it. The Air there is exceedingly wholesome; the Soil produces, in abundance, Wine, Corn, and the most excellent Fruits; they have likewise such infinite Quantities of Cattle, tame and wild Fowl, that the People live, as it were, in Paradise. The Country of *Chili* is likewise considered as one of the finest in the World; and the City of *Santiago*, its Capital, stands in the Latitude of 33° 4' South. The *Spaniards* would have us believe, that there is nothing equal to it; and it is, at the same time, certain, that the Provinces behind it, and which extend quite to the North Sea, are almost incredibly fruitful.

Such as are acquainted with different Climates will readily agree with me, that the Heat is much greater in the Island *Ceylon*, and on the Coast of *Malabar*, than in the Countries situated under the Torrid Zone, and in the first Climate. On the other Side it is certain, that the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and the Country of *Surat*, is still much warmer than *Malabar*, as being in the third Climate, whereas *Malabar* is in the second. The Warmth of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil, increase from *Surat* to *Delli*, which is the Capital of the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, the former lying in 21°, and the latter in 30° Latitude. The Heat is much greater at *Gambren*, which is seated on the Gulph of *Bajjora*, than at *Surat*, the former being in the fourth Climate. All that I have advanced is so clear, and so just, that it is not liable to the least Objection: From these Remarks, founded upon Experience, we may justly infer, because we can inevitably prove, that the fifth Climate is superior to the rest, and the Countries seated thereon, the best and the most fertile; if it was not so, the Heat under the Torrid Zone would be absolutely insupportable, the Earth would be burnt up, and incapable of producing any thing for the Nourishment of Men, or the Subsistence of Beasts. On the other hand, the Northern Countries, even in the middle of Summer, would have so little Heat, that they would produce nothing; We see, however, that in our Northern Regions, such, for Instance, as *Sweden*, *Poland*, and *Ucraina*, the Force of the Sun produces, in a Fortnight or three Weeks, as great Effects, as in two or three Months in the Countries under the Line itself: The Reason is plainly this, that in the Northern Countries, the Nights being extremely short, the Earth has not time to cool, but remains continually heated, and that, to a Degree, sometimes as vehement as under the first Climate. But this does not last long, for as soon as the Rays of the Sun begin to fall obliquely, the Nights grow long, which is the Reason, that, in these Countries, neither Plants nor Fruits ever arrive at full Maturity.

The Countries in the sixth Climate are less fertile than those in the fifth, and, for the same Reason, the seventh, eighth, and ninth Climates yield to the sixth; and thus the Richness and Fertility of the Soil constantly and regularly diminishes to the twenty-fourth Climate, under which lie the *Lapland*, the Extremity of *Russia* and *Siberia*. To conclude, if a Traveller had a mind to put this to the Test, by making a Voyage through all the different Climates of the Earth, he would certainly find the Position before laid down, viz. that the most fruitful, the most delightful, and, of consequence, the most desirable Countries, lie in the fifth Climate, certain and incontestable. Such a Journey would lead him to *Tyre* in *Syria*, the Country about which all Writers agree to be the most delightful; thence he ought to proceed to *Tanis*, and along the Coast of *Barbary*, celebrated likewise for the Wholsomeness of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil: He must take the Cape

of *Good Hope* also in his Passage, where he would find a Country lovely beyond Description; lastly, he must come to *Nankin*, and the Province of *Honan*, in *China*; for he would save himself this Trouble, let him examine the Accounts of those who have been in these Countries, and he will no longer have any Doubts.

The Dutch Commodore, when he quitted the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, proposed to visit that Part of the Southern Continent, which was reported to be discovered by Captain *Davis*, in the Year 1600. Our Author gives us but a dark Account of this Matter; and therefore I shall infer, as it is very short, *Mr. Wolfe's* Story of this Discovery. He was a Man of sense and Knowledge, and actually on board Captain *Davis's* Ship, when the Discovery was made. "We recollect, said he, from the *Gallapagos* Islands, South and by East, half Easterly, until we came to the Latitude of 27° 20' South; when, about twelve Hours before Day, we fell in with a low small sandy Island, and heard a great roaring Noise, like that of the Sea beating upon the Shore, a light heard of the Ship: Whereupon the sailors, fearing to fall foul upon the shore before Day, desired the Captain to put the Ship about, and to stand off till Day appeared; to which the Captain gave his Consent: So we plied off all Day, and then stood in again with the Land, which proved to be a small flat Island, without the least of any Rocks: We stood in within a Quarter of a Mile of the Shore, and could see it plainly; for it was a clear Morning, nor foggy nor hazy. To the Westward about twelve Leagues, by Judgment, we saw a Range of High land, which we took to be the Islands; for there were several Partitions in the Prospect. This Land seemed to reach about fourteen or sixteen Leagues in a Range, and there came great Flocks of Fowls; I, and many more of our Men, would have made this Land, and have gone ashore at it, but the Captain would not permit us. The small Island bears from *Copypago* almost due East, 500 Leagues; and from the *Gallapagos*, under the Line, 600 Leagues." We see by this, that *Mr. Roggewein's* Scheme was built, not only on a rational Conjecture, but, as far as might be, on the Lights afforded by Experience. He thought he had good Grounds to believe, that there was a Southern Continent; and this Account of *Davis's*, for under his Name it has always gone, and in the Maps we find it marked by the Name of *Davis's* Land, shewed itself Part of it; which therefore he meant first to examine.

In their Passage, the first Land they saw, was that of the lesser Island of *Juan Fernandez*, which lies about ten Miles from the great one, appears lower, and less fertile, at a Distance; but, as our Dutch Discoverer had not an Opportunity of Landing, we cannot depend much upon their Account of it. As they had now the Benefit of the South-east Monsoon, they quickly arrived in the Latitude of 28 Degrees, and in the Longitude of two hundred and fifty one, where they expected to have met with *Davis's* Land, of which also they had the greatest and most probable Hopes, when they perceived abundance of Fowls flying, and observed also, that the Wind shifted often, both which are looked upon as certain Signs of Land. Some of the Company flattered themselves that they saw it; but, to the great Grief, and no small Astonishment, of the Commodore, no such Land was to be found. Our Author thinks, that either they missed it, or that there is no such Country. I must own, that I do not wonder they missed it; for whoever considers *Mr. Wolfe's* Description attentively, will see that they sought it near ten Degrees too far to the West. Our Author observes afterwards very sensibly, that, as these Southern Countries lie East and West, or to the East and to the South-west, this Situation renders it almost impracticable to discover them; for a West North-west Wind carries a Ship by them at some Distance, and a North-west Wind bears a Ship quite away from them; so that, while these Winds reign, the Search must, humanly speaking, be absolutely vain. The continuation of this will sufficiently explain the Accommodations given us of these Southern Countries; they are lost, as it were, accidentally, and by chance; when looked for, they are not to be found. This, to such as are inattentive, being

lofly the Spanish the Purpoies her taken out of her help interposing will be obvious Author was mis- since, without needful, Captain : However, the hour, since some ral Pieces of Si- tively considered ny Conveniencs ived a Design of could be thought to Ships bound, was encouraged from the Condi- as our Author ubt, that it woud amilies at rest: *Belgia Australis* Accident it hap- settled at all it- cts of the Dutch dent, and these y Father had do- colonies, undoubt- his time, editu- it would have di- p, and rest, alter Straight of Mad- ned them with whatever Injuries as a Passage as to pronounce it the mern Discoveries, ; and I make no on shall revivred come, in a few Commers, at the y to Mexico and on the Discoveries, into these sea, and his principal any a Part of the e their Pam and which are, beyond book, much as Adventurers, who ave a real like in going in actual has shewed them d their Troubles such States as sub- ert, is the fine- Commodities, and that may be more ation, and which y cold are gene- immoderately hot, herefore, that the Nature, the most are to rememder s are twent about e Climate, which abies for it. This appears agree- court, when we ence; for it mult- *Peruvia*, *Syria*, *Carolina*, *Syria* es, that is to say, g- e of Latitude- tiful Countries in- ble in the Count-

former Discoveries into Doubt, and even into Contempt; but a little Thought, and a small Acquaintance with the Nature of such Things, will set us right again; and we need only consider the Course that Captain Davis steered, in order to be satisfied, that his was a true Discovery, and that, by the same Course, this Country might be found again. But to proceed with our Voyage:

The Dutch Commodore sailed West twelve Degrees, leaving full Sight of a vast Number of Birds, which attended them, till they arrived on the Coast of a small Island, about fifteen Leagues in Extent; which Island, as they discovered it on *Easter-day*, which fell that Year on the 10th of April, they called *Peach* or *Easter Island*. The *African Galley*, being the smallest, and withal the best Sailer in the Squadron, went first to examine this new Country, and reported, that it seemed to be very fertile, and withal well inhabited too, since they had seen abundance of Smoke in all Parts of it, which gave great Joy to the Commodore, who immediately resolved, that the whole Squadron should go in. The next Day they spent in looking for a Port; and, when they were about two Miles from the Shore, an *Indian* came off to them in his Canoe. They made Signs to him to come on board; which he very readily did, and was exceedingly well received. As he was naked, the first Present they made him was a Piece of Cloth to cover him. They gave him likewise Pieces of Coral, Beads, and other Baubles, all which, together with a dried Fish, he hung about his Neck. His Body was painted all over with all kind of Figures; his natural Complexion appeared to be a dark brown, and his Ears excessively large and long, so that they hung down by his Shoulders, occasioned, no doubt, by the wearing of Ear rings so large and heavy, as to extend them in this Manner, which is a thing likewise practised by the Negroes in the *Megal's* Country, who make their Ears large and long by the same Method. He was tall, well made, robust, and of a very happy Countenance. He was brisk, active, and appeared to be merry, by his Gestures and Manner of speaking. They gave him a Glass of Wine to drink, which he threw away in a Manner that surprised them. Our Author thinks, he was afraid of being poisoned; but, perhaps, being used to Water, the Smell of a strong Liquor might offend him. They next clothed him from Head to Foot, and clapped him an Hat on; with which he was not at all pleased, but seemed to be awkward and uneasy. They gave him Victuals, which he eat heartily; but could not be persuaded to use either Knife or Fork. They then ordered their Music to play; with which he was extremely well pleased, and, whenever they took him by the Hand, would leap and dance. As they found it impossible to come to an Anchor that Day, they thought proper to send off the *Indian*, allowing him, however, to keep what he had got, in order to encourage others; but, what is really surprising, the poor Creature had no mind to go. He looked at them with Regret; he held up both his Hands towards his native Island, and cried out in a very audible and distinct Voice, *Ouerraga' aberra' aberra' ga'*. They had much ado to get him to his Canoe, and he made them clearly comprehend, by his Signs, that he had much rather they would have carried him in their Ship.

They imagined he called upon his God, because, when they landed, they saw abundance of Idols erected on the Coast. The next Morning by Day break, they entered a Gulph on the South east Side of the Island; and many thousands of the Inhabitants, as our Author says, came down to meet them, bringing with them vast Quantities of Fowls and Roots. Many came on board them with these Provisions. As for the rest, they ran to and fro from Place to Place, like wild Beasts. As the Ships drew nearer, they crowded down to the Shore, in order to have the better View of them; and at the same time lighted Fire, and offered to their Idols, probably to implore their Protection against the Strangers. All that Day the Dutch spent in mooring their Ships. The next Morning very early, they observed the People prostrated before their Idols towards the rising Sun, and offering them burnt offerings. All the necessary Preparations were made for a Descent, when the friendly *Indian*, who had been with them before, came on board a second time, and brought with him abundance of his Countrymen, who, to make themselves welcome,

took care to load their Canoes with plenty of living Fowls, and of Roots dressed after their Manner. There was, amongst this Troop of *Indians*, one Man perfectly white, in whose Ears hung round white Pendants, as big as one's Fist. He had an Air extremely devout, and seemed to be one of their Priests. One of the Islanders was, some way or other, (these are our Author's Words) shot dead in his Canoe by a Musquet. This unlucky Accident threw them into such a Consternation, that the best Part of them flung themselves at once into the Sea, in order to get the sooner ashore. The rest, who remained in their Canoes, rowed with all their Force, in order once more to attain a Place of Safety.

The Dutch presently followed them, and made the Island long wished-for Descent with 150 Soldiers and Seamen. Amongst these were the Commodore in Person, and the Author, who commanded the Land Forces. The People crowded so hard upon them, that they thought themselves obliged to make way by Force, especially as some of them were so bold, as to lay hold of their Arms. The *Dutchmen* fired therefore, which dispersed them, and frighted them almost out of their Wits, and yet, in a few Moments, they rallied again. They did not, however, advance quite so far to their new Guests as before, but kept at the Distance of about ten Yards, supposing that some of them might be late from the Musquets. It happened, says our Author, unfortunately, by this single Discharge, that many were killed, and, amongst them, the poor *Indian*, that had been twice on board; which gave them great Concern: Yet these good People, continues he, brought us, in Return for the dead Bodies we had given them, a plenty of Provisions of all Kinds. Their Consternation, however, was very great, and they howled, and made continual Lamentation. That they might leave, however, no Means untried to pacify these Invaders, they all, Men, Women, and Children, presented themselves before them, with the Branches of Palm, in Token of Peace. In this they endeavoured to testify, by the most humble Posture, how desirous they were to mollify and make Friends of these Strangers. They even shewed them their Women, got them to understand, that they were totally at their Disposal, and that they might carry as many of them aboard their Ships as they pleased.

The Dutch, softened with such Tokens of Hospitality, and deep Submission, did them no further Harm. To the contrary, made them a Present of a Piece of Cloth, about sixty Yards long. They gave them likewise a great Quantity of Coral beads, and small looking glasses, with which they were extremely well pleased. As they saw, that they were fully convinced, that the Dutch intended to treat them like Friends, they brought them at once a great Quantity, which, by the way, differed nothing from the Fowls of *Europe*, accompanied with a great Quantity of red and white Woods, and Potatoes, which they made use instead of Bread. They gave them likewise hundreds of Sugar canes, and a great Quantity of Peas. There are a sort of *Indian* Figs, as big as a Crab-apple, covered with a green Rind. The Pulp of these is as sweet as Honey: These grow sometimes four or five Feet upon a single Bough. The Leaves of this Tree are about eight Feet long, and about three Feet broad, and that of these Leaves our first Parents made the Canoe that they used after their Fall; but this our Author thinks is a mere Conjecture, without any other Foundation; so that these Leaves are the largest and strongest of any found, either in the East, or in the West. There are no other Animals, than Birds, in this Island; but they thought it probable, that, in the *Indians* Country, there might be Cattle, and other Beasts, when they shewed the *Indians* the Heads of the Dutch Ships, they gave them to understand, that they had been such Animals before. They made them Pots to dress their Meat in, as the *Indians* do. They presented to the Dutch, that every Family of the Islanders had its separate Village. The Houses, which these Villages are composed of, may be about six or six and a half Feet long, and six or eight Feet high, and are made by a certain Number of Poles stuck together, the Spaces between them filled up with a kind of Earth, the Earth, covered at Top with Palm-leaves, and

Diet or Subsistence, Every thing with the

All their little neatly divided. At all their Fruits and Maturity; and our that, if they had should have found Hooves, however those they had were and white Covered Cloaths, and, when as soft to the Touch absolutely of their own in general, brisk, the very Swift of Foot. a most agreeable, a generous and faintly either Fowls, hastily threw them they had delivered to carry them. They a Complexion as *Spartan* amongst them all of was yet another kind red, as if they had been down to their Shoulders hanging at the great Ornament.

Their Bodies were Birds, and other Animals, than others, artificial Bloom upon surpassing any thing the Dutch discover what poked. On their Reeds or Straw, and before mentioned, delectful for, our A their Houses, and, off their Mantles. The Islanders, that they of Arms amongst them they did for Saucers, of which were covered were all of Stone, or any other costly material, and that the Dutch Boat and Potatoes, or white roots Yards. This found to be more of each, and many they were then Pried to think of, because Coons, such as large their Heads clean of Bonnet of Black and bled note of a Stork that, when they But take up their Refuge

How ever, says of tion, I am convince founded. It is true, only a warm Climate since this Island has beenence shews us the the Beginning of the rains, that, when some Place under the if I may be to allow this to change her Europe her proper time goes in See the spring, at her A meeting with Food that, when the Storm Food into some Climate either in Countries

Diet or Subsistence, they draw it intirely from the Earth. Every thing with them is sown, and raised by Cultivation.

All their little Plantations were staked out, and very neatly divided. At the Time the *Dutch* were there, almost all their Fruits and Plants, Herbs and Roots, were in full Maturity; and our Author assures us it was his Opinion, that, if they had searched the Country thoroughly, they should have found abundance of good Things. In their Houses, however, they had not many Moveables, and those they had were of no great Value, except some red and white Coverlets, that served them, when walking, for Cloaks, and, when sleeping, for Quilts. This Stuff was as soft to the Touch as Silk, and, in all Appearance, was absolutely of their own Manufacture. These Islanders were, in general, brisk, sencer, active, well-made People, and very swift of Foot. They were, in point of Temper, of a sweet, agreeable, and modest Disposition, but extremely suspicious and taint hearted. Whenever they brought the *Dutch* either Hovels, or any other kind of Provisions, they hastily threw themselves on their Knees; and, as soon as they had delivered them, retired as fast as their Legs could carry them. They were, generally speaking, of a brown Complexion as *Spaniards*. There were, however, some amongst them all of black, and others again white. There was yet another kind of People, whose Skins were perfectly red, as if they had been burnt by the Sun; their Hairs hung down to their Shoulders; and some of them had white Balls hanging at them, which they seemed to consider as a great Ornament.

Their Bodies were painted all over with the Figures of Birds, and other Animals; and some were much better painted, than others. All their Women, in general, had artificial Bloom upon their Cheeks, but of a Colour far surpassing any thing known to us in *Europe*; nor could the *Dutch* discover what it was, of which this Colour was composed. On their Heads they wore a little Hat made of Reeds or Straw, and had no other Covering than the Quilts before mentioned. Their Women were none of the modest; for, our Author says, they beckoned them into their Houses, and, when they sat by them, would throw off their Mantles. It is very singular, with regard to these Islanders, that they saw nothing that had the Appearance of Arms amongst them, but, whenever they were attacked, they fled for Shelter and Assistance to their Idols, Numbers of which were erected all along the Coast. These Statues were all of Stone, or the Figure of a Man, with great Ears, and a great covered with a Crown, the Whole very nicely proportioned, and to which they paid in every respect, that to false Gods amazed. Round these Idols there were Patches of white Stone, at the Distance of twenty or thirty Yards. There were many of the Inhabitants, who seemed to be more frequent and more zealous Worshippers of these Idols, than the rest, which made the *Dutch* believe they were their Priests; And they were the rather inclined to think so, because they had many other Marks of Distinction; such as large white Balls hanging at their Ears, and their Heads clean shaven. These Priests wore a kind of Bonnet of Black and white Feathers, which exactly resembled those of a Stork; which induced the *Dutch* to conceive, that, when these Birds leave *Europe*, Part of them, at least, take up their Residence here.

However, says our Author, upon more mature Reflection, I am convinced, that these Conjectures are not well-founded. It is true, continues he, that, if the Storks sought only a warm Climate, they might certainly find it here, since this Island lies in the Height of 28° $30'$. But Experience shews us the contrary, this Bird being in *Europe* about the Beginning of the Spring. For my own Part, my Opinion is, that, when the Stork quits *Europe*, she flies to some Place under the South Pole. The principal Motive, if I may be so allowed to speak, which can induce this Bird thus to change her Climate, is her Fear of not finding in *Europe* her proper Food beyond the Autumn; and therefore she goes in Search of a Country, where she may find the Spring, at her Arrival, just begun, and be in no Fear of meeting with Food for half the Year. It may be therefore, that, when the Stork leaves *Europe*, she goes in Search of Food into some Climate under 40° or 50° of South Latitude, either in Countries totally unknown, or in that Land, which

was discovered by *Hernando Gallego* in the Year 1595; and that she remains there till Autumn, and then returns to *Europe* again. *Epiphanius*, *Heidelin*, *Guicciardin*, *Munster*, and other learned Men, have written very ingeniously upon this Subject; but, perhaps, none of their Conjectures were at all better founded than those of our Author. These Speculations appear to many light and trivial Things; but, with respect to natural Knowledge, there is such a Connection between seeming Trifles and Things of real Importance, that it is no easy Matter to say, which are Trifles, and which not. The Loadstone is a sufficient Proof of this. Perhaps, if we thoroughly understood the Nature of Birds of Passage, we might be led thereby to Truths of great Consequence, that now lie hid, and out of Sight. But to return to the People in *Pasib Island*:

The *Dutch* could not distinguish among these Islanders any Appearance of Government or Subordination, much less any Prince or Chief, who had Dominion over the rest. On the contrary, they all spoke and acted seemingly with equal Freedom. The old People among them wore on their Heads feathered Bonnets, which looked like the Down of Ostridges, and had Sticks in their Hand. They observed, indeed, in particular Houses, that the Father of the Family governed it, and was, with the greatest Readiness, obeyed. The Author thinks, that this Island might be settled to great Advantage, inasmuch as the Air is extremely wholesome, the Soil very rich and fruitful, proper for Corn in the low Lands, and, where it rises high, might be improved into Vineyards; which, supposing it possible, would be of infinite Consequence to such as took this Island in their Way, when bound to discover distant Lands in the Southern Part of the Globe. They had doubtless made much greater Discoveries with respect to this Island, and possibly with regard to the Continent, from which, there is Reason to believe, it cannot be far distant, if they had not been obliged to leave it suddenly, and when they least expected it. The thing happened thus:

They had been in the Evening on shore, and the Commodore, on the Report of the Officers, determined to land the next Morning, with a Force sufficient to make a strict Examination of the whole Island; but, before Morning, there arose so strong a West Wind, as drove them from both their Anchors; so that they were obliged to put to Sea, to avoid being shipwrecked; which, however, our Author thinks, would have been no great Misfortune, since, if their Vessels had been lost, they might have passed their Days quietly and happily among the *Indians*, and have converted them to Christianity. After this Misfortune, they cruised some time in the same Latitude; and, having sought in vain to discover *Davi's Land*, they at length resolved to bear away to the *Bad Sea of Schouten*, bearing still a West Course, in hopes of discovering some new Country. In this, the Author thinks, the Commodore was to blame; for he is of Opinion, that, instead of steering West, they ought to have steered South, because they soon fell in with a South-east Wind, which blew very strong; so that thenceforward they saw no more Birds, which, he thinks, was a certain Proof, that they were driven farther and farther from the Land they were seeking; whereas, if they had sailed South west, they could not, in his Opinion, have failed of falling in with the Southern Continent.

12. After leaving the Island of *Pasib*, they were not long before they found themselves in the Height of that Island called *Bakwater*, discovered by *Schouten* in the Year 1615, and to which he gave that Name, because all their Springs were brackish. They were in hopes of discovering at this Height some Part also of the Southern Continent; but, by changing their Course, they ran three hundred Leagues out of their Way, and at least one hundred and fifty Leagues farther than *Schouten*. That famous Seaman says, in the Account of his Voyage, that he gave one Day Chace to a small Vessel, that bore away from him directly South; from whence he concluded, and with great Reason, that there must certainly be Land on that Side. Indeed, from all the Lights that Reason and Experience afford, I am more and more confirmed in my Opinion, that there is a Track of Land on that Side, extending above two thousand Leagues: In order to come upon which Coast, the proper Course from *Europe* is certainly South South west; but

but from *Amara* the best Course would be North-east, or North-east and by North. In this wide Sea the *Dutch* Commodore sailed upwards of 800 Leagues without discovering Land; and, though he frequently varied his Course, steering now this Way, and then that, yet it was all to no Purpose, till, arriving in the Height of $15^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, they discovered a very low Island, the Coast of which was covered with a very yellow Sand. As they lay in the midst of it a kind of Pond or Lake, the principal Officers of the Squadron were unanimously of Opinion, that it was the same Island *Schouten* had discovered, and to which he had given the Name of the Island of *Dager*; and, for that Reason, they did not think fit either to go on shore there, or to examine it more particularly. *Car-Acqui*, however, is clearly of Opinion, that *Schouten* never saw this Island, which is in the Latitude of $15^{\circ} 45'$ South, and in the Longitude of 280° . As he conceived this to be absolutely a new Discovery, he bestowed on the Island the Name of *Carloeff*, i. e. *Charles's Court*: He describes it to be a low flat Island, about three Leagues in Extent, with a Lake in the Middle. After they left this Place, the Wind began to come about to the South-west; which was a Sign, that they were near some Coast, that altered the Current of the Air.

This sudden Change drove their Vessel in the Night an Ouzit some small Islands, where they found themselves not a little embarras'd. The *African* Galley then led the Squadron, as being the Ship that sailed best, and drew the least Water; but, notwithstanding all the Care her Crew could take, she soon found herself in such imminent Danger among the Rocks, that she began to fire Gun after Gun, as Signals of her Distress. The *Frencheton*, which was the fastest from her, plied towards her with the utmost Diligence, and to aid the Commodore, who found himself sooner than he expected, along side with her, which warn'd his own Ship's Company very much; but, upon leaving the Lead, and finding no Bottom, they grew tolerably easy, and thought of nothing but saving their Friends. In order to this, they immediately sent out their Snoplop, to discover the Situation the *African* Galley was in, which, at full Sight, discover'd no Hopes of disentangling her, since she stuck fast between two Rocks; so that it was impossible to get her off, or to do any further Service, than to save the People that were in her. In this they succeeded tolerably well, though many of the *African* Galley's Crew were miserably bruised by the Shocks the Vessel received before she ran aground on the Rocks. There was but one poor Man kill'd, and he was a sailor on board the *Tombeton*, who, being too careless in trying his Fire-works, dropped over board, and was crown'd. The Banders, routed by the prodigious Noise that this Accident made, kindled a great many Fires upon the Hills, and came down in Crowds to the Coasts. The *Dutch*, not knowing what their Design might be, and considering the Opportunities, which the Darkness of the Night, and their own Condition, might give to any way to attempt to attack them, fired upon them without Ceremony, in order to give as few Damages as possible to deal with at another time. In the Morning, as soon as it was Light, they sail'd upon the Coast of the mighty Danger all their Ships were in the Evening before; for they found the Coast was bound on all Sides by four large Islands, rising towards the Sea, with a continued Chain of steep Rocks, and Rocks close to each other, that they could hardly enter in the Channel by which they enter'd: They had, therefore, a great Reason in the World to be thankful to the Divine Providence, which had so wonderfully preserved them in the midst of so much Danger. It must be observ'd, that the Commodore only enter'd this rocky Bay, at the Mouth of which the *African* Galley was shipwreck'd; and where the *Tombeton* remained to assist in saving the Crew.

The Danger was not altogether over as soon as commonly is said; for it cost the *Dutch* Commodore no less than five Days, to get out of this unfortunate Situation, in which, for the sake of his Ship's Company were in great Danger, the Fate of the *African* Galley, and other Crews. At last, the Snoplop of the *Tombeton*, having discover'd the Cause of the Danger, came to inform them, that

only one Man was lost; that the Crew got safe on shore; and that, after once sitting upon them, the Inhabitants of the Island had retired into the Heart of the Country as expeditiously as they could. As soon as the Commodore was safe, he sent his Snoplop, with a Detachment of the Ship's Company, to bring off the People that had been left on shore. They accordingly brought the Crew of the *African* Galley on board the Commodore; when, upon murthering them, it appear'd, that a Quarter Master, and four Seamen, were missing. Upon Inquiry, it was found, that these Men made it their Choice to stay in the Island, for, having quarrel'd amongst themselves, when they first got on shore, they murther'd amongst their Officers, who had interpos'd to prevent their killing one another with their Knives; and, Captain *Rosenball* having threaten'd them with Death whenever he got them on board the Commodore, they fled into the Country, in order to escape Punishment: The Commodore, however, was willing they should be lost, and therefore sent a Detachment with a Detachment of Soldiers, to bring them off the Detectors, having Sight of the Snoplop, as it was on the Shore, fired from behind a Coppice, to prevent that they durst not land: Kowing, however, to an Ouzit that they got on shore, and, marching towards the Water-side, the Detectors were, they call'd to them, and, in order to assure them, that they had nothing to fear, the Commodore had promised them an Indemnity, which they might lately depend upon his Word. But the Detectors' Guilt made them deaf to all Intreaty, and the Author's Eloquence was intirely thrown away, and he wisely chose to leave them where they were, running hazard his own, and the Lives of the People under his Command, in attempting to reduce desperat'd Men, by thus rejecting all Hope, sufficiently shew'd, that there was nothing they any longer feared.

All these Islands are seated between 15° and 16° South Latitude, and at the Distance of twelve Leagues from that of *Carloeff*, each of them being about three Leagues in Compass. That on which the *African* Galley was shipwreck'd, they call'd *Mitchel's*; and the first that is next to it, the *British*; and the fourth, the *French*. An fourth Island were covered with a very tall and charming, and abound'd with the tall Tree, which bears all Cocoa. The Herbs that grew there were all medicinal, that the Ship's Crews, who were all of the Scutiv, were surpris'd to find them. They found there likewise a prodigious quantity of Musks, Cockles, Mother of pearls, and Pearls, which gave Reason hopes, that a very advantageous Colony might be settled here. These Islands are very low, so that some Parts of them must be frequently overflow'd; but the Inhabitants are well provided with Accidents, since they have not only good Canoes, but stout Barks, with Cables and Sails. The *Dutch* found upon the Shore Pieces of Ropes, and a great quantity of Hemp. The Inhabitants of the Islands, in which the *African* Galley was lost, were of a middling Size, inasmuch that the *Dutch* had very much to fall: One of the Seamen assur'd, that he had the Print of one of their Feet in the Sand, and that it was twenty Inches. All their Bodies were of a variety of Sorts of Colours: They had fine long black Hair in the most part; but some of them had Brown Hair, and some red. They were armed with Bows, and Arrows, eighteen or twenty Feet long. They had their Eyes agreeable in their Countenances, but not their Temper in their Looks, which were fierce and cruel. They march'd in small Bodies of fifty or an hundred Men, and Signs to the *Dutch*, when they saw them, they retired; but to soon as they saw them, they retired athwart the Island, on purpose to give them some Ambuscade, which might give them some opportunity of revenging the Loss they sustain'd by the loss of them when they were shipwreck'd. As it was not possible there was no doing any good with this sort of People, the Commodore resolv'd to leave them, in order to seek for a better Country, where, without Hazard, he might have

Refrishments, of for they were now a Day pass'd but for

14. The very next day the *African* Galley sail'd to the Y *Mythras* Island Leagues to the Y *Mythras*, because it concern'd it as the Day and, indeed, to ne Hour later, the *African* Galley, find the rocky Shore, was done with great ado, escap'd. The riners, soon after p men infill'd, one immediately return Security to pay them so unlucky as to lose Demand of the So They were every Day rigues in these stor same time, ran the Reward they we the Custom of *Holo* Wages whenever the to their Complaints Honour, and imm happened to the Ship the last Farthing; nels; for though t both the other Ships one of their respecti to the full, as soon

The Island of *Amara* the Country cover'd both with high Trees found all the Coast without landing, at a Distance. *Tombeton* had Sight of another called *Leper*. It was the Ground very low, and flor'd with Grass, and flor'd with Trees. They continu'd to the Height of about discover'd another Smoke, they concluded all the Sail they could invent; and, as the men some of the Inhabitants in their Canoes, that what the reality, abundance among which they found it very difficult Situation, they sent cover a Passage over serene, they had the open Sea, without any Ranges of steep Rocks as a very great, as a first of these Islands, eyes, and which, to thirty Leagues in twenty-five League *Dutch* gave them the had been oblig'd to them.

As it was very dangerous, besides, none of them in their Canoes, or make any stay. I in a few Days, did at a great Distance but, on a nearer Approach, and the Commodore ventur'd an

Retirements, of which his Company stood in great need; for they were now so eaten up with the Scurvy, that not a Day passed but some of them died.

The very next Morning after they weighed from *Mijbeereus* Island, they lay, at the Distance of eight Leagues to the West, a new Island, which they called *Aurora*, because in the Commodore's Vessel, they discerned it as the Day broke. The *Tienbozen* was nearer it, and, indeed, to near it, that, if the Sun had rose half an Hour later, the mult have had the same Fate with the *African* Galley, since they were but a Cannon-shot from the rocky Shore, when the Danger was perceived. The Commodore immediately made the Signal to tack, which was done with great Difficulty, and the Ship, with much ado, escaped. The Frigate into which this put the Mariners, soon after produced a Mutiny, in which the Seamen insisted, one and all, that the Commodore should immediately return, or that, at least, he should give them Security to pay them their Wages, though they should be so unlucky as to lose their Veil. To say the Truth, this Demand of the Seamen was very just and reasonable. They were every Day exposed to the most excessive Fatigues in these stormy and unknown Seas; and, at the same time, ran the Hazard of losing, in a Moment, all the Reward they were to expect from their Labours, since the Custom of *Holland* is, that the Seamen lose their Wages whenever the Ship is lost. The Commodore listened to their Complaints with an Humanity worthy a Man of Honour, and immediately took an Oath, that whatever happened to the Ships, they should receive their Wages to the last Farthing. He kept it too with the utmost Exactness; for though the *African* Galley was lost before, and both the other Ships were condemned at *Batavia*, yet every one of their respective Crews had their Wages paid them to the full, as soon as they arrived at *Amsterdam*.

The Island of *Aurora* was about four Leagues in Extent, the Country covered with a charming Verdure, and adorned both with high Trees, and smaller Wood. But, as they found all the Coast rocky and foul, they left this Island too without landing, after having taken only a Prospect of it at a Distance. Towards Evening, the same Day, they had Sight of another Island, which, for that Reason, they called *Jeffer*. It was about twelve Leagues in Circuit, the Ground very low, but, withal, covered with fine Grass, and strewed with great Plenty of various sorts of Trees. They continued their Course still, steering West, to the Height of about 15°, and the next Morning they discovered another Country, which, seeing covered with Smoke, they concluded was inhabited, and therefore made all the Sail they could, in hopes of meeting with Retirements; and, as they approached the Country nearer, they saw some of the Inhabitants diverting themselves on the Coast in their Canoes. They perceived likewise, by degrees, that what they had taken for one Country, was, in reality, abundance of Islands crowded close to each other; among which they had now entered to far, that they found it a very difficult thing to extricate themselves. In this Situation, they sent a Man to the Top-mast Head, to discover a Passage out; and, as the Weather was perfectly serene, they had the good Luck to get once more into the open Sea, without any Accident; tho', in passing by several Ranges of steep Rocks, they had Reason to consider this as a very great, as well as fresh Deliverance. There were six of these Islands, exceedingly beautiful and pleasant to the Eye, and which, taken together, could not be less than thirty Leagues in Circumference. They were situated twenty-five Leagues West of *Mijbeereus* Island: The *Dutch* gave them the Name of the *Labyrinth*, because they had been obliged to tack several times to get clear of them.

As it was very dangerous to anchor on the Coast, and as, besides, none of the Inhabitants came to meet them in their Canoes, or on the Shore, they did not think fit to make any Stay. They still continued a West Course, and, in a few Days, discovered another Island, which appeared at a great Distance very high, and extremely beautiful; but, on a nearer Approach, they found no Ground for Anchorage, and the Coast appeared so rocky, that they were afraid to venture any closer: They therefore manned each

of their Shallops with twenty-five Men, in order to make a Descent. The Inhabitants no sooner perceived their Design, than they came down in Crouds to the Coast, in order to oppose their Landing. They were armed with very long Pikes, and gave them speedy Demonstrations of their knowing how to use them to the utmost Advantage. When the Shallops were pretty near the Island, they found the Shore to steep, and full of Rocks, that it was impossible to land; upon which, the best Part of the Sailors threw themselves into the Sea, with their Arms in their Hands, and some baubles, fit for Presents, tied upon their Heads, while the rest kept a constant Fire from the Boats, in order to clear the Shore, and facilitate their Landing. This Expedient succeeded to their Wish, and the Seamen got on shore without any considerable Resistance from the Inhabitants, who, frightened by the Discharge of their Fire-arms, quitted the Coast, and retired up the Mountains, but came down again as soon as the *Dutch* ceased firing. When those who were landed had advanced in Sight of the Islanders, they shewed them their Looking glasses, Strings of Coral, &c. The People came up to them without the least Fear, took their Presents, and suffered them to search where they pleased for Herbs and Salading for the Sick: Of these they found such Plenty, that, in a very little time, they filled twelve great Sacks, six for the Commodore, and as many for the *Tienbozen*; for, when the People once saw what they were about, they not only shewed them the best Sorts, but assisted in gathering them. They saw in this Island prodigious Quantities of Jamin, which was then in full Flower. They carried their Cargo of Greens immediately on board, which were much more acceptable to the Sick, than if they had brought them so much Gold and Silver.

The next Morning a greater Body of Men were ordered on shore, as well to gather Herbs, as to try to make farther Discoveries. The first thing they did, was to make a Present to the King, or Chief, of a considerable Quantity of all Sorts of Trinkets, which he received indeed, but with such an Air of Indifference and Disdain, as did not seem to promise any great Good with respect to their future Commerce. It is true, that, in Exchange, he sent the *Dutch* a considerable Quantity of Cocoa-nuts, which were very agreeable to them in their present Circumstances. This Chief, or Prince, was distinguished from the rest of the Inhabitants by the Ornaments he wore, consisting of various Things of Pearl, to the Amount of about 600 *Dutch* Florins in Value. Their Women seemed to admire the white Men very much, and almost doted them with Carrels; but this was all false Shew of Love, which these Traittresses employed to lull the *Dutch* into Security, that the Plot, laid by their Men, might succeed more effectually; and, if they had executed it with the same Subtilty with which they contrived it, they had certainly cut off every *Dutchman* that came on shore.

The thing happened thus: When the *Dutch* had filled twenty Sacks with Greens, they advanced farther into the Country, till such time as they came to the Top of certain steep Rocks, which hung over a large and deep Valley, the Islanders going before and behind them, of whom the *Dutch* had not the least Suspicion: But, as soon as they thought they had them at an Advantage, they quitted them on a sudden, and Thousands came pouring out from Caves and Holes in the Rocks; the Sailors immediately formed themselves, and stood upon their Defence: The Chief, or Prince, then made a Signal to the *Dutch* to keep off; of which they took no notice, but still continued to advance in a Line: He then gave the signal of Battle to his own People, and it was followed by a prodigious Shower of Stones: The *Dutch* in Return, made a general Discharge of their Fire-arms, which did great Execution; and, amongst the first that fell, was the Chief. The Islanders, however, were so far from flying, that they continued throwing Stones with greater Fury than before, so that most of the *Dutch* were soon wounded, and, in a manner, disabled, which made them retire behind a Rock; from whence they fired, with such Success, that great Numbers of the Islanders were killed; yet they obstinately maintained their Ground, and the *Dutch* were forced to retreat, having some killed, and a great many wounded, who, by

reason of their scorbutic Habit of Body, died not long after, notwithstanding all the Care that could be taken of them. As soon as they had disengaged themselves from the Enemy, they retired, and carried the Sacks of Herbs they had gathered, on board their Ships; where the Report they made of what had befallen them, affected their Ship's Company to such a Degree, that when a Motion was made for landing again, there was no body could be brought to bear the Thoughts of it.

To this Ill, before the happening of this unlucky Accident, they had given the Name of the Island *Recreation*, on account of the Herbs and Salading they found there. This Island is situated in the Height of 16° South Latitude, and in the Longitude of 28° : It is in Extent about twelve Leagues, the Soil extremely fertile, producing great Quantities of Trees, but more especially Palms, Cocos, and Iron-wood; the *Dutch* thought they had Reason to believe, that, in the Heart of the Country, there were rich Mines, and other valuable Things, but, as they were not at Liberty to make a very strict Search, our Author says he cannot positively affirm it. The Inhabitants were Men of a middle Size, robust, active, and seemed to be very well exercised in their sort of Discipline; their Hair was long, black, and shining, owing principally to anointing it with Oil of Cocos, which is practised by other *Indian* Nations. They were painted all over like the Natives of the Island of *Pajub*. The Men cover the Middle of their Bodies with a kind of Net-work, which is drawn between their Legs, and tucked up behind. As for the Women, they were entirely covered with a kind of Mantle of their own Manufacture, which, to the Sight and Touch, had a near Resemblance to Silk; and they wear about their Necks and Wrists, by way of Ornament, long Strings of Pearl. As the Anchorage was every where bad, and the rocky Shore of this Island so excessively steep, as not to permit, from the Sea, any View of the inner Part of the Country, the Commodore thought proper to sail, without farther Loss of Time, as knowing, that it was to no Purpose for him to remain longer, since the Men absolutely refused to attempt going on shore any more, because those who had been wounded in the late Skirmish, were dropping off daily.

15. The Commodore, before his Departure, thought fit to hold a Council of War, in which he communicated to his Officers the Contents of his Instructions, which were, that if, in the Latitude and Longitude they were now in, they could make no Discovery of Importance, he should return Home. There were some of the Council who were very much affronted at this Order, and could not forbear telling the Commodore, that, being advanced to sea, and having met with so great Encouragement, it would betray a great want of Spirit, if they did not proceed. To this he answered, that they had been already out ten Months, that they had Bill a long Voyage to make to the *East Indies*, that Provisions begin to grow very short; and, above all, that their Crew was already so much diminished, and those who survived in so weak a Condition, that, if twenty more should die, or fall sick, there would not be enough left to navigate both Ships; not to mention other Reasons of equal Importance.

The true Secret, however, says my Author, of this sudden Change, was the great Desire, that some of the principal Officers had to get to the *East Indies*; for they were afraid of missing the Monsoon, in which case they must have remained still six Months longer in the *South Seas*. Thus, says he, all our grand Design was at once defeated and overturned, after our having taken such incredible Pains to succeed, and after meeting with so many Omens of Success. Some Officers, however, opposed this Motion to the very last; and, foreseeing the Mischiefs that must attend it, earnestly persuaded the Commodore to attempt rather wintering in the Countries mentioned by *Ferdinand de Quares*, from which, as they shewed him, they could not be above an hundred and fifty Leagues. But when they found he was inflexible, a new Dispute arose about the Passage home: Those who had the Good of the Voyage only at Heart, insisted jealously, that it was wrong to think of going by the *East Indies*; since it was directly contrary to the Design of their Instructions; that, by con-

tinuing the first Course, they must necessarily fall in with some Island or other, where they might land, take in Refreshments, and stay till their sick Men recovered: That, in this case, they ought first of all to erect a Fort for their own Security against the Natives; in the next, to treat those People with all imaginable Gentleness and Candour; that, by this means, they should infallibly engage them to trade and converse with them, which would enable them to learn their Language, and carry Home a clear, exact, and full Account of the Country in which they had lived. They farther represented, that, if this Proposal was complied with, they should have it always in their Power to return Home, by steering an East Course, and, by taking time, perfect effectually the Discoveries they were sent to make.

These Reasons were heard with Patience and Civility, though they had not the Weight that they deserved; and, on the Whole, a Resolution was taken to continue their Course towards *New Britain* and *New Guinea*, and thence by the Way of the *Moluccas* to the *East Indies*, where they were in hopes of procuring not only a Supply of Provisions, and other Necessaries, but of Seamen also, in case they should be in so weak a Condition, as not to be able to navigate their Ships back to *Europe*. By this Resolution, our Author says, an End was put to all Hopes of visiting the Land of *de Quares*, which, it was the Opinion of the best Seamen on board, they might certainly and easily have discovered. This Opinion of theirs was founded upon three Reasons: First, that the Situation of this Coast is a better laid down, than those of most new discovered Countries, which are not as yet thoroughly known. Secondly, that the Islands they had hitherto met with, agreed, every respect, as to their Situation, Inhabitants, and Produce, with the Descriptions in *de Quares's* Memorals. And, Thirdly, because the Wind plainly blew off some Continent, so large Island, and would therefore have been extremely agreeable to their Design, if they had thought fit to prosecute. Our Author takes Occasion here to enter into a large Discourse on the Certainty of such a Southern Continent, its Advantages that would probably result from the Discovery of it, and the Means most likely to effect that Discovery, the Success of which we shall endeavor to give the Reader in as few Words as it is possible.

It is very certain, that the Discovery of *Terra Australis incognita* is considered, by many wise and knowing People, as a kind of Philosophers Stone, perpetual Victual, or, in plain English, as a Camera, it only to take up the empty Brains of wild Projectors. Yet it is hard to bring sufficient Reason, why such as are competent Judges of the Matter in Dispute, should decide, peremptorily, that there is no such Country; or, if there be, that it is not worth the finding. These sort of hasty Conclusions are extremely fatal to Science in general, and to the Art of Navigation in particular. To lay the Truth, all Nations are in conjectures only, however beautifully ranged by Systems, serve only to puzzle and mislead People. The Discovery of all Parts of the World seems to be, at present, the Pursuit and the Glory of Man. It is the peculiar Privilege of our Species, that we can traverse this Globe by Land, Sea, Water, and thereby become intelligent with respect to the various Scenes of Witdom, which the World's Creator and ours has displayed therein. This is a great Advantage to them, that there cannot be any thing more so necessary, or more worthy of a great Mind, than the surveying, either in Theory or Practice, the Disposition of this terraqueous Globe, the Harmony of its Parts, and their Relation to each other. Whoever employs any Part of his Time in this Way, will discern that there is wanting only the Discovery of a Southern Continent, in order to give one Sight of the Globe a Resemblance to the other. This is the best Argument, that there is such a Southern Continent, and which that Experience confirms this Notion; the Lower Winds, the Currents, the Ice, beyond *Cap Horn*, all contain this Opinion, that there is Land to be seen at the Southern Pole. We are to consider again, that there have numberless Voyages to the *East Indies*, and a great many round the Globe, yet we have few, very few, that Ocean, in which this Continent is supposed to be, that these Voyages, serve all, in some measure, to confirm

Opinion; because, if Land or other was discovered, it is certain, that, if ever at a very great distance, where the probable Sign, that they were there, is such, that they were really is such.

With regard to the Discovery of this new Land, it is obvious in the new Land has a name, or which was taken from *Facts*. It is true, that the Coast is, for though the Coast are seldom the richest, and the Cause that we have ever chiefly the Effect of we are not better as expected to succeed, though; and it is a pity, who pretend to, without visiting. Yet such People are seen, and later Exports of *de Quares* and *de Quares* they remained longer capable of entering.

All who have visited that there are in the *viz.* the Olive color *William Scoresby* amongst a great N. white Man. The on the Eastern Part *Madre de Dios*, the County received it to be Negroes. Knowledge, and color not only yellow, but likewise, who were of such as had five white Men, which to be true, though different Account agreed, that the Nation of Commerce, different Dress, it were long Beards, in their Temples, Language of these Languages spoke trial of *de Quares* it

Opinion; because, in every one of these Voyages, some Land or other was discovered, either Continent or Island. Now it is certain, that Islands great and small, are seldom, if ever at a very great Distance from a Continent; and therefore, where there are many Islands, it is at least a very probable Sign, that there is something Continent not far from them. Thus much as to the Certainty of the Thing, that there really is such a Country.

With regard to the next Point, Whether it is worth the Discovery? this requires a much more ample Inquiry. It is obvious in the first Place, that the Discovery of all new Lands, has a natural Tendency to the Increase of Commerce, of which we have an Instance in the Whale-fishery on the Coast of Greenland, and the Trade carried on in Hudson's Bay; but, with respect to the Lands we are now speaking of, we have as much Certainty as the Nature of the Thing will admit, that they are really as rich and plentiful, as any Countries on the Face of the Globe, without Exception. We have already proved, that the fifth Climate is, according to the Laws of Nature, the most fertile, as well as the most wholesome; and it must on all Hands be allowed, that a great Part of the Terra Australis lies under that Climate. Ferdinand de Quirós, in his Memorials, calls it a fourth Part of the Globe, and with good Reason; for, from the Western Point of New Guiney, to the Eastern Extremity of the Country discovered by Hernando Gallego, there is a Space of 2000 Leagues, a great Part of which has been, and the rest may be, certainly discovered. But, of all the Proofs that can be offered in such a Case, those are certainly the most convincing, that are taken from Facts. Now de Quirós, and Torres, who actually visited those Islands, which, by their first Discoverer Alonzo Saverdena, were called the Islands of Solomon, not only report, that the Country is beautiful in Prospect, and exceedingly fertile in its Produce, but that it abounds also with every thing that has hitherto been accounted Riches, such as Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, and Spices.

It is true, that they acknowledged they visited only the Coasts; but this rather fortifies than lessens their Testimony; for though the Coasts are often the most pleasant, yet they are seldom the richest Part of a Country. It is owing to Accident, and the Curiosity of such as report these Things, that we have ever heard of these Countries; and it is chiefly the Effect of the Impatience of Discoverers, that we are not better acquainted with them. A Man cannot be expected to describe a Country he has only galloped through; and it is the same Thing with regard to Discoverers, who pretend to give distinct Accounts of Countries, without visiting any Part of them: but their Ports: Yet such People may have Leave to say, that they have been, and later Experience seems to confirm, the Relations of de Quirós and Torres, with this Difference only, that they remained longer on shore, and were consequently more capable of entering into Particulars.

All who have visited these Southern Countries agree, that there are in them three different sorts of Inhabitants, viz. the Olive coloured, the Black, and the White. William Schouten observes, as a Kind of Prodigy, that, amongst a great Number of Blacks, he saw one perfectly white Man. The Spanish Historian Herrera tells us, that, on the Eastern Point of New Guiney, and especially about Madre de Dios, the Inhabitants are all white, though that Country received its Name from its Inhabitants appearing to be Negroes. Our Author confirms all this of his own Knowledge, and carries it still further: for he says, he saw not only yellow, black, and white People, but a fourth Sort likewise, who were red: He adds, that, having inquired of such as had lived some time in New Guiney, about the white Men, which Herrera mentions, he found the Fact to be true, though these People could give but a very indistinct Account of them. In this, however, they all agreed, that these white People had very little Conversation of Commerce with the Blacks: That they wore a different Dress, resembling that of the oriental Nations, wore long Beards, and had not either Idols or Ornaments in their Temples. They likewise assured him, that the Language of these white People differs greatly from the Languages spoken by their Neighbours. In the Memorial of de Quirós it is said, that the Inhabitants of the Islands

he visited were prone to Idolatry, which is very agreeable to the Account that has been given of the People in Pafch Island.

As to the Government, de Quirós reports the People he saw to have lived under a Republic, which agrees with the Situation of Things in that Island which has been last mentioned: With respect, again, to Food and Provisions, de Quirós affirms, that he found, in those Countries he visited, such Plenty of Cattle, Hogs, Goats, and Fowl, that the People had not only wherewith to live in Plenty themselves, but were able, without diminishing that Plenty, to supply their Neighbours. Schouten affirms the same Thing with respect to the Islands he saw, and to do other Travellers; and our Author rightly observes, that the Size, the Strength, and the Activity of the People they saw in the Island of Pafch, made it sufficiently evident, that they lived upon nourishing and succulent Food. De Quirós informs us, that the Indians made a very sweet, solid, and nourishing Bread of three sorts of Roots. It appears from this Voyage, that they met, in almost all the Islands they discovered, with different kinds of Roots, which served instead of Bread, and were very pleasant and wholesome. Some of them, our Author lays, were very like Beet-roots; but whether it was of these Roots that the Inhabitants made their Bread, he does not pretend to say: They had likewise Plenty of Potatoes, which were very good in their kind. As to Plants, Herbs, and Flowers, we find in de Quirós's Memorial, that the Countries, in which he was, abounded with them, as well as with Sugar-canes, which are indeed plenty in most warm Countries, and of which there was such abundance in the Islands visited by our Author in this Voyage, that the People often brought the Dutch more than they wanted, or could tell what to do with, and therefore they returned them, and as to other Fruits of different sorts, some known, some unknown, but all excellent in their kind, the Plenty of them has been already mentioned more than once.

Both our Author, and all former Travellers, agree, that these Southern Indians are not only much pleased with, but tolerably skilled in, Music. Abel Tasman, whose Discoveries from the original Dutch shall hereafter find a Place in this Work, heard an Horn sounded among the Indians he conversed with; and Schouten lays, that, at an Entertainment made by two Indian Kings, at which he was present, there was a Person sent for to play upon the Flute. Utensils in their Houses were, according to de Quirós, most of them made of Earth; and, as we have seen before, our Author found it so likewise. De Quirós absolutely affirms, that they made use of Vessels, tolerably well built, for the Carrying on of Commerce between their Islands, of the Truth of which our Author says he was an Eye-witness; and Schouten in his Voyages confirms this, by telling us, that he took a Vessel with a considerable Stock of live Provisions on board, which must therefore have been intended for a Voyage of some Length. Our Author not only maintains the Truth of this from his own Knowledge, but adds farther, that they examined the Sails of some of these Vessels, and found them as good as if they had been made in Holland; the Thread of them resembling Hemp, and the Canvas surpassing, in all respects, any thing of that kind made in Java, or the Indies. We find, in de Quirós's Memorial, an Account of a very fine Gulph, in the Latitude of 15°, where Ships might anchor very commodiously: He thought fit to call it Golfo de Philippe, where, according to him, Ships might anchor safe from Winds, inasmuch as it ran twenty Leagues up into the Country. Hernando Gallego writes, that, in his Passage from New Guiney to the Straights of Magellan, he was driven, by a West Wind, to a Country lying to the South, which he looked upon as cut off from the Continent: This very probably might be the Gulph mentioned by de Quirós. Abel Tasman reports, that he found, in the Southern Continent, a large and spacious Gulph, very commodious for Shipping; William Schouten and Herrera make frequent mention of Havens and Rivers in these Southern Countries; and Daupier, as we shall shew elsewhere, actually saw some of these. If, therefore, we consider all the Circumstances that have been mentioned, the Credit of the several Authors who report them, their ap-

parent Connexion, and Impossibility of making Forgeries tally so exactly, we must conclude, that there is very full Evidence in Support of both these Positions; viz. that there is a great Continent, and many Islands, to the South, and that this Continent, and those Islands, are very probably rich and well peopled, to which if a Trade could be opened, it might, nay, must, be very commodious, and produce as great or greater Advantages, than those which have resulted from the Discoveries of *America*.

It is indeed astonishing, that, considering even the imperfect Accounts that have been had of these Southern Lands within the last and the present Century, no *European* Potentate ever seriously undertook the Conquest of them. It is true, that many Expeditions have been made for discovering, but not one for making a Settlement. There never yet was fitted out any Squadron strong enough, either in Ships or in Men, to attempt penetrating into the Heart of any of these Countries. The *English* and the *Dutch* have contented themselves with running along the Coasts, without ever venturing to make a Descent, either for fear of being overpowered by the Inhabitants, or in Apprehension of wanting Provisions in their Return, in case they amused themselves too long in this Part of the World. Such are the Reasons assigned by our Author for the Misfortune of the Design in which he was concerned, as well as of all the rest upon that Plan. He concludes his Discourse with laying down certain Maxims, which, he thinks, if steadily pursued, would greatly contribute to, if not absolutely effect, this useful and important Discovery. In the first Place, says he, such a Design is not to be undertaken with one or two Ships, but with a Squadron, and those too of several Kinds, some Ships of Force, some Tenders, all well provided, and victualled for a long Voyage. Secondly, says he, the Ship's Company ought to be composed chiefly of good Seamen; whereas hitherto the Majority of the Crews of such Vessels have consisted of Soldiers, or of mere Land-men of some sort or other. He gives this Reason in Support of the Maxim he lays down: In such a Voyage, it is natural, that both Sorts should decrease; but the Consequence is, by no means, equal. For, if there be Seamen enough left, they can always fight; but, let there be ever so many Landmen, they cannot work the Ship in Time of Danger. His third Maxim is, that, some Months after fitting out the first Squadron, there should be another sent after them, which, as he observes, would prevent the bad Effects of the Scurvy, and of corrupt Provisions, since it would give an Opportunity of shifting Crews, and prevent either Squadron remaining too long at Sea without a convenient Supply. In the fourth Place, he says, that, as it is impossible to foresee the Accidents that may happen in a Voyage, a certain Place of Rendezvous should be fixed before the first Squadron sails, and the Captain of each Vessel strictly inquired to repair thither, and continue there for a certain Time, in order to wait for his Consorts. The last Rule he lays down is this, that whoever is trusted with the chief Command of such an Expedition, should not be limited or restrained by his Commission, but that much should be left to his Discretion; because otherwise he will either be at a Loss when to follow what the Circumstances of the Voyage direct, and when to adhere to his Orders; or else, for his own Security, he will only consider the latter. Whereas the Success of the Design must always depend on his judging and acting rightly with regard to the former. In all Probability, the true Reason, why none of the Princes of *Europe* have hitherto undertaken any thing in this Affair, as if they were in Earnest, is, that they all wait till some one shall begin, who having opened a Way at his own Expence, they may be able to follow him with more Certainty, and less Danger: Yet what Reason is there, in this Case, to hope, that the first Discoverer should be less tenacious of his Rights, than the *French* are of theirs in *Canada*, the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, the *Portuguese* in *Brazil*, the *English* in *Virginia*, and the *Dutch* at the *Moluccas*? The Law of Nations gives an exclusive Right of Trade to the first Discoverer; and an Attempt to violate this would be considered as an open Rupture. The great Point then is to be the first Discoverer, the lawful Lord and Proprietor of this new Trade, which must very-

soon render the Power possessed of it, if properly managed, the most considerable Maritime Power in *Europe*.

16. When the *Dutch* Commodore quitted the Island of *Recreation*, he steered a North west Course, pursuant to the Resolution of the last Council, in order to attain the Height of *New Britain*. The third Day after they sailed, they discovered in the Latitude of 12° South, and in the Longitude of 200, several Islands, which appeared very beautiful at a Distance; and, as they came nearer, they plainly discerned, that they were well planted with trees of all Sorts, that the Country produced Herbs, Corn, and Roots, in great plenty, laid out, towards the Coast, in large and regular Plantations. As soon as the Inhabitants discerned the Ships, they came in their Boats, and brought them Fish, Cocoa-nuts, *Indian* Figs, and other Refreshments; in Return for which, the *Dutch* gave them, in usual, small Looking glasses, Strings of Beads, and other Trifles.

It quickly appeared, that these Islands were very full peopled, since many Thousands of Men and Women, the former, generally speaking, armed with Bows and Arrows, came down to the Shore to look at them. They were, amongst the rest, a very majestic Personage, whom, from the Dress he wore, and the Honours that were paid him, they easily discovered to be the Prince or Sovereign of this Nation. He presently stepped into his Canoe, accompanied by a fair young Woman, who sat close by his Side. His Canoe was immediately surrounded by a vast Number of other Vessels, that crowded about it, and seemed intended for a Guard. All the Inhabitants of these Islands were white, and differed nothing in their Complexion from *Europeans*, except that they were a little sun-burnt. They seemed to be a very harmless good sort of People, very brisk and lively, treating each other with visible Marks of Civility, and discovering nothing that was wild or savage in their Behaviour. Their Bodies were not painted like those of the other *Indians* they had seen, but very handsomely clothed from the Girdle downwards with sort of Silk Fringes, very neatly folded. On their Heads they wore Hats of a very neat kind of Stuff, and very large, to keep off the Sun; and, about their Necks, they wore Collars of very beautiful and odoriferous Flowers. The Country itself appeared exquisitely charming, every one of the Islands being agreeably diversified with Hills and Valleys, as lovely as Imagination can paint. Some of them were ten, some fifteen, and some again twenty Miles in Compass. They thought fit to call them *Recreation's* Islets, after the Captain of the *Vindesien*, who first discovered them. It appeared, that each Family or Tribe had its particular District, and composed of separate Governours, each of them being laid out into four regular Plantations, in the same manner with those of the Island of *Recreation* described. Our Author says, that it is a Point of Justice due to these Islanders to acknowledge, that they were, in all respects, the most civilized and best disposed People they met with in the South Seas. Instead of showing any Terrors or Apprehensions at their Arrival, they expressed the utmost Joy and Satisfaction, treated them with Kindness and Respect not to be described, and manifested the most sincere and most deep Concern, when they perceived, that, in spite of all their officious Diligence, their New-comers were not like to stay amongst them.

It seems the *Dutch* themselves felt many of them a like Concern, and would have been extremely well pleased to have made a longer Stay in so plentiful a Country, and among to kind a People; the rather because it was morally certain, that, by the Help of the vast abundance of good Provisions, with which these Islanders, willing to refresh them, all their sick People, in a Month's time, would have perfectly recovered. Add to all this, that these Islanders had one Convenience superior to those they had before met with; viz. that there was exceeding good Anchorage along their Coasts, where they rode in fifteen or twenty Fathoms Water in the greatest Safety. So many advantageous Circumstances ought certainly to have prevailed on the Commodore, and his Officers, to have remained there; but their Heads were so full of an *East India* Voyage, and they were so extremely fearful of missing the East Monsoon, that

they could not be but hear of that Proposals, which hindered was built upon a false discovered to their C instead of two Month hopes of meeting w covers, that would rewarded their pain worse, by this indist feed the Health and gre, that they four scarce in a Condition put them on think Expedient, viz. that less Difficulty, to ma encies had been avo offered them by the F been content to stay fare, till their sick Pe seeking new Dangers to encounter.

17. Weighing thro their Course towards the next Morning, they took to be the Island by *William Schouten*. *Tan Boonwan* would more nearly; but the Island of *Cocos*, very high Land, and the other appeared without Trees. The Latitude of 11° South that they sailed at took any good Account of Islands of very large I know, and the other their Officers were el the great South Contine respect to which, how ment, because the K convincing. As for t be a rich and beautif dows exceedingly gr 18. They coaste without coming to th that it extended in th Island of *Groningen* that these two Count may, in Reality, be both of them Parts our Author acknow hood, Islands of 150 very well with the A that he found a Strei 19. and, it so, this great Part of the Cor and making a Defect disagreeable Motion present, the Officer *East Indies*, suggest tended with great D cut off, they should ty their Ships home They were oblig how disagreeable fo junty of the Conp Discoveries, were u ries. It was not n soon see the Coast but, after failing fo at all, they began t culations; but, at ing a little at their the Scurvy began t Hands every Day duced three Ships d deliberated, whethe Vol. I.

they could not be brought, by any means, so much as to hear of that Proposal: Yet this unlucky Precaution of theirs, which hindered them from viewing these Islands, was built upon a false Foundation, since, as they afterwards discovered to their Cost, they were two Months too early, instead of two Months too late, for that Trade-wind, in hopes of meeting with which, they had abandoned a Discoverer, that would, in all human Probability, have amply rewarded their past Pains and Labour; and, which was still worse, by this indiscreet and hasty Departure, they sacrificed the Health and Strength of their Crew to such a Degree, that they found themselves so weakened, as to be scarce in a Condition to navigate their Ships; which once put them on thinking of a very desperate and dangerous Expedient, viz. that of burning one Vessel, in order, with less Difficulty, to manage the other. All such Inconveniences had been avoided, if, embracing this Opportunity, offered them by the Favour of Divine Providence, they had been content to stay in a Place of Safety, Plenty, and Pleasure, till their sick People had recovered, instead of wilfully seeking new Dangers, with which they were so little able to encounter.

17. Weighing from *Boceman's Islands*, they continued their Course towards the North-west, which gained them, the next Morning, the Sight of two Islands; which they took to be the Island of *Cocos*, and *Traitors Island*, so called by *William Schouten*, by whom they were discovered. Captain *Boceman* would very willingly have approached them more nearly; but the Commodore would not permit him. The Island of *Cocos*, at the Distance they saw it, seemed very high Land, and about eight Leagues in Compass. The other appeared to be much to low, the Soil red, and without Trees. This last Island, they believed, lay in the Latitude of 11° South; but our Author ingeniously owns, that they failed at too great a Distance to be able to give any good Account of them. They soon after saw two other Islands of very large Extent, one of which they called *Tienhoven*, and the other *Gronquieu*; which last, many of their Officers were clearly of Opinion, was no Island, but the great South Continent they were sent to discover; with respect to which, however, our Author suspends his Judgment, because the Proofs on neither Side seemed to him convincing. As for the Island of *Tienhoven*, it appeared to be a rich and beautiful Country, moderately high, the Meadows exceedingly green, and within-land adorned with Trees. They coasted along the Shore for a whole Day, without coming to the End of it. They observed, however, that it extended in the Form of a Semicircle towards the Island of *Gronquieu*; so that, after all, it is very probable, that these two Countries, that were at first taken for Islands, may, in Reality, be Lands contiguous to each other, and both of them Parts of the *Terra Australis incognita*: Yet our Author acknowledges they found, in that Neighbourhood, Islands of 150 Miles in Circumference; which agrees very well with the Account given by *Dampier*, who affirms, that he found a Streight between *New Guinea* and *New Britain*; and, if so, this must be considered as an Island. A great Part of the Company were for anchoring on the Coast, and making a Descent; but that was now become a very disagreeable Motion; and, to be rid of it the more easily at present, the Officers, who were so fond of going to the *East Indies*, suggested, that it must, at this time, be attended with great Danger, since, if the Party landing was cut off, they should not then have Men enough left to carry their Ships home.

They were obliged therefore to continue their Course, how disagreeable soever that Measure might be to the Majority of the Company, who, as they came out to make Discoveries, were unwilling to go home with imperfect Stories. It was not now doubted but that they should very soon see the Coasts of *New Guinea*, or of *New Britain*; but, after sailing for many Days without seeing any Land at all, they began to be satisfied of the Vanity of these Calculations; but, at the same time, could not help murmuring a little at their Effects, which were very dreadful, since the Scurvy began to carry off three, four or five of their best Hands every Day: So that, though they had already reduced three Ships Companies to two, they more than once deliberated, whether it might not be expedient to burn one

of the remaining Vessels; and the only Argument that restrained them from doing it was, that, in case any Accident befel one, there was still a Possibility left of escaping with the other. There cannot be any thing more terrible than the Account our Author gives of the Miseries they endured; but, at the same time, it is too curious, and too important, to be omitted.

At this time, says he, there was nothing to be seen on board but sick People, struggling with inexpressible Pains, and dead Carcases, that were just released from them, and from which arose so intolerable a Smell, that such as yet remained found were not able to endure, but frequently swooned with it. Cries and Groans were perpetually ringing in their Ears; and the very Sight of the People moving about was sufficient to excite at once Terror and Compassion; for some of them were such perfect Skeletons, that their Skins seemed to cleave to their Bones, in which sad Circumstances they had this Consolation, that they felt no Pain, but consumed and extinguished like the Snuff of a Candle. Others, again, were swelled and puffed up to a monstrous Size, and were tormented with such violent Pains, as threw them frequently into a furious kind of Madnets. Others were worn away by the Dysentery, and bloody Stools, while many suffered the most excruciating Pains from the Rheumatism; and others dragged their dead Limbs after them, the Feeling of which had been taken away by the Palsy. To all these Diseases of the Body, there were likewise added many Disorders of the Mind: An Anabaptist of about twenty-five Years old cried, without ceasing, for twenty-four Hours before he died, *Baptize me! baptize me!* When the Captain was told of it, he answered in a very quick Tone, *If he had a mind to have passed through that Ceremony, he should have thought of it before he embarked*; adding with a Sneeze, *The Fellow knows well enough we have no Parsons here*. When the poor Man was told this, he remained quiet, and died with great Resignation. There were two Papists on board, the one a *French*, the other a *Dutchman*, who gave what little Money they had to their Friends, beseeching them, that, if ever they returned to *Holland*, they would lay it out in procuring a certain Number of Masses to be said for the Repose of their Souls, to the Honour of *St. Anthony of Padua*. But they were not all of so religious a Disposition; on the contrary, many of them would not hear any thing that had the least Savour of Religion, for some time before they expired. Our Author assures us, that he saw some, who neither eat nor drank for four-and-twenty Days before they died; and some, again, were carried off so suddenly, that, in the midst of their Discourse, they stopped short, and were found to be dead. All these different Kinds of Sickneses our Author attributes chiefly to their bad Provisions, their salt Meats being corrupted, their Bread full of Maggots, and their Water stinking to an intolerable Degree. In such Circumstances as these, Medicines, at the most, could only defer Death, but could never work a Cure. The only effectual Remedy was fresh Meat, Herbs, and Water. Even such as were reputed in Health were low, weak, and much afflicted with the Scurvy. Our Author tells us, that tho' he was as well as any body, yet he had the Scurvy to such a degree, that his Teeth were all loose, his Gums torn and inflamed, and his Body covered with Spots of different Colours. At last, however, it pleased God to put a Period to their Miseries, by giving them a Sight of the Coast of *New Britain*, the Joy of which filled their Sick with new Spirits, and encouraged such as were able to move, to hope they might yet return to their native Country; whereas, if they had been obliged to continue many Days longer at Sea, they must certainly have perished, as well through Despair, as through the many Miseries they suffered, of which tho' he has given us a long and melancholy Account, he yet assures us, that it is but a faint Description, and falls very far short in expressing the manifold Distresses to which they were exposed.

18. The Country of *New Britain*, as well as the rest of the Islands in its Neighbourhood, is very high Land, many of the Mountains hiding themselves in the Clouds; but, for the Sea-coasts, they are equally fertile and pleasant, the Meadows wearing a perpetual Verdure, and the Hills being covered with various Sorts of Fruit trees. It lies in the Latitude

tude of between 4° and 7° South; so that, in point of Situation and Appearance, there could not any Country promise more, than this did. The *Dutch*, therefore, after some Consultation, resolv'd, at all Events, to go on shore, tho' there certainly were some very strong Arguments against it; for they were now weakened to such a degree, that they could scarce, out of both Ships, spare Men enough to man a Boat, and leave a sufficient Number to navigate one Ship; supposing that they should consent to give up all Hopes of carrying home the other; but the Passions of the Ships Companies were too strong for going on shore, and their Necessities so great, that, on the Whole, it appear'd absolutely requisite to venture a Descent, let the Consequences of it be what they would.

Accordingly, our Author was order'd into the Shallop, with a certain Number of Men, with Instructions to go on shore at any rate, by fair Means, if possible, and with the Consent of the Inhabitants, for whom they carried a great Quantity of Trifles by way of Present; but, it this had no Effect, then they were to make use of Force, since the Circumstances they were under made it as eligible to die by the Hands of Barbarians, as to perish piece-meal through Want and Diseases. The nearer they drew to the Coast, the more they were pleas'd with it, since it gave them a View, and that at a very near one, of all the Refreshments they could wish for. The Inhabitants also came down in Crowds; but not in a Manner that added at all to their Satisfaction: For they were well arm'd with Pows, Arrows, and Slings, demonstrating sufficiently by their Gestures, that they were not at all pleas'd with their New comers; and that they did not intend, by any means, to let them land peaceably. As the Shallop drew nearer the Shore, the Inhabitants threw themselves into a frantic Despair, made frightful Faces, howled, tore their Hair, and, as if they had borrowed Courage from the quick Sense of their Distress, hurried off in their Canoes, in order to meet that Danger, which they saw was unavoidable.

19. The *Dutch* continued to make the best of their Way towards the Land; which when the *Indians* saw, they discharged a Flight of Arrows, which was followed by the Javelins they had in their Hands. This was succeeded by a prodigious Shower of Stones, discharged from their Slings; and as there needed no more to convince the *Dutch*, that they had nothing to trust to but Force, they fired upon them without ceasing; and this with such Effect, that many of them were killed, and the rest terrified to such a degree, that many of them threw themselves out of their Canoes into the Water, and the rest were at last oblig'd to follow their Example, for such was their Confusion, that they were no longer able to distinguish the proper Channels, by which they might safely have returned with their Canoes, but ran them on the Rocks and Shoals that lay before their Coasts. This accident took from the *Dutch* all Hopes of following them; and, while they were thus embarrassed, there arose a most violent Storm, of that Kind which the *Dutch* Seamen Byle a *Trafal*, and which commonly springs in the midst of a Calm, when the Air is perfectly clear and serene; and, by its Violence, frequently brings the Masts by the board, and carries the Sails into the Air, if they are not furled in an Instant. This Storm forc'd the Ships out to Sea, and left the poor People in their Shallop, without Relief, and almost without Hope. They ran suddenly on a Bank of Sand, where they were beaten with such Violence by the Winds and Waves, that there seem'd to be no Means of Safety left, but, as Despair usually gives Men Spirits and Strength beyond what they have at other times, they had the good Fortune to drag their Vessel safe to Land, where, by the Favour of Divine Providence, all of them got on shore, fatigued indeed to the last Degree, but without any other Hurt.

The first thing they did was, to endeavour to find out some Place of Retreat, where they might be safe from any sudden Attack of their Enemies; but, before such a Place could be found, the Night drew on, and they were forc'd to content themselves with getting together, where they were, as many Pieces of Wood, and broken Branches of Trees, as possible, in order to dry and warm themselves. When they had, by this means, made a pretty good Fire, their Spirits began to revive, and they had Time to look

about them. The Light of the Fire enabled them to discover several Cabins and Huts in the Neighbourhood; the Place where they had taken up their Abode, nor was it long before they went to examine what their contents were, without finding any of the Inhabitants; and as for Tools or household Goods, they had none. All that the *Dutch* met with, worth taking away, were a few Nets, some wrought. They saw likewise abundance of Corn, but, as they had brought no Hatchets, they were forc'd to come at any Fruit, and had consequently a very restless Night, during which they were perpetually alarm'd by the frightful Noise, that the Inhabitants made in the Woods, whence they naturally apprehended they were every Moment coming to attack them.

20. This Country appears to be exceeding fertile, especially in all sorts of Fruits. The Mountains, that are high, promise Mines of all kinds, since there are several Countries in this Climate, the Mountains of which produce Metals. As for the Inhabitants, they are a well-made People, perfect Mulattoes in point of complexion, with long black Hair, that curls down to the Waist. They are extremely vigorous and nimble, and very expert in the Use of their Arms, that no Doubt can be made of their living in a perpetual State of War. Their Religion is long question'd, even with the most experienced Navigators, whether this Land ought to be accounted a Continent, or an Island; and perhaps the Point is not yet clear, as the Discoveries made by these *Dutchmen*, in this respect, were very inconsiderable. The Islands near the Coast are very numerous, so that it was with great Difficulty that they obtained a Passage through them. It was very easy here to observe, that this Account agrees exactly with that of *Dampier*; so that I make no Question, that the Place, where our Author landed, was the same which *Dampier* gave the Name of *Surgers Bay*, from the Difficulty of the Inhabitants in the Management of the Island.

But I do not think, that either his ill Success, or that ought to hinder the Prosecution of so important a Discovery, since it is certainly very possible for Ships to reach this Country, without meeting with their Misfortunes. The Coast of *New Britain* is now very well known, by the Accounts, and for a curious Evidence, that there is no part of this Coast, where there is no sort of Danger of an able Seaman's finding them; and, if a Ship should be driven to the Coast, for that Cause, there is all the Probability, that she should very soon be pill'd of a Cargo of Commodities all, interior to the *Dutch* Spice Islands. The first Discovery, they no longer heard of the *Dutch* Ships, which was a little after Mr. *Spencer's* Departure on board; and the next Morning they were seen in the Bay, as well as they could be distinguish'd by the Signals before mentioned. The Mistakenness of the *Dutch* was not so much surpris'd, as they were, when they found themselves on shore, made such an Impression on the Minds of this Part of the Country, that they resolv'd to venture on a Descent the next Day, and offer'd, since they had no more Men in the *Shallop*, that they were in perfect Readiness, and their Stock of Ammunition they had lived for some time past, was now almost all consumed, and sunk to such a degree, that they were forc'd, if they could not come near it. The *Dutch* now pacify the Men with Stories of the *Indians*, that they declared absolutely, that any Death of the *Indians* was more welcome, than living longer at Sea, if no other Means were left. And in this Situation they were, when they arriv'd at the Height of 20° South Latitude, where they expected to find the Islands of *Moa* and *Simoa*, discover'd by the *Dutch*.

21. They had Reason to commiserate the Condition of those that able Seaman, since they quickly observ'd, that those Islands, and immediately resolv'd to attempt some Relief from *Simoa*, which is the biggest of those Islands. The Inhabitants no sooner saw them approaching, than they came out to meet them in their Canoes, of which there was a prodigious Number. These People were arm'd with Bows and Arrows, even their Women had a Club, which they brought with them Cocoa-nuts, *Indian* Eggs, and other Refreshments, and row'd towards the Ships, without the least Sign of Fear. The *Dutch* offer'd them such kind of Presents, as they

on board, by way of But, when they the *Dutch* intended to be contented themselves with them, without expiring, however, of the same kind of the *Dutch* endeavour Hogs on board, the *Indians* mistook Day two or three Disappointment. A very bad State of from the Island of a little time, the *Indians* that, if he could but for two or three Days, they lay to persuade the board without inviting they were now extreme before their Arrival, or five of their People Hazard to run, the the midst of all their Air, the Look, and seem'd to favour of assign a better Reason that the Island of *Moa* might well render them.

They observ'd, however, went on board their Snick, with a Piece of they quested to be in from thence, very pro continual War with their Neighbours, which Conjecture observ'd, that none of the Island, but, on the station. These Remarks for acquiring speech, They were fatigued, peopled, not as ple engag'd them to attack the Island, to carry off a secure their Voyage. Distress, which, the was very bold in making the Conduct of it, land in different Places, given, that one Party and that the others should be at hand to jump into Execution as he as soon as they began who lay in Ambush, Shower of Arrows, to escape unhurt, arms had abundance which so frighten'd them, directly in their Canoes Cries and Shouts, to bring them to the *Dutch* had posture to attack them in the from their Mouths, quiet, the *Dutch* had Cocoa-nuts, with their Shallops, and fatigued with their labour. The Cocoa-tree is most Places in the and grows narrow. The Fruit hangs on Tendril, not unlike Flowers are yellow, or Branches hang up

on board, by way of Present; which they received kindly: But, when they showed them more of these, and gave them to understand, that they were that sort of Merchandise, which they intended to barter with them for Refreshments, they contented themselves with turning them over, and looking at them, without expressing any intention to deal. They returned, however, the next Day, with great Quantities of the same kind of Things they had brought before, when the *Dutch* endeavoured to persuade them to bring some Hogs on board; but, as they conversed only by Signs, the *Indians* mistook them so far, as to bring them the next Day two or three Dogs; which proved an inexpressible Disappointment. Our Author was, at this time, again in a very bad State of Health; but the Refreshments procured from the Island of *Armoa* had good an Effect, that, in a little time, he found himself much better; and assures us, that, if he could but have had Liberty to have gone on shore for two or three Days, he should have found himself perfectly recovered. The Islanders did all that in their Power lay to persuade them to take this Step, and never came on board without inviting them on shore; but, inasmuch as they were now extremely weakened, and, for some Days before their Arrival, had thrown over-board regularly four or five of their People a Day, it was thought too great an Hazard to run, the rather, says our Author, because, in the midst of all their Civilities, there was something in the Air, the Look, and the Language, of these People, that seemed to favour of Perfidy: But he afterwards seems to assign a better Reason for this Precaution; for he tells us, that the Island of *Armoa* was extremely populous; which might well render them afraid of venturing ashore.

They observed, however, that as often as these Islanders went on board their Vessels, they took in their Hands a Stick, with a Piece of some white Stuff fixed to it; which they guessed to be in the nature of a Flag of Truce; and from thence, very probably, conjectured, that they were in continual War with some Nation or other, most likely with their Neighbours the Inhabitants of the Island of *Moa*; in which Conjecture they were soon confirmed, when they observed, that none of their Canoes ever went ashore on that Island, but, on the contrary, passed it with visible Precipitation. These Remarks furnished them with a new Scheme for acquiring speedily a considerable Stock of Provisions: They were satisfied, that the Island of *Moa* was but thinly peopled, tho' as pleasant and fertile as the other; and thus engaged them to attempt, by a sudden Descent upon that Island, to carry off at once what might enable them to prosecute their Voyage, without Danger of falling into the Dilemma, which they had so lately endured. This Project was very bold in itself, and required a great deal of Prudence in the Conduct of it: It was therefore thought expedient to land in different Places; but at the same time orders were given, that one Party only should advance into the Country, and that the others should join as soon as possible, in order to be at hand to support them. This Scheme they carried into Execution as happily as they could wish; for though, as soon as they began to fell the Cocoa-trees, the *Talians*, who lay in Ambuscade behind the Bushes, discharged a Shower of Arrows at them, yet they were so fortunate as to escape unhurt; whereas the Discharge of their Small-arms had abundance of their Natives dead on the Ground; which frightened the rest, that they took Shelter immediately in their Canoes, and afterwards endeavoured, by Cries and Shouts to alarm the rest of their Countrymen, and bring them to their Assistance: But it was in vain; for the *Dutch* had posted themselves so judiciously as to be able to attack them in Flank and Rear, in case they had descended from their Mountains. However, as they remained quiet, the *Dutch* had Time given them to bring away 800 Cocoa-nuts, with which Booty they returned safe on board their Shallops, and soon after rejoined their Ships, very well satisfied with their Expedition.

The Cocoa-tree is a Species of the Palm, which grows in most Places in the *East* and *West Indies*. It is large, flat, and grows narrow insensibly from the Bottom to the Top. The Fruit hangs to the Trunk by Bunches, united by a Tendril, not unlike the Twig of a Vine, but stronger. Its Flowers are yellow, like those of the Chestnut. The Threads or Branches hang up towards the Top. As it bears Bunches

of Fruit every Month, there are always some full ripe, others green, and some just beginning to button. The Fruit is triangular, of a greenish Hue, and of different Bigness; viz. from that of an ordinary Ball, to the Size of a Man's Head. It is covered with two Rinds, the outer composed of long, tough Threads, of a Colour between red and yellow; the second Shell is as hard as a Man's Skull. Within these there is a thick, firm, white Sublance, which, in Taste, resembles a sweet Almond. The Inhabitants of the Countries, where these Trees grow, eat them with their Victuals, as we do Bread; and draw, by pressing, a Liquor, which, in Taste and Consistence, resembles Almond-milk. This Milk, being exposed to the Fire, changes into a kind of Oil, which they use, as we do Butter, in their Sauces, and also in their Lamps. They likewise use it medicinally, and often rub their Bores with it. Besides this white Sublance, that is found in the Nut, there is, in the Middle of it, a considerable Quantity of a clear, bright, cool Liquor, which, in Taste, resembles light red Water. They draw likewise from the Tree itself a Liquor, which the *Indians* call *Sava*. This is what the *Europeans* style Palm-wine. It is of a very agreeable Taste, and falls but little short of *Spanish* white Wine, except in keeping; for, in about two Days time, it turns sour. They then expose it to the Sun, and, by this Method, render it excellent Vinegar. As the *Savans* very strong and heady, they generally speaking, temper it with that fresh clear Water, which is drawn from the Nut. In order to extract this Wine, they cut one of the largest Twigs at the Distance of about a Foot from the Tree, and hang to it either a Bottle, or a Calabash. This Wine, when boiled, produces another, which the Natives call *Orragua*, and, by distilling it, they acquire a strong Water or Spirit, which they style *Arac*, and which many People prefer to that of the same Name made in the *East Indies*, and which is so well known, and so much esteemed, in *Europe*.

They found in this Island like wise a vast plenty of Pomegranates of a most excellent Taste, as well as Pifans, or *Indian* Figs, which have been before described. These Refreshments were of prodigious Service to them; and our Author declares, that, without them, the Whole of both Ships Companies must have infallibly perished. They were no sooner on board their Vessels, than they began to make the necessary Preparations for quitting that Place. While they were doing this, the Islanders from *Moa* came off in about 200 Canoes, all laden with Provisions of different Kinds, which they exchanged with them for various Sorts of Merchandise. This the *Dutch* understood is intended purely to prevent a second Descent; and therefore though, they received them kindly, and treated them fairly in the Purchase of their Cargo, yet they suffered only a few of them to enter their Ships; and, when they attempted to rush on board by Crooks, they fired upon them; upon which they all ducked their Heads, and, as soon as they had raised them up again, broke out into a loud Laugh. The Exchange was no sooner over, than they weighed Anchor, and parted with their *Indians* in pretty good Terms. One thing, our Author remarks, as very singular; viz. that, while they remained here, such of their Sick, as had any Strength left, recovered wonderfully; and such as were quite exhausted, died.

22. After leaving the Islands of *Moa* and *Armoa*, they continued their Voyage through a Sea very full of Islands, that, finding it difficult, if not impossible, to count them, they contented themselves with imposing on them the general Name of *Thousand Islands*. The Inhabitants of these Countries were Negroes, of a short squat Make, and their Heads covered with thick curled Wool. They were a bold, mischievous, insatiable Race of Savages. They went all naked, Men, Women, and Children, having no other Ornament than a kind of Belt, about two Fingers broad, composed of Teeth; and they likewise wore Bracelets of the same. Some of them wore on their Heads light Straw Hats, mingled with the Feathers of the Birds of Paradise. It is said, that these Birds are found no where but in these Islands. There are indeed some, that go under the same Name, found on the Coast of *Africa*; but they differ very much from these in their Plumage. Such of these Islands as are situated near the West Point of the Continent of *New Gui-*

ney, are still called the *Ilands of Pepees*, as the Continent itself was called the *Land of Pepees*, before *Schouten* imposed that upon it which it now bears, to which he was principally induced, by its lying in the same Latitude with *Old Guaney*.

Whenever the Inhabitants of those *Ilands* go to *Ternate*, *Banda*, *Ambeyna*, or any of the *Moluccas*, in order to expose to Sale their Merchandizes, such as salt Pork, Amber, Gold-dust, &c. they likewise carry with them some of these Birds of Paradise. They constantly sell them dead, affirming, that they always find them so, and that they are absolutely ignorant whence they come, or where they breed. Thus much is certain, that this Bird is always seen very high in the Air. It is extremely light, inasmuch as it consists chiefly of Feathers, which are excessively beautiful, and render it one of the greatest Curiosities in the World. The Plumage of its Head are as bright as Gold; those of its Neck resemble a Drake's, and those of its Tail and Wings are very like a Peacock's. As to the rest, in its Beak and Form it comes nearest to a Swallow, except that it is somewhat bigger. Such as deal in them would persuade Strangers that they have no Feet, and that, when they sleep, they hang themselves by their Feathers to the Branch of a Tree; but the Truth of the Matter is, that these Traders cut them off, in order to render their Birds more wonderful. They likewise tell another pretty Tale to heighten the Value of their Birds; which is this, that the Male has a Cavity in his Back, where the Female lodges her Young, till they are able to fly. To give a greater Appearance of Truth to these strange Stories, they cut off the Legs so close to the Body, that when the Flesh begins to dry, the Skin and the Feathers unite so perfectly, that it is simply impossible to perceive the least Scar. They likewise assert, that these Birds are continually flying; that they live by the Birds and other Insects they catch in the Air. The Feathers of the Male are brighter, and more beautiful, than those of the Female. In the Eastern Languages this Bird is generally called *Mankedota*, that is to say, the Bird of God. There are a great many of them sent to *Batavia*, where, generally speaking, they are sold for three Crowns apiece. The *Moor*s, the *Arabians*, and the *Persians*, esteem them mightily. They make use of their Feathers to adorn their Saddles and Horse-furniture; and, to heighten their Lustre, they intermingle them with Pearls and Diamonds. They wear them likewise in their Turbans, more especially when they go to War, from a superstitious Notion, that they are a kind of Charm, capable of securing them from Wounds. The Shah and the Great Mogul thought it formerly the highest Mark of their Esteem to present any of their Favourites with one of these Birds.

The Inhabitants of the *Thousand Islands*, besides their Girle, have another Ornament, which consists in a Bit of Stick, of the Size of a Tobacco-pipe, and of the Length of one's Finger, which they run through the Gristle of their Noles, which they look upon as a means of making them appear fierce and terrible to their Enemies; in which they resemble some *Europeans*, who, for the same Reason, are equally fond of *Mistletoes*. These Islanders, our Author assures us, were the very worst People they met with in the South Seas. As to the neighbouring Continent of *New Guaney*, it appeared to them a very high Country, extremely full of Plants and Trees, so that, in sailing 400 Leagues along the Coast, they did not observe one barren Spot; whence our Author thinks it extremely probable, that this Country abounds with many precious Commodities, such as rich Metals, Spices, &c. the rather because, hitherto none of the Countries, discovered in that Parallel, are deficient in these sorts of Riches. He adds, that Persons worthy of Credit assured him, that some of the free Burgesses in the *Moluccas* go annually to *New Guaney*, and there exchange small Pieces of Iron for Nutmegs, *Schouten*, and other Navigators, have conceived very high Ideas of this Country, and have represented it as one of the richest and finest in the World; But they were not able to penetrate far into it; neither is it to be expected, that this should ever be done with a small Force, since it is extremely populous, the People of a very martial Disposition, and, generally speaking, well-armed.

The Officers of the *Dutch Squadron* were at this time under some Doubts, whether they should continue their

Course as *Dampier* did, or whether they should pass by the *Ilands of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacian*, as the less dangerous Passage. To gain Time, however, they made Choice of the first, because otherwise they must have coasted round the *Ilands* last-mentioned, in order to come at the *Moluccas*. These three *Ilands* of *Ternate, Tidore, and Bacian*, are each of them governed by its respective Monarch. The *Dutch East India Company* allow each of these Princes a kind of annual Tribute, on Condition that they cut up by the Roots all the Spice-trees that grow in their Dominions. The rest of the Kings of the *Moluccas*, to the Number of one hundred, are all dependent upon these three great Princes. It is said, that, from these *Ilands*, the three *Magi*, or wise Men of the *East*, of whom the Scripture speaks, went to *Jerusalem*, and thence to *Bethlehem*, there to adore the Infant *Jesus*: And they farther assure us, that all the little Princes of the *Moluccas* were antiently famous for their Skill in Astronomy; in which Art, they followed principally the Grounds laid down by the *Egyptians*; and it is farther said that some Monuments, some Remembrance, of this Fact are still preserved in their old Books; the Leaves of which were made of Barks of Trees.

On the Feast of the *Holy Epiphany*, the *Dutch* Sailors carry a Star, by way of Compliment, to these three Kings, who, in Return, make them very valuable Presents, and treat them very splendidly. But as on the one hand, this is a very superstitious Custom in its Nature, so it is no less scandalous on the other, from the Manner in which it is performed, as resembling much more a Pagan Revel than a Christian Feast. The King of *Ternate* has embraced the Christian Religion; but the other two Princes are still Pagans. Our Author adds, that some *Malayan* Priests, who had studied at *Mecca*, assured him, they had seen in the Library of that City a Chronicle, in which mention is made of the three Kings of the *Moluccas*, and in which it is expressly said, these three Kings, many Years ago, made a Voyage by the Way of *Arabia* to *Judea*, on account of an extraordinary and miraculous Appearance in the Heavens; and that, some time after, they returned all three safely to their own Dominions. The Author submits this story to the Reader's Judgment, to which I also recommend the following Memorial relating to the State of the *Spice* *Ilands*, at the Time they fell into the Hands of the *Dutch*.

As to the *Iland* of *Banda*, the Country is very happy, and yet fruitful as well as populous. The Government is a kind of a Commonwealth, in which the Affairs are managed by Muhammedan Clergy, who are mighty strict and severe. There are not, in the whole *Iland*, above 12,000 Souls, and about 4000 fighting Men. The People of this Country live to a great Age. The *Dutch*, when they first came, saw a Man that was 130 Years old, and several above 100 Years of Age. The Men are always walking Abroad, and the Women at Home at work; for, besides the Household-work, they employ themselves in drying of Nutmegs, and shelling them. This admirable Fruit, which is so much valued, grows in no Place in the World, that we know of, but in the *Iland* of *Banda*, and in a few other small neighbouring *Ilands*, namely, *Oraton*, *Germanajaja*, *Wayer*, *Pulo Wai*, and *Pulo Rin*. This Tree bears three times in the Year, viz. in *April*, *August*, and *December*: *April* Nutmegs are the best; and the Crop in that Month is more plentiful than in the other two. This Tree is much like a Peach-tree, only the Leaves are shorter and rounder; the Fruit is at first covered with a thick Shell, like a Walnut-shell; when it ripens, that Shell, growing ripe, opens itself; and then you see a fine smooth Skin, or Peel, which covers the Nutmeg; and that Skin is the Flower of it, or Mace; next to that thin Skin you find another, which is harder and blackish, and much like Walnut-shells; and, when you open this large Shell, you see the Nutmeg. Mace is at first of a fine scarlet Colour; but, when it is ripe, it falls off the Shell, and assumes an Orange-colour, as you see it here in *Europe*. They preserve whole Nutmegs with Sugar, which makes the best Sweetmeats in the *Indies*, and are much esteemed. The Inhabitants of *Banda* call Nutmegs *Palla*, and Mace *Palla Palla*: There are two Sorts of Nutmegs; some are long, and are called Males; others round and reddish, which have a

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better Taste than the former, and are filed *Males*. No Fruit in the World is better to strengthen the Brain, and the Memory, to warm the Stomach, to sweeten the Breath, and to provoke Urine. It is a sovereign Remedy against Wind, Looseness, Head-ach, Pain of the Stomach, Heat of the Liver, and Stoppage of the Womb. Oil of Nutmegs is an admirable cordial Medicine. Mace is an effectual Remedy against the Weakness of the Stomach; it helps Digestion, consumes all Humours, and drives out the Wind; it keeps above nine Years good. A Plaster made with Mace and Nutmegs beaten to Powder, diluted with Rose-water, and applied to the Stomach, strengthens it mightily. As this precious Fruit is peculiar to this Isle of *Banda*, and the adjacent Islands, the Merchants of *Java*, *Malacca*, *China*, and from all the Parts of the *Indies*, come to *Nera*, and other Towns of *Banda*, to buy Nutmegs and Mace. As soon as these Merchants are arrived in the Island, they buy a Wife to keep their House, and dress their Victuals, as long as they remain there, which may be two or three Months; and, when they go away into their own Country again, they give the Liberty to their Wife to go where she pleases. This may appear a very strange, and even incredible Custom; but whoever is acquainted with the *East Indies*, will be satisfied as to the Truth of it, since the same Custom prevails in some other Places.

As to the next valuable and admired Spice to the Nutmegs, viz. Cloves, we know not what immense Sums the People of *Holland* make of this profitable Fruit, which are so much esteemed throughout *Europe*, and for which the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* struggled so long, and to so little Purpose. This valuable and noble Spice grows nowhere else but in the Island of *Ambon*, and the *Molucca* Islands, which are five in Number, and the Islands of *Meao*, *Cinemo*, *Cabel*, and *Marigoran*. The *Indians* call Cloves *Callasur*, and the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* call them *Chinks*. The Trees which bear Cloves, are much like our Laurel-trees; only the Leaves of the Cloves are a little narrower, and resemble the Leaves of Almond and Willow-trees. The very Wood and Leaves taste as strong as the Cloves themselves. These Trees bear a great Quantity of Branches and Flowers, and each Flower brings forth a Clove. The Flowers are at first white, then green, at last they grow red, and pretty hard, and are properly the Cloves. While they are green, they have a Smell so sweet, and so comfortable, that it is beyond all the Smells in the World. When they are dry, they are of a yellow Colour; but, when gathered, they assume a smoky black. They don't gather them one by one, as they do other Fruit; but they tie a Rope to the Bough, and so strip it off by Force. That hurts the Tree for the next Year, but the Year after it bears a great deal more. Others beat the Trees with long Poles, as we do Walnut-trees; and the Cloves fall down, and commonly the Tree bears more Fruit than Leaves. They grow with little Stalks, hanging on the Tree like Cherries; they fell them with these Stalks, Dirt and Dust together, to the *Indians*: But the Cloves that are transported to *Holland* are clean, and without Stalks. If you leave them on the Tree without gathering them, they grow thick, and are called the Mother of Cloves. The *Javanese* value these more than others; but the *Dutch* chuse rather to buy the least.

They never trouble themselves to plant Clove trees; for the Cloves that fall on the Ground produce enough of them, and the Rain makes them grow so fast, that they bear Fruit when they are eight Years old, and continue bearing for above 100 Years. Some are of Opinion, that Clove-trees do not grow well on the Sea side, or when they are too far from the Sea: But many Seamen, who have been in the Island, assure me, that they grow very well every where, whether a great Way off the Sea, upon Mountains, in the Valleys, or near the Sea-side. They ripen from the latter End of *August*, to the Beginning of *January*. Nothing groweth about them, no Grass, Green, or Weed; for their Heat draws in all the Nourishment and Moisture of the Ground. Cloves themselves are very hot; if you lay a Sack of Cloves upon a Vessel full of Water, you will find, in a little while, some of the Water waisted, but the Cloves are not the worse for it. Leave a Pitcher full of Water, in a close Room where you clean Cloves,

and the Heat of the Air will consume all the Water in two Days time, though the Cloves are removed. *China* Silk hath the same Virtue; for, if you lay it in a Room one or two Feet above the Ground, and water the Floor all over, provided the Water don't touch the Silk, the next Day the Silk will have sucked in all the Water. The *Indians* use that Trick to make the Silk heavier. They preserve Cloves in Sugar, and they are extraordinary good; they also pickle them; and many *Indian* Women chew Cloves to have a sweet Breath. They distil Clove-water out of them when they are green, which has an excellent Smell; the Water is admirable to strengthen the Sight, by pouring a Drop or two into the Eyes. Powder of Cloves, laid upon the Head, cures the Head-ach; if taken inwardly, it provokes Urine, helps Digestion, is good against a Looseness, and, drank in Milk, will procure Sleep.

As to the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, they are very lazy, and love so much their Ease and Pleasure, that they are seldom at Work; for their Slaves and Servants do all the Work: They live upon the great Quantities of Cloves that grow there; for they have no other Trade, and no Manufacture. They have no household Implements, but earthen Pots and Pans, and some Mats, upon which they sit and lie. Their Slaves build Houses of Timber and Rushes, with nothing else, not so much as a Nail in them: Their Cloaths are decent, and pretty well made, of light Stuff, and cheap: But the Country is so hot, that they have no need of warm Cloaths to defend them from the Cold. The young Men wear upon their Head Pieces of Calico, made in Presses, and woven in the Figure of a Crown; and, in the Holidays, they adorn them with Flowers. The Men perfume their Cloaths to please their Wives, of which they have as many as they please, and are so jealous of them, that they invite nobody into their Houses, and they never see them before they are married. The Women are of a middle Size; their Hair is tied up in Tresses about their Heads: They are of a pleasant and merry Humour; and, though they are kept very strict, they are very brisk, and not at all scrupulous; they spin Cotton, and weave Calicoes. The poorest Sort sell dry Fish, Fowls, Bananas, Sugar-canes, and other Commodities; in the Market, you seldom see any other Women abroad. The Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* are the best Soldiers of all the Islands; they scorn to fly before their Enemies, and will fight with great Courage: They think it a great Honour to die in Fight, and to resist their Enemies to the last Extremity. They have no Money; for all their Riches consist of Cloves, and with which they may purchase all Necessaries. Their Language is different from that of the other *Indians*, and they have the same Characters for Writing as the *Arabians*. So much at present for the Produce and Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, at the Time when they fell under the *Dutch* Dominions. Hereafter we shall have Occasion, or rather be obliged, to resume the Subject, and speak of the same things again, as they now stand.

23. They steered their Course along-shore, and through an innumerable Chain of small Islands, that are extended between the West Point of *New Guinea*, and the Island of *Gilolo*. They made this Passage with the utmost Hazard, and saw, therefore, with a Joy mixed with Astonishment, the Island of *Bouru*, in the Latitude of 2° South, the most Western Country in which the *Dutch East India* Company maintain a Factory. This Island of *Bouru* is, for the most part, pretty high Land, and abounds every-where with Trees and Shrubs of various Kinds. As soon as they arrived upon the Coast, they were spoken with by a small Vessel, on board of which were two white Men, and several Negroes, who examined them very categorically, to whom they belonged, from whence they came, and whither they were going. To which they answered, that they came from the Coast of *New Guinea*, and were bound for *Batavia*; but very wisely concealed their belonging to the *West India* Company, because they knew, that the *East India* Company permitted no Vessels, but their own, to sail upon that Coast, and had even given Orders for attacking any strange Vessels that should appear there: Yet, in spite of these Precautions, the *English* sometimes find their Way through this Channel, to the Company's no small Displeasure, notwithstanding

withstanding they keep Ships cruising here in both the Monsoons, in order to preserve what of all Things they most affect, their Monopoly of Spices. In former times, when they were not so strict, there is the greatest Reason in the World to believe, that the *English* found Ways and Means to share with them in this Trade by means of this Passage, since it is certain, that they carried large Quantities of Spices into *Europe*, while the *Dutch* never could divine whence they had it.

The Inhabitants of this Island told them, that they had abundance of Clove-trees grew in their Country, but that a Detachment of Soldiers, in the Service of the Company, came every Year, and grubbed them up, as they did in the rest of the *Molucca* Islands, because the Company thought *Amboyna* produced sufficient for maintaining their Commerce. This Island of *Bouro* is about forty or fifty Leagues in Circumference; the Country is indifferently fertile, and the *Dutch* were formerly, in a great measure, Masters of it, having a very strong Fort there; of which, however, the Inhabitants, after a long Siege, made themselves Masters, and demolished it, after having put all the Garrison to the Sword. At present, therefore, the Company content themselves with sending an annual Detachment to root out the Clove trees, for which the Natives receive some kind of Present. The two white Men who were on board the *Dutch* Bark, were the first Christians our Voyagers had seen in the Space of ten Months; that is, from the time they quitted the Coast of *Brazil*, to their Arrival here.

I cannot help observing in this Place, that if any Dependence can be had, either on what our own Discoverers say, or on what our Author asserts, as to the Produce of *New Guinea*, it seems to be an unaccountable Neglect in us not to establish a Colony there, since we should then infallibly share in the Spice Trade, without breaking in upon the *Dutch*; for, if the free Burgeses of *Amboyna* can trade for Nutmegs with the Inhabitants of *New Guinea*, why may not we? The settling a Colony there, would give us the same Rights that the *Dutch* have in the *Moluccas*; though, I hope, we should never practise so tyrannical a Custom, as that of forcing People to destroy the Gifts of God, in order to enhance the Price of them, to enrich a particular Company, in a particular Nation; than which, there cannot be a plainer or a more direct Violation of the Laws of Nature; which, whatever some self-interested Writers may pretend, can never be justly superceded by the Politics of Man, on any Pretence whatever. If Force conveys a Right of depriving Mankind of Cloves, the same Force, in an higher Degree, might justify the depriving them of Life, Air or Water.

They continued their Course through the neighbouring Islands, in order to reach the Coast of *Baton*, in hopes of meeting there with the Refreshments, of which they were now in extreme Necessity. In a short time, they arrived in the Height of 4th South Latitude, and sailed for a whole Day along the Coasts of that Island, without perceiving any Sign of that Streight, for which they sought. At last they found they were eight Leagues past it, which our Author attributes to the Management of the principal Officers, who were in such an Hurry to get to the *East Indies*, that they very little regarded the inexpressible Miseries, to which, by their treacherous Conduct, the poor Men were exposed. To conceal this, however, as much as possible, and to put on an Air of public Spirit, they pretended to attempt bearing up for that Port, when they knew the thing to be absolutely impracticable, considering the Force with which the Monsoon blew. There were now no further Hopes of finding any Streight, where they might get Refreshments short of the Island of *Java*, for, where-ever they attempted to anchor, they very well knew their Ships must have been conflicated, in consequence of Maxims invariably observed by the *East India* Company. All the Men therefore on board both Ships, but especially the sick and the feeble, cast a languishing Look on that fertile Country they left behind them, pitying in their Minds the melancholy Effects, which must necessarily attend a Measure so pernicious.

The Situation of this Island of *Baton* is remarkably advantageous. It lies from the fourth to the sixth Degree of South Latitude, and is in Extent nearly equal to that of *Beiro*.

It is extremely fertile in Rice, enjoys an extraordinary plenty of Cattle and Fish, and would produce a great Number both of Clove and Nutmeg-trees, if they were permitted to grow. The King has a very strong Fort, on which the *Dutch* Standard is displayed, tho' there is no *Dutch* Garrison, and indeed there is no Need of one. The *Dutch* Company content themselves with sending thither every Year certain Detachments, to see the Spice-trees destroyed; and, in Consideration of his submitting to this, the Company pay the King a considerable Sum in ready Money. This Nation, of all others, the most faithful to the *East India* Company, having not only assisted them in expelling the *Portuguese*, but also against the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, whenever they have attempted to take up Arms against them; and, by this means, have rendered that Company entirely Masters of the Trade of this Part of the World, in Consideration of which, the Inhabitants of *Baton* enjoy many Privileges, which are denied to all other *Indian* Nations. As for Instance, whenever they enter any Fort belonging to the Company, in whatever Country it be, they are permitted to keep their Arms; which is not allowed even to the Inhabitants of the Country where the Fort is situated, and who consequently ought to be considered as the Subjects of the Company.

Some time ago, the King of this Island sent his eldest Son as his Ambassador to the Governor-General of the *Dutch East Indies* at *Batavia*. He was received with all possible Marks of Distinction, and the Company piqued themselves on paying him all possible Honours; yet it would not have been easy to have distinguished this young Prince to have been an *Indian*, if he had not worn a Turban of three Rows high, richly embroidered with Gold and precious Stones. The rest of his Dress was intirely *European*, and it was observed, that, instead of a Cutlafs, he wore a Sword, which no *Indian* had ever done before. His Train was extremely numerous, all of them dressed after the *Indian* Manner. Twelve of these went armed, each with a Couras and Buckler, having also a naked Sword in his Hand, which rest on his Shoulder. Our Author observes, that he should not have taken notice of this Ambassador, or of his entering into *Batavia*, if it had not put him in mind of a very remarkable Accident, which happened about that time, and this was a prodigious Mortality amongst Men and Beasts, which carried off 500 of the Attendants of this young Prince, and, in the Course, it destroyed no less than 10000 Persons in one Year's time. This Mortality was occasioned by a malignant or pestilential Fever, with which the *Europeans*, the Natives of the Country, the *Chinese*, the *Negrees*, and, in short, all the various Nations which inhabit *Batavia*, were attacked. The Author himself had a Touch of it, but escaped. This Epidemic Disease prevailed not only through the *Dutch* Plantations, but spread itself also over the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and through all the Dominions of the Great Mogul, where it made incredible Ravages, and was felt in the most extreme Degree in the Island of *Java*, where the Inhabitants, who went out of their Houses in perfect Health, fell down dead in the Streets by Heaps. It was observed, that this Malady raged in all the Western Countries; and the Cause of it was supposed to be an excessive Drought: For, as there had no Rain fallen during the Space of two Years, it was conceived, that the Air was overcharged with mineral Vapours. But to return from this Digression to the Thread of our Relation: The *Dutch* Commodore, having left the Coast of *Beiro*, and passed thro' the Chanel of the *Moluccas*, arrived, after his Crew had suffered inexpressible Miseries, which carried off the greater Part of them, on the Coast of the Island of *Java*, towards the Close of the Month of September 1722.

24. He anchored immediately with his two Ships in the Road of *Japara*; and saluted, according to Custom, the City and the Fort. They quickly hoisted out their Shallops, in order to go ashore at *Japara*; and, on their Arrival, were surpris'd to find, that, on shore, it was Saturday, tho' at quitting their Ships, they conceived it to be Friday Morning. The first Step the Commodore and his Officers took, was to pay a Visit to the Person who resided there on the Part of the Company, in order to acquaint him with their Reasons of coming thither. The Gentleman happened to be one Ensign *Kuffler*, a very ob-

well behaved Man; consider what Misfortune. They were all by the Commodore ordered and pitted him, his Obedience.

To say the Truth, more worthy of Content Persons in toleration was one; and yet, Sickness, by which Voyage, exclusive of Engagements with the As soon as they had was to get their sick with all the Diligence them in their He were, however, tour low a Condition, than them, and therefore Thoughts of which, killed them. Such an Island, under Tent had every Necessary duced; and yet, after many of them laid th

Mr. *Kuffler* did not val to the Commodore transmitted it to Mr. Governor-General of was extremely favour every thing in his Po Author, he promised adding, that we had soon as we could. W swer, and the Reco Time very agreeably Sense of the Miseries every Means to make had its Effect: In their Seamen, in a v as if they had ma Voyage in the V orl tremely to see those weeping, sighing, p telations of their lea in his great Mercy, w headlong into the g Time, says he, was in passing whole Day. Thus, however, he had Example of the lower sort of People as it is possible to ce first Quetton many of *Europeis*, whether cover; and whether and extravagant Me

The Town of *Jap*tain of a moderate I habited chiefly by it was in the Hand's considerable in Exte Company, before th the principal Magiz their chief Factory, of *Java* were depend long since, the Facto Port of *Japara* is eq is a Fort, built moll Mountain, at the E commands the who *Alouan*, because, the Place, the *Java* Attempts they mad

The King of *J* Place called *Kattas* the Country, wher good Garrison; wh

well behaved Man; who instantly assembled a Council, to consider what Measures were to be taken upon this Occasion. They were all extremely moved at the Recital given by the Commodore of the Misfortunes they had met with; and pitied him, his Officers, and Ships Companies, exceedingly.

To say the Truth, there never was seen a Set of Men more worthy of Compassion. There were no more than ten Persons in tolerable Health left, among which our Author was one; and no less than twenty-six were down of Sickness, by which they had lost, in the Course of their Voyage, exclusive of those who were killed in their several Engagements with the *Indians*, no fewer than seventy Men. As soon as they had notified their Arrival, their next Care was to get their sick Men on shore; which was performed with all the Diligence and Tenderness imaginable, by flinging them in their Hammocks into their Shallops. There were, however, four amongst these poor People in so very low a Condition, that it was not thought possible to move them, and therefore they were left on board; the very Thoughts of which, after their Companions were removed, killed them. Such as were carried ashore were lodged in an Island, under Tents set up for that Purpose; where they had every Necessary afforded them, that the Country produced; and yet, after all the Care that could be taken, many of them laid their Bones in this Island.

Mr. Kuller did not fail to send an Account of their Arrival to the Commandant of the Coasts of *Java*, who instantly transmitted it to Mr. Swarderkroon, who was at that time Governor-General of the *East-Indies*. The Answer he gave was extremely favourable. He promised to assist them with every thing in his Power; and, if I mistake not, says our Author, he promised to supply us with Provisions and Men; adding, that we had nothing to do but to get to *Batavia* as soon as we could. While they waited for the General's Answer, and the Recovery of their Sick, they passed their Time very agreeably; for their Countrymen, having a true Sense of the Miseries they had endured, did not fail to use every Means to make them forget them; which very soon had its Effect: Inasmuch that our Author observes, their Seamen, in a very few Days, were as frolic and gay, as if they had made the most pleasant and most fortunate Voyage in the World. He adds, that it shocked him extremely to see those, who, but a few Days before, were weeping, fighting, praying, and making the warmest Protestations of their leading new and regular Lives, if God, in his great Mercy, would be pleased to save them, running headlong into the greatest Extravagancies. Their whole Time, says he, was now spent in Swearing, Drinking, and in passing whole Days and Nights in debauched Hours. This, however, he attributes, in a great measure, to the bad Example of those, among whom they lived, all the lower sort of People at *Japara* being as profligate and lewd, as it is possible to conceive a People; inasmuch that the first Question many of them asked of Strangers arrived from *Europe* is, whether they have not brought some new Oaths over; and whether they cannot teach them a more lively and extravagant Method of Swearing.

The Town of *Japara* is seated at the Bottom of a Mountain of a moderate Height, is of a middling Size, and inhabited chiefly by *Javanese*, *Chinese*, and *Dutch*. When it was in the Hands of the *Portuguese*, it was much more considerable in Extent, than it is at present. The *East India* Company, before they got Possession of *Jacatra*, fixed here the principal Magazines for their Merchandize, and it was their chief Factory, on which all the Factories on the Island of *Java* were dependent; but that Establishment was sunk long since, the Factory being transferred to *Samaran*. The Port of *Japara* is equally safe and commodious; and there is a Fort, built mostly of Wood, erected on the Top of the Mountain, at the Foot of which the Town is seated, that commands the whole Road. This is called the *Invincible Mountain*, because, when the *Portuguese* were Masters of the Place, the *Javanese* were constantly defeated in all the Attempts they made to get it into their Hands.

The King of *Japara*, generally speaking, resides at a Place called *Kottajura*, which lies twenty-nine Leagues up the Country, where the *Dutch* have a strong Fort, and a good Garrison; which serves not only to secure their Con-

quest, but, at the same time, for a Guard to the King. This Prince is a *Mohammedan*, and, according to the Practice of most Eastern Monarchs, is constantly served by Women, of whom he takes as many as he pleases, either as Wives, or Concubines. Some of his Priests are obliged to go every Year in Pilgrimage to *Meccha*, in order to make Vows there for the Safety and Prosperity of the King and Royal Family. His Subjects are extremely faithful, and, to the last degree, devoted to his Service. The principal Persons in his Court are obliged, as often as they have an Audience, to approach him creeping on their Knees; but, in Time of War, this slavish Custom is dispensed. Such as commit the slightest Fault are pained on the Spot with a little Dagger, called a *Krid*; and as this is almost the only Punishment in Use amongst them, so the slightest as well as the greatest Faults are, among these People, capital. The Natives of this Country are, for the most part, of a very brown Complexion, tolerably well-shaped, and have long black Hair; which, however, they often cut. Their Noses are flat and broad, and their Teeth excessively bad, which is owing to their Betel and Fausel, which they are chewing continually.

The Fausel is a kind of Nut, not much unlike, yet something smaller than the Nutmeg, without Taste, and yielding, when chewed, a red kind of Juice. It is this very Juice that the *Indians* make use of in painting the Chintz, which we admire so much in *Europe*. The Tree, that bears this Nut, is very strait, and resembles, in its Leaves, the Cocoa-tree. The Betel is a Plant, which produces long rank Leaves, which, in their Shape, resemble those of the Citron; in Taste, they are of an agreeable Bitter. The Fruit it bears grows in the Shape of a Lizard's Tail, about two Fingers Breadth, long, of an aromatic Flavour, and, in its Smell, extremely grateful. The *Indians* carry with them continually the Leaves of Betel; and, at all Visits, they are presented in Ceremony. They are almost perpetually chewing them; and, as the Taste of them is very bitter, they, for the most part, qualify them with Araca, Fausel, or the Powder of calcined Oyster-shells. Thus prepared, they have a very agreeable Taste. After they have chewed all the Juice out of them, they spit forth the dry, hard Mass. There are some again, who mix their Betel-leaves with Lime, Amber, and Cardamom-seeds; others again with *China* Tobacco. Abundance of *Europeans* are got into the Way of chewing it to such a degree, that they cannot leave it off, tho' it has been very fatal to some of them, since the *Indians* are so very skilful in preparing Betel, that it shall do a Man's Business as effectually as a Pistol or a Dagger. The prevailing Diversion among these People is what they call their *Fan-lakes*, which are, in Fact, a kind of Comedies. The Women, who act in these sort of Shews, are very richly dressed; but the Entertainment consists chiefly in Singing and Dancing, accompanied by their Music, which, after all, is not very extraordinary, or very pleasant, at least to *European* Ears. They have no other Instrument than a kind of little Drums, which they beat dextrously enough. As for their Dancing, it is generally of the Grotesque kind, in which, without Doubt, they are excellent, throwing their Bodies, with inexpressible Agility, into all sorts of Postures, and expressing by them the Passions of the Mind so comically, that it is simply impossible to avoid laughing. These *Indians* practise also the Wardance, in which their King, and his Grandees, often take a Share. They likewise amuse themselves, like the *English*, with Cock-fighting; and lay such considerable Sums, that they are very often beggared.

This Country abounds with all the Necessaries of Life: Here are horned Cattle, Hogs, and an amazing Quantity of Fowls. The only Thing that is scarce here is Mutton, and that is chiefly occasioned by the Richness of the Pasture, where the Sheep burst with Eating: As to wild Creatures, they have Buffaloes, Stags, Tygers, and the Rhinoceros, which Animal the *Indians* hunt chiefly for its Horn, of which they make Drinking-vessels, that are valued at a very high Rate, from a Notion that they will not hold Poison, but instantly break as soon as it is poured into them. The high Price of these Vessels, instead of proving their Virtue, serves only to shew, that the *Javanese* are strongly given to this infamous Practice of Poisoning. The Land is every-where

where extremely fertile, producing in vast abundance Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Rice, Cardamoms, &c. Of late Years they have planted Coffee there with great Success, inasmuch as they hope, and not without Reason, to render it the principal Commodity of the Country: As to Fruit-trees, such as Coconuts, Figs, &c. they grow every-where; and, as they are green throughout the Year, and constantly planted in Rows along the River-sides, here are the most beautiful Walks in the World. Sugar canes abound in *Java*. Their Vines bear Grapes seven times a Year, but they are fit only for Raisins, and not for Wine, because the Climate ripens them too hastily. The Sea, and all the Rivers, furnish them with an infinite Variety of the finest kinds of Fish; so that, take it altogether, one may safely affirm of *Java*, that there is not, under the Canopy of Heaven, an Island more plentiful, or more pleasant.

After refreshing themselves at *Japara* for about a Month, they began to think of continuing their Voyage to *Batavia*, in order to reap there the Fruits of the Governor-General's fine Promises: When all Things were ready, they spent about two Days in taking Leave of their Friends, who gave them all sorts of Provisions, and much more of every kind than was necessary for so short a Voyage. At last they quitted, not without a sensible Regret, a Place where they had been so kindly treated, where all their Wants had been so generously relieved, and where, after so many Hardships, to many Sufferings, they had spent a few Weeks in Peace and Plenty. They steered, in sailing from hence, a West Course for about seventy Leagues, and then, with as fair a Wind as they could wish, entered the Road of *Batavia*; where, as soon as they had saluted the Fort, they anchored close to the Ships that were lading for their Voyage Home, believing that now all their Pains were over, and that themselves would be speedily the Companions of the Ships that were homeward-bound; but they soon found that the most flattering Hopes are not always the best grounded!

25. As soon as the Commodore saw his Ships safely anchored, he went with his Captain to his Shallop, intending to have gone to *Batavia*; but before they had rowed well from the Ship's Side, they saw the Shallop of the Commandant of *Batavia* rowing towards them, with the Fiscal on board, and some other Members of the Council. These Gentlemen bid the Commodore go back, which he did without the least Hesitation; and by that time both Shallops were within hearing of the Ship, the Fiscal proclaimed aloud the Governor-General's Sentence of Confiscation. At this time both the *Dutch* Vessels were so blocked up by large Ships of the Harbour, that it was impossible for them to escape; and not long after arrived some Hundreds of Soldiers, who took both the Ships, and their Companies, into their Custody. The Commodore, taught by so many, and those too such unexpected Disasters, began to repent extremely that ever he had proposed returning by the Route of the *East Indies*; but it was a little of the latest, the thing was now over, there was no calling Time back, the Discovery had been neglected, and that Neglect justly punished by the Sentence of the *East India* Company, however unjust in itself. By this Sentence, both Ships were declared good Prize, the Goods on board them confiscated, and to cut Matters short, and prevent any Trouble from Representations or Memorials, every thing was exposed to public Sale, and disposed of to the best Bidder. As for the Crew of both Ships, they were divided, and put on board several Ships that were homeward-bound. But enough on this melancholy Subject: Let us now proceed to something more instructive, and more entertaining; that is to say, the Observations made by our Author on the State of Things in the *East Indies*, during the Time that he laid there.

26. The City of *Batavia*, in the Island of *Java*, lies in the Latitude of 6° South, and is the Capital of all the vast Dominions belonging to the *Dutch East India* Company. It serves also for the Emporium, where all the Merchandize and Riches which that great and wealthy Company poeils are laid up. It fell into the Hands of the *Dutch* in the Year 1618, and was till that Time known by the Name of *Jacatra*: Soon after it came into their Possession, they built, in the Neighbourhood of the old City, a Fort, which they called *Batavia*. By that time it was well finished, the Natives of the Island, animated and assisted by the *English*,

attacked it several times, but always without Success, and to their own great Loss. The last time they kept it blocked up for some time, till the *Dutch* were assisted by a powerful Squadron from *Europe*, under the Command of Admiral *Koen*. Then it was that Affairs began to change their Face; the Siege was immediately raised, and the Islanders obliged to retire with the utmost Precipitation. The *Dutch*, thus delivered from their Enemies, had time to look about them; and, having considered the excellent Situation of the Fort, and the many Advantages resulting from it, they immediately resolved to build a Town near it. It was, with this View, that they demolished *Jacatra*, and, upon its Ruins, erected that famous City, which, from the Name of their Fort, they called *Batavia*. This City arrived at Perfection in a very short Space of Time, by the extraordinary Diligence with which it was carried on, notwithstanding the many Obstacles it met with on the Part of the two Kings of *Matarana* and *Bantam*, the former of whom besieged it in 1629, and the latter in 1649.

It is surrounded by a Rampart, of one and twenty Feet thick, covered on the Outside with Stone, and furnished with twenty-two Batteries. This Rampart is enclosed by a Ditch, about forty five Yards over, especially when the Tides are high in the Spring: The Avenues to the Town are defended by several Forts, each of which is well furnished with excellent Brass Cannon. Among these Forts, there are six, which deserve to be particularly mentioned, viz. *Amfoel*, *Juke*, *Jacatra*, *Rsjnyk*, *Nordjyck*, and *Sjibock*. The Fort of *Amfoel* is seated on a River of the same Name, Eastward from the Sea, and at the Distance of about twelve hundred Yards from the City: It is built entirely of Square Stone, and is always provided with a strong Garrison. The Fort of *Juke* is on a River of the same Name, to the Westward of the Coast, and distant from the City about 500 Yards; built like the former, of square Stone entirely. The Fort of *Jacatra* lies also on a River of the same Name, is exactly like the other two Forts, and lies at the Distance of about 500 Paces from the City. The Road thither is between two Rows of very fine Trees, regularly planted, with very fine Country-houses and Gardens on each Side: The other three Forts are built in the same manner, and of the same Materials, lying all on the Land-side of the Town, and at a very small Distance from it. By this means the two first serve to secure the City on the Side of the Sea, and the other four defend to Extrances on the Land-side, and, at the same time, protect the Houses, Plantations, and Gardens, of the Inhabitants. By these Dispositions it is easy to conjecture, that no Enemy can ever surprise this City; because, on whatever Side they should attack it, they would be sure to meet with a strong Resistance. They take, besides, another Precaution, which is, not suffering any Person to go beyond these Forts without a Passport.

The River, which preserves its antient Name of *Jacatra*, passes through the midst of the Town, and forms many Canals of running Water, all faced with Tree Stone, and adorned with Trees that are evergreen, and which consequently afford a most charming Prospect. Over these Canals there are fifty-six Bridges, besides those which are without the Town. The Streets are all of them paved with Stone, and, generally speaking, thirty Feet broad; the Houses are built of Stone, after the manner of those in *Holland*, and are most of them very high, because the Place has in late Years been exposed to Hurricanes. The City, about a League and an half in Circumference, it is furnished with a vast Number of Houses; so that there are, at least, ten times the Number of Houses without the City, than there are within it, and therefore, strictly speaking, ought to be regarded as its Suburbs. This City has no Gates, including that of the Port, near to which there is a Barrier, which is regularly shut at nine a Clock in the Evening, and at which there is posted, Night and Day, a strong Guard of Soldiers. There were formerly six Gates, the last, being called *Speelman's* Gate, because he built it; but *Speelman*, who died *January* 11, 1654, has been walled up since. There is a very fine Town-house, and four Churches for the Use of the Reformed Religion, and is to say, the *Calvinists*. The first of these was built in the Year 1640, and is called *Kruiskerk*, i. e. *the Cross Church*.

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A View of the Coast of BATAVIA.



Chap. I.

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The second was built in 1670. In both these they preach in *Dutch*. The third belongs to the Protestant *Portuguese*: And the fourth to the *Malayans*. Besides these Churches, there are abundance of other Places of Worship for all sorts of Religions.

They have likewise in this City a *Spin-Huis*, or an House of Correction, in which Women, who behave loosely, are confined: an Orphan-house, a Magazine of Sea-stores, many for Spices, Wharfs, Cord-manufactures, and many other public Buildings. The Garrison consists commonly of between 2 and 3000 Men. Besides the great Number of Forts before spoken of, there is the famous Citadel of *Batavia*, which is a very fine, regular Fortification, situated at the Mouth of the River, facing the City, and flanked with four Balcions, two of which command the Sea, and the other two the Town. This Citadel hath two great Gates, the one called the *Company's Gate*, which was built in 1636, with a Bridge of square Stone, consisting of fourteen Arches, each twenty-six Yards long, and ten Feet broad: The other called the *Water-Gate*, built in 1630. All the Keepers of the Magazines have their Lodgings in the Citadel, along both Sides of the Curtain. There are, besides, two Posterns, one in the East Curtain, the other in the West, which are never opened, but for the Service of the Garrison. It is in this Citadel that the Governor-General of the *Indies* has his Habitation. His Palace is built of Brick, two Stories high, with a most noble Front, after the *Italian* manner. Over-against this Palace is that of the Director-General, who is the next Person to the Governor: The Counsellors, and other principal Officers of the Company, have also their Apartments there, as have likewise the Physician, the Surgeon, and the Apothecary. There is a little Church, which was built in 1644, remarkably neat and light. There are, besides, in the Citadel, Arsenals and Magazines, furnished with Ammunition for many Years; in a Word, this Citadel is the general Factory, where all the Archives are kept, and where all the Affairs of the Company are transacted.

The City of *Batavia* is not only inhabited by *Dutch*, but also by a vast Number of *Indians* of different Nations: The former, that is to say, the *Dutch*, are all of them either free Burghesses, or in the Service of the Company. There are likewise abundance of *Portuguese*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, established here on account of Trade. These *Portuguese* are, for the most part, Descendants of those who lived here formerly, or at *Goa*; and who, finding their Accounts in living under so mild a Government, did not think fit to remove, when the Sea Coasts of the Island of *Java* were reduced under the Dominion of the *East India* Company. They are, at present, at least a far greater Part of them, of the Established, that is to say, of the Protestant Reformed Religion. As for the *Indian* Inhabitants, they are *Javaneze*, or Natives of the Country, *Chinese*, *Malayans*, *Negroes*, *Amboyneze*, *Armenians*, Natives of the Isle of *Bali*, *Mardykens*, *Macassars*, *Timors*, *Baquin*, &c. There cannot be any thing more curious, or any spectacle more entertaining, than to see, in so large a City, such a Multitude of different Nations living, all of them at their own Dwellings, after their own manner. One sees every Moment new Customs, strange Manners, Variety of Habits, and Faces of different Colours, viz. black, white, brown, olive coloured: Every one lives as he pleases, every one speaks his own Tongue. Notwithstanding such a Variety of Customs, so opposite to one another, one observes an Union very surprising among these Citizens, which is purely the Effect of Commerce, which is the common Soul that actuates this great Body of People; so that they move uniformly and harmoniously in every respect, and live easily and happily under the gentle and prudent Laws established by the *East India* Company. With regard to Liberty of conscience, all the Inhabitants of this City enjoy it, let them be of what Sect they will; only they have not the public Exercise of their Worship. It is not permitted here, any more than in the *United Provinces*, that Priests or Monks should walk the Streets in the Habits of their respective Orders; yet all are allowed to live there in Peace, except the Jesuits; and they are excluded, not on

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account of their Religion, but for fear of their Intrigues, and their exciting Troubles and Disturbances here, as they have done in most Places where they are already established. As for the *Chinese*, as their Religion is an Abomination, they are not allowed a Pagoda in the City, but they have one at a Place about a League off, where they likewise bury their Dead.

Every *Indian* Nation at *Batavia* has its Chief, or Head, who takes care of its Interests; but he has not the Power of deciding any thing that is at all considerable; and his Function, properly speaking, regards only the Affairs of their Religion, and any slight Controversies that may arise among his Countrymen. In order to give a clear Idea of the Manner in which these People live at *Batavia*, it will be proper to say somewhat of each of these *Indian* Nations, and of their different Manners of employing themselves. The *Javaneze* addict themselves chiefly to Agriculture, Fishing, and Ship-building. They wear, generally speaking, no other Habit than a kind of short Petticoat, reaching to their Knees, all the rest of their Bodies naked: They have likewise, across their Shoulders, a sort of Sash, or Scarf, in which hangs a little short Sword: On their Heads they wear a little Bonnet: Their Cabins are remarkably neater than those of other *Indian* Nations, built of split Bamboos, with a large spreading Roof, which hangs over the House, and under which they sit and take the Air.

The *Chinese* Inhabitants are very numerous; it is reckoned, that, in the City and Suburbs, they are at least five thousand. These People seem naturally born for Trade, Enemies to Idleness, and who think nothing hard or laborious, the Performance of which is attended with a Certainty of Gain. They can live upon a very little, are bold, enterprising, have a great deal of Address, and are indefatigably industrious. They have a Penetration and Subtlety very extraordinary, inasmuch that they seem to make good their own Saying, that the *Dutch* have one Eye, and they have two; but, with all this, they are deceitful to the last Degree, take a Pride in imposing upon those who deal with them, and boast of that Cunning, of which they ought to be ashamed. In Husbandry and Navigation they very far surpass all other *Indian* Nations. Most of the Sugar-mills in *Batavia* belong to them, and the Distillery of Arrack is intirely in their Hands. They are the Carriers of *Asia*; and the *East India* Company itself frequently makes use of their Vessels. They keep all the Shops, and most of the Inns, in the City; and are likewise the Farmers of the Duties, Excises, and Customs. The *Chinese* are, generally speaking, well-made Men, of an olive Complexion, their Heads very round, their Eyes small, and their Noses short and flat: They do not cut their Hair, as those who remain in *China* are obliged to do, since the *Tartars* became Masters of their Country. As often as any come from *China*, they immediately suffer their Hair to grow, as a Token of their Freedom, and curl and dress it to great Advantage; their Priests only excepted whose Heads are always close shaved.

These People are always bare-headed, with an Umbrella in their Hands, to keep off the Sun; they likewise suffer their Nails to grow to an immoderate Length, which gives them a prodigious Dexterity in Slight-of-hand, an Art of great Extent, and of considerable Consequence, as it is managed by these People. Their Dress differs pretty much here from what they wear in their own Country: Their Robes are very ample, and their Sleeves, which are of Cotton-cloth, very large; underneath they have a Pair of Breeches, which reach to their Ancles; they wear no Shoes, but a kind of little Slippers, and go without Stockings intirely. Their Women also wear very long Cotton Robes, are very brisk and lively, and withal very impudent, and extravagantly debauched. The *Chinese*, in general, have not the least Notion of any Distinction of Meats; on the contrary, they eat, without Ceremony, the Flesh of any Animal that comes to hand, let it be Dog, Cat, Rat, or what it will.

They are prodigiously fond of Shews, and of Entertainments. The Feast of their new Year, which they celebrate in the Beginning of *March*, lasts commonly for

a whole Month. During this time, they do nothing but divert themselves principally in Dancing, which they do in an odd Way, running round to the Sound of Basses, Flutes, and Trumpets, which makes none of the most agreeable Concerts. They make use of the same Music at their Comedies, and other theatrical Diversions, of which they are very fond. Yet there is no great Matter in this Comedy of theirs, which is, in Fact, a Mixture of Play, Opera, and Pantomime: for they sometimes speak, sometimes sing, and sometimes the whole Business of the Scene is performed by Gesture only. They have none but Women players, who are bred up to this Trade from their Infancy: but many of them act the Parts of Men, and, for that Purpose, change their Drests, and disguise themselves. Whenever a Comedy is acted, the City receives the Sum of fifty Crowns for a Licence. They erect their Theatres in the Streets, before the House of him who is at the Expence of the Play, which turns intirely on the Exploits of their ancient Heroes, and the austere Lives of their old Saints. The Funerals of the *Chinese* are very remarkable, as well as very rich, and very pompous. Their Tombs are very magnificent, and the funeral Processions very solemn and grand, at which sometimes no less than 500 Persons of both Sexes assist. The Women, upon such Occasions, are all clad in White. At their Funerals they not only make use of musical Instruments to brighten the Shew, but also of coloured Umbrellas and Canopies: It is under one of these Canopies their principal Idol is placed, whom they call *Jehosse de Batavia*, of which we shall have Occasion to give a large Account.

The *Chinese* here follow the Religion of their Country, and have, at a Place about a League's Distance from the City, a *Pagoda*, where they assemble for the Exercise of their Religion. They are, perhaps, the greatest Idolaters, and the most ridiculous in their Opinions, of all the *Indian* Pagans, since they openly profess, that they worship and adore the Devil. This does not proceed from their not knowing, or not believing in, a God, but rather from mistaken Notions in their Belief about him. They say that God is infinitely merciful and good; that he gives Men all they possess out of his mere Mercy, but that he never does them any Hurt; and that, therefore, there is no need of worshipping or praying to him, but to the Devil, who is the Author of all Mischief, and with whom they are willing to live upon good Terms, and to omit nothing that may intirely to his good Graces. Such are the fundamental Principles of their Religion at *Batavia*: How they refine or disguise them at home, falls not under our Consideration here. It is the Devil they endeavour to represent by the Idol we have before-mentioned; in whose Honour they have frequently great Feasts and Rejoicings. The *Cinese*, like the *Tavaneze*, are extravagantly addicted to Gaming, and laying of Wagers; and this Honour drives them sometimes, especially at the Cock matches on the new Year's Day, into downright Madnets: They will then not only lose all their Money, Houses, and Goods, at Play, but will likewise take their Wives and Children; and, after these are lost, their Beards, their Nails, and the Winds; that is to say, they bind themselves not to shave their Beards, to cut their Nails, or to go on board of any Ship to trade, till they have paid what they have lost. They become by this means the most miserable Creatures in the World; and, when in this Condition, are forced to let themselves out to hire, as the Slaves of some other *Chinese*. Under such Misfortunes, they have but one Resource, which is this; that some of their Relations, either here, or in *China*, will, out of mere Tenderness and Compassion, pay what they have lost; and then they enter into Possession as before. The *Malayans* that live at *Batavia*, employ themselves chiefly in Fishing: Their Vessels are very neat and shewy, and their Sails very ingeniously made of Straw. They are a most wicked and profligate People, and one often hears of their committing Murders, for very trifling Gains. They profess the *Mohammedan* Religion, but are absolutely void of Morals; so that, instead of making a Scruple, they make a Merit, of cheating of Christians. The last Captain or Chief they had, was publicly whipped and branded for his Frauds and Villanies; his Goods were con-

fiscated, and himself banished to the Island of *Cyler*. Since that time they have been ashamed to elect another Chief. The Habits they wear, are either Silk or Cotton-stuff. The Men wear a Piece of Cotton-cloth about their Heads, with their black Hair tied up in a Knot behind. The Negroes who live at *Batavia*, are most of them *Mohammedans*. They come most of them from the Coast of *Bengal*, drest in the same manner as the *Malayans*, and live also in the same Quarter. Some of them work at retailing Trades, others are a kind of Pedlars: The most considerable of them trade in Stone for building, which they bring from the neighbouring Islands.

The *Ambonese* addict themselves chiefly to building of Houses with Bamboos, the Windows of which are made of split Cane, very neatly wrought, in distier of Figure. They are a very bold boisterous People, and so turbulent, that they are not suffered to live in the City, but have their Quarter near the *Chinese* Burying-ground. They have a Chiel, to whom they pay deep Submission; and he has a very magnificent House in their Quarter, and well furnished, after their Manner. Their Arms are, for the most Part, large Sabres, and long Buckles. The Men wear a Piece of Cotton-cloth round their Heads, letting the two Corners of it hang down behind, and adorn this kind of Turban with abundance of Flowers. The Women wear a sort of Habit close to their Body, wrapping a Cotton Mantle round their Shoulders, which leaves their arms naked. Their Houses are built of Boards, covered with Leaves, are two or three Stories high, and the Ground-floors, particularly, divided into several Apartments. The *Mandykers*, or *Jepoffes*, are Idolaters, composed of many Nations of *Indians*, and are of different Trades and Professions; being furnished with Passports from the Company, their Merchants carry on a great Commerce in all the neighbouring Islands. Some of them are Christians, others breed Cattle, and some Fowls. The *Mandykers* drest after the *Dutch* Fashion; but the *Jepoffes* after other *Indians*. They dwell both in the City and in the Country. Their Houses are much better than those of the rest of the *Indians*, built, generally speaking, either of Stone or Brick, several Stories high, and very neat.

There are also at *Batavia* some of the *Maccassars*, famous for their little poisoned Arrows, which they blow through a Tube. This Poison is made of the Juice of a certain Tree which grows in the Island of *Maccassar*, and in the *Bangs* Islands; they dip the Points of their Arrows in this Juice, and then let them dry; the Wound they give is absolutely mortal. The *Bougis* are the Inhabitants of three or four Islands near that of *Maccassar*; and, since the Conquest of this last Island, have settled themselves at *Batavia*. They are very hardy and very bold Fellows, to which Reason the Company use them as Soldiers. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, Sabres and Buckles. The *Armenians*, and some other *Asiatics*, that reside in *Batavia*, come thither purely on the Score of Trade, and stay no longer than their Occasions call them. The Natives of the Country who are established in the Neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and for a Tract of about forty Leagues, on the Mountains of the Country of *Bantam*, are immediately subject to the Governor-General. The Company send Drovers or Commissaries amongst them, who administer Justice, and take care of the public Revenues. The principal Men amongst them resort at certain times to *Batavia*, in order to give an Account how these Commodities behave.

27. The City of *Batavia*, and all the Dominions which the Company possess in the *East Indies*, are governed by two supreme Councils, one styled the Council of the *Indies*, and the other the Council of Justice. The members of them fixed in this City of *Batavia*, as the Capital of all the Countries under the Dominion of the Company. To the first of these Councils belong all Matters of Government, and the Direction of public Affairs; and to the latter, the Administration of Justice in all its Branches. The Governor-General always presides in the first-mentioned Council, which is ordinarily composed of eighteen or twenty Persons, who are called Counsellors of the *Indies*. It very rarely happens, that they are all at *Batavia* together, because they are usually provided with Warrants of

of the seven Governor-Generals. This Council is extraordinary in its powers: They deliberate the Interest of the Government of upon it: It has the Approbation and the Assent of the Company is likewise required of the *Indies* that Order other Governments. Council, all Letters to the Director, are on by a Plurality of

The Council of Justice, is usually a Council of Justice, a Fiscal of the Government, another Secretary. The Great Seal. All the Doctors of the University has a Vote as well as the third of all Fines of the Part of the Fines that his Office confists in observed, and in pretence to break the General, or Fiscal regard to Frauds committed or whatever has to do with maritime Affairs. The Board, the Council is composed of nine persons who is always a Counsellor. The Bailiff of the Country adjacent, has a Vote, and with a Secretary.

The Governor-General, which the Company is, in Fact, the Admiral. He is, by his the *Indies*, in which of all the Magazine them, without being mandis by his own bound to obey him; authority equalled, and King of Europe, if due to, and habile to Company at home. any other enormous Right to raise his Power. The Manner of his Governor-General is Council of the *Indies* Plurality of Voices. to the Directors of to confirm and approve, for the same High Mightinesses Power of confirming their Charter. It is for the Directors, to chosen, and to tend to the Desire, in that Yet some Instances rejecting the Governor.

The Company all Month, and 500 m the Salaries of such appointments make the legal Emolument the Space of two or pressing the People, immense Fortune Sovereign, of the Co has been found requi

of the seven Governments, which are in the Company's Disposal. This Council assembles regularly twice a Week, and extraordinarily, as often as the Governor-General pleases: They deliberate therein on all Things that concern the Interest of the Company: They likewise superintend the Government of the Isle of *Java*, and whatever depends upon it: If the Affair be of very great Importance, the Approbation and Consent of the Directors of the Company is likewise necessary. It is also from the Council of the *Indies* that Orders issue, and Instructions are sent, to other Governments, which are implicitly obeyed. In this Council, all Letters directed to the Governor-General, or to the Director, are read, debated, and Answers agreed on by a Plurality of Voices.

The Council of Justice is composed of a President, who is usually a Counsellor of the *Indies*; eight Counsellors of Justice, a Fiscal, or Attorney-General, for Affairs of Government, another Fiscal for maritime Business, and a Secretary. The President is, by his Office, Keeper of the Great Seal. All the Counsellors of this College are Doctors of the Civil Law. The first Attorney-General has a Vote as well as the other Counsellors, and has the third of all Fines under an hundred Florins, and a sixth Part of the Fines that are above that Sum. The Duty of his Office consists in taking care, that the Laws are strictly observed, and in preferring Informations against such as presume to break through them. The other Attorney-General, or Fiscal of the Sea, takes the like Care with regard to Frauds committed in Commerce, Acts of Piracy, or whatever has a Tendency to disturb the settled Rules in maritime Affairs. There are, besides these two sovereign Boards, the Council or Tribunal of the City of *Batavia*, composed of nine Aldermen, including the President, who is always a Counsellor of the *Indies*, and a Vice President: The Bailiff of the City, and the Commissary of the Country adjacent, have likewise Seats in that Assembly, and, with a Secretary, make up the Board.

The Governor-General is the Head of the Empire which the Company has established in the *East Indies*; he is, in Fact, the Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral. He is, by his Office, President of the Council of the *Indies*, in which he has two Votes. He has the Key of all the Magazines, and directs every thing relating to them, without being accountable to any body. He commands by his own proper Authority, and every body is bound to obey him; so that one might safely say, his Authority equalled, and even surpassed, that of several of the Kings of *Europe*, if he was not accountable for his Conduct to, and liable to be removed by, the Directors of the Company at home. In case, however, of Treason, or any other enormous Crime, the Council of Justice have a Right to seize his Person, and to call him to an Account. The Manner of his Election is as follows: As soon as a Governor-General is dead, or resigns his Charge, the Council of the *Indies* assemble, and chuse another, by a Plurality of Voices. As soon as this is done, they write to the Directors of the Company at home, desiring them to confirm and approve of their Choice: They write likewise, for the same Purpose, to the States General, their High Mightinesses having reserved to themselves this Power of confirming or excluding a Governor-General in their Charter. It is usual, however, for the States, and for the Directors, to approve of the Governor-General that is chosen, and to send him his Letters Patent, conformable to the Desire, in that respect, of the Council of the *Indies*. Yet some Instances there have been, of the Directors rejecting the Governor thus elected, and sending another.

The Company allow their Governor 800 Rixdollars a Month, and 500 more for his Table; and pay, besides, the Salaries of such as compose his Household. But these Appointments make but a very small Part of his Revenue, the legal Emoluments of his Office being so great, that, in the Space of two or three Years, he is able, without oppressing the People, or burdening his Conscience, to raise an immense Fortune. As he is Head, and, in a manner, Sovereign, of the Countries belonging to the Company, it has been found requisite, in Compliance with the Mode of

the Eastern Countries, to allow him a Court, and most of those Honours which are paid to Crown'd Heads. Whenever he stirs out of his Palace, in order to go to his Country-seat, he is preceded by the Master of his Household, at the Head of six Gentlemen on Horseback, with a Trumpet; two Halbardiers on Horseback go immediately before his Coach; on the Right, he has his Master of the Horse, at the Head of six Halbardiers, on Horseback; then follow the other Coaches, which carry his Friends and Retinue; and the Whole is closed by a Troop of Horse, consisting of forty-eight Men, commanded by a Captain, and three Quarter-masters, and preceded by a Trumpet richly clothed.

If this Office be extremely considerable by its Revenues, its Power, and the Honours annexed thereto, it is likewise extremely fatiguing. The Governor-General is employed, from Morning till Night, in giving Audience to such as have Business with him, in reading of Letters, and in giving Orders for the Company's Service; so that he spares but one Half-hour for Dinner; and, even at Table, dispatches such Affairs as are extremely pressing. He also receives all the *Indian* Princes, and their Embassadors, who come to *Batavia*, and of whom there are many that arrive every Year.

After the Governor, the Director-General has the greatest Authority, and is the second Person in the Council of the *Indies*. This Employment demands likewise a great deal of Care and Attention; he who is invested with it, has the Buying and Selling all the Commodities that enter into, or go out of, the Company's Magazines: He it is, who orders what Sorts, and what Quantity of each Sorts of Goods shall be sent to *Holland*, or elsewhere; he has the Key of all the Magazines; and every Officer in the Company's Service makes a daily Report to him of the State of every thing under his Charge. In a Word, he has the supreme Direction of whatever relates to the Company's Commerce, as well at *Batavia* as at other Places; and the Members of all the Factories belonging to the Company are accountable to him for their Conduct in their respective Stations.

The third Person in the Government is the Major-General, who, under the Governor, has the Command of all the Forces. The Number of regular Troops in the Service of the *East India* Company throughout the *Indies* may be about 12,000, exclusive of the Militia, who are also very well disciplined, constantly arrayed in Time of Danger, and who are about 100,000 Men. In fine, the military Strength of the Company by Land and Sea, Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen, included, may be about 25,000 Men. For the Support of its Commerce, the Company keeps in constant Pay 180 Ships, from thirty to sixty Pieces of Cannon; and, in case of Extremity, are able, at any time, to fit out forty of a larger Size.

Some Months before the Arrival of our Author at *Batavia*, a very extraordinary Affair happened there; that is to say, a Plot was discovered, and exemplary Justice done on the Traitors. This Affair deserves to be the more taken notice of, because it has been since found no more than a Branch of a great and general Conspiracy, for the entire Subversion of the *Dutch* Government, which was with Difficulty prevented, some Years ago, by the general Massacre of all the *Chinese* at *Batavia*. The Fact with which we are at present concerned, happened in the following Manner: There was one *Peter Erberfeld*, who had framed a Design, in Conjunction with a great many *Javanese*, and other *Indian* Chiefs, to surprize the Citadel and Forts of *Batavia*, to massacre the Governor, and all the Counsellors, together with such as were in the Service of the Company, and, finally, all the Christians in the Isle of *Java*, in order for ever to extirpate the Colony, and put an End to the Power of the *East India* Company in these Parts. This detestable Design was discovered on the very Eve of its Execution; *Peter Erberfeld*, and the chief of his Accomplices, made Prisoners, put to the Torture, and, on their own Confession, received Sentence, as appears from the following Record of their Conviction, which is drawn up in the clearest and most significant Terms.

Sentence against Peter Erberfeld, and his Accomplices, pronounced at Batavia, April 8th, 1722.

Forasmuch as Peter Erberfeld, Burgher, born at Batavia, of a white Father, and black Mother, of the Age of fifty-eight or fifty-nine; *Catadia*, otherwise called *Rading*; *Javan de Cortajaura*; *Maja Praja de Chias*, Sergeant of *Javanese*; *Sana Suta Calia Wangsu de Bodong*; and the Person called *Anga Tjitra de Bagall*, both *Javanese*, *Layceb de Sumbowen*, a *Malayan*, heretofore a Slave in the *Chinese* Hospital, and some time since made free; *Jap Kiko*; *Cartanaja de Pacalongan*; *Anga Sarana de Batong*; *Canta Sinia de Cheriden*; *Singa Ira*; *Marangie de Bengal*; *Sarapata de Indermajo*; *Mojai Diaja de Banjermeas*; *Wambja Dita de Pamelang Pandjang*; *Wicia Susa de Banjermeas*; *Canta Wangsu Baspa Alulut de Saraja*; and *Singa Patria* (Chief) of *Sikias*; together with the Wives of the sixteenth, nineteenth, and thirteenth Criminals, all Prisoners at present, and in safe Custody, have confessed and acknowledged before the Court of Justice established at Batavia, that they have been engaged in, and, throwing aside all Fear of God, and of Justice, have managed a most execrable Conspiracy against the City, Citadel, and Colony of Batavia, tending to defeat and put an End, by the Assistance of certain *Mohammedan* Princes, and many of the Chiefs of the neighbouring People, such as *Javanese*, *Balejans*, and *Malayans*, and others, to the Possession and Government of the *East India* Company: We are the more astonished at this horrible Contrivance, because this Company has never ceased to govern with all possible Mildness and Tenderness, under the Auspices of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, all the People under their Obedience, *Mohammedans* as well as *Pagans*, without Distinction of Religion; and protected them against all and every one, who sought to trouble or molest them; so that there was the greatest Reason to believe, that the Establishment of the *East India* Company at Batavia should last long, and not the least Reason to apprehend any thing from those, who were enjoying the Sweetness of Peace and Tranquillity under its Wings. Nevertheless the aforesaid Criminals have acknowledged, that, in order to carry their detestable Scheme into Execution with as much Success as they could desire, they had agreed upon the following Methods; that is to say, first, and above all things, to massacre the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, and consequently all Christians, without sparing so much as one, in hopes that, upon this Blow being struck, all the Nations in the flat Country, in the Island of *Java*, and all Foreigners residing at Batavia, or living in the Neighbourhood, such as *Chinese*, *Negroes*, *Macassars*, &c. would immediately have joined the Rebels, or at least have implored their Clemency; and, in case any had opposed them, they were likewise to have been murdered without Mercy.

During the first Attack of the Conspirators, Peter Erberfeld was to have commanded, and given Orders in Quality of Chief; and the other, named *Catadia*, as his Lieutenant, or Person next to him in Power; and, in order to acquire the greater Authority and Respect, the former was immediately to have assumed the Title of *Thowang-Gusti*, which is as much as to say, great Lord, or supreme Governor; and the latter the Name of *Rading*, which implies as much as Prince. This dangerous Conspiracy was concerted in the House of Erberfeld, situated without the City, at one Corner of the Road which leads to *Jacatra*, where one turns off to go to the *Portuguese* Church; and their Assemblies usually held in a Room on the Ground-floor. The Conspirators likewise met often at a Country-house of his, situated on the *Sunder*, from whence they carried on a Correspondence with several *Mohammedan* Princes, and many Chiefs of the *Indian* Nations, whom they had found Ways and Means to draw over to their Party. The Letters upon this Subject were written by the second, third, fourth, and fifth, of these Criminals; who also read those they received in Answer, because the first-mentioned Peter Erberfeld was not able either to write or read the Languages they made use of: And it was likewise the same Criminals that were charged with the Care of delivering those Letters, or causing them to be deli-

vered, to those to whom they were addressed, and of receiving their Answers.

The Accused have likewise acknowledged, that some of them dispersed themselves through different Quarters of the flat Country, in order there to sell or distribute amongst the Inhabitants a kind of Diemats, or little Stamps, marked with certain Characters, which were to secure those, who carried them about them, from Murther, or Wounds from Swords or other Weapons; and that the said Stamps were fabricated by the second, third, fourth, and fifth, of the said Prisoners. The Conspirators had agreed, that the first Attack should be made on the House of the Governor-General, and on the Residences of the Council, and other Magistrates, in the Citadel, and in the City, so as to massacre all the principal Persons of the Government; which, had it been effected, would certainly have contributed very much to the Success of their Enterprize. The first, second, and third, of the Criminals were to have had the Command in one Attack of the Citadel; and the fourth, fifth, and sixth that of the Town. The Attack was to be made on *Year's-day*, as soon as ever the Gates were open. The Rendezvous of the Conspirators was fixed for the Evening, that should have preceded the Attack, at an House of the principal Conspirator Erberfeld, situate, as is before-mentioned, in the Road to *Jacatra*, in order for them to confer together, and to slide away from thence, some into the Citadel, and some into the Town.

To prevent all Misintelligence among themselves, and that the Affair might be conducted with the greatest Order possible, they agreed beforehand on this Regulation; that Peter Erberfeld, as soon as the Massacre was over, should assume the Title of *Gusti*, or King, as well in the City, as in the Citadel; and that the second Criminal *Catadia* should have the Title of *Rading*, or Prince, in the low Country without the City, quite to the Mountains. As to the rest, they were to have the Title of *Pangeran*, or Princes, and were to be established *Mantries*, or Chiefs, and Counsellors to the King: They were also to execute, in their several Districts, the Function of *Tanungians*, that is, Generals, in Conjunction with *Singa Patria*, who had been actually established, by the Company's Authority, Chief of *Sikias*. The Conspirators had moreover agreed, that, after the Execution of their Designs, Peter Erberfeld was to take into his Service a College or Board of twelve young Men, each of the Age of twenty, or thereabouts, to be drawn out of the Families of the principal Conspirators; which twelve Persons were to have been lent to the Princes and Chiefs of the *Mohammedans*, in order to have settled the Duties and Customs they were, for the future, to pay at *Batavia*; all which appears clearly from the intercepted Letters, to which the Confession and Deposition of the five principal Criminals are agreeable in every respect.

Conformable to this detestable Plan, the Conspirators had taken sufficient Precaution for securing to themselves the Means necessary to assist and support them after the Massacre was begun, by a Body of 17000 Men, drawn from several Places in the Neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and, for the most part, named by the Prisoners. According to their Scheme, this Body was to have been divided into several Detachments, all of which were to have been ready to march at a certain Time. The Signal being given, each of these Detachments was to have put in Motion, and, by the high Roads, as well as by private Ways, to have advanced, and taken Possession of all the Gates, to hinder so much as a single Person's stepping out before it reached *Holland*. With this View, and for the better Execution of their Project, the Conspirators had already secured, by the Distribution of the *Diemats* before-mentioned, 1000 Men. *Maja Praja* had undertaken to send as many; and 2000 had Orders to descend from the Mountains of the South, and to join those, who were already in the Neighbourhood, in order to the Perpetration of this horrible Design, on *January* 2, 1722.

The whole Scheme was intirely settled three Days before the intended Massacre, Peter Erberfeld having dispersed all things, and given his Orders for the Execution

of it in the following manner: Peter Erberfeld, and his Accomplices, had posted themselves beyond the advanced Men were to have n Peter d'Alida, part its Neighbourhood; to have defiled to A Places in that Neigh it was agreed that a have joined themse which they were co via, that, by the J might have executed and maintained the had succeeded in the as their own Letters tained by another. B whom they had eng Side of *Cadiri*, by A *Campongbaru*, in ord tain of *Guru*. In ca the Inhabitants of C the *Balejans* had Or and to march immedi pleted the Massacre them, and totally t that the Company m their Dominions for recovering them, or in these Parts.

Peter Erberfeld ha gether, to enter into Criminal *Catadia*, w during which time h and down the Count for the bringing abou carry things soon into sun, but because he h of *Java* would take, of it. The Prisoner to the Rebels, havir himself very exactly their Resolutions, w Mr. *John Mansien*, Service. The Prison had also a perfect Ki signs, and contribute on this Conspiracy. tions, that were held is before mentione.

All the Points of and amazing, are bu Proofs that have bee were so audacious, a no doubt, that they ally, that it was not Of this, it is certain, rience, if, through t always watchful eve had not been traverse was discovered, and the least Motion ha herents. The Enor the deeper, when i had fixed on a *Frisia* which is the *Moban* lawful for them to t ought then to be ta gion: But they tho to expiate this Sacril ber of Christians.

That whic is mo falls upon Peter Er given himself out to himself to such a deg a Body of Rebels the Throats of his s same time that he w since his Father was

of it in the following Manner; viz. 800 Men were to have posted themselves at *Crolot* on the *Mill River*, beyond the advanced Guard of the *Fort Ryswyk*; 2000 Men were to have marched into the Country of the Chief *Peter d'Alida*, particularly to *Grogol*, and the Places in its Neighbourhood; and another Body of 1000 Men was to have deſtined to *Mangadova*, *Piejang*, *Batu*, and the Places in that Neighbourhood. To theſe ſeveral Bodies it was agreed that all the reſt of the Conſpirators ſhould have joined themſelves from the different Retreats in which they were concealed, in Places adjacent to *Bataavia*, that, by the Junction of ſo great a Force, they might have executed their Schemes in their full Extent, and maintained themſelves in Poſſeſſion. In caſe they had ſucceeded in their Deſign, they were to have been, as their own Letters ſufficiently ſhew, ſupported and ſuſtained by another Body of upwards of 10,000 *Balgians*, whom they had engaged to paſs the Mountains on the Side of *Cadiri*, by *Maturin* on the South Side, and by *Campongbaru*, in order to have taken Poſt on the Mountain of *Guru*. In caſe it ſhould have ſo happened, that the Inhabitants of *Campongbaru* had reſuſed to ſubmit, the *Balgians* had Orders to put them all to the Sword, and to march immediately towards the City, to have completed the Maſſacre of all ſuch as ſhould have oppoſed them, and totally to have exterminated the Chriſtians, that the Company might not only have been deprived of their Dominions for the preſent, but prevented from ever recovering them, or carrying on the ſmalleſt Commerce in theſe Parts.

Peter Erberfeld had been ſolicited, for two Years together, to enter into this wicked Deſign, by the ſecond Criminal *Catadia*, who had ſpent ſix Years in framing it; during which time he had been continually travelling up and down the Country, and lixing ſecret Correſpondencies for the bringing about his Purpoſe; and, if he did not carry things ſoon into Execution, it was for no other Reaſon, but becauſe he had a mind to ſee what Turn the War of *Java* would take, that he might make an Advantage of it. The Priſoner *Maja Praja* was of very great Uſe to the Rebels, having had an Opportunity of informing himſelf very exactly as to the Forces of the Company, and their Reſolutions, while he lived heretofore as Clerk with *Mr. John Manton*, who was Major in the Company's Service. The Priſoners *Tomboain*, *Grambrek*, and *Mietas*, had alſo a perfect Knowledge of all theſe villainous Deſigns, and contributed all in their Power towards carrying on this Conſpiracy, having often aſſiſted at the Deliberations, that were held at the Houſe of *Peter Erberfeld*, as is before mentioned.

All the Points of this Conſpiracy, however abominable and amazing, are but too well eſtabliſhed as Facts, by the Proofs that have been obtained; nay, ſome of the Chiefs were ſo audacious, as to divulge their Deſign, believing, no doubt, that they had taken their Meaſures to effectually, that it was not poſſible for them to miſs of Succeſs. Of this, it is certain, the Company had felt the ſad Experience, if, through the Mercy of the Divine Providence, always watchful over the Elect, this terrible Conſpiracy had not been traſſered; inſomuch that every Circumſtance was diſcovered, and all the Accomplices ſecured, without the leaſt Frenon happening amongſt their numerous Adherents. The Enormity of this Deſign becomes ſo much the deeper, when it is conſidered, that the Conſpirators had fixed on a Friday for the Execution of their Deſign, which is the *Albannedans Sabbath*, on which it is not lawful for them to ſhed human Blood; inatmuch as they ought then to be taken up with the Acts of their Religion: But they thought, no doubt, they ſhould be able to expiate this Sacrilege, by the butchering ſuch a Number of Chriſtians.

That which is moſt abominable in this execrable Affair falls upon *Peter Erberfeld*, who is, or at leaſt has always given himſelf out to be, a Chriſtian; and yet has forgot himſelf to ſuch a degree, as to put himſelf at the Head of a Body of Rebels and Aſſaſſins, who were to have cut the Throats of his Superiors, and of his Brethren, at the ſame time that he was guilty of the blackeſt Ingratitude, ſince his Father was heretofore a Member of the Provin-

cial College, and a Captain of Horſe. In ſpite of all theſe Circumſtances, which ought moſt certainly to have reſtrained him within the Bounds of his Duty towards his lawful Sovereign, he has been wanting therein to ſuch a degree, as to form the moſt barbarous and wicked Deſign, that was ever heard of, conſiſting, as himſelf has confeſſed, in a fixed Reſolution of butchering, without Diſtinction, every Chriſtian in the Iſland of *Java*, in order to make himſelf Maſter of the City and Citadel of *Bataavia*. He ought, however, to know, that Heaven never ſuffers ſuch flagrant Offences to remain unpuniſhed, but expoſes ſuch as are guilty of them to the ſevereſt Chaiſtiments.

We the Judges having heard and examined the Information preferred *ex officio* by *Henry van Steel*, Droſſard of the flat Country, againſt the before-mentioned Criminals, who have confeſſed the Whole, and ſubmitted themſelves voluntarily to this Concluſion; it is therefore concluded, Regard being had to the before-mentioned Crimes, and all the Circumſtances relating to them, and we hereby conclude and decree in Juſtice, in the Name, and on the Part, of their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, that we condemn the before-mentioned Priſoners, with the Approbation of the Governor-General *Mr. Swaar-Jekroon*, and of the Counſellors of the *Indies*, to be transported to the Place before the Citadel, where it is uſual to execute Criminals, there to be delivered into the Hands of the Hangman, in order to receive their reſpective Puniſhments in the Manner following: The two Criminals *Erberfeld* and *Catadia*, otherwiſe ſtyled *Rading*, ſhall be extended and bound each of them on a Crois, where they ſhall each of them have their Right Hands cut off, and their Arms, Legs, and Breſts, pinched with red-hot Pinchers, till Pieces of the Fleſh are torn away. They ſhall then have their Bellies ripped up from bottom to Top, and their Hearts thrown in their Faces; after which, their Heads ſhall be cut off, and fixed upon a Poſt; and their Bodies, being torn in Pieces, ſhall be expoſed to the Fowls of the Air without the City, in whatever Place the Government ſhall pleaſe to direct.

The other four Criminals, *Maja Praja*, *Sana Suta*, otherwiſe *Wangſa*, *Suta Tjſſira*, and *Layek*, are to be each of them bound upon a Crois, and have their reſpective Right Hands cut off, their Arms, Thighs, and Breſts, pinched, their Bellies ripped open, and their Hearts thrown in their Faces, and their Limbs expoſed upon a Wheel in the uſual Places, there to become a Prey to Birds. The other ten Criminals ſhall be each of them tied upon a Crois on the Scaffold, and, in caſe there be not Room on the Scaffold itſelf, on a Place near it, where they ſhall be broken alive, without receiving the *Coup de Grace*. They ſhall be afterwards carried to the ordinary Place of Execution, and there expoſed on a Wheel, and guarded ſo long as they ſhall live there; and, after they expire, be left a Prey to the Birds. The other three, *Tomboain*, *Grambrek*, and *Mietas*, are condemned to be each of them tied to a Stake, and there ſtrangled, till they are dead. Their Bodies ſhall be then carried, like the reſt, to the common Place of Execution, and there expoſed on Wheels, for the Nouriſhment of the Birds. We likewiſe further condemn the ſaid Criminals to the Coſts and Expences of Juſtice, and to the Conſiſcation of half their Effects: This being paid, renouncing all further Pretentions. Done and decreed in the Aſſembly of my Lords the Counſellors of Juſtice, this *Wednesday* the 8th of *April*, all the Judges, except *Mr. Crarvanger*, being preſent. This Sentence was executed as pronounced, on *Wednesday*, *April* the 22d, 1722.

In Proceſs of Time, there were abundance of their Accomplices diſcovered, and, one after another, executed. The Houſe, in which *Peter Erberfeld* lived, was pulled down, and razed to the Ground; and, on that Side of it, which looked to the great Road, a Column of Intamy was erected, on the Chapter of which was placed a Death's-head. There was alſo a Table placed on the ſaid Column, on which was engraved in five different Languages; viz. in *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, *Malayan*, *Javanefe*, and *Cineſe*, the following Inſcription: *In this Place heretofore ſtood the Houſe of that unworthy Traitor Peter Erberfeld, on which Spet no other Houſe ſhall ſtand henceforth for evermore.* It was never

never certainly known how this Treason was discovered: Some say, that it was owing to a Slave, others, that it was betrayed by a Woman. There are some likewise of Opinion, that one or other of the Conspirators themselves revealed it. But that which has the most Appearance of Truth is, that the Government received its Informations from the King of *Bantam*; for it is certain, that *Peter Erberfeld* wrote to him, not only every Circumstance of his Conspiracy, but informed him likewise, that, when he had extirpated the Christians, he intended to attack the Emperor of *Java*. The King of *Bantam*, perceiving by this the daring and ambitious Spirit of the Man, began to think that his own Safety was, in some measure, concerned; and that there could not be a better or shorter Method taken to prevent his having it in his Power to do Mischief, than to discover his Schemes immediately to the Company. It is also remarkable, that *Mr. Vanden Bosc*, Minister at *Macassar*, who wrote a Poem on this Conspiracy, insinuates, that the Discovery was owing to the Friendship of a great Monarch.

28. The Ecclesiastical Government at *Batavia* consists generally of eleven Persons, all Ministers of the Reformed Religion; viz. five for the two *Dutch* Churches in the City, and that in the Citadel, besides the Minister that resides in the Island of *Omrust*; three *Portuguese* Ministers, and two *Malayans*. The five last likewise are *Dutchmen* by Birth, though they preach in the *Portuguese* and *Malayan* Tongues: And as it is necessary, that the State should be very well informed of whatever passes amongst their Clergy when they meet together, the eleventh Person is a Deputy on the Part of the Government, who is to see, that they undertake nothing prejudicial to the Civil Government, or inconsistent with the Laws, which the Company has prescribed. Besides these Ministers, the Consistory is composed of eight Elders, and twenty Deacons. One great Branch of their Business is, to send Ministers into other Governments, where, after a certain Term of Years, they are relieved, and return either to *Batavia*, or to *Holland*, to enjoy in Peace the Fruits of their Labours. Our Author tells us, that there came home with him a certain Preacher, who had made so good Use of his Time, that, on his Return, he bought a noble Fief, and of a Pastor immediately became a Man of Quality.

In other little Places they have no ordinary Minister; but one is sent thither regularly every three or four Years, to baptize, marry, and give the Lord's Supper, which is so much the more necessary, because the Synods have taken a Resolution not to permit any Religion, but the Reformed, to make any Progress in the Dominions of the *East India* Company.

The *Lutherans* for a long Space of Time, have warmly solicited for a Church at *Batavia*, but have been constantly refused it, though certainly their Demand was equally just and reasonable, especially in a Place where *Mahomedans* and *Pagans* are freely tolerated in the Exercise of their Religions; nay, and even the *Chinese*, who, as we before observed, worship the Devil himself. This Ecclesiastical Council have also dependent, upon them, the Concoiators of the Sick, Schoolmasters and Catechists. Of these last the Company have a great many in their Service on board their Ships, whose Duty it is to say Prayers constantly every Day, and to instruct such as embrace the Christian Religion. These Catechists are, for the most part, Natives of the Country; and, as they speak several Languages, they are the better enabled to give the necessary Instructions, and to teach the Confession of Faith to many different Nations; who, after being converted and baptized, are to receive the Communion. For the better Preservation of Uniformity, there is an annual Visitation made by the Ministers of all the new Converts.

In consequence of these Regulations, the Reformed Religion makes a great Progress, especially among the Negroes, of whom our Author says he has seen 120 at a time who demanded Baptism; which, however, is not rashly granted, since all who receive it are obliged to be well instructed, and to be able to make their Confession of Faith before it is bestowed; and in this the *Dutch* are so strict, that they do not dispense, in this Particular, even with Princes and Princesses themselves. It is well enough known, that the *Chinese* are so obstinately addicted to their *Great Confucius*, as not to be over-ready to embrace any other

Religion; yet there are, from time to time, some of them who abjure their Idolatry, and embrace the Protestant Faith. Our Author, however, seems to doubt a little the Sincerity of these Confessions, from an Apprehension, that the *Chinese* are seldom sincere in any thing; and, as a Reason for his Suspicion, he tells us, that a *Chinese*, having renounced his Superstition, made use of this remarkable Phrase; At present I am going to embrace the Religion of the Company.

As to the Military Establishment, it is pretty much the same in the *East Indies* as in the *United Provinces*, the Troops in the Company's Service being as regularly paid, and as well disciplined, as those in *Holland*. The first Officer, in Command, in Time of Peace, has, strictly speaking, no higher Rank than that of Major, under whom are Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns; but, when the Troops are in the Field, the Lieutenants and Ensigns are at the Head of Companies, the Captains lead Brigades, and the Major, as a Major General, commands in chief. All the Forces, which have been before observed, are under the immediate Command of one of the Counsellors of the *Indies*; the Nature of the Country are under the Command of their own Officers, who are capable of rising to the Rank of a Captain, but not higher. The Burgesses of *Batavia* choose also their own Officers, as high as the Rank of Captains of Horse and Foot: They are under the Command of a Colonel, who is also one of the Counsellors of the *Indies*, and, at the same time, President of the Council of War.

The Maritime Force, in the Service of the *East India* Company, is regulated on the same Foot, and on the same Maxims, as their Military Establishment; that is to say, there are no Officers wanting necessary to the Preservation of good Discipline; nor are there any honoured with high Titles, merely to secure large Appointments to them, without any Benefit to the State. The whole Fleet is under the Direction of one Officer, who has the modest Title of Commander, or Commodore; he has under him a Vice-Commander; and, besides these, there are no Flag-officers, but every Captain has the Command of his Ship. When their Vessels are in the Harbour of *Batavia*, the Captain are obliged to repair every Morning to the Commodore or Commodore, in order to make Report to him of the State of their Vessels, and to receive his Orders: Yet, even the Commander of the Fleet does nothing of Consequence without the Consent and Approbation of the Governor-General, to whom, in fact, all the Officers of the Company, Civil, Military, and Marine, are accountable; so that it plainly appears, the *Dutch* are forced to tolerate Stadtholdership, or Government of a single Person in the *Indies*, though they have thought fit to rid themselves of it at Home; and, indeed without such an Establishment, it is not easy to conceive, how their Affairs in the East could be so well carried on as they are.

29. The Country about *Batavia* is inexhaustibly fruitful, inasmuch that one may safely aver, Nature and Art seem to strive which shall have the greatest Share in improving it. The Air is sweet and mild, the Land is almost finely diversified with Hills and Valleys, and is rendered improved by regular Plantations, beautiful Gardens, whatever else may contribute to render a Country pleasant and agreeable. But to step a little out into the Sea, *Java* may be about 200 Leagues in Circumference, and is divided into abundance of Kingdoms and Principalities, all dependent on the Emperor, who resides at *Kinabalu*. We must, however, except out of the Number of these Princes the Kings of *Bantam* and *Japara*, who are independent, and acknowledge his Authority. The Country produces only all Things necessary for the Subsistence of Mankind, and also large Proportions of those valuable Effects which are the Commerce of the Country. It is divided into Rivers, Woods, and Mountains, in all of which Nature has very bountifully bestowed her Treasures. It seems that in some Parts of the Island there are Gold Mines. The Regency at *Batavia*, in hopes of procuring a better Market for some Years the Mountains of *Paraga*, had thought to sell out, that the *Marsabit* were not to be sold, that, after all, the Company were at the Expence of nothing to no Purpose. Such as had the Direction of these Enterprize were very much censured, and the Work

been long since discovered, who are those of the Country find, in the Gold, which Plac the *Europeans*. During from the Year 1711 Parts of the Country deted, that they were it was observed with one Year's Peace, and had not only gold also in Ingots.

The Mountains in to be seen at the Mouth of Rivers; that which is called of them all, and frequent and very terrible happened one when he him to such a degree. It began about eight o'clock the City, and that the Fall of the The Waters in the Mouth of Rivers; In some Places the Earth and terrible Spectacle that these Earthquakes which is full of Sulphur taking Fire by their incessant Struggle in the Mouth of Rivers; an Earthquake; and after such an Accident hanging over the Top of the Mountain, General *Ribbeck* went, with a consideration of that Mountain. O Cavity in the Mountain down, that he might be returned, reported that he had heard a noise on every Side; a Flame burst out, so far, from an Apprehension of falling Vapours, or of falling

It is certain, that this Mountain are even those that come from the Mouth of Rivers. Those who are Dilettants, but during the Flood, is freed from the Mouth of Rivers, and does not so plentifully. The Fruit is excellent, and ever, which is, or Cocoa, which, as a Cocoa, shall be the Cocoa of it is reduced to good Coriander, and is equally fit for building, and is covered with Leaves of the Father of a Family orders a Cocoa tree in his own Age, for this Bark, as on the Mouth of Rivers, and is his Children, etc. he

There are abundance over the Island, as well as Buffaloes, 17 eggs they likewise abound in some of them of a prodigiously large in the Mouth of Rivers; the delight most in Mountains like the Tortoise, in taking any farther Care at the proper Season. Some small time before Crocodile was taken

been long since discontinued. There are People, however, who are thoroughly persuaded, that the Natives of the Country find, in many Places, considerable Quantities of Gold, which Places, however, they carefully conceal from the Europeans. During the last War in Java, which lasted from the Year 1710 to 1721, the Inhabitants of some Parts of the Country were so often and so miserably plundered, that they were reduced to absolute Beggary; yet it was observed with Astonishment, that, in the Space of one Year's Peace, these very People grew excessively rich, and had not only great Quantities of Gold in Dust, but also in Ingots.

The Mountains in this Island are many of them so high, as to be seen at the Distance of thirty or forty Leagues. That which is called the *Blue Mountain*, is by far the highest of them all, and seen the farthest off at Sea. They have frequent and very terrible Earthquakes in this Country. There happened one when our Author was there, which frightened him to such a degree, that he did not recover it in a Week. It began about eight of the Clock in the Mornings, and shook the City, and Places adjacent, to such a degree, that the Fall of the Houses was expected every Moment. The Waters in the Road were excessively agitated, inasmuch that their Motion resembled that of a boiling Pot. In some Places the Earth opened, which afforded a strange and terrible Spectacle. The Inhabitants are of Opinion, that these Earthquakes are caused by the Mountain *Parang*, which is full of Sulphur, Salt-petre, and Bitumen, which, taking Fire by their intestine Commotions, cause a prodigious Struggle in the Bowels of the Earth, and of consequence an Earthquake; and they assure us, that it is very common, after such an Accident, to see a large Cloud of Smoak hanging over the Top of the Mountain. About thirty Years ago, General *Ribeck*, who then commanded in the Island, went, with a considerable Number of Attendants, to the Top of that Mountain. On his Arrival there he perceived a large Cavity in the Mountain, into which he caused a Man to be let down, that he might examine the Inside. The Man, when he returned, reported, that the Mountain was hollow within; that he had heard a most frightful Noise of Torrents of Water on every Side; and that here-and-there he had seen Flames burst out, so that he was absolutely afraid of going far, from an Apprehension of being either filled by the Vapours, or of falling through some of the Chasms.

It is certain, that the Waters in the Neighbourhood of this Mountain are very far from being wholesome, and that even those that come to *Batavia* are impregnated with Sulphur. Those who drink much of them contract various Disorders, but chiefly a Dysentery: Yet this Water, being boiled, is freed thereby from all those sulphureous Particles, and does no hurt of Hurt, though drank ever so copiously. The Fruits and Plants in this Island are in their Kinds Excellent, and almost out of Number. That, however, which is, or ought to be, esteemed most, is the Cocoa, which, as a Fruit, has been already described, and therefore shall be considered here purely as a Tree. The Bark of it is reduced into Threads, of which they make very good Cordage, and particularly Cables. The Timber is equally fit for building Ships and Houses, which are covered with Leaves of the same Tree. It is said, that when the Father of a Family in this Country has a Child born, he orders a Cocoa tree to be planted, that it may know its own Age, for this Tree has a Circle riles annually on its Bark, as on the Horns of a Cow, so that its Age is known by Inspection, and if any body asks the Father how old his Child is, he sends them to his Cocoa-trees.

There are abundance of Woods and Forests scattered over the Island, in which are all kinds of wild Beasts, such as Buffaloes, Tygers, Rhinoceroses, and wild Horses; and they likewise abound with an infinite Variety of Serpents, some of them of a prodigious Size. Crocodiles are prodigiously large in Java, and are found chiefly in the Mouths of Rivers; tor, being amphibious Animals, they delight most in Marshes and Savannas. This Creature, like the Tortoise, lays its Eggs in the hot Sands, without taking any farther Care of them, and the Sun hatches them at the proper Season, when they run instantly into the Water. Some small time before our Author came to *Batavia*, a Crocodile was taken in a River's Mouth to the Eastward of

the City, which was upwards of thirty-three Feet in Length and proportionably big. There is, in short, no kind of Animal wanting here: Fowls they have of all sorts, and exquisitely good, especially Peacocks, Partridges, Pheasants, Wood-pigeons; and, for Curiosity, they have the *Indian Bat*, which differs little in its Form from ours, but its Wings, when extended, measure a full Yard, and the Body of it is of the Size of a Rat.

They have Fish in great Plenty, of different Sorts, and very good; so that for the Value of Three-pence, there may be enough bought to dine six or seven Men. They have likewise a multitude of Tortoises, the Flesh of which is very little inferior to Veal, and there are many who think it better. As the flat Country abounds in this manner with all Sorts of Provisions, there are daily great Quantities brought to *Batavia*; and, to prevent any Danger of Scarcity, the Vessels belonging to the Company are continually employed in bringing, from the most distant Parts of the Island, Provisions, Spices, and other Necessaries, such as Indigo, Rice, Pepper, Cardamoms, Coffee, &c. There are also laid up, in the Magazines at *Batavia*, all the various kinds of rich and valuable Commodities, not of Java only, but all the *Indies*, ready to be transported thence, either to other Ports of the Company's Dominions, or in the Ships that return annually to *Holland*. These may be, in some measure, compared to the Flota and Flotilla of the *Spaniards*; and therefore of these we shall give a very clear and distinct Account.

These Ships sail from *Batavia* for *Holland* five times a Year: The first go in the Month of *July*, and this Squadron consists of four or five Sail, which touch in their Passage at the Island of *Ceylon*: The second, making a Fleet of sixteen or twenty Sail, leave *Batavia* in the Month of *October*; they formerly did not sail till the Month of *December*, but that Regulation is changed, and they sail now constantly in the Month of *October*: The third Squadron, of six or seven Vessels, sails in *September*; the 4th, of four or five, in *January*; and the last Vessel, in the Month of *March*, but not till the *Chinese* Fleet is arrived, which brings the Tea; and of this the best Part of the Cargo of the homeward-bound Vessel is made up; and, therefore, this is commonly called the Tea Ship; the common People likewise call it the Book Ship, because it brings the current Account of the Company for the Year, by which they see the State of their Trade in the *Indies*. It is to be observed, that all these Vessels, laden with the Riches of so many Countries, sail from the same Port of *Batavia*. The Ships from *Mocha*, which bring home the Coffee, are the only Vessels in the *India* Company's Service allowed to proceed directly home, without going to *Batavia* at all. Such is the State of *Batavia*, and the Island of *Java*; such the domestic Economy of that great Company in its principal Plantation. We will now look abroad, examine the Extent of its Dominions, the valuable Commodities they produce, and the Means by which the Company governs so wide an Empire, and manages so extensive a Commerce.

30. The last and the best Government, after *Batavia*, is that of the Island of *Ceylon*. The Governor, who resides there, is usually one of the Council of the *Indies*; and his Council, appointed to assist him, is framed in the same manner with that of *Batavia*; the single Difference is, that the latter are not quite so great Men as the former. Tho' the Governor of *Ceylon* is dependent on the Council of the *Indies* at *Batavia*, he is, however, at Liberty to write directly to the Directors of the Company in *Holland*, without asking the Permission of the Governor-General, and without being obliged to give him any Account of their Conduct in that respect. This singular Prerogative has had very bad Effects, because it has frequently tempted the Governors of *Ceylon* to endeavour to withdraw themselves from the Obedience of the Company, in order to become absolute Sovereigns of the Island. There have been many Examples of this kind, but it will be sufficient to dwell here on the two last, which have made so much Noise in *Europe*.

These *Indian* Commotions were owing to the Tyranny of two Governors, who immediately succeeded each other, the one named *Luyk*, and the other *Vosflus*. The whole Transaction fell out thus: As soon as Mr. *Rampf* let his Government of *Ceylon*, Mr. *Luyk*, his Successor, began to act

and the Barbarian towards all those who were not so lucky as to be in his good Graces: He persecuted the *Europeans* as well as the *Indians*, and was alike terrible to all. As he had, from the Beginning, this Project in his Head, of rendering himself an independent Sovereign, he pursued it steadily, and by the Methods that were fittest for accomplishing his Purpose. In the first Place, he thought it necessary to rid himself of the richest Persons in the Island, and of such as were of the greatest Reputation for Wisdom, Experience, and Penetration. In order to save Appearances, and play the Villain with an Air of Justice, he thought it requisite to forge a Plot; and caused Informations to be preferred against such as he intended to ruin, for being in a Conspiracy to betray and deliver up the principal Fortresses in the Island to some foreign Power: Which Scheme of his served him doubly; for, in the first Place it seemed to manifest a great Zeal for the Company's Service; and, in the next it gave him an Opportunity to convict those he hated of high Treason, which deprived them at once of Life and Fortune.

To manage this more effectually, he thought it requisite to change his Council, and to bring into it such as he could depend upon. The Confiscation of the Estates and Effects of a Number of innocent Persons, whom he condemned and murdered under Colour of his Attention to the public Welfare, put it in his Power to oblige many, and to raise a vast Number of Creatures. To make this short History the more intelligible, it will be proper to give the Reader the Character of the Man. Mr. *Vuiss* was born in the *Indies*, of *Dutch* Parents, he had naturally a strong Capacity, which he had improved by an assiduous Application to his Studies. His dark Brow, and cloudy Air, sufficiently shewed the Cruelty of his Disposition, and that Flintiness of Heart, which distinguished him from other Men. He loved and protected the *Indians*, either from a natural Inclination, as they were his Countrymen, or because he thought them less capable of penetrating, and less willing to traverse, his Designs. In order to gain them entirely to his Devotion, he preferred them as often as any Vacancies which fell in his Government would permit, and this in direct Opposition to the repeated Instructions of the Company, directing him to bestow the principal Posts in the Island on *Dutchmen*, or other *Europeans*.

This did not proceed from an absolute Diffidence, in the Company, of the *Indians* in general, which they neither had, nor ought to have, since Experience has taught them, that there are, amongst the *Indians*, Persons of as much Probity, and approved Fidelity, as among the *Dutch* themselves: And our Author assures us, of his own Knowledge, that some, with whom he had occasion to contract Acquaintance, distinguished themselves towards him by indubitable Marks of sincere Friendship, and the greatest Uprightness in their Conduct. He adds farther, that the last time he was in the *Indies*, the General who commanded all the Forces, in the Service of the Company, was an *Indian* born: His Name was *Dirk de Cloon*, a Man of very great Capacity, an excellent Officer, and of acknowledged Virtue and Merit; of which his rising to that high Post, though not a *Dutchman* born, ought to be considered as the most convincing Proof. But to return to Mr. *Vuiss*, and his Transactions, which brought upon him such a Reward as every Traitor ought to meet with.

He carried on his Designs, for a long time, with the greatest Dexterity and Cunning, acquiring by Gifts, and other Artifices, a prodigious Number of Dependents, who were ready to support him even in the blackest of his Designs. This, however, he could not do without giving Umbrage to some of the Company's faithful Servants, who sent over to *Holland* such clear and perfect Informations of his Behaviour, as gave sufficient Light to his real Intentions, in spite of all the hypocritical Arts he made use of to conceal them. At last, therefore, the Company sent Mr. *Versluys* directly to *Ceylon* to succeed him, with Orders to send *Vuiss* Prisoner to *Batavia*, where he was called to an Account for his Conduct. As soon as he came thither, abundance of Informations were preferred against him, for a Variety of Crimes, of a private as well as public Nature; into all which the Council of Justice caused the strictest Inquisition to be made, and took care to be furnished with

every kind of Proof. In fine, after abundance of Examinations and Interlocutories, he freely confessed, that he had caused nineteen innocent Persons to be most cruelly put to Death; adding farther, that as he had, to keep up a Shew of Justice, put them all to the Torture, so, by the Severity of this Proceeding, he had extorted from every one of them a Confession of Crimes, none of which, had ever so much as entered into their Heads. Such flagrant Offences certainly deserved the severest Punishment the Laws could inflict! The Sentence passed upon him was to this Effect: That he should be broken alive upon the Wheel, his Body immediately quartered, and those Quarters being burnt on a Pile of Wood, the Ashes to be put in a Cask, and thrown into the Sea, as unworthy of any other Interment: Which Sentence, without the least Mitigation, was put in Execution within a few Days after it was pronounced. Such was the deserved End of the Traitor and Tyrant *Vuiss*; but, sure, the Reader will be astonished to hear, that the next Instance to be produced of a like, and perhaps of a worse Conduct, is that of his Successor *Versluys*, who was sent expressly to amend what the other had done amiss, and to make the People forget, by a mild and gentle Administration, the Excess committed by his Predecessor.

This Man had by no means the Cruelty of *Vuiss*, and therefore shed no Blood, strictly speaking; but he acted as despotically and tyrannically as the other, though with much more Subtily, and under a fairer Appearance. The great Point he aimed at, was not the absolute Possession of the Country, but the Possession of all that was valuable in it. As soon as ever he was settled in it, he raised the Price of Rice, which is the Bread of that Country, to such an extravagant Height, that, in a very short time, the People were not able to purchase it, so that they were by Degrees reduced to Beggary and Starving. Their humble Representations of the great and general Misery which reigned among all Ranks of People throughout the whole Island, made no manner of Impression upon him; but all things went on from bad to worse, till an Account of his Conduct was sent over to *Holland*. The States General were no sooner informed of the Distress the Inhabitants of *Ceylon* were in, than they immediately appointed a new Governor, one Mr. *Doemburg*, and gave him particular Instructions to repair all Errors, and to treat the Subjects of the *East India* Company with all the Tenderness and Indulgence possible, that they might be convinced, their Grievances proceeded from the Wickedness of particular Men, and not from any Disposition in their Sovereigns to Oppression.

On the Arrival of Mr. *Doemburg*, Things took a new and unexpected Turn; for *Versluys*, after begging the whole Nation, took it into his Head, that in words defend him against his Masters, and therefore absolutely refused to surrender the Government; and had even the Insolence to fire upon the Company's Ships, as they sought Anchor in the Road of *Colombo*. But as this happened just when Mr. *Doemburg* landed; his Authority was immediately acknowledged by all in the Company's Service, and by the People. He instantly caused *Versluys* to be arrested, and sent Prisoner to *Batavia*, where a criminal Prosecution was carried on against him, till an indifferent Success; for he had taken care to cover himself so effectually, that it was found almost impossible to find other than circumstantial Proofs: At last, he thought proper to lay down a very large Sum of Money, which was to attend the Event of the Suit; and he was let a Liberty that he might be the better able to defend himself in the Affair; but, at the Time he wrote his Book, he had not new Disturbances and Complaints in *Ceylon*, of which Country he has given us the following Description.

Of all the *Asiatic* Islands, *Ceylon*'s perhaps the most fertile and most fruitful: It lies to the South east of the *Island* of *India*, beyond the *Ganges*, and separated from the *Coasts* of *Ceromandel* by the Straights of *Malabar*. Its Situation is between 6° and 16° of North Latitude, and 121° and 123° of Longitude, so that it contains about fifty-five Leagues in Length from North to South, and thirty from East to West. It is a goodly

delicious, that many call it a Paradise; generally believe it to be the Garden of Eden, which was the first Place where Adam was created, and where he lived with his Wife before he fell from his Foot, on the Mountain of *Sion*. It is one of the highest of the other Mountain of the Island, the ascent was caused by Years weeping for the Tomb, the People more certain, than in it: Thus they think, which, however, Travellers have seen in a manner of Purpose declared themselves as oriental Critics as infer that we ought to be of the Language of Mankind, the Confusion of the are of opinion, that the five Vowels, a Name of the living five Vowels it is in any Language was *Malder*, who was his great Learning, Science, and that it Languages might be ters. It is also certain this Key to all *United Provinces*, doubtedly, it he advantage in respect to tions; but this is a tedious Length, it could be done in buried with him.

I have attentively says our Author; a decyphered, in the *Roman* Inscriptions, and the Key, of Mr. able to discover it appear, that this is the first Parent; and, who was interested that Paradise was the Ground; for we *Adam* and *Eve* out there, could not less we should say, first, or little could such as *Musler*, a *Eve*, after their Fall of *Damascus*: They two Leagues from his Brother *Abel*, 10 Flood; when Name perpetuate the Memory God had to *Cain*, I was me from the *Grave* thy Brother's wellers to oriental Itineraries, that *Abel* *Gaba*; and that, being rent, there was Skull of our first of that Sentiment, out of Paradise, *Jerusalem*; and that *San* *Golgotha*, where that, for this Reason, called *Calvary*: But to me to be ill-tou and broken to Pieces must necessarily support it was placed, seems to me, there Vol. I.

delicious, that many have believed it the Seat of the terrestrial Paradise; and it is certain, that the Inhabitants generally believe this, which they pretend to prove, by shewing, at this Day, the Tomb of *Adam*, and the Print of his Foot, on the Mountain called the *Pike of Adam*, which is one of the highest Mountains in all the *Indies*. On another Mountain there is a salt Lake, which the Inhabitants affirm was caused by the Tears shed by *Eve* in her hundred Years weeping for the Death of *Abel*. With regard to the Tomb, the People of *Ceylon* are sure, that there is nothing more certain, than that the Father of Mankind lies interred in it: That they think is put out of Dispute by the Epitaph, which, however, nobody can read. Abundance of curious Travellers have seen and copied the Letters, but to no manner of Purpose; for the Learned, in all Nations, have declared themselves at a Loss for the Sense of it, and the oriental Critics as much as the rest: Whence our Author infers that we ought to suppose it written in the primitive Language of Mankind, spoken all the World over, before the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*. Some learned Men are of opinion, that this primitive Language consisted in the five Vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*, in which is contained the Name of the living God, *viz I E O Y A*, and of which five Vowels it is impossible to compose any other Word, in any Language whatever. It is said, that the late Mr. *Muller*, who was Provost of *Stettin*, and justly famous for his great Learning, was very well versed in this sort of Science, and that it was his Opinion, the Mysteries of all Languages might be discovered by the Help of these Letters. It is also certain, that Mr. *Muller* offered to discover this Key to all Languages to the States-General of the *United Provinces*, for a certain Sum of Money. Undoubtedly, if we had this Key, it would be of great Advantage in respect to our Commerce with the Eastern Nations; but this Affair of the Purchase being drawn out to a tedious Length, that great Man died before any thing could be done in it, and so this important Secret was buried with him.

I have attentively considered the Epitaph in Question, says our Author; and it seems to me, that it ought to be deciphered, in the same manner that is used in reading *Roman Inscriptions*. If I had, continues he, the Science, and the Key, of Mr. *Muller*, I flatter myself, that I should be able to discover the Sense of it. It does not, however, appear, that this Epitaph has any Relation whatever to our first Parent; and, if it was made for any other Person who was interred there, the Opinion of those, who hold that Paradise was seated in this Island, falls of itself to the Ground; for we know, that the Angel of God drove *Adam* and *Eve* out of Paradise after their Fall. *Adam*, therefore, could not possibly die, or be buried, there, unless we should say, that Paradise was no more than a District, or little Country, in this Island. Some Historians, such as *Mausler*, and others, assure us, that *Adam* and *Eve*, after their Fall, went to dwell in the Neighbourhood of *Damascus*: They shew, to this Day, at the Distance of two Leagues from that City, the Place where *Cain* slew his Brother *Abel*. *Damascus*, say they, signifies a Place of Blood; which Name was given to this Country to perpetuate the Memory of this first Murder, agreeable to what God said to *Cain*, *The Voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth unto me from the Ground, whub bath opened her Mouth to receive thy Brother's Blood from thy Hand*. Most Travellers to oriental Countries have remarked, in their Itineraries, that *Adam* was buried in the Mountain of *Golgatha*; and that, on the Passion of our Lord, the Rocks being rent, there was found in the Chills of them the Skull of our first Parent. *Epiphanius* seems to have been of that Sentiment, when he says, that *Adam*, being driven out of Paradise, went to live in the Neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*; and that dying there, he was buried in the Mountain *Golgatha*, where his Skull was afterwards found; and that, for this Reason, the Mountain was in succeeding Times called *Calvary*: But this Opinion, says our Author, appears to me to be ill-founded; for the Earth being overturned, and broken to Pieces, in most Parts, by the Deluge, we must necessarily suppose, that the Tomb of *Adam*, wherever it was placed, could not retain its first Situation. It seems to me, therefore, continues he, that the Epitaph

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found in the Island of *Ceylon* regards *Noah*, or some of his Family, who established their Dominion in this Island, and who, for that Reason, by a Figure natural enough in any oriental Language, might be styled the Father of mankind.

This Island was discovered in the Year 1509, by *Jaques Lopes de Siguaire*. The principal Places therein are *Jasnapatam*, *Trinkenemall*, *Materalo*, *Punta de Galo*, *Columbo*, *Nijombo*, *Sciavaca*, and *Candy*. The *East India* Company are possessed of the whole Coasts of the Island, and ten or twelve Leagues within Land, and of most of the Towns before-mentioned. The *Portuguese*, who were formerly established here, had built abundance of Forts for their own Security, so that it was a very difficult Matter to dislodge them; but, when once the *Dutch* had contracted a secret Alliance with the King of *Candy*, who was Sovereign of the Island, they suddenly found themselves attacked on all Sides, by Land, and by Sea, and were by *Jegrees* driven totally out of all their Possessions: As the *Dutch* have ever since taken a great deal of Pains to keep up a good Correspondence with that Monarch, they have obtained from him almost whatever they demanded. The Company send every Year an Embassador to him with various Presents; in Return for which, his Majesty sends the Company a Cabinet of Jewels, of so great a Value, that the Vessel which carries it home, is looked upon to be worth half the Fleet. The Governor-General takes care himself to have it so packed up among the rest of the Merchandize, that not only none of the Ship's Company, but even the Captain of the Vessel that carries it, knows not whether it be on board his Ship or no; which shews not only the immense Wealth the Company draws from her Dominions in the *Indies*, but the wise and prudent Measures the employs to secure the Riches she obtains.

The two principal Places in this Island are, *Punta de Galo*, and *Columbo*. This last Place is the Residence of the Governor, and his Council; and the other is properly no more than the Port of that City. The Air of *Ceylon*, though very hot, is, notwithstanding, esteemed to be very wholesome. The Country abounds with most excellent Fruits of all Kinds. They have likewise great Plenty of River and Sea-fish of various Sorts; Fowls, wild and tame; as also Animals, particularly Elephants, much larger than in any other Country of the *Indies*, Tygers, Bears, Civet-cats, Apes, &c. But that for which the Island is most famous, is its Cinnamon, which is esteemed by far the best in all *Asia*. The *East India* Company have at present the Monopoly of that, as well as all other Spices, and furnish therewith all other Parts of the World.

Cinnamon is, properly speaking, the inner Bark of a Tree, which resembles an Orange; the Flowers of which differ but little from those of the Laurel-tree in their Size and Figure. There are three Sorts of Cinnamon; the finest, which is taken from young Trees; a coarser Sort, taken from the old ones; and wild Cinnamon, which grows not only here, but in *Malabar*, *Cbina*, and, of late Years, in *Brazil*. The Company likewise drives a great Trade in the Oil which is drawn from this Spice, and which is of very great Value. The Company gains also very considerably by the precious Stones that are found in this Island, which are Rubies, Sapphires white and blue, Topazes, &c.

There is likewise established on the Coast of the Island *Manar*, and *Lockecorin*, a fine Pearl-fishery, which brings in a prodigious Profit. This is let twice a Year to Farm to certain Negro Merchants. The Oysters in which the Pearls are found, lie at the Bottom of the Sea. This Fishery is carried on only in fair Weather, and when the Sea is extremely calm. The Diver has a Cord which passes under his Arms, and is fastened to the Boat; he has a large Stone fixed to his Feet, that he may descend the quicker, and a Sack or Bag about his Waist, into which he puts his Oysters as fast as he finds them. As soon as he is at the Bottom of the Sea, he takes up as many as lie within his Reach, and puts them into his Bag as fast as possible. In order to ascend, he pulls strongly a different Cord from that which is tied about his Body, upon which Signal, those left in the Boat draw him up as fast as they can, while he endeavours to rid himself of the Stone at

his Feet, that he may rise the faster. When these Boats are full of Oysters, the Negro Merchants carry them all over the Coasts, and sell them at so much an Hundred. This kind of Trade is very hazardous for those who purchase the Oysters, since sometimes they find Pearls of great Price, and sometimes none at all, or those that are but of little Value.

The Company draws also a considerable Profit from the Manufactures of Mullin, Chintz, and other Cloths: Yet the greatest Part of the Mullins sent into Europe come from the Coast of Malabar. The Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon are called *Cingolefians*. They are, generally speaking, very tall, of a very dark Complexion, their Ears excessively large; which is owing to the Ornaments they wear in them, that are very large, and very heavy. They are Men of great Courage, live very hard, and therefore make good Soldiers. They are, generally speaking, of the *Mohammedan* Religion; but there are also amongst them Idolaters, who worship Cows and Calves. They do not pay great Respect to the *Dutch*; but treat them rather with Contempt, and scornfully stile them their *Coast-keepers*. But the *Dutch* do not trouble themselves much about this, but, like good Politicians, take all the Care in the World to keep up a perfect Correspondence with the King of Candy, that he may never be tempted to quarrel with, and resolve them his Alliance; which would effectually destroy the most valuable Part of their Commerce. This, however, his Majesty might do, if he thought fit, without being under any great Apprehensions from their Power, since his Dominions are separated from theirs by a large rapid River, and by Forests so thick, that it is simply impossible to penetrate them. The Inhabitants of this Island are particularly remarkable for their great Skill in taming Elephants, which they use as Beasts of Burden in time of Peace, and, in time of War, make them very serviceable against their Enemies.

The second Government the Company has to bestow, is that of *Amboyna*, one of the *Moluccas*. This Island was formerly the Seat of the Governor General, before the building of *Batavia*, and was transferred to that City, on account of its advantageous Situation, in the midst of all the Company's Settlements; whereas *Amboyna* lay too far to the East. Besides, the Island of *Java* was infinitely more fertile than *Amboyna* in all Things necessary for Life; so that there was no Necessity of searching for Provisions in other Places, which is a thing they were obliged to do, while the Government General remained fixed at *Amboyna*. This Island, however, is one of the biggest of the *Moluccas*. It is situated in the Archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, between the third and fourth Degree of South Latitude, and 147° of Longitude from the *Canary Islands*, and distant 120 Leagues to the Eastward of *Batavia*. This Island was conquered by the *Portuguese* in 1519; and they built a Fort there, not only to baffle the Inhabitants, but with a View to keep such a Force, as might subvert all the adjacent Islands. This Fort, however, was taken from them by the *Dutch* in 1605, but they did not render themselves entirely Masters of *Amboyna*, and the adjacent Countries, till the Year 1637.

This Conquest put the Clove-trade wholly into their Hands, not only with out a Partner, but without a Competitor also. These Islands are stiled the *Gold Mine* of the Company; and indeed they have proved, if we consider how vast a Profit they draw from them, and how little Fear there is of their being ever exhausted. To convince the Reader of this, we need only observe, that a Pound Weight of Nutmegs, or of Cloves, costs the Company, in Fact, not much above an Halfpenny; and every body knows at what Rate they are sold in Europe. This Island of *Amboyna* is the Centre of all this rich Commerce; and, to keep it more effectually in her Hands, the Company takes care to have all the Clove trees in the adjacent Islands grubbed up, and destroyed; and sometimes, when the Harvest is very large in *Amboyna*, Part of the same is burnt likewise. A few Days after the Fruit is fallen from the Tree, they collect the Cloves together, and dry them before the Fire on Hurdles; by which means they lose the beautiful red Colour they derive from Nature, and change into a deep purple, or rather black; which is, perhaps, occasioned by their being sprinkled with Water. It is pretended, that this Sprinkling

is necessary to hinder the Worm from getting into the Fruit, but it is thought, a better Reason may be assigned for it, which is, the adding Weight to the Cloves.

It is at least certain, that such as are sent for this Commodity in the Company's Ships, practise a Fraud of that Nature, in order to conceal their Thefts; for, having taken out a certain Quantity of Cloves when first received on board, they place two or three Hogheads of Salt-water amongst them, which, in the Space of a few Days, is drawn in, and sucked up, by the Cloves; so that, upon opening of the Hogheads, they are found quite empty, while the Vessels that contain the Cloves, have recovered their former Weight. By this Contrivance, a Captain of a Ship, and a Merchant or Supercargo, agreeing together, find a Way to cheat the Company of this rich Merchandize with great Facility. However, this Practice, tho' easy and expeditious, is withal extremely dangerous; for as the Company never wants Spies, so, whenever a Man is detected in a Fraud of this Sort, it infallibly costs him his Life: Of which there are abundance of Instances; inasmuch that it has given Occasion to call the Cloves by the Name of *Galgenkruid*, i. e. the Gallows-Spice; that is to say, the Spice that brings a Man to an ill End. The least private Trade in Cloves is looked upon as so flagrant a Contraband, that the Company will rather spare a Man who has broken all the Ten Commandments, than one who has cheated them of five Pounds of Cloves.

Of this I will give the Reader, says our Author, two Instances, that fell within the Compass of my Knowledge. There was a certain Provost, or Executioner, whose Name I have forgot, but his Christian Name was *Joachim*, and he was a Native of *Lubeck*, who, out of Malice, that a Neighbour of his through the Head. There was, at the same time, a *German* Apothecary, whose Name was *Gunter*, who dealt in aromatic Oils, and had found a Way to cheat the Company of a Parcel of Cloves; they were both condemned at the same time, *Joachim* to be shot, and poor *Gunter* to be hanged. In pursuance of their Sentences, they came together to the Place of Execution; and after the usual Time allowed for Prayers was over, Mr. *Gunter* was fairly trusted up, and *Joachim*, who was upon his Knees, expecting the Bullet, had his Eyes unbound, and was sent home in one of the Company's Ships. The last time, continues he, that I was in the *Indies*, there was less than twenty People at a time taken up for trials of this kind. I cannot tell, says he, what became of many; but this I am very clear in, that if there was as just a Providence against them as against the Apothecary, they certainly met with his Fate; nor would they have been dead, if there had been twice the Number.

The King of *Amboyna* receives an annual Pension from the Company, and has, besides, a Guard of *European* Soldiers maintained at his Expence. The Inhabitants of this Island are of a middle Stature, and of a very black Complexion. They are all of them very lazy, and have most of them a strong Propensity to Thieving; some of them, who are very ingenious, have a singular Art of working up the Cloves, while they are green, into abundance of various Toys, such as Ships, Crowns, little Houses, &c. which are usually sent home to Europe as Presents, and are esteemed of great Value. Such of the *Amboynians* as are subject to the King, profess the *Mohammedan* Religion; but there are, besides these, a great Number of Idolaters in the Island, who live in the Mountains, and acknowledge no Master. They consider themselves as free; but the King and the Company look upon them as Savages, and as they are frequently guilty of Robberies and Murders, whenever there is any of them caught, they are condemned to perpetual Slavery, employed in the hardest kind of Work and are treated with the utmost Rigour. There is, on this account, an Hatred not to be expressed between them and the rest of the People of the Island, with whom they are in perpetual War, and to whom they very rarely give any Quarter. Their Arms are a Sword, a Bow, and a kind of Pike or Javelin.

As to the Force which the Company has in *Amboyna*, it consists principally in the Garrison they have in that Fort, which is very numerous, composed of three Regiments, kept constantly in excellent Order. The best of

is so strong from Nature, impregnable; and so that it is simply out without being taken. The Governor should give no more than to richly imagine, that to richly might be a sufficient Reason is about this Island; every thing to the use they have caused Collected like to turn to great of Mr. *Barnard*, however a Commodity more valuable through his Vigilance, the Mountains there would be washed down by it is said, he pursued with the Mine; so that the continually growing, know how to make without doubt, if the Sugar, Gold and Diamonds, they would not have to the *Portuguese*, who much Riches from the done, had it been contrary to the Thing there Wealth than what arose woods, they preferred to cause there they were full Time, perhaps, the *Indies* to *Terra Australis Incognita* scarce thought worth mentioning, when Accidents People are at present in Discovery of it prosecuted the good old Principle of a Country should have one Thing more to be taken; and that is, a recollection of this Island, which, besides exceedingly firm and durable, is naturally of a beautiful Figure, Tables, Cabinets, &c. of which Presents are not Government, and the extravagant Rate; to the whole; I have already in the third Government of the Island of *Banda*, situated to the South of the generally speaking, an eminent which is the Capital of the jurisdiction, several Regiments; The settled on the same Foot with the Representations sent to the *East India Company*, expensive to the Company, that it is so thinly of their Goods; and require great Supplies of Artifice; though *Banda* of *Amboyna*, as not so Circumference, yet it to the Company. This arises from the which grow there in suitable the *Dutch* to supply for which produces thick like a Pear-tree, but its best that they are fine, pretty much of the same with two Skins or Shells the Thickness of a Finger Fruit tips. When it The second is of a red On the Opening of the

is so strong from Art and Nature, that it is, in a manner, impregnable; and so effectually commands the Harbour, that it is simply impossible for a Vessel to go in or out without being sunk by the Cannon of the Fort, if the Governor should give Orders for that Purpose. One would imagine, that to rich a Commerce, as that of Cloves, might be a sufficient Return for the Expence the Company is at about this Island: But such is their Care to improve every thing to the utmost Advantage, that, of late Years, they have caused Coffee to be planted in *Ambony*, which is like to turn to great Account. Under the Government of Mr. *Barnard*, however, there was a Discovery made of a Commodity more valuable than Coffee or Cloves; for, through his Vigilance, it was found out, that in some of the Mountains there were considerable Quantities of Gold-dust washed down by the Torrents; and this Discovery, as he said, he pursued with such Success, as at last to find out the Mine; so that the Wealth of these *Indian* Countries is continually growing, when in the Hands of those who know how to make the best Use of every thing; and, without doubt, if the *Dutch* had suspected, that, besides Sugar, Gold and Diamonds might have been found in *Banda*, they would not have so easily parted with that Country to the *Portuguese*, who yet, perhaps, do not draw near so much Riches from thence, as the *Hollanders* would have done, had it been continued in their Possession.

But as the Thing then stood, and they knew of no other Wealth than what arose from Sugar, Tobacco, and Dying-woods, they preferred the Trade on the Coast of *Gua*, because there they were sure to meet with Gold. In Process of Time, perhaps, the same Thing may happen with regard to *Terra Australis Incognita*: For though, at present, it is scarce thought worth minding or discovering more perfectly, hereafter, when Accident shews it to be richer than People are at present inclined to believe it, we shall see the Discovery of it prosecuted with the utmost Diligence, upon the good old Principle of, Who could have imagined to find a Country should have been so long neglected? There is one Thing more to be taken notice of, before we leave *Ambony*; and that is, a red kind of Wood, which is found in this Island, which, beside the Beauty of its Colour, is exceedingly firm and durable; and, which is still more extraordinary, is naturally embellished in its Grain with abundance of beautiful Figures. With this Wood they make Tables, Cabinets, Elicitoires, and other Pieces of Furniture, of which Presents are made to the principal Persons of the Government, and the rest sold all over the *Indies* at a very extravagant Rate; so that this Article is to be added to those we have already mention'd of the Riches of *Ambony*.

The third Government of the *Indies* is that of the Island of *Banda*, situated twenty Leagues from *Ambony*, and to the South of the *Moluccas*. The Governor is, generally speaking, an eminent Merchant, who resides at *Nera*, which is the Capital of the Country; and he has, under his jurisdiction, several other small Islands that lie in this Neighbourhood: The Council of this Government is settled on the same Foot with that of *Ambony*. In some of the Representations sent home to, and published by, the *East India* Company, this Island is set forth as a Place very expensive to the Company; and it is particularly remarkable, that it is so thinly inhabited, as to take off very little of their Goods; and, at the same time, so barren, as to require great Supplies of Provisions: But all this is pure Abuse; though *Banda* is a very small Island, in Comparison of *Ambony*, as not containing above twelve Leagues in Circumference, yet it certainly produces as great Profits to the Company.

This arises from the important Commerce in Nutmegs, which grow there in such prodigious Quantities, as to enable the *Dutch* to supply all the Markets in *Europe*. The Tree which produces this excellent Fruit, very much resembles a Pear-tree, but its Leaves are like that of a Peach, except that they are smaller. The Nutmeg, when ripe, is pretty much of the same Size as a Walnut, and is covered with two Skins or Shells; the first is very tough, and of the Thickness of a Finger, which falls off of itself, as the Fruit ripens. When it is candied, it has a very fine Taste. The second is of a red Colour, and has a very fine Smell: On the Opening of this, the Fruit appears with a little

Flower at the Top, which is very beautiful. They gather the Nuts, and dry them; but, in the first Place, they are thrown into Quick-lime; for otherwise Worms would breed in and destroy them. There are several Islands in the Neighbourhood of *Banda*, in which Nutmegs would grow, if the Company did not take care to have them destroyed every Year, which, at first Sight, may seem somewhat extraordinary; since one would imagine, that their being thoroughly rooted out once, might prevent their growing again: But this Difficulty is easily solved, when it is known, that the Birds carry them annually into all these Islands; whence the *Dutch* stile them, properly enough, the Gardeners of the Spice-trees.

It is not agreed how this is performed by the Birds, tho' all Travellers allow, that it is performed by them. Mr. *Tavernier* tells us, that the Nutmeg being ripe, several Birds come from the Islands towards the South, and devour it whole, but are forced to throw it up again, before it be digested: That the Nutmeg then, besmeared with a viscid Matter, falling to the Ground, takes Root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive, if it was otherwise planted. Mr. *Thevenot* again informs us, that the Tree is produced after this manner: There are, says he, a kind of Birds in the Island, that, having picked off the green Husk, swallow the Nuts, which, having been some time in their Stomach, they void by the ordinary way, and they fail not to take Root in the Place where they fall, and in time grow up to a Tree. This Bird is shaped like a Cuckoo, and the *Dutch* prohibit their Subjects, under Pain of Death, to kill any of them.

There are, among the Inhabitants of this Island, a sort of tree Burgesses, who are called *Perkiniers*; and these People have the sole curing of the Nutmegs, which they furnish to the Company in what Quantities they think proper to demand, for which they receive a very moderate Gratification, and yet live much at their Ease. There grows here, as well as at *Ambony*, a sort of Tree called *Calputie*, from whence they draw a very rich and salutary Oil, which is sold at a very high Price. The Island of *Banda* is so well fortified, that it is thought to be impregnable; yet, to prevent any Accident that might happen, in case an Enemy should get into the Port under *Dutch* Colours, there is always a large Squadron of small Vessels plying round the Coast, which, upon the first Appearance of a strange Ship, immediately surrounds her, and examines whence she comes, whether bound, and of what Strength.

The Garrison is numerous, but in a much worse Condition than any other in the Company's Service, which arises from the Want of Victuals, the Island being of a barren, sandy Soil, producing very little Food of any sort, which is the Reason that the Soldiers eat Cats, Dogs, and any other Animals that come to hand. The rest of their Provisions is the Tortoise, of which they have a reasonable Plenty for about six Months in the Year; and, after this, they think themselves very happy, if they are now-and-then able to get a little sorry Fish: They make their Bread of the Juice of a Tree, which resembles, when first drawn, the Grounds of Beer; but, when dried, it grows as hard as a Stone; yet, when put into water, it swells and ferments, and so becomes fit to eat, that is, in a Country where there is nothing else to be got. As for Butter, Rice, dried Fish, and other Eatables, they are all sent thither from *Batavia*, and come much too dear for the Soldiers to have any great Plenty of them. To speak the Truth, as the Inhabitants are none of the happiest, so, to do them but Justice, they may be said to live full as well as they deserve, since there is not, and perhaps there never was, an honest Man upon the Island.

The Natives were such a Race of cruel, perfidious, and intractable People, at least as the *Dutch* say, that the Company was forced to root them out for their own Security, at least in a great measure, and to send a *Dutch* Colony into the Island; but then it is such a Colony, as hath not much mended the Matter, being compos'd intirely of a raceably good for-nothing People, that, not being able to live any-where else, were content to come, or otherwise were sentenced to be sent, to starve here. The best of it is, that their Misery is of no long Date; for in a very short time, they are carried off by the Dry-gripes, or

Twisting of the Guts, which is the epidemic Distemper of the Country. It is for this reason, and because young Fellows that are wild, are sometimes sent thither by their Relations, that the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, generally speaking, call *Banda* The Island of Correction. The only People who live tolerable there are the Negroes, who were settled in it before the *Dutch* Conquest, and have lived there quietly ever since.

33. The Island of *Celebes*, or *Macassar*, is considered as the fourth Government in the *East India* Company's Disposal. It lies between *Borneo* and the *Moluccas*, at the Distance of about 100 Leagues from *Batavia*: Its Form is in a manner circular, and its Diameter about 130 Leagues. It is called, and with great Reason, the Key of the Spice Islands. At the Time our Author was there, Mr. *Arweng* was sent thither Governor, for the second time, to his Misfortune, for in a Fortnight after he arrived, he was poisoned in a Dish of Coffee, which Act of Villany was supposed to be committed by one of his Slaves. The Form of Government here is pretty much the same as in the other Islands. Since the Time the *Dutch* drove the *Portuguese* out of these Islands, they have taken care to fortify themselves effectually on the Sea-coast, and have always a very numerous Garrison in the Fort of *Macassar*, where the Governor resides; which is to much the more necessary, because this Island is very populous, and the People are, beyond Comparison, the bravest and best Soldiers in the *East Indies*. This Nation for a long time gave the *Dutch* inexprellible Trouble, and rendered their Commerce very precarious: Yet, at last, they were totally subdued, and the Island at present as much in Fear of the Company as any other Nation: The Expence, however, of maintaining the Troops that are here, and the other Charges of the Government, are so large, that, till very lately, the Company were no great Gainers by their Conquests, though the Slave-trade is there very beneficial.

The Reason that the Company laid out such large Sums, and took so much Pains to possess themselves of this Island, was in order to render it a Bulwark to the *Moluccas*: For before the last War of *Macassar*, which ended in the complete Ruin of the Power of the Prince of that Country, he found Means to procure great Quantities of Mace, Nutmegs, and Cloves, which he sold to the *English*, and other Nations, at a much more reasonable Rate than the *Dutch* Company; and therefore they ought, in good Policy, to have supported him. The Island is very fruitful, especially in Rice, which is a Commodity of great Value in the *Indies*. The Inhabitants are of a middle Stature, of a yellow Complexion, but of good Features, and are extremely brisk and active. They are naturally Thieves, Traitors, and Murderers; and that to such a Degree, that it is not safe for any Christian to venture, after it is dark, without the Wall of the *Dutch* Forts, or to travel at any time far into the Country, for fear of being robbed and murdered, than which nothing is more common. Yet there live, under the Protection of the *Dutch* Forts, abundance of the Natives, who are free Burgesses, and carry on a considerable Trade; as do also the *Chinese*, who sail from hence in their own Vessels into all Parts of the Company's Dominions, deriving immense Wealth from their extensive Commerce.

The inland Country is under the Dominion of three different Princes, who, very happily for the *Dutch*, live in a constant bad Intelligence with each other; and, if it were not for this, they might at any time drive the *Dutch* out of the Island. One of these Princes is also styled the Company's King, because he lives in a good Correspondence with them, and promotes their Interest as far as lies in his Power. They make him, from time to time, Presents of Gold Chains, Coronets of Gold set with precious Stones, and other like Things of Value, in order to keep him steady to his Alliance, and prevent his coming to a good Understanding with the other two Monarchs, which might be attended with Consequences very fatal to their Power and Commerce. Some little time before our Author's Arrival at *Batavia*, there happened an extraordinary Event, which, it was thought, would give a great Turn to the

Company's Affairs; and this was the Discovery of a rich Gold Mine, which was conceived to be of great Consequence, that not only a great Number of Workmen, but a Director, was also sent from *Batavia* to carry on the Work there: But how far this has been attended with Success, our Author was not able to say, and perhaps it is a Secret that never will be known in its full Extent; since it is a Maxim with the *Dutch East India* Company, never to boast of her Power or Riches, but rather to lessen both in the Representations she makes from time to time to the States General: Which is a Caution very necessary to be known and remembered, in order to have a just Notion of those Accounts, which do not state the Affairs of the Company as they really are, but as they would have them understood to be, the better to intitle themselves to the Favour and Protection of the State.

The Island of *Ternate* is the fifth Government in the Company's Disposal, and is the most distant of all the Factories they have in the East; for which Reason they consider it as a kind of Frontier. The Governor is a Merchant, and has a Council, as other Governors have, to whom we have spoken before. This Island is one of the *Moluccas*, of a considerable Extent, and, as we observed before, the King of *Ternate* is the best Ally the Company have. His Country would abound with Cloves, if, at the Request of the Company, he did not cause them to be rooted out every Year, for which the Company pay him an annual Pension of 18 or 20,000 Rixdollars. He has a numerous Life-guard, a very strong Fort, in which there is a strong Garrison, maintained by the Company. The Kings of *Tidore* and *Baubian* are his Tributaries. He has concluded a perpetual Alliance with the Company, by which he has obliged himself to assist them against all their Enemies, which he performs very punctually; and, on the other hand, the Company treat him with the utmost Respect, and afford him whatever Assistance he stands in need of at any time. The Island in general is fruitful, abounding in all Sorts of Provisions, and whatever else a requisite to make Life easy and happy: Yet, after all, the Commerce of it is not very considerable. It is true, the Company dispose there of great Quantities of Cloths, and of such Goods as they receive from *Guinea*: But, notwithstanding this, the Tortoise-shell, and other Commodities, they receive in Return, hardly amounts to as much as is necessary to defray the Expences of the Government, so that there is a great Appearance, that the Factory in this Island will for the future turn to a better Account, because these Years ago there has been discovered there a Gold Mine, much richer than any in the *Moluccas*.

As to the Inhabitants, they are a middle-sized People, strong, active, and generally speaking, more courteous than any of their Neighbours, and much better affected to the *Europeans*. In point of Religion, they are most of them *Pagans*, or *Mohammedans*; and of late, indeed, a considerable number of them are become Christians, which is, perhaps, in some measure, owing to the King's declaring himself of that Religion, which, in the *East Indies*, and, perhaps, in some other Countries, is a Point of great Consequence towards the Conversion of the People. The Inhabitants of *Ternate* make a kind of Palm-wine, which is excellent; they call it *Sagececer*; a very small Quantity of it will intoxicate a Man, and, therefore, it is in high Esteem: There are likewise found here a kind of Bark, the most beautiful that can be seen; their Feathers are of all Sorts of Colours, and so finely diversified, that it is not possible to conceive any thing more charming; they are commonly sent to *Batavia*, where they sell at a very great Price, not only on account of their Rarity, and of their great Beauty, but of their Docility likewise, for they are taught to sing finely, and to imitate the human Voice. There are brought likewise from this Island abundance of the Birds of *Paradise*, of which we have spoken largely before; but it may not be amiss to add here somewhat to the different Kinds of these Birds. The first Sort are the common Birds of *Paradise*, of a yelow Colour, and their Bodies very small, commonly about eight Inches long, exclusive of the Tail, which is half a Yard, and sometimes

more. The second and the fourth the most beautiful, and the most common King-Heads they have, which they suffer to be in the same manner with a Bird entirely white, of a yellow Crown upon the forehead, at *Rantam*, or which was exquisite to the King.

The sixth Government of the *Indies*, is that of *Amboyna*, the Governor is always one has a Council to assist him, as the rest of that by the Company. *Saffre*, and is the *el Africa*. In the *quez de Gama*; and, the *Portuguese* by the the most important though it is certain, not comparable to the in the *East Indies*; Situation, the Revenue ing short of its Expence them to carry on they were not possessed of only at the Cape, for other Retirements, Voyages, which are as are eaten up with covered by the Help an abundance of all notwithstanding the by outward and hom any Scarcity arises; with the Succours that

Neither are the *R* fined to any particular here are Bees, Mutton short, whatever is a store, or to recruit the Men at Sea. In great Importance of that, in the Space of Ships touch there it cannot be less than bound Ships from the of a Year, than this usually 3000 Souls, likewise put in here, furnished them freely appear very surprising vast Quantities of eous Fleets must require enter the Port, received the Refresh continue there for always Ships in the *June*, and *July*, w of the North-west Violence during the

The seventh and which City is the *C* Name, the Inhabitant Governor here is a much the same with Kingdom of *Malaca* Isla of *India* beyond great Island of *Sima* of the *Streights* of Plate from the *P* themselves in the *B* large, and drives a excellent Situation, of gazette of all that *P*

more. The second Sort are the Red, the third the Blue, and the fourth the Black. These last are by far the most beautiful, and the most esteemed, inasmuch that they stile them commonly Kings of the Birds of *Paradise*. On their Heads they have generally a Crown, or Tuft of Feathers, which they suffer to lie flat, or raise it up at Pleasure, in the same manner with the *Cacocus of India*, which is a Bird entirely white, of the Size of an ordinary Pullet, with a yellow Crown upon its Head. I saw once, says our Author, at *Bantam*, one of these black Birds of *Paradise*, which was exquisitely beautiful, and which was a Present to the King.

The sixth Government bestowed by the Company in the *Indies*, is that of the Cape of *Good Hope*. The Governor is always one of the Counsellors of the *Indies*, and has a Council to assist him in the Administration of Affairs, as the rest of the Governors have, who are appointed by the Company. The Cape is situated on the Coast of *South Africa*, and is the most Southern Point of the Continent of *Africa*. In the Year 1498, it was discovered by *Vasquez de Gama*; and, in the Year 1653, it was taken from the *Portuguese* by the *Dutch*. It is justly esteemed one of the most important Places in the Hands of the Company; though it is certain, that the Profits they draw from it, are not comparable to those which arise from some of the Islands in the *East Indies*; and formerly Things were in a worse Situation, the Revenues arising from that Settlement, falling short of its Expence. Yet it would be impossible for them to carry on their Trade to the *East Indies*, if they were not possessed of this Place; because, at the Cape, and only at the Cape, they can meet with fresh Water, and other Refreshments, in their outward and homeward-bound Voyages, which are absolutely requisite, especially for such as are eaten up with the Scurvy, who seldom fail to be recovered by the Helps they meet with here. There is such an abundance of all sorts of Provisions at the Cape, that, notwithstanding the vast annual Demand for them, both by outward and homeward-bound Ships, yet there is never any Scarcity arises; but all Ships, that put in there, meet with the Succours they expect, at a moderate Rate.

Neither are the Refreshments met with at the Cape confined to any particular Sort, as in most other Places; for here are Beef, Mutton, Fowl, Fruit, Herbs, Wine, and, in short, whatever is requisite either to recover the Sick on shore, or to recruit the Ships Stores for the Maintenance of the Men at sea. In order to have a just Notion of the great Importance of this Place, it will be proper to observe, that, in the Space of a Year, at least forty outward-bound Ships touch there from *Holland* alone; and in these there cannot be less than 8 or 9000 People. The homeward-bound Ships from the *Indies* cannot be fewer, in the Space of a Year, than thirty-six; and on board these there are usually 3000 Souls, not to speak of foreign Vessels, that likewise put in here, and have also all kinds of Refreshments furnished them freely, and at reasonable Prices. This must appear very surprising, when one attentively considers what vast Quantities of every sort of Refreshments such numerous Fleets must require. But this is not all, these Ships do not enter the Port, and sail again directly when they have received the Refreshments of which they stood in need, but continue there for some time; inasmuch that there are always Ships in the Road, except in the Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, when the Road is dangerous, on account of the North-west Wind, which blows with the utmost Violence during these three Months.

The seventh and last Government is that of *Malacca*, which City is the Capital of a small Kingdom of the same Name, the Inhabitants of which are called *Malayans*. The Governor here is a Merchant, and the Establishment pretty much the same with those in the other Governments. The Kingdom of *Malacca* makes the South Part of the Peninsula of *India* beyond the *Ganges*, and is divided from the great Island of *Sumatra* by a Streight, which bears the Name of the *Streights of Malacca*. The *Dutch* conquered this Place from the *Portuguese* in 1641, and have maintained themselves in the Possession of it ever since. The City is large, and drives a great Trade, in consequence of its excellent Situation, which renders it the Store-house and Magazine of all that Part of *India*. It is likewise the Rendev-

vous of all the homeward-bound Ships from *Japan*, who here make a Distribution of their Merchandizes, and send them, in different Assortments, to all the Company's Settlements throughout the *Indies*. There is one great Inconveniency at *Malacca*, and that is, the Scarcity of Provisions; and even what is to be had consists only of different kinds of Fish.

The Princes, who govern the adjacent Countries, are, as well as their Subjects, most notorious Pirates, and disturb the Trade of the whole *Indies*. They are particularly Enemies to the Company, and lose no Opportunity of doing her Subjects all the Mischiefs in their Power. They have, however, met with several severe Checks from the *Portuguese*, who were formerly established here, as also from the *Dutch*, who have succeeded them, which, by degrees, has so broken their Power, that, at present, they are less able than ever to do Mischief. Our Author tells us, that, some Years before he wrote his Book, he had Orders to cruise in those Seas in a small Ship, mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon, in order to protect the Trade from Pirates. He had not been long in his Station, before he met with one of these Corsairs; but, before he could engage her, she was joined by two of her Consorts. This, however, did not hinder him from attacking them. They made an obstinate Resistance; so that the Fight continued for two Days, till, in the End, he sunk two of them, and the third escaped. On board one of these Vessels there were three Commanders, that were Brethren, who were taken up alive, and carried Prisoners to the *Dutch* Settlements, where they were adjudged to lose their Heads; which, being fixed on long Poles, were set up in *Chiroben* in the Island of *Java*, to terrify others from acting as they had done.

The Inhabitants of *Malacca* are of a very dark Complexion; but brisk, active People, and, withal, great Robbers and Thieves. Some of them are Idolaters; but, generally speaking, they are *Mohammedans*. It may not be amiss to add here the Manner in which the *Dutch* became Masters of this Place: They were informed, that great Disputes subsisted between them and the King of *Jobore*; from which they immediately conceived Hopes of reducing it. With this View, they fitted out for the *Streights of Malacca* from *Batavia* a strong Fleet, with a great Body of Land-forces on board; and at the same time struck up an Alliance with the King of *Jobore*, offensive and defensive, as long as the Sun and Moon gave Light to the World: On which, the King of *Jobore* assisted the *Dutch* with 20,000 Men, and laid Siege to the Fort by Land, while the *Dutch* distressed it by Sea; and yet, for all that the Fleet and Army could do, they could not have taken it by Force, but by reducing them by Famine; which would have taken up a great deal of Time: So what they could not effect by Force, they did by Fraud. They heard, that the *Portuguese* Governor was a sordid, avaricious Fellow, and much hated by the Garrison; so the *Dutch*, by secret Conveyances, tampered with him by Letters, promising him Mountains of Gold, if he would contribute towards their reducing the Fort. At length the Prize was set, and 80,000 Pieces of Eight were to be the Reward of his Treachery; and he was to be safely transported to *Batavia* in their Fleet, and be made a free Denizen there: So he sent secret Instructions to the *Dutch* to make an Attack on the East Side of the Fort, and he would act his Part; which was accordingly done. He then called a Council, and told them, he had a mind to circumvent the *Dutch*, by letting them come close to the Fort-walls, and then to fire briskly on them from all Quarters, and destroy them at once. So the *Dutch* made their Approaches without Molestation, and placed their Ladders. The Garrison sent Message after Message, to acquaint the Governor of the Danger they were in for want of Orders to fire, and fallly out on the *Dutch*, as was agreed in Council; but he delayed so long, till the *Dutch* got into the Fort, and drove the Guard from the East Gate; which they soon opened, to receive the rest of their Army, who, as soon as they were entered, gave Quarter to none that were in Arms; and, marching towards the Governor's House, where he thought himself secure by the Treaty, they forthwith dispatched him, to save the 80,000 Dollars.

McMahammedans, and some of them Christians; but, after all, that of *Mobammed* is the prevailing Religion. As for the Idolaters, they are split into abundance of Sects, some of which believe firmly in the Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls; and, for this Reason, they will not take away the Life of any living Creature, nor excepting Insects; insomuch that they dare not kill a Flea or a Fly. They even establish Hospitals for the worn-out Oxen, and old Cows, where they are fed and attended, till they die of Age and Diseases. These People are, in general, very industrious; but, withal, covetous, false, and perfidious to the last degree. They have one Custom amongst them, which is equally singular and barbarous; and that is, laying Ambuscades to entrap and make Slaves of each other; in which whenever they succeed, they sell the poor Captive to a foreign Merchant, and commonly at a very low Rate. They employ themselves, when they reside in Towns, in the Silk, Cotton, and Linen Manufactures; and, in the Country, they cultivate their Plantations with the utmost Diligence and Care: So that they annually transport prodigious Quantities of Grain from hence to *Batavia*.

The *Great Mogul* is one of the richest and most powerful Princes in the World, has always a numerous Army on Foot, and a most magnificent Court; the Directors of *Bengal* and *Surat* know perfectly well how to deal with him, and by making shewy Presents, to extract Diamonds and other precious Stones in Return. *Surat* is a Town of no great Antiquity, scarce one hundred Years old at this Day, but very large, and immensely rich. It is in Company about five Miles within the Walls, and the Number of Inhabitants are computed at 200,000. The *Moorish* and even the *Indian* Merchants are many of them prodigiously rich. The former addict themselves chiefly to the Diamond Trade, which is very precarious; for sometimes a small Stock produces an immense Fortune, whereas, at others, a Man wastes immense Sums without finding Stones of any great Value; for, at the Diamond-mines, they purchase so many Yards Square, at a certain Price, and pay the Slaves who dig and sift the Earth, and take whatever Stones are found in that Spot; which sometimes are of great Value, and sometimes are but small, and so few of them, as not to quit Coils: Other *Moorish* Merchants deal largely in foreign Trade; and, as the *Mogul* is a very easy Master, so there are some of them that arrive at prodigious Wealth, and carry on such a Commerce as can scarce be credited in *Europe*. About twenty Years ago there died a *Moorish* Merchant at *Surat*, who fitted out annually twenty Sail of Ships, from three to eight hundred Tons; the Cargoes of which ran from ten to twenty thousand Pounds, and he had always Goods in his Magazines equal in Value to what he sent abroad. The Customs of *Surat* amount every Year to upwards of 160,000 Pounds; and, as the Merchants pay there at a Medium three per Cent. the Value of the Goods amount to upwards of 5000,000 Pounds.

The fourth and last Factory under a Director is that at *Gambon*, or *Bandar Absji*, on the Coast of *Persia*. The Director is a principal Merchant, and has always a Council, and a Fiscal to assist him. As this City stands on the Gulph of *Basjora*, and is the only Port which the *Persian* Monarchs bath on the *Indian* Sea, it lies at a great Distance from *Batavia*, which is one Reason why this Direction is not so much sought as others: But there is another more potent Reason, which is this; that the Heat is greater there than in any other Place in the World, and the Air excessively unwholesome. To balance these Inconveniences, the Director of *Gambroon* has an Opportunity of making, in a short time, a vast Fortune; so that some who have been in that Direction four or five Years, have acquired such Estates, as rendered it unnecessary for them to concern themselves any farther in Commerce. There are several other *European* Nations settled there besides the *Dutch*; but they have by far the best Factory, and have fortified it to effectually, that though the Highlanders in its Neighbourhood, who are a Crew of bold and barbarous Robbers, have often attacked, yet they never could master it. The King of *Persia*, who reigned at the time our Author was there, came sometimes to *Gambroon*, and distinguished the *Dutch* from other Nations by the many Marks of his

Favour, and by granting them many Privileges: Some time before he had sent a Present to the *Dutch* Governor-General at *Batavia*, of a Gold Saddle, very richly wrought, and adorned with precious Stones, desiring, in Exchange, an *European* Habit for himself, and another for his Queen.

This City is but a disagreeable Place to live in, since, in *August*, it is so intolerably hot, that there is no bearing it; and, in the Winter, it is so very cold, that they not only wear *English* Cloth, but line it with Furs. They have here Black-cattle, Sheep, Goats, Fowl, and Fish, very good in their Kind, and tolerably cheap: They have likewise Grapes, Melons, and Mangoes, in the utmost Perfection: They have likewise excellent Wine, esteemed, by the best Judges, superior to that of all other Countries; and, as a Proof of this, it is asserted, that it will bear four times its Quantity of Water, and still preserve a very rich Flavour. The intestine Wars in *Persia* raged to such a Degree, when our Author was in the *Indies*, that it was thought requisite to leave a Ship constantly at *Gambroon*, to carry off the Factory, in case it was in Danger.

Another Inconveniency to the Commerce on that Coast, was the Multitude of Pirates swarming in those Seas, which were chiefly *European*, who, after running away with their Owners Ships, subsisted by robbing all other Nations. Amongst these, our Author informs us, was the *Hare*, a stout Ship sent from *Batavia* to *Persia*; the Crew of which mutinied in the Voyage, and forced their Officers to turn Pirates. These Fellows, after committing abundance of Ravages on this Coast, sailed for the *Red Sea*, where they attacked and plundered many of the *Arabian* Pirates; at last, finding themselves short of Provisions, and not daring to put into any Port, they resolved to return; but, finding themselves short of Water also, they resolved to supply themselves in a neighbouring Island: With this View they hoisted out the Shallop, into which most of the Rebels crowded: This gave an Opportunity to the Officers who were left on board, to resume their Authority; so that, making themselves once more Masters of the Ship, they cut the Cable, and brought her safely into the Harbour of *Gambroon*. By this means the Ship and Cargo was preserved to the *India* Company, or rather restored to them. Such of the Mutineers as were brought in, were hanged; and the Officers, who had given this convincing Proof of their Integrity, were nobly rewarded, and intrusted with the Care of the Ship back to *Batavia*, where she arrived safely.

In the Year 1701. the *Ballovches*, who had rebelled against the Schah, attempted, with a Body of 4000 Men, to make themselves Masters of the *English* and *Dutch* Factories at *Gambroon*; but were beat at both Places; but the *Dutch*, having a Warehouse at some Distance from their Factory, in which were Goods to the Value of 20,000 Pounds, it fell all into the Enemies Hands. A short time after this, the famous Rebel *Morwey*, made himself Master of *Spaban*, where he plundered both the *English* and *Dutch* Factories; taking from the former Goods to the Value of half a Million Sterling; and, from the latter, Effects to the Value of 200,000 Pounds. Having finished the Account of the Directories, we shall proceed next to the lesser Settlements.

35. As it is requisite to have a Subordination in Commands, the *East India* Company have thought fit to establish, in such Places as were not thought of Consequence enough to require either a Governor or a Director, another principal Officer, with the Title of Commander, or Chief. If the Person, vested with this Authority, be a Merchant, he is accountable for his Conduct to the civil Government; but, if a Captain, then he is under the military Establishment. A Commander, or Chief, hath pretty near the same Authority with a Governor, that is to say, in Conjunction with his Council, except in criminal Cases; for a Commander, or Chief, cannot execute any capital Judgment, till it has been reviewed and confirmed by the Council of *Batavia*. The Commander at the Port of *Cochin*, on the Coast of *Malabar*, was Captain *Julius de Golnitz*, a Native of *Mecklenburg*, at the time our Author was at the *Indies*, from whom he received great Civilities. *Malabar* was the first Country the *Portuguese* discovered in

the East Indies, and in which they fixed themselves: They were not able to do this without a great Effusion of Blood; nor were they many Years in Possession, before they were driven out by the Dutch. These last Conquerors found it a very difficult Matter to support themselves against the Natives, who attacked them with great Spirit, and had at first so much Success, that, if it had not been for the Courage and Conduct of Major John Bergman, they had infallibly been driven out of this Country, which, however, with much ado, he preserved.

The Coast of Malabar hath in Extent about an hundred and fifty Leagues, and is in Breadth about twenty. The Climate, though very warm, is very wholesome; the Soil also is fertile in Rice, Fruit, and all Sorts of Herbs. This Country is divided into abundance of small Principalities; among which, the following have the Title of Kingdoms; viz. Canaron, Calcut, Cranganor, Couchin, Calicutiung, Poracoulung, and Travankor. As the Capital of the Dutch Possessions in this Country is the City of Couchin, we shall particularly describe that little Kingdom. It reaches from Chitwa, about twenty-four Leagues to the Southward; and, on the Coast, is divided by the Rivulets that run from the Mountains of Gatti, into a Multitude of small Islands; and these Rivers have two great Mouths, or Outlets, one at Couchin, and the other at Cranganor. The first Europeans that settled in Couchin were the Portuguese, and they built a fine City on the River-side, about three Leagues from the Sea; but the Sea gaining on the Land yearly, it is not now above an hundred Paces from it. It stands to pleasantly, that the Portuguese had a common Saying, That China was a Country to get Money in, and Couchin was a Place to spend it in; for the great Numbers of Canals formed by the Rivers and Islands, made Fishing and Fowling very diverting, and the Mountains are well stored with wild Game. On the Inside of Baypin Island, there is an old Fort, built by the Portuguese, called Palliapore, to inspect all Boats that go between Cranganor and Couchin; and, five Leagues up the Rivulets, is a Romish Church, called Varapoli, served by French and Italian Priests; and, when a Bishop comes into those Parts, it is the Place of his Residence. The Padre, Superior of Varapoli, can raise upon Occasion 4000 Men, all Christians of the Church of Rome; but there are many more St. Thomas Christians, that do not communicate with those of Rome. About two Leagues farther up, towards the Mountains, on the Side of a small, but a deep River, is a Place called Firdaigo, where the Inhabitants of Couchin generally assemble to refresh themselves in the hot Months of April and May. The Banks and Bottom of the River are clean Sand, and the Water so clear, that a small Pebble-stone may be seen at the Bottom in three Fathom Water.

The Water of this Country, from the Sea Coast to Cranganor to St. Andreas, which is about twelve Leagues, has a very bad Quality of causing in the Drinkers of it twelled Legs; some it affects in one Leg, and some in both, so that their Legs are above a Yard about at the Ankle; it causes no Pain, but itching; nor does the thick Leg feel heavier than the small one, to those who have them. But the Dutch at Couchin, to prevent that Malady, sent Boats daily to Varapoli, to lade with small portable Casks of ten or twelve English Gallons, to serve the City. The Company's Servants have their Water free of Charges, but private Persons pay Sixpence per Cask, if it is brought to their Houses; and yet, for all that Precaution, there are both Dutch Men and Women troubled with that Malady, and no means has been yet found to heal or prevent it. The old Legends impute the Cause of these twelled Legs to a Curse St. Thomas laid upon his Murderers, and their Posterity, as the odious Mark they should be distinguished by. But St. Thomas was killed by the Tilingue Priests at Malliapore, on Coromandel, above 400 Miles distant from this Coast; and the Natives there have no Touch of this Malady.

Couchin is washed by the greatest Outlet on this Coast, and, being so near the Sea, makes it strong by Nature, but Art has not been wanting to strengthen it. The City built by the Portuguese was about a Mile and an half long, and a Mile broad. The Dutch took it from the Portuguese

about the Year 1662. when Heitloff van Gbonz was General of the Dutch Forces by Land, and Commodore of a Fleet by Sea. The Influence of the Portuguese had made several neighbouring Princes become their Enemies, who joined with the Dutch, to drive them out of their Neighbourhood; and the King of Couchin, particularly, assisted with 20,000 Men. The Dutch had not long invested the Town, before van Gbonz received Advice of a Peace concluded between Portugal and Holland; but that he kept a Secret to himself. He therefore, having made a Breach in the weakest Part of the Wall, proceeded to a furious Assault, for eight Days and Nights, without Intermittion, and relieved his Assaults every three Hours; but the Portuguese, keeping their Men continually fatigued, and on Duty all the while, and finding the City at last in Danger of being taken by Storm, capitulated, and delivered up the Place. In the Town there were 400 Topasses, who had done the Portuguese good Service, but were not comprehended in the Treaty: As soon as they knew of that Omission, and the Cruelty and Licentiousness of the Dutch Soldiery in India, they drew up on a Parade within the Port that the Portuguese were to go out at, and the Dutch entered in; and swore, that if they had not the same Favour and Indulgence that were granted to the Portuguese, they would massacre them all, and set Fire to the Town. The Dutch General knew his own Interest too well to deny what they desired; and offered, moreover, to take those, who had a mind to serve, into Dutch Pay, which many of them accepted. The very next Day after the Dutch had Possession, came a Frigate from Goa, with the Articles of Peace made with Holland; and the Portuguese complained loudly of the General's unfair Dealings; but were answered, that the Portuguese had acted the same Part towards the Dutch, at their taking Fernambuco in Brazil a few Years before. The English had then a Factory in Couchin, but the Dutch ordered them to remove, with their Effects, which they accordingly did, to their Factory at Penang.

As soon as the Dutch became Masters of the City, they thought it was too large; and so contracted it to what is now, being hardly One-tenth of what it was. It is about 600 Paces long, and 200 broad, fortified with seven large Batteries, and Curtains so thick, that two Rows of large Trees are planted on them for Shade in the hot Season. Some Streets built by the Portuguese are still standing, with a Church for the Dutch Service, and a Cathedral, now turned into a Warehouse. The Commander's House, which is a stately Structure, is the only House built after the Dutch Mode, and the River washes some Part of its Walls. Their Flag-staff is placed on the Steeple of the Cathedral, on a Mast of seventy-five Feet high, and a Staff at the Top of it about sixty Feet; and the Flag may be seen above seven Leagues off. The Garrison generally consists of 3000 effective Men, and from Cape Comorin upwards. They are allowed in all their Forts and Factories 500 Soldiers, and 100 Seamen, all Europeans, besides some Topasses, and the Militia. They have their store of Rice from Barjalore, because the Malabar Rice will not keep above three Months out of the Husk, but in the Husk it will keep a Year. The Country produces great Quantities of Pepper, but lighter than that which grows more Northerly. Their Woods afford good Lark for building, and Angelique and Pawpaw for making large Chests and Cabinets, which are carried all over the West Coast of India. They have also Iron and Steel in Plenty, and Resin-wax, for exporting. Their Seas afford them abundance of good Fish of several Kinds, which, with those that are caught in their Rivers, make them very cheap.

Cranganor lies a League up the River from the Sea, and the Dutch have a Fort there. This Place is remarkable for having been formerly the Seat of a Jewish Government, that Nation having been once so numerous there, that they could reckon above 80,000 Families, but at present are reduced to 4000. They have a Synagogue at Couchin, not far from the King's Palace, about two Miles from the City, in which are carefully kept their Records, engraven on Copper-plates in Hebrew Characters; and when any of the Characters decay, they are new cut; so that they can shew their History from the Reign of Nabuchadnezzar to this present time. Mynhet van Rost

about the Year 1695 translated from the Hebrew themselves to be of use was, by that haughty to the most Eastern Part seems, reached as 20,000 of them travel out of Babylon. When they, they found the Strangers, giving the Matters, and the Treason. There they were in Process of Time, they came to make the dom of Cranganor; then, much esteem two of the Sons of the rders and Senators, to reign jointly over the Society, was in a short Place; for one of the Feast, and picking up him, thinking by that revealed, leaving a Son, venged his Father's I so the State fell again among the Jews. Ages since returned I and Poverty and Opp between Cranganor and Baylen, that occupied long, but no Part of forbid all Vessels or Ceal on: The Channel but very deep, though Water at Spring tides

The Inhabitants of latters, over whom the great Authority, of Amongst other odd that is very whimsical, solutely forbid to beed this Function is to be Bramins; or, if the Man. This was for to such Foreigners making Choice of men; and on such Cents, which sometime But, of late Days, the Bramins are become never to be out of the to be performed: To to such a Length, an much, that there is pretend to know with this Reason, that, by ther Sons not Daught Nieces, that is to say deceased, as certain served in the Order Families, and is a boundless Superstition

The next Comma Colon, at the Distanc which, as we have Island. Gallo was th the Portuguese, and, detable Trades, the sends on the Govern out his Appointment King Lear XIV, fr frigates, which wer this Place. One N Dutch East India Co then Service upon Projects; but, findin opened at Sea, that ment of it, in case th Vol. I.

about the Year 1695, had an Abstract of their History, translated from the Hebrew into *Low Dutch*. They declare themselves to be of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, a Part whereof was, by that haughty Conqueror *Nebuchadnezzar*, carried to the most Eastern Province of his large Empire, which, it seems, reached as far as Cape *Comerin*, which Journey of 20,000 of them travelled in three Years from their setting out of *Babylon*. When they arrived in the *Malabar* Country, they found the Inhabitants very civil and hospitable to Strangers, giving them Liberty of Conscience in religious Matters, and the free Use of Reason and Industry in Oeconomy. There they increased in Numbers and Riches, till, in Protests of Time, either by Policy or Wealth, or both, they came to make themselves Masters of the little Kingdom of *Cranganore*; and there being one Family among them, much esteemed for Wisdom, Power, and Riches, two of the Sons of that Family were chosen, by their Elders and Senators, to govern the Commonweal, and reign jointly over them. Concord, the strongest Bond of Society, was in a short time broken, and Ambition took Place; for one of the Brothers, inviting his Colleague to a Feast, and picking a Quarrel with his Guest, basely killed him, thinking by that means to reign alone. But the Deceased, leaving a Son of a bold Spirit behind him, revenged his Father's Death, by killing the Fratricide; and so the State fell again into Democracy, which still continues among the *Jesus* here. But the Lands have many Ages since returned back into the Hands of the *Malabars*, and Poverty and Oppression have made many apostatize. Between *Cranganore* and *Cochin*, there is an Island called *Bayen*, that occupies the Sea coast. It is four Leagues long, but no Part of it is two Miles broad. The *Dutch* forbid all Vessels or Boats to enter at *Cranganore*, and at *Cochin*: The Chanel is about a Quarter of a Mile broad, but very deep, though the Bar has not above fourteen Feet Water at Spring tides.

The Inhabitants of this Country are many of them Idolaters, over whom their Bramins, or Priests, have a very great Authority, of which they make a very bad Use. Amongst other odd Customs, they have introduced one that is very whimsical: When any Man marries, he is absolutely forbid to bed with his Wife the first Night; and this Function is to be performed in his stead by one of the Bramins; or, if there be none at hand, by some other Man. This was formerly a very considerable Advantage to such Foreigners as were settled here, the *Malabars* making Choice of them, rather than their own Countrymen; and on such Occasions they made very large Presents, which sometimes amounted to 5 or 600 Florins: But, of late Days, this Source is quite dried up; for the Bramins are become so very religious, that they take care never to be out of the Way when this Part of their Duty is to be performed: To say the Truth, they push this Matter to such a Length, and frequent the Womens Company so much, that there is no body, of their Religion, that can pretend to know with Certainty his own Father. It is for this Reason, that, by a standing Law of the Country, neither Sons nor Daughters ever inherit, but the Nephews and Nieces, that is to say, the Sister's Children of the Person deceased, as certainly of his Blood; which Rule is observed in the Order of Succession established in their Royal Families, and is a glaring Proof of the strange Effects of bounche's Superstition.

The next Commandery is that of *Galle*, on the Island of *Ceylon*, at the Distance of twenty Leagues from *Columbo*, which, as we have before shewn, is the Capital of that Island. *Galle* was the first Place taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portuguese*, and, at this Day, is a Place of very considerable Trade; the Commander of which, however, depends on the Governor of *Ceylon*, and can do nothing without his Approbation. About the Year 1672, the late King *Leopold XIV.* fitted out a Squadron of eight Sail of Frigates, which were to have made themselves Masters of this Place. One Mr. *John Martin*, who had served the *Dutch East India Company* many Years, and had quitted their Service upon some Disguist, was the Author of this Project; but, finding, when the King's Orders came to be opened at Sea, that another Man was to have the Government of it, in case the Place was taken, he took such Me-

thods as rendered the Expedition fruitless. Mr. *van Goffe*, who then commanded the *Dutch Fleet*, soon arrived upon the Coast; and the *French*, not thinking themselves strong enough to venture an Engagement, retired without so much as attacking the Place. They went then to *Trankamala*, and anchored in that Bay, designing to force that small Garrison to surrender; but this vigilant *Dutchman* was soon after them with his Fleet, and forced them to fight disadvantageously in *Trankamala Bay*, where the *French* lost half their Fleet, either sunk or burnt; with the rest they fled to *St. Thomas*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, intending to settle there; but *van Goffe* was soon amongst them there also, and seized their Ships, many of their Guns being dismounted, and carried ashore: But, finding they could do no Good against so powerful and vigilant an Enemy, they treated and capitulated with the *Dutch* to leave *India*, if they might be allowed Shipping to carry them away; which the *Dutch* agreed to, and allowed them their Admiral's Ship, *le Grand Breton*, and two more, to transport themselves whither they pleased: But Mr. *Martin* was carried to *Batavia*, and there confined for his Life-time, with an Allowance of a Rixdollar per Diem.

The third Commandery is that of *Samaran*, in the Island of *Java*; and he who is appointed Commander there, has the Direction of all the Factories in that Island, except such as depend immediately on the Government of *Batavia*. Within his Jurisdiction lies *Kattajara*, which is the Residence of the Emperor of *Java*: And here it may not be amiss to take notice of the Cause of the last War, which has been more than once mentioned by the Name of the War of *Java*. It broke out in the Year 1704, when Mr. *John van Horn* was Governor General, upon this Occasion. The Emperor dying, there were two Competitors for the Succession, one of which was the Brother, the other the Son, of the Emperor deceased; the *Dutch* sided with the former, but the latter had the Affections of the People, and drew over to his Party a great Number of *Indian Soldiers*, who had served the *Dutch*, and, being well disciplined, behaved gallantly on all Occasions. This War lasted twenty Years, and gave the *East India Company* so much Trouble, that, in all Probability, they will not very readily be drawn into an Affair of this kind again.

At *Bantam*, on the same Island, the Head of the Factory has the Title of a Chief. There is a very strong Fort there, and a numerous Garrison, to keep the People in Awe, who are very mutinous, and far enough from being well affected to the *Dutch*. The King has also a Fort, at the Distance of some hundred Paces from the Company's Fort, in which he has also a stout Garrison for the Security of his Person. The only Commodity of the Country is Pepper, of which they are able to export annually ten thousand Tons. The Bay of *Bantam* is very safe and pleasant, in which are many Islands that still retain the Names given them by the *English*, who had formerly a very fine Factory at this Place, from which they were expelled in 1683. The *East India Company* oblige the King to furnish them with a certain Quantity of Pepper; in all other respects they treat him kindly enough, because, as our Author observes, it is their Interest so to do; he is the Sovereign of a great Country, very well peopled; and his Subjects are a very hardy, enterprising Nation, perfidious, revengeful, and naturally hating all Christians to the last degree.

Our Author tells us, that, in his Time, a Lieutenant and twenty Men were surpris'd by them, and entirely cut off; which occasioned the sending such a Reinforcement, as rendered the Garrison of the Fort at *Bantam* strong enough to command all the Country in its Neighbourhood; which was the more necessary, because *Bantam*, by the Height of its Situation, commands the Streight between the Islands of *Java* and *Sumatra*. Our Author observes, that the last King of *Bantam* died at the Age of one hundred, and was succeeded by his Son, who was then a young Man. He discovered, while Prince, an Inclination to Piracy; and actually fitted out some Vessels on that Account. Our Author saw him, after he was King; and found him a very agreeable Man in his Person and Conversation, though his Character was extremely bad: He was excessively debauched, and, not being content with keeping upwards of 500 Concubines, committed Incest with his Sisters in-law, and even

with his own Daughters. The Governor-General at *Batavia* admonished him often upon this Subject, representing to him, that such a Course of Life was utterly unbecoming a Prince, and was what no Law or Religion could tolerate. To this the King answered; that he knew of no Laws that could bind him, who gave Laws to others, and was therefore himself above them. He once demanded of the Governor-General an *European* Woman, promising to make her his Wife, which was refused him; however, a Picture was sent him of an *European* Lady at full Length.

He professed himself of the Religion of his Country, that is to say, a *Mohammedan*, to which Law his Subjects are, generally speaking, great Bigots; and therefore hated him extremely on account of his loose Behaviour. It was not only in point of Women that he acted in so vile a Way, but his Conduct throughout was so mean, so base, and so unbecoming a Prince, that, knowing how much he was despised and abhorred, he kept always in his Fort, trusting his Safety entirely to his Guards and Fortifications: Yet, in the midst of these, he met with the just Reward of his Crimes, that is to say, a sudden Death; but whether violent or not, our Author has not thought fit to explain. He says, that the Country of *Bantam* is very fertile, abounding with Cattle, Rice, and Fruits; and adds farther, that, in the Heart of the Country, there are frequently found precious Stones of great Value, of which, however, the *Dutch* rarely get Possession, the People fearing, that this may tempt them to extend their Conquests, by which they are but too much oppressed already.

The second of the Chiefs resides at *Padang*, on the Coast of *Sumatra*, otherwise called the *Gold Coast*: This Chief has his Council and Palace like the rest; and it is usually considered as a very profitable, as well as honourable, Employment. *Sumatra* is a very large fine Island, which is separated from the Continent of *Asia* by the Straights of *Malacca*, and is justly esteemed one of the richest and noblest Countries in all the *Indies*. The *Dutch* have a Factory at *Pallambam*, which lies about eight Leagues from the Sea, on the Banks of a very large River, which empties itself into the Sea by four different Channels. The great Trade carried on there is that of Pepper, which the *East India* Company would monopolize in the same manner they do Cloves, Cinnamon, and Nutmegs; in order to which, they are at a very great Expence for keeping several armed Barks, cruising at the Mouth of this River, to prevent what they are pleased to call Smuggling. It must be allowed, that they have made a Contract with the King, to take off all the Pepper in his Dominions, at the Rate of ten Pieces of Eight for a *Bahaar*, or 400 Pounds, which is a very fair Price: They have, however, a saving Clause in their Contract, by which it is provided, that half the Purchase of the Pepper shall be taken in Cloth, at such a Rate, as greatly reduces the Value of their Cargoes; and it is for this Reason, that the *Dutch* are so much afraid of Smuggling: Yet, in spite of all their armed Barks, it is a thing notoriously known, that, for a thousand Florins to his Majesty of *Pallambam*, and as much to the *Pateb* Chief, a Cargo of a thousand *Bahaars* of Pepper may be carried off the Island without any great Trouble.

The Country is mountainous, which is not looked upon as a great Inconveniency, since almost all these Hills are known to abound with Gold, Silver, Lead, and other Metals; and the Company is possessed of some Mines of Gold, which are very rich, and great Care taken both to secure and conceal the Profits that are made of them. There are likewise great Quantities of Gold-dust found in all the Rivers and Rivulets of this Country, especially during the Time that the West Monsoon reigns, because then the Torrents roll from the Mountains with great Rapidity. Here is abundance of Copper, of which they make good Guns; several sorts of precious Stones, and a Mountain of burning Brimstone, which continually blows out Flames like Mount *Gebel* in *Sicily*; this laid here is also a Fountain of Balsam: It abounds with Spices and Silks, but the Air is not very wholesome, especially for Strangers, because there are so many Rivers, Standing waters, and thick Forests in it. There is no Wheat, or any other sort of Corn, that grows in *Europe*; but there is Plenty of Rice, Millet, and Fruits, which afford good and sufficient Nourish-

ment for the Inhabitants. It produces likewise abundance of Honey, Bees-wax, Ginger, Camphire, *Cassia* Pepper, &c. white Sanders, and especially Cotton, of which the Inhabitants make their Garments.

This Island is of very great Extent, according to the best Accounts, upwards of 400 Leagues in Circumference. The greatest and most powerful Monarch in the Island is the King of *Achem*, or, as it is written in the *Indes*, *Acheen*. It was formerly governed always by a Woman, and Queen *Elizabeth*, of *England*, entertained a Close Correspondence with the Queen of *Achem*, who was living in her Time. It is not above forty Years since the Government fell into the Hands of a Man; and several Attempts have been made since to restore the old Constitution, under which the People were much happier than any of their Neighbours. It is, to this Day, a free Port, to which *English*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Chinese*, and, in short, all the Nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, trade with Safety. The Goods which are brought thither are rich Brocades, Silks of all sorts, Muslins of all sorts, Raw Silk, Fish, Butter, Oil, and Ammunition, for which they are paid chiefly in Gold, the great Commodity of the Country, and remarkably fine.

There is no Country in the *Indies*, where, during the Western Monsoons, the Rains fall with greater Violence, or are attended with more terrible Storms of Thunder, Lightning, and Earthquakes, than in *Sumatra*; outside the People, being used to them, are not much alarmed, nor bear them patiently, and are seldom heard to complain of the Climate. These People are, generally speaking, *Mohammedans*, and are very expert in making all sorts of Gold Plate with very few Tools, and yet with such inimitable Dexterity, that whatever is of their Workmanship, bears a very great Rate throughout all the *Indies*. The Company sends every Year a great Number of Slaves to work in their Gold-mines. The Kings, in that Part of the Country, are very rarely upon good Terms with the *Dutch*; and our Author tells us, that, when he was in the *Indies*, one of those Princes, who was styled King of the Mountains, because he was Master of most of the Countries where the Mines lay, quarrelled with the Company, and persecuted its Subjects out of their Service. The principal Places, where Gold is found by the Natives of the Country, are *Deva* and *Mannacabo*. The Method they take in coming at it is this: They dig, at the Bottom of the Mountains, Tunnels, where the Water being stopped when rolling down the Side of the Mountains in the Winter, they, in the Summer, cut it off; and, by washing the Mud which remains at the Bottom, obtain from thence considerable Quantities of Gold-dust. It is generally believed amongst such as are acquainted with the Commerce of the *Indies*, that this Place furnishes annually 5000 Pound-weight of this precious Metal; yet very little, if any, of this Gold is ever brought to *Europe*, the *East India* Company employing it in other Places, where Gold is valuable, and where they export other Commodities, which turn in *Europe* to a better Account.

There is a Project with respect to this Island, which has long employed the Thoughts of the Company, and is, in procuring Ships to be built here, for which, certainly, there are great Conveniencies, since the Wood of this Island is so firm and durable, that Ships of it will last thirty or fifty Years; whereas those that come from *Europe* are generally speaking, worn out in twelve or thirteen Years. At *Padang* and *Pallambam* before-mentioned, the *Dutch* have a strong Fort, and great Factory, at *Jambi*, which is a Place at *Siack*; which last Place is excellently unwholesome, visited by a very odd Accident: It stands on the great River *Andragbira*, into which, at a certain Season of the Year, there come vast Quantities of Shads of a very large Size, one third of which is owing to their Roes, which are accounted a great Delicacy; and therefore, after taking the rest, the rill of the Fish is thrown away, and lying in great Heaps, corrupt, and exhale pestilential Vapours, which infect the Air. The Persons therefore that are sent to *Siack*, are much of the same Stamp with those that are sent to *Banda*, that is to say, Men of abandoned Characters, and desperate Fortunes.

On the Banks of a very considerable River from the Sale of Cloth for in Gold-dust. The *ego*, by a Factor in had carried it on privy by it upwards of a *Dutch* Pirate, that it he resolved to secure Discovery of this Br. There are likewise fe which are, all together Title of the West C powerful and warlike than that of the *Dutch* Yoke, either of the *M* *gans*, having always both. All the Inhab declined to the *English* are not under their P they can to prevent it none but themselves very probably flows this Island; which is pall, the Chiefs at *P* their Monthly by their Management o to the Account of the *Indies* dilates out *ria* can neither unde they change the *Aut* and, when our *Aut* *Batavia* an Order, no but all his Council all but, as he soon after give us any Account

The third Chief re- ciprocal Merchant, and Company's Service, made by this Establi- ing frequently to so- such a degree, that This great Diminut- the *Comme*, who, to- sorts of Goods propo- expend them from- have contracted with- forts of Merchand- Another Cause is Pa- selves; which is that We will give you, to for that; and, if yo- your Goods; take that this Nation was were treated in the t Governor-General e- on all sorts of Silks, to *Estavia*; and, a Commodities and N- to give in Exchange prodigious Hardship with the Nature of the strongest Term Purpose. They th- reign, and compl- after various Spoil- all Commerce betw- and Things continu- *van Zool*. But his- quire different Prin- State, and put their to return to *Japan*.

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On the Banks of the River *Bancalis*, they have another very considerable Factory, which produces a large Profit from the Sale of Cloth and Opium, that are constantly paid for in Gold-dust. This was discovered, about forty Years ago, by a Factor in the Company's Service, who, after he had carried it on privately for about ten Years, and acquired by it upwards of a Ton of Gold *per Annum*, which is a *Dutch* Pirate, that implies as much as 10,000 *l.* Sterling, he refused to secure what he had got, by making a free Discovery of this Branch of Commerce to the Company. There are likewise several *Dutch* Plantations on this Island, which are, all together, comprehended under the general Title of the *West Coast*. There subsists in *Sumatra* a very powerful and warlike People, who have no other Name, than that of the *Free Nation*, and are equally averse to the Yoke, either of the Monarchs of the Island, or of the *Euro-peans*, having always valiantly defended themselves against both. All the Inhabitants of *Sumatra* are much more inclined to the *English* than the *Dutch*, perhaps because they are not under their Power; but the latter take all the Pains they can to prevent it, and to force the Natives to deal with none but themselves. There is one strange Effect, that very probably flows from the great Commerce of Gold in this Island; which is this, that, for twenty or thirty Years past, the Chiefs at *Padang* have been so unlucky, as to have their Honesty always suspected. This is chiefly owing to their Management of the Mines, that do not turn greatly to the Account of the Company, while all their Officers get immense Estates out of them; a thing the Council at *Batavia* can neither understand, nor digest. For this Reason, they change the Chief very often, but to very little Purpose; and, when our Author was in the *Indies*, they sent from *Batavia* an Order, not only for arresting the Chief of *Padang*, but all his Council also, on a Charge of Male-administration; but, as he soon afterwards left the Country, he could not give us any Account of the Issue of that Prosecution.

The third Chief resides at *Japan*. He is always a principal Merchant, and is assisted by some Writers in the Company's Service. The Profit, which they formerly made by this Establishment, was very considerable, amounting frequently to 80 or 100 *per Cent.* but is now sunk to such a degree, that they rarely make above eight or ten. This great Diminution is chiefly owing to the Practice of the *Chinese*, who, for some time past, have purchased all sorts of Goods proper for that Market at *Canton*, and have exported them from thence to *Japan*. It is also said, that they have contracted with the *Japanese* to furnish them with all sorts of Merchandize at the same Price as the *Dutch*. Another Cause is a Practice established by the *Japanese* themselves, who insist that of fixing the Price of all sorts of Goods. We will give you, say they, so much for this, and so much for that; and, if you do not like what we offer, there are your Goods; take them home again. It is very possible, that this Notion was suggested to them by the *Chinese*, who were treated in the same manner formerly at *Batavia*. The Governor-General *van Zool* thought proper to set a Price on all sorts of Silks, and other Goods, the *Chinese* brought to *Fatawa*, and, at the same time, fixed the Rate of the Commodities and Manufactures, which the Company were to give in Exchange. This the *Chinese* looked upon as a prodigious Hardship, and a thing altogether incompatible with the Nature of Commerce. They represented this in the strongest Terms to the General; but to no manner of Purpose. They then addressed themselves to their Sovereign, and complained of this Innovation so warmly, that, after various Expostulations with the Governor to no Effect, all Commerce between the two Nations was broken off; and Things continued in this Posture till the Death of Mr. *van Zool*. But his Successor Mr. *Swardkreon*, pursuing quite different Principles, restored all Things to their former State, and put their Commerce on the old Foot again. But to return to *Japan*.

There is no Place in the *East Indies*, where the *Dutch* have so little Authority, and where their Establishment is of so little Consequence, as here in *Japan*. They have, it is true, a little Island allowed them to themselves, where they have Warehouses for their Goods, and a few ordinary Houses, in which such Persons live as are in the Company's Service. But then this Island is, in effect, a Prison, in

which they are shut up for Life, or at least for the Time they stay here, and are not so much as allowed to pass the Bridge, that joins this Island to the City of *Nangazaqui*. The only Shadow of Liberty that is left them, consists in the Chief's going once a Year, attended by two or three other Persons, to the Court of the Emperor, in Quality of Ambassador, in order to renew the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which subsists between that potent Monarch and the Company. One great Reason that is assigned for the holding the *Dutch* to such hard Terms is, their having attempted some Familiarities with the *Japanese* Women; but the true Reason is a well grounded Suspicion, that the *Dutch* have an Inclination to fix themselves there by Force, of which they have, more than once, given some remarkable Tokens, the last of which fell out not many Years ago, and is like to be ever remembered.

It is to be observed, that the *Hollanders* have been more obliged to Foreigners for maintaining their Commerce in *Japan*, than in any other Place. They owe their original Establishment there to the Care of one Mr. *Adams an Englishman*, as shall be largely shewn in the next Chapter; and they had well nigh brought about what they have been so long aiming at, the establishing a Fort on their Island, by the Contrivance of a *Frenchman*, who was at the Head of their Factory. This Gentleman's Name was Mr. *Carron*, a Person of great Parts, and who, in several Journeys he had made to the Emperor's Court, had found means to ingratiate himself with that Monarch, by entertaining him with Accounts of the State of *Europe* at that time; which that Prince, and indeed all the *Japanese* Emperors, are curious to know. Having by this means frequent Access to the Imperial Presence, he, presuming on his Credit with the Emperor, begged his Permission to build a House on the little Island where their Factory stood, on his Masters Account. Which Request the Emperor granted. Accordingly the Foundation was laid very large for an House. However, the Building went cheerfully on, till it grew into a handsome Fortification, of a regular Tetragon. The *Japanese*, being intirely ignorant of the Art of Fortification, had not the least Suspicion of Deceit, but suffered them to finish it. When it was finished, Mr. *Carron* advised his Masters at *Batavia* of the Progress he had made; and desired, by the next Shipping, to have some Cannon sent him in Casks filled with Rubbish, such as Oakum or Cotton, the Casks to be well-bound with iron Hoops, and the Heads securely fixed in, with some Casks of the same Make filled with Spices; which Advice was accordingly followed. When the Shipping arrived, the Lading was landed, according to Custom; but, in rolling the Casks, one of them, that had a Brass Gun, had the Misfortune to have one of its Heads fall out; and the Cheat was, by that Accident, discovered. This put a Stop to all Commerce, till the Emperor's Pleasure was known. This Affair gave the Emperor a very bad Impression of the *Dutch*, and of all who were employed by them. He would not, however, prohibit Trade; but gave Orders to put any *Dutchman* to Death, who should presume to stir out of the Island; and directed, that Mr. *Carron* should be sent to answer for this Fault to *Jedo*, where his Imperial Majesty resided. On his Arrival, and being interrogated there, he was able to say nothing in Excuse, when the Emperor reproached him with abusing his Kindness; for which he had his Beard pulled out Hair by Hair; and then, being dressed in a Fool's Coat and Cap, was exposed, in that Condition, throughout all the Streets in the City: After which, he was sent back to his Factory, with Orders to return in the first Ship that was sent to *Batavia*.

Many *English* Writers call the Island, upon which the *Dutch* factories stand, *Nangasack*; but this seems to be a Corruption of the Name of the City, which is properly called *Nankesaki*, and the Island where the *Dutch* reside *Desima*. This Island is divided from the City by a small Stream of salt Water, of about forty Feet broad; over which lies a Bridge, about fifty Feet broad; at one End of which there is a Draw bridge, of which the *Japanese* are Masters, and over which the *Dutch* dare not pass without Leave from the Governor of the City; neither dare any of the *Japanese* converse with the *Dutch*, excepting only the Merchants, and the Factors, who have a Li-

to the Governor, he orders the Beacon to be fired; or, if there be two Ships, two Beacons; and, at the same time, hoists a Flag, the Colour of which intimates the Force of the Ship. This Signal, as soon as discerned, is repeated from every Hill and Eminence, till it reaches the Gates of *Yedo*; so that the Emperor, and his Council, have time to deliberate on the Measures proper to be taken. The Forms observed in Business are wonderfully exact; and the Emperor's Orders or Edicts signified in Terms equally expressive, and full of Dignity, having very little of that Bombast and swelling Style, which is common in oriental Courts: Yet, in the midst of all these Marks of good Sense, and quick Parts, their Religion is the idlest and most ridiculous that can be imagined; of which the Author gives us one Proof, that is really astonishing. There is a tutelary God to every Family, whose Idol is placed at the Top of the House, and he has Instructions given him to keep off Sickness, Misfortunes, and every evil Accident; and when any of these fall out, they take down their Idol, and whip him, for not having performed his Duty. Such strange Effects has Superstition, where-ever it prevails.

The History of *Japan* will naturally fall into our second Book; but, having to fair an Opportunity at present, it appears reasonable to gratify the curious Reader with a Paper which has fallen into our Hands, containing a much clearer, and more distinct, Account of the *Dutch* Commerce in this Empire, than is any-where to be met with in our own, or perhaps in any other Language.

An Inquiry into the Nature of the Dutch Commerce at Japan.

IT is natural for a Person of a curious Disposition, to desire perfect Information as to those Points, that seem doubtful or obscure in most of the Relations that have been published as to distant Countries; and I must confess, that it seems to me the most easy and certain Method of acquiring Satisfaction, to dispose those Doubts and Difficulties into Questions, the Resolution of which may effectually clear them; and to propose those Questions to such as have had Opportunities of informing themselves sufficiently, in respect to the Matters under Consideration. I cannot give a stronger Instance of this, than by mentioning what has occurred to me, upon reading the Accounts that have been hitherto printed of the *Dutch* Commerce in *Japan*, which are, in my Opinion, so indistinct and confused, as well for want of Order in those Relations, as for want of the necessary Circumstances which might enable one to connect their several Parts together, supposing one inclined to take to much Pains, that I presume you will admit the following Queries to be reasonable, as I hope, from your Indulgence, to be delivered from the Incertainty I am under, as to the Subjects at which they point. A long Introduction would be unnecessary, and the Trouble my Questions will give you, restrains me from adding any thing farther than this Explanation of my Request, that it extends only to the *Dutch* Commerce in *Japan*; and that I do not expect any further Account of that Empire, than is absolutely necessary to settle my Notions of the Commerce.

1. *What is the Extent, and what the true Boundaries, of Japan?* It is not possible to answer this Question very precisely, because we have not any Accounts that can be absolutely depended upon, as to the Countries that lie to the North of *Japan*; but, with respect to the End proposed by your Questions, it may be answered in a manner perfectly satisfactory. The Empire of *Japan* is composed of three large Islands, surrounded by a great Number of smaller Islands of different Sizes, some inhabited, and some desert. The most Southern of these Islands, is that which some Writers call by the Name of *Ganjo*, or, according to the *Portuguese*, *Ximo*. This Island extends from South to North, about sixty Leagues, and from East to West about forty. It is on the West Coast of this Island, that the *Dutch* Factory have their Residence, which I shall more particularly describe hereafter. To the East of this Island lies the second of these Islands, which is called *Sokoh*, which in the Language of the Country, implies a Place that is square; which is a good Description of the Island, inasmuch as it is very near a

Square of sixty Leagues. The great Island of *Japan* is separated from both these, by a narrow and a rocky Channel. This Island, which the Natives call *Nippon*, extends from East to West 260 Leagues, and is in Breadth, from North to South, from 60 to 100.

These three Islands make up what may be properly styled the Empire of *Japan*. They extend from 31° to 42° North Latitude, and from 157° to 175° of Longitude, placing the first Meridian in the Island of *Fero*. On the North of *Japan* lies the Land of *Yesso*; and Part of *Tartary*, *China*, and *Corea*, on the West; *California*, and the rest of *America*, on the East; the *Philippines* on the South-east; and the Sea of *China* on the South. The common Opinion, that it is equal to *Great Britain*, may be pretty near the Truth in one Sense, though not in another; and it is requisite to distinguish these Senses: The whole Empire of *Japan*, to speak strictly, all the three Islands, are pretty near the Size of the *British* Islands, that is to say, with *Ireland* included; and the Island of *Japan*, distinctly considered, is somewhat bigger than *Great Britain*, strictly taken, without any of its adjacent Islands. As to the Countries dependent on *Japan*, they are, besides the adjacent Islands, many of which are very rich and well cultivated, 1. The Islands of *Riuku*, which belong to a Prince who is subject to the Emperor, and so are reputed to belong to *Japan*. 2. *Tsotsu*, which is Part of the Peninsula of *Corea*, and belongs likewise to one of the Princes of this Empire. 3. The Island of *Yesso*, making Part of the Dominions of a third tributary Prince. This Island, however, is to be distinguished from the Land of *Yesso*, which lies still farther North; and, whether it be Island or Continent, I cannot take upon me to determine.

2. *What are the Commodities or Manufactures of this Empire, that make its Commerce so valuable?* The Commodities of *Japan* are fewer than one would imagine, considering that it is as fertile a Country, and the People as industrious, as any in the World. The Reason of this is, because they chuse to deal with Strangers for ready Money, that is to say, for Silver, which is at once a Commodity, and the Measure of all Commodities here. They have great Quantities of Gold, but the Exportation of it is forbid, under the severest Penalties. Sulphur also abounds in this Country to a prodigious degree, so that vast Quantities are annually disposed of, without any Danger of exhausting their Stock. But the grand Commodity in point of Value, next to Silver, is Copper, of which they have likewise prodigious Quantities, which, at the same time, is by much the finest in the World; they formerly sold it with a great Mixture of Gold, but they have now found a Way to extract that, yet their Copper remains still in a very high and just Repute. They have very fine Pearls, and great Quantities of Mother-of-pearl, which they do not much esteem. Ambergris, and other rich Drugs, are likewise to be met with; there is also very fine Silk of several sorts, which they sell very reasonably; though at the same time, they purchase *China* Silk, which is not so good as their own; but, in all Probability, this is with a View to some Manufacture, for which it is more proper.

All sorts of Cabinet-work, and Lacker'd-ware, they make in the utmost Perfection, and export vast Quantities of it; as they do likewise of their Porcelain, or Earthen-ware. This was formerly much finer, and much stronger, than it is now made; and therefore the old *Japan* Ware is very valuable, even in the Country. I will give you an Instance of the *Japanese* Sagacity on this Subject. The *Dutch* were very inquisitive into the Cause of it; and were answered, *That they put more of Mens Bones into it formerly than they did at present*; by which they gave them to understand, that it was formerly made with greater Care and Labour than at this Day; which has, however, been so far mistaken, as to create an Opinion among idle People at *Batavia*, that human Bones enter into the Composition of their Earthen-ware. I ought to add, to this List of the Commodities and Manufacture of *Japan*, their Tea, which some esteem much better than that of *China*, which is, however, only true upon the Spot; for, as its Flower is more delicate,

to it is sooner lost when the Herb comes to be transported; and therefore, however some sorts of *Japan Tea* may be valued in the *Indies*, we never can expect to see them in equal Perfection here in *Europe*.

III. *How is the Commerce of Japan carried on among themselves? and what foreign Commerce had they, before this Country was discovered by the Inhabitants of Europe?* It is extremely difficult to say any thing on this Head worth your Notice, and at the same time to say it with Certainty; but, as I am well aware of the Contradictions you have met with in many Books upon this Subject, I will endeavour to shew you the Source of them in few Words: In all that has been written upon this Head, it is on the one hand asserted, that the *Japoneſe* have a great Contempt for Trade and Traffick; and on the other, that no Nation in the World has such wise Regulations in respect to Commerce, as are to be found amongst them. To reconcile this Contradiction, I must observe to you, that the single Maxim on which the Government in *Japan* proceeds, is this, that Commerce is a Proof either of Poverty, or of Covetousness; and that the greatest Happiness a Nation can possess is, to have all within themselves. In regard to the Empire of *Japan*, this is strictly true: They derive from the Bounty of Providence, and from their own Industry, not only all the Necessaries, but also all the Conveniences, all the Elegancies, of Life; and therefore they are absolutely content, I mean, such as have the Administration of the Government are content, with what they possess.

This appears, by their neither sending or receiving Embassadors in the manner that other Nations do; and tho' formerly the Government so far complied with the Desires of such as were of a mercantile Genius, as to permit them to trade in certain Countries, under abundance of Restrictions, yet they have since thought fit to revoke these Licences; and their Subjects now carry on no foreign Trade at all, at least with the Permission of the Government. As to their inland Commerce, it is, and always was, very great; but they have so strong a Notion, that Buying and Selling corrupt the Morals of Men, incline them to Fraud, to Covetousness, and, above all, to Lying, that they have not only the severest Laws for punishing these Vices, but have likewise contrived some very singular Methods for preventing them; particularly these:

In the first Place, to prevent any Deceit in measuring, there is a Steel-yard fixed at the End of every Street, by which all Commodities are measured; and it is the same with regard to Weight and liquid Measures, none, but those authorized by the Government, can be used. They have public Fairs, at certain Seasons in the Year, in all the great Cities, to which Merchants bring their Goods, in such Proportions as they are enjoined by Law; and these are sold, not by the Merchants themselves, but by Officers appointed by the State, to the best Bidder: Yet this is not managed by Auction, from an Apprehension, that this might create Jealousies and Hatred among such as bid against each other; to prevent which, every Man writes in a little Note what he is willing to give, and his Name. The Officer, having collected these Notes, which are all sealed, opens them; and having declared the highest Bidder, delivers him the Goods, and burns all the Notes. In case of any notorious Fraud, they not only condemn the Parties that are guilty, but their whole Families, and even their Neighbours; which puts every Man so much upon his Guard, that there are very few Instances of Deceit happening throughout this extensive Empire.

It is not the Government only, but every private Man, that coins Money; but he must carry it to the Master of the Mint, who sees that it is true, and of its proper Weight; which he attests by his Stamp: But, if it wants half a Grain, he cuts it into two, and returns it to the Owner. As for large Sums, they are paid in Purfes, containing about 100 Cupangs, which are carried likewise to the Officer of the Mint, who tells and weighs the Pieces, and then claps his Seal upon the Purse, with a Character importing the Value contained therein. This once done, the Purse passes from Hand to Hand for twenty Years; for, so long as the Impression remains fair, nobody disputes its Value. As to the foreign Commerce, of old it

was only with their Neighbours the *Chinese*; and I shall have Occasion to explain it to you hereafter. At present, I hope, I have satisfied you as to this Question.

IV. *Why are all Nations prohibited from trading here, except the Dutch and the Chinese?* This does not proceed, as is generally imagined, from any Prejudice against other Nations, or from any Prepossession in favour of the *Chinese* or *Dutch*, but from Reasons that I shall lay before you as succinctly as I can. The *Japoneſe* do not look upon foreign Commerce at all; but, on the other hand, it is a Maxim of their Policy not to refuse it to any Nation, provided they send their Goods in their own Vessels to *Japan*, and submit to the Regulations, which, for its own Security, the State has established. Their Commerce with the *Chinese* is so old, that it is beyond Memory; and I shall shew you hereafter, that nothing has been able to bring them to prohibit it.

The *Portuguese* came thither about the Middle of the sixteenth Century, and were received with all the Kindness and Civility consistent with the Constitution of the Empire, and the Genius of the Nation. Some time after, the *Spaniards* from *Mexico* found their Way thither, as the *English* likewise did, after they settled in the *East Indies*. It was owing to the Intrigues of the Priests, who put their Converts upon Conspiracies, Seditions, and Rebellions, that Christians in general were forbidden to trade to *Japan*, and as the *Dutch* had not intermeddled in their Fort with these Disturbances, they were permitted to carry on their Trade under the antient Regulations. This Prohibition happened in the Year 1636, and was entirely owing to the Bigotry and ill Management of the Clergy, who brought an Odium on Christianity, that will never be effaced. Yet, after all, I must own, that, in my Opinion, the Patience and Perseverance of the *Chinese* and *Dutch* are the best Reasons that can be assigned for their maintaining themselves in this Commerce, from which other Nations are excluded, not because they are hindered by the *Japoneſe*, but because they are incapable of submitting to those severe Rules, which are now imposed upon Strangers, many of which took Rise from the unfortunate Extirpation of the Christian Religion in *Japan*. It is no less true, that the *Dutch* themselves, though not excluded from Trade, were nevertheless extremely hurt by that Accident, since they were removed from the Settlement they had first obtained, and where they were much easier than they are at present; which they own, that it was not their Interest to procure the Banishment of other Nations, since, instead of turning to their Advantage, it has done them inexpressible Mischief.

V. *In what State are the Chinese in Japan, before Commerce do they carry on?* As the *Chinese* are by nature most docile and tractable People in the World, they are, without Question, the fittest to deal with the *Japoneſe*; but, because, whatever new Regulations are made, without fresh Hardships are laid upon them, they submit without repining, and appear content, let their Usage be what it will. In antient times the *Japoneſe* had a Trade with *China*, in which a Multitude of People were employed; but, in one of the *Chinese* Sea-purges, where the *Japoneſe* were settled, the Natives having practised the Art of that Fraud, which is inseparable from the *Chinese* Trade, Strangers applied themselves to the Magistrates and Rectors; but, finding none, they redressed themselves by lacking the Town. As soon as the Emperor of *China* was informed of this, and that, tho' the Place was so populous, it had been destroyed by a venereal Plague, the *Japoneſe*, he resolved at once to be rid of the People, and erected where the City had stood a Column of Marble, on which the Edict of Banishment was engraven, importing at the same time Death to any *Japoneſe*, who should dare to land in his Dominions; forbidding at the same time all his Subjects to carry on any Trade with the *Islanders*; which Prohibition remains in Force to this Day: And the *Chinese* always declare at home, that they are bound to some other Market, when they sit out their Junks for *Japan*.

Yet the *Japoneſe* never prohibited Trade with *China*; but suffered them to come freely into their Country, as they did before, so that the Difficulties the *Chinese* now labour

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under are not the Effects of their own, but of the Christians ill Conduct. They are tied down to trade to one single Port, which is that of *Langi-Sjakie*, in the Latitude of $36^{\circ} 6'$ North, and in the Longitude of 151° . They have, during their Stay, an Island assigned them, as well as the *Dutch*, and are subjected to many other Rules. They sail from *Canton* about the first of *May*, and, having always a fair Wind, they arrive at the Coast of *Japan* before the End of the Month. They dare not approach the Shore nearer than three Leagues, where they wait the coming of the Custom-house Officers on board, to whom they make the strictest Declaration that can be of their Strength and Cargo: After which, a *Japanese* Pilot takes Charge of the Ship, and carries her into Port, where all the Goods are immediately sent on shore into the public Warehouses. The *Japanese* Officers meet, and fix a Day for the Sale of these Goods, of which they give a public Notice through the Country; but make no mention of the Matter to the *Chinese*, who have indeed little or nothing to do with the Affair. During this Sale, the *Japanese* Merchants bring the Officers Notes of the Goods they want, and the Money they are content to give. The highest Bidder has the Preference; and, before the Goods are delivered, his Note is shewn to the *Chinese*, to whom they belong; who never scruples the Price, be it what it will. Thus the Sale is quickly over; the *Japanese* have the Goods, and the *Chinese* their Money; but not quite so easily as may be expected: For tho' the Officers receive all in Cash, yet they pay them above 60 per Cent. in Goods, and these too of their own chusing, which are generally Copper, and three or four sorts of dried Fish. The rest they have in Money, which they lay out in *Porcelain*, Pearls, fine Steel, wrought Copper, and a kind of Camphire, which is much esteemed in *China*. Generally speaking, the *Chinese* Merchant leaves his Money in the Officer's Hands; and, having purchased what Goods he wants, draws on him, payable at Sight. There is nothing paid to the Emperor by way of Custom; the only Duty he imposes is a Right of Pre-emption, which extends to a few fine Goods: Yet there is something equivalent to Duty in *Japan*; for, as the Officers furnish the Magazines, they are paid for them at a very high Rate; which is equivalent to an Impost.

Of late Years, there have been great Alterations made with respect to their Commerce: They are, in the first place, limited to seventy Junks; and there must not be above thirty Men employed in each. The Quantity of Goods likewise is fixed, which they must not exceed, and which is reported to be double what they allow to the *Dutch*. Their Quality also is prescribed, and even the Price fixed. They are obliged to depart as soon as their Sale is over; and none of them are allowed to remain, as the *Dutch* do, in *Japan*. In some respects, indeed, they seem to be better treated; but then they only seem to be so: For instance, they are allowed to buy Provisions, and to deal with whom they please; whereas the *Dutch* have no sort of Correspondence, but with those who are appointed to furnish them with Necessaries. This arises from their Apprehension of the *Dutch* on one Side, and from their absolute Contempt of the *Chinese* on the other; which appears by the Officers Behaviour towards both Nations. Such as transact Affairs with the *Dutch*, behave to them with the utmost Civility; but those that have to do with the *Chinese*, use them like Slaves; and, if ever they offer to complain, answer them with their Canes. All this, however, they endure, because their Profit is large; for, in the first place, the Price fixed on their Goods is much above their Value, and, in the next, they gain extravagantly upon some of the Goods they purchase in the Country, tho' by others they lose.

They leave *Japan* about *October* 10. in order to return to *Canton* in the first Week of *November*, that they may be there before the Ships sail for *Europe*, since otherwise the best Part of the Profit of the Voyage is lost, because most of their Cargo lies, in that Case, upon their Hands a full Year. Thus you see what a mighty Advantage the Merchants in the *East* Indies derive from the Trade-winds, which carry them to *Japan* at the proper Season, and bring them back at the proper Season like-

wife. According to the best Computations that can be made at *Batavia*, the *Chinese* gain annually by the Trade of *Japan* eleven Million of Guilders, which make one Million Sterling. This, I hope, you will consider as a full Answer to your Question, tho' it is certain I might have insisted upon many other Particulars; but, as I conceive you aim chiefly at a Comparison between the Commerce of the *Chinese* and of the *Dutch*, I have insisted only on such Circumstances, as were necessary for that Purpose.

VI. What is the true Name, Extent, Situation, and Produce of the Island, in which the *Dutch* have their Factory? and in what manner do they live there? The *Dutch* were formerly settled in the Island of *Pirando*; and the Island in which they are now settled, is properly called *Desima*. It is, strictly speaking, an artificial Island, which was raised on purpose to confine the *Portuguese* in the Year 1635. This is generally reported to have been drawn upon them by the Intrigues of the *Dutch*; and, if the Fact be true, they have suffered very justly for their Contrivance. This Island is a kind of Oblong, joined to the City of *Nangasacki*, which is situated in the Latitude of 33° North, by a Stone Bridge, with a wooden Draw-bridge at the End. Where the Bridge joins the City, there is a strong *Corps de Guard*, where a considerable Number of Men are posted Night and Day. At the Entrance from the Bridge there is a large Stone Pillar, upon which hang, in several Tables, the Emperor's Edicts for the Regulation of the *Dutch* Trade; and three high Posts are set up in the Sea, to mark the Places where the *Dutch* Ships are to anchor, to prevent their coming near the City. The Island is palisadoed round, like a Park, and those Palisadoes spiked. It is not, in its greatest Extent, above 240 Paces in Length, and not above eighty broad. There is a Street across it, with Houles, or rather Huts, on both Sides, the lower Story of which serves for a Warehouse, and the upper for the Lodging rooms of such as reside there.

There is, in this little Spot, a very convenient House for the *Chinese* Director of Trade, who comes thither when the Ships arrive; besides another handsome House for the *Japanese* Magistrate, who always resides there, which has likewise its Garden: For it is to be observed, that, in all their great Cities, the *Japanese* have a particular Magistrate in every Street, who is called the *Otona*; and they look upon the Island of *Desima* as nothing more than a Street added to their City of *Nangasacki*; and therefore there is an *Otona* here, as well as in other Streets. Another Proof that this belongs absolutely to the Natives, and is not at all conveyed to the *Dutch*, is, that these last are obliged to pay a very high Rent for their little wooden Houses to those who were originally at the Charge of building them, when the *Portuguese* were sent thither. By this Account of the Island, you will easily perceive, that it produces little or nothing, and that there is no Room to plant any thing in, if they were permitted to do it by the *Japanese*, which they are not, but are furnished from Day to Day with all the Necessaries of Life at a very high Price, and by such only as have this Monopoly put into their Hands by the Governor.

The *Dutch*, resident in this Island, seldom exceed the Number of forty-five; and the *Japanese* oblige them to change their Chief every Year, although, after he has been absent two Years, the same Person may be sent again; so that commonly there are three Persons, who have this Post by way of Rotation; viz. one resident in the Island, another on the Road, and a third reposing at *Batavia*, till his two Years are expired. On the Whole therefore, tho' the *Dutch* have taken all the Pains they can to make this Place as convenient as possible, yet, in spite of all their Care, it is a very indifferent Abode, and very little resembles any of their other Settlements in the *East* Indies. They are also much restrained in their adding any thing either to their Houses, Magazines, or little Wharfs for landing their Goods, since they cannot build, or make the least Alteration, without first delivering a Petition, with a Plan annexed, to the *Otona*, by whom it is transmitted to the Governor; so that it is sometimes a full Year before they can obtain this Permission; and even then there is an Inspector appointed to see, that in

nothing they exceed their original Plan: Yet, if they really had any kind of Fort on this Island, it would not put them out of the Power of the *Japanese*, who are a very warlike and powerful people, and who, on the least Appearance of Force, would not fail, first to prohibit all Commerce with the *Dutch*, and next employ the whole Strength of their Empire to drive them out of their Factory.

VII. *What are the Restrictions the Dutch usually labour under here in the carrying on of their Commerce?* In the first place, they are forbidden to land any Ships hither, that have any Figures whatever at their Sterns, because the *Japanese* consider these as Insults on their Religion, some of these Figures having accidentally resembled their Idols. They are restrained from sending Goods beyond the Value of 380,000 Taels or *Tayales per Annum*. As soon as their Ships arrive, they fall immediately under the Power of the *Japanese*, who take all their Cannon, Small-arms, Sails, Cordage, and spare Anchors, into their Possession. The Crews of these Ships are confined to the Island, as well as the People of the Factory, unless they have a Licence granted them to go into the City; and even this is restrained to four at a time. The Prices of their Goods are set by the *Japanese* Directors of Trade, as are likewise the Prices of the Goods they take in Exchange; and Sales are made when and how they please.

It is true, they are allowed to send the Chief of their Factory, with two or three Attendants, to *Jeddo*, to pay their Respects to the Emperor; but, in their Journey, they always travel under the Escort of a *Japanese* Guard, who will not suffer them to make any Excursions into the Country by the Way, or to visit any great Lords or Princes. They are under the same, or greater, Restraints during the short Stay they make at *Jeddo*, where they have little other Business, than to deliver their Presents to the Emperor, and to particular Princes and Grandees of his Court; to renew the Treaty of Commerce, which, being a Thing of Form, is speedily dispatched; and then they are ordered to return, having a Guard about them while they remain there, and another to escort them back. After their Sales are over at their Factory, and the Wind is fair for their Return home, they have their Cannon, Small arms, Sails, Anchors, and Rigging, restored to them, and are directed to depart without Delay; with which they are obliged to comply. It is to be observed, that most of these Restrictions have been but lately imposed, that is to say, within these last fifty Years, since the great Troubles in *Japan*, wherein 400,000 Christians lost their Lives, and the Empire ran the utmost Hazard of being overturned, which is the true Cause why the *Japanese* have Strangers, and the Religion of Strangers, in such Abhorrence; for, before that Time, the *Dutch* had great Privileges, and were in high Credit; whereas now they are exposed to new Hardships every Day, which they know not how to avoid, and to which they find it very difficult to submit.

VIII. *What Number of Ships are employed in this Trade? of what Force? taken do they sail from Batavia? at what Time do they return? and what are the computed Profits of the Voyage?* The *Dutch* send annually four Ships from *Batavia* to *Japan*, of between thirty and fifty Pieces of Cannon, but they are indifferently armed, for two Reasons: First, because there is little or no Danger in these Seas; and, secondly, that they may give the less Suspicion to the *Japanese*, who do not care to see Ships of great Force upon their Coast. These Vessels are laden with such *European* and *Indian* Goods, as are in Demand at *Japan*, such as *English* and *Dutch* Cloths, Camblets of all sorts, Brocades Gold and Silver, very rich Silks of all Colours, and especially crimson, and white raw Silk, raw Cotton, and spun Cotton, Papersties, Lead, Steel, and Sublimine, Sugars of all sorts, Spices of all kinds, *Morocco* Leather, and all sorts of Skins, particularly Buck and Doe, of which they carry a prodigious Quantity, and about half the Quantity of Ox hides. They sail with this Cargo about *June 20.* and the first Land they make is usually the Island of *Pollimon*, which is in the Latitude of 2° 50' North. Here they take in Water, and other Refreshments; and then continue their Voyage to *Japan*,

where they generally arrive in the Beginning of *August*, and find every thing ready prepared for them; so that their Goods are quickly got on shore, and brought into their Warehouses, sorted, and fitted for Sale. The Merchants likewise are summoned from the adjacent Countries, and have Catalogues given them of the Goods brought by the last Fleet; so that every thing is over by the latter End of *October*, and the Ships are ready to sail very early in the next Month, when the *Japanese* never fail to press them to be gone. Of all the Restrictions they Trade labours under at present, the *Dutch* are made most uneasily by their having their Quantity of Goods limited; and of this therefore they complained bitterly to the Officers, and at last to the Emperor himself.

The *Japanese* treated them, on this Occasion, with great Address: They told them plainly, that they knew and understood the thing to be an Hardship; and at the same time insinuated, that it did not proceed from any Disaffection of, or Disrespect to, the *Dutch*, but was done purely to justify the same Restraint on the *Chinese*, the Number of whose Junks increased every Year; and as there were frequently *Tartars* amongst them, they could not help suspecting, that they might have some worse Design than getting Money by Trade; but, for fear of bringing that Evil upon themselves, which they were labouring to avoid, they thought it necessary to lay this Restraint on the *Dutch*, as well as the *Chinese*, that the latter might have the less Reason to complain. They promised likewise, that this Regulation should be very tenderly executed, so as to give the *Dutch* very little Trouble; in which respect, it is said, the *Japanese* have been as good as their Word, as indeed they are in every thing; for, abating their particular Customs, and the Warmth with which they are attached to them, there is, perhaps, no Nation in the World more just, more reasonable, or even more civil to Strangers.

The *Dutch* took Advantage of this Stroke of Policy at *Japan*, to make a new Order for the Regulation of their own Affairs; and a very wise one it was. They are very sensible, that People do not settle in the *East* to make Observations in Natural History, but to acquire Fortunes; that Men submit to the Hardships of a Journey, for the sake of purchasing future Ease; and that the Navigation in the Seas of *Japan* is so perilous, that it is but reasonable, even the Seamen should find an extraordinary Account in it. Upon these Motives they are thus settled the Commerce of *Japan*: Goods to the Value of three hundred thousand Taels are sent out the Company's Account, and the other eighty thousand allowed in private Trade, in the following Proportion: Forty Thousand Taels on the Account of the Government; General and Council at *Batavia*; ten thousand on the Account of the new Chief, who goes on board the Fleet; eight thousand on the Account of the Chief who is to come Home; and twenty-two thousand for the Officers and Seamen; so that every Captain has eleven hundred Taels on his own Account, and every Seaman twenty. If any of these People have not Money to furnish their Share of the Cargo, it is either advanced on their Wages, or they are allowed to dispose of their Right to such as are richer than themselves. Thus every Man is interested in the Branch of Trade in which he is employed, and finds his private Account in the punctual Discharge of his Duty.

In their Return, they touch again, towards the End of the Month of *December*, at the before-mentioned Island of *Pollimon*, where all the Gold is put on board one Ship, that sails immediately for *Batavia*; but the rest continue their Voyage to *Malacca*, where an Appointment is made out of the Goods they bring, some for the several Markets of the *Indies*. It is allowed, that the Commerce of *Japan* is very much sunk, in point of Profit, to what it was; and it is likewise true, that great Losses are frequently sustained therein; but, after all, it is still very considerable; so that, on the best Computation that can be made, it produces annually to the Company better than five Million of Guilders, or half a Million Sterling, exclusive of the great Advantages that result from the Distribution of the Effects brought from

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Japan, over all the Indies, which may perhaps amount to as much more.

I foresee an Objection, that must naturally arise in your Mind, to this Account, grounded on the settled Report of all Writers on the Affairs of Japan; viz. that Gold is a contraband Commodity; which is true, and of late Years is Silver also, and Persons are severely punished, who attempt to transport either out of the Country; Yet, as the Japanese are a wise People, and know that every thing has its proper Value, so in Consideration that the Dutch trade with them on their own Terms in every respect, they grant them Licences, at the Return of every Fleet, for a certain Quantity of Gold, and perhaps are not very exact in seeing that Licence complied with: There is another Thing which I ought to explain, and that is, the Value of the Taël or Taya, which, by the way, is both a Weight and a Coin, the Value of which the Dutch estimate at three Guilders and an half; and I take it to be very near the English Noble, or the Third-part of a Pound Sterling. I must likewise observe, that the Presents sent to the Emperor, and his Ministers, are not comprehended in the Company's Allowance: And I must add to this, that the Japanese Couriers have a very singular Custom, which is, that they never except a Present from a Man they don't intend to serve; nor will they receive them at all, if above the usual Value, from an Apprehension that something extraordinary may be expected. They are likewise very candid and open, and love to be dealt with freely, and condemn the *Cubinge* as a fraudulent deceitful People, whom, therefore, they use with the utmost Indignity; whereas, if an European does nothing to forfeit his Honour, he is sure of being treated amongst them with the utmost Friendship and Esteem; but he is not to expect, that they should enter with him into any Secrets of their Government, for that is a Subject on which they are remarkably reserved.

IX. How comes it to pass, that the Dutch, who assume so despotic a Power, throughout the East Indies, submit to such servile Restrictions as are put on them by the Japanese? and, particularly, how comes it that they deny their being Christians? I must confess this Question a little surprises me; because I very little imagined, that one, who so judiciously distinguished the Errors and Confusions into which Voyage writers too frequently fall, should himself follow them in a Mistake like this. The Dutch do, in Japan, what every Man ought to do who resides in a foreign Country; that is to say, they submit to the Laws, and, as far as they are able, avoid giving Offence. In other Countries of the Indies, they live as their Circumstances permit; that is, they are Matters in some, Subjects in others, and Strangers and Sojourners in the rest. As to their Conduct in Japan, it is far from bringing upon them any Discredit; they never fought, either under Pretence of Trade or Religion, to return Evil for Good, or to disturb those, from whom they received Protection. The Portuguese were, in some measure, in Possession of the Trade when they first Courts to Japan; and if the Dutch procured Leave to share in that Commerce, it was certainly what they had a Right to ask, and the Emperor of Japan to give; Yet it was not without much Difficulty, and all imaginable Opposition from the Portuguese, that they procured it.

As to the Hardships and Restrictions under which they labour, they are partly old, partly new: As to the old ones, they arose from the Constitution of the Empire, which no Strangers had a Right to alter. That the Dutch submitted to these, could give no just Ground for Reproach; because the Portuguese, who were as jealous of their Honour, as any Nation, had submitted to them before, without incurring any Reflection. As to the new Restrictions, they arose from the Seditions and Rebellions of the Japanese Papists, with which the Dutch had nothing to do; and if they suffer for the Precautions, that the bad Conduct of these Converts rendered necessary, it ought to be esteemed rather their Misfortune, than their Fault, that they have been obliged to submit to Hardships they did not deserve to have imposed upon them: Yet, to shew you, that the Dutch have done nothing more in this than other Nations would do, I must observe to you, that all

the Nations, excluded by the Edict against the Christians, have solicited to be restored, and to trade upon the same Terms with the Dutch: And it is to their want of Success in this Application, that you ought to attribute the Reflections you have heard, on the Meanness and Pusillanimity of the Dutch, in bearing with the Japanese Impositions.

As to the common Imputation of their denying themselves to be Christians, I flatter myself, that I shall be able to shew you the Folly of it. The Japanese are much too wise a Nation to give any Credit to such an Assertion, if the Dutch had been wicked enough to have attempted to impose on them by it. The Truth of the Matter is this: The Dutch, at the Time of the Persecution, declared, that their Intention in coming to Japan was purely for the sake of Trade; and that they did not pretend to trouble the Peace of the Empire, as the Portuguese had done: They farther alleg'd, and certainly with Truth, that their Religion differed in many respects from that of the Papists. Now I cannot see, what there is blameable in such a Conduct; and, on the Whole, you will find, that, instead of denying themselves to be Christians, they only avow'd themselves Protestants. As a Proof of this, give me Leave to put you in mind of the Instructions given by Lewis XIV. to the *Sieur Francis Carron*, when he intended to have sent him on an Embassy to the Emperor of Japan; wherein he directs him to assure that Monarch, that, though his most Christian Majesty was of the same Communion with the Portuguese, yet many of his Subjects were not, but of the same Religion with the *Hollanders*; and that, if his Imperial Majesty would admit the French to trade in his Dominions, he would take care that Trade should be managed by such of his Subjects as were of that Religion.

This I think to full an Answer, in every respect, to your Question, that, I hope, it will intirely cure you of your Prejudice in that respect, and bring you to acknowledge there is nothing, either of Wickedness or Blasphemy, in their avowing they trade with the Japanese as *Hollanders*, without drawing Religion at all into the Question: After all, the Dutch certainly found their Account, and, perhaps, always will, in their Commerce to Japan, notwithstanding the new Restrictions; though I think it very doubtful, whether any other Nation would or not; and for this plain Reason: The greatest Part of the Cargoes they send to Japan, are the Produce of their own Dominions in the East Indies; as, on the other hand, the principal Markets to which they carry the Commodities of Japan, are likewise within their own Dominions, or at least Places where they have Factories. Thus, I hope, I have fully answer'd all your Queries, and set the Nature of the Dutch Commerce, in this Country, in a true Light. It would have been much easier for me to have written a Volume upon this Subject, than to have confin'd myself within so narrow a Compas; but I find you are no great Friend to voluminous Writings, neither indeed am I. Your Questions are certainly very plain, and very pertinent, expressing fully, though in few Words, what it is you want to know. If my Answers shall be so happy as to appear satisfactory to you, and supply that Knowledge which you have sought for elsewhere in vain, they will make ample Amends for the Pains they have cost me. At all Events, I am confident you will esteem them, as the Marks of that sincere Friendship which their Author has for you; and will therefore pardon whatever Mistakes your Penetration may discover.

20. The East India Company have established three Factories; the Heads of which have the Title of Residents, who correspond directly with the Governor-General of *Batavia*, and are not dependent on any Governor or Director whatever, as other Factors, who have the Title of Residents, are. The first of these independent Residents is fix'd at *Chebon*, on the Coast of Java, at the Distance of forty Leagues from *Batavia*, where the Company carries on a very advantageous Commerce in Coffee, Cardamoms, Indigo, Cotton, &c. The Land is as fertile in Rice, and other Provisions, as perhaps any Country in the World. It is of considerable Extent, and the People who inhabit it are under the Dominion of four great Lords, who were formerly stild *Pangerans*, i. e. Princes; but are now stild Sultans.

Sultans, i. e. Kings, though their Authority is not much extended in consequence of their new Titles. There is one of them who is particularly called the *Company's Sultan*, because he is always attached to the *Dutch* Interest. To say the Truth, they might be all four very properly called the *Company's Sultans*, since they are under her Protection, and are delivered from all Apprehensions from the King of *Bantam*; who was heretofore continually at War with them, and had undoubtedly reduced them under his Subjection, if the Company had not assisted them, and driven the *Bantamse* out of their Territories. These Princes have, since that time, as well out of Gratitude for Favours past, as in Expectation of constant Protection for the Time to come, granted the Company great Privileges in their Dominions; amongst the rest, that of erecting a Fort at *Cheriben*, where they have a Garrison of sixty Men, as well as a Factory, very well situated, and in perfect good Order.

About half a League from this Fort are the Tombs of the Princes of *Cheriben*, in a vast Temple, erected probably for that Purpose: They are three Stories high, and are built of various Kinds of fine Stones. It is said, that these Tombs contain immense Riches, which, though left unguarded, the Princes are in no Apprehension should be carried away, from a Persuasion, that they are protected in some supernatural Way; and they report many Instances of Persons who have dropped down dead on approaching the Places, where those Riches are hid, with a thievish Intent. There are many People who believe, that the *Javanese* Priests, who are *Mohammedans*, have a Power of causing sudden Death by their Inchantments: Our Author intimates some Doubt of this, and yet tells us some very odd Stories, of his own Knowledge; such as, that these Priests are able to enchant Crocodiles and Serpents, making the former go in and out of the Water at their Pleasure, and the latter remain in what Posture they please. If this was really the Effect of any supernatural Power, and not produced by some natural Cause, concealed by the Priests from the People, one would think they might have delivered their Princes from the *Bantamse*, without leaving them to seek Assistance from the Company: However that be, here are a Multitude of these Priests maintained about this Temple, many of whom have gone in Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, for which Reason they have much Respect paid them. The whole Body of this Priesthood is governed by one sovereign Pontiff, who is more revered than the Sultans themselves. Our Author tells us, that there was formerly a very considerable *English* Factory at *Cheriben*, with a little Town belonging to it; but that the Persons belonging to the Factory intriguing with the Natives Wives, this so provoked the People, that, in one Night's time, they massacred them all, and destroyed the Town. It is very probable, if we could come at the Truth of this Story, that they were put upon this cruel Action by some of their Christian Neighbours.

The second Resident has the Direction of the Company's Affairs in the Kingdom of *Siam*, and has an Assistant or Book-keeper under him. The Company carry on a very considerable Trade here, in Tin, Lead, Elephants Teeth, Gum Lack, Wool, and other Commodities. The King of *Siam* is a very considerable Prince, and his Territories are near three hundred Leagues in Extent; and, as he is himself much addicted to Commerce, he suffers all Nations to trade freely through his Dominions: Ships, however, of any great Burden, are obliged to come to an Anchor, at the Distance of thirty six Leagues from his Capital, because the River *Menam*, upon which it stands, is so rapid, that they could not get up without great Difficulty. This River, like the *Nile*, and many others in the *Indies*, overflows its Banks at a certain Season, so that for half the Year the best Part of the Country is under Water; and, for this Reason, the Houses are all built upon Posts.

The Capital of this Country is a very large City, consisting of at least 50,000 Houses; and, as our Author reports, of 30,000 Temples: The People are all *Pagans*, and are famous for a certain Maxim they have, that all Religions are good, provided they tend to the Honour of God. They think, however, their own the best; though, upon

some Occasions they are ready to own, that the God of the Christians is most powerful, because the Head of their principal Idol has been twice beat to pieces by Thunder. This Statue is, perhaps, the biggest in the World, and the *Dutch* call it in Derision *The great Bierbeel of Siam*. He is represented sitting, with his Legs under him, like a Taylor, in which Position he is seventy Feet high, and every Finger of him as big as a Man: At three Leagues Distance from the Capital there is a Temple, prodigiously large, in which there is an Idol, not quite so tall as the former. The Priests tell the People, that this is the Wife of the other; and that once in seven Years she goes to visit him, or he goes to visit her. They likewise persuaded them, that this enormous Statue, as well as the other, was all of solid Gold; but the last Clap of a hunder that fell upon it, detected this Part of the Cheat, and showed it to be no more than Brick and Lime, very artificially gilded over.

One may justly wonder, that this did not put an End to the Adoration of so wretched a Deity; but, where Superstition prevails, the plainest Proofs very seldom produce any Effects. It is, however, proper to observe here, that our Author's Account sets us perfectly right as to that Matter, which has been strangely embarras'd by the Account given by the Jesuits, who attended the Embassy sent to the King of *Siam* by *Leuis XIV.* They gave us a large Description, both of the Temple and the Idol, but, it seems, they swallowed the Story of the *Siamse* Priests; for, after talking of the prodigious Size of the Statue, and asserting, that one Foot weighed one hundred and twenty-five Pounds, they inform us, with great Assurances, that this monstrous Idol is all of pure Gold; and then enter into a Computation as to the Value of the God of *Siam*, which they very judiciously fixed at twelve Millions and an half of *French* Money. At the same time they acknowledge, that it is not easy to conceive, how this Mass of Gold was got together, since, at the Time they were there, the *Siamse* were not prodigiously rich: But the Thunder-clap has solved all these Doubts, and shewn us, that there is no Reason to give Credit to the wonderful Stories that are told by *Indian* Priests, to magnify the Power of the Gods, or the Wealth of their Worshippers.

As for this Kingdom of *Siam*, it seems to be a perfect Land of Wonders; for our Author tells us, that they shew there a Gallows of a prodigious Height, made of Wood as hard as Iron, which they affirm to be the individual Gallows that *Haman* was hang'd upon. And this Story, no doubt, is as true as the former; and the Gallows is much the same with that recorded in the Book of *Ester*, as the gigantic Idol was pure Gold. I am, however, inclined to believe, that the *Jews* might formerly erect this Gallows in Memory of that of *Hamans*; whence the Mistake might arise. The Country of *Siam* is very rich and fruitful, and there is a considerable Trade carried on by the *Chinese*. Our Author justly observes, that the *Dutch* have great Privileges here, and are considered as the most favoured Nation; and he has likewise hinted the true Cause of this, which, he says, was the banishment of other Strangers, meaning very probably the *English*, who, he says, lost their Credit with the Natives, by not being too familiar with their Women. The Point of the Matter is, that, since the great Revolution which happened at *Siam*, a little after the Departure of the *Dutch* Embassadors, the *Dutch* grew into Credit with the new Kings, because the *English* were intrusted with the best Places in the Government, civil and military, by his Predecessor, whom he had murdered. It was not, therefore, consistent with his Policy, to have any great Correspondence with the Nation that he knew was not well able to do his Will. The Favour he shewed the *Dutch*, became a Rule to his Successors, and they have been very much careful ever since. They have a Factory about a Mile below the City of *Siam*, on the Side of the River, which enables them to collect great Quantities of Deer-skins, which are annually sent to *Japan*; and this Commerce, together with that of Tin, of which there is great abundance, and very fine, in this Kingdom, makes the Company take more Pains to oblige the King of *Siam*, than most of their Neighbours. The *Siamse* themselves are much addicted to

Trade, and the *Chinese* they annually send to the Navigation Company. They boast of having 1000 Years before *Jesus* have observed them, as with the *Chinese*, is owing to which renders an necessary among them.

The third Resident is always a *Mercator* or Book-keepers, as Titles of Residents, Disputes among them exceedingly; and they were, in his Time, to give an Account of Precedency might be Country is under the has the Title of *Imum* 200 Miles East from nions was formerly *As* he removed it fifteen then but a Fishing to a large, dry, sandy Water, except what such as are forced to in their Legs and feet dangerous. They a and wholesome Water stance of twenty Mile carriage, makes it as in *England*. The great Inconvenience, makes a fine Appearance, and make a much Their Markets are Beef, Mutton of Sheep and Antelopes Flesh, tridges, and Pigeons, not well-tasted; which of the Sea-water, and the Town is well furnished such as Grapes, Peaches they make Marmelade; portation, tho' near qu to be seen, but a few more than two or three often no Rain for two Mountains about two without a moderate s prolific in Fruit and they have no Rice, &c.

Since the *Imaum* nions, and with a t Trade; for, besides belonging to the *East* Trade from *India* or *Portuguese*, *Banyans*, *Arab*, *Persia*, and *Arab* still produces ve Coffee, and some *Frankincense* from *C* no, liquid Storax, *Arab*, and *Mum* comes down the *R* continual Supply of Money, *German* Cre ver; also *Zequins*, *Japan* Gold; and *P* For it is a Point see Goods and Merchand for a certain Time, ney. The *Europe* 20,000 Tons, ratic about 20,000 Tons *Japan* planted wit to grow above fou

Trade, and the *Chinese* who reside there more; so that they annually send Ships to *Japan*, which, the Difficulty of the Navigation considered, is not a little extraordinary. They boast of having had the Use of the Compaſs above 1000 Years before it was discovered in *Europe*; but the *Jesuits* have observed, and it is true, that the Compaſs with them, as with the *Chinese*, is very imperfect; which, I presume, is owing to the Regularity of the Trade-winds, which renders an accurate Division of the Compaſs leſs neceſſary among them, than with us.

The third Reſidency is fix'd at *Mocha*, where the Reſident is always a Merchant, who has under him two Factors or Book-keepers, as Aſſiſtants; but, as they have all the Titles of Reſidents, there have been, of late Years, ſuch Diſputes among them, as prejudic'd the *Dutch* Trade exorbitantly; and therefore our Author tells us, that they were, in his Time, all three ſent for to *Batavia*, in order to give an Account of their Conduct, and that the Point of Precedency might be better ſettled for the future. This County is under the Government of an *Arab* Prince, who has the Title of *Immaum*, or King, who reſides at a Place 200 Miles Eaſt from *Mocha*. The Sea-port of his Dominions was formerly *Aden*; but, that being very inconvenient, he removed it fifteen Leagues farther to *Mocha*, which was then but a Fiſhing town. It is ſituated cloſe to the Sea, in a large, dry, ſandy Plain, that affords neither Fruits, nor Water, except what is brackiſh, and ſo unwholſome, that ſuch as are forced to drink it have long Worms bred by it in their Legs and Feet; which are equally troubleſome and dangerous. They are ſupplied, however, with very good and wholſome Water from *Mofa*, which lying at the Diſtance of twenty Miles, and the Water coming by Land-carriage, makes it as dear to the Inhabitants, as Small-beer in *England*. The Town of *Mocha*, notwithstanding this great Inconvenience, is large, indifferently fortified, and makes a fine Appearance from the Sea. The Buildings are lofty, and make a much better Shew without, than within. Their Markets are well furniſhed with Proviſions, ſuch as Beef, Mutton of Sheep and Goats, Lamb and Kid, Camel and Antelope Fleſh, common Fowls, *Guinea* Hens, Partridges, and Pigeons. The Sea affords Variety of Fiſh, but not well-taſted; which proceeds from the extreme Saltnels of the Sea-water, and the Nature of their Aliment. The Town is well furniſhed all the Year round with good Fruits, ſuch as Grapes, Peaches, Apricots, and Quinces, of which they make Marmelade, both for their preſent Uſe, and Exportation, tho' near the Town, there is not a Tree or Shrub to be ſeen, but a few Date-trees; and they ſeldom have more than two or three Showers of Rain in a Year, and ſeldom no Rain for two or three Years. But, amongſt the Mountains about twenty Miles off, ſeldom a Morning paſſes without a moderate Shower; which makes the Valleys very proſperous in Fruit and Corn, ſuch as the Soil will bear; but they have no Rice, tho' plenty of Barley and Wheat.

Since the *Immaum* made *Mocha* the chief Port of his Dominions, and withal a free Port, it is become a Place of great Trade; for, beſides the *Dutch* Factory, there is one alſo belonging to the *Engliſh Eaſt India Company*; as alſo a Trade from *India* carried on by *Engliſh* free Merchants, *Portugueſe*, *Bavarians*, and *Moors*, and by Vellels from *Baſſa*, *Perſia*, and *Makka* in *Arabia Petraea*. The Country which produces very few valuable Commodities, beſides Coffee, and ſome Drags; ſuch as Myrrh, Olibanum or Frankincenſe from *Ceſſis*, and Aloes Succotrina from *Socatra*, liquid Storax, white and yellow Arterie, ſome Gum *Arabic*, and Mummy, with ſome Balm of *Gilead*, that comes down the *Red ſea*. The Coffee-trade brings in a continual Supply of Silver and Gold from *Europe*, *Spaniſh* Money, *German* Crowns, and other *European* Coins of Silver, alſo *Zequins*, *German* and *Hungarian* Ducats of *European* Gold; and from *Turkey* *Ebramies* and *Mograbies*: For it is a Point ſettled here, that, notwithstanding other Goods and Merchandize may be bought and ſold on Credit for a certain Time, Coffee is always bought for ready Money. The *Europe* Shipping laſe yearly at *Mocha* about 20,000 Tons, rather more than leſs, and the other Nations about 20,000 Tons more. The whole Province of *Belleſo* is planted with Coffee-trees, which are never ſuffered to grow above four or five Yards high; and the Bean or

Berry grows on the Branches and Twigs, firſt green, then red, at laſt a dark-brown Colour. The Berries cling to the Branches, like ſo many Inſects; and, when they are ripe, they ſhake off.

The *Dutch* have here, as in moſt other Places in the *Indies*, a great Advantage over other Nations, by their being poſſeſſed of the Monopoly of Spices, which are conſumed here in great Quantities, and conſequently enable them to come at Coffee at much eaſier Rates than their Neighbours: Yet this Trade of theirs at *Mocha* is continually ſinking, on account of the vaſt Quantities of Coffee cultivated in their own Colonies, eſpecially at *Batavia*, *Amboyna*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*: Yet the *Dutch* themſelves acknowledge, that there is no Compariſon between the Flavour of the Coffee raiſed in their own Plantations, and that which is brought from *Mocha*. Our Author obſerves, that *Arabia the Happy* is divided into abundance of ſmall Principalities, under the Jurisdiction of independent Princes, ſtilled *Emirs*, by which he means independent of each other; for they all pay a kind of Homage, tho' little or no Obedience, to the Grand Signor. He likewiſe takes notice of a vulgar Error as to the Colour of the *Red ſea*, which, he aſſures us, is not at all red; but derives that Appellation from ſome Parts of its Bottom being of that Colour. In the next Chapter, however, we ſhall ſhew, that this is a Miſtake likewiſe; and that the Reaſon of this Name is the bad Verſion of its *Hebrew* Denomination, firſt given into by the *Greeks*, and through them propagated amongſt other Nations. Theſe Reſidents are the laſt Officers in the Direction of the Affairs of the *Eaſt India Company*; and this Account of the Diſtinction of their Factories is ſo much the more valuable, as it affords us a clear Notion of every Branch of their Commerce through the *Indies* at this Day, except in the Iſland of *Borneo*, and in the great Empire of *China*, where they have no Factories; but content themſelves with trading to both Places, as other Nations do: And of the Nature of this Commerce our Author has likewiſe given us an Account, which is far from being the leaſt curious or inſtructive Part of his Work.

37. The Iſland of *Borneo* is, in point of Extent, the largeſt in the *Eaſt Indies*, and perhaps in the World. Some Writers ſay, that it is 600 Leagues in extent; but the *Dutch* tell us, that it is not quite ſo big. It is divided into abundance of little Principalities, of which the moſt powerful is the King of *Banjaar-Maſſeen*; and, after him, the Princes of *Borneo* and *Sambas*. The Air of *Borneo* is reckoned very unwholſome; which is occaſioned by the Country's being low in ſome Places, and marſhy. The Iſland is but thinly peopled, though it abounds in very rich Commodities. When the *Dutch* firſt ſettled in the *Eaſt Indies*, they were very ſolicitous about eſtabliſhing their Factories in *Borneo*; and accordingly they fix'd them at the City of that Name, at *Sambas*, and at *Succadano*; but they ſoon found, that there was no ſuch thing as dealing with the Inhabitants, who are certainly the baſeſt, cruelleſt, and moſt peridious People in the World. The *Dutch* therefore quitted the Iſland, and, though invited thither ſeveral times ſince, have abſolutely retuled to return.

An *Engliſh* Factory, that was, in ſome measure, ſettled at *Banjaar-Maſſeen*, under the Direction of one Mr. *Cunningham*, was oblig'd to withdraw, and at the ſame time glad to eſcape; which has frighted the *Engliſh* away alſo. The Story is very remarkable, and worth the Hearing: It ſeems, the Place fix'd on for the Factory was very ſtrangely choſen, ſince it lay in the Mouth of a River, where ſome of their Buildings had Beams tied together in the Water for their Foundation; and the very beſt of them were built upon Poſts, or rather upon Piles. Theſe Habitations of theirs, ſorry as they were, had not yet attained their utmoſt Perfection, when the Quarrel happened between them and the *Banjaareens*. The Chief, Mr. *Cunningham*, was a very honeſt, worthy Gentleman, bred originally to Phyſic or Surgery, who fell accidentally into Trade, and was now advanced to a Poſt, in which he knew not well how to act. He left therefore the Management of all Things to ſuch as were under him; and theſe happened unluckily to be ſtill leſs capible than himſelf. In ſhort, they began to reſtrain the Natives in their Trade, before they had a Gun mounted, ſtopping their Boats, and teaching them, and, amongſt the

rest, one which was going to the King's Court with a young Lady on board. This incensed the King of *Banjaar* to such a degree, that he ordered 5 or 6000 of his Subjects to attack and destroy the Settlement; of which Mr. *Cunningham* having Notice, he abandoned it the Day before the Night, in which the Attack was to be made, retiring with his People on board of four Ships that were accidentally in the River. The *Banjaarens* did not fail attacking these Ships, but were so warmly received, that near 1500 of them were killed in the Action: Notwithstanding which, they burnt the two smallest, and killed several People who were on board them. Mr. *Cunningham*, however, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Factory, made their Escape on board the other two Ships; but left the best Part of their Effects behind them.

The King afterwards invited the *English* to trade in his Port, but declared he would never suffer them to have another Factory; and there is not now any *European* Settlement in the whole Island. The Commerce of *Borneo* consists in as rich Goods, as any in the *Indies*. At *Sambas*, and *Succadana*, they deal in Diamonds, of which there is a Mine in the Heart of the Country. These Stones are generally from four to twenty-four Carats; and there are some found of thirty and forty Carats; but the whole Trade does not amount to above 600 Carats in a Year. They always sell these Stones for Gold, though that likewise is the Commodity of the Island; and there is a very considerable Trade for Gold dust carried on at *Pabang*, *Saya*, *Calantan*, *Seribas*, *Catra*, and *Melanumba*. *Bezoar*, of the finest sort, is another Article in their Trade, not at all inferior in its Value to the former. *Japan* Wood, fine Wax, Incense, Mastic, and several other rich Gums, are also met with here; but, after all, the staple Commodity of the Island is Pepper, of which there is as much, and as good, as in any Part of the *Indies*. Our Author mentions another very valuable Drug met with in this Island, which is a Stone he calls the *Parkstone*, valued at 10 high a Rate, as to be worth no less than three hundred Crowns apiece. The *Indian* Physicians, it seems, are of Opinion, that, by exhibiting to their Patients the Water in which this Stone has been steeped, they can infallibly discover whether they will live or die. It is a Pity he has not given us a further Description of this Curiosity, or told us what his Sentiments are of its Virtues, since Credulity is so common in the East, that there is no taking Facts of this kind upon Trust.

Before the *Portuguese* discovered a Passage to the *Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, the *Chinese* were in Possession of all the Trade of this Island; and, since the *Europeans* have declined settling there, it is, in a great measure, fallen into their Hands again. The Places where they are settled, besides *Banjaar-Mussien*, are *Mampua*, *Teya*, *Lando*, and *Sambas*, where they carry on a great Commerce, and furnish the Inhabitants in Return with Silks, Chintz, Calicoes, and, in short, all the Manufactures of *China* and *Japan*. It has been suggested, and with great Shew of Reason, that a more valuable Trade might be established in this Island of *Borneo*, than in any Part of the *East Indies*, because there arrive here annually large Fleets of *China* Junks, laden with all the Commodities of that Empire, which might be purchased as cheap, or cheaper, than in *China* itself, for Reasons, with which the Reader shall soon be made acquainted. There come likewise annually, from the Island of *Celebes*, small Vessels, which, in spite of the Vigilance of the *Dutch*, bring considerable Quantities of Cloves, Nutmegs, and other Spices; which is the Reason, that the *Dutch* are not able to sell any great Quantities of these Goods in their Traffick with the Inhabitants: Yet they frequently send Ships hither to load with Pepper, and endeavour to keep up a good Correspondence with the Kings of *Borneo* and *Sambas*; for, as to the King of *Banjaar*, he has declined having any thing to do with them.

It is not a little strange, considering the mighty Sway the *Dutch East India Company* have in that Part of the World, that they should have no Factory or Establishment in *China*. They have, indeed, formerly sent Embassadors thither, under Pretence of demanding Leave to trade freely; but that was with a Design only to gain a greater Insight into that Commerce; and, in consequence

of the Discoveries made thereby, they have been led to decline it. While they were possessed of the famous Island of *Formosa*, they carried on a direct Trade to that Empire with great Profit; but, since they were expelled from thence in the Year 1661, they have not been able to make this Trade turn with any great Profit: Yet, since the setting up of the Imperial or *Offend* Company, they have tried to send Ships thither from *Holland* directly; but even this, as our Author informs us, has been to no great Account, their Profit having been seldom larger than twenty-five or thirty per Cent. which, considering the Hazard of the Voyage, and other Inconveniencies, was not looked upon as any considerable Return. There have been several Reasons assigned for this, some of which it may be proper to mention. It is, in the first place, very much doubted, whether in any Place, where both Nations are on a Level, the *Dutch* are able to deal with the *Chinese*, who are certainly the cunningest Traders in the World. It is, in the next place, suggested, that the *Chinese* are less inclined to deal with them than other *Europeans*; and, when they do, always hold them to harder Terms. It has been likewise remarked, that the Port-charges, and the Presents they make, sink very deep into their Gains: But these seem to be very superficial Conjectures, and not to reach the Truth in any degree.

But that the *Dutch* do not affect any Settlement in this Empire, may be very well accounted for, from the two following Causes, which are certainly very weighty. The first is, that, being at so great a Distance from *Batavia*, and in a Country where it is easy to consign their Effects to *Portuguese*, *English*, and other foreign Merchants, the Officers mind their own Concerns more than the Company's; of which a convincing Proof has been had, by the *Portuguese* vending their Pepper at a greater Advantage than the *Dutch*, though they bought it at an high Price at *Batavia*. But the second Cause is still more important: There is a prodigious Trade carried on by the *Chinese* to *Batavia*, which, though it is a Voyage of 700 Leagues, the *Chinese* make in their Junks in the Space of six Weeks, sailing from *Canton* in the Beginning of *December*, and arriving in the Middle of *January*. The Company, in the first place, have a Duty of four per Cent. on all the Goods they bring, which are Gold, Silks of all Sorts, Tea, Anniseed, Mulk, Rhubarb, Copper, Quicksilver, Vermilion, Cloves, &c. for which they receive in Exchange Lead, Tin, Pepper, Incense, Camphire, Cloves, Nutmegs, Amber, and abundance of other Things, on all which the *Dutch* set their own Prices, and consequently buy much cheaper than other Nations can purchase the same Goods in *China*: They have also found by Experience, that a direct Trade between *Holland* and *China* lessens very much this more profitable Commerce at *Batavia*. Neither is it there only that they have an Opportunity of dealing with the *Chinese*, but in many other Parts of the *Indies*, where, when the *Chinese* Merchants have completed their Sales to the Natives, they are very glad to part with the Remainder of their Commodities at a very easy Rate to the *Dutch*. Thus it clearly appears, that the *East India Company* are able to send Home vast Quantities of *Chinese* Goods, without depending on a direct Trade with that Country, either from *Holland* or *Batavia*.

I cannot say how far Things may be altered since our Author wrote; but this is certainly a very fair, and a very sensible, Account of Matters, as they then stood. Here he finishes his Remarks on the Oeconomy of the *Dutch East India Company*, which is certainly, in all respects, the clearest and best that is hitherto extant, in order to raise the Thread of his Narration, and to prosecute his Voyage Home from *Batavia*, as he was obliged to make it on board one of the Company's Return-ships, pursuant to the Order of the Governor-General and his Council, when Commodore *Roggeveen's* Vessels were seized and condemned.

33. There happened nothing remarkable in our Author's Voyage from *Batavia* to the Cape of *Good Hope*, worthy of Observation, except their meeting with a violent storm in the Height of *Angola*, on the Coast of *Africa*, by which they were very near being driven upon the Rocks which infest that Coast; and had a Sight of the Remains of the *Schonenberg*, a Ship belonging to the *East India Company*.

which had been wrecked upon the former Sight of the Coast, abundance of Ships, some of which were bound. Ships enter out of it to the North Entrance, appears a great number of *Sales*, where the Company is composed of a Serjeant Major, and several other Officers. They are employed in taking Oyster-shells, which are general Commodities, and are sold, from most Parts of the Country. Punishment of being put to the Gallies, they are put to the Gallies. Maxim, That the Vessels of the Fleet consist of many Pieces of Cannon, and are under the Command of the Commodore.

The Bay is very fertile, and produces, entering two or three Miles into the Land, be in the whole about thirty Leagues of land, certainly capable of being cultivated commodiously; yet the Charge is not very great. There is some Shore, there is some Commodities, each of its Batteries, heavy Cannon. The Situation on the Edge of the Bay, lying at the Mouth of the River, the first of the Mountains, it has a great Reputation for its Beauty; the next is the *Devil's Mountain*, a high, because of the times blow here.

The *East India Company* the *Hottentots* a certain care shown in the Country, for the Home-ward-bound, and on the Coast, the *Africans*; the within-land are called either *Europeans*, or *Africans*; are some of them from the Coast; obliged, once a Year where the Driftware The Design of this the Prefants, as well Companies, common Review is over, they and generally carry have occasion for to cultivate their Ground. They likewise plant of which they make these Peasants that besides large and virtues of Sheep and is one at the Distance which is entirely of there a large Trade the Place were they are allowed Church Part of the Inhabitants the Company, and their proper Management, and to be brought them; but are carried before determine them (Vol. I.

which had been wrecked there a little before. They had no sooner Sight of the Cape, than they discovered in the Road abundance of *English* and *French*, as well as *Dutch* Ships, some of which were outward, some homeward-bound. Ships enter this Bay on the South-east, and pass out of it to the North-west. A little before you reach its Entrance, appears a small Island, which is called the Island of *Sides*, where the Company have always a guard posted, composed of a Serjeant, and a small Number of Men: They are employed here in drawing of Whale-oil, and making Oyster-shells, to make Lime. Into this Island Males and Females are generally banished from the Cape, and, indeed, from most Parts of the *Indies*; where, besides the Punishment of being thus separated from their Friends, they are put to the hardest Labour, according to the *Dutch* Maxim, That the worst kind of Work is best done by the Idle. As soon as the Serjeant saw what Number of Ships the Fleet consisted of, he hoisted a Flag, and fired as many Pieces of Cannon as there were Ships, to give Notice to the Commander of the Cape.

The Bay is very fine and large, having an oval Form, and entering two or three Leagues within-land, so that it may be in the whole about nine Leagues in Circuit, and is certainly capable of holding one hundred large Ships very commodiously; yet it must be allowed, that the Anchorage is not every-where alike good: and, near the Shore, there is some Danger. The Middle of this Bay is commanded by a very strong Fort, which is a regular Pentagon, each of its Bastions mounted with twenty Pieces of heavy Cannon. The Fort, and the Town, are both situated on the Edge of a Plain, about three Leagues in Extent, lying at the Bottom of three very high Mountains; the first of these is called the *Lion Mountain*, because it has a great Resemblance to a Lion couching upon his Belly; the next is the *Table Mountain*, which is much higher, and very like a Table, so that in a clear Day it may be seen twenty Leagues off; the third is called the *Devil's Mountain*, and is not so remarkable as either of the former. The Houses of which this Town is composed are very neat and agreeable, but not above two Stories high, because of the furious South-east Winds that sometimes blow here.

The *East India Company*, about 1650, bought from the *Hottentots* a certain District of their Country, which they took care should be immediately planted, and well inhabited, for the Conveniency of their Ships outward and homeward-bound. The People who dwell at the Cape, and on the Coast, are for the most part *Christians*, and are styled *Afrikaners*; those who inhabit the Country farther within-land are called *Peasants*. They are all of them either *Europeans*, or descended from *Europeans*. There are some of them who are settled three hundred Leagues from the Coast; notwithstanding which, they are all obliged, once a Year, to appear at a Place called *Stellenbosch*, where the *Droffard*, or Magistrate of the Country, resides. The Design of this is, that they may pass in Review; for the *Peasants*, as well as the *Townsmen*, are formed into Companies, commanded by proper Officers. After the Review is over, they return to their respective Dwellings, and generally carry home with them such Tools, as they have occasion for in their Country-work. These People cultivate their Ground, and sow Rye, Barley, Beans, &c. They likewise plant Vines, which produce very fine Grapes, of which they make excellent Wine. There are some of these *Peasants* that are in very happy Circumstances, having, besides large and well cultivated Plantations, great Quantities of Sheep and Cattle. Amongst other Colonies, there is one at the Distance of eight Leagues from the Town, which is intirely composed of *French* Refugees, who have there a large Track of Country, very well cultivated; the Place where they live is called *Dracaboniam*, and they are allowed Churches and Ministers of their own Country. Part of the Inhabitants of the Town are in the Service of the Company, and the rest are free *Burgesses*. They have their proper Magistrates, who decide Causes of small Consequence, and regulate any little Disputes that happen amongst them; but, as to Matters of any Importance, they are carried before the Governor, and his Council, who determine them finally, and without Appeal. It is pretty

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much the same thing in the flat Country, where the *Droffard* terminates all Things of small Consequence; but, whenever there happens any thing of Importance, it is always carried before the Governor, and his Council, by whom it is finally determined; and all their Sentences, in civil and criminal Affairs, are executed without Delay. As for the military Establishment, it is exactly on the same Foot here as at *Batavia*; that is to say, the Officer, who commands in Chief, has the Rank and Pay of a Major; but he does the Duty, in all respects, of a Major-General. The Officers under him are Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, who take care to keep their Companies always complete, and perfectly well disciplined, so that, in case of an Attack, they can draw together at least five thousand Men, well armed, and as good as any regular Troops, every *Peasant* knowing whither to repair, in order to range himself under his proper Standard.

It is not easy to describe the Adroitness with which these *Peasants* handle their Fire-arms. It is, indeed, an Exercise in which, from their very Infancy, they are constantly employed; and it is almost incredible, with what Boldness they attack the fiercest Beasts. There are many of them who will not shoot a Lion sleeping, because that, say they, shews neither Skill nor Courage: When therefore they find a Lion asleep, they first throw Stones, and wake him, never offering to fire, till he is upon his Feet. There happened, as our Author tells us, a very singular Accident, upon such an Occasion, a little before his Arrival; which fell out thus: Two *Peasants* went to hunt together; one of them saw a Lion, which he fired at, but missed him; the Lion immediately flew upon the Man, who, that he might be more at Liberty to defend himself, threw his Gun away; the other *Peasant*, hearing the Report, made all the Haite he could to the Place, where he found his Countryman and the Lion close engaged: The poor Fellow, in the Zeal of his Heart, caught up the Gun, and, with half a dozen sound Blows on the Lion's Head, laid him dead upon the Spot; the other *Peasant*, turning his Head, and seeing his Gun broke to pieces, began to complain very loudly; asked his Companion, why he did not stay till he was called; and talked of making him pay for his Gun, insinuating upon it, that he could have killed the Lion without any Help. This, says our Author, is an Instance of the Intrepidity of these People with regard to wild Beasts; and, no doubt, a notable Instance it is, if our Author was but sure of his Fact. It was formerly, continues he, looked upon as a Wonder, if a Man killed a Lion; but now the thing is so common, that they make no more of killing a Lion, than we do of shooting a Hare.

The Country round about the Town is full of Vineyards and Gardens; the Company have two, which are, perhaps, the finest in the World; the one lies at the Distance of two hundred Paces from the Fort, between the Town and *Table Mountain*. It is about 1400 Paces in Length, and 235 in Breadth; a fine Rivulet from the Mountain runs through the middle of it. It is divided into Quarters, and they cultivate there with the utmost Success, the Fruits and Flowers of all the four Parts of the World. The other Garden is at a Distance of two Leagues, in that which is called the *New Country*, and is likewise kept in the best Order that can be by the Slaves of the Company, of which there are seldom less than five hundred. The Country hereabouts is mountainous and stony, but the Valleys are very agreeable, and exceedingly fertile. The Climate is the best in the World; for Cold and Heat are never felt here in any intolerable Degree, and the People live to great Ages without Diseases, which are never known, but when produced by Intemperance of some kind or other: The very Mountains, besides contributing to the Wholesomeness of the Place, are supposed to be full of Gold, and other valuable Metals: Some Affairs have been made, but as yet no Mines have been discovered in such a Situation as would permit the Working of them to Advantage.

The late Mr. van Steel, who was Governor of the Cape, travelled the Country, and examined it with great Care and Attention. He caused Gardens to be laid out, and Pleasure-houses to be built, in several Places; but the *Peasants*, who were employed in building, and cultivating these Ga-

dens, sent over a Complaint to the Company, alledging, that it was prejudicial to their private Affairs, and put it out of their Power to maintain their Families. Upon this, the Governor was recalled immediately. His Discoveries, however, were of very great Consequence; inasmuch as they made known, not only the inner Parts of the Country, but the Nations that inhabit them. These, so far as they are yet discovered, consist of seven different People, all comprehended under the general Name of *Hottentots*. The first of these, and the least considerable, are without a Chief, live in the Neighbourhood of the Cape, and are most of them in the Service of the Company, dwell with Townsmen, or are employed by the Peasants and Farmers, who busy them in cultivating their Lands. The second inhabit the Mountains, or to speak with greater Propriety, live in the Caverns of the Mountains. They are Thieves and Robbers by Profession, and draw their Subsistence intirely from plundering the peaceable *Hottentots*, with whom they are in continual War. There is one thing, however, that is very singular with respect to this thievish Nation; which is, that they never rob or molest a Christian. The third Nation is called the *Little Maqua*; the fourth the *Great Maqua*; the fifth the *Little Kricqua*; the sixth the *Great Kricqua*. These Words *Maqua* and *Kricqua* signify King or Chief. They are constantly engaged in War with each other; but, when any Nation is in Danger of being totally ruined, two or three Nations immediately join them, for the Balance of Power is a Maxim as well understood and supported by the *Hottentots*, as by the Nations of *Europe*.

Part of these *Hottentots* have submitted themselves to the *Hollanders*, and are therefore styled the Company's *Hottentots*. The *Dutch* send annually about fifty or sixty Persons to trade with these *Hottentots*, who purchase their Cattle, and give them in Exchange Arrack, Tobacco, Hemp, and such Seeds as they have Occasion for, by which means a good Understanding is preserved. These *Hottentots* of the Company are very often attacked by the other Nations; and, when they find they have to far the worst of it, that they are no longer able to defend themselves by their own proper Force, the King puts himself at the Head of a small Body of Troops, and marches down to the Cape, to den and Assistance. As soon as he arrives there, he goes to the Governor, with the principal People of his Nation, with the commanding Staff in his Hand, which was given him by the Company, and has their Arms upon it; and holding it out towards the Governor, desires he would grant him Succours. If the Governor does not think fit to grant him his Request, but contents himself with giving him good Words, he, without more ado, throws his Staff at the Governor's Feet, and tells him in his *Dutch*, *I fear me, not your Company's* *Hottentot*, that is to say, *For me, I will be no more the Company's* *Hottentot*. The Governor, however, generally sends an Effort of Troops home with him; for 'tis the Interest of the Company to be upon good Terms with this sort of a Prince, because he is always ready to do for them whatever they desire of him.

The People are certainly very stupid, and very brutal. They rub their Bodies all over with old Grease, which has a very bad Smell, so that you may nose them at a considerable Distance. Their Children are born perfectly white; but, by their being constantly rubbed with Grease, and exposed to the Sun, they grow, by degrees, brown, and almost black. When a Woman is brought to bed of Twins, one of them is immediately condemned to Death, and is cast to a Tree, where it continues, till it expires. Some of them have a Custom of taking out one of the Testicles of their Male Children, as soon as they are able to bear it, so says that, by this Method, they may prevent, when they come to be married, their begetting Twins, and this is a Custom of which they cannot be broken, notwithstanding Experience shews them, that it is no manner of purpose. They seem for the most part, to have but little Religion. Yet they frequently look up with Admiration to the heavenly Bodies, saying, *These are the Stars, containing a Being of infinite Power and Wisdom*. In many respects they are more like Beasts than Men. They are very disagreeable in their Features, and are, in almost all things, inferior to their, there are one or other Words of them call

Nations on the Face of the Earth. Their Complexion is dark, occasioned, as has been before observed, by their rubbing themselves with Grease, and being exposed continually to the Sun, when they are young. They are stout, and thick-set; their Noses flat, like those of a *Dutch Dog*; their Lips very thick, and big; their Teeth exceedingly white, but very long, and ill-set, some of them sticking out of their Mouths, like Boars Tulks. Their Hair is black, and curled, like Wool. They are very nimble, and they run with such Speed as is almost incredible. They are generally covered with a Sheep-skin, having each a Quarter of Arrows on his Back, and his Bow in his Hand. As soon as they come within Sight of an Enemy, they let up a dreadful Cry, leaping and dancing at the same time in the most frightful Postures. The seventh Nation is the *Caffres*. These are properly the *Anthropophagi*, who are made to much Noise in the World. The *Hottentots* are exceedingly afraid of them, and take all the Care they can to keep out of their Way for fear of being roasted or boiled, if they should be taken Prisoners. This admirable Nation would never enter into any sort of Commerce with the Christians; but, on the contrary, take all the Care they can to intrap them, in order to murder, and eat them, as is generally believed, to eat them. It is indeed reported of late Years they are grown somewhat more tractable, and entertain some sort of Trade with such as will venture to have any Dealings with them. They are very poor, and a very warlike Nation, being all of them strong, well-made Men, and tho' their Hair is curled and black, like that of other Negroes, yet they have better Faces, and a much more manly Appearance.

At the Distance of about eighteen Leagues from the City, there is another Port, called the *Bay of Saldene*, which, in all respects, an infinitely better Harbour than that of the Cape, except one, and that is in point of Water, the single Exception is sufficient to render it unsuitable to the Animals of this Country, they are many of them remarkable as in any Places in the World. The Lions very common here, and, in hard Winters, will sometimes near their Habitations. It is thought, this Creature supported the King of Beasts, because he never eats Man, but bears his Breath out with his Paws before his face. He roars, and shakes his Mane terribly, before he attacks a Man; and, if he does not give these Signs, it is because there is no Danger in pulling him. Tygers, Leopards, and Wolves are also very common, and do a prodigious Execution. It is pretty probable, that these Creatures would be much more numerous, if it was not for a Race of wild Dogs, which are also bred in this Country, and hunt in Packs, and renders them so bold, that they frequently will attack a Lion, a Tyger, a Leopard, and a Wolf, and will often destroy; and, which is very wonderful, they will let a Man take their Prey when they have slain it. The Hunters are never afraid at the sight of them, but rather rejoice, because they are sure, that no wild Beasts will molest their Neighbourhood. Elephants are common here, and of a large Size, as in any Part of the World, being commonly from twelve to fifteen Feet high, or better, and weigh from 60 to 120 Pounds. The Rhinoceros is often met with. He is somewhat less than the Elephant, but stronger. His Skin is prodigiously thick, so that scarce any Weapon will pierce it. He has a Horn of a Hog, upon which grows a solid Horn, which is about twenty Inches in Length, which is very hard, and because it is esteemed an excellent Medicine, is much valued. But there are two Animals peculiar to this Country, which therefore deserve Notice. The one is a Creature, which resembles the tame one in nothing, but the Head is of the Size of an ordinary Horse, and is a beautiful Creature in the World. His Hair is black, and, from the Ridge of his back down to his Tail, he has a Row of many Cycles. He is a very bold Creature, and runs more swiftly than any Horse, and is difficult to take him alive; and, when taken, is very hard to break him: Notwithstanding which, it is a very dignified Rate, and one of them is thought a proper Sovereign Prince, on account of their Royal and noble Beauty. The other Creature found in this Country, is by the *Dutch* called the *Stoat*.

Stinking badger. He is in his Make, resembling by Man or Beast, he is drawn near, he is intolerably stinking, their Noses in it, to think to abominably, but they must be left. Our Author says, to describe all the Creatures of *Africa*, because they see every Year to them, for which he is much of Summer, he is mad with Thirst, the of *Sait*, of the *Elephant* of one Species, mixing these strange. The *Hottentots*, subject the Skins of their Men. Our Author assures us not long before: It was old; there seemed which resembled that smooth and sleek, as Tulks like a Boar, a that Creature, but the

As for the difference are in a manner inflexible, that they might marked some Ballar the strongest Birds are still the *Ostrich*, which all, they are common. The *Ostrich* is short, a long: The Feathers, but those of the *Peacock*. Those of the former. Feathers are better. This Bird is prodigious them with spaniels: to fly, but to assist them have the Wind which they can digest from, none: they swallow the Meats in the Stone. There is an with regard to this species to those in the Nature they leave their Eggs no Care of their Young, but their Eggs in the Young, that, though one of them is sufficient not late to go near the of all sorts about the quickly do a great deal, and yet they very frequently return Home from the opportunity of attacking Flocks, of 20 or 300, and feed, among the *Hottentots*, kill and devour it. of *Bress*, which are common in other are extremely remarkable of Birds, unknown even. There are large the. There was seen, say *Table Mount*, a Bird bigger, than that of a *Hottentot*: Its Beak is black, and its Tail of a most dreadful Shape, and is used to break it for a most People were, in *Griffin*. It frequently attacks the *Hottentots*.

Stinking badger. He is of the Size of an ordinary Dog, and, in his Make, resembles the Ferret. When pursued, either by Man or Beast, he retreats but slowly; and, when the Enemy draws near, discharges from his Belly a Wind so intolerably stinking, that Dogs tear the Ground, and hide their Noses in it, to avoid the Smell. When killed, they think to abominably, that there is no approaching them; but they must be left to consume where they fell.

Our Author says, it would be impossible for any Man to describe all the Creatures that are seen in the vast Forests of *Africa*; because the very Inhabitants acknowledge, that they see every Year new Animals that are utterly unknown to them, for which they assign this Reason; that, in the middle of Summer, when the wild Beasts are almost raging mad with Thirst, they resort in Multitudes to the Rivers of *Salt*, of the *Elephant*, and of *St. John*, where the Males of one Species, mixing with the Females of another, produce these strange Beasts that look like a new Species. The *Hottentots*, subject to the Company, frequently carry the Skins of these Monsters to the Governor of the Cape: Our Author assures us, that he saw the Skin of one killed not long before: It was of the Size of a Calf of six Months old; there seemed to have been four Eyes in the Head, which resembled that of a Lion; but the Hair was perfectly smooth and sleek, and of a dark-grey Colour: It had Tufts like a Boar, and its fore Legs resembled those of that Creature, but the hinder Part of it was like a Tyger.

As for the different sorts of Birds in this Country, they are in a manner infinite; and though it is not often observed, that they mingle Species, yet there have been remarked some *Ballards* amongst them. The largest and the strongest Birds are to be found in *Africa*; amongst the rest the *Ostrich*, which is looked upon as the biggest of all; they are commonly seven Feet high. The Beak of the *Ostrich* is short, and pointed, and his Neck extremely long. The Feathers of the Male are white and black only; but those of the Female mingled grey, white, and black: Those of the former are most esteemed, because their large Feathers are better spread, and their Down much softer. This Bird is prodigiously swift of Foot, so that they hunt them with Spaniels: They make use of their Wings, not to fly, but to assist them in running, especially when they have the Wind with them. The common Opinion, that they can digest Iron, is absolutely false, and without Foundation: they swallow Pieces of Iron indeed, but it is only to bruise the Meat in their Stomachs, as other Birds swallow Stones. There is another Particularity often mentioned with regard to this Bird, that is not found true, with respect to the Neighbourhood of the Cape, viz. that they leave their Eggs uncovered upon the Sand, and take no Care of their Young; whereas, on the contrary, they hide their Eggs in the Sand, and are so tender of their Young, that, though they are naturally timorous, yet, if one of them is missing, they become so furious, that it is not safe to go near them. There are abundance of Eagles of all sorts about the Cape, which are very bold, and frequently do a great deal of Mischief: They are not exceedingly large, and yet are incredibly strong, insomuch that they very frequently kill and devour their Cattle as they return Home from Work, and when they have not an Opportunity of attacking an Ox singly, they come in great Flocks, of 50 or 100 at once, and single out a Beast, as it feeds among the Herd; and, falling upon it all together, kill and devour it. There are likewise many other Birds of Prey, which are not worth mentioning, because they are common in other Countries; but the following Story is extremely remarkable, inasmuch as it relates to a kind of Bird, unknown even in that Country, where the strongest Thunder-bolts have thought Prodigies.

There was seen, says our Author, some Years ago, upon *Table Mountain*, a Bird, the Body of which was as big, or bigger, than that of a *Harle*, covered with grey and black Plumage; its Beak was long and crooked, like that of an Eagle; and its Talons like those of the same Bird, but of a prodigious Size; he sat upon that Mountain, and hovered over it for a long time together; and the common People were, in a manner, persuaded that it was a *Griffin*. It frequently carried off Sheep and Calves; and, as it was reported to devour Cows, upon which, Orders were

given to destroy it: It was accordingly shot; and, the Skin being stuffed, was sent Home as a Curiosity to the *East India Company*. There has been nothing like this Bird seen since, and the oldest People at the Cape do not remember to have heard or seen of any thing like it before. There is so strong a Prejudice against whatever appears marvellous in the Relation of Travellers, and they are so often suspected, either of feigning what they never saw, or of exaggerating what they have really seen, that it is dangerous for a Man to report Things much out of the Road of common Observation: Yet, when Facts are so well attested as this is, a Traveller is certainly justified in relating them. Our Author does not say, that he saw the Skin of this monstrous Bird, but he had the Relation from Persons of Credit at the Cape; and the Circumstance of the Skin being sent Home to *Holland*, is so strong a Confirmation of the Truth of what was reported, that, I must confess, I think the Fact far from being incredible.

Africa has been always famous for its Serpents; and of these there are such Numbers in the Neighbourhood of the Cape, that many of them are without Name: They are most of them extremely venomous; and the Inhabitants would suffer by them much more than they do, if they had not a specific Remedy for their Bites, that is not known in *Europe*. This is the *Serpent-stone*, which is allowed to be factitious, and is brought thither from the *East Indies*, where the *Brachmans*, or, as some call them, the *Brahmins*, have the Secret of composing them, which they conceal so industriously, that hitherto no *European* has been able to discover them: It is of the Bigness of a Bean; in the Middle it is white, but the Outside is of a fine Sky-blue. The Method of using it is this: When a Person is bit by any kind of Serpent, this Stone is applied to the Wound, not by a Bandage, or by placing any Plaster over it, but barely holding it till it falls of itself, which it will soon do, and then Ricks fast: The Part immediately begins to swell, and becomes inflamed; and the Stone itself also swells, till it is so full of the Venom, that it drops off: It is then put into warm Milk, where it soon purges itself, and resumes its natural Colour: It is then applied again to the Wound, where it sticks till it is full a second time, and so on, till all the Venom is exhausted, on which a Cure immediately ensues. There is something extremely wonderful in this; and yet the Truth of the Fact is known to all the Inhabitants of the Cape, and confirmed by the Testimony of Writers of unquestionable Credit. There are some who pretend to have discovered the Ingredients of which this Stone is composed; but the Account they give is very far from being satisfactory; because they make the Basis of the Remedy to consist of a Stone taken out of a Serpent's Head, which, hitherto, the ablest Anatomists have not been able to find. The true Stone is very commonly met with in the *East Indies*, where the *Dutch* call them *Sjang Jansen*, and the *English* Saake-stones.

All the Mountains of this vast Country are full of Minerals, and of *Chrytal*; they contain likewise Things of much greater Value, if they could be come at; but the Natives are so much afraid of being made Slaves in the Mines, that they take all imaginable Pains to conceal them. There is, particularly, a Mountain which lies at the Distance of 300 Leagues from the Cape, that is very famous for the Metals supposed to be contained in it; this is called the *Copper Mountain*, from the great Quantity of Copper found in it, which is said to be mingled with Gold. Some *Europeans* took it into their Heads to follow some of the Natives of the Country, who were suspected of going to that Mountain in order to gather Gold. The Scheme had an Air of Probability in it; and, if it could have been as easily executed, as it was well contrived, it might have produced a very valuable Discovery; but, as it fell out, they paid very dear for their Curiosity, since the *Hottentots* no sooner discovered their Design, than they fell upon them, and murdered them all, which put an End to their Inquiries ever since. The Company are so tender with respect to their Subjects, and so unwilling to risk a Revolt in this Part of their Dominions, that they have even neglected a Gold Mine much near the Cape, the Mardits of which give great Hopes of its holding a great deal of Metal. It is, for, however, impossible that there may be another

another Reason for acting in this manner; which is their Apprehension, that if a Gold-mine should be wrought at the Cape, it might tempt other Nations, the *English* and *French* particularly, to undertake something to their Prejudice; whereas, in the Circumstances under which Things are now settled there, the *Dutch* Colony at the Cape is so far from being a Grievance; that it is really an Advantage to other Nations, as well as their own. In other respects, they encourage all Sorts of Discoveries: A few Years ago there was found out, in a Mountain very near the Town, a Cavern, where the *Hottentots* find that Venom in which they dip their pointed Arrows. There have been likewise found, at the Distance of about twenty Leagues from the Cape, some hot Baths, the Waters of which, being impregnated with Particles of Steel, have been known to cure many Diseases. There is great Reason to believe, that considerable Improvements may still be made here for the Advantage of the Inhabitants, and of the Company, who, as they are not great Gamers by this Establishment, otherwise than as it affords Refreshments to their outward and homeward bound Ships, would be glad of any Means that might increase the Value of their Settlement, consistent with their Maxim of Government, and with that Indulgence which it is requisite to shew the *Hottentots*, who are, perhaps, of all Nations of the World, the most tenacious of their Liberty, and the most desperate in their Rejection of any Attempt made to its Prejudice. It is now time to leave this delicious Country, where the Climate is allowed this peculiar Advantage, that it not only agrees with the Herbs, and Herbs of different Countries, but even gives them greater Protection than ever they attain, where they naturally grow.

Towards the East of the Mouth of *March* 1723, their Ship being re-entitled, and ready to sail, a brisk South-east Wind carried them out of the Bay. Their Fleet consisted of about three and twenty Sail, the best Part of which belonged to the Company, the rest were *Indian* Ships, that were also homeward bound. They steered their Course for the Island of *St. Helena*, where they arrived in three Weeks: When they thought they were pretty near the Island, the Commodore thought proper to detach two Ships, to discover whether there were any Coasters upon that Coast, for a little before they had been given Notice to a Prince, and therefore apprehended there might be more of that Coast. As they drew near it, the Commodore fired a Gun, as a Signal to the Line of Battle; which is, in all Cases, a very useful Precaution, though it flood them here in little need, because, as it fell out, there were no Pirates on the Coast.

The Island of *St. Helena* lies in the Latitude of $41^{\circ} 15'$ South, about 20 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*, 200 Leagues from the Coast of *India*, and 350 from *Angola*, which is the nearest Land. This Island is about seven Leagues in Circumference, covered with rocky Hills, which, in a clear Day, may be seen forty Leagues off at Sea. It is really surprising to see so in all an Island in the midst of the Ocean, and at so great a Distance from Land, with so deep a Sea round it, that there is scarce any Anchorage to be found. The *Portuguese* first discovered it, and that to their Cost, having one of their large *Indian* Ships wrecked here, of the Remains of which they built a Chapel, which, though long since decayed, still bears its Name on the Hill Vesty in the Island. They planted Lemons, Oranges, and Pomegranates, over all the Country, and left there likewise Hogs and Goats, together with Partridges, Pigeons, and Peacocks, for the Convenience of such Ships as should touch there; but they did not think it to plant it, because they were afraid some other Nation would dispossess them. There was an *Hottentot* who came to live here by himself, having the Goats for their Skin, which he sold. An Opportunity offered, when the *Ship* came in, but the *Portuguese* recovered him, as they did afterwards some Negro Slaves, who settled in the Mountains. It is at present possessed by the *English*, who have a good Fort here, and are well established, that it is not likely a farther Nation should disturb them. The *Vegetables* are exceedingly fruitful, and fertile, the Weather indeed is sometimes very hot, but even then it is very cool upon the Mountains, so that they never can want a Place

of Refreshment. There is not any Country in the World better watered, the Rivulets running from the Top of the Hills into the Sea, which is never at a great Distance, with Streams as clear as Crystal; nor can there be any thing more pleasant, than to behold the Seamen, fatigued with a long Stay in hot Climates, refreshing themselves here by washing themselves in the Brooks. There are Mustard-plants, Parsley, Sorrel, Purslain, Winter-cresses, and other Herbs, exceedingly good for the Scurvy. Neither is the Island destitute of Trees, though none fit for Timber, but for Fuel only. All Sorts of Refreshments are to be had here in Plenty, and on reasonable Terms; and though there were formerly Disputes between the *English* and *Dutch*, about the Possession of the Island, yet the former now treat the latter very kindly whenever their Ships put in here, and furnish them with whatever they want.

They sailed from hence for the Island of *Ascension*, which lies in 8 Degrees South Latitude, about 200 Leagues North-west from *St. Helena*: It is about the same height with the other Island, but the Shore is excessively rocky, and the Country absolutely barren; here are neither Corn nor Trees, but the Surface of the Land looks as if it were a stony plain; from whence some have conceived, and without great Shew of Reason, that here has been formerly a Volcano, or fiery Mountain. There is indeed a pretty high Hill in the Middle of the Island, on one Side of which Water has been found. At certain Seasons of the Year, the Country is almost covered with Sea-few, which chiefly engages Ships to put into the only Harbour of the Isle, is the great Plenty of excellent Tortoise, which when they come ashore in the Night to lay their Eggs, they turn upon their Backs, till they have laid them, and then on board. It is wonderful, that these Creatures can live above a Month without any other Subsistence, than that they derive from their sprinkling a little sea Water once three or four times a Day. The Reason of this is, that the Seamen are never weary of eating them, persuading themselves, that they make great Change in the Juices, and free them from the Scurvy, and other Diseases of the blood, which is more confirmed by Experience, it seems but reasonable to be Credit to their Report. As this Island is a very small one, and not certainly a very indifferent Habitation, it is very common to leave Maletactors here, who do not care to put them to Death, as happened at *St. Helena* to a *Dutch* Book keeper, who was convicted of Murder. But, whether this be not a worse Punishment, than to confine the Mischeries that must be endured in these hottest Climates in the World, on a Place that affords almost the least Shelter, the Reader will determine. However, as it has lets the Appearance of Severity, it is a Possibility, that the Criminal may be taken out of other Ship, this Practice, especially for the most heinous Crimes, does not deserve to be condemned.

After leaving this Island, they began to run a straight Line, which they pulled without feeling any Current, because, as the Sun was turning then towards the North, they had the Benefit of pretty brisk Winds, which rendered the Weather exceedingly. They now likewise began to run at Night the North Star, which they had not done for a Year and an half; and it is not to be expected, that much the Seamen were rejoiced by this Possibility.

They soon found themselves in the Latitude of 30 Degrees North, in that Part of the Sea, which is, in all Places, covered with Grats, so that at a Distance it looks like a Meadow. This Grats has a very soft and is hollow within, and, when hard pressed, yields a clammy viscous Juice. It is in this Part of the Sea, in which none of this Grats appears so abundantly, and is found in great Quantities. Some imagine that it comes from the Bottom of the Sea; because Divers report, that in several Places, the Bottom of the Sea is covered with these Flowers: Others again believe, that they come from the Coast of *Africa*; but our Author disapproves both these Notions, and, upon the first Hint, if it came from the Bottom of the Sea, it would not have the same Appearance elsewhere.

of Divers be of use in various Places that, where-ever it does here. On the *Africa*, it would be especially near that Experience, where marked by almost through them, without building up Grats comes from of *Babiana*, where, when it is carried away by the

This Notion of however, it is much others. To say that to account for, that which, in some Places another; in some never sink at all; one Way for a Day run strongly the other. It is commonly observed the Trade-winds blow by them, and move not with equal Force discernible in the where the Effects of as they lie in or out would be no small Men would take notice of the sort of Appearance besides the Satisfaction of Truth, and a little from such Intention need only look into many more Wonders because the Course of Nature was not that Things were produced all strange now; and *Hope*, which make the *Portuguese* Discover Effects only of an wrong Season of the

It is certain, that *Wiji*, the Natives of *Madagascar*, not by any observing, that they Signs, which signify to expect a Stormy nextion between the Men who value their to fight such Wars. But it would be better neither receive nor settled, that Things is time enough to prevent Case, the Nature in the Latitude of *America* is frequenter Reason therefore to I cannot forbear to Occasion, of a Confirmation the Conjecture *John Columbus*, in the very of the new World floating upon the Sea, it is very remarkable these Weeds, they that it is to lay, in time to prosecute home.

* It may not be amiss to add, that the *Portuguese* have lately assembled a Council.

of Divers be of any Weight, there are such green Banks in various Places; and, therefore, one would imagine, that, where-ever such Grass was found, it would float, as it does here. On the other hand, if it came from the Coast of Africa, it would be seen in different Parts of the Sea, and especially near that Coast; which, however, is contrary to Experience, whereas the Weeds in this Sea have been remarked by almost all who have published their Voyages without building up; he delivers it as his Opinion, that this Grass comes from America, and particularly from the Gulph of Bahama, where it is known to grow in abundance, and where, when it comes to Maturity, it breaks, and so is carried away by the Current.

This Notion of our Author's is liable to some Objections; however, it is much more probable than either of the others. To say the Truth, there is nothing more difficult to account for, than the Motion and Course of Currents, which, in some Places, run six Months one Way, and six another; in some again they run constantly one Way, and never fluit at all; and there are Instances where they run one Way for a Day or two after Full-moon, and then they run strongly the other Way till near the Full-moon again. It is commonly observed by Seamen, that in Places where the Trade-winds blow, the Currents are generally influenced by them, and move the same Way with those Winds, but not with equal Force in all Places, neither are they so discernible in the wide Ocean, but chiefly about Islands, where the Effects of them are more or less felt, according as they lie in or out of the Way of the Trade-winds. It would be no small Advantage to Navigation, if sensible Men would take notice of, and inquire into, the Reason of these sort of Appearances; because it is certain, that, besides the Satisfaction necessarily resulting from the Discovery of Truth, there are unexpected Advantages that arise from such Inquiries: To be convinced of this, we need only look into old Books of Voyages, where we find many more Wonders than in those of a later Date; not because the Courte of Nature's at all changed, but because Nature was not then so well understood. A thousand Things were Prodigies a Century ago, which are not at all strange now; and the Storms about the Cape of Good Hope, which make to terrible a Figure in the Histories of the Portuguese Discoveries, are known to have been the Effects only of endeavouring to double that Cape at a wrong Season of the Year.

It is certain, that both in the East Indies, and in the West, the Natives are able to foretel Hurricanes and Tornadoes, not by any great Skill they have, but by barely observing, that they are usually preceded by such and such Signs, which Signs when they see, it is natural for them to expect a Storm. There is very often so little Connection between the Sign, and the Thing signified, that Men who value themselves on their own Wisdom, are apt to slight such Warnings, as impertinent and insignificant. But it would be better to inquire diligently into Facts, and neither receive nor reject them hastily. When once it is settled, that Things happen in this manner, or in that, it is time enough to inquire why they happen so: As in the present Case, the Matter of Fact is clearly laid down, that in the Latitude of 18° North, the Sea between Africa and America is frequently covered with Weeds, there is good Reason therefore to inquire, whence these Weeds come. I cannot forbear putting the Reader in mind, upon this Occasion, of a Circumstance that seems strongly to confirm the Conjecture of our Author: The famous Christopher Columbus, in the first Voyage he made for the Discovery of the new World, met with this Grass and Weeds floating upon the Sea, without which he could never have persuaded the Seamen to have continued the Voyage; and it is very remarkable, that, by pursuing their Courte through these Weeds, they arrived in the very Place he mentions, that is to say, in the Gulph of Bahama. But it is now time to prosecute the Voyage, and to follow our Author home.

40. As they sailed farther Northward, they were overtaken by hard Gales of Wind, which are usual at that Season of the Year, especially in those Seas, by which they were driven into the Latitude of 37°, and within Sight of two Islands, which proved to be those of Flores and Corvo. Their fresh Provisions being now pretty well spent, this Accident, though it delayed Time a little, could not be considered as a Misfortune. Their Stay there, however, was very short, being only three Days in the larger Island, which was sufficient for their procuring the Refreshments they wanted, as well as to take a View of the Country.

Corvo and Flores are two of the Islands which the Spaniards call *Açores*, that is, *The Islands of Hawks*, because, at the Time they discovered them, they found a great many Hawks in them. The Dutch call them the *Vlaamische Eilanden*, i. e. *Flemish Islands*, because the first Inhabitants of the Island Fayal, which is one of the nine Islands, were Flemings. The Race of its first Inhabitants is perpetuated to this Day in that Island, and you may know them by their Air and Shape, which resemble those of the Flemings. They dwell upon a little River, running down a Mountain, which the Portuguese called *Ribera dos Flamenas*, the River of the Flemings. The Names of the Açores Islands are, *Terçera, St. Michael, Santa Maria, St. George's, Gratiôsa, Pico, Fayal, Corvo, and Flores*. *Terçera* is the chief of them; it is fifteen or sixteen Leagues in Circumference, being high, and so steep, in many Places, that it is almost impregnable; and, besides that, they have built Forts in the Places where it is accessible. There is no Harbour or Road wherein the Ships can enjoy Shelter, but before the capital City, called *Angra*, which hath a Port of the Figure of an Half-moon, and therefore called the *Half-moons of Angra*: Upon the two Ends of the Half-moon are two Mountains, called *Brassil*, which shoot forth into the Sea, and appear afar off, like two small Islands. These two Mountains are so high, that, being at the Top of them, you may see at any time ten or twelve Leagues; and, when the Weather is fine and clear, above fifteen Leagues off.

Angra hath a fine Cathedral Church, and is the Residence of a Bishop, a Governor, and the Council, which govern all the Islands. Three Leagues distant lies another Town, called *de Praya*, or the *Town of the Shore*, because it is situated near a great Shore, which the Ships can never approach, so that the Town is without any manner of Trade, and very desert, tho' pretty well built and walled about. The Inhabitants live upon the Fruits that grow upon the Island; for it is very fruitful and pleasant, full of fine Corn-fields. The Wine is but small, and will not keep long; therefore the richest Inhabitants provide themselves with *Madeira* and *Canary* Wines. The Island is so plentiful in Flesh, Fish, and all other Sorts of Victuals, that even in the Time of Scarcity there is enough for the Inhabitants. But they want Oil, Salt, Lime, and Potters wares, which are imported from other Places. They have abundance of Peaches, Apples, Pears, Oranges, and Lemons; all Sorts of Herbs, Plants, and, amongst others, the Herb called *Batatas*, which grows like the Stock of a Vine, but the Leaves are not like them. Some of those Roots weigh a Pound, more or less: They have so great Quantities of them, that the Rich slight them, though they are of a good sweet Taste, and very nourishing. You find also another Root in this Country, as big as a Man's two Fists, covered with Filaments of Gold-colour, and as smooth as Silk: They make Beds thereof; but curious and skilful Workmen would certainly be able to make fine Stuffs of it.

One sees but very few wild Fowl or Birds, except Canaries, Quails, tame Hens, and Turkey-cocks, which are very numerous: You meet with several Places very hilly, and so full of very thick Woods, that you can hardly travel through them: But that which makes travelling very difficult, is, that you find very often Rocks a League or half a League long, which are so ragged, and so sharp, that you can hardly walk upon them without cutting your

* I must not be silent to observe, in Support of our Author's Assertion, that, in the old Portuguese Maps and Voyages, this Part of the Ocean is called *Mar de Sargaço*, i. e. *The Sea of Grass*; for *Sargaço* signifies *Crabgrass*, or rather *Water-weeds*, which the Weeds, with which it is spread, nearly resemble.

Shoes off your Feet: At the same time, it is very remarkable, that those Rocks are so full of Vines, that in the Summer-time you cannot see them; because they are covered all over with Vine-leaves. The Vines spread their Roots through the Crags or Chinks of the Rocks, which are so small, that it is a Wonder how they find any Nourishment there; and yet, if you plant a Vine in the other good Ground of this Country, it will not grow. The Corn, and other Fruits, of that Island, will not keep above a Year; nay, if you keep the Corn above four Months, without burying it under-ground, it will rot, and be spoiled: To prevent this, each Inhabitant has a Pit out of the Town, which is round at the Top, and large enough to let a Man in: The Head is covered with a Stone, and locked up. Some of these Pits are so large, that they might contain two or three Lalls of Corn, a Lall containing 108 Bushels of Amsterdam Measure, and each Bushel weighs forty Pounds, or more. They put their Corn in those Pits in July, and cover the Stone with Earth, to preserve it the better, and at Christmas they take it out, though some keep it longer, but it is then as good, and as fine, as when put in the Pits.

The Oxen in that Island are the largest and the finest that can be, equal to any in Europe; their Horns are monstrous wide; every one hath his Name, like our Dogs; and they are so familiar, that when the Master calls one of them by his Name, though he is amongst a thousand others, he will presently come to him. One would think, that the Ground of that Island was hollow; for, when you walk upon the Rock, it sounds: And indeed the thing is probable enough: for the Island is much subject to Earthquakes. You find in many Places of the Island of *St. Michael* Holes, or Cracks, out of which there comes a great Smoke, and the Ground all about is burnt: But this is no uncommon thing in most of those Islands; for all of them have Mountains of Sulphur. Here are Fountains hot, that you may boil an Egg in the Water. Three Leagues off *Angra* is a Fountain which changes Wood into stone, and there was formerly a Tree to be seen, the Roots of which, being in that Water, were stony, and as hard as Flint. This Island produces excellent Timber, especially Cedar, which is so common, that they make Carts and Waggon of it, and even burn it. The Island of *Pico*, twelve Leagues distant from *Terceira*, produces a Sort of Wood called *Taxo*, which is as hard as Iron, and looks red and shining when it is worked. It hath also this good Quality, that it is better and finer when it is old; which makes it so precious, that nobody dares cut it, but for the King's Use, and by virtue of a special Order from the King's Officers.

The chief Trade in the Island of *Terceira* consists in Wood, of which they have a great Plenty: The Fleets of *Portugal* and *Spain*, which sail to the *East Indies*, *Brasil*, *Cape Verde*, *Guinea*, and other Countries, landing in that Island to take in Refreshments, bring a good Trade, not only to the Inhabitants of *Terceira*, but likewise to those of the neighbouring Islands, who run to the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* their Manufactures at good Prices. Seven or eight Leagues South-east of *Terceira* lies the Island of *St. Michael*, about twenty Leagues in Length, it hath several Towns and Villages. The capital is named *Ponta del Gada*, which craves a more considerable Trade in Gardens-wood than *Terceira*, because there is a greater Quantity of it here than in any of the other Islands, for it produces above two hundred thousand Quarters every Year: Here are also arable Lands, which produce such abundance of Corn, that they transport it to the other Islands; but it affords no Harbours, nor Rivers, nor Shelter, for Ships. The Island of *Santa Maria* is but twelve Leagues South of *St. Michael*, and is ten or twelve Leagues in Circumference. They trade only in Earthen-ware, which they transport to the other Islands; but they have Plenty of all manner of Provisions. Seven or eight Leagues North North-west of *Terceira* is the little Island of *Gratia*, not above five or six Leagues in Circumference, and very plentiful and fruitful.

The Island of *St. George* is about eight or nine Leagues North-west from *Terceira*; it is twelve Leagues in Length, and two or three in Breadth. This is a wild mountainous

Country, and bears a little Wood: The Inhabitants subsist by tilling the Ground, and keeping Cattle; and they have abundance of Cedar, which they export to *Terceira*. Seven German Leagues South South-west of *St. George*, you find the Island of *Fayal*, which is seventeen or eighteen Leagues in Circumference, and is the best of the *Azores*, next to *Terceira*, and *St. Michael*; it affords abundance of Fish, Cattle, and other Commodities, which they export to *Terceira*, and the other Islands; they have likewise plenty of Wood. The chief Town is called *Vila Verde*. Most of the Inhabitants of this Island are Natives of the *Low Countries*, but they speak now the *Portuguese* Tongue. They love the *Flemings* naturally, and use all Strangers very kindly. Three Leagues to the South-east of *Fayal*, and four Leagues to the South-west of *St. George*, and twelve Leagues to the South-west and by West of *Terceira*, lies the Island of *Pico*, so called from a Mountain in it named *Pico*, some being of Opinion that it is higher than the Pike of *Teneriff*, in the *Canaries*. The Inhabitants cultivate the Soil, and keep Cattle, to subsist on. This Island hath Plenty of all Sorts of Provisions, and yields the best Wine in all the *Azores*: It is about fifteen Leagues in Circumference. From *Terceira*, to the Island of *Flores*, which lies to the West, they reckon seventy Leagues, and about a League to the North of *Flores*, you find the small Island of *Corvo*, not above two or three Leagues in Circumference. These two Islands are accounted one amongst the *Azores*, and are under the same Governor. *Flores* is about seven Leagues in Circumference, it produces Wood, and a vast Plenty of all Provisions. The Winds are so strong, and the Air so piercing, especially *Terceira*, that they spoil and consume, in a short time, the Stones of the Houses, and the very Iron. They have a sort of Stone, which they find within the Seamounts, and which is harder, and refills the Sharpnels of the Art better, than the other Sorts; and for that Reason they build the Fronts of their Houses with it.

41. On their entering the *Spanish* Seas, the Weather proved so bad, that the Advice Ship lost her Mast: This Accident obliged them to go through the Channel in order to purchase a new one on the *French* Coast. The *French*, *Danish*, and other Ships, generally take that Route; but the Ships belonging to the *Dutch* *India* Company are obliged to sail round the Coast of *Spain*, from an Apprehension, that in case they met with stormy Weather in the Channel, they would be obliged to seek some *English* Port, which might be attended with many Inconveniences. Such Ships, however, as are bound any Damage at Sea, are permitted to pass through the Channel, provided they are not in a Condition to keep the Sea long enough to go round the *British* Coast, and in case the Advice Ship before-mentioned were to be some Weeks Sail, during which time they were to visit several Mills and Fogs, they had Sight of many *Spanish* Islands, where some *Dutch* Ships were still to be seen, some Herring Fishery. In the Latitude of *Cape Verde*, where some Ships that were waiting for them, were bound them to the Coast of *Holland*, where every Ship found its destined Port in Safety; and those on board were Prisoners were, came into the *Tavel* the 11th of July 1725, and five Days after arrived at *Amsterdam*, the very same Day two Years that they sailed on this Voyage.

42. Upon the Return of the Squadron, the State of Affairs was much altered; for the *West India* Company immediately commenced a Suit, in Behalf of themselves, and of the Persons employed on board the Ships, for their Protection, in order to obtain Satisfaction for the Injustice done them by the *East India* Company. Better forth in the Memorial they presented to the States Mightiness the States General, that these Ships, being permitted out in pursuance of the Powers granted by the Company by the States; that they were not to be treated with a View to the Profit of the Voyage, as if the *East India* Company had to the Advantages that most return to be from their Discoveries, that, though it was true, that the Ships had not perfected, as desired it could not be denied, the Design on which they were employed, had made great Progress therein, and had brought Home a quantity in tune at all that was possible by the

dition; that, in case of Time, consumed millions, and had endeavored them, or ing Home by the no Delight, and, on any sort of Tr meet with some ance amongst thei of the States of that, immediately any Hearing, they told, and the tew they had endured but that of the P Prisoners, in the standing that the G well apprised of Cafe: That such a generous, not only State, and to the dustry, new Disce Therefore it is a selves should inter fering this impor for the sake of R Officers, and Sea giving that Satisf which was to appa Apprehensions of for performing wh Home.

The States Gen Company to put it might in the first Fact; and next, w justly it: The E in declaring her A Governor-General, their Memorial, w been alleged agai India Company, in ting the Commerce of the States Gen their Charters; th swered through th to the Envoy of an do this, or to mak Part of the World elusive Clauses in *West India* Compo other Ships in th Company had inva that now complai Court that the E Maintenance of the Discoveries their S the Bounds assign Officers directed, for than a certain Streights of *Mag had complied, th consequently there his Complaint; a pany, in the Indies, with the Instructions, direct; and conse have done otherw ing in their Dues, vented any thing, nay had foreseen the *East Indies*, th pany for their Late fall, to the Gover that, for want of *West India* Compa known or confid Ship; but, upon the same Part, there*

dition; that, in doing this, they had spent a great deal of Time, consumed the best Part, if not all, of their Provisions, and had endured incredible Hardships; which had induced them, or rather obliged them, to think of returning Home by the Way of the *East Indies*; that they had no Design, and, in fact, were in no Condition, to carry on any sort of Trade in those Parts; but fought merely to meet with some Refreshments, and to obtain such Assistance amongst their Countrymen, as, in Quality of Subjects of the States of *Holland*, they had a Right to demand; that, immediately on their Arrival at *Batavia*, without any Hearing, their Ships and Cargoes were condemned and sold, and the few Men that had survived the Hardships they had endured, not in the Company's Service only, but that of the Public, had been sent Home as Criminals, Prisoners, in the *East India* Company's Ships, notwithstanding that the Governor-General, and his Council, were well apprised of the Nature and Circumstances of the Case: That such a Manner of Proceeding is extremely dangerous, not only to the *West India* Company, but to the State, and to the Public, since it plainly discourages Industry, new Discoveries, and the Extension of Commerce. Therefore it is absolutely requisite, their High Mightinesses should interpose in the present Case, as well for the settling this important Point, with regard to Futurity, as for the sake of redressing the *West India* Company, the Officers, and Seamen, that have been thus injured, and giving more than Satisfaction to Seating People in general, which was to apparently necessary to free them from the Apprehensions of being punished by a Company Abroad, for performing what was looked upon to be their Duty at Home.

The States General immediately directed the *East India* Company to put in an Answer to this Memorial, that they might in the first place see, whether they would avow the Fact; and next, whether any Reasons could be alledged to justify it: The *East India* Company did not at all hesitate in declaring her Approbation of what has been done by the Governor-General, and his Council, in the *Indies*. In their Memorial, which contained an Answer to what had been alledged against them, they pleaded, that the *East India* Company, in *Holland*, was originally erected for securing the Commerce in that Part of the World to the Subjects of the States General, trading under the Limitations of their Charters; that this End had been most effectually answered through the prudent Management of the Company, to the Envy of all *Europe*; that it had been impossible to do this, or to maintain the Power of the Company in that Part of the World, but by the strict Execution of the exclusive Clauses in their Charter: That the Ships of the *West India* Company were no more privileged than any other Ships in this respect; and that, if the *East India* Company had invaded the Bounds granted to the Company that now complains, they would have taken the very same Course that the *East India* Company has lately done for the Maintenance of their Rights, with equal Reason: That the Discoveries their Ships were intended to make, were within the Bounds assigned the *West India* Company; and their Officers directed, by their Instructions, to proceed no farther than a certain Latitude, and to return through the Straights of *Magellan*; with which Instructions if they had complied, this Event could not have fallen out, and consequently there could have been no Occasion given for this Complaint: That the Officers of the *East India* Company, in the *Indies*, could not act in any other manner, than the Instructions, grounded on the Company's Charter, direct; and consequently could not, in the present Case, have done otherwise than they have, without being wanting in their Duty to the Company: That, to have prevented any thing in this nature, if the *West India* Company had foreseen the Necessity of their Ships returning by the *East Indies*, they ought to have applied to the Company for their Licence, and for Instructions, in their Behalf, to the Governor-General and Council in the *Indies*; that, for want of taking these Precautions, the Ships of the *West India* Company, when in the *East Indies*, could not be known or considered in any manner different from other Ships; but, upon committing any Offence, were liable to the same Punishment that would have been inflicted upon

private Traders: That the very setting forth of this to be an extraordinary Case exculpates the Officers of the *East India* Company, who have no Power of taking notice of any extraordinary Cases, but must act in all according to the ordinary Rules prescribed by their Instructions; that if they should either have a Power allowed, or should assume to themselves a Power, of acting otherwise, it would be attended with very dangerous Consequences, rather more than less prejudicial to the public Wellare, than what has happened in the present Case; that, in reality, there is nothing very prejudicial, much less iniquitous, in the Fact now under Consideration, since the Seizure is of no great Value to the *West India* Company, and, with respect to the Public, will be so far from preventing Discoveries, that it must prove a Means of promoting them, by obliging such Officers, as may be hereafter sent upon Designs of this Nature, to pursue their Instructions close, without framing Expedients to themselves, from a Presumption, that to a Case which they think extraordinary, the settled Laws of their Country must give way: That, upon the Whole, they submit it to their High Mightinesses, whether the Charter of the *East India* Company, being an Act of State, ought not, as such, to be considered as a Law to their Subjects; and, whether, if it be not to be considered, the Charter can be of any Use to the Company at all; whether, if the Rules of the Charter be considered as a Law by the Officers of the Company in the *Indies*, they have, in this Case, done any more than was their Duty; and whether, if either they, or the Company, should be punished for doing their Duty, it would not be, in Effect, doing the very Thing that is here complained of as an Hardship. It must be allowed, that this Defence of the *East India* Company was very plausible, and carried in it a great Shew of Reason.

But, according to the Custom of *Holland*, these Memorials, after having been considered, were remitted into the Hands of the proper Officer, who was appointed to draw up, not only the Judgment given in this Case, but the Reasons upon which that Judgment was given, which were in Substance these: The *East India* Company was erected at a time when the Maritime Power of the State was in its Infancy, and that of their Enemies the *Spaniards* very great in those Parts; and that, consequently, what might be very right, and very requisite, in such a Situation, ceases so to be, when the Circumstances of Things are absolutely altered, as at this Day: That it is not a Thing to be taken for granted, that the great Power, and extensive Dominion, of the Company in the *Indies* is equivalent to the Power and Dominion of the States themselves, with respect to the general Good of their Subjects; because this is a Fact which has been doubted by many, and absolutely contradicted by some of the greatest Statesmen in *Holland*: That, as to the Right of the *West India* Company, to do the same Thing in the same Case, it proves nothing; because it is a Maxim, from which the States will never depart, that neither of these Companies have acquired, by their Charters, a Privilege of doing Wrong. That the Instructions of the *West India* Company to their Officers, to proceed to a certain Latitude, and return to the Straights of *Magellan*, is a clear Proof, that they had not the least Intent of breaking in upon the Privileges of the *East India* Company, or of sending Ships into their Limits; and if the Officers did not obey these Instructions, it cannot be imputed as a Fault to the Company, who gave them, or as a Crime to the Officers, who would have obeyed them, if they could, but were compelled, by that Necessity which supercedes all Laws, to return as they did: That the Governor General and Council of the *Indies* might very easily distinguish between Ships coming to trade, and Ships that sought a Passage Home; especially, since it was apparent, by the Condition they were in at their Arrival in the *East Indies*, that they really were in no Circumstances of Trading; that their Necessities were such as they let them out to be; and that they were willing to submit to whatever Regulation the Officers of the *East India* Company thought fit to prescribe, for preventing any Inconvenience from their remaining in those Seas. The Officers of the *East India* Company are still Subjects of the States of *Holland*, and are not of all bound to execute the Instructions of the Company to the Prejudice

Debt upon the Company, as, in the End, compelled them to consent to a Dissolution.

The new *West India* Company, warned by the Example of their Predecessors, have kept more within Bounds, and have certainly managed their Affairs with great Oeconomy and Prudence. In the Year 1714, they formed a Project of a very extraordinary Nature, which, if it had taken place, might very probably have transferred the whole Commerce of *Europe* to the *Dutch*. This consisted in the Uniting of the two Companies, I mean, those trading to the *East* and *West Indies*. In order to this, they offered to transfer all that they possessed in *Africa* and *America* to the *East India* Company, in Consideration of about 120,000 *l.* Sterling; which Sum the Proprietors of the present *West India* Company were to have accepted in *East India* Stock; and nine Directors were to have been added to the present College or Board of *East India* Directors, for the Management of this additional Trade. At the same time they offered a Calculation, by which it appeared, that the Funds of the *West India* Company, which, according to this Project, were to be transferred to the *East India* Company, would more than defray all the Expence, that this Conjunction would create. The Benefits that would have arisen from this Incorporation of the two Companies into one were many and great, and, which, perhaps, is of no less Consequence, equally visible and certain; for, as Things now stand, the *West India* Company purchased the *Couris* and *Beffes*, which are a sort of Shells that pass for Money thro' all the Slave Coast of *Africa*, from the *East India* Company, who, on the other hand, purchased from the *West India* Company a great Part of the Gold they bring from the Coast of *Guinea*. This kind of Traffick, by this Scheme, would be entirely in the *East India* Company, who would immediately ingross the Slave Trade into their own Hands. By erecting Fortresses, and raising Settlements in several Part of *Africa*, which would be easy for them, thro' the Circumstances of the *West India* Company would never permit them to attempt such things, such a prodigious Wealth would accrue, on the one hand, by saving the Expences of bringing home from the *East Indies* Commodities fit for the *African* Trade, and from *Africa* Goods proper for the *East Indies*, which, according to this Plan, might be transported directly in both Cases, without ever coming to *Europe* at all; and, on the other hand, by enlarging the Commerce both Ways, the Power and the Influence of the Company would be so increased, that it would be simply impossible for other Nations to contend with them in either Trade. These Settlements in *Africa* would also be attended with another extraordinary Advantage, that of discovering several rich Mines of Gold; of which whatever Informations the *West India* Company may have had, they never could attempt to work them, because, knowing their own Weakness, they were apprehensive, that such an Attempt, instead of proving advantageous to them, might have induced other Nations to have attacked them, and thereby have expoid their Country to the Loss of what might be certainly gained, if undertaken by so powerful a Body as the *East India* Company. The Commerce of the Grain Coast of *Guinea*, tho' of no considerable Value to the *West India* Company, would prove of incredible Advantage, when in the Hands of the other Company; because the Grain transported from *Africa* is, a great Part of it, consumed in the *East Indies*, and is so necessary a Commodity there, that the *East India* Company would have it in their Power to raise and tall the Price of Pepper, as they thought fit; which would enable them to bring about what they have to long endeavoured, the getting into their Hands the Monopoly of that, as well as other Spices; which, perhaps, will never be attained by any other Means. The proper Commerce of the *West Indies* also would become infinitely more considerable under their Management, than it would be any other way; and this especially by erecting Magazines for *East India* Commodities in the Island of *Curaçoa*, from whence they might be easily sent into the *Spanish West India*, and would produce a mighty Profit, though sold at a much lower Rate than the same Kind of Goods, which are usually brought into that Country by the *Mantilla* Ship.

How it came to pass, that this Proposal was rejected, does not concern my present Purpose; and therefore I shall only

observe, that, after this Proposition was rejected, the Directors of the *West India* Company very wisely turned their Thoughts another Way. It is very probable, that the Encouragement they gave to Mr. Roggewein's Proposition might be, in some measure, owing to the ill Treatment, which this Project had received: For what was more natural, after failing in their Scheme of uniting their Company to that of the *East Indies*, than to aim at coming in for a Share of their Commodities, so necessary for their Commerce, by some other Way? And what Way so proper as that proposed by this Voyage, which would, in effect, have put the most valuable Part of the *East India* Trade into their Hands? And this too accounts for the extraordinary Heat and Violence of the *East India* Company against those, who were concerned in this Discovery.

The Reader will easily recollect an Instance of the same sort of Spirit, which they had shewn long before, in the Case of *James le Maire*; and what Pains they took to discredit his Discoveries. Here we see the true Secret of that Dispute, which was so warmly managed by both Companies, and so wisely decided by the States General. When the *East India* Company persecuted and destroyed *le Maire*, the Government did not interpose, because, at that time, the Maintenance of the Power of the *East India* Company was of the highest Consequence to the States; but such as were concerned in that Expedition appealed to the Public against the Injustice they had received, and were heard with all the Favour they could expect: But, by degrees, as the Government of *Holland* became more settled, and especially since such have had a Share in the Administration of public Affairs as were well acquainted with Trade, the Concerns of the *East India* Company are considered in a new Light.

That consummate Statesman and Patriot, *John de Witt*, was the first who explained the Matter clearly; and his Words are so applicable to this Subject, that I cannot forbear citing them, as most worthy of the Reader's Attention: "When the *East India* Company, says he, had attained to a certain Extent of Power and Grandeur, their Interests came not only to clash with, but grew absolutely opposite to, those of their Country: For whereas the Advantage of the *Dutch* Nation consists in the Increase of their Manufactures, Commerce, and Freight of Ships, the Interest of the Country inclines them to promote the Sale of foreign Manufactures, and that with the least Traffick and Navigation that is in their Power. Hence it is a settled Point, that, if the *East India* Company can gain more by importing *Japan* Cloths, *Indian* Quilts, Carpets, Chintzes, than raw Silk; or if the Company, by creating a scarcity of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, Cinnamon, and other Spices, can raise the Price of them, so as to gain as much by 1000 Tons, as they would otherwise get by 1000; we are not to expect, that they should import those raw Silks, or be at the Expence of transporting 1000 Tons of Spices, tho' the former would still be our Manufactures at home, and the latter increase our Navigation."

This is so plain, and agrees so evidently with the Interest of all Nations, as well as of *Holland*, that it is impossible for any unprejudiced Person not to discern, that all exclusive Companies destroy, instead of promoting, the Commerce of the Countries where they are established. The same great Writer observes, that the more any Company extends its foreign Conquests, the more of their Stock must, of Necessity, be spent for the Preservation and Defence of such Conquests; and consequently the greater their Possessions, the less the Company is able to mind the true Interest of that Trade, for the promoting which they were erected. The Reader, from the large and accurate Account, which we have lately given him of the State of the *India* Company's Affairs in the *East Indies*, will the more readily enter into, and see, the Justice and Force of this judicious Observation.

This leads me to remark, that, in all Countries where such Companies are already established, the only Method that can be taken to prevent the Consequences that may attend them, is to play one Company against another; that is to say, the State ought always to favour and protect that Company, which is most inclined to promote the

Commerce, and the Exportation of the Goods and Manufactures of the Country in which it is settled. We have seen what Advantage the *Dutch* draw from having a Company-King amongst the *Indian* Princes of every Island; and therefore we cannot be at a Loss for the Benefits, that must result from the having the Nation's Company amongst those exclusive Companies, erected in every Nation. Upon this Principle it was that the States General, in the present Case, so much favoured the *West India* Company; for a little Attention will shew, that, in this Instance, they were the Nation's Company; that is to say, by endeavouring to discover new Countries, which must have been attended with an Increase of Commerce, and of Shipping, they pursued their Country's Interest, as well as their own. And, as this is a Point that deserves to be illustrated, give me Leave to suppose, that, in consequence of this Voyage, a Settlement had been made in *Eastler Island*: In order to support this, another Squadron must have been sent, together with a fresh Supply of People for the Colony; and, in Process of Time, as their Trade and Discoveries increased, annual Squadrons would have gone, and returned; which must have been highly advantageous to *Holland*. Besides, it is a great Matter to revive a Spirit of Trade and Discovery; for let any one consider how soon all the Continent and Islands of *America* were as well known as they are at present, after they were first found by *Columbus*, and he will be at no Loss to discern the Probability of establishing a large Trade in these Southern Countries, which are so imperfectly known at present.

Add to this, that there cannot be a more true or certain Maxim than this, that tho' particular Persons, and especially Companies, gain most by old and settled Trades, yet a new Commerce contributes most to the enriching of a People, because it increases the Number of Workmen in all Manufactures at home, occasions the building new Ships, heightens the Number of Seamen, and, in one Word, enlarges and strengthens that Spirit of Industry, which is so necessary to the Well being of a trading Nation. Another Reason that might possibly engage the States to favour the *West India* Company in this Design, was the Tendency it had to promote that kind of Navigation, which, for this last Century, has fallen almost into Disuse. I mean, the Navigation round *Cape Horn* to the South Seas, upon the Discovery of which our Ancestors piqued themselves with so much Justice. The more one reflects on this, the more one is amazed at the Inolence of the present Age, especially considering the ill Consequences that plainly result from it already. The Storms about the *Cape of Good Hope* were more terrible to our Ancestors, in the very Dawn of Navigation, than the Doodling *Cape Horn* is to some People at this Hour, after so many Voyages have been made round it, and that too by their own Countrymen, as well as others. Captain *Cook* sailed it twice, *Dampier* thrice, *Clipperton* as often, and yet now, after twenty Years Disuse, it is become a greater Bugbear than ever. It was therefore high time for the *Dutch*, who saw the *Trent* yearly bringing large Sums out of the South Seas, to try, whether their Subjects could not be as fortunate, without engaging in a contraband Trade with the *Spaniards*.

It is a great Pity, that we can't have Commodore *Reggeman's* Proposals to the *West India* Company, in which, no doubt, there are abundance of curious Particulars; but, as this is not to be hoped for, we must content ourselves with endeavouring to supply this Deficiency, by attending closely to this Voyage.

We see, that, before he thought of Refreshment, he first tried, as far as the *Coast of Brazil*, and did not loiter as his Line at the *Cape de Verde*, or any other Islands: And this was certainly the right Way, for a Voyage to the *Coast of Brazil* was doubtless to very hard or difficult Navigation, as the former Voyages, especially those of *Dampier* and *Euxnell*, plainly shew. But the *Dutch* Commodore took no small Pains to discover some Island upon that *Coast* where a Settlement might be made, that his Countrymen might, for the future, have a Place of their own, without troubling the *Portuguese* at all. When this was found impracticable, his next Care was, to reconnoitre the Island of *St. Leon*, which has never been thoroughly discovered before, and therefore he thought he had a Right to impose

on it a new Name; which he did: And, if he had settled on it also, as he proposed, it had certainly answered the End of his Voyage effectually; for the Climate and Soil appear to have been such, as leave no Room to doubt, that, if the *Dutch* had fixed there, and been well supported, they might make it as commodious a Place as the *Cape of Good Hope*, which had been slighted, as not worth inhabiting, by other Nations, tho' it is now acknowledged for one of the finest Countries in the World. He formed the same Project with respect to *Juan Fernandez*, which is certainly one of the wholiest and pleasanest Islands in *America*, and from whence, it was once settled, the discovering of the Southern Continent and Islands must with ease follow. To say the Truth, I think the first Error that he committed in the postponing these Settlements, but more especially the last, because the Benefits that must have resulted from it are apparent.

We have so many Accounts of the Beauty and Fertility of that Island, that, I think, it may be laid down as an undeniable Truth, that a Proposal for settling it would not meet with many Difficulties, either here, or in *Holland*. In both Places People are to be met with, who, either for the sake of getting Bread, or from the Hopes of acquiring a Fortune, would readily consent to visit the most unwholesome Countries, and to reside in the worst Climates. They would not therefore certainly be wanting enough to settle themselves, upon proper Encouragement, to go and reside there, and the Expence of fortifying the Island, and providing them in every respect with what they wanted, would require no great Sum: Yet, whatever Nation shall take the Step, and be at the Expence, will have it absolutely in their Power to protect this Scheme of Discovery, after what, perhaps, it may be time enough to think of settling the Island of *St. Leon* on the other Side of the *Cape*. By raising a Fort, and putting in Order the Plantations of the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, might employ the next Year, whenever this important Design is properly put on foot, if two or three small Vessels were left with the Inhabitants of that Island, they might, by the Arrival of a new Squadron the next Year, be able to report soon what was the Probability of a Discovery from thence; because there are undoubtedly several Islands, which lie at no great Distance from thence; and all of them in so good a Climate, that Hardship need be feared in endeavouring to settle them. In consequence of their Report, and of the Ships received from the new Colony, where the Sick might be put on shore, and their Places supplied with fresh Men, a great Part of the South Continent might be discovered in one Summer: For, when the Seamen were once upon their good Retreat, as the Island of *Juan Fernandez* would be, they would not be uneasy, or afraid of long Provisions, if they cruised a few Weeks, more or less, in the South Seas. Besides, there would be no Occasion for reducing them to short Allowance; and, while they were in present Plenty, and without Apprehension of future Wars, they would certainly be in sufficient Spirits to undertake anything their Officers could reasonably expect from them.

The Voyages of *Schouten* and *Dampier*, as well as the many occasions these Remarks, plainly shew, that it is the Desire of so long a Run as to the *East Indies*, when it obliges the Sailors in these Seas, and occasions frequent Mutinies, such perpetual Dissentions, as must certainly impede, and even defeat, the best laid Project for Discovery. Add to all this, that, in two or three Years there is the highest Probability, that the Produce of the Trade that might be established in these Southern Islands, would not only defray the Expence of the Undertaking, but would afford considerable Returns; and then all Difficulties would be removed. There would be enough struggling to share in the Advantages of a Commerce so long neglected, but the present at *Juan Fernandez* would prevent this, and be sufficient in least thirty or forty Years, the greatest Part of the Cost to the original Proprietors.

This, or something like it, was undoubtedly Mr. *Reggeman's* Plan, and it must certainly add some Force and Credit to his Scheme, that it was twice approved by the *West India* Company in *Holland*, the Directors of which are always Men of Business, and of distinguished Abilities, who undoubtedly would not have been at so great an

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perence as this Voyage cost them, if they had not been perfectly well satisfied, that the Design was rational in all respects, and practicable in its nature; nor could they be at all displeas'd with the Report of this Voyage, which, tho' not very successful upon the Whole, yet was so in Part, and has given such new Lights, as render it sufficiently evident, that there wants nothing but Perseverance to perfect all that was propos'd. How it fell out, that this Design was abandoned, notwithstanding these Probabilities in its Favour, I cannot pretend to say; but whoever reflects on the Advantages that are now derived from our Plantations, on the Difficulties that attend planting them, on the many Misconceptions in planting them, and the plausible Discourses made against planting them at all; I say, whoever reflects naturally upon this, will readily confess, that no conclusive Argument can be drawn from the *Dutch West India Company's* neglecting this Design. It may, perhaps, be the Result of a Timidity in the Directors, who are afraid to touch out Money on a Project that has once miscarried; or it may not in all Countries that Directors despise the Opinions of their Constituents, or of the World, and follow their own, and their own Interest too sometimes, at other Peoples Expence. But I rather think the *East India Company* have found Ways and Means to engage them to desert from what to them appeared so dangerous to their Commerce. I mention this purely as a Conjecture, of which I neither have, or pretend to have, the smallest Proof. But when we consider, that, in fact, this is a Project for bringing the Commodities of the *Indies* into *Europe* by a new Route, we need not wonder, that every *East India Company's* Interest is alarm'd at it; because, to the very same Reason that the *Portuguese* were beat out of the *East India Trade*, by the Discovery of a Passage round the Cape of *Good Hope*, the present Companies must lose their Trade, if a better and more Commodious Passage can be found. It was the Sense of this, that thir'd up all the Endeavours that have been made to discover a Passage by the North east, and by the North west; and th' therefore, it should once appear, that the Passage already found by the South-west will do as well, and that as great Returns may be made in fifteen, or at least in eighteen Months, as in three Years by the other, it must certainly fall into Disuse.

I know it may be object'd, that the Hardships that have been lately intoll'd in passing *Cape Horn*, are sufficient to deter as I have said; but I think, on the contrary, that I have more Reason to assert, that what I have said ought to destroy the Notion of these Hardships. I am very far from leaving the Matter of Fact, but if People go to a wrong Season of the Year, embark'd with Things that are not necessary, and destitute of those that are, they may well enough fall into such Distresses, and yet other People take the same Route without feeling them. Let any Man read *Frezier's Voyage*, and I think he will be surpris'd, that it is very possible to get into the South Seas without being distress'd by the Scurvy; for I don't remember, that he makes any great Complaints about the Matter. Let us put the Thing out of Dispute, let us but recollect, that *Jacques le Maire* pass'd through the South Seas into the *East Indies*, without so much as losing a Man; and we must be convinc'd, that the same is practicable now. I believe there are few Voyages, in which the Sailors meet with more Hardships, than in that of which we are speaking. But from whence did they proceed? Why, our Author has very fairly and honestly told us, from the private Views of the principal Officers, who were in a Hurry to get to the *East Indies*; for otherwise they might have met with Reliefment enough: So that it was not the Prosecution of the Discovery that brought upon them such Hardships, but it was their own ill Conduct that defeat'd the Discovery, and brought Discredit on the Voyage. But if *Mr. Roggewein's* Plan was to be executed in its full Extent, that is to say, if the Ship employ'd for making this Discovery sail'd at the proper Season of the Year, which appears to be about the Beginning of *November*, refresh'd at the Cape of *Good Hope*, proceeded from them to the Island of *St. Catharina*, and to double *Cape Horn* early in the Year, they might reach *Juan Fernandez* in very tolerable Condition; much more, if proper Settlements were made with

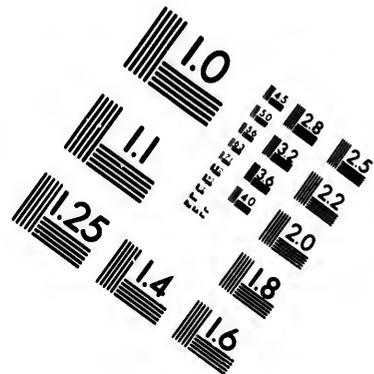
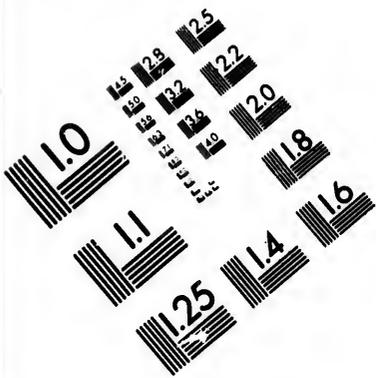
a View to this Discovery; in which Case, I make no doubt but, in twenty Years, all the Difficulties of this Navigation would be as much forgot, as those of the *Cape of Good Hope* are already.

I must confess, that I have taken a great deal of Pains upon this Subject, from an earnest Desire, that this Scheme of discovering these Southern *Indies*, might appear in its true Light to the *British Nation*, and in order to shew how possible it is for us to reap the Benefit, not of the Discoveries only, but of the Errors and Oversight of other People. We are daily complaining, though I hope without Reason, of the Decay of Trade: We are daily repining at the Restrictions on our Trade, for which, without doubt, there is more Reason; since it is visible, that the Commerce between our own Island, and that of *Barbadoes*, employs five times the Number of Ships that are in the Service of all our exclusive Companies put together: But Complaints are effeminate Things; we ought to behave like Men, and endeavour to find Remedies, if we really think ourselves aggrieved. If, as many People say, most Trades are overstock'd; or if, as most People say, the most beneficial Branches of Trade are cramped by the before mentioned Restrictions; it is undoubtedly our Business to find out new Trades, if it be possible; or, at least, it is worth our while to make some Attempt, where, as in the present Case, there is a probable Prospect of Success. For this Purpose, there never was a Season more convenient than the present; the War has destroyed some Branches of our Trade, and suspends many others: Yet the War affords us fairer Opportunities for undertaking any Expeditions like this, than we could have in a Time of profound Peace.

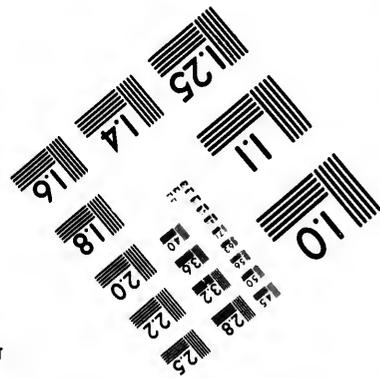
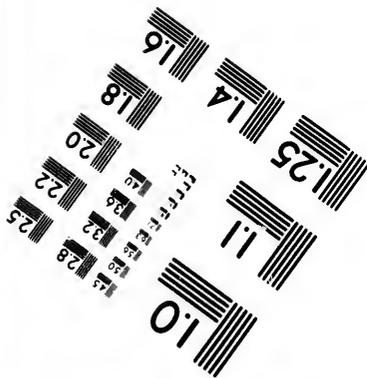
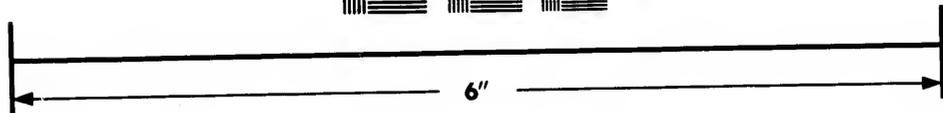
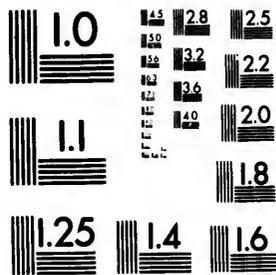
We have now no Reason to be complainant to the *Spaniards*, or to be afraid of the Relinquishment of our Neighbours, in case we should take Possession of *Juan Fernandez*, and settle it: In short, we have nothing to fear, but all Things to hope, all Things to expect, if we are not wanting to ourselves, and more inclined to complain of what we have not, than industrious to acquire what we might have with very little Trouble. There may, indeed, be object'd to all this, that the Discoveries hitherto made consist but of small Islands, or of Continents not thoroughly examined: Yet this Objection proves nothing, if it be certain, that such of these Islands as have been examined are well inhabited; and that the Continents not examined are so situated, as to justify the Observations made by our Author in this Voyage; because, in this Case, the Objection amounts to no more than this, that it is in vain to attempt to discover Countries, where there is no Certainty of gaining great Advantages: And what is this but saying, in other Words, that we ought not to attempt Discoveries at all?

If the World had been always of that Mind, both the *East* and the *West Indies* had still remained undiscovered. What Prejudice would have result'd from thence to *Europe*, may appear from the Consideration of the different Circumstances of Things since the Discovery of those Countries, which have undoubtedly occasioned not only a mighty Increase of Shipping amongst the Nations possess'd of Plantations in those Parts, but also of domestic Industry; and whatever increases the Manufactures of a Country, increases the Wealth of its Inhabitants; or, take it in another Light, and it plainly increases their Happiness, by enabling them to purchase, by their Labour, the Necessaries and the Conveniences of Life, which otherwise (that is, without Trade) their Labour would not procure. To be more effectually convinc'd of this, we may compare the present State of those Countries, that actually carry on a large Commerce in those Parts of the World, and the Countries which have no such Commerce. For Instance, What is the Reason, that *Great Britain* and *Holland* make so much a greater Figure in *Europe*, and that their Subjects are so much richer, than those of *Sweden* or *Denmark*? Does it not plainly result from the great Commerce of the former, compar'd with that of the latter? Is not this the Opinion of the ablest Judges? And is it not confess'd by the *Swedes* and *Danes* themselves, who are now making great Efforts, in order to obtain a Share in the Commerce of the *East Indies*, and have actually made some Progress in their Design? Let us consider, therefore, that





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that, if other Nations proceed, and we stand still, they will certainly overtake us; and, before they do this, our Trade must necessarily decay, and fall off.

To prevent this, the safest, plainest, and most speedy Method is, to endeavour to make new Discoveries, that is, in effect, to endeavour finding out new Markets. If there be so large a Tract of Country, as our Author supposes, and so many Islands undiscovered, in the South, they must be worth the discovering, for these Reasons: If any of these Countries are absolutely uninhabited, we are at least sure that they lie in such a Climate as gives us Hopes of their producing the richest Commodities, or a Certainty of our being able to produce them, by raising new Colonies and Plantations. We shall very soon be satisfied of this, if we reflect on the Advantages derived from the settling the small Island of *Burbaizes*: And, if the Profits arising from Sugar are so large, what might be expected, or, rather, what might we not expect, from a Country of the same Extent, which would produce Cloves, Nutmegs, or Cinnamon? It is true, that formerly the Power of the *Dutch* might have been apprehended, who have shewn a very stubborn Resolution of keeping these rich Commodities intirely to themselves: But at present there can be no such Fear, because our maritime Power is sufficient to protect any just Pretension; and, on the other hand, we ought not to suspect, that our Governors would have such a Compliance for any foreign Interell, as to sacrifice to it our own. On the other hand, if these Southern Countries are inhabited by Savages, there is a great Probability of our obtaining the most valuable Commodities, either in Exchange for the Necessaries of Life, or for those Trifles, which we know, by Experience, such Savages naturally admire.

But it may be, and indeed is, far more probable, that there are civilized Nations in many, or at least in some, of these Countries; and with them, no doubt, we may carry on a very advantageous Trade: For the Commodities of one Part of the World are always considered as Rarities in another Part; and, as Rarities, they will naturally fetch an high Price: So that if we can but once esta-

lish a Trade, and a Trade at so great a Distance, it must turn much to our Benefit.

Upon the Whole, therefore, the only Point that remains to be settled, is, the producing such further Evidence as may beget a clear and full Persuasion, that there really is a vast Tract of Country, though hitherto but imperfectly discovered, in the South. In order to do this, and to confirm what the Author of this Voyage has asserted upon that Head, I cannot think of a better Method, than adding two Voyages, by way of Appendix to this; the rather, because they will contribute, both to explain what he has laid down only in short and general Terms, and also complete what we have to deliver with regard to the immediate Subject of this Book; viz. *the Progress that has been made in the Circumnavigation of the Globe*: Besides, both these Voyages are not only curious in themselves, but have this farther to recommend them; that the former never was published in our Language before, and the latter so imperfectly, that this new and full Translation which we give our Readers, becomes to much the more valuable. It is a Thing that has been often, and indeed justly, complained of, that in the largest Collections of Voyages, in our Language, there has been little more than perpetual Repetitions, while abundance of important Pieces, published in other Countries, have been neglected, either through want of Care, or want of Information. But we may safely assert, that nothing of this sort can happen be imputed to us, since we have faithfully executed the Plan we laid down, and have given our Readers not but imperfect Abridgments, or loose and unconnected Relations, but a regular Series of all the Voyages that have hitherto been made round the World, with the Addition of such scarce and curious Accounts, as was requisite to render the Discoveries mentioned in them as perfect as it was possible: And the same Spirit, the same Diligence, that, with the Blessing of God, appear as fully in the remaining Part of the Work. It is indeed a kind of Respect which we owe to the World, a thing every way incumbent upon us, considering the kind Treatment we have received, and the Encouragement afforded us, by the Public.

SECTION XXI.

The Voyage and Shipwreck of Captain FRANCIS PELSART, in the Batavia, on the Coast of New Holland, and his succeeding Adventures.

[From the Collections of M. Thevenot.]

1. *A short Account of the Design of this Voyage.* 2. *Captain Pelsart, in the Batavia, shipwrecked on the Coast of New Holland.* 3. *Obliged to leave his People on three desert Islands, in order to go in search of Water.* 4. *Account of the Coast, and its Inhabitants.* 5. *He is obliged to proceed to Batavia, in order to obtain Succours.* 6. *The Difficulties and Dangers he met with in his Passage.* 7. *The Supercargo, at his Absence, forms a Conspiracy, and murders a great Part of the Crew.* 8. *The Supercargo is detected, and made Prisoner.* 9. *Captain Pelsart returns from Batavia, and defeats the Mutineers.* 10. *He seeks for his own Safety, to execute them all; and returns afterwards, with his Ship's Company, to Batavia.* 11. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

IT has appeared very strange to some very able Judges of Voyages, that the *Dutch* should make so great Account of the Southern Countries, as to cause the Map of them to be laid down in the Pavement of the Stadt-houfe at *Amsterdam*, and yet publish no Descriptions of them. This Mystery was a good deal heightened by one of the Ships, that first touched on *Carpenter's Land*, bringing home a considerable Quantity of Gold, Spices, and other rich Goods: In order to clear up which, it was said, that these were not the Product of the Country, but were fished out of the Wreck of a large Ship that had been lost upon the Coast: But this Story did not satisfy the Inquisitive, because not attended with the Circumstances necessary to establish its Credit; and, therefore, they suggested, that, instead of taking away the Obscurity, by relating the Truth, this Tale was invented, in order to hide it more effectually. This Suspicion gained Ground the more, when it was known that the *Dutch East*

India Company from *Batavia* had made some Attempts to conquer a Part of the Southern Continent, and had been repulsed with Loss; of which, however, we have no distinct or perfect Relation, and all that hath been collected in reference to this Subject, may be reduced to two Voyages; the first of which is to be seen in this, and the other of the succeeding Section. As to what we know concerning the following Piece, it is, that it was collected from the *Dutch Journal* of the Voyage, which having said thus much by way of Introduction, we proceed to the Translation of this short History.

2. The Directors of the *East India Company*, in consequence of the Return of five Ships, under General *Carron*, in the year 1628, caused, the very same Year, 1628, eleven Vessels to be equipped for the same Voyage: Amongst which, there was one Ship called the *Batavia*, commanded by Captain *Pelsart*. They sailed out of the *Sea* on the 10th of October 1628; and, as it would be tedious and unnecessary to

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some to the Reader to set down a long Account of Things perfectly well known, I shall say nothing of the Occurrence that happened in their Passage to the Cape of Good Hope; but content myself with observing, that, on the 4th of June in the following Year 1629, this Vessel, the *Batavia*, being in the Fleet in a Storm, was driven on the *Abralles* or *Sholes*, which lie in the Latitude of 28° South, and which have been since called by the *Dutch* the *Abralles* of *Frideric Houtman*. Captain *Pelsart*, who was sick in Bed when this Accident happened, perceiving that his Ship had struck, ran immediately upon Deck. It was Night indeed; but the Weather was fair, and the Moon shone very bright; the Sails were up; and the Course they steered was North-east by North; and the Sea appeared, as far as they could behold it, covered with a white Froth. The Captain called up the *Master*, and charged him with the Loss of the Ship; who excused himself by saying, he had taken all the Care he could; and that, having discerned this Froth at a Distance, he asked the *Steersman*, What he thought of it; who told him, That the Sea appeared white, by its reflecting the Rays of the Moon. The Captain then asked him, What was to be done; and in what Part of the World he thought they were. The *Master* replied, That God only knew that; and that the Ship was fast on a Bank hitherto undiscovered. Upon this, they began to throw the Lead, and found, that they had about forty-eight Feet Water before, and much less behind, the Vessel. The Crew immediately agreed to throw their *Canon* overboard, in hopes, that, when the Ship was lightened, she might be brought to float again. They let fall an *Anchor*, however; and, while they were thus employed, a most dreadful Storm arose of Wind and Rain; which soon convinced them of the Danger they were in; for, being surrounded with *Rocks* and *Sholes*, the Ship was perpetually striking. They then resolved to cut away the *Main-mast*; which they did: And this augmented the Shock; neither could they get clear of it, tho' they cut it close by the Board, because it was much intangled with the *Rigging*. They could see no Land, except an *Island*, which was about the Distance of three Leagues, and two smaller *Islands*, or rather *Rocks*, which lay nearer. They immediately sent the *Master* to examine them, who returned about nine in the Morning, and reported, that the *Sea*, at *High-water*, did not cover them; but that the *Coast* was so rocky, and full of *Sholes*, that it would be very difficult to land upon them. They resolved, however, to run the *Risque*, and to send most of their Company on shore, to comfort the *Women*, *Children*, sick *People*, and such as were out of their Wits with *Fear*, whose *Cries* and *Noise* served only to disturb them. About ten o'Clock, they embarked these in their *Shallop* and *Skiff*; and, perceiving their Vessel began to break, they doubled their Diligence. They likewise endeavoured to get their *Bread* up; but they did not take the same Care of the *Water*, not reflecting in their *Fright*, that they might be much distressed for want of it on shore; and what hindered them most of all was, the brutal Behaviour of some of the *Crew*, that made themselves drunk with the *Ale*, of which no Care was taken. In short, such was their Confusion, that they made but three Trips that Day, carrying over to the *Island* 180 *Persons*, twenty *Barrels* of *Bread*, and some small *Casks* of *Water*. The *Master* returned on board towards *Evening*, and told the *Captain*, that it was to no purpose to send more *Provisions* on shore, since the *People* only waited those they had already. Upon this, the *Captain* went in the *Shallop* to put things in better Order; and was then informed, that there was no *Water* to be found upon the *Island*. He endeavoured to return to the *Ship*, in order to bring off a *Supply*, together with the most valuable Part of their *Cargo*; but a *Storm* suddenly arising, he was forced to return. The next Day was spent in removing their *Water*, and most valuable *Goods*, on shore; and afterwards, the *Captain* in the *Skiff*, and the *Master* in the *Shallop*, endeavoured to return to the *Vessel*; but found the *Sea* run so high, that it was impossible to get on board. In this *Ex-ecution*, the *Carpenter* threw himself out of the *Ship*, and came to them, in order to inform them to what *Hardships* he was left in the *Vessel* were reduced; and they sent him back, with *Orders* for them to make *Rats*, by tying the

Planks together, and endeavour, on these, to reach the *Shallop* and *Skiff*; but, before this could be done, the *Weather* became so rough, that the *Captain* was obliged to return, leaving, with the utmost *Grief*, his *Lieutenant*, and seventy *Men*, on the very *Point* of perishing on board the *Vessel*. Those who were got on the little *Island* were not in much better *Condition*; for, upon taking an *Account* of their *Water*, they found they had not above forty *Gallons* for forty *People*; and on the larger *Island*, where there were 120, their *Stock* was still less. Those who were on the little *Island* began to murmur, and to complain of their *Officers*, because they did not go in *Search* of *Water* in the *Islands* that were within *Sight* of them; and they represented the *Necessity* of this to *Captain Pelsart*; who agreed to their *Request*; but insisted, before he went, to communicate his *Design* to the rest of his *People*. They consented to this; but not till the *Captain* had declared, that, without the *Consent* of the *Company* on the large *Island*, he would, rather than leave them, go and perish on board the *Ship*. When they were got pretty near the shore, he, who commanded the *Boat*, told the *Captain*, that, if he had any thing to say, he must cry out to the *People*; for that they would not suffer him to go out of the *Boat*. The *Captain* immediately attempted to throw himself overboard, in order to swim to the *Island*. Those who were in the *Boat* prevented him; and all that he could obtain of them was, to throw on shore his *Table book*, in which he wrote a *Line* or two to inform them, that he was gone in the *Skiff* to look for *Water* in the adjacent *Islands*.

He accordingly coasted them all with the greatest Care, and found, in most of them, considerable Quantities of *Water* in the *Holes* of the *Rocks*; but so mixed with the *Sea-water*, that it was unfit for *Use*; and therefore they were obliged to go farther. The first thing they did was, to make a *Deck* to their *Boat*, because they found it was impracticable to navigate those *Seas* in an open *Vessel*. Some of the *Crew* joined them by that time the *Work* was finished; and the *Captain* having obtained a *Paper*, signed by all his *Men*, importing, that it was their *Desire*, that he should go in *Search* of *Water*, he immediately put to *Sea*, having first taken an *Observation*, by which he found they were in the *Latitude* of 28° 13' *South*. They had not been long at *Sea*, before they had *Sight* of the *Continent*, which appeared to them to lie about sixteen *Miles* *North* by *West* from the *Place* where they had suffered *Shipwreck*. They found about twenty-five or thirty *Fathom* *Water*; and, as *Night* drew on, they kept out to *Sea*; and, after *Midnight*, stood in for the *Land*, that they might be near the *Coast* in the *Morning*. On the 9th (of *June*) they found themselves, as they reckoned, about three *Miles* from the *Shore*; on which they plied all that *Day*, sailing sometimes *North*, sometimes *West*, the *Country* appearing low, naked, and the *Coast* excessively rocky; so that they thought it resembled the *Country* near *Dover*. At last they saw a little *Creek*, into which they were willing to put, because it appeared to have a sandy *Bottom*; but, when they attempted to enter it, the *Sea* ran so high, that they were forced to desist.

On the 10th, they remained on the same *Coast*, plying to-and-again, as they had done the *Day* before; but the *Weather* growing worse and worse, they were obliged to abandon their *Shallop*, and even to throw a *Part* of their *Bread* overboard, because it hindered them from clearing themselves of the *Water*, which their *Vessel* began to make very fast. That *Night* it rained most terribly, which, tho' it gave them much *Trouble*, afforded them *Hopes*, that it would prove a great *Relief* to the *People* they had left behind them on the *Islands*. The *Wind* began to sink on the 11th; and, as it blew from the *West* *South-west*, they continued their *Course* to the *North*, the *Sea* running still so high, that it was impossible to approach the *Shore*. On the 12th, they had an *Observation*, by which they found themselves in the *Latitude* of 27°. They failed with a *South-east* *Wind* all that *Day* along the *Coast*, which they found so steep, that there was no getting on shore; inasmuch as there was no *Creek*, or low *Land*, without the *Rocks*, as is commonly observed on *Sea-coasts*; which gave them the more *Pain*, because within-land the *Country* appeared extremely fruitful and pleasant. They found them-

selves, on the 13th, in the Latitude of $25^{\circ} 40'$; by which they discovered, that the Current ran to the North. They were, at this time, over-against an Opening; the Coast lying to the North-east, they continued a North Course, but found the Coast one continued Rock of a red Colour, all of an Height, against which the Waves broke with such Force, that it was impossible for them to land.

4. The Wind blew very fresh in the Morning on the 14th; but, towards Noon, it fell calm; they were then in the Height of 24° , with a small Gale at East; but the Tide still carried them farther North than they desired, because their Design was to make a Descent as soon as possible; and with this View they sailed slowly along the Coast, till, perceiving a great deal of Smoke at a Distance, they rowed towards it as fast as they were able, in hopes of finding Men, and Water of course: However, when they came near the Shore, they found it so steep, so full of Rocks, and the Sea beating over them with such Fury, that it was impossible to land: Six of the Men, however, trusting to their Skill in Swimming, threw themselves into the Sea, and resolved to get on Shore at any Rate; which, with great Difficulty and Danger, they at last effected, the Boat remaining at Anchor in 25 Fathom Water. The Men on shore spent the whole Day in looking for Water; and, while they were thus employed, they saw four Men, who came up very near; but one of the Dutch Sailors advancing towards them, they immediately ran away as fast as they were able, so that they were distinctly seen by those in the Boat. These People were black Savages, quite naked, not having so much as any Covering about their Middle. The Sailors, finding no Hopes of Water on all the Coast, swam on board again, much hurt and wounded by their being beat by the Waves upon the Rocks; and, as soon as they were on board, they weighed Anchor, and continued their Course along the Shore, in hopes of finding some better Landing-place.

On the 15th, in the Morning, they discovered a Cape, from the Point of which there ran a Ridge of Rocks a Mile into the Sea, and behind it another Ridge of Rocks: They ventured between them, as the Sea was pretty calm; but, finding there was no Passage, they soon returned. About Noon, they saw another Opening; and the Sea being still smooth, they entered it, though the Passage was very dangerous, inasmuch as they had but two Feet Water, and the Bottom full of Stones; the Coast appearing a flat Sand for about a Mile. As soon as they got on shore they fell to digging in the Sand; but the Water that came into their Wells was so brackish, that they could not drink it, though they were on the very Point of choaking for Thirst: At last, in the Hollows of the Rocks, they met with considerable Quantities of Rain-water, which was a great Relief to them, since they had been for some Days at so better Allowance than a Pint apiece; they soon furnished themselves in the Night with about eighty Gallons, perceiving, in the Place where they landed, that the Savages had been there lately, by a large Heap of Ashes, and the Remains of some Cray fish.

On the 16th, in the Morning, they returned on shore, in hopes of getting more Water, but were disappointed; and, having now Time to observe the Country, it gave them no great Hopes of better Success, even if they had travelled farther within Land, which appeared a thirly barren Plain, covered with Ant hills, so high, that they looked, afar off, like the Hats of Negroes; and, at the same time, they were so plagued with Flies, and those in such Multitudes, that they were scarce able to defend themselves. They saw at a Distance eight Savages, with each a Staff in his Hand, who advanced towards them within Musket-shot; but as soon as they perceived the Dutch Sailors moving towards them, they fled as fast as they were able. It was, by this time, about Noon; and, perceiving no Appearance either of getting Water, or entering into any Correspondence with the Natives, they returned to go on board, and continue their Course towards the North, in hopes, as they were already in the Latitude of $22^{\circ} 17'$, they might be able to find the River of *Jacob Kemmeicus*: But the Wind veering about to the North-east, they were not able to continue longer upon that Coast; and therefore, reflecting that they were now above one hundred Miles from the Place where they were shipwrecked, and

had scarce as much Water as would serve them in their Passage back, they came to a settled Resolution of making the best of their Way to *Batavia*, in order to acquaint the Governor-General with their Misfortunes, and to obtain such Assistance, as was necessary to get their People off the Coast.

6. On the 17th, they continued their Course to the North-east, with a good Wind, and fair Weather; the 18th and 19th it blew hard, and they had much Rain; on the 20th, they found themselves in $19^{\circ} 22'$; on the 21st, they had another Observation, and found themselves in the Height of $16^{\circ} 10'$; which surprised them very much, and was a plain Proof, that the Current carried them Northwards at a great Rate; on the 27th, it rained very hard, so that they were not able to take an Observation; but, towards Noon they saw, to their great Satisfaction, the Coast of *Java*, in the Latitude of 8° , at the Distance of about 4 or 5 Miles. They altered their Course to West North-West; and, towards Evening, entered the Gulph of an Island, very full of Trees, where they anchored in eight Fathom Water, and there passed the Night; on the 28th, in the Morning, they weighed, and rowed with all their Force, in order to make the Land, that they might search for Water, being now again at the Point of perishing for Thirst. Very happily for them, they were no longer on shore, than they discovered a fine Rivulet, at a small Distance; where, having comfortably quenched their Thirst, and filled all their Casks with Water, they, about Noon, continued their Course for *Batavia*.

On the 29th, about Midnight, in the second Watch, they discovered an Island, which they left on their Starboard; about Noon they found themselves in the Height of $6^{\circ} 48'$; about three in the Afternoon, they passed between two Islands; the Westermost of which appeared full of Cocoa-trees. In the Evening, they were about a Mile from the South Point of *Java*; and, in the second Watch, exactly between *Java* and the Isle of *Princes*. The 30th, in the Morning, they found themselves on the Coast of the last-mentioned Island, not being able to make above two Miles that Day. On July 1, the Weather was calm; and, about Noon, they were three Leagues from *Panarongwegh*, i. e. *Tewart-the-way Island*; but, towards the Evening, they had a pretty brisk Wind at North-west, which enabled them to gain that Coast. On the 2d, in the Morning, they were right-against the Island of *Tewart*, and were obliged to lay at Anchor till they were ready, waiting for the Sea-breeze, which, however, did not come, that they were not able to make above two Miles that day; about Sun-set, they perceived a Vessel between *Tewart* and *Tewart-the-way Island*; upon which they resolved to anchor as near the Shore as they could that Night, and then wait the Arrival of the Ship. In the Morning, they went on board her, in hopes of procuring Arms for their Defence, in case the Inhabitants of *Java* were at War with the Dutch. They found two other Ships in Company on board one of which was *Nr. Ramburg*, Comdrant of the *Indies*; Captain *Pelfart* went immediately on board the Ship, where he acquainted him with the Nature of his Misfortune, and went with him afterwards to *Batavia*.

7. We will now leave the Captain following Orders from the Governor General, in order to return to *Batavia*, who were left upon the Islands, among whom there happened such Transactions, as, in their Condition, they would little expect, and perhaps will barely credit. It is not to their being thoroughly understood, it is necessary to observe, that they had for Supercargo one *Jacob Kemmeicus*, who had been formerly an Apothecary at *Batavia*. This Man, when they were on the Coast of *Java*, had plotted with the Pilot, and some others, to run away with the Vessel, and either to carry her into *Danarong*, or to sell her to the Pirates in her on their own Account. This Supercargo had remained ten Days on board the Wreck, not being able in all that time, to get on shore. Two whole Days he spent on the Main-mast, floating to and fro; till at last, by the Help of one of the Yards, he got to Land. When he was once on shore, the Command, in the Absence of Captain *Pelfart*, devolved of course upon him; who, immediately revived in his Mind his old Design, to make use of

left Master of all that could be saved out of the Wreck; conceiving, that it would be easy to surprize the Captain on his Return; and determining to go on the Account, that is to say, to turn Pirate in the Captain's Vessel. In order to carry this Design into Execution, he thought it necessary for them to rid themselves of such of the Crew, as were not like to come into their Scheme; but before he proceeded to dip his Hands in Blood, he obliged all the Conspirators to sign an Instrument, by which they engaged to stand by each other.

The whole Ship's Company were on shore in three Islands, the greatest Part of them in that where *Cornelis* was; which Island they thought fit to call the Burying-place of *Batavia*. One Mr. *Weybbays* was sent with another Body into an adjacent Island, to look for Water; which, after twenty Days Search, he found, and made the appointed Signal, by lighting three Fires; which, however, were not seen, nor taken notice of, by those under the Command of *Cornelis*, because they were busy in butchering their Companions, of whom they had murdered between thirty and forty; but some few, however, got off upon a Raft of Planks tied together; and went to the Island where Mr. *Weybbays* was, in order to acquaint him with the dreadful Accident that had happened. Mr. *Weybbays* having with him forty-five Men, they all resolved to stand upon their Guard, and to defend themselves to the last Man, in case these Villains should attack them. This, indeed, was their Design; for they were apprehensive both of this Body, and of those who were on the third Island, giving Notice to the Captain, on his Return, and thereby preventing their Intention of running away with his Vessel. But, as this third Company was by much the weakest, they began with them first, and cut them all off, except five Women, and seven Children, not in the least doubting, that they should be able to do as much by *Weybbays*, and his Company; in the mean time, having broke open the Merchants Chests, which had been saved out of the Wreck, they converted them to their own Use, without Ceremony.

8. The Traitor, *Jerom Cornelis*, was so much elevated with the Success that had hitherto attended his Villainy, that he immediately began to fancy all Difficulties were over; and gave a Loole to his vicious Inclinations, in every respect. He ordered Clothes to be made of rich Stuffs, that had been saved, for himself and his Troop; and, having chosen out of them a Company of Guards, he ordered them to have scarlet Coats, with a double Lace of Gold or Silver. There were two Ministers Daughters among the Women, one of which he took for his own Mistress, gave the second to a Favourite of his, and ordered that the other three Women should be common to the whole Troop. He afterwards drew up a Set of Regulations, which were to be the Laws of his new Principality, taking to himself the Style and Title of Captain-General, and obliging his Party to sign an Act, or Instrument, by which they acknowledged him as such. These Points once settled, he resolved to carry on the War. He first of all embarked on board two Shallops twenty-two Men, well armed, with Orders to destroy Mr. *Weybbays*, and his Company; and, on their miscarrying, he undertook a like Expedition, with thirty-seven Men; in which, however, he had no better Success; for Mr. *Weybbays*, with his People, though armed only with Staves, with Nails drove into their Heads, advanced even into the Water to meet them, and, after a brisk Engagement, compelled these Murderers to retire.

Cornelis then thought fit to enter into a Negotiation, which was managed by the Chaplain, who remained with Mr. *Weybbays*; and, after several Comings and Goings, from one Party to the other, a Treaty was concluded upon the following Terms; viz. That Mr. *Weybbays*, and his Company, should for the future remain undisturbed, provided they delivered up a little Boat, in which one of the Sailors had made his Escape from the Island in which *Cornelis* was with his Gang, in order to take Shelter on that where *Weybbays* was with his Company. It was also agreed, that the latter should have a Part of the Stuffs and Silks given them for Clothes, of which they stood in great Want. But, while this Affair was in Agitation, *Cornelis* took the Opportunity of the Correspondence between them

being restored, to write Letters to some *French Soldiers* that were in *Weybbays's* Company, promising them six thousand Livres apiece, if they would comply with his Demands; not doubting but, by this Artifice, he should be able to accomplish his End.

His Letters, however, had no Effect; on the contrary, the Soldiers, to whom they were directed, carried them immediately to Mr. *Weybbays*. *Cornelis*, not knowing that this Piece of Treachery was discovered, went over the next Morning, with three or four of his People, to carry to Mr. *Weybbays* the Clothes that had been promised him: As soon as they landed, *Weybbays* attacked them, killed two or three, and made *Cornelis* himself Prisoner. One *Wenterlofs*, who was the only Man that made his Escape, went immediately back to the Conspirators, put himself at their Head, and came the next Day to attack *Weybbays*, but met with the same Fate as before; that is to say, he and the Villains that were with him, were soundly beat.

9. Things were in this Situation, when Captain *Pelsart* arrived in the *Sardam* Frigate: He sailed up to the Wreck; and saw, with great Joy, a Cloud of Smoke ascending from one of the Islands; by which he knew, that all his People were not dead. He came immediately to an Anchor; and having ordered some Wine and Provisions to be put into the Skiff, resolved to go in Person with these Refreshments to one of these Islands. He had hardly quitted the Ship, before he was boarded by a Boat from the Island to which he was going; there were four Men in the Boat, of whom *Weybbays* was one, who immediately ran to the Captain, told him what had happened, and begged him to return to his Ship immediately, for that the Conspirators intended to surprize her; that they had already murdered 125 Persons, and that they had attacked him, and his Company, that very Morning, with two Shallops.

While they were talking, the two Shallops appeared; upon which the Captain rowed to his Ship as fast as he could, and was hardly got on board before they arrived at the Ship-side. The Captain was surprized to see Men in red Coats, laced with Gold and Silver, with Arms in their Hands. He demanded what they meant by coming on board armed. They told him he should know, when they were on board the Ship. The Captain replied, that they should come on board, but that they must first throw their Arms into the Sea; which if they did not do immediately, he would sink them as they lay. As they saw, that Disputes were to no Purpose, and that they were intirely in the Captain's Power, they were obliged to obey. They accordingly threw their Arms overboard, and were then taken into the Vessel, where they were instantly put in Irons: One of them, whose Name was *John Brenen*, and who was first examined, owned, that he had murdered, no less than twenty-seven Persons. The same Evening *Weybbays* brought his Prisoner *Cornelis* on board, where he was put in Irons, and strictly guarded.

10. On the 18th of September, Captain *Pelsart*, with the Master, went to take the rest of the Conspirators in *Cornelis's* Island. They went in two Boats. The Villains, as soon as they saw them land, lost all their Courage, and fled from them. They surrendered without a Blow, and were put in Irons with the rest. The Captain's first Care was to recover the Jewels which *Cornelis* had dispersed among his Accomplices: They were, however, all of them soon found, except a Gold Chain, and a Diamond Ring; the latter was also found at last, but the former could not be recovered. They went next to examine the Wreck, which they found flaved into an hundred Pieces; the Key lay upon a Bank of Sand on one Side; the fore Part of the Vessel stuck fast on a Rock; and the rest of her lay here and there, as the Pieces had been driven by the Waves, so that Captain *Pelsart* had very little Hopes of saving any of the Merchandise. One of the People belonging to *Weybbays's* Company told him, that one fair Day, which was the only one they had in a Month, as he was fishing near the Wreck, he had struck the Pole in his Head against one of the Chills of Silver; which revived the Captain a little, as it gave him Reason to expect, that something might still be saved. They spent all the rest of

examining the rest of the Prisoners, and in confronting them with those who escaped from the Massacre.

On the 20th, they sent several Kinds of Refreshments to *Weybays's* Company, and carried a good Quantity of Water from the Isle: There was something very singular in finding this Water; the People who were on shore there, had subsisted near three Weeks on Rain-water, and what lodged in the Cliffs of the Rocks, without thinking, that the Water of two Wells, which were on the Island, could be of any Use, because they saw them constantly rife and fall with the Tide; from whence they fancied, they had a Communication with the Sea, and consequently, that the Water must be brackish: But, upon Trial, they found it to be very good; and so did the Ship's Company, who filled their Casks with it.

On the 21st, the Tide was so low, and an East South-east Wind blew so hard, that, during the whole Day, the Boat could not get out. On the 22d, they attempted to fish upon the Wreck; but the Weather was so bad, that even those, who could swim very well, durst not approach it. On the 23th, the Master, and the Pilot, the Weather being fair, went off again to the Wreck; and those who were left on shore, observing that they wanted Hands to get any thing out of her, sent off some to assist them. The Captain went also himself, to encourage the Men; who soon weighed one Chest of Silver, and some time after another. As soon as these were safe ashore, they returned to their Work; but the Weather grew so bad, that they were quickly obliged to desist, tho' some of their Divers from *Gazarat* assured them, that they had found six more, which might easily be weighed. On the 26th in the Afternoon, the Weather being fair, and the Tide low, the Master returned to the Place where the Chests lay, and weighed three of them, leaving an Anchor, with a Gun tied to it, and a Buoy, to mark the Place where the fourth lay; which, notwithstanding their utmost Efforts, they were not able to recover.

On the 27th, the South Wind blew very cold. On the 28th, the same Wind blew stronger than the Day before; and, as there was no Possibility of fishing in the Wreck for the present, Captain *Pelhart* called a Council, to consider what they should do with their Prisoners; that is to say, whether it would be best to try them there upon the Spot, or to carry them to *Batavia*, in order to their being tried by the Company's Officers. After mature Deliberation, reflecting on the Number of the Prisoners, and the Temptation that might arise from the vast Quantity of Silver on board the Frigate, they came at last to a Resolution to try and execute them there; which was accordingly done: And they embarked immediately afterwards for *Batavia*.

11. As this Voyage is, of itself, very short, I shall not detain the Reader with many Remarks; but shall confine myself to a very few Observations, in order to shew the Consequences of the Discovery made by Captain *Pelhart*. The Country, upon which he suffered Shipwreck, was *New Holland*, the Coast of which had not, till then, been at all examined; and it was doubtful how far it extended. There had, indeed, been some Reports spread with relation to the Inhabitants of this Country, which Captain *Pelhart's* Relation shews to have been false; for it had been reported, that, when the *Dutch East India* Company sent some Ships to make Discoveries, their Landing was opposed by a Race of gigantic People, with whom the *Dutch* could by no means contend. But our Author says nothing of the extraordinary Size of the Savages, that were seen by Captain *Pelhart's* People; from whence it is reasonable to conclude, that this Story was circulated with no other View, than to prevent other Nations from venturing into these Seas. It is also remarkable, that this is the very Coast surveyed by Captain *Dampier*, whose Account agrees exactly with that contained in this Voyage. Now, though it be true, that, from all these Accounts, there is nothing said, which is much to the Advantage, either of the Country, or the Inhabitants, yet we are to consider, that it is impossible to represent either in a worse Light, than that in which the Cape of *Good Hope* was placed, before the *Dutch* took Possession of it, and plainly demonstrated, that Industry could make a Paradise of what was a perfect Purgatory, while in the Hands of *Hottentots*. If therefore the Climate of this

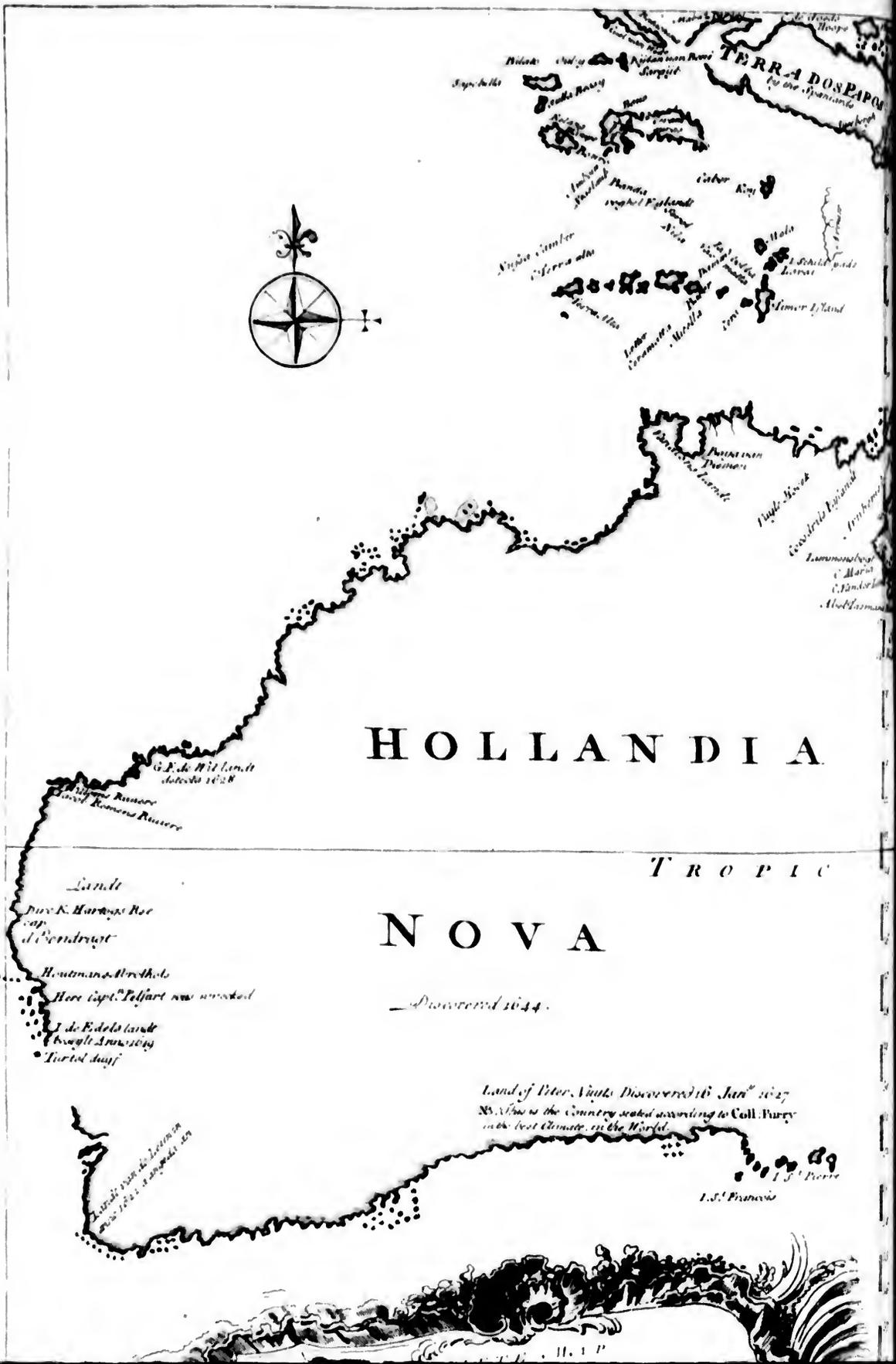
Country be good, and the Soil fruitful, both of which are affirmed in this Relation, there could not be a proper Place for a Colony, than some Part of *New Holland*, or of the adjacent Country of *Carpentaria*. I shall give my Reasons for asserting this, when I come to make my Remarks on the succeeding Voyage. At present, I shall confine myself to the Reasons, that have induced the *Dutch East India* Company to leave all these Countries unsettled, after having first shewn so strong an Inclination to discover them; which will oblige me to lay before the Reader some Secrets in Commerce, that have hitherto escaped common Observation, and which, whenever they are as thoroughly considered as they deserve, will undoubtedly lead us to as great Discoveries as those of *Columbus* or *Magellan*.

In order to make myself perfectly understood, I must observe, that it was the finding out of the *Moluccas*, or *Spice* Islands, by the *Portuguese*, that raised that spirit of Discovery, which produced *Columbus's* Voyage, which ended in finding *America*, tho', in fact, *Columbus* intended rather to have reached this Country of *New Holland*. The Assertion is bold, and, at first Sight, may appear improbable; but a little Attention will make it so plain, that the Reader must be convinced of the Truth of what I say. The Proposition made by *Columbus* to the State of *Genoa*, the Kings of *Portugal*, *Spain*, *England*, and *France*, was this, that he could discover a new Route to the *East Indies*; that is to say, without going round the Cape of *Good Hope*. He grounded this Proposition on the spherical Figure of the Earth, from whence he thought it self-evident, that any given Point might be sailed to through the great Ocean, either by steering East or West. In his Attempt to go to the *East Indies* by a West Course, he met with the Islands and Continent of *America*; and, finding Gold and other Commodities, which, till then, had never been brought from the *Indies*, he really thought, that this was the West Coast of that Country, to which the *Portuguese* sailed by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and hence came the Name of the *West Indies*. *Magellan*, who followed his Steps, and was the only Discoverer who reasoned systematically, and knew what he was doing, proposed to the Emperor *Charles V.* to complete what *Columbus* had begun, and to find a Passage to the *Moluccas* by the West; which, to his immortal Honour, he accomplished.

When the *Dutch* made their first Voyages to the *East Indies*, which was not many Years before Captain *Pelhart's* Shipwreck on the Coast of *New Holland*; for their first Fleet arrived in the *East Indies* in 1596, and *Pelhart's* last Ship in 1629; I say, when the *Dutch* first undertook the *East India* Trade, they had the *Spice* Islands in View; and, as they are a Nation justly famous for the steady Pursuit of whatever they take in hand, it is notorious, that they never lost Sight of their Design, till they had accomplished it, and made themselves intirely Masters of these Islands, of which they still continue in Possession. When this was done, and they had effectually driven out the *English*, who were likewise settled in them, they fixed the Seat of their Government in the Island of *Amboyna*, which lay very convenient for the Discovery of the Southern Countries; which therefore they prosecuted with great Diligence, from the Year 1619, to the Time of Captain *Pelhart's* Shipwreck; that is, for the Space of twenty Years.

But, after they removed the Seat of their Government from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, they turned their Views another Way, and never made any Voyage expressly for Discovery on that Side, except the single one of Captain *Dampier*, of which we are to speak in the next Section. It was in this Period of Time that they began to take new Measures, and, having made their excellent Settlement at the Cape of *Good Hope*, resolved to govern their Trade to the *East Indies* by these two capital Maxims: I. To extend their Trade over all the *Indies*; and to fix themselves so effectually in the richest Countries, as to keep all, or, at least, the best and most profitable Part of their Commerce to themselves. II. To make the *Moluccas*, and the Islands dependent on them, their Frontier; and to omit nothing that should appear necessary to prevent Strangers, or even *Dutch* Ships, not belonging to the Company, from ever navigating those Seas, and consequently from ever being acquainted with the Countries, that lie in them. How well they have pro-

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by the Spaniards

GUINEA

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TROPIC

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Discovered 1644.

Land of Peter, Vint discovered 16 Jun^o 1627
 As this is the Country seald according to Coll. Furry
 with best Climate, in the World.

G. E. de Wit Landt
 discovered 1628

Landt
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 K. Barthelemy
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Here Capt. Peltart was wrecked

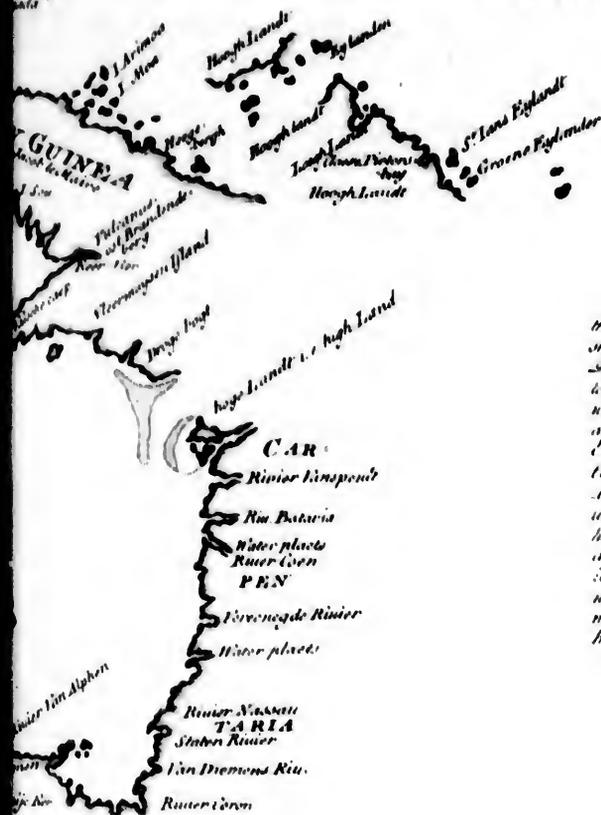
J. de Edel's Landt
 Discovered by
 Turtel duyl

Landt van de Leijden
 discovered 1642

L. S. P. P. P.



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This Map is very exactly copied from the Original and therefore the Dutch Names have been preserved that if hereafter any Discoveries should ever be attempted all the places mentioned may be readily found in the Dutch Charts which must be procured for such a Voyage. The Reader is desired to observe that nothing is marked here but what has been actually discovered which is the reason of the white space between New Holland and New Zealand, and again between New Zealand and New Guinea which make the South and East sides of Terra Australis; It is also requisite to observe that the Country discovered by Ferdinand de Quiros has according to his description on the East side of this Continent directly Opposite to Carpentaria which if attentively considered will add no small weight to the Credit of what he has written about that Country and which has been very rashly as well as very unjustly treated by some Critical Writers as a Fiction; whereas it appears from this Map of actual Discoveries that there is a Country where Ferdinand de Quiros says he found one; And if so why may not that Country be such a one as he describes? In Tafmans Voyage we have shewn why he did not make this Matter more plain.

TERRA AUSTRALIS

Discovered A. D. 1647.

O F

C A P R I C O R N

It is impossible to conceive a Country that promises more from its Situation than this of Terra Australis, no longer incognita, as this Map demonstrates, but the Southern Continent discovered. It lies precisely in the richest Climate of the World, off the Islands of Sumatra, Java, & Borneo, abound in precious Stones and other valuable Commodities, and the Moluccas in Spices; New Guinea and the Regions behind it must by a parity of Reason be as plentifully endowed by Nature, if the Island of Madagascar is so noble and plentiful a Country as all Authors speak it, and Gold, Ivory, and other Commodities are common in the Southern part of Africa from Melinda down to the Cape of Good Hope, and so up again to Congo; there are if somewhat, studies in Carpentaria, New Holland, and New Zealand; If Peru overflows with Silver, if all the Mountains of Chili are filled with Gold, and this precious Metal & Stones much more precious are y product of Brazil this Continent enjoys the benefit of the same position and therefore whoever perfectly discovers & settles it will become infallibly possess'd of Territories as Rich, as fruitful, & as capable of Improvement, as any that have been hitherto found out, either in the East Indies, or the West.



HOLLANDIA

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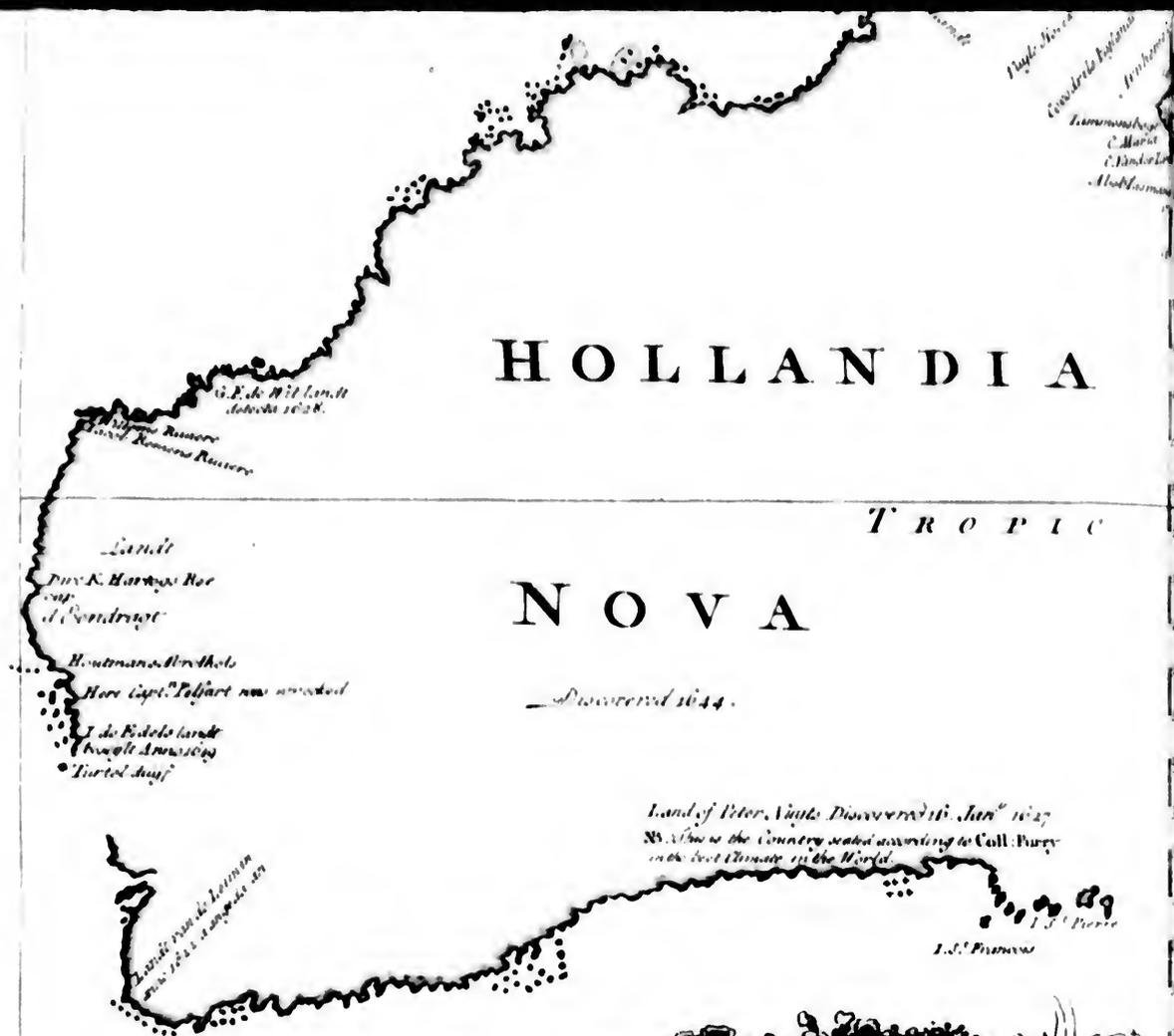
— Discovered 1644. —

Land of Peter, Visits Discovered 16 Jan^o 1627
As also is the Country sought according to Coll. Perry
in the best Climate in the World.

J. S. P. Pierre

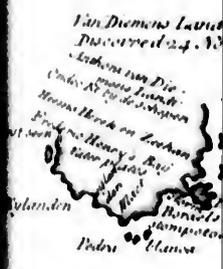


J. S. P. Pierre



Land of
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Land of the East India Company
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Chap. I.

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Vol. I.

discovered the first Maxim, has been very largely shewn in the foregoing Section, wherein we have an ample Description of the mighty Empire in the Hands, at this Day, of the East India Company. As for the second Maxim, the Realer, in the Pursuit of *Funnel's*, *Dampier's*, and other Voyages, but especially the first, must be satisfied, that it is what they have constantly at Heart, and which, in all Events, they are determined to pursue, at least, with regard to Strangers; and, as to their own Countrymen, the Usage they gave to *Comodore Roggewin*, and his People, is a Proof, that cannot be contested.

These Things being considered, it is very plain, that the *Dutch*, or rather the *Dutch East India Company*, are fully persuaded, that they have already as much, or more, Territory in the *East Indies*, than they can well manage; and therefore they neither do, nor ever will, think of settling *New Guiney*, *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, or any of the adjacent Islands, till either their Trade declines in the *East Indies*, or they are obliged to exert themselves on this Side, to prevent other Nations from reaping the Benefits, that might accrue to them by their planting those Countries. But this is not all; for, as the *Dutch* have no Thoughts of settling these Countries themselves, they have taken all imaginable Pains to prevent any Relations from being published,

which might invite or encourage any other Nation to make Attempts this Way; and I am thoroughly persuaded, that this very Account of *Captain Pelsart's* Shipwreck would never have come into the World, if it had not been thought it would contribute to this End; or, in other Words, would serve to frighten other Nations from approaching to inhospitable a Coast, every-where beset with Rocks, absolutely void of Water, and inhabited by a Race of Savages more barbarous, and, at the same time, more miserable, than any other Creatures in the World.

This Reflection accounts for our publishing a Voyage, that has neither Beginning nor End; a Voyage, which seems to give so little Light, and which serves only to present to our View a Scene of Blood and Confusion. But this Voyage, short and imperfect as it seems to be, shews us how large a Country *New Holland* is, and how conveniently situated, with respect to the Trade of the *East Indies*. But whatever there may be dark or obscure in this Section, will be fully cleared up in the next, and this Subject set in so full a Point of View, that it will be impossible to throw any Clouds over it for the future, or to persuade the World, that the Thoughts of discovering a Southern *Indies* are visionary, or the Means necessary to be taken for the perfecting that Discovery impracticable.

SECTION XXII.

The Voyage of Captain ABEL JANSEN TASMAN, for the Discovery of Southern Countries, by Direction of the Dutch East India Company.

[Taken from his original Journal.]

The Occasion and Design of this Voyage. 2. *Captain Tasman sails from Batavia, August 14. 1742.* 3. *Remarks on the Variation of the Needle.* 4. *He discovers a new Country, to which he gives the Name of Van Diemen's Land.* 5. *Sails from thence for New Zeland.* 6. *Visits the Island of the Three Kings; and goes in Search of other Islands discovered by Schouten.* 7. *Remarkable Occurrences in the Voyage.* 8. *Observations on, and Explanation of, the Variation of the Compass.* 9. *Discovers a new Island, which he calls Pylkhaart Island.* 10. *And two Islands, to which he gives the Name of Amsterdam and Rotterdam.* 11. *And an Archipelago of twenty small Islands.* 12. *Occurrences in the Voyage.* 13. *He arrives at the Archipelago of Anthonng Java.* 14. *His Arrival on the Coast of New Guiney.* 15. *Continues his Voyage along that Coast.* 16. *Arrives in the Neighbourhood of Burning Island, and surveys the whole Coast of New Guiney.* 17. *Comes to the Islands of Jama and Moa.* 18. *Prosecutes his Voyage to Ceram.* 19. *Arrives safely at Batavia, June 15. 1643.* 20. *Consequences of Captain Tasman's Discoveries.* 21. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

THE great Discoveries that were made by the *Dutch* in these Southern Countries, were subsequent to the famous Voyage of *Jacques le Maire*, who, in 1616, passed the Streights called by his Name, in 1618, that Part of *Terra Australis* was discovered, which the *Dutch* call *Concordia*. The next Year, the Land of *Edels* was found, and received its Name from its Discoverer. In 1620, *Batavia* was built on the Ruins of the old City of *Jacatra*; but the Seat of Government was not immediately removed from *Amboyna*. In 1622, that Part of *New Holland*, which is called *Lewin's Land*, was first found; and in 1627, *Peter Nuyts* discovered, between *New Holland* and *New Guiney*, a Country, which bears his Name. There were also some other Voyages made, of which, however, we have no sort of Account, except that the *Dutch* were continually beaten in all their Attempts to land upon this Coast. On their Settlement, however, at *Batavia*, the then General and Council of the *Dutch* thought it requisite to have a more perfect Survey made of the new-found Countries, that the Memory of them at least might be preserved, in case no further Attempts were made to settle them; and it was very probably a Fore-sight of few Ships going that Route any more, which induced such as had then the Direction of the Company's Affairs to wish, that some such Survey and Description might be made by an able Seaman, who was well acquainted with those Coasts, and who might be able to add to the Discoveries already made, as well as furnish a more accurate Description, even of them, than had been hitherto given.

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This was faithfully performed by *Captain Tasman*; and, from the Lights afforded by his Journal, a very exact and curious Map was made of all these new Countries. But his Voyage was never published intire; and it is very probable, that the *East India Company* never intended it should be published at all. However, *Dirk Rembrantz*, moved by the Excellency and Accuracy of the Work, published in *Low Dutch* an Extract of *Captain Tasman's* Journal, which has been, ever since, considered as a very great Curiosity; and, as such, has been translated into many Languages, particularly into our own, by the Care of the learned Professor of *Gresham College* *Dr. Hook*, an Abridgement of which Translation found a Place in *Dr. Harris's* Collection of Voyages. But we have made no Use of either of these Pieces, the following being a new Translation, made with all the Care and Diligence that is possible.

2. On August 14. 1642, I sailed from *Batavia* with two Vessels; the one called the *Heemskirk*, and the other the *Zee Haan*. On September 5. I anchored at *Maurice Island*, in the Latitude of 20° South, and in the Longitude of 83° 48'. I found this Island fifty *German Miles* more to the East than I expected; that is to say, 3° 33' of Longitude. This Island was so called from *Prince Maurice*, being before known by the Name of *Cerne*. It is about fifteen Leagues in Circumference, and has a very fine Harbour, at the Entrance of which there is 100 Fathom Water. The Country is mountainous; but the Mountains are covered with green Trees. The Tops of these Mountains are so high, that they are lost in the Clouds, and are frequently covered

Cable. In the Morning they struck the Top-masts, in order to get the Fore and Main-top-gallant Yards down, and began to unstrip the Fore-masts, in order to fit new Trussel-trees: Sent their empty Casks for Water in the *Warwick's* Long boat; and, at Eleven, received on board, by the *Salisbury's* Boat, fresh Provisions, such as Beef and Mutton, for the Ship's Company. The *Dutch* Commodore fired the Morning and Evening Gun; and on the 18th, in the Evening, they received on board an Anchor, 2800 lb. Weight, and a Cable of nineteen Inches and a half about, and 120 Fathom long; bent the Cable to the Anchor, to make it ready for Use. At Four in the Morning they weighed, and warped in towards the Fort, and then new moored, having the following Bearings; the Castle and Town S. W. and the Body of *Penguin* Island N. W. the Water Fort S. W. distant three Quarters of a Mile.

On the 14th, the Commodore went ashore in the Barge; at his passing by the *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, they saluted him with eleven Guns. The next Day they began to unrig the Fore-mast, and over-hale their Rigging, and began to clear the Hold, that they might get at their Ground-tier. On the 16th in the Morning, they set up a Tent for the Use of the Coopers on shore, and sent their Cask by the Launch to be trimmed by them. In the Afternoon, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, which had been five Months coming from *Spithead*; and, at Nine, came in and anchored the *Margaret*, Captain *T. Hays*, which had been twelve Weeks coming from *Holland*. They sent the Launch to seek the best Bower Anchor, which the Cable parted from on *Sunday* Night last, the Buoy being sunk or lost, that hook'd the Cable. Their Carpenter found four Shot-holes within the Lining, under the Fore-chains, above the Water, and took abundance of small Shot out; which they believed was the Occasion of the Ship's being so leaky at Sea. This Day they sent all their sick People on shore.

On the 18th, at three in the Morning, they received from the Shore, by two *Dutch* Boats, eighteen Coils of Ropes, and a Remnant of white Rope for a Tiller rope, with other Stores. At Noon, they sent a large *Dutch* Boat to weigh their best Bower. They brought the Anchor on board, and the Cable, being near a whole one. On the 19th in the Afternoon, they heeled Ship to the Starboard, and then scrubbed it, and paid it with Tallow and Lime; then heeled the other Way, and scrubbed: But the Seabreeze came in, and cauled so great a Swell, that they could not make an End. The next Day, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, one of which had accompanied them from *Java*; the other was outward bound, and had spent three Months in coming from *Spithead*. On the 22d, there anchored another *Dutch* Ship outward-bound, which had been five Months in sailing from the *Texel* thither. That Day and the next, they sent their Launch several times for Water; but could get none, the Pipes being stopp'd: But that Evil was soon remedied, and the Launch came off in the Night, with ten Casks filled; and, in two or three Days, they made a great Progress in their Watering. On the 25th, a *Dutch* Ship anchored there from *Amsterdam*.

On the 26th, another arrived. The next Morning, about six o'Clock, the *Dutch* Commodore struck his Flag, and the other *Dutch* Ship hoisted it at the Mizen-top-mast, and, about seven, sailed for *Batavia*. On the 27th, the *Winchester* anchored in the Bay, and saluted them with eleven Guns. She had been thirteen Months from *England*, and six Weeks in her Passage from *Fernambuco* on the Coast of *Brazil*, into which Port she had been obliged to put, in order to repair some Damage she had received at Sea. This Day, they received the Commodore's live Stock, and a small Quantity of Wine for his Sea-store. The next Day, they sent on shore 5000 Dollars; and, on the 29th, received on board thirteen Casks of dry Provision. On the 30th, the Commodore and Captain *Brett* came on board, and they began to prepare for their Departure, having spent

Thoughts, and preserved their Spirits, in a regular Manner; and this too was greatly forwarded by the personal Behaviour of the Commodore, who was always serene, always easy, gave his Orders cheerfully, pursued his Plans steadily, so as to be equally in a Condition of supplying the Ship with what was wanting to complete her Stores, in case she returned, or to finish, in a few Days, the Lengthening of the Barge, whenever they set about it, having a

Occasion for. Such as live in this Country have things very cheap, as well as very good; but Strangers pay a pretty high Price for Liquors and Provisions, which is occasioned by the high Duties imposed by the *East India* Company. This is a thing, of which *Englishmen* are often apt to complain; but, perhaps, without any great Reason, since the *Dutch East India* Company have no other Way to indemnify themselves for the great Expence they are at in the Support of this Settlement, which carries on little or no Trade, except this; and therefore there is no Wonder, that they make use of every Method possible, in order to make it turn to their Advantage. The Town at the Cape is pretty large, consisting now of 400 Houles and upwards; and yet there are but few Public-houles or Places licensed to sell Liquors by Retail. In these Houles Strangers drink the Cape Wine at about six Stivers a Quart, at least one half of which is paid for Excise, and so in proportion for other things. The Inhabitants purchase both *Indian* and *European* Commodities at a cheap Rate from the Sailors, which they vend again, with great Profit, to the Farmers and Planters, who have no Opportunity of making any such Bargains, the nearest of their Plantations being twenty Miles from the Sea-coast.

Our People can by no means be reconciled to the *Hottentots*, but look upon them as the basest and most brutish People in the World; which is chiefly owing to their ill Smell, occasioned by their greasing themselves continually. Yet this is not a Custom peculiar to the *Hottentots*, but is used by most of the Negroes on the Coast of *Guinea*. It is true, that the latter, generally speaking, make use of Oil, which is less offensive; but, when they cannot get that, they, like the *Hottentots*, content themselves with such Grease and Kitchen-stuff, as they can purchase from the *Europeans* who trade with them. This Custom likewise prevails in the *East Indies*, particularly on the *Malacca* Coast; but more especially in the Islands, as for Instance, at *Sumatra*, where the Natives grease themselves as much, and smell to the full as strong, as the *Hottentots*. The *Javanese* likewise practise the same thing; and so do the People of the *Philippines*, and of the Spice Islands; but then they commonly make use of Cocoa-nut Oil, which is far from being disagreeable. In one respect, however, the *Hottentots* excel them all; for they are particularly careful to grease and smut their Faces; which is what the *Indians* never do. This Custom of anointing is not altogether unknown to the *Americans*, tho' generally speaking, they rather affect painting their Bodies, perhaps from the same Cause that the *Hottentots* and *Indians* anoint themselves, in order to defend their naked Bodies from the Inclemency of the Weather.

It is plain therefore, that, even in this respect, the Manners of the *Hottentots* are not much grosser, or more barbarous, than those of other Nations; and a nearer Inspection would have shewn us, that, notwithstanding their Gums and their Grease, these poor People are endowed with Qualities, that would not at all discredit even the politest Nations. For instance, the *Hottentots* are exceedingly sincere; they profess the utmost Readiness to assist such Strangers as come amongst them, and they are never known to falsify their Professions. The *Hottentot* is not Master of much Eloquence, even in his own Language; but has a just Regard to the Truth of what he delivers in any Language, even in that of Nature, I mean, by Signs; which is a Mark of great Consequence among an untaught, and, as we affect to call them, a barbarous People. There was another Quality extremely conspicuous in the *Hottentots*, which ought to have secured them from our Contempt, and that is, their generous Love of Liberty: The *Hottentot* will rather die than be a Slave; and what could a *Roman*, what could an *Albanian*, do more? I know it may be said, that this proceeds from Laziness: But I cannot allow that, for the *Hottentots* will work for the *Dutch* for Subsistence, tho' not as Slaves. They claim a Right of judging what and how much is necessary for their Maintenance, and, having acquired

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There is yet a third Quality most eminent in the *Hottentots*, for which they have been unjustly, shall I say, or barbarously, reproached by other Nations; the Quality I mean is, the Love of their Country. *Hottentots* have been carried off very young, both by the *English* and the *Dutch*, educated in *Europe*, and accustomed to our Manners; and, upon their being carried back, have immediately renounced all the Advantages they had over their Brethren, and become mere *Hottentots* again. This appears to us in the Light of Brutality; but let it appear in what Light it will, it shews their Love of their Country, and of their Countrymen: And the same Affection is most evident in every Part of their Conduct; for when an *Hottentot* has acquired Provisions by his Labour, he will share them with any *Hottentot* who is in Want; and no Alteration of Circumstances, no Change in Situation, can make an *Hottentot* forget that he is an *Hottentot*, and that every *Hottentot* is his Brother: Noble and generous Sentiments, in spite of their Grease and Sheep-skins!

I must observe, that their Virtues are as little controverted as their Habit, and therefore I can never be brought to think, that People who possess them, and are so tenacious of them, that even the Conversation and Example of the *Europeans* cannot despoil them of these Qualities, ought to be represented as almost on the Level with Beasts. Drunkenness, and other Vices, with which they are reproached, they have been taught by the *Europeans*; but who taught them their Virtues? or who has the Courage, who has the good Sense and Justice, to admire them? Some of the *Dutch* Writers have, and have, I am sorry to say, been laughed at for their Pains. I would not be thought a Lover of Paradoxes, or a Person who would pique myself on contradicting the common Notions of Mankind: I should not have taken these Pains, at least in this Place, to vindicate the *Hottentots* purely to amuse or entertain the Reader; but I am led to it from an *Hottentot* Principle, that of Love to my Country.

This absurd, this unreasonable Aversion to the Sheep-skins and Grease, to the untoward Appearance, and uncouth Manners of the *Hottentots*, lost us the valuable Settlement at the Cape. There were many Attempts made by the *English* East India Company to form a Plantation here; but in vain. Those who were sent reported, that the Country was only fit for *Hottentots*; and that there was no living in it, or with them: Yet we see at this Day, that there is not a finer, more fruitful, or more pleasant Country in the World; and that the *Dutch* are so far from thinking a Correspondence with the *Hottentots* inconvenient, that they have all along treated them with Justice and good Manners. They purchased from them the Country which they have cultivated; and the King of the Company's *Hottentots* is a free and independent Prince. It is therefore of great Importance for us to rid ourselves of these narrow and ridiculous Notions, and to eradicate that foolish Principle of making those Humours, which we are wise enough to condemn at home, the Standard of Right and Wrong abroad.

We often assert, and I believe justly, that the Knowledge, Learning, and Lights, of the present Age are superior to those of the past. Let us use them then; let us transmit the Fruits of them to Posterity; let us exceed, at least let us equal, our Ancestors, by sowing them one Plantation, besides G O R G I A, the Work of ONE Man's Virtue, settled in our Time: Let us shew, that our Discoveries are not confined to Speculation; but that we are able to execute, as well as to talk or write, let us join the Industry, the Activity, the public Spirit, of the last Age, to the Learning and Lights of this; let us amend our Errors, as well as correct them, and let it be the Study of those, who enjoy Power, or who aspire to it, to convince their Countrymen, that they have nothing in View, but their Good. Without this, all our Application to the Sciences, all our Discoveries, all our Improvements, will do us no Good. We shall be, like the *Athenians* in the Decline of their Republic, ce-

terity must admit, that some Men are free from the Infection; and, while they read in our Annals too many Instances of naval Miscarriages, they will be obliged to confess, from the History of this Voyage, that there was one Man, who, in spite of the greatest Difficulties and Discouragements, did not miscarry.

On April 1, 2, they received the rest of the dry Provisions and naval Stores, which the Commodore had purchased; and, having reviewed their Store of Water, found it consisted of 108 Tons of Water; and that they were, in every respect, furnished with what was necessary for their Return to *England*, the Ship being in a much better Condition than when she failed from the River of *Canton*, the Men in good Health, and the Ship's Company recruited by such able Seamen, as the Officers could meet with at the Cape, and, in a Word, every Precaution made use of, that could possibly contribute towards making the Remainder of the Voyage safe and easy; and, every thing being thus in Order, on April 3, the Commodore gave Directions for failing the next Morning as early as possible.

37. They began therefore to unmoor about four o'Clock, and at eight they weighed, and turned out of the Bay. The *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, and *Wimbeffer*, saluted them each with eleven Guns; and they returned nine. The *Dutch* Commodore saluted with nine, and had seven returned. As we have often mentioned these Salutes, it may not be amiss to observe, that they are regulated by the Commodore's Instructions, which direct, 'That if Merchant-ships, whether Foreigners, or belonging to his Majesty's Subjects, salute the Admiral of a Fleet, they shall be answered by six Guns less. When they salute any other Flag-ship, they shall be answered by four Guns less; and, if they salute Men of War, they shall be answered by two Guns less. If several Merchants Ships salute in Company, no Return is to be made, till they have all finished, and then by such a Number of Guns as shall be thought proper; but, tho' the Merchants Ships should answer, there shall be no second Return. All Salutes are to be made with the Guns of the Upper-deck.'

By Noon, the Island of *Penguin* bore North-east by East, and the *Sugar-loaf* South-east, distant ten Leagues. On the 5th, they began to serve two Quarts of Water a Day to each of the Ship's Company. On the 10th, they exercised their Guns and Small-arms; and on the 11th, they did the same. On the 19th they had Sight of the Island of *St. Helena*, bearing North-east, at the Distance of eight Leagues. On the 30th, about two in the Morning, they saw a Light, which they took to be a Ship steering West by North, and therefore made a clear Ship. On May 3, in the Afternoon, they hoisted out the Cutter, and scrubbed the Ship between Wind and Water.

On the 4th, they exercised their great Guns and Small-arms. On the 5th, they sprung their Main-top-mast and Trussel-trees. On the 6th they repaired this Damage. On the 18th, the Wind being fair, they hoisted the Cutter, to scrub the Ship. On the 21st, they had a large Swell from the North North-west; saw abundance of Weeds floating on the Sea, of which we have given a satisfactory Account in a former Section. On the 29th, about four in the Afternoon, their Fore-top-sail was carried away, which obliged them to get in their Sprit-sail-yard, and make it serve for a Top-sail-yard; and at the same time set their Fore-top for a Sprit-sail-yard. On the 30th in the Morning, they had a very hard and sudden Squall of Rain and Wind, which carried away their Top-sail-yard, and split the Sail; upon which they clued up all their Sails.

On the 31st, they had a great Swell from the North-west, which sprung the Fore-top-sail-yard; which obliged them to unbend their Sails, get them down, and double-reef the Top-sail. On June 5, they hoisted out the Cutter, to scrub the Ship between Wind and Water; and, on the 6th, about five in the Morning, they discovered a Sail steering North by West; upon which they made a clear Ship, and

of which comes, sooner or later, into the Hands of the *Chinese*; so that here, as well as in *Europe*, the *Spaniards*, thro' their own ill Management, are only Factors for other People, and have no more than a transitory Possession of that prodigious Wealth they draw from their *Indies*. It is no Wonder, therefore, that the *Chinese*, who are, without question, as cunning and as self-interested a People as any in the World, were very much disturbed at Commodore *Anson's*

Point from which the Storm will blow; as suppose it is from the N. E. which Cloud hangs always near the Horizon, the upper Edge of it being of a dark Flame-colour, which grows brighter and brighter, and then fades to a whitish glaring cloud. This is a very awful and terrible Spectacle, inasmuch as it lasts sometimes for twelve Hours before the Storm comes on: When that Cloud begins to move, the Wind presently follows it, and blows with more

or not; but they were unable to resolve the Question. The three next Days, they had moderate Gales, and thick, foggy Weather.

38. On June 10. the Weather was dark and cloudy; and, on the 11th in the Morning, they discovered a Sail to Windward, fired a Gun, and brought her to. The Commodore then ordered his Cutter to be hoisted out, and sent his Third Lieutenant in her, to learn News: She proved to be a Ship bound from *Rotterdam* to *Philadelphia*, with 200 *Palatines* on board, who were going to settle in *Pennsylvania*. They informed the Lieutenant, that there was a *French* War; and that the *British* Channel swarmed with Men of War and Privateers, both *English* and *French*. At Nine they bent their Cables, hoisted the Launch over the Side, and lashed her there.

On the 12th, they had moderate and cloudy Weather: About one in the Afternoon, they saw three Sail to the E. N. E. distant about five Leagues, upon which they made a clear Ship, and ordered every Man and Boy to his Station; and then gave Chace. They came up with two of them about three in the Afternoon; these Vessels came from *Dublin*: They continued to chase the Third, but they tacked and stood to the North; and the Commodore, finding that he could not come up with her, gave over the Chace.

At four the next Morning they foundered, and had fifty-three Fathom Water; at Noon they had Sight of the *Lizard*, bearing North half West, at the Distance of eight Leagues. About one of the Clock, they saw two Sail, distant about three Leagues, and gave Chace, and came up with them about Three, when they proved to be the *Salamander* Privateer, and a *Martimo* Ship, she had taken in Tow. They confirmed the Intelligence they had received of a *French* War. In the Evening, the *Lizard* bore N. W. and the *Stars* N. E. by E.

On the 14th, in the Morning they saw the Island of *Portland* bearing N. E. by E. and in the Evening they had Sight of the *Ile of Wight*: On the 15th, about half an Hour after eleven o'Clock, they came to, and anchored with their best Bower, in ten Fathom Water, in *London-Bay*: About Four the next Morning they weighed, and made Sail, and at Ten arrived at *St. Helen's*; the Crew being not a little rejoiced at the Sight of their native Country, after they had been absent from it near four Years; in which they had experienced every Kind of Hardship, to which the Life of a Seaman is exposed, and having run thro' a surprizing Variety of Dangers to the last: For it is to be remembered, that they arrived at a Juncture when Things were in the greatest Confusion, and when the *French* had the best Part of their Naval Force at Sea, and even cruising upon our Coasts. The Commodore immediately wrote to his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, to acquaint him with his Arrival, and with the most material Occurrences, from the Time of his former Dispatch by Captain *Saunders*; which Letter, or at least an Extract from it, was published in the *London Gazette*, and occasioned as great and general Joy throughout the Nation, as can well be imagined: And, in order farther to indulge the Pleasure of the People, the Treasure taken in the *Atalapha* Ship was carried in the most public Manner through the Streets, in thirty two Waggon, to the *Tower*, in the same Manner as the Silver formerly taken by Admiral *Boscawen*, when he burnt the *Spanish* Gallions, had been; I must confess, in my Judgment, with much better Reason.

29. As I opened this Section with a Piece of ancient History, I shall open these Remarks with observing, that, notwithstanding this Expedition was not attended with that great Success in the *South Seas* as was expected, yet the Nation in general is very far from believing, that it ought to deter us from the Thought of such Expeditions for the future; since it appears plainly, that if the Commodore's whole Squadron had got towed with him into the *South*

merly to great Success there. The Sacking of *Paita* proves the contrary, since it was actually in a worse Condition, when taken last, than when Captain *Selwicke* took it, and less capable of making any Resistance.

If this Expedition had never taken place, we might have been told, that it was impracticable; that the *Spaniards* were grown wiser: that all their Ports were well fortified; and that to attempt any thing would be only sacrificing the Lives of such as were employed in the Expedition. But we now know the contrary; that the *Spaniards* are actually as unguarded, and as little apprehensive as ever; and, perhaps, the Fate of this Undertaking may have made them less so; so that if a new Project of the same Kind was to be put in Execution, either at public or private Expence, there seems to be a moral Certainty, that it would succeed.

The Scheme which Commodore *Anson* was sent to execute, was certainly well laid; and if the two Ships which repaid the Straights of *Le Maire*, and thereby exposed themselves to greater Dangers, than they could have met with by continuing their Voyage, had either proceeded with the Commodore, or had followed him to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, he would have had Men enough to have undertaken somewhat of Consequence either in *Chili* or *Peru*, since he would have had 900 or 1000 Men under his Command: Or, if even the *Wager* had joined him, he must have had Men sufficient for the *Centurion* and *Gazette*; and, consequently, would have been in a better Condition than the *Duke* and *Dutchess* were, who gained such immense Wealth in these Seas. But that he was joined by none of his Squadron at the Place of Rendezvous, except the *Gloucester* and the *Trial* Sloop, is a Thing that never happened before, and will, very probable, never happen again.

As to their Hardships in this Passage, we ought not to consider them as Reasons sufficient to deter us from making any Attempt on that Side again; because, in the first Place, they may be easily guarded against, by going at a better Season of the Year, with fewer Incumbrances, and touching at proper Places by the Way: And, in the next Place, we ought to consider, that the *French* have sent Ships thither, by Leave from the Court of *Spain*, since, and, beyond Question, we are as able Navigators as the *French*: Besides, if we suffer ourselves to be discouraged by the Accidents that befel this Squadron, we shall absolutely lose the Knowledge and Practice of this Navigation, and Despair of ever sending a Ship into the *South Seas* again; for, if we send no Ships in the time of War, there are many Reasons, and, which is more persuasive than any Reason, there is Experience, to induce, our Belief, that we shall never send any Ships at all; and, consequently, there is an End of all Hopes, either of Conquests, or of Discoveries, on this Side; that is, on the Side, where either, or where both, might be made, with greatest Advantage to this Nation.

Yet the Reasons that formerly made such Undertakings expedient, still subsist in their full Force. The *Spaniards* derive that Wealth, which makes them and their Allies, so formidable in *Europe*, from hence. It is as much in our Power, as it ever was, to distress themselves, and the Spirit of availing ourselves, by discharging our Harbours in this way, was never stronger than it is now. There is another Argument that ought to prevail with us, to prosecute Expeditions of this Kind, derived from the Success the Commodore met with in his last Cruise. It would undertake any Design in another Part of the World, than in it, there is an End, and we must not care to run with the Lots; but here, if we fail in one Place, we may succeed in another, and one rich Prize will be worth the Public, at least for their Expenses; for a Million brought home in Silver, will at any time compensate the Narrowness of the Lots of two or three Ships; because the Expense of rebuilding them, or at least the great Part of it, is paid

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Another Squadron may meet with the *Acapulco* Ship in the South Seas, or with the *Lima* Ship, in her Passage to *Acapulco*: There wants only Care, Diligence, and an experienced Commander, to make a Part of the Expences of the War come this Way out of our Enemies Pockets; for, as to the Spirit and Courage of the *English* Seamen, they are as great as ever they were, and there wants nothing but Actions, that may be attended with proper Encouragement, to make this evident to the whole World. The present War was undertaken for the sake of our Trade; and our Fate, in the present War, I mean our Fate at Sea, will determine the Fate of our Trade. We have been extremely fortunate in making Prizes, both from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in the North Seas: There wants nothing to complete our good Fortune, but to be as successful in the South.
Another Expedition might be, probably would be, attended with fewer Difficulties; at least, it is certain, that it might be undertaken at a much less Expence; and then, beside all the Advantages resulting to such private Persons as become Proprietors, there would this inestimable Advantage accrue to the Public, that we should once more have a Number of able Mariners, well acquainted with the Navigation of the South Seas, which we never can have by any other Means.
Heretofore the whole Trade of *Europe* was in the Hands of the Maritime Powers; but, at present, not only the *French*, but many other Nations, are putting in for a Share, as appears by the great Number of *European* Ships that Rear-Admiral *Anson* met with in the Ports of *Mosca* and *Canton*; which is a Circumstance that deserves to be attentively considered. This therefore is a Time, if ever there was a Time, that we ought to exert ourselves, and endeavour to strike out some new Branch of Commerce into which our Neighbours cannot so readily fall. History affords us no instance of a Maritime Power that remained long at a Stay. If we do not go forward, we must necessarily go backward; and, as we are rivaled in almost every known Branch of Commerce, except that to our own Plantations, it is not our Interest only, but absolutely necessary to our Safety, to support and extend these; and, if it be possible, open some new Chanel, both for the Benefit of this Country, and of our Plantations; which never can be done, if we do not encourage long Voyages, and the protecting ourselves in every Kind of Navigation.
But I would not be understood to lessen at all the Miseries and Misfortunes of such as were employed in this Voyage: The contrary, I think indeed, will appear from the History I have given of it. All I endeavour, all I aim at, is, to convince the Reader, that the Difficulties and Discouragements met with in this Voyage, are not sufficient to ground a decisive Opinion by the Few, in Opposition to the Sentiments of the Many, that all Attempts on this Side should be abandoned; and I really think, that the putting the Difficulties and Discouragements of the *Centurion's* Company in the strongest Light, will serve my Purpose much better than lessening or extenuating them.
For if, after being ruined by Storms, Diseases, and Hardships, they landed, rather Skeletons than Men, on the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; if, after their long Cruise in the South Seas, their Distresses came to be as great when they took Shelter in the Island of *Tinan*; if the Voyage to *Macao* was attended with many Inconveniences; if the Taking the *Spanish* Gallion be a Thing almost incredible, considering the small Number of Men, and the Condition they were in, that attacked her in the *Centurion*; if the Difficulties they afterwards met with in the River of *Canton*, and the Hazard run by the Commodore in visiting the Vicery, and thereby putting himself into the Hands of such a People as the *Cingalese*, who could not but be displeas'd with his Proceedings, are Circumstances that still

and if the bringing home the Ship from thence, with a Company compos'd of so many different Nations, in the Middle of a *French* War, and without the least Assistance from home, swell the Whole into a kind of Miracle; What does all this prove? Why, since all this was, under God, intirely owing to the Prudence, Moderation, and wise Conduct, of the commanding Officer, it certainly proves, that, if a right Choice be made of Commanders, there are no Difficulties that may not be overcome; and therefore, this Voyage ought not to discourage us at all.
For, I presume, that, with the Help of Rear-Admiral *Anson's* Example, there are many Officers who would undertake and execute such an Expedition, to the Honour of their Country, and to the Advantage of those who employed them, supposing them to be employed by private Persons. This is the Use, the right Use, that might be made of this Expedition; an Expedition difficult, dangerous, and, in a manner, impracticable, considered in one Light; but an Expedition equally glorious and successful, when considered in another: An Expedition, that has demonstrat'd, to the whole World, that a Train of unforeseen and disastrous Accidents may be remedied, and even turned to Advantage, by an honest, skilful, brave, experienced, and well-meaning Officer; An Expedition, which shews, that there are no Hazards, no Difficulties, no Distresses, capable of depressing the Courage of *English* Seamen, under a proper Command: An Expedition, that makes it evident, that Discontent, Sedition, and Mutiny, do not arise from the restless Tempers, intractable Dispositions, and unruly Behaviour, of *English* Sailors, but purely from the want of Prudence, right Management, and, in short, from want of Experience and Capacity in such as are intrusted with the Command of them: An Expedition, in a Word, that puts it beyond all Doubt, that the *British* Nation is, at this Day, capable of undertaking as great Things, and of performing them as successfully, as ever their Ancestors did; and, consequently, an Expedition that must convince us, and not us only, but all *Europe*, that if our maritime Force be not employed in Undertakings of the most important Nature, it is not owing to the Degeneracy of our Seamen, not to be imputed to our want of able or daring Commanders, but to some other Cause, which it is not my Business, which, indeed, surpasses my Abilities, to find out.
But the Nature of my Subject, the Thread of this History of Circum-navigators, the Principles upon which I have all along proceeded, rendered it necessary for me to give an Account of this Expedition, and such an Account as the Reader has received: In which, with the greatest Sincerity, and with the strictest Regard to Truth, I can aver, that I have censur'd without Prejudice, and commended from no other Motive than the desire of doing Justice; have deliver'd all Things, as they appear'd to me, and as I think they ought to appear to Posterity, without Favour or Affectation, and without the least Influence, either of Hope, or of Fear. This I think necessary to say, both for my own Satisfaction, and for the Information of the impartial Reader; the only Person that I shall ever study to please.
40. We are now at the Clof of this Chapter, in which we have completed that History which we propos'd as the Subject thereof, and to which we gave the Preference, as it is general, and relates to the whole World; and, for the same Reason, the remaining Chapters in this Book refer to the Heads next in Importance; viz. the Discovery, Settlement, and Commerce, of the *East* and *West* *Indies*. It is true, that all the Circum-navigators did not propose, and that several of them made no Discoveries; but, notwithstanding this, all their Voyages are of great, though not of equal Importance, down to the very last; for, by comparing *Magellan's*, which was the first, with *Mr. Anson's*, we shall find them differ in many respects, especially in the Conclusion, that of *Mr. Anson's* being by far the longest of the two. Some of them again took quite a different Route: As for Instance, *Le Maire* and

Philippines: And from hence it very clearly appears, that the Passage to the *East Indies* by the South Seas is shorter than that by the Cape of *Good Hope*, of which the Reader will be convinced, by considering the following Particulars: Captain *Woodes Rogers*, in the *Duke*, sailed from the Coast of *Ireland*, and doubled *Cape Horn* in four Months, that is, from *September* to *January*; and *le Maire* passed from the Islands of *Juan Fernandez* to *New Guinea* and the *Molucas* in three Months: so that this Voyage takes up but seven in the whole: Whereas the *Dutch*, while the chief of their Colonies was fixed at *Ambeyna*, thought it a good Passage thither from *Holland*, it performed in ten or eleven Months.

It is by comparing these Routs, as laid down in the general Map of the two Hemispheres, that we learn how far the World is already discovered, and how much of it remains yet to be discovered; what we owe to the Spirit and Industry of those great Men, whose History we have recorded, and what remains yet to exercise the Spirit and Industry of our own and of succeeding Times. We see, by comparing the old World with the new, how many and how great Countries this Scheme of Circum-navigations has actually brought to Light, and that too in a very short Space; that is, in the Compass of two hundred and twenty-two Years, which is the Distance between the Return of *Magellan's* Ship, and our last Circum-navigator *Anfon*. All that has been discovered within that Space of Time lay hid, not from the Vulgar only, but from the wisest and most knowing Part of Mankind, for five thousand five hundred Years. This is the fairest and fullest Proof that can be given of the Importance of these Voyages, not to this or that Country, but to the whole human Species.

We may likewise observe, that the Attempts that have been made to discover a North-east and a North-west Passage are, in effect, no other than Attempts to discover a new Route of surrounding the Globe, either of those Passages answering the same End as that by the Way of *Cape Horn*, the very Probability of any such Passages depending on there being such a Passage already discovered towards the South; and, without doubt, if ever any such Passages should be found out, they would open a new Field of Discovery, and new Channels of Trade, exceedingly convenient for the trading Nations in the North of *Europe*.

It is for this Reason, that, as *Sir William Monjon* long ago observed, the *Spaniards* have always been extremely jealous of their finding out such Passages, because the Navigation that would be established by them, must be fatal to their Empire in *America*, or to their Possessions in the *East Indies*: For, if there should be a Passage found into the South Seas by the North-west, it would afford a very short and easy Cut to our Squadrons into the very Heart of the most valuable of their Possessions in *North America*, I mean the Kingdom of *New Mexico*, which might be then attacked both by Land and Sea. On the other hand, if a Passage should ever be found to the North-east, it is impossible they should long continue Matters of the *Philippines*. It is true, that very great, and, as they are now thought, insurmountable Difficulties have been measured in attempting Circum-Navigations by either of those Passages; but when it is considered, that the Passage to the South was for so many Ages concealed, discovered at last with so much Difficulty, and so few Voyages made thereby, as this Chapter shews there have been, there seem to be no just Grounds for concluding, that no such Passage ever will be found, especially if it be considered, that it is not now the Interest of the *Spaniards* only, but of some other Nations, to prevent the Discovery of such Passages, as far as it lies in their Power.

But at the same time we ought to reflect, that the *Russians*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*, who formerly carried on little or no Trade, are, at present, exceedingly bent on extending their Commerce, and have each of them an Interest in discovering such Passages, if any such there be: If, I say, we reflect upon this, it is impossible for us to imagine, that there is less Hope at present, than there was formerly, of

those great Men, of whom we have been speaking; because they must be still regarded as those who first led the Way, who first shewed such a Passage round the Globe to be possible and practicable, tho' by another Course. This is what, in justice, Posterity must acknowledge, even if it should so fall out, that, by the Facility or Convenience of those new-found Passages, the Navigation by *Cape Horn* should hereafter fall into Disuse.

It is from these stupendous Voyages, that not only the greatest Discoveries have been made in general Geography, but from which all future Discoveries must be expected, and therefore this ought to be considered as one of the strongest Arguments for enforcing and encouraging Voyages. It was from their being confined to short Trips by Sea, I mean in point of Space, though, from their Want of Skill, the Antients made them long enough in point of Time, that they fell into those gross Errors, which were so unworthy of their Science and Penetration in other respects; so that it may be well affirmed, that if we compare what is now known, with what the greatest Men had before described, we shall find more than a new World has been, in two Centuries, discovered: By which Discovery such capital Truths have been set in to clear a Labyrinth, as to make even the common People wiser than the most Learned in former Ages.

For instance, almost every one has right Notions now of the true Figure and Magnitude of the Earth, whereas there was a time when both were unknown to such a Degree, that the Belief of the *Antipodes* was accounted and punished as an Heresy. Every one then conceived his own Country to be the Middle of the Plain of the Earth, and that the utmost Limits of it, which touched the Vault of Heaven, were the Sea, into which the Sun, Moon, and Stars, descended, when they set; and out of which they ascended again, when they rose; and hence it was, that the utmost Extent of Land seemed to be no more than what an active and vigorous Conqueror might, in a little time, be able to over-run and vanquish. How wild and ridiculous however this may seem, it was, however, the Principle upon which all great Heroes acted: As for instance, *Alexander* imagined he had penetrated to the utmost Bounds of the Earth, when he had but touched the Borders of the *Indus*: He fancied, from some Circumstances relating to the River *Indus*, which resembled those of the Nile, that he had found the Source of that River in the *Indies*; and actually fitted out a Fleet on the *Indus*, which he fancied might have proceeded into *Egypt*; and when he discovered his Error in this respect, by his Fleet's falling into the *Persian* Gulph, he fell into another and still greater Error; which was, that all must be Sea beyond; and that, consequently, he had reached the very limits of the World. As wise and knowing a People as the *Romans* were, they fell into the same Error, with respect to the *Northern Ocean*, and fancied that beyond the Extremity of *Scotland* lay that boundless Sea, which terminated the World.

These were the Consequences of being confined to short and limited Navigations; and, though it is simply impossible, that Mankind should ever fall into the same Errors again, yet it is highly probable, that if this known Route of Circum-navigations be not frequently pursued, and all Attempts for finding new Routs should cease, we shall again relapse into Errors of as dark and dangerous a Nature. As it is, we have, from these Discoveries that have been already made, a much nobler, as well as a much wider Field opened for the Exercise of enterprising Spirits, and though there are now no Hopes left for any Conqueror, how daring, how ambitious, how potent for ever, to make himself Master of the whole Globe, which, perhaps, is no small Benefit to Mankind; yet we have better, and more elevated Hopes, of discovering and settling a Correspondence with every Part of the Universe; a Scheme more extensive, as well as more rational, at the same time that it is as conducive to the general Good of the human Species as the other was to their Misery. This is a Point that

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Instance, as the Variation of the Needle, the perfect Know-
 ledge of the Longitude, and the exact Description of the
 true Form of the Earth; for, though we know with Cer-
 tainty, that it is spherical or globular, yet it is no less cer-
 tain, that we have not as yet a clear, distinct, and demon-
 strative Notion of its true Form; though there are strong
 Reasons to believe, that, what Sir Isaac Newton advanced
 upon this Subject, is the Truth, or, at least, very near the
 Truth. What has been hitherto advanced with respect
 to the Variation of the Needle, and the Causes thereof,
 appears, from Experience, very uncertain and unsatisfactory.
 If, from Observations already made, any probable System
 should be hereafter formed, the Truth of them can be
 established, or their Fallhood fully detected, by such
 Voyages only. If we do not keep up, and even extend,
 the Knowledge we have of the Countries about the South
 Pole, as well as of those about the North, we can never
 hope or expect to come at Truth, either in regard to this,
 or to the Longitude; which, notwithstanding what some
 great Mathematicians have peremptorily determined, may
 have a nearer Relation to each other, than we can imagine.

I know it may be said, that all those Things, and particu-
 larly the Figure of the Globe, upon which, perhaps, they
 are all founded, are to such a Degree certain, as to serve the
 Uses of Navigation, so far as the Accurateness of that Art is
 hitherto practised; but yet, if that Art may be carried to
 a much higher Degree of Perfection, as in the Opinion of
 the fittest Judges it certainly may, by the Prosecution of such
 Inquiries as have been mentioned, why should they not be
 prosecuted, or why should we either decline or circum-
 scribe that Method by which alone they can be prosecuted
 to Advantage? It is certain, that, besides the Points al-
 ready touched, there are many others, which we are con-
 tent to believe certain, though some Doubts have been
 moved about them, not without great Appearance of
 Reason: And, as I am now taking my Leave of Things
 of this Nature, I will take the Liberty of mentioning one.
 It is supposed, that, the Longitude and Latitude of Places
 being once certainly and accurately determined, they can
 never alter, whatever Variation or Deviation may happen
 to the celestial Bodies. Yet this has not only been doubted,
 but the very contrary of it has been asserted, first by the
 famous Joseph Scaliger, in the Year 1610; and afterwards
 by a learned Frenchman, Mr. Peter Petit, who wrote an
 express Treatise upon it, affirming, that, after a certain
 time, the Latitude and Longitude of Places, on the Surface of
 the Earth have a sensible Change: And, to confirm this, he
 has compared many Observations, recorded by the Antients,
 of the Latitude of several Places, particularly Paris and
 Rome, with modern Observations of the Latitude of the same
 Places; from whence it appears, that there are very con-
 siderable Differences between them; which Differences he
 ascribes to the Variation of the Poles of the Earth. It is
 very certain, that such Differences there are, and smaller
 Differences between the Observations of modern Travel-
 lers; but I pretend not to determine, whether they are
 thus occasioned. Scaliger indeed says, that, after a certain
 time, the Positions of Dials will alter, and become false,
 as if they had been removed, and placed in a wrong La-
 titude. But, if all this should be true, I am very sensible,
 that the respective Position and Distance of Places towards
 each other would still remain the same, and the Description
 of Places on the artificial Globe remain true and unaltered,
 though new Meridians, and new Parallels, might be drawn
 over them. I only mention this, to shew, that there are
 still many Things to be inquired into; and that, though
 we far exceed the Antients, yet we have not carried Navi-
 gation, either to its utmost Degree of Perfection, or even
 to that Degree of Perfection, of which, from former
 Discoveries, it appears capable of being carried: And
 from hence I infer the Necessity of pursuing long Voyages,
 and of persisting, in order to farther Discoveries, in that
 Course by which so much already has been discovered.

But it may be demanded, Who is it that you oppose?
 Who has written against long Voyages? Who has endea-

Man to a Point, to which if he cannot give an Answer, he
 is immediately condemned as unreasonable and chimerical.
 Now I very readily own, that I know of none who have
 opposed what I labour to establish. But if the Reader will
 weigh what is laid down in the Remarks on the last Section,
 and will reflect on what I have there said, as to the Impedi-
 ments that stand in the Way of discovering the Southern
 Continent, he cannot be at a Loss for the Reasons that in-
 duced me to labour this Point with so great Diligence; be-
 cause he cannot but perceive, that we are circumscribed on
 every Side by the highest Authority; inasmuch that, except
 in Time of War, and by Ships of War, there is no mak-
 ing any Discoveries, unless under the Direction of certain
 Persons, who have an Interest in avoiding, and even in pre-
 venting, Discoveries. I might carry my Observations on
 this Head a great deal farther; but, as I have already car-
 ried them far enough to justify my Conduct in this respect,
 I am content to say no more of it.

But there is one Thing, that, before I conclude this
 Chapter, it is requisite that I should suggest to the Reader;
 and it is this; That we can only circumscribe ourselves.
 Other Nations will, and, indeed, have a Right to take what
 Liberties they please; so that there is just Reason to fear,
 that if we go on in this Method, or if we do not very
 soon alter it, we shall see that Spirit of Discovery, that Ge-
 nius for Commerce, and that Skill in Navigation, for which
 we have been, and are yet famous, transferr'd elsewhere;
 for though we may limit the Inclinations, and damp the De-
 sires of our own People, yet we have no Power over For-
 eigners, much less over the Designs of Providence. An
 Instance will make this evident beyond Contradiction: We
 have taken all imaginable Pains, to secure to ourselves the
 Trade of the East-Indies, by Laws made in favour of the
 East-India Company: The Swedes and Danes, however,
 trade freely within the Limits of that Company, by which
 they not only supply themselves and their Neighbours with
 Indian Commodities, but likewise some of our nearest
 Neighbours, and even the Inhabitants of the Northern
 Part of our Island. But, perhaps, if other Measures had
 been taken, this Mischief might have been prevented.

In order to monopolize Trade, we must leave it free: This
 may seem a Paradox, if not a Contradiction; but Reason and
 Experience shew us, that it is a Truth. Where-ever Trade
 and Navigation are encouraged, they will prosper; where-
 ever they meet with Restrictions, they will remove, or die.
 If we would embrace the Trade of the World, we must en-
 courage Trade more than any other Nation in the World;
 if we would maintain and increase our Maritime Power,
 we must extend our Discoveries, in order to make way for
 that Increase. It is a Maxim insisted upon by some Poli-
 tical Writers, and, I believe, they are not in the Wrong,
 viz. That a Nation may gain by Trade, though the Per-
 sons concerned in that Trade are Losers: But how long
 can this last? If we so manage Matters, that a great Num-
 ber of Merchants over-trade themselves, or, to express it
 with greater Propriety, are disappointed in their Expecta-
 tions from Trade, the natural Consequence is, that they
 will, or rather must, decline Trade, which will ruin our
 Navigation.

But, if new Discoveries could be made, new Channels
 would be opened, new Expectations raised; and this poli-
 tical Maxim would be verified in its utmost Extent; for tho'
 such private Persons as might first engage in these new
 Trades, might possibly be no Gainers by them, yet the
 Nation would; for, in time, those Trades must be estab-
 lished, and the Number of Shipping requisite to carry them
 on would be plainly a new Acquisition to our maritime
 Force. I know of no Method more likely to revive and
 restore such a Disposition amongst us, than this of recording
 the Exploits of eminent Seamen, that the present Age, and
 Posterity, may have before their Eyes Examples of those
 shining Virtues, which demand not only their Applause,
 but their Imitation; Virtues which have not only raised the
 Maritime Powers to that Height of Grandeur, which they
 enjoy at present, but have been likewise of such eminent

1778, when the Province of Fokien having submit-
 ted to the Tartars, who were then about subduing that
 Land, they directed the Europeans to remove their Settle-
 ments to the Continent; upon which the English with-
 drew their Factory to Amoy; but the Dutch, having a
 good Fortrefs, and a numerous Garrison, sustained a long
 Siege, and sold their Settlement very dear, the Tartars
 being several Thousands of Men, before they became

Iron. They also give several Jars of their favourite
 Liqueur for old Nails, Spikes, or Bullets.

This Account is intirely taken from Mr. Dampier, who,
 for any thing we know, is the only Author that has given
 any Description of them: He was there with Captain Swan
 in the Year 1687, or rather in Captain Swan's Ship, for his
 Crew had then left him behind, and it was his Sailors
 that bestowed upon them the Name of the *Baibes* Islands,
 which

such as are fevered by Situation, and thereby spreading the Beams of Knowledge, where-ever the Sun spreads his. These are things so certain, and so apparent, that it is impossible they should admit of any Dispute; or that any Man should have his Country's Interest so little at Heart, as not to wish, that they were daily and hourly inculcated, in order to wear off that Rust, which, for half an Age past, has been growing upon us.

But tho' many of these Remarks are obvious enough, and notwithstanding our first Collectors of Voyages, such as *Hackluit* and *Purchas*, took care to insert the History of Circum-navigators down to their own Times in their Works, yet our modern Collectors have totally omitted this, or else inserted such Voyages promiscuously, and thereby destroyed that Connection, which is absolutely necessary for their being thoroughly understood. Some foreign Writers, indeed, have given us Lists of Circum-navigators, and intimated the Usefulness of a general History of them; and the Reason, as I conceive, that this Project was by them never carried into Execution, is this, that most of those Voyagers were *Englishmen*, and consequently it was not so easy for them to give the History of their Proceedings, very few of their Journals having been translated. It was from a just Sense of this,

The proper Name of this Island is *Lucania*, but it is frequently called *Manilla*, from its Metropolis of the same Name. It is the largest of the *Philippine* Islands, and the very best Countries subject to the Crown of Spain. It affords all Sorts of Corn, Fruits, and Roots, in great Plenty, and Flesh and Fish, in as great Abundance as can be wished; besides all these Advantages, which must make it a delightful Country to live in, it may be justly

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that I thought it necessary to open our Collection, by supplying so great a Defect, and giving a regular History of all the Voyages that have been undertaken, of this kind, in all Countries, and in all Ages, interspersed with such other Voyages, as seemed to be naturally Supplements to these, and necessary to be read with them, to complete the Discoveries that are mentioned in them.

41. In order to render the Whole as perfect as it is possible, and to give the Reader an Opportunity of reviewing at once this Series of Voyages, in the Order of Time in which they were made, I thought it would be proper to conclude this Chapter with the following Table, which exhibits at once, and in the narrowest Compass possible, the principal Contents of this whole Chapter; from whence it appears, that there have been but fifteen Circum-navigations performed. Of these the first was by a Spanish Crew, under the Direction of a Portuguese; five have been undertaken by the Dutch; and the other nine have been performed by Englishmen: And of these Captain *William Dampier* and Captain *John Clipperton* went each of them twice round the World; which is, I think, what no other Country has to boast.

A Complete Table of all the Circum-navigators, the Ports from which they sailed, the Dates of their respective Voyages, and their Returns.

I. <i>Ferdinand Magellan,</i>	from <i>Seville in Spain,</i> Aug. 10. 1519.	returned Sept. 8. 1522.
II. <i>Sir Francis Drake,</i>	from <i>Plymouth Sound,</i> Dec. 30. 1577.	returned Sept. 16. 1586.
III. <i>Sir Thomas Candisler,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> July 25. 1586.	returned Sept. 9. 1588.
IV. <i>Oliver van Noort,</i>	from <i>Goeree,</i> Sept. 13. 1598.	returned Aug. 26. 1601.
V. <i>George Spilbergen,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> Aug. 8. 1614.	returned July 1. 1617.
VI. <i>William Schouten and James le Maire,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> June 24. 1615.	returned July 1. 1617.
VII. <i>The Nassau Fleet,</i>	from the <i>Goeree,</i> April 29. 1623.	returned January 21. 1626.
VIII. <i>Captain Cowley,</i>	from <i>Acbamack in Virginia,</i> Aug. 23. 1683.	returned October 12. 1686.
IX. <i>Captain William Dampier,</i>	from <i>Acbamack,</i> Aug. 28. 1683.	returned September 16. 1691.
X. <i>Captain Dampier and Mr. Funnel,</i>	from the <i>Downs,</i> Aug. 9. 1703.	returned August 1706.
XI. <i>Captains Rogers and Courtney,</i>	from <i>Bristol,</i> June 15. 1708.	returned October 1. 1711.
XII. <i>Captain John Clipperton,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> Feb. 15. 1719.	returned June 1721.
XIII. <i>Captain George Shelroocke,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> Feb. 15. 1719.	returned August 1. 1722.
XIV. <i>Commodore Roggewein,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> July 17. 1721.	returned July 11. 1723.
XV. <i>George Anson, Esq;</i>	from <i>St. Helens,</i> Sept. 18. 1740.	returned June 15. 1744.

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... such a Design, but they know so well how to
... the Indian Nations against each other, and, by their
... Alliance, have brought about elsewhere such surprizing
... Revolutions, that it would be certainly a dangerous thing
... provoke them, by interfering, in any Degree, with
... that darling Article of their Indian Commerce, the Mono-
... poly of these Spices. But to proceed with our Voyage.

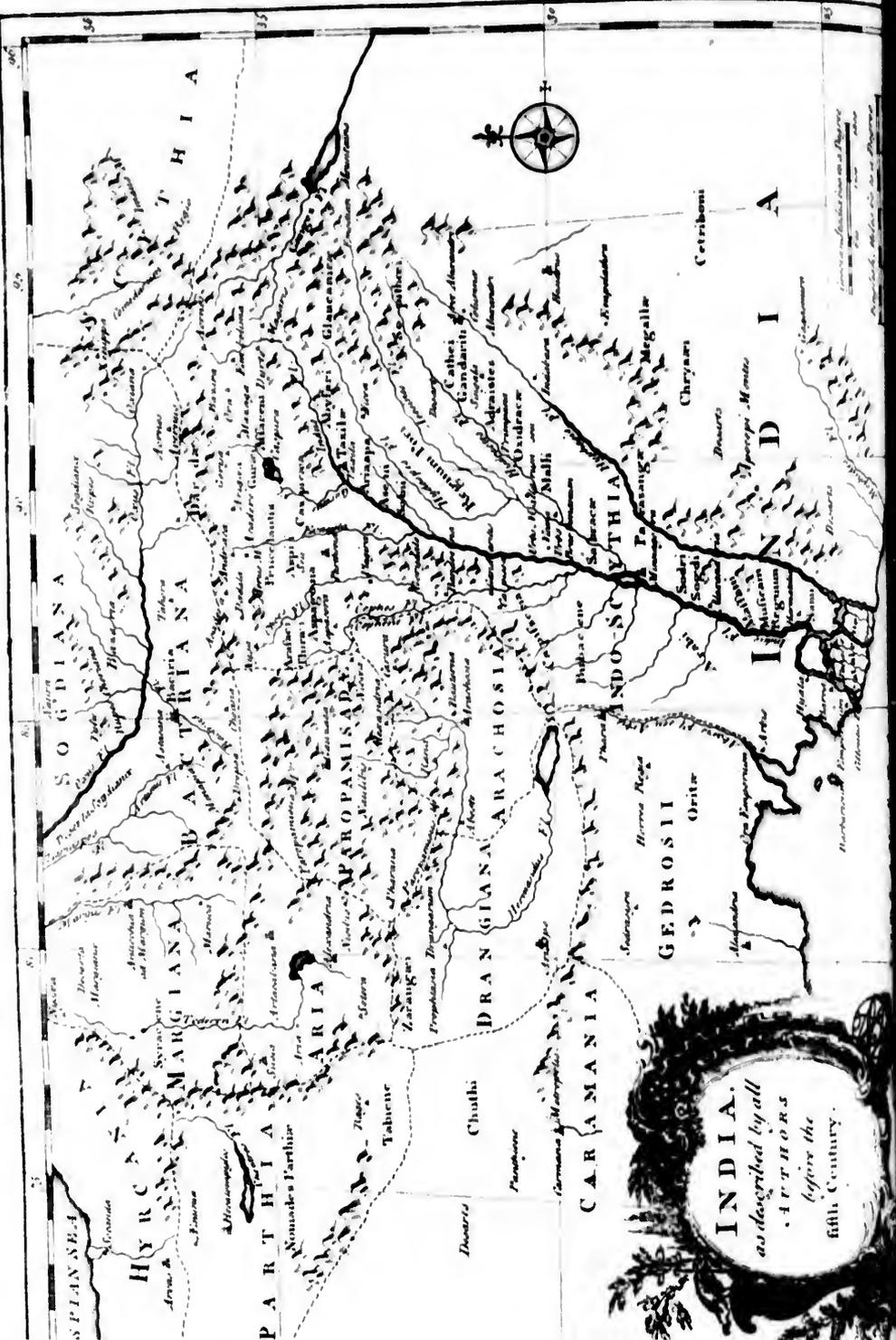
... and permitted, at his Departure, to hasten the Licence for
... proceeding up the River; for want of which, they had
... not hitherto been able to pass the Bar. On the 22d, they
... sent more of their Prisoners on shore.
On the 24th, two Dutch Ships anchored near them from
Batavia, and the next Day arrived a third, which saluted
them with fifteen Guns, to which they returned thirteen.

Book I.

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... Supplements to these,
... to complete the Dis-
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... lowing Table, which
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... chapter; from whence
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... aguese; five have been
... other nine have been
... these Captain William
... on went each of them
... I think, what no other

... tes of their respective

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- 6 1586.
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- 1. 1723.
- 5. 1744.



INDIA.
*as described by all
 AUTHORS
 before the
 fifth Century.*

him to his Audience of the Vice King. Accordingly, on the 14th, at Nine in the Morning they came on board his Ship, and, about Four in the Afternoon, the Commodore, with Captain *Sumner*, and Lieutenant *Van Kepple*, with the Captains and Superargues, put off in the Barge, which was rowed by eighteen Seamen, all chosen Men, and in new Cloaths. They were immediately joined by the Boats of all the *India* Ships in the River, the Crew of the *Centurion* giving the Commodore three Cheers as he went off,

completed their Watering, and then retired to their Quarters, where they spent in receiving all forty of Provisions and *Canton*. On the 28th, a most dreadful Storm burst in upon the Suburbs of this City, by which all the Houses, as were likewise the Factories of the *Swedes* and *Danes*. By the Cloze of the Storm, Part of their Stores were on board, and they thought of disposing all Things for their Benefit.

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An Account of

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CHAPTER. II.

Comprehending the DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT, and COMMERCE of the EAST-INDIES.

SECTION I.

An Account of the NATURE and IMPORTANCE of this Design, with a Regular PLAN of this Part of the Work.

1. The Curiosity as well as the Subject, has occasioned a Multitude of Books upon it. 2. Yet there is no complete System hitherto published. 3. The Difficulties that occur, with respect to the Credit due to the Antients. 4. The like, or greater, Difficulties met with in the Writings of the Moderns. 5. The Materials from which this Work is to be collected. 6. Preliminary Considerations. 7. The Manner in which the antient History of the Indies will be treated, to the Time of the Romans. 8. It is propos'd to give a Summary of what the best Greek and Latin Authors have left us on this Head. 9. A distinct Account will next follow, of the Alterations to which this Commerce has been subject. 10. The Rise, Progress, and Declension, of the Portuguese Empire in the Indies will be considered. 11. The Expeditions, Settlement, and present State, of the English Factories to be set in a clear Light. 12. As also the Power and Oeconomy of the Dutch East-India Company, and the Disputes we have formerly had with the Dutch in these Parts. 13. The Origin, Alterations, and present State, of the French East-India Company explained. 14. And an Account given of the Oiland, Swedish, and Danish Companies. 15. The Whole to be concluded with Observations on the Consequence of the East-India Trade to Europe in general.

HERE are a few Subjects more instructive, or more entertaining, than that of the History of the Indies, or which have exercised the Pens of more able Men. To say the Truth, there is something in it capable of

enterprising every Geni. Such as are fond of Antiquities, had an Opportunity afforded of exercising their Abilities in the most curious Researches; for though it is evident, from the Situation of this Part of the World, that India must have been peopled very early; yet it so falls out, that there is scarce a Country on the Globe, the antient History of which lies buried in so great Obscurity. The Lovers of Natural History found, in all Ages, the largest Field open to their Inquiries in these Regions, where every Animal, every Tree, every Flower, every Root, was a Curiosity. Such, again, as delighted in speculative Studies, in the quiet Pleasures of Philosophy, and in the Examination of the Efforts of the human Understanding, found sufficient Employment in tracing out the Opinions, Manners, and Course of Life, of the Brachmans, or Indian Philosophers, the oldest Sect in the World, and, in every respect, the most singular, and the most extraordinary; while those, who were charmed with a Variety of striking Events, Invasions, Battles, Revolutions, and the like, were with all they could desire, in exploring the Indian History; which abounds with a greater Diversity of such Events than any other. Lastly, the Lovers of Navigation and Commerce were attached to this Subject, from the Consideration of its peculiar Advantages; for never any Attack made so considerable a Figure as that of the Indies; never was any Country so highly renowned for the Riches of its native Commodities, for so many and so valuable Manufactures, or for such a Spirit of Industry and Trade amongst its Peoples; and this in all Ages, from the earliest to the present Times.

ducting us, and how far we ought to follow him. This is an Evil, indeed, common to all curious and useful Subjects; on which there are naturally many more Books produced, than on such as are less pleasing, less instructive, and less agreeable, either to the Writer or the Reader.

2. But there is one Thing very singular with regard to this Subject: We have not so much as a single Treatise, that embraces it in its full Extent, that takes in the intire History of the Antiquities, Revolutions, Customs, Manners, and Trade of the antient Indians; their Correspondence with European Nations; the Losses and Revivance of that Correspondence in several Periods; the Civil, Natural, and Commercial History of the Indies, before and since the Discovery of the Passage thither by the Cape of Good Hope; and the Rise, Progress, and present Situation, of the Settlements of European Nations in the Indies. This, I say, in its full Extent, and with due Regard had to the Importance of the Work in general, and the Connexion of its several Parts, is what, in the Midst of so many Books, so many Collections, such a Multitude of general Histories and Abridgments, is no-where to be found.

Yet I should think myself very happy, if I could as easily supply the Defect, as I can point out the Causes of it, which seem to me to be principally these: In the first place, almost every Writer, who has meddled with this kind of Subjects, has a particular Genius, which determines him to this or that Part of them. One has a Relish only for antient History, and amuses himself with examining and comparing the Fables and Fragments he collects out of old Authors. Another is struck with Curiosity, and he, perhaps, spends many Years in compiling whatever is to be met with in relation to Natural History. A Third has a Taste only for Travels and Voyages, which leads him to collect these; without ever considering, that, in all such Works, there must be many dark and unintelligible Pas-

INDIA
as described by all
AUTHORS
before the
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Nation, such as the *Portuguese*, the *English*, or the *Dutch*; of which many Instances might be given: And yet, when these Books are compiled, though they afford excellent Materials for such an History, they are nothing less than General Histories themselves.

A third Cause is, that Love of Amusement which prevails at present in the World, and inclines them to encourage that Sort of writing which is pleasant and entertaining; but at the same time leaves the Reader very little wiser than he was before; which is the Reason that many modern Voyages and Travels are written with such a Spirit of Indolence and Gracety, and are so imacurate in point of Dates and Facts, that we are sometimes apt to mistake them for fictitious Adventures and Romances. I could likewise support this Remark by Abundance of Instances, but that I am sensible my own and the Reader's Time may be much better employ'd; and that the Fact is so well known, that I am in no Danger of being called to an Account for the Assertion.

There are several other Causes that might be added, but, as most of them will occur to an intelligent Reader, I chuse to leave them to his Observation rather than dwell too long on an Introduction to a Subject so copious in itself, and which will require so much Time, and so much Knowledge, to handle as it ought to be handled; even though all imaginable Pains be used to bring it within Compass, by giving nothing but what is curious and solid, and that in the fewest Words possible.

3. There is nothing more common in some Books relating to the *Indies*, than to meet with violent Invectives against the Ignorance, Credulity, and Folly, of the Antients, as if they had had no Opportunity of knowing any thing with relation to the Country and People, and had therefore deliver'd to Posterity an Heap of indigested Fables of their own Invention. In some other Books, again, we find this absolutely contradicted; the Accounts of the Antients commended and supported; and those who have treated them with Contempt, represented as weak Men, and incompetent Judges. When Books of both Sorts fall into the Hands of an *English* Reader, he knows not what to think, or whom to believe: He doubts of every thing; and as he meets with strange Stories, and seemingly extravagant Relations, in all the Voyages and Travels to this Part of the World, he is apt to suspect the Whole, and to believe that very little Credit is due to any of them. In order to clear up this, and to afford him a reasonable Satisfaction, he is usually turned over to the voluminous Collections of *Eden*, *Hacklart*, and *Purchas*. If he has the Patience to run through these, and Abundance of Patience it requires, his Difficulties are rather increased than reliev'd; and, for want of knowing the true Characters of the Writers prevail'd in those Collections, and the not meeting with many antient writers, whose Names are mentioned in other Accounts, he is more at a Loss than ever.

4. In the Histories of the Discoveries made by the *Portuguese*, they are usually treated in such a manner, that, at first Sight, one would be tempted to imagine, none of the Countries mentioned in them were at all known to the *Europeans*, before the Passage was found by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and yet, upon a closer Inspection, the contrary is very visible. This, again, gives the inquisitive Reader a great deal of Uneasiness: He is sensible, that, before that Passage was found, abundance of *Indian* Commodities were transported into *Europe*, some of them in greater Proportion than they are now. He is anxious to know when that Correspondence began, how, and by whom, it was carried on; what were the Advantages and Disadvantages that attend'd it, and the Reasons why it was discontinued; none of which are to be found in those Histories, who, full of a Desire to magnify their own Country, carry the Conquests and Discoveries of the *Portuguese* to the utmost Height, and leave the Report of other Nations Successes in Maritime Affairs and Commerce, to their own

with Care collected from some of the Writers of that Nation. Thus we have only partial Representations, and such as, instead of instructing us, as to the true State of Things, shew us only such Pictures as, for the Honour of their respective Countries, their Writers have finish'd, to the highest Degree their Abilities would allow them.

5. The Sense that many able Authors of Voyages and Travels have had of these Imperfections and Difficulties, and the Desire they had to remove them, has engag'd them in frequent Centures, long Disputes, and tedious digressions, which render their own Works heavy and tiresome, and, at the same time, very indifferently answer the End for which they were intended. I would not have the Reader imagine, that I am giving him a bad Opinion of other Peoples Books, that I may recommend my own, for, in Truth, there is nothing farther from my Intention than such a Conduct. I am very sensible, that there are Abundance of excellent Writers on each of the different Parts of the Subject which I am to handle; and I freely profess, that I have no Hopes of succeeding, but from the Use I make of their Labours. But what I would shew him is this, that how excellent soever these may be, take them separate, and with regard to the Designs by them respectively propos'd, they cannot, however, even by the most laborious Course of Reading, be brought to answer the End of such a general and connect'd History, as has been mentioned.

They are, indeed, Materials for such a Building, and Materials without which it would be Madnets to attempt raising such a Structure; but still they are Materials only, and must be drawn together, and properly fram'd, before they can become Parts of such a Building. It is very happy for the Reader, as well as for me, that there is such Plenty of excellent Materials; and it will be very easy for him to decide how well they are ranged, and how far they occupy their proper Places. These Materials are to be collected from Writers of different Ages, in different Languages, and who wrote with very different Purposes: The great Difficulty therefore lies, in making them serve an End which none of them ever propos'd, and to unite them in such a manner, as that the Piece may be whole and intire, without any Mark of Patchwork.

In order to this, the Deficiencies of some must be supplied from the Abundance of the others: The true Sense of the Antients must be collected from the best Commentaries of the Moderns, where any thing is dark, it must be explained; and where great Writers have erred, from their Fondness for particular Opinions, their Errors must be set right with Candour and Decency. When, after all the Care that can be taken, no Materials can be found, that must be fairly confest, and the Reader plainly told, what is known, and what is likely to be buried in perpetual Obscurity. This may, indeed, seem to injure the Beauty, and destroy the Symmetry of our Work, but it is much better, that the Things should be left so, than that, after the Manner of *French* Historians, we should supply Parts with Inventions, and so build up a regular History, without smothering but Truth, which ought to be the foundation of all History, and without which it is mere Romance.

6. But to descend from Generals to Particulars, and to represent, in few Words, what the Reader may expect in this Chapter, as we did in the last, and to secure him from any Apprehension of our forgetting, that this is a History of Voyages; and, therefore, ought to consist principally of these; we will enter into an express Detail of the capital Points that are to be treated in the ensuing Sections. It is the more necessary for us to do this, because, without considering them as the Parts of the same Work, they might appear, at least many of them, to be plac'd in a wrong Order of Time; whereas, when the Design of this Chapter is fully disclosed, I hope it will appear, that they are digress'd in the most natural Order; and so, as that they explain'd and contain'd in each other. This is certainly

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Chapter, prefer the Reader's Satisfaction to the strict Pursuit of my own Notion; and, where-ever it is necessary, shall, without Scruple, join Things together, that, perhaps, a strict regard to Method might have disposed in different Places. I shall likewise take the Liberty, where I find it requisite, of referring the Reader to what has been delivered in the foregoing Chapter, rather than run the Hazard of tiring him with needless Repetitions; and, as, in the Voyages I have already given him, I have been very copious in my Remarks, so, in these that are to follow, I shall be more concise, in order to bring my Matter within due Bounds. These Preliminaries being settled, I proceed, as I promised, to the Plan of what I propose in this Chapter.

In the first place, I shall treat of the State of the *Indies*, from the earliest Ages, to the Foundation of the *Persian* Monarchy; and, though, in doing this, I am sensible that I cannot give the Reader any more than a few capital Facts, in a long Series of Ages, yet, as these Facts are absolutely necessary to the understanding what follows, I persuade myself, that he will regard them as I do, in the Light of a necessary Introduction, I shall then proceed to the History of the *Indies*, so far as it can be discovered from the Histories that has been left us of the *Persian* Empire, through which the Riches of the *Indies* were first made known to the *Europeans*.

Having proceeded through these dark Periods, we shall arrive at a clearer Account of Things, deduced from the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great, after the Destruction of the *Persian* Empire, into the Countries of which we are speaking. This will lead us into an Explanation of the Politics of that mighty Conqueror, who, to the Possession of many large and fruitful Provinces, intended to have erected to the Empire that he erected, all the Advantages accruing from the rich Commerce of the *Indies*.

We shall likewise examine how far this glorious Design was prosecuted by his Successors; how, through their Quarrels and Disputes, it sunk into Oblivion, until it was revived by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, who thoroughly understood the Plan of *Alexander*, and improved it to great Advantage. After the Destruction of their Monarchy, we shall give a succinct Account of the Uses made by the *Romans* of their Conquest of *Egypt*, and of the Light they obtained from the *Greeks*, and other Nations, with regard to the Trade of the *Indies*, and in what manner they improved them.

8. In consequence of this Chain of History, which will afford us an Opportunity of explaining to the Reader the Characters of those Writers on whose Authorities the Arguments chiefly depended, we shall be at Liberty to lay down the substance of what they knew and believed, with respect to the Country, Inhabitants, and Commodities, of the *Indies*. We shall shew, from the best Writers of Antiquity, how far their Acquaintance with the *Indies* reached; in what Particulars they had right Notions, where they erred; and whence their Errors arose. We shall shew what they have delivered with respect to the Religion of the *Indians*; their Policy; the Division of their States; their Customs and Manners; together with the Animals, at described by them; and all the other Productions of that Country. In doing this, the utmost Care shall be taken to cite exactly the Authorities on which the several Facts we report are grounded; and, as Occasion requires, we shall shew how far they are confirmed or contradicted by the *Moderns*; and, by this Means, we shall bring a Multitude of curious and instructive Passages into a very narrow Compass.

The Reader will then see, in one View, the true State of the Case, with respect to the Antients; and be able, with Certainty, to judge for himself, with respect to the Justice of those Censures, and the Value of those Panegyrics, which are before mentioned. He will then see how far the Credulity of the Antients really extended, with what

Continuity of Rice in that City, in respect to which he argues thus. There are 10,000 Pecculs of Rice daily used in *Calcutta*, and it is known by Experience, that a Peccul of Rice will last a Person, one with another, three Months, so that if this Computation be just, the Number of People in the City may be about 900,000; and this is certainly a prodigious Number, considering how many great Cities there are in *China*.

The

blest with a wife and prudent Government, or cursed with a bad one. This will afford him an Opportunity of comparing, in his own Mind, the State of Commerce in those Days, with the Condition in which he sees it; and will enable him to pronounce boldly, that Justice, Equity, and a due Regard to the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, are the sole Means by which Nations are distinguished from each other; and that Power, Wealth, and Happiness, are not attached to Extent of Dominion, or Multitude of People, but, where-ever there is a wise Administration, may be enjoyed.

9. We shall then resume the historical Part of our Discourse, and treat of the Correspondence between the Subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, and the Inhabitants of the *Indies*, which will appear to be of more Importance than has been hitherto imagined. We shall next descend to a regular Account of the Alterations which happened by the Declension of that Empire, in the Management of that Trade, which threw it into different Channels, and into the Hands of several Nations. This will bring us to those Voyages and Travels that have been hitherto accounted the earliest that were made into the *Indies*. The most valuable of these we shall give the Reader at large, with a fair and clear Account of the Characters of their Authors: And, in order to make their Relations perfectly intelligible, we shall, in a previous Section or two, give a succinct Account of the Revolutions that happened in the *Indies*; without knowing of which, the Accounts given by these Travellers would be exceedingly obscure. But, by pursuing this Method, every Thing will fall into its proper Place; and, before the Reader meets with these Relations, he will have acquired the Lights necessary to the perfect Understanding of them; and will likewise discern, how these Voyages and Travels, dark and imperfect as they were, kindled that Spirit of Inquiry, and exhibited that generous Thirst of opening a shorter Passage to these rich Countries, which made Way for the Discoveries of the *Portuguese*. He will likewise see, how far the Accounts given us by these Travellers agree with those of the Antients, and how far they are supported or confuted by later Experience. He will likewise form a Judgment of the Value of such such Pieces, and see how far they are still useful, notwithstanding the subsequent Lights we have received; and from thence he will have a just Idea of the Value of such Collections, as contain these, and little else.

10. After passing through these dark and troublesome Stages, we shall reach that famous Period, in which the Passage by the Cape of *Good Hope* was discovered, which transferred the Commerce of the *Indies* from the *Italian* Republics to the *Portuguese*. We shall then relate, as briefly as it is possible, the Progress of the *Portuguese* Conquests; exhibit the Nature and Extent of their Empire in the *Indies*; give the Characters of the principal Persons concerned in establishing it; shew of how great Consequence it was to *Portugal*, and what Effects the annexing, for a time, that Kingdom to the *Spanish* Monarchy, had upon the Affairs of *Europe*. We shall next endeavour to point out the Means by which the Empire of the *Portuguese* began to decay; trace out the Circumstances that concurred to its Destruction; and conclude with a Representation of the present State of their Affairs, and of the Remains of the great Power in the *Indies*, which are still in their Hands.

11. The Voyages made by our Countrymen into this Part of the World will next demand our Care; and here the Reader will observe, that, for the sake of being clear and perspicuous, we were obliged to dispense with Method; for otherwise some of our *English* Travellers ought to have been mentioned, not only with, but even before those, who visited these Parts in the 12th and 13th Centuries. After a very short Account, as indeed no other can be given of these old Voyages, we shall explain the Causes that led our Countrymen to engage in Expeditions to the *East Indies* during

are likely to give Satisfaction to the Reader. We shall also enter, as far as is necessary, into the Disputes that have happened, in these Parts, between us and the *Dutch*; and particularly the famous Affair of *Amboyna*, by which we lost the Spice Trade; an Affair, which, though it has been long ago forgiven, ought never to be forgot, any more than the Arts and Contrivances by which we were expelled from *Bantam* in the Island of *Javan*, and other Parts of the *East Indies*. These things being dispatched, we shall examine the present State of the *British* Empire in that Part of the Globe, and give a particular Description of the Situation and Consistence of each of our Factories, concluding with some Remarks on the Nature and Value of the *East India* Trade with regard to this Nation, more especially with respect to the great Exportation of Bullion, which it occasions. By this means we hope to render our Work equally agreeable and useful to the Subjects of these Kingdoms, by setting in a true Light this important Branch of our Commerce, and demonstrating the Necessity we are under, of maintaining and supporting it, in order to bring the general Balance of Trade in our Favour.

12. The first Voyages of the *Dutch* to the *East Indies*, and, in consequence to those Voyages, the Establishment of their *East India* Company, a Specimen of the most important Expeditions made under their Direction, and the Account which they have been pleased to give us of their Proceedings at *Amboyna*, will fall here into their proper Place. To these we shall add an Account of the Oeconomy of this Company at home, and the Manner in which their vast Stock is managed for the Benefit of the Proprietors; for, as to their Settlements in the *Indies*, there has been already so copious and so accurate a Description given of them in Commodore *Keelers*'s Voyage, that we shall be under no Necessity of saying any thing more on that Head.

13. The *French East India* Company comes next to be considered; a Company not formed, like the rest, in consequence of Voyages made at private Expence, and in Compliance with the Genius and Desires of the People; but springing from a political Principle, projected by Ministers, and settled, according to their good Pleasure, by the Power of the Crown; and this, too, after numerous Efforts, and repeated Disappointments. We shall still the more particularly on the Rise and Progress of this Company, or rather enter into a Detail of the several *East India* Companies formed in *France*, in order to shew how hard it is to force the Spirit, and model the Inclinations, of a People after the Will of the Government, even when the Will of the Government is, in some measure, right, and agreeable to the Interests of the People. We shall particularly describe the Methods, by which the two great Ministers, *Richelieu* and *Colbert*, obliged the *French* Nation to think of settling themselves effectually in the *Indies*; and we shall render it evident, that nothing but the steady Care and constant Attention of their Successors, to the Principles by them laid down, overcame those Obstacles that at first seemed insurmountable, and at last brought this Project to bear, and put the Affairs of the *French East India* Company into a flourishing Condition.

We shall lastly give a full and distinct Account of that Company, in respect of its Oeconomy at home, as well as its Settlements abroad, and the Effects, which, in time, and by the Continuance of its Trade, it may have in regard to the general Commerce of the *Indies*, and the Trade of *Europe*. These, we have Reason to believe, will be to much the more acceptable to our Readers, because they are absolutely new, and have not hitherto been treated, at least, clearly methodically, and from authentic Memoirs, in our Language.

14. It was the Success of this last, as well as of the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, that raised, about twenty Years ago, so strong a Spirit of Trading to the *Indies*, throughout all *Europe*, and which first displayed itself in the Attempt made to settle a Company for that Purpose at

arrive in the Beginning of *December* at *Achen*, and have time enough to purchase their Goods to the *Moluccas*. This is a very rich Commerce, and are is taken to other their Goods in such a manner, as that they may hit the Markets of *Siam*, *China*, and the *Maldives*. It is to be observed, that, throughout all the Trade they carry on in the *Indies*, the *Chinese* mingle *European* Commodities with their own,

was that one City, and under the Eye of the *British* Gallies.

But, notwithstanding the vast Extent of *China*, *Canton*, and the prodigious Number of its Inhabitants, are not to imagine, that it is the only customer for all the *Provisions*, or that the other Cities and great Towns within the Bounds of their Empire, were that one City, and under the Eye of the *British* Gallies.

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We shall give a succinct Account of the Origin, Progress, and Declension, of that Company; and shew the Consequences that might probably have attended its Establishment, if it had not been opposed so vigorously by the maritime Powers. This will naturally bring us to the Companies that have been since erected, or rather revived, in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with greater Success, than could well have been expected, and which, prosecuted with the same Diligence and Attention that have hitherto been bestowed upon them, must necessarily be brought to that Perfection, which has been thought incompatible with the Genius of those Nations, the Nature of their Governments, and the Strength of their maritime Force. We shall likewise take notice of the Trade carried on to *China* by the *Russians*, and the Conveniences they have for establishing and extending it, together with some Thoughts on the Consequences of our new Trade through *Moscow* to *Persia*, and the vast Regions of *Great Tartary*, which may possibly be improved into a Commerce of as great Consequence, or, at least, of as great Profit, as that which we now carry on to the *Indies*.

15. In the Conclusion of the Chapter we shall compare the old and new Trade to the *Indies*; examine the Advantages and Disadvantages of both, and the Consequence of this Commerce to the Eastern Nations, and to the People of *Europe* in general; From which it will appear, that the Prejudices entertained against this Trade, on account of the great Exportation of Silver which it occasions, are but indifferently founded, and that the necessary Attendants upon this Commerce, provided it be properly managed, will much more than balance this Inconvenience, and prove the means of enriching *Europe* in a much higher Degree, than it is supposed to be impoverished by the sending out such Quantities of Bullion.

Such is the Plan of this Part of our Work, which, though very extensive, is, however, to regular, that, by the Perusal of this Section, the Reader cannot but be convinced, the Subject could not have been treated in less room to any Purpose. The Importance of it is so great, that it may well justify the Labour and Pains that it will cost in the Execution; and every Part of it will be to curious and entertaining, as well as useful and instructive, will comprehend the Substance of a great Number of valuable Books, and convey to large a Proportion of practical Knowledge, in comparison of the Bulk of the Chapter, that there is the greatest Reason to believe our Readers will not think their Time at all ill spent in its Perusal.

It is but a very few Years ago, that the Disputes about this Commerce to the *East Indies* divided and distracted all *Europe*: And it is very easy to foresee, that, in the Course of a few Years, the same Disputes must necessarily be revived with as great Warmth as ever, especially if there be any Truth in what some People have intimated in *Italy*, as to the Intention of the King of *Prussia* to establish a new *East India* Company at *Embsay* in *East Frisia*. If this should ever take Effect, it would create greater Apprehensions, especially in the *Dutch*, and with more Reason, than the Attempt made to fix such a Company at *Orinda*, because, from the Situation of that Port, they would have much greater Reason to fear the Ruin of a great Part of their Trade in *Germany*.

Upon these Motives we have been led to handle this important and interesting Subject in all its Branches, every Section of which will be a complete Treatise on its kind, and its Relation to, and Connexion with, the rest of the Work will immediately appear, by referring to the Scheme of the Whole, as it is in this Section delineated. We have now nothing more to add, but an Assurance, that the same Diligence shall be used in rendering every Part of the Chapter as perfect as possible, that we hope is deliverable in this large and particular Account of the whole Design, intended as well to manifest the Attention shewn in composing it, as to give such a Key to the whole Chapter, as may serve the Purposes before-mentioned.

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SECTION II.

The History of INDIA in the Earliest Ages.

1. The Tradition of the Indians concerning Bacchus. 2. The Egyptians transferred their Reports to Oshis. 3. Semiramis attacked the Indians, and was repulsed. 4. The Invention of India by Scythians. 5. The Indians had their Hercules as well as the Greeks. 6. M. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, had no just Grounds to suppose the ancient Indians descended from the Egyptians. 7. The Argument drawn from the Confession of the Indians to Alexander the Great, examined and confuted. 8. A Summary of Matters of Fact, which may be collected from this fabulous History. 9. The Usefulness of these Inquiries to the thorough understanding of this Subject.

AS we have very confused and indistinct Accounts of the first Settlements of almost all Nations, it is no Wonder, that we should have many absurd and unintelligible Fables as to the Settlement of the Indies; especially if we consider how remote these Countries lie from those which produced the Historians, from whom all our Accounts are derived. The first Indian Monarch, or Conqueror, of whom any mention is made in History, is the God Bacchus or Dionysius, who is reported to have led an Army out of Greece as far as the Indies, which he conquered, and taught the Inhabitants the Use of Wine, and built the City of Nysa. There is, however, good Reason to believe, that Bacchus, or Dionysius, is only a Greek Name for that Indian Prince who first civilized the People of that Country; for one of the most valuable Writers of Antiquity, Diodorus the Sicilian, explains the History thus, and tells us, that the Indians themselves related the Matter in the following Manner.

That Bacchus was a Native of their Country, and the first who found out and taught the way of pressing Grapes, and making Wine; that he likewise employed himself in planting fig trees, and other Fruit-trees, of a larger Size; in which he likewise instructed his People, established a little Politeness in the Country of Nysa, and called his Capital Nysa, from the Name of his Nurse. The Indians had likewise a Tradition, that he was a great Conqueror, and a Lawgiver, built many stately Cities, instituted divine Worship, and erected every-where Courts of Justice: They say further, that, after ruling over all India for the Space of ninety-two Years, he died in an extreme old Age, and left his Dominions to his Children, by whom they were enjoyed for many Generations; till at length, several Revolutions happening, many of the Cities became free, and set up such Forms of Government as seemed most agreeable to the Inhabitants. All this is reasonable enough; as it is also the latter Part of the Story, which is, that, after his Death, he was revered as a God.

In the ancient History of the Egyptians we are told, that Oshis, the great Conqueror of that Country, having first subdued Ethiopia to his Dominions, passed over from that Country into Arabia, and marched from thence into India, where he taught the Inhabitants the Use of Wine, and founded the City of Nysa; from whence it is plain, that the Oshis in the same with Dionysius, or Bacchus. There seems to be no great Difficulty in accounting also for this Story, since it is a Point universally agreed among the Learned, that the Egyptians, in order to fortify their favourite Opinion, that they were the most ancient Nation in the World, and that all Arts and Sciences were derived to other People from them, were accustomed to transfer whatever they learned relating to the Actions of ancient Princes in other Countries, to some of their own Monarchs; and thus, it is highly probable, they delivered what the Indians reported of their first Lawgiver, as if performed by Oshis. The Greeks, who most certainly borrowed their Learning from the Egyptians, and, in Imitation of them, endeavoured to establish a Notion of their own Antiquity, adjusted these Accounts to the Grecian Bacchus; whence arises all that confused and fabulous Fable, reported by several Greek Authors, upon this Subject, and

Commodore laboured them with eleven Guns, and they returned nine. At three in the Afternoon they warped farther into the Bay, and moored with their best Bower. At Six, one of the Dutch Ships sailed out. At Ten, they struck the Main and the Fore yards, it appearing very likely to be a wet Night. About Midnight, their best Bower Cable broke, with the Halter that was bent to the Stream Anchor, so that they rode all Night by the Sheet Cable.

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ander's Expedition, which is a thing of the utmost Con-
sequence with respect to the Indian History.

3. The Assyrian, which was the first of the great Em-
pires erected after the Flood, was governed, after the Death
of Ninus, by his Widow Semiramis, who founded the
ancient Babylon. This great Princess, after the Conquest
of Bactria, resolved to undertake that of India. The
Reasons that moved her to this Resolution, were the Re-
ports she had heard of the Fruitfulness of the Country, and
the Riches of its Inhabitants; but, as she foresaw, that this
Enterprise would be attended with many and great Diffi-
culties, she spent no less than three whole Years in preparing
for it. In order to this, she ordered a prodigious Army,
drawn out of all the Provinces of her extensive Empire, to
assemble in Bactria: She likewise directed the Inhabitants
of Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus, to send her a sufficient
Number of Shipwrights to build two thousand Ships, or
rather large Barks, which were to be contrived, as that they
might be taken to pieces, and carried, according to her
Project, from Bactria to the River Indus, where she under-
stood the Indians had a considerable Naval Force.

But, as she was apprehensive, that her Troops might
be struck with a Panic at the Sight of the Elephants,
which the Indians used in War, or, rather, apprehending
that the Indians themselves would place all Confidence of
Victory in their armed Elephants, she contrived certain
Machines, made of the Skins of Oxen sewed together, and
carried by Camels, which resembled Elephants, in order
to take from the Indians their Notion of Superiority in this
respect. All Things necessary being provided, she marched
out of Bactria, with an Army, that the Greek Historians
have, by their Relations, rendered less formidable than in-
credible; for they report, that it consisted of 3,000,000
of Foot, 200,000 Horses, 100,000 Chariots, and 100,000
mounted on Camels.

Sabroates, who was at that time King of the Coun-
tries that bordered on the River Indus, as soon as he had In-
telligence of this formidable Invasion, prepared to defend
his Country, and his Subjects; and, with this View,
assembled a prodigious Army, augmented the Number of
his Elephants, and caused four thousand Boats to be built
of Cane, which is not subject either to rot, or to be eaten
by the Worms, to encounter the Assyrians on the River,
having his Army and Elephants drawn up on the Shore
ready to support them. The Fleet of Semiramis, either
because her Vessels were stronger, or better manned, proved
victorious, a thousand of the Indian Boats being sunk,
with all who were on board them, and a vast Number of
Indians taken Prisoners. Upon this, the Indian King
abandoned the opposite Shore, and left the Enemy a free
Passage, in hopes of attacking them with better Success by
Land. Semiramis, as soon as the Indians withdrew, con-
verted her Fleet into a Bridge of Boats, over which she
marched her whole Army, with the counterfeit Elephants
in the Front.

When the Indians were informed by their Spies, that
the Assyrians had a great Number of Elephants, they were
amazed at it, and in great Confusion; but they soon re-
covered their Spirits, when, by the Detection of some of
the Troops of Semiramis, they came to understand the
Design of Sabroates, who followed in which the

own bad Behaviour; but, no doubt, the circulating such Stories had a very ill Effect on the Minds of the Seamen, and, by depressing their Spirits, contributed to produce the Mischief, that they seemed to predict. The Squadron remained here about a Week, in which time they overhauled and repaired their Rigging, supplied themselves with Salt, and received their Proportion of Stores out of the *Trial* and *Anne Pink*; but, as they were not able to meet with Water on that Coast, their Allowance was reduced to a Quart a Man, and three Pints for the Sick.

On the 27th, the Squadron sailed; and the *Gloucester*, not being able to purchase her Anchors, cut, and put to Sea, leaving her best Bower, and a third of a Cable, behind. On March 4. they had Sight of Cape *Virgin Mary*, at the Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan*, bearing South-west by South. On the 6th, they first saw *Terra del Fuego*, an high rocky Shore, full of Precipices, the Tops of which were covered with Snow.

7. On the 7th, at five in the Afternoon, the Signal was made to lie-to; and, at four in the Morning, the Commodore fired ten Guns, as a Signal to make Sail. About seven, they had Sight of the *Three Brothers* on *Terra del Fuego*, at the very Entrance of the Straights of *le Maire*. At ten, they entered the Straights, with a brisk Gale, and a strong Current setting in. Cape *Diego* on *Terra del Fuego* bore North-west by West, distant three Leagues; and the opposite Cape of *St. Antonio* on *States land* East North-east. Having the Wind and Tide with them, they were, by two in the Afternoon, quite through the Straights; so that a finer Passage was never made. These Straights of *le Maire* lie in the Latitude of $55^{\circ} 45'$ South, in a manner, due North and South. They are between seven and eight Leagues wide; and the Passage through is very little more. The Land on both Sides consists of high craggy Rocks, covered with Snow. The opposite Capes, on the South Side of these Straights, are Cape *Gonzales* on *Terra del Fuego*, and Cape *St. Barthelemy* on *States land*. The Weather now began to grow extremely cold; and, as they had hard Gales, and a rolling Sea from the South-west, both Ships and Men suffered exceedingly, more especially the *Gloucester* and the *Wager*.

On the 27th, the *Gloucester* made a Signal of Distress, having broken her Main-yard; on which the Commodore ordered two Carpenters and a Smith, from the *Pearl*, to assist in repairing it. On the 31st, her Main-yard broke again; and, on April 1. the Commodore ordered the Carpenter of the *Wager* on board her. On the 3d, she shipped a Sea, that washed the Marge off the Boom, stove the Pinnace, and filled her Long-boat full of Water, by which she suffered very much. On the 7th, a like Accident happened to her. On the 8th, the *Wager* lost her Mizzen-mast; and, upon a Roll of a Sea, all her Chain-plates broke to Windward. On the 9th, the *Anne Pink* made a Signal of Distress, having broke her Fore Stay, and damaged her Bow-sprit.

8. On March 10. being in the Latitude of 54° South, they had Sight of two Islands, which bore from them North North-west, about the Distance of eight Leagues. They lost Sight this Day of the *Severn* and the *Pearl*; which Ships repassed the Straights of *le Maire*, and took Shelter on the Coast of *Brazil*. On the 12th, they had very hard Gales at West; and, between six and seven in the Morning, a prodigious Sea broke into the *Wager*; which carried Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner of the Ship, who was standing upon Deck, over the Wheel, bulged the Cutter, and filled the Long-boat full of Water. The Boatwain was for heaving the Cutter overboard; but the Gunner insisted upon having the Captain's Directions, who was sick in his Cabin. He ordered her by all means to be saved; which was accordingly done. The Carpenter of the *Wager* was all this time on board the *Gloucester*. On the 13th, the Commodore being then on the Weather-quarter of the *Wager*, bore down under her Lee, in order to speak with Captain *Cheap*, and accordingly the Captain being brought upon Deck, the Commodore asked him, if the Carpenter was returned from the *Gloucester*. The Captain answered, No; and I am surpris'd Captain *Mitchell* should detain him, when he knows I must want him about my Mizzen-mast. The Commodore told him, He would speak with the *Gloucester*, and order him on board. He then asked the Captain, Why he did

not set the Main-top-sail, and make more Sail. Captain *Cheap* answered, My Rigging is all gone, and broke fore-and-aft; and my People almost all taken ill, and down; but I will set him as soon as possible. The Commodore desired he would, and make what Sail he could after him. On the 14th, the Carpenter returned from the *Gloucester*, it being the only Day in a Fortnight a Boat could live in the Sea. As soon as the Carpenter came on board, he waited on the Captain, who ordered him to look on the Chain-plates and Chains, and to give his Opinion of the Mast's going away. The Carpenter looked as ordered, and told Captain *Cheap*, That the Chain-plates were all broken. The Captain shook his Head, and said, Carpenter, That is not the Reason of the Mast's going away. The Carpenter, as the Mast was gone, not caring to charge it on any one's Mismanagement, or to occasion any Uneasiness about what was now past Prevention, fitted a Cap on the Stump of the Mizzen-mast, got up a lower Studding-sail-boom of forty Feet, and hoisted a Sail to keep the Ship to. This Day, they saw Land in the Latitude of $54^{\circ} 5'$, which, without doubt, was the *Black Cape* on the Coast of *Terra del Fuego*. For some Days after this, the Weather was moderately good; and, having long enough doubled Cape *Horn*, there seem'd to be no great Danger of parting Company.

9. On April 19. there were some hard Gales; and they lost Sight of the *Gloucester* and *Wager*, the latter of which they never saw again; a very strange Accident, considering they had now better Weather than at any time since their passing the Straights, and were but at a moderate Distance from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. But we shall however resume this Subject, tho' a very disagreeable one.

They were now extremely afflicted with the Scurvy aboard the *Centurion*. On board the *Gloucester*, the People were in a miserable Condition, there being many confined to their Beds, that they had scarce enough to do the Business of the Ship, and at the same time to extremly pelted with Rats, that they could hardly sleep, their feet Men having their Toes eaten off; and, as there were ten or twelve died a Day, their Corpses were dreadfully disfigur'd by these rapacious Enemies. On May 16 they had Sight of Land, which bore East North-east, which they took to be the Island of *Secora*. The next Morning, it blowing so hard, and the Wind frequently veering, a Contention was held, in which it was very prudently resolv'd to bear away for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to refresh and rest. About two in the Afternoon their Fore-lay blew from the Stay; and soon after, the Fore-sail split to Pieces. About Noon, they saw several high Mountains, covered with Snow; and the next Day at ten, having from moderate Weather, they saw them very plain; and then they keened to them to be islands.

On the 21st, the Ship's Company of the *Gloucester* were reduced to a Pint of Water per Day, except the sick, who were still allowed a Quart. On the 23d, the high Land bore East South east, distant about two Leagues, in the Latitude of about 48° South, a strong Current setting here to the Westward. On the 23d, they had little Wind in the Morning; but, towards Night, hard Gales, a very great Sea, and a violent Swell, which did much Damage to the Rigging and Sails. They likewise shipped a great Sea, which distressed them exceedingly, being now in a most deplorable Condition, not a Top-sail-yard in the Ship, nor a Carpenter, whose Health would permit him to work, in order to repair them; so that they were forced to bend a Sprit-sail for a Top-sail, the Ship at the same time very leaky, and not Men enough in Health to work her. On the 30th, they saw a Butt of Rain water. On June 1. they saved a Punchoon, which was of great Service for the Relief of their Sick. The Weather was to moderate during the succeeding Week, that the few Men who were well had not so much Fatigue as before; and on the 8th, about four in the Afternoon, they lay, to their great Joy, the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, their first Place of general Rendezvous lying West by South, at the Distance of about three Leagues. On the 9th, fresh Gales, and cloudy, with some Showers of Rain, and a great Sea, the Body of the Island being then distant about four Leagues.

10. On the 10th, about two in the Afternoon, they anchored in twenty Fathom Water, under the Land. The

first thing they did was to repair the Sails and Sails to repair the Scurvy, for the Commodore, which the Commodore desired in Person, quite for People in his own Stores; for Health, it now first of supplying the Sick with his own Fatigue in a most dreadful manner, which were on board there were not now safe in a most miserable reduced by the Scurvy, it produces various different Conflicts with the Use of their was difficult to discern, whether they by disordering their Madnets; which is not interests to themselves depressed, a general Lack of Breath; and carried off. It is seen down Facts of this their Cause; for to each different Cruel the Compassion, as but will hardly, I very learned *Ramases* accurately treated of I shall borrow the Scurvy, the body, occasioned by showing itself according whom it seizes. Matter: The Air, to always fall and more now speaking. Diet, for the most able to dilute with food they have broken so from other interests, and exposed to the Habit of Body, of the most Air, and the Bittern in the body this vicious Blood means very large military Vessels, which quickness of the quickness of the Efforts made by vessels. Hence it parts, and itching turns first of an itching likewise, which sinking Breath, and regular Pulse, and insafe from the fatigues separates severally. mens. In the End attended with Ulcers, a voracious Appetite reported by those opening the Bottom, they found Water, and their site black. As to the Remedies easily discovered about Air, fresh I abundance of this natural Rest, whose purpose should a them are to be had must be exceeding the only thing to Vol. I.

first thing they did was to send their Boats on shore, with Spars and Sails to make Tents, or at least a kind of covered Huts, for the Convenience of the Sick; in the fixing of which the Commodore not only gave his Directions, but assisted in Person, and furnished whatever was thought requisite for People in their Condition by the Surgeon, out of his own Stores; for, as his Temperance had preserved his Health, it now furnished him with the additional Pleasure of supplying the Sick with what another Man would have spent at his own Table. The Ship's Company was, indeed, in a most dreadful Condition: Out of upwards of 500, which were on board the *Centurion* when they left *England*, there were not now 200 left; and the far greatest Part of these in a most miserable Condition, into which they were reduced by the Scurvy; a Disease so much the more terrible, as it produces various, and yet alike frightful, Symptoms in different Constitutions. Some who were seized with it lost the Use of their Limbs, and of their Senses; so that it was difficult to distinguish, except by their low moaning Noise, whether they were alive or dead. It affected others, by disordering their Brains, and this even to a degree of Madness, which made them terrible to others, as well as selfish to themselves. A third sort had their Spirits greatly depressed, a general Lassitude, accompanied with a Shortness of Breath; and it was observed, that there were soon carried off. It seems unworthy of an Historian to lay down Facts of this Nature, without inquiring a little into their Cause; for to talk of the Scurvy, as a Disease acting in such different Cruelties on the Bodies of Men, may excite the Compassion, and raise the Admiration, of Readers; but will hardly, I think, satisfy their Judgments. The very learned *Ramazzini*, as well as other Physicians, have accurately treated this Disease; and therefore, from them, I shall borrow the Helps necessary to explain it.

The Scurvy, then, may be defined to be an ill Habit of Body, occasioned by the manner of living at Sea, and depending itself according to the natural Habits of those upon whom it seizes. To enter more particularly into the Matter: The Air, to which Seamen are continually exposed, is always salt and moist, and, in the Climate of which we are now speaking, exceedingly quick and cold. Their Diet, for the most part, is salt Meat, which they are not able to dilute with sufficient Quantities of Liquor, and which they have broken and uncertain Rest, from all which, as well as from other intervening Accidents, such as being often wet, and exposed to the cold Night Air, they contract the ill Habit of Body, of which we are now speaking. For this salt and moist Air, entering the Blood, will render it viscid; and the Bitter in the Salt which they eat, will heat and rouse this viscid Blood, and thereby increase its Celerity. By this means very large Globules will be forced into the Capillary Vessels, where they must remain, till either the Quickness of the Circulation removes the Obstruction, or the Efforts made by Nature for that Purpose break the Vessels. Hence it is, that the Diseased are troubled with Swells, and Itchings in the Skin; for extravasated Blood turns first of an high Red, then livid, then black. It putrefies likewise, which occasions the Rottenness of their Gums, Stinking Breath, and loose Teeth. Wandering Pains, irregular Pulse, and inexpressible Pains, are Symptoms that arise from the same Cause; which, as I observed before, operates severally according to the Difference of Constitutions. In the End they are usually carried off by a Dropsy, attended with Ulcers in their Legs, and very frequently with a voracious Appetite; which agrees exactly with what is reported by those who made this Voyage, viz. that, upon opening the Bodies of those who died on board the *Centurion*, they found their Blood dried up, the Vessels full of Water, and their Bones, when the Flesh was scraped off, quite black.

As to the Remedies which are fittest for this Disease, they are easily discovered, but then they are not so easily applied. Good Air, fresh Provisions, great Plenty of Greens, and Abundance of thin Liquors, together with due Exercise, and natural Rest, quickly complete the Cure. But to what Purpose should a Man talk of these at Sea, where none of them are to be had, and where the very Mention of them must be exceedingly disagreeable, for that very Reason? The only thing to be thought of there, is how to prevent

the Scurvy; and, in regard to this, much may be done. In the first Place, Cleanliness is a matter of great Consequence. Sir *John Narborough* tells us, that he defended his Crew, in a great measure, from this dreadful Disease, and that for many Months, in these Seas, by a very easy Precaution; for he obliged every Man to wash his Mouth, Face, and Hands, before he received his daily Allowance of Bread, and appointed a Man to see it performed. Exercise is another excellent Thing; for, while People are brisk and active, this Distemper cannot lay hold on them. The same judicious Commander tells us, that twelve of his Crew fell lame with Cold, their Legs and Thighs turning as black as an Hat. These made use of Bathing and Stuping, which, instead of relieving, increased the Symptoms; while, at the same time, those who were able to stir, and to do their Business, felt no sort of Inconvenience from the Climate, but enjoyed as good Health, and had better Stomachs than in *England*. Thirdly, Vinegar, and all other Acids, either as Food or Phycic, are great Preservatives; to which if we join abstaining as much as possible from salt Meats, and spirituous Liquors, I believe it will not be easy to add any thing very considerable upon this Subject. But to return to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*.

After they had been some time on shore, and had fed on fresh Provisions, Greens, Roots, and whatever else the Island afforded, enjoyed the Benefit of wholesome Air, and daily Exercise, with the sovereign Relief of good Water in great Plenty, they began to recover their former Health and Strength, and to take a great deal of Pleasure in their present Habitation; which I shall not describe, because we have spoken already very fully of it. I shall only observe, that the Account given us by these People, and the Advantages of this Island, sufficiently justify what I have advanced, as to its making a commodious Plantation; and this is one Reason why I do not chuse to say any more of it, lest it might be thought I put my own Sentiments into other Mens Mouths. While they remained here, every thing was conducted with the utmost Regularity and Decorum; and the utmost Pains taken to repair and refit the Ship, as well as to refresh and recover the Men.

On the eleventh, came in the *Trial* Sloop, in a most miserable Condition, the Vessel scarce able to swim, and hardly Hands enough to work her; having buried more than half her Crew since she left *England*. They sent her on board, as soon as the dropp'd Anchor, a convenient Supply of Water and fresh Provisions, which were very acceptable. The Commodore was in great Pain for the rest of his Squadron, whom he daily expected at this Rendezvous, according to their Instructions, but saw nothing of them for the Space of a Fortnight. On the twenty-seventh they had Sight of the *Gloucester*; on which the Commodore ordered the First Lieutenant on board, in the Cutter, with a Supply of Fish and Water; a very reasonable Relief to People who had been for some time at so short an Allowance, as a Pint of Water a Day to each Man; and reduced to so low a Condition, that the Captain found it absolutely necessary to detain the Lieutenant, and his Boat's Crew, in order to assist him in working the Ship.

It never certainly was a Ship's Company more distressed than the *Gloucester's* at this Time; for upon sending, on the twenty-eighth, the *Trial's* Boat, with another Lieutenant, and a small Crew, Captain *Mitell* thought proper to detain them, in order to work his Ship, which was about four Leagues from the North End of the Island, and continued driving in this manner for a whole Week. They then attempted to tow her into the Harbour, but to no manner of Purpose; for on the tenth of July she drove, in spite of all that could be done, quite out of Sight: On the sixteenth she was again within Sight of the Island, fired two Guns, and made a Signal of Distress, having then but one Puncheon of Water left; the Commodore sent a Boat on board, with two Hogheads of Wine, nine Puncheons of Water, and other Refreshments. On the nineteenth she was blown off again, and driven to the lesser Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in the Latitude of 35° 55' South, about 20 Leagues South South west of the great Island. The Spaniards, when they speak of them both, call them the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*; but, to distinguish them, they call the larger *de Tierra*, and the lesser *de Fuera*. The *Gloucester* attempted to send

her Boat ashore, in order to get Water, having Sight of several Rivulets, but to no Purpose; for the Wind blowing strong from the Shore, occasioned such a Surf, as rendered it impossible for them to land: However, their Expedition was not altogether ineffectual, since the Boat returned with a large Supply of Fish.

On the 23^d they made the larger Island of *Juan Fernandez* again, and about 11 in the Morning came to an Anchor. The Commodore then sent off his Boat, with a Lieutenant and a Crew sufficient to assist the *Gloucester* in Mooring. They had been now above a Month plying in Sight of the Island, and from the Time they left Port *St. Julian's* had buried 254 Men, and had now but 98 left, of whom not above seven or eight were able to assist in working the Ship; they were, besides, so distressed for Water, that for a Month before they made the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, they were reduced to a Pint a Day, and had not enough, even at that scanty Allowance, to serve them a Week longer. However, when her Crew once got on shore, and had the Convenience of Tents, and such Refreshments as the Island afforded, they recovered apace; which was especially owing to the Commodore, who supplied the Sick, as he had done his own People, with Wine, and other Necessaries, from his private Stores. The Beginning of the Month of *August* they spent in repairing and rigging their Ships, and in clearing the Hold of the *Gloucester*; where they found a great many of her lower Tier of Water-casks half filled with Sea-water and Ballast; which was occasioned by the Rats eating Holes in them. On the 5th the Commodore detached the *Trial's* Sloop to the Island of *Fuera*, to see if any of the rest of the Squadron had put in there, and the returned on the 21st, but without any Intelligence. The rest of this Month, and the Beginning of the next, was spent in getting on board Water, and other Necessaries, that the Ships might, as soon as possible, be in a Condition to put to Sea.

12. On *September 7.* about Eight in the Morning, a Sail appeared in the Offing; upon which the Commodore slipped his Cables, and gave her Chace. The next Day, they lost Sight of her; but soon saw another Sail, which they chased and took, and returned with her on the 14th to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. The Prize was called the *Camilla*, and had on board, amongst other things, 140,000 Pieces of Eight. The *Anne Pink* being condemned as useless, her Ammunition, and eight of her Guns, were put on board the *Spanish Prize*, which was fitted up with all the Care and Diligence imaginable, to supply her Place. On the 18th, the *Trial Sloop*, being intirely refitted, was ordered to Sea, with Directions to cruise in a certain Latitude, till joined by the Commodore. The *Spanish Prisoners*, to the Number of 28, were put on board the *Gloucester*; and Captain *Mitchell* had Orders given him to retire as soon as possible, and follow the Commodore, who was resolved to lose no Time in pursuing his Instructions. Captain *Mitchell* was likewise directed to take out the Mats of the *Anne Pink*, and let her on Fire; which Precautions being taken, the Commodore sailed, with his Prize, from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to cruise on the *Spanish Coast*.

On *October 3.* a little after Noon, they had Sight of two Ships, and, on giving Chace, came up with them, when they proved to be the *Trial Sloop*, and a Prize she had taken. The Prize was a fine, new, strong Ship, fit, in every respect for a Privateer; and, as the *Trial* had sprung her Fore-mast and Main mast in chasing her, the Commodore condemned the Sloop, and commissioned the Prize. In this Ship were taken, besides other Merchandize, 144 Ounces of Gold, 727 Ounces of Silver, and two Chests of Church-plate, very finely wrought, besides other Things of Value. On the 4th, the Men being already turned over to the Prize, and all things of Value taken out of the *Trial Sloop*, she was destroyed; but not set on Fire, to avoid alarming the Coast. On the 5th, the Articles of War were read to the Ship's Company; and from thence to the 20th, the Commodore continued cruising, with his two Prizes, on the Coast of *Peru*, where we will leave them for the present, in order to give an Account of the Shipwreck of the *Wager*; which is a Point, however disagreeable, of so great Importance, that, I think, it cannot be omitted.

13. The Account given by the Gunner and Carpenter, which is already in every body's Hands, deserves to be read with the utmost Attention, the rather because I do not find, that any Part of their Narrative is contradicted, notwithstanding it is certain, that some Advices have been received from the Captain, who is since arrived safe in some of the *Spanish Settlements*. I have made all the Use of it I could, as well as of other Informations I have received, in order to give a short, plain, and, as far as I have any Lights, a true Account of the Matter. The *Wager* separated from the Commodore on *April 19.* in the Evening; when the Weather was much better, than it had been for a Month before. Immediately after this Separation, the Mischief that afterwards broke out so violently, began to work, the Steward taking upon him to shorten Provisions, and to behave in such a manner, that the Captain ordered a Case of Pistols to be delivered to every Officer on board the Ship. I must confess, it seems very clear to me, that there were two sinister Designs formed on board the *Wager*; the one, if we may credit the Accounts we have had, of the Captain, to go upon the *Spanish Coast*, without the Commodore; and the other, of the Crew to do what they pleased. The first appears from hence, that the Captain denied the Rendezvous was at the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; and pretended, that it had been altered at *St. Julian's* to an Island in the Latitude of 44° South; which was the only Excuse he made for continuing his Course, at the apparent Hazard of the Ship, and of all their Lives.

That the Reader may perceive this the more clearly, I am obliged to give him a Conversation, which happened between Capt. *David Cheap* and Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner, a few Evenings before the Ship was lost, which explains the whole Affair, and is thus related by the Gunner: 'The Captain sent for me into his Cabin; and the first Word he said was, Gunner, What Longitude have you made? I told him, 28° 30'. What Distance do you reckon yourself off the Land? I answered, About sixty Leagues; but, if the two Islands we saw were those laid down in your Chart to be off *Brewer's Streights*, and the true Current continues, with a Western Swell, we cannot be above a third Part of the Distance off the Land. The Captain made Answer, As for the Currents, there is no Account to be given for them: Sometimes they set one Way, and sometimes another. I said, Sir, very true; but as the Ship has been always under reefed Courtes, with the Mizzen-mast gone, the must wholly drive to Leeward, and nigher the Land than expected. The Captain then told me, I suppose you are not unacquainted with my Rendezvous for the Island of *Nostra Signora di Socorra*, in the Latitude of 44°. I replied, Sir, the Ship is in a very bad Condition to come in with the Lee-shore; and, if it is possible to bring the Ship to an Anchor, we shall never purchase it again. The Captain answered, I do not design to come to an Anchor; for there are no Soundings until you come within seven Leagues of the Land. I purpose to stand off-and-on twenty-four Hours; and, if I do not see the Commodore, or any of the Squadron, at that time, we will go for *Juan Fernandez*. To this I said, Sir, the Ship is a perfect Wreck, our Mizzen-mast gone, with our standing Rigging fore-and-aft, and all our People down; therefor, I cannot see what we can do with the Land. The Captain's Answer was, it does not signify. I am obliged and determined to go for the Rendezvous. I find it is a thing taken for granted by those, who have given an Account of this Voyage, that the Captain really had Instructions to sail to this Island; when however, I very much doubt: For it does not appear, that the Commodore ever went thither, or thought of sending thither, to see if any of the Squadron were there; which he certainly would have done, if it had been the first Place of Rendezvous.

On *May 14.* at half an Hour past Four in the Afternoon, the Ship struck on a sunk Rock; and the Crew, to their great Sorrow, nothing but Rocks round them. She struck a second time, which broke the Head of the Tiller; and in a short time after she struck, bulged, and grounded between two small Islands, about five Leagues distant from the Main, and not above a Musquet-shot from the Shore. They immediately launched the Barge, Cutter,

and Yawl, over to the Board, and by the Board, and The Captain sent inhabited; but, rected, the Lieut to bring off the himself. As for the Captain was persuaded, did, accompanied Shipmen. The Mailer, Boatwain principal Officers fell to broaching doing every Thing mad and drunk. the rest of them uninhabited, and very, which grew fish, and some chewed itself am 16th, the Boatwain signal for a Boat pearance of any, on the Captain's E any other Damage for this struck him down; and he lay for some time. Wrecked in the C breast to him; but to be hot; and fa of the Temper taken due Care, th very easy in the P for, besides that red very well tow out of the Ship, an bring how they c andles of all Sizes with some Clocks, says my Author, But, in order to own Security and saving each other fore above three Design of blowing Lieutenant of M being discovered, did for executing appeared a clear l after a Disturbanc hidipman, was on the 24th, he c raman dead sine upon the Island. The *Wager* had bo *Wager's* Voyage lands of some o Design of length steer through the Distance o old Design, and raman have Spi ing, that is in r. As soon as this following Paper, rty-two Office rson, and two Names are un deration, as we think it the best servation of the through the Str a desolate Illan titude of 47° S ridian of *Londr* Day of *August*, Captain, and la mply with the

unner and Carpenter, is, deserves to be read, because I do not see it contradicted, nor the Advices have been arrived safe in some made all the Use of it as I have received, as far as I have any. The *Wager* departed in the Evening, than it had been for this Separation, the violently, began to shorten Provisions, the Captain ordered every Officer on board very clear to me, first on board the *Wager*, as we have had, at the last, without the Consent, do what they pleased. The Captain denied the *Fernandez*; and *Julian's* to an Island was the only Excuse at the apparent Hazard is the more clearly, I think, which happened. *Barkley* the Gunner, who explained the Gunner: The and the first Wantitude have you made? do you reckon upon about sixty Leagues; ere those laid down a freights, and the time in Swell, we cannot be off the Land. The Currents, there is no sometimes they set me, Sir, very true; but direct Courses, with the drive to leeward, and The Captain then told entered with my Resolution *di Sovera*, in the Ship is in a very bad see-shore; and, if it is anchor, we shall never answered, I do not believe are no soundings upon the Land. I y-four Hours; and, if any of the Squadron, *Fernandez*. To this I said, our Mizzen-mast gone, and abate, and all our see what we can do in answer was, it does not seem to go for the fishing taken for granted by of this Voyage, that the l to this Island; which it does not appear, that or thought of sending were there; which he been the first Place of

and Yawl, over the Gunnel, cut the main and Fore-masts by the Board, and the Sheet Anchor from the Gunnel. The Captain sent the Barge ashore, to see if the Place was inhabited; but, the People not returning on board as directed, the Lieutenant was sent in the Yawl, with Orders to bring off the Barge: This he sent off, but stayed ashore himself. As soon as the Barge came on board, the Captain was persuaded, being very ill, to go ashore; which he did, accompanied by the Land Officers, Mate, and Midshipmen. The Officers remaining on board were the Master, Boatwain, Gunner, and Carpenter: Upon the principal Officers leaving the Ship, several of the Sailors fell to broaching the Wine, breaking open Cabins, and doing every Thing that might be expected from Wretches mad and drunk. The Vessel being bulged in the Midships, the rest of them went on shore. The Island they found uninhabited, and nothing in it for Subsistence except Celerery, which grew wild, Mussels, Limpets, and other Shell-fish, and some wild Fowl. A Spirit of Mutiny soon showed itself amongst these unhappy Men; for, on the 6th, the Boatwain being on board the Wreck, made a Signal for a Boat to come on board; but, finding no Appearance of any, he brought a Quarter-deck Gun to bear on the Captain's Hut, which grazed over it, without doing any other Damage. As soon as he came ashore, the Captain for this struck him a Blow with his Cane, that knocked him down; and he lay motionless, and, to Appearance, dead, for some time. When he came to himself, and saw a Pistol cocked in the Captain's Hand, he presented his naked Breast to him; but the Captain only told him, He deserved to be shot; and said no more then. This is a Demonstration of the Temper they were in on all Sides. If they had taken due Care, they might certainly have made themselves very easy in the Place where Providence had placed them; for, besides that they were visited by the *Indians*, who behaved very well towards them, they got abundance of things out of the Ship, and of such things as one cannot help wondering how they came there; *viz.* several Chests of Wax-candles of all Sizes, Bales of Cloth, of Stockings and Shoes, with some Clocks, and other mercantile Wares, with which, says my Author, the Ship was thronged.

But, instead of taking the best Measures possible for their own Security and Preservation, they were continually contriving each other's Destruction. They had not been on shore above three Weeks, before eleven of them formed a Design of blowing up the Captain, the Surgeon, and a Lieutenant of Marines, in their Tent. On this Design being discovered, they deserted; but the Train they had laid for executing their villainous Purpose was found, and appeared a clear Testimony of the Truth of the Fact. Soon after a Disturbance happened, in which Mr. *Henry Cozens*, Midshipman, was shot by the Captain on *June 10.* and, on the 24th, he died. At this time, there were forty five Seamen dead since the Ship struck, and 100 still remained upon the Island. It happened, that a Midshipman on board the *Wager* had borrowed from Captain *Cheep* Sir *Jehn Narborough's* Voyage to the South Seas; which falling into the Hands of some of the Officers, they immediately formed a Design of lengthening their Long-boat, and endeavouring to steer through the Straights for the Coast of *Brazil*, thro' the Distance of 630 Leagues. It was certainly a very bold Design, and a very strong Testimony, that *English* Seamen have Spirit enough to undertake and execute any thing, that is in the Power of Man.

As soon as this Resolution was taken, they drew up the following Paper, which was signed by the Carpenter, and forty-two Officers and Seamen, as also by Captain *Pemberton*, and two Lieutenants of Marines: 'We, whose Names are under-mentioned, do, upon mature Consideration, as we have met with so happy a Deliverance, think it the best, safest, and most safe Way, for the Preservation of the Body of People on the Spot, to proceed through the Straights of *Magellan* for *England*: Dated at a desolate Island, on the Coast of *Patagonia*, in the Latitude of 47° South, and West Longitude, from the Meridian of *London*, 81° 40', in the South Seas, this second Day of *August*, 1741.' This Paper they carried to the Captain, and laboured all they could to engage him to comply with their Desire; which, however, had little

Effect; for he made abundance of Objections, suggesting to them, that they were not above one hundred Leagues from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; that they were but at a small Distance from the Island of *Chiloe*, allowing, however, that it was not likely, that they should find the Commodore at the first-mentioned Place; because, as he affirmed, he was positively instructed to attack *Baldovia*, a Port of *Chili*; nor that it was probable they should do any Good at *Chiloe*. In all this, however, he only temporized; for, when they pressed him for a direct Answer, he flatly declared, that he was not resolved to go that Way. This produced new Disorders and Seditions; till at last they resolved to rid themselves of the Captain's Authority altogether: And, to do this, they could not find a better Pretext than to make him Prisoner for the Murder of Mr. *Cozens*; which accordingly they did on the 9th of *October* in the Morning, seizing him in his Bed: Upon which Occasion the Captain behaved with great Spirit and Firmness, declaring absolutely, that it never was his Intention to comply with their Design of going through the Straights of *Magellan*, and that he was prepared for any Fate that might befall him; only he seemed to resent the Conduct of his Officers, who had put themselves at the Head of the Mutineers.

One cannot help being surpris'd at so odd a Transaction, or forbear wondering to see, that the greatest Hardships, the most intolerable Distresses, cannot alter the Frame of the human Mind, or change, for any Length of Time, the Disposition of the Man. Captain *Cheep* had governed despotically on board, without ever consulting his Officers, or taking Pains to gain the Affection, as well as to secure the Obedience, of his People. He affected the same Manner of acting, when shipwrecked on a desert Island; and, instead of encouraging the People to live peaceably and harmoniously together, and to concur in every thing necessary for the common Good, he shut himself up in his Tent; issued his Orders from thence, with great Loftiness of Mind; and, while he was careless of the common Safety, shewed an excessive Jealousy of his own Authority. It was this kind of Management that put the other Officers upon contriving how to return home, without waiting for their Captain's Directions: So natural it is for People, in all Cases, to believe they are released from the Duty of Obedience, when their Governors forget to protect them.

The Scheme of passing through the Straights of *Magellan* took Rise from the Accident I have before-mentioned: and, I must confess, I think it a Misfortune, that they happened to meet with that Book; for, if their Minds had not been prepossessed with a Notion, that this was the only Way by which they could return, they might, undoubtedly, have found a nearer Passage; for in the Latitude of 50° South, there is a Gulph, on the Coast of *Patagonia*, which runs very far within-land, from whence they might have rowed up the *Rio de la Campana*, which falls from a great Lake in the Heart of the Country; out of which there runs another River, that falls into the North Sea, not far from Port *St. Julian*; which Passage may be about fourscore Leagues, or at most one hundred, and would have saved them all their tedious Voyage through the Straights of *Magellan*, and from thence along the Coast of *Patagonia*, to that very Port of *St. Julian*. But the former Passage being once proposed, and the Captain endeavouring rather to shew them, that this was impracticable, than to point out any other shorter or better Passage, the Dispute served only to divide and distract them, and to create such Difficulties in carrying on the important Affair of lengthening their Long-boat, upon which, at all Events, their Safety depended, that the Carpenter, who had the Direction of it, ran mad with repeated Disappointments; and it was with very great Difficulty that the Design was at last accomplished, and their new Vessel finished in such a manner, as to be able to put to Sea.

I am very sorry, that I am obliged to make these Reflections, which seem to bear hard upon an unfortunate Gentleman, for whom I have the greatest Tenderness and Compassion: But the Reader will find them fully justified hereafter, when he takes a View of the Commodore's Conduct in the same Circumstances: When he sees him, like

like Captain *Cheap*, and with a smaller Number of Men, on an uninhabited Island, in a much worse Situation, he will there see, that the Commodore lost nothing of his Authority, but was regarded as the Father of those on Shore, whose Officer he had been at Sea. We may then behold him giving his Orders in that desert Island with the same Firmness of Mind as on board his Ship, and those Orders obeyed with equal Readiness, because encouraged by his own Example. There, indeed, Mr. *Anson* was an absolute Monarch, and governed by no other Rule than that of his Will, because his People were sensible, from long Experience, that he had nothing in View but their Good; and therefore they knew no Interest, but that of obeying his Directions. He found himself under no Necessity of talking of his Commission, and the Laws of the Navy, because he derived his Authority from an higher Source, the Affection of his Ship's Company. In a Word, his Virtues secured him, not only from Sedition, but from the very Suspicion of it; and those who shared with him in that Danger, instead of reflecting on the Accident with Horror, still remember with Delight that Picture of primitive Government, in which superior Abilities gave a kind of divine Right to Empire. But to return to that Scene of Confusion which we left so lately.

After seizing their Captain, and finishing the Vessel, in which they were to embark, the Crew of the *Wager* thought of nothing but getting on board their Sea-stores, and leaving the dismal Place of their Confinement; but, before they did this, they thought fit to draw up a kind of Instrument of Deposition; which, because I believe it is the first of its kind, and as singular in its Form as in its Matter, I shall give it the Reader in their own Words: Whereas Captain *David Cheap*, our Commander, in his Majesty's Ship the *Wager*, never consulted any of his Officers for the Safety and Preservation of the said Ship, and his Majesty's Subjects thereto belonging; but several times, since the unhappy Loss of the said Ship, he has been solicited, in the most dutiful Manner, promising him, at the same time, to support his Command, desiring no more than to go off Heart and Hand from this Place to the Southward; which he gave his Word and Honour to do; and, being almost ready for sailing, did apply to him some few Days past to draw up some proper Articles, in order to prevent Mutiny, and other material Things, which we thought necessary to be agreed to before we went off; but he, in the most scornful Manner, hath rejected every thing proposed for the public Good: And as he is now a Prisoner, and the Command given to the Lieutenant, upon his Approbation of the following Articles: First, as we have no Convenience for dressing Provisions on board the Vessel for a third Part of the Number to be carried off the Spot, therefore have this Day served out, to every Man and Boy, twelve Days Provision for them to dress before we go off: And also it is agreed, that whoever is guilty of defrauding another of any Part of his Allowance, on sufficient Proof thereof, the Person found guilty, without any Respect of Person, shall be put on shore at the first convenient Place, and left there: Secondly, in regard to the Boat's going off with us, we think proper to allow one Week's Provision for each Man appointed to go in them, in order to prevent Separation from each other, which would be of the worst Consequence of any thing that can happen to us: To prevent which, we do agree, that, when under Way, they shall not separate, but always keep within Musquet-shot, and, on no Pretence or Excuse whatsoever, go beyond that Reach: The Officer, or any other Person, who shall attempt Separation, or exceed the above-mentioned Bounds, shall, on Proof, be put on shore, and left behind: Thirdly, it is agreed, in order to suppress Mutiny, and prevent Brouils and Quarrels on board the Vessel, that no Man shall threaten the Life of another, or offer Violence in any Shape, the Offender, without any respect of Station or Quality, being found guilty, shall be put on shore, and left behind: Fourthly, we do agree, whatever Fowl, Fish, or Necessaries of Life, we shall happen to meet with in our Passage, the same shall be divided among the Whole; and if Captain *David Cheap* shall be put on board a Pri-

soner, it shall not be in the Lieutenant's Power to release him. These Articles were signed by the Lieutenant, Master, Boatswain, Gunner, Carpenter, Purser, three Midshipmen, and about forty other People.

When this Resolution, or rather this Revolution, was intimated to Captain *Cheap*, by Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner, he delivered himself to this Purpose, in the Hearing of most of the Ship's Company: I am to be carried Prisoner to England; Gentlemen, I shall never live to see England, but die by Inches in the Voyage; and it is surprising to me, to think what you can expect by going to the Southward, where there are ten thousand Difficulties to be encountered with: I am sorry so many brave Fellows should be led to go where they are not acquainted, when, by going to the Northward, there is the Island of *Chiloe*, not above ninety Leagues, where we need not fear taking Prizes, and may have a Chance to see the Commodore. To this the Gunner made Answer; Sir, you have said, that we shall be called to an Account for this in England: I must tell you, for my Part, had I been guilty of any Crime, and was sure of being hanged for it in England, I would make it my Choice to go thither, sooner than to the Northward: Have not you given your Word and Honour to go to the Southward? It is true, there is a Chance in going Northward, of delivering us from this unhappy Situation of Life to a worse, viz. a Spanish Prison. The Captain then said no more, but, Gentlemen, I wish you well, and safe to England. In this unlucky Situation, Captain *Cheap* determined to try, whether it was not possible to obtain an Alteration in the Resolution of the People, at least with regard to himself, especially as it went no further than desiring he might not be obliged to make a Voyage against his own Judgment; but be left on that Island, to take what Course for his own Safety he should think fit.

This Demand of his does not seem to have been resisted by the Commander of the Land Forces, who thought, that, as they had confined Captain *Cheap* for Murder, they were bound to justify that Act by bringing him home to be tried for it; but the rest of the Crew thought otherwise, for Reasons that will soon appear: They contented themselves to the Captain's Request; and, at the same time, declared, that if there were any who had a Mind to stay with the Captain, they were at full Liberty to pursue their own Sentiments in that respect; and went farther, by offering the large and the Yawl for the Service of such as accepted of this Proposal, that they might not be destitute of the Means of getting off the Island, if the Captain should make any Proposal for that Purpose. I do not pretend to decide so intricate a Question, as who was in the Right, or who in the Wrong, in the Management of this Affair. I have already intimated, that, possibly, there might be Faults on both Sides: But this, I think, I may have leave to say, without Fear of Contradiction, that, as Things then stood, there was a great deal of Humanity and Good-nature in this Part of the Seamen's Conduct, who left their Commander the same Liberty they took themselves, and did not pretend, after depriving him of his Command over them, to take from him also the Command over himself. It rarely happens, that a Man, long vested with Power, and who has any Virtues, gains no personal Friends; and Captain *Cheap*, how unlucky soever he might be in his Conduct as a Commander, had, as a Gentleman, and many good Qualities to be totally deserted, tho' there were but two who at first embraced this Proposition of staying with the Captain, viz. Lieutenant *Hammerton* of the Marines, and Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon of the Ship, who chose rather to share any Hardship with their Officer, than be guilty of so mean an Action as deserting him in his Distress. As I cannot pretend to censure the Conduct of the Ship's Company, for doing, what, perhaps, Necessary obliged them to do, so I cannot forbear commending the Honour and Fidelity of these Gentlemen in remaining with their Friend. There is a wide Difference between abetting the Abuses of Power, and preying Respect for the Officer who is thought to abuse it; and though the Ties of personal Friendship ought to induce any Gentleman to be an Instrument in the former, yet they may very well justify the latter.

On the 12th of the new Vessel, to get on board now turned his T and therefore des the Deleters, wh endeavour to pro ingly done, and opal; upon whi proportionable Di the Use of the Cap at the same time, that had hitherto drew up another Conduct, in the the Right Hon curing the Offi tain. That we beg Leave to David *Cheap*, o Wager, having of this Spot, a hind; but Ca Forces, having Mr. *Henry Coz milten* for break vering them, u Beans: But he, the ill Consequ oners off in so a Passage as we Opportunities o prove destructiv to the chief Ar People must be shore in Search than eighty-one to be delivered cuties to be ad ter with, think der, to compl Surgeon also be board the Spee Day of October This Paper was wain, Gunner, Cn Mates, as well as the Land Force People embarked will be necessi burkation. The Design of passin Boats was eighty age in the Spee's charge; but how changed: For i sentiments in a *Cheap*; so that small Vessels, w very Entrance of selves obliged to third of *Novembe well* inexpresib met with her ag night she broke as never been n This Accident selves, occasione Adventurers, th et al Gore; to w ngly crowded, re ed upon having, an Ad of Comp re. And this C papers, I think are to certify th sinners for exe of Great Brita mentioned, fit Vol. I.

On the 12th of October the Ship's Company launched their new Vessel, which they called the *Speedwell*, and began to get on board their Provisions. The Captain on his side now turned his Thoughts to providing for his own Security; and therefore desired, that the Question might be asked of the Delegates, whether they would follow his Fortunes, and endeavour to proceed to the Northward? which was accordingly done, and eight of them readily embraced the Proposal; upon which the Ship's Company agreed to make a proportionable Division of military Stores and Provisions, for the Use of the Captain, and those who staid with him: And, at the same time, to keep up that Appearance of Regularity that had hitherto been preferred in their Proceedings, they drew up another Paper, containing the Motives to their Conduct, in the following Words: "These are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, That we whose Names are under-mentioned, do beg Leave to acquaint your Lordships, That Captain *David Cheap*, our late Commander in his Majesty's Ship *Wager*, having publicly declared, that he will never go off this Spot, at his own Request desires to be left behind; but Captain *Pemberton*, of his Majesty's Land Forces, having confined him a Prisoner for the Death of Mr. *Henry Cozens*, Midshipman, with Lieutenant *Hamilton* for breaking his Confinement, did insist on delivering them, upon the Beach, to the Charge of Lieutenant *Beans*: But he, with his Officers and People, consulting the ill Consequences that might attend carrying two Prisoners off in so small a Vessel, and for so long and tedious a Passage as we are likely to have; and as they might have Opportunities of acting such Things in secret, as may prove destructive to the whole Body; and also, in regard to the chief Article of Life, as the greatest Part of the People must be obliged at every Place we stop, to go on shore in Search of Provisions; and there being now no less than eighty-one Souls in this small Vessel, which we hope to be delivered in: We therefore, to prevent any Difficulties to be adled to the unforeseen we have to encounter with, think proper to agree, in order to prevent Murder, to comply with Captain *Cheap's* Request. The Surgeon also begs I leave to be left with him." Dated on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, in *Cheap Bay*, this 14th Day of October, 1741.

This Paper was signed by the Lieutenant, Master, Boatswain, Gunner, Carpenter, Surgeon's Mate, and two Master's Mates, as well as by Captain *Pemberton*, and the Surgeon of the Land Forces. It was signed the very Day that the People embarked; and as we are now come to that Point, it will be necessary to give a distinct Account of their Embarkation. The Number of Persons engaged in this bold Design of passing through the Streights of *Magellan* in Boats was eighty-one, of whom fifty-nine took their Passage in the *Speedwell*, twelve in the Cutter, and ten in the Barge; but however it was not long before some of them changed: For those who were in the Barge altered their Sentiments in a Day or two, and returned to Captain *Cheap*; so that now the Expedition was reduced to two small Vessels, with seventy-one Men on board. In the very Entrance of the Streights of *Magellan* they found themselves obliged to abandon the Cutter: This was on the third of November, and gave those who were in the *Speedwell* inexpressible Concern; however, on the sixth they met with her again, and took her in Tow, but that very Night she broke loose, with one *James Steward* in her, and was never seen more.

This Accident, and some Disputes that arose among themselves, occasioned such Feuds and Animosities among our Adventurers, that a Party took it into their Heads to be set ashore; to which the rest, finding themselves exceedingly crowded, readily agreed; but at the same time insisted upon having a Certificate from them, that this was not an Act of Compulsion, but the Result of their own Desire. And this Certificate, as I have hitherto given all their Papers, I think it also necessary to transcribe. "These are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c. That we whose Names are under-mentioned, since the Misfortune of losing the Cutter,

"have considered the Inconveniencies and Difficulties to be attended, where so great a Number of People are to be carried off: Therefore we have requested, and desired of the Officers and Company remaining of the same Vessel, to put us on shore, with such Necessaries of Life, as can be conveniently spared out of the Vessel. We of our own Free-will and Choice do indemnify all Persons from ever being called to an Account, for putting us ashore, or leaving us behind, contrary to our Inclination. Witness our Hands, on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, in the Lat. 50° 40' South, this 8th Day of November, 1741." This was signed by *Matthew Langley* Gunner's Mate, and ten more, who were landed on the Coast of *Patagonia*. The Scheme they went upon was the finding the Cutter; or, if they did not succeed in that, making a Canoe themselves, in order to return to Captain *Cheap*.

It is impossible to describe the Miseries they endured in their Passage thro' the *Streights*, where, from time to time, they went ashore, to shoot and fish, but with very little Success: They likewise saw the *Indians*, who inhabit the Country, frequently, but could obtain very little Assistance from them; and yet, in the midst of all this Misery and Distress, they made a Market of each others Necessities; so that, by the 15th, Flour was sold amongst them at twelve Shillings a Pound in the Morning, and before Night at a Guinea; and in the mean time many perished, for want of having Money or Effects, to purchase what was necessary to sustain them. By the End of the Month there were six or eight dead of mere Hunger; and one Thing Mr. *Bulkeley* informs us of, that is very singular, viz. that all these People grew light-headed a little before their Death; and, losing all Sense of their Misery, laughed and jested till the very Moment they expired. On the 6th of September they went ashore on the South Side of the *Streights*, and purchased from the *Indians* two Dogs, three Geese, and a Piece of a Seal. These *Indians*, as they describe them, are People of a middle Stature, and well shaped. Their Complexion of a tawny Olive-colour; their Hair exceeding black, but not very long: They have round Faces, and small Noses, their Eyes little and black; their Teeth are smooth and even, close set, and of an incomparable Whiteness; they are very active in Body, and run with a surprising Agility; they wear on their Heads white feathered Caps, their Bodies are covered with the Skins of Seals, and Guanacoos or *Indian* Sheep: As for the Women, they fled at the Sight of them, so that they were able to give no Description of them.

On the 7th they entered *Fresh water Bay*, where they filled one Cask with Water. On the 8th they arrived at *Elizabeth's Island*, where they met neither with Wood nor Water, as they expected. On the 11th they ran the Boat on Shore; and after they got her off, were so fortunate as to meet with fresh Water, with which they filled all their Casks at once. The same Day they saw *Cape Virgin Mary*, which is at the opposite Extremity of the *Streights*, through which they had now passed in about a Month; the Length of them, according to their Computation, being 116 Leagues. On the 12th, having doubled the Cape, and steering along shore, they saw three Men on Horseback, riding towards them; when they were over-against them, the People Rop'd, and made Signals, waving their Hats, as if they desired to speak with them; upon which they edged close to the Shore: Here they saw seventeen more; five of them only were on Horseback, and rode in a Line before, and the rest were on Foot, and had a considerable Drove of Cattle: They anchored within a Mile of the Shore, and the People still continued riding along the Beach, waving white Handkerchiefs to them, and making other Signs, by which they invited them on shore, to which they were well enough inclined, and did all they could both that Night and the next Morning to compass it; but to no manner of Purpose, the Wind blowing so strong, that they were obliged to quit the Bay.

On the 16th they arrived at *Penguin Island*, and proceeded from thence to *Port Desire*, where they met with Seal and Fowl in abundance. The Carpenter being on shore here, found a Parcel of Bricks, some of which had Letters cut in them: Upon one, these Words were very legible, "Captain *Straiton*, 16 Cannon, 1687:" Which they

conceived to be the Token of a Wreck; and I conjecture, that so many Pieces of Cannon were buried thereabouts, and that these Bricks were placed as a Mark to find them by. They discovered *Pecket's Well*, as described by Sir *John Narbrough*, and furnished themselves with Water. Here there arose new Disputes among the People; for those who were able to assist in working the Vessel, would needs put the Marines to half their short Allowance, that is to say, when they received a Pound of Flour, they insisted, that twenty of their Number should receive but half a Pound. On the 20th of December they sailed out of *Port Desire Harbour*, steering East North-east. On the 25th they divided all their Flour, which amounted to three Pounds and an half a Man. On the 10th of January they made a kind of Review of their Company, which was now reduced to forty-three, and of these only fifteen were able to stand; and that very Evening, just as they saw the Shore, they lost one of their Number, Serjeant *Ringal*. All their Provisions consisted in a small Quantity of stinking Seal, and eighty Gallons of Water.

The next Day they put into a Bay in the Latitude of $28^{\circ} 40'$ South, which they thought fit to call *Shoal-water Bay*, the Weather being tolerably fair. As they had now nothing on board the Vessel to eat, and but one Cask of Water, so that there was a Necessity of getting on shore, though the Surf ran so high that it was impossible to get the Vessel near it, it was at last agreed, that such of the People as could swim, should attempt it, for their own Sakes, as well as the common Benefit; and accordingly fourteen of them leaped into the Water, and all, except a Marine, got safe on shore. They threw over to them four Quarter-casks, with two Fire-locks tied on each Side, with a small Quantity of Ammunition. When the People landed, they discovered a large flat Beach, without to much as a Bush growing on it. There were, however, thousands of Horses and Dogs running in Droves, and abundance of Seal and Parrots on the Rocks. They soon shot a good Number of the former; and, finding one of their Quarter-casks leaky, they broke it to Pieces, in order to make a Fire, by which they dressed their Supper. As for the poor People in the Boat, they were near enough to see the Quarters of Seal which their Companions had provided for them; but the Sea ran so very high, that it was impossible for them to reach it. At last, they proposed getting one of their People to swim on shore, having no more than two in the Boat who were able to swim; but the one would not run the Hazard, and the other was too weak, that, rather than suffer him to attempt it, they tore an old Seal-skin off the Hatches, where it had been nailed for some time, and, having burned away the Hair, chewed the half-broiled Leather, in order to allwage, in some measure, the Violence of their Hunger. The next Morning, the People on shore shot a Horse, and a wild Dog; the former was branded on his Left Buttock, which shewed plainly, that they were turned loose here by the Inhabitants to feed, and were taken up again, as occasion required. At nine in the Morning they veered in the Boat near Shore, and made a Stage to hale up the Seal. The People on shore sent them, with much Difficulty, three Casks of Water; upon which they sent on shore an empty Quarter-cask, and two Breakers. Soon after seven of the People came on board with the Seal and Horse; and the Wind blew so hard soon after, that they were obliged to put to Sea, and leave eight of their People on shore.

On the 14th, the Sea was so high, that it broke the Rudder head; by which they were to be endangered, that it was found absolutely requisite to get out to Sea, without staying any longer for the People on shore, though they were still in Sight. To justify their Conduct in this respect, as well as to ascertain the Motives which induced them to act in this manner, they drew up the following Paper: 'These are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c. That we, whose Names are under-mentioned, having nothing left on board the Vessel but one Quarter-cask of Water, were obliged to put in to the first Place we could for Subsistence, which was in *Fresh-water Bay*, where we came to an Anchor as near as we could, without endangering the Vessel, hav-

ing no Boat on board, and a large Surf on the Shore. Therefore Mr. King the Boatswain, Mr. Cannon the Carpenter, and Lieutenant *Ewers*, with eleven of the People, jumped overboard, in order to swim ashore, with three Casks for Water; in which Attempt *James Greenham* was drowned in the Surf off the Shore. The Sea-breeze, coming on, prevented the People getting on board the same Night; therefore, on Wednesday Morning, it being then calm, they brought to the Beach the Cask, filled with Water, with Seal, and other Provisions, in great Quantities; which we haled on board. The Boatswain, Carpenter, Lieutenant *Ewers*, and three of the People swam off; but the Sea-breeze coming in, and the Surf rising, the rest were discouraged from coming off. We haled a good Birth off the Shore, where we lay the Remainder of the Day, and all the Night. The Crews of the Sea broke off our Rudder head, and we expected every Minute the Vessel would founder at her Anchor. Thursday Morning, we saw no Probability of the People coming aboard; and the Wind coming out of the Sea, and not one Stick of Firewood in the Vessel to dress our Victuals, and it being every Man's Opinion, that we must put to Sea, or perish, we got up a Round Cask, and put into it all manner of Necessaries, with two Small-arms lashed to the Cask, and a Letter, to acquaint them of our Danger; which Cask we saw them receive, as also the Letter that was in it. They then fell on their Knees, and made Signals, wishing us well; at which we got under Sail, and left our Brethren, whose Names are under-mentioned. Dated in *Fresh-water Bay*, on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, on the Coast of *South America*, in the Latitude of $37^{\circ} 25'$ South, Longitude from the Meridian of *London* 65° West, this 14th Day of January 1741-2. This was signed by the Lieutenant, and the rest of the Officers on board; and the Persons left ashore were eight private Sailors.

They were left in that Part of the Southern Continent, which, in the Spanish Maps, is styled the Country of *Pampas*. It is of very large Extent, reaching from the Bay of *St. Matias* to the Frontiers of the Province of *Formosa*, 120 Leagues directly North and South, and is about one hundred, or something more, from East to West. The Spaniards are not indeed possessed of it, but the Natives do not hinder them, either from driving their Cattle thither, or from passing through it with their Caravans. It cannot therefore be supposed, that these eight Seamen ran any greater Hazards, or met with any more Difficulties, than the People did at Sea, but had rather an easier Time of it; one thing only excepted, which was their being left in an Enemy's Country, since the Place, on which they were let on shore, was not above seventy Leagues from the Town of *Buenos Ayres*.

The *Speedwell* continued steering along shore till they had passed the Mouth of the River of *Plata*, and fell in with the Coast on the other Side, where, in the Evening of the 19th, they anchored in a fine sandy Bay, probably near the Mouth of that River, and soon after saw two Men coming towards them on Horseback. This was a joyful Sight to them, since it gave them some Assurance of meeting with Refreshment, and they had not, at that time, a single Drop of Water on board. On the next day the Gunner and Carpenter went on shore, and, as the former spoke *Portuguese*, he entered into Discourse with the People, who came down on Horseback on purpose to talk with them. These Folks told them that they were Spaniards and Fishermen; adding, that the Town they belonged to lay two Days Journey from hence, and that the Name of it was *Monte Vidio*, which, according to the best Spanish Maps I have seen, lies about 100 Leagues up the River *Plata*, in the Latitude of 30° South. These People invited our unhappy Brethren to their Caravan, which was about a Mile off, where they entertained them with Jerk-beef, that is, Beef dried in the Air, roasted and boiled, with very good white Bread. The first thing they thought of was to purchase some Provisions; but the People had none to supply them with, except six and twenty Loaves of white Bread, and the Sale of Two penny Loaves in *England*, for which they demanded four Gameas, and Hunger obliged the *English* to consist

but he who seemed to be the most hard to them, at first, for this Month, changed, if it was known afterwards, in the Communion, in the morning Reason for the Dealings, they voyaged to *Rio de Janeiro*. On the 23d, the Master of the *Wager* and, on the 26th, the same Ship, at which they had now no more than the 28th, they were not coming off, the rest of this Place to be perpetually exposed, and exposed to every little Circumstance with the utmost Assistance Power, sent the Master of the *Wager*, and ordered the Commodore to do nothing. This was done by a Christian, and in Honour of the Possession to forget. He only observe, that, in the Voyage, there were only thirty Persons for Mr. *Bulkeley*, Master of the *Wager*, which seems to be that they procured some Time to return to *England*, arriving in the South Sea, the wreck of the *Wager*. On October 20 Prizes, were of the *Wager*; for their Notion, that the two of those Islands de *Sotaventos* de *Barbovento*, one of these is, in the Latitude of $6^{\circ} 25'$ South, the *Agua* which is an high Water, seven Leagues in the Evening, they found the Chace, and came on board, and took her in, and returned, with the *Spaniards* of an Captain had his Commission, the Commodore being the Time that he was constantly attended with the great Impression, he gave the Commodore of things, the little *Wager* had a Design, but, according to the well recovered; Therefore the Time that they made Leagues Westward, when the *Spaniards* were in the Latitude of 50° South. On the 10th of the attacking the *Wager* above five

Surf on the Shore, Mr. Cummins the with eleven of the to swim ashore, with Attempt James Green the Shore. The Span- people getting on board Tuesday Morning, in the Beach the Call, other Provisions, on board. The Boats, and three of the ge coming on, and the ge from coming off, ne, where we lay the Night. The Great- der-head, and we et- would founder as he Cow no Probability of the Wind coming out Firewood in the Field every Man's Opinion, we got up a skinned Necessaries, was long a Letter, to acquire we saw them return, They then fell on their us well as at which we are, whole Names are Water Bay, on board Coast of South America, Longitude from this 14th Day of January the Lieutenant, and the Persons set a

the Southern Contage, led the Country of the, reaching from the s of the Province and South, and is about from East to West affected of it, Water from draving their rough it with their G- opoised, that their ege or met with any more Sea, but had rather an excepted, which was untry, since the Place was not above twenty Acres.

ing along shore the ber of Pate, and fell where, in the Evening the sandy Bay, probably and soon after saw two horseback. This was e them some Assistance d they had not, at the board. On the 20th on shore, and was ed into the House which horseback on purpose d them lately had not adding, that the Town rney from men, and dio, which, according teen, but a great part the Latitude of 22° 30' unhappy Fragment of a Mile off, were that hat is, Beet de ed in the good white Boat. The purchase two Ports to supply them with et Bread, at the Store d which they demanded d the 15th, to consist

but he who seemed to be the Chief of the Spaniards declared to them, at the same time, that they risked their Lives for this Money; and that they should be inevitably hanged, if it was known, that they had supplied them. Mr. Cummins afterwards parted with his Firelock, and some Ammunition, in hopes of a Supply of wild Fowl; but, finding Reason to suspect, that the Spaniards intended some Dealings, they got hastily on board, and continued their Voyage to Rio Grande.

On the 23d, died Mr. Thomas Clerk, who had been Master of the *Wager*; as did his Son on the Day following; and, on the 26th, died Thomas Maclean, Cook on board the same Ship, at the Age of eighty-two, probably of Want; for they had now nothing but a little Water to sustain them. On the 28th, they entered Rio Grande; and a Portuguese Boat coming off, they surrendered to them. The Governor of this Place treated them in a manner, which deserves to be perpetually remembered: He went on board the *Wager*, and examined every Part of her, inquired into every little Circumstance of their Voyage, embraced them with the utmost Affection, assured them of all the Relief in his Power, sent the Sick to the Hospital, took the Lieutenant of the *Wager*, and the Land-officers, to his own House, and ordered the Commandant to see, that the rest wanted nothing. This was acting like a Gentleman, an Officer, and a Christian, and is such a Testimony of the Faith and Honour of the Portuguese, as the English Nation ought never to forget. Having conducted them hither, we shall only observe, that, of seventy one who made this perilous Voyage, there were living, on the 28th of January 1742, only thirty Persons; and some of them died afterwards, as for Mr. Bulkeley the Gunner, and Mr. Cummins the Carpenter, of the *Wager*, from whom we have this Account, which seems to be written with great Candour and Plainness, they procured a Passage to Portugal, and from thence to England, arriving at Spitehead, January 1. 1743. It is now Time to return to the Commodore, whom we left cruising in the South Seas, in order to insert this History of the Shipwreck of the *Wager* in its proper Place.

14. On October 20. 1741. the Commodore, with his Prizes, were off the Islands of Lobos, in plain English, or *Malds*; for the Spaniards call the Seals *Lobos*, from an old Notion, that this Creature resembles a Wolf. There are two of those Islands, called, in order to distinguish them, *Isles de Sotavento*, or the Leeward Island of Seals, and *Isle de Barlovento*, or the Windward Island of Seals. The latter of these is, in the Spanish Maps, laid down in the Latitude of 6° 25' South; and the latter in 6° 33'. On the 23d, the *Agua de Sotavento*, or Leeward Needle point, which is an high white Land, bore from them, North east East, seven Leagues. The next Day, about two in the afternoon, they saw a Sail; to which they immediately gave Chace, and came up with her about six in the Evening, and took her. She was bound to some Port to the Southward, with Plank and Iron; and so little Notion had the Spaniards of any English Ships being in those Seas, that the Captain had his Wife, and two Daughters, on board. The Commodore ordered them into his own Ship, and during the Time they continued his Prisoners, entertained them constantly at his Table taking care to have the Women treated with such Respect, as well as Decency, as made great Impression, not only on them, but on the Captain, who gave the Commodore a very distinct Account of the Situation of things in that Part of the World, and particularly of the little Town of *Payta*, on which the Commodore had a Design; a Place often taken by our Privateers, and lost of all by Captain *Steebecke*, in the Month of May 1709; but, according to the Captain's Account, was now almost well recovered, and the People in tolerable Circumstances: Therefore it was resolved to prosecute this Design. At the Time this Resolution was taken, they were about seven Leagues West South-west of the Place; and, notwithstanding they made all the Dispatch in their Power, it was not till the 9th when they arrived within ten Leagues of that Port, when the Saddle of *Payta* bore North North-east, in the Latitude of 5° South.

On the 10th, a little after Noon, Preparation was made for attacking the Place, from which they were not above five Leagues and an half. Mr. Brett, second

Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, was intrusted with the Command of sixty-seven Men, embarked in three Boats; one of eighteen Oars, the other two of eight Oars each, having the Spanish Captain with him as a Guide. They kept under-shore during the first Part of the Evening, and, about ten at Night, entered the Port, and landed safely, without being perceived either by the Ships or Fort. They marched directly towards that little Fortrel, which they might have taken by Surprize, and without Loss, if they had proceeded with any Regularity: But that was what their Officer could not prevail upon them to do; for they no sooner saw a few People moving about, than they began to fire upon them; which if they had not done, they might have marched up to the Walls without Disturbance. Their Fire having alarmed the Place, and the Garrison in the Fort, the latter made several Discharges of their Small-arms; by which they had one Man killed, and six or seven wounded. This did not at all discourage the Sailors, who immediately pushed forward, and very soon forced the Gates of the Fort; upon which the Spaniards fled, and abandoned the Place, which, in itself, was not very defensible, the Works being in a very indifferent Condition, and the Cannon they had there, which were not above three or four Pieces, honey-combed to such a degree, that they were not fit for Use.

The People of the Town, who were most of them in their Beds, no sooner heard this Noise of firing, than they got up, and made all the Haste they could to the Mountains, half-dressed and half naked. The Governor was amongst the first who provided for Safety by Flight; and his House, which was the best, and the best furnished, in the Place, was one of the first that was plundered, the Sailors being allowed to act as they thought fit, for some Hours. There were some rich Clothes and Household-stuff found in the Place; but no plenty of Provisions: Hogs, in no great Quantity, and abundance of Poultry, were all they met with, and not more Water than was necessary to wash them down, which was preferred in Jars by the People in the Town for their own Use, as having no fresh Water in the Place. The Report of this Place being grown excessively rich again did not appear to be extremely well founded, since the Silver found here did not amount to above 130,000 Pieces of Eight, exclusive of two Chests of Plate and Jewels. Several Messages were sent to the Governor, requiring him to ransom the Town, which otherwise would be burnt: But he would listen to no such Proposal; and therefore, having kept Possession of it for three Days, and rifled it effectually, it was judged proper to set every thing on fire, except the Churches, and burn it down to the Ground; which was easily done, since the Houses were equally dry and slight; so that, when once lighted, the Town presently blazed from one End or it to the other. The Place is far from being considerable either by its Trade, its Strength, or its Situation. All that can be said of it is, that it affords a convenient, and, for this Part of the World, a safe Port, where Ships may anchor before the Town in about ten Fathom Water. This is very commodious for such Vessels as are bound either to or from Panama, especially as they keep here constantly Magazines pretty well filled with Provisions, which, however, are brought thither from other Places; for the Country about *Payta* affords but little. There were, at the time the Town was taken, five Sails of Ships in the Harbour, and one at Anchor in the Road. The former they destroyed, and the Lieutenant of the *Trial's* Prize was put into the latter, which, however, they did not keep above a Fort-night.

On the 13th, all things of Value being on board, and the Town in Flames, they steered *Payta*, having first given the Spanish Captain a Certificate, that whatever Assistance they received from him was by Compulsion, and having made him a considerable Present for the Pains he had taken.

16. On the 18th, at three in the Afternoon, they saw the *Gloucester*; which joined them about nine, the Ships saluting each other with mutual Huzzas. The *Gloucester* sailed from the Islands of *Juan Fernandez* on October 1. and, on the 21st, being off the Islands of *Lobos*, they discovered a small Vessel, to which their two Lieutenants, and seven Men, in the Barge, gave Chace, and soon came up with, and made Prize of her. She had in her eight Men and a Boy, and appeared to be laden with Cotton; but, upon a

strict Search, they found, under the Bags which were filled with that Commodity, several Jars stuffed with Rags, among which was a Parcel of Gold, which fell very little short of 120,000 Pieces of Eight, a very considerable Purchase, considering the Vessel was no better than a Bark of the Burden of about four Tons. On the 26th they took another Prize, which was larger, laden chiefly with *Piscaya* Wine; but she likewise had some Plate on board: On the 10th of *November* they chased a third Ship, but lost Sight of it the next Day. They likewise affirmed, that, in passing by *Payta*, they saw a great Smoke; but there being some Doubt, whether this might not be a Fiction contrived to give them a Title to Part of the Plunder, the Commodore thought fit to order the Officers Journal to be brought on board, and sealed up, directing them to keep their Journals for the future in other Books.

On the 19th in the Evening they passed *Cape Blanco*, in the Latitude of $4^{\circ} 22'$ South. On the 20th they burned one of their Prizes, and on the 21st another. On the 22d in the Morning they saw the Island *La Plata*, which lies in the Latitude of $1^{\circ} 51'$ South. This Island is at the Distance of four Leagues from *Cape St. Laurence*, on the Main; and, when seen at a Distance, looks like two Islands. It is about two Leagues in Compass, very rocky, sprinkled here and there with Trees, and affording no other Refreshments, save Water and Wild-fowl. On the 22d, it was resolved to discharge the *Spanish* Prisoners, being then about seven Leagues from Land. They were, therefore, to the Number of twenty, put on board a *Spanish* Launch, with an Hoghead of Water, and twelve Species of Beef and Pork. The same Day they passed the Line the second time. On the 27th, the second Lieutenant of the *Gloucester*, and the rest of the Crew which were on board the Prize, returned, after having taken every thing out of her that was of any Value, and afterwards, setting her on fire, left her burning.

17. On the 3d of *December* they passed by the Island of *Quibo*, so often visited by the Privateers, when in these Seas. On the twelfth in the Afternoon they saw a Sail, and gave Chace; but, upon coming up with her, found her the *Gloucester*; at this time they lived pretty much upon Turtle and Bonitos. On the 6th of *January* they saw the Island of *Cocos*, so called by the *Spaniards* from its abounding with Cocoa-trees, bearing North by West about seven or eight Leagues. On the 29th they found themselves off the *Vulcano* of *Colima*; it appears with two sharp Peaks, that are constantly smoking: The Country about it is wonderfully pleasant; and, on the Mountain itself, there are large Herds of Cattle grazing, and fine Plantations of Cocoa. On the 30th they had Sight of the high Land of *Acapulco*, which is very singular, having an high round Hill next the Sea, and four Mountains, rising gradually behind it, higher and higher; and on the highest, there is sometimes Smoke seen.

On the 12th of *February* they saw a prodigious Number of Water-snakes, with black Backs, and yellow Bellies; and the same Day observed a great Fire on shore, bearing North-east by East, in the Latitude of $17^{\circ} 37'$ North. The Commodore ordered his Boat out several times to make Discoveries, but without meeting with any thing remarkable till the 20th, when he returned with three *Spanish* Prisoners, that he had surpris'd in the Night, as they were fishing off the Harbour of *Acapulco*. After examining these Prisoners, it was resolved to cruise for some time in that Neighbourhood, in hopes of meeting with something of Consequence. They were now on the Spot where *Drake*, *Candish*, and, of late Years, *Rogers*, had signalized themselves by taking the famous annual Ship which passes between this Port and the *Manillas*, full-fraught with Expectation, and exceedingly desirous of showing, that, in point of Industry or Courage they fell nothing short of those fortunate Commanders. While they cruised here, their Boats supplied them plentifully with Turtle, of which, and of the best Kinds too, there is always abundance in these Seas. It appears to have been a very wholesome, as well as pleasant Food; for we do not now meet with any Complaints of Sickness, or Scourvy: And hence I am led to believe, that Captain *Rogers* was

under some particular Prejudice against this kind of Diet, since he tells us, that, while his Sailors fed on it here, they were faint and weak, though their Spirits were good.

18. There is no Port in the *Spanish West Indies* more famous than this of *Acapulco*; and, to say the Truth, considered as a Port, there are very few better, for it is inclosed, in a manner, all round by high Mountains, which defend them from Winds; and the Water being everywhere alike deep, the Vessels, when they are once in, are fastened to the Trees on shore. At the very Mouth of the Harbour there lies an Island, about a Mile and an half in Length; and beyond it another smaller Island, called by the Inhabitants *El Grifo*, which is seldom taken notice of by our Writers of Voyages: The Position of the great Island leaves two Channels, by which Ships enter the Port, one, which is the smallest, at North-west; and another, which is much larger, at South-east; but both Channels are deep, and free from Shoals, so that with a proper Wind Ships enter the Harbour with the utmost Safety. They enter with a Sea-wind, and go out with a Land-wind; but as these regularly succeed each other every Day and Night, this creates no Inconvenience.

The Town of *Acapulco* stands in a deep Bay on the North-west Side, opposite to the Mouth of the Port, and at the End of the Town is a Platform, well supplied with Cannon; and, on the East Side, between two Hills, stands the Castle or Fort, which is a Square, regularly furnished with forty-two Pieces of Brass Cannon, carrying Balls of 35 Pounds Weight. The Governor of this Fort is at the same time *Juſticia Mayor*, or first civil Magistrate in the Place, so that his Employment is thought to produce him 20,000 Pieces of Eight a Year; and the *Comandante*, who is in the Nature of a Director of the Customs, has a good Place. After all this, the Town of *Acapulco* is very poor one, consisting of between two and three hundred low thatched Houses, inhabited mostly by *Mexicans* and *Negroes*; for the *Spanish* Merchants seldom, or never, reside there but at the Fair; because from the beginning of *November*; to the End of *May*, this Place is very unwholesome. This is generally attributed to its Situation; for, being intirely surrounded by high Mountains on the East, the Air is pent in; and, lying as it does, at 17° South Latitude, it is extremely hot and close, so as what contributes to the Safety of the Port, renders the Town unhealthy.

Wood and Water are plenty here; but, in other respects the Country is barren, so that it is very dear living at *Acapulco*; or at least it would be thought so, if it was not for the immense Sums that are dealt for during the Duration of the Fair lasts, which seldom exceeds a Fortnight or two Weeks. This Place is likewise very subject to earthquakes, which is the Reason that the Houses are so low, and slightly built, being composed of Mud, Wood, and straw. There are, however, two Monasteries, which make a tolerable Figure; and an Hospital, which is very rich. The Fair is held from the latter End of the Month of *January*, when the *Manila* Ship arrives, to the Middle of *February*. We have already given a large Account of the Nature of that Commerce and Navigation, and therefore we shall confine ourselves at present to what immediately concerns the Place.

It is not easy to conceive how strange an Appearance the Fair makes at *Acapulco*; for, as soon as it begins, the Place, from an unconsiderable Fishing town, becomes a considerable Mart as any in the World, would be easily conceived, when we consider, that all the Commodities of the *East Indies* are landed there to be sold to the *Manila* Ship; the Duties of which seldom amount to less than an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight; and that to purchase these, there are not only brought in the valuable Commodities of *New Spain*, but an immense Sum of ready Money, by the *Lima* Ship, which are in the Value of two Millions. There are, at this time, all sorts of Diversions, and every thing wears the Face of Magnificence or rather of Profusion. The meanest Porter gets at least a Piece of Eight per Day; many of them three or four. Every Hovel is filled with rich Goods, and those who sell them, pay extravagantly for Warehouse room. Every most melancholy Subjects furnish Occasion here for

and for Expence during the Time from *Manilla*, Magnificence, and, and to the Field content extraordinary the rest.

Besides all this, little after the Fair the Harbour, lying where there is very much in Abundance to dispose of their *New Spain*; and, etc Penalties, and Contador are infinitely; yet for Dubloons, proper to this Port, and the Fair is intirely State of a Fishing Harbor, and the rest of more Health, less regarded by the nothing left in the any other Season.

All the *Indian* Caravans of *Peru* at Horses or Mules, from thence, if the in the same Manner *era Cruz*, where in this manner the Trade of both Ships are in the Time in the Neighbourhood, from a *Port* they must sooner toward their Labour *Centurion* and the Coast, and endeavor able, but to v over, and lit

On the 20th, the called by the *Spanish* Ship's Company Quarts of Water a Month they cruise the Men duly, for the Coast to make Preparations; on the 6th of *April* the Coast, for son safety; and on the conducted the Co into a convenient Water. On the 15th with fifteen Men, Men, with four M

On the 10th they and reported, that the Woods, without except a Man after him; who, with Horse, and fled as him, which they be want, being appar and might be to enter into the Cr under his Expedi Avertisement ample Satisfaction and to their Ship- ers to the Trees as certainly a ve vivance; but, ho te the Commis time was to be k Vol. 1

and for Expence; and as rich Merchants frequently dye during the Time of the Fair, or in their Passage from Peru, from Manila, their Funerals are solemnized with great Magnificence, and large Alms are then given to the Hospital, and to the Monasteries, the Curate of the Place being seldom contented with less than 500 Pieces of Eight for his extraordinary Trouble; by which Instance we may guess at the rest.

Besides all this, there is a prodigious Trade carried on a little after the Fair is over, at *Porto del Marques*, a very fine Harbour, lying about two Miles East from *Acapulco*, where there is very good Anchoring, and Wood and Water in Abundance. The *Peru* Ships generally resort hither, to dispose of their contraband Commodities to the Merchants of *New Spain*; and tho' this is prohibited under very severe Penalties, and both the Governor of *Acapulco* and the Consador are instructed to use their utmost Diligence to suppress it; yet such Magic there is in a Purse of Double Dublons, properly applied, that the Officers sent to inspect this Port, are never able to see any Ships in it. When the Fair is intirely over, *Acapulco* sinks into its primitive State of a Fishing-town; the Governor himself, the Consador, and the rest of the King's Officers, retiring to Places of more Health, and greater Conveniency; which is the less regarded by the Government, because there is little or nothing left in the Town, to tempt Foreigners to attack it at any other Season.

All the *Indian* Commodities that are not sold to the Merchants of *Peru* at the Fair, are carried over Land either by Horses or Mules, but chiefly by the latter, to *Mexico*; and from thence, if they are intended for *Europe*, are transported in the same Manner, that is, by Land, from thence to *La Vera Cruz*, where they wait the Arrival of the Galeons. In this manner the *Spaniards* unite, and, as it were, engross the Trade of both *Indies*; and hence, whenever any *English* Ships are in these Seas, they are apt to spend so much Time in the Neighbourhood of a Place so famous for its Riches, from a Presumption that if they have but Patience, they must sooner or later meet with something that will reward their Labour. This at present was the Case of the *Centurion* and the *Gloucester*, who continued plying on the Coast, and endeavouring to obtain the best Intelligence they were able, but to very little Purpose; because the Fair was now over, and little or nothing to be done in those Parts.

On the 20th, they had Sight of an high Point of Land, called by the *Spaniards*, *Chequetan*: On the first of *March* the Ship's Company were put to the Allowance of two Quarts of Water a Man per *Diem*. During the rest of that Month they cruised still upon the same Coast, exercising the Men duly, sending their Boats from time to time on the Coast to make Discoveries, and at the same time making Preparations for their long Stretch to the *East Indies*. On the 6th of *April* the Commodore sent his Boat to search the Coast, for some Harbour where they might anchor in safety; and on the 7th the Boat returned, and on the 8th conducted the Commodore, the *Gloucester*, and the *Trial*, into a convenient Bay, where they moored in eleven Fathom Water. On the 9th the *Gloucester's* Second Lieutenant, with fifteen Men, and the Second Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, with four Men, were sent to make Discoveries.

On the 10th the Lieutenant of the *Centurion* returned, and reported, that they had marched seven Leagues thro' the Woods, without meeting with any thing worth Notice, except a Man asleep on the Ground, with an Horse and Gun by him; who, awaking at their Approach, leaped upon his Horse, and fled as fast as he was able, leaving his Gun behind him, which they brought on board with them. The Lieutenant, being apprehensive that the People under his Command might be surpris'd, if they attempted to penetrate farther into the Country, thought proper to return; but to render his Expedition as useful as possible, he wrote a Kind of Advertisement in *Spanish*, promising the Inhabitants ample Satisfaction for any Provisions they should bring or send to their Ships; and having nailed several of these Papers to the Trees, he returned back to the Coast. This was certainly a very well judged, and a very prudent Consequence; but, however, it produced no Effect; and therefore the Commodore very wisely judged, that no more Time was to be lost in preparing for their Departure, and

therefore gave Orders for burning the *Trial's* Prize, and the other two Prizes, that he might be able to reinforce the two Ships with the Men that were on board them; which was the more necessary, since the Crew of both Ships, alter this was done, fell short of the full Complement of a Fourth Rate, so much were they reduced by Sickness and Fatigue; and on the 29th, having taken in Water, and other Refreshments, they unmoored, and prepared to sail.

On the 30th they sailed for *Acapulco*, in order to cruise near that Port for their Boat, which was still absent, and had been so above a Month; and the *Gloucester* was ordered to keep in close to Land, and make false Fires; but these Precautions proved vain, though continued for three Days together. The Commodore therefore thought proper, on the third of *May*, to send a Flag of Truce to the Governor of *Acapulco*, with a Proposal of releasing three for one, in case the Boat and Crew were fallen into his Hands: But the Governor returned Answer, that he had not seen either Boat or Men. The next Day the Commodore sent ashore nine Prisoners to *Porto Marques*, that in case his Men fell into the *Spaniards* Hands, they might be the better treated, for the sake of those who were thus dismissed. On the 5th, about two in the Afternoon, the *Gloucester*, being nearest the Land, saw a Boat coming off, which they judged at first to be a Boat from the Governor of *Acapulco*; but as it drew nearer, they discovered it to be the Boat belonging to the *Centurion*. When the poor People that were in it came to the Side of their own Ship, they were scarce known by any of the Crew, being mere Skeletons, and so weak that they could not get up the Ship side, so that they were forced to hoist them in. During the Time they were separated from the Ship, they were driven to the last Extremity for want of Water, being glad to drink Turtle's Blood to quench their Thirst; which they had done for twelve Days. They never expected to see the Ship again, and had given themselves over for lost, knowing they must either be starved to Death in their Boat, or become Prisoners and Slaves under cruel Masters, which to them was as dreadful as Death; but this Day proving fine and clear, they happily saw the Ship, and put off. At eight the next Morning they sent ashore a *Spanish* Launch with forty Prisoners, and at the same time the *Gloucester* sent another with eighteen; each having a sufficient Quantity of Provisions and Water to serve them till their Arrival at *Acapulco*, which was now distant about thirty Leagues. On the 7th they sprung their Fore-mast: The Remainder of the Month there happened nothing extraordinary, the Weather being moderate, and the Wind fair: On the 15th the *Gloucester* fired a Gun, as a Signal of Distress, having sprung her Main-mast; upon which the *Centurion* sent her Boat and a Carpenter on board; the next Day they sent two Carpenters more, who on the 23d cut the Main-mast within twenty-six Feet of the Deck. On the 26th the *Gloucester* reared her Main-top-mast for a Main-mast, and on the 27th the *Trial's* Fore-top-mast for a Main-top-mast.

On the 29th they fixed the *Trial's* Main-top-mast for a Jury-mast, and rigged it. July the 12th they were distant from *Acapulco* 240 Leagues: On the 29th, about ten in the Morning, the *Gloucester* fired a Gun as a Signal of Distress, having her Fore-top-mast rolled to the Board, and the Cap split in two, being rotten: The Fore-top-mast sprung in three Places by the Fall, and broke the Fore-yard in the Slings, which was likewise decayed. The Foretop-gallant-mast sprung, and the Fore-fail, Fore-top-fail, and the Top-gallant-fail, split all to Pieces; half the Top broke, and also the Cross-trees: Whereupon they sent to their Assistance a Lieutenant, with some Carpenters and Men, who slung both the Yard-arms of the Fore-yard, and the Remainder of the Fore-top-mast, that was not fit for Use, overboard, and assisted in fixing and rigging another Fore-yard. The next Day the *Centurion* was forced to take the *Gloucester* in Tow, and continued towing her, till on the tenth of *August* she slipped the Cable by which they towed her, together with her Fore-top-mast and Jib. The next Day in the Evening her Top-mast and Jury-mast were carried away.

On the 12th, her Mast came again by the Board, and her Mizzen was split, and blown from the Yard: Part of it took the Compass Chest, in which were two Azimuth Compasses,

Compasses, and carried it overboard; and the same time they were obliged to employ all Hands in pumping the Ship: The 13th the Weather proved very bad, and about eight in the Evening the *Gloucester* bare down upon the Commodore, firing two Guns, and hoisting a Signal of Distress: They desired the Commodore would send his Boat on board, with a sufficient Number of Hands to assist them in pumping, there being now seventeen Feet Water in the Hold; but the Commodore could not comply with their Request, because it was as much as his Crew could do, to keep their own Ship free. The next Day he sent his Cutter, with a Carpenter, to assist the *Gloucester*, and, in the Evening, sent his Boat to fetch away her Sick.

10. On Sunday, August 15. about eight in the Morning, Captain Mitchell sent his Lieutenant on board, with the following Paper, addressed to the Commodore, and signed by himself, and all the Officers on board of his Ship: "We the Captain and Officers of his Majesty's Ship the *Gloucester*, having held a Consultation on August 15. 1742, concerning the Condition of the said Ship, we think it impossible to save her from sinking, and his Majesty's Subjects belonging thereto from perishing, for the following Reasons: She having sprung a Leak, and gaining on us, tho' we have been constantly pumping her; her Stern-post likewise being very loose, and working at every Reel of the Ship; she having also two Beams broken a-midship; all which the Carpenters report to be irreparable here; and she having no Masts left, except the Fore-mast, Mizzen, and Mizzen-top-mast, or any spare Masts left fit to put up; her Knees and Clamps are all worked quite loose, so that her Quarter-deck is ready to drop down; and she having but seventy Men, eighteen Boys, and two Prisoners, left, including Officers, out of which Number only sixteen Men and eleven Boys are able to keep the Deck, and they are very infirm; all the rest, being fifty-six, and seven Boys, (including Carpenters) are incapable of Duty, being greatly afflicted, and very lame, with the Scurvy; For these twenty-four Hours, Officers, Men, and Boys, without Distinction, having worked at the Pumps incessantly, and are so fatigued, that they can stand no longer; and they having still seven Feet Water in the Hold, the salt Water being yet over the Casks, so that they cannot get at the fresh Water to drink: We therefore beg you would consider our melancholy Situation, and appoint us such speedy Relief, as our present unhappy Circumstances require."

The Commodore took all imaginable Care to be perfectly informed of the Facts mentioned in this Representation by his own Carpenters; and, on the 16th, employed all the Boats in saving what Stores could be got out of the *Gloucester*, which took up the best Part of the Day. About six in the Afternoon, Captain Mitchell, having received the Commodore's Order for that Purpose, sent all his People on board the *Centurion*, remaining himself in the *Gloucester*, with a Boat's Crew only, preparing every thing necessary for destroying her; and, at eight, pursuant to the Commodore's Direction, he set her on fire, and, about six the next Morning, she blew up. They were then in the Latitude of $14^{\circ} 15'$ North, *Acapulco* being now distant 2168 Leagues.

21. On the 17th, they discovered in the *Centurion* a Leak in the Fore-hold, on each Side of the Stem. They were, at this Time, in very great Distress, their Rigging much worn, their Ship leaky, their Water so exhausted, as to be reduced to half a Pint a Day, and their Crew so sickly, that they had thrown overboard ten Men in two Days; but, in this Distress, the Commodore supported their Spirits, by continually encouraging them by his Practice, as well as Discourses, taking a full Share of their Hardships, and giving at this time, a Pipe of *Madeira* Wine out of his own Stores, that their Water might go the further. The Weather continued tolerable fair for the next ten Days; but the Crew were as sickly as ever.

On the 21st died Mr. Edmund Wellbank, Surgeon of the *Gloucester*; and ten Men more in four Days. On the 23d, they lost five Men more; and, about eight in the Evening of the same Day, saw, to their great Joy, two Islands; one bearing West half South, the other South-west by West, distant about ten Leagues. On the 24th,

nine of their People, and an *Indian*, died; and the south of the Islands bore then West by North, distant about a League. The Commodore dispatched a Lieutenant in the Cutter, to discover the Shore. He returned in the Evening, and brought sixty *Coconut*-nuts; but could not find any Anchoring place, or fresh Water. There died on the 25th six Men. The next Day in the Afternoon, they saw three Islands, one bearing North-east by North, another due East, the last East by South, at the Distance of about five Leagues. On the 27th at Noon, they saw another Island South-east, distant about nine Leagues. In these two Days, they lost thirteen of their Crew.

22. On the 28th they made the Island of *Tinian*, which is one of the *Ladrones*, or, as the *Spaniards* call them, *Marian* Islands, which lies in the Latitude of $13^{\circ} 58'$ North, and $223^{\circ} 25'$ Longitude West from *London*. At three in the Afternoon, the Commodore sent his third Lieutenant on shore in the Cutter. This Island is uninhabited, and for that Reason the Commodore made Choice of it to anchor at, and refresh his People; but it happened, at the Time of their Arrival, the Governor of *Guam* had sent a Bark thither with twenty-four Men, to kill Cattle, and to bring off Fruits, for the Use of his Garrison. These People, seeing a Ship, immediately sent an *Indian* Proc, or, as the *Spaniards* write it, *Parao*, a kind of Vessel we have often mentioned before, on a Supposition, that it must needs be the *Acapulco* Ship. This was about six the next Morning, and, as soon as they discovered their Mistake, they did their utmost Endeavour to return to the Island: But, being calm, the Commodore sent the Pinnace to tow her on board; which she did, and afterwards made herself Master of the Bark; which proved an acceptable Prize, being laden with Cattle, Hogs, Fowls, *Cocoa*-nuts, Oranges, and Limes.

The first thing that was done, after the Ship was anchored in twenty-two Fathom Water, was to send ashore Teak or other Materials for making them, for the Use of the Sick, who were next carried on shore, wrapped up in their Hammocks, to the Number of 224, of whom eight died within a few Hours after they were landed. On the 31st, they moored the Ship with a Cable each Way, in *San Road*; which afforded them Leisure to look about them, and to provide all Things necessary for their Refreshment. It will be necessary here to give some Account of these *Ladron* Islands; the rather, because, though we find them often mentioned in the foregoing Voyages, as indeed they must be in all Voyages round the World, which have been hitherto performed without visiting them, yet are they so situated on the Edge, as it were, of *Asia*, that hitherto neither general nor particular Geographers have given us any accurate or distinct Account of them; which, to say the Truth, is no easy Matter to do, since it requires a great Application to Maps and Charts, and to the Relations published by all who have sailed through these Seas for four Centuries past.

These Islands were first discovered by the famous *Ferdinand Magellan*, as we have already related in our first Voyage; and he, from the thievish Behaviour of the Inhabitants, bestowed on them the Name of *Islas de los Ladrones*, i. e. The Islands of Thieves. He likewise called them *Islas de las Velas*, or, The Islands of Sails, according to their Procs, which were a kind of Vessels he had never seen among other *Indians*, and their manner of loading surprised him. When the *Spaniards* came afterwards to settle the Island of *Guam*, for the Convenience of their Navigation between *America* and the *Philippines*, they gave a new Name to those Islands, viz. *Islas de Maria Anna*, in Honour of *Mary-Anne* of *Austria*, then Queen of *Spain*, from whence our modern Writers have derived the corrupt Name of the *Marian* Islands. These Islands make a Part of those that are styled the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*, because they were discovered on the Feast of *St. Lazarus*. They are, strictly speaking, situated between the $10^{\circ} 00'$ North Latitude, and the Tropic of *Cancer*; and, according to the best Maps, are laid down thus: 1. *Bato*, in the Latitude of $10^{\circ} 00'$ North; 2. *Batio*, $10^{\circ} 40'$; 3. *Lago*, $11^{\circ} 15'$; between this Island, and that of *Guam*, the Shoals of *St. Rose*, which Captain *Dampier* passed, when he sailed with Captain *Swan* in the Latitude of 10°

Book I.

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Account of these Islands
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yet are they so situated
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Behaviour of the Inha-
ame of *Isas de Maria*.
es. He likewise call'd
Islands of Santa, among
of Vessels he had seen
ir manner of sailing had
ards c. we afterwards in
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Isas de Maria Santa, as
2, then Queen of Spain
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se Islands make a Part of
of *St. Lazarus*, broad
e of *St. Lazarus*. They
between the 10° 00' of
of *Cancer*; and, accord-
wn thus: 1. *Bato*, in the
Batio, 10 40' 30"
el, and that of *Camin*,
Captain *Dampier* sail'd
in the Latitude of 12°

Things remarkable in the Mary-Anne Islands.

Vol. I. p. 31.



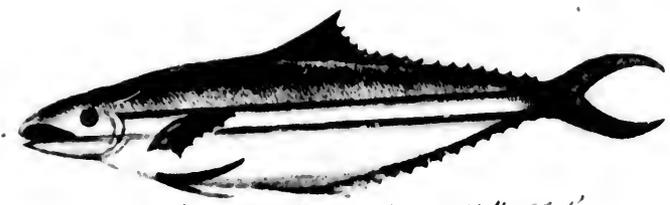
The RIMA Tree.



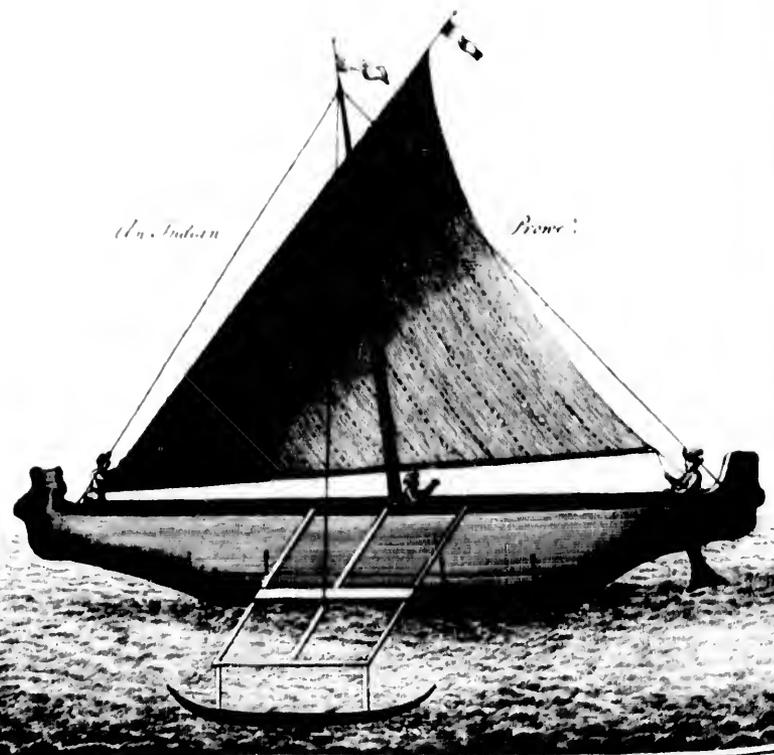
The DUCDU Tree.



The Indian Fish-boat.



A Fish called by English, Peemen a Yellow Tail.



An Indian

Boat.

Chap. I.
 10: 4 Guam, C
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 nor: 5. Serpana
 ried by the Spani
 14: 53: This
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13° 4' *Guam, Guana, or Iguana*, 13° 30'; this is the largest of these Islands, and the Seat of the Spanish Government; 5. *Serpans, or Rotta*, 14° 5'; which is also called by the Spaniards; 6. *Aguiuan*, 14° 40'; 7. *Tinian*, 14° 59'. This I take to be the last of the *Mary-Anne Islands*; for, if I apprehend the Thing right, the general Name of all these Islands is the *Ladrones*, and they are distinguished into the Southern, or *Mary-Anne Islands*, of which we have spoken; and the Northern Islands, or *Islands of Gang*, of which we are now to speak: 1. *Zei-an, or Sipan*, 15° 20'; 2. *Anatban*, 16° 10'; 3. *Sarigant*, 16° 30'; 4. *Guagan*, 17°; 5. *Amelagan*, 17° 30'; 6. *Pagan*, 18° 40'; 7. *Aguiuan*, 19°; 8. *Sangson*, 20°; 9. *Maug*, 21°; 10. *Uras*, 21°; 11. *Tarellon*, 22°. From this to Japan there is a continued Chain of Islands, lying almost all of them in the same Longitude, viz. of 160°; supposing the first Meridian to be placed in the Island of *Fero*.

The Soil of all these Islands is pretty much alike; viz. a red dry Mould, very fruitful, especially if it be carefully cultivated; in which Case, perhaps, there would not be finer Countries on the Globe: As to the Climate, it is very healthy, as well as very pleasant, in the dry Season, which lasts from *October to June*; but in the wet Season the Air is thick and hazy, which inclines the People to Fevers; yet the Rains there are not heavy, or of long Continuance; and as the East Winds generally reign here, they cool the Air prodigiously, and render the Country very pleasant. The *Cocoas* in the *Ladrene Islands* are esteemed the best in the known World, and they grow in all the Islands in the utmost Plenty: *Oranges* they have in like Abundance, exceedingly wholesome, and of a very high Flavour; *Limes* are also the natural Product of these Islands. They are, properly speaking, a sort of *Crab-Lemon*, and grow upon a kind of thorny Shrub, of which, in some of our Plantations, they make very convenient Hedges. The Fruit is like a *Leon*, but smaller; has a thinner Rind; and the Juice is rather of a sharper Taste. The eating freely of this Fruit is one of the quickest, and at the same time one of the pleasantest, Remedies for the *Scurvy*. There are two Trees common in all these Islands, and said to be peculiar to them, and to some of the *Philippines*; these are the *Rima* and the *Ducdu*.

The *Rima*, or *Bread Fruit*, grows upon a Tree somewhat larger than our *Apple-tree* is, which bears a broad dark coloured Leaf, with five Indentures on each Side: The Fruit hangs on the Boughs like *Apples*, and is of the Size of a *Penny loaf*, with a thick tough Rind, which, when full ripe, turns yellow. The Natives gather it before it is quite ripe, and bake it till the Crust is pretty black; then they rasp it, and there remains a pretty Loaf, with a tender yellow Crust, and the Crumb of it soft and sweet as a new-bak'd Roll, without any Seeds or Stones. This Fruit the Inhabitants enjoy for about seven Months, during which they never eat any other Kind of Bread; but they are obliged to bake it every Day; for when it grows a little stale, it becomes harsh and husky, somewhat like the *Potatoe-bread* made in the *West of England*. There is, however, a Remedy for this, which is cutting the Loaf into Slices when it is new, and drying it in the Sun, by which it is changed into the pleasantest Rusk that can be eaten. The *Ducdu* resembles the *Rima* very much, both in its Size and Leaves; only these latter are longer, and not so much indented: The Fruit is pretty near the Size of the *Bread Fruit*, but shaped like a *Melon*; it contains in its Pulp thirteen or fifteen Kernels, or Seeds, of the Size of a small Chestnut, which, when roasted, are full as pleasant.

The Natives of these Islands are Copper-coloured like the *Indians*; have long black Hair, small Eyes, high Noses, Lips pretty thick, and Teeth indifferently white: They are a large, well limbd, active, and robust People. To all Appearance, they are civil, courteous, and submissive; but are said to be of a cunning, treacherous, and cruel disposition: They are extremely dextrous in the Management of their Vessels, which they stile *Paraets*, and the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, *Prows* or *Proes*, and are esteemed the best sailing Vessels in the World. We have described them before; but as I am told the following is a very exact and accurate Account of these singular Vessels, I believe it will not be disagreeable to the Reader; and the

rather, because from these Vessels the Islands were called by *Magellan, De las Velas, i. e.* of Sails, which are not used by the *West-Indians* in their Canoes.

The *Paraet* or *Proe* is built sharp at both Ends, the Bottom of one Piece, like a little Canoe very neatly scooped, and left of a good Substance. This Bottom serves for a Keel; it is from twenty-five to thirty Feet long, the under Part round, yet inclining to a Wedge, and smooth, and the upper Part almost flat, having an Hollow about a Foot broad: From hence both Sides of the Boat are turned up round, very neatly; one Side of the Vessel is quite flat, the other as other Vessels are, with a pretty full Belly. In the Middle it is about four or five Feet broad, aloft, or more, according to the Length of the Boat; the Mast stands exactly in the Middle, with a large Yard like a *Mizen-yard*; one End of it reaches to the End or Head of the Boat, where it is placed in a Notch, made there to keep it fast; the other End hangs over the Stern. To this Yard the Sail is fastened. At the Foot of the Sail there is another small Yard, to keep the Sail out square, and to roll it up when it blows hard; serving instead of a Reef, to take up the Sail to what degree they please, according to the Strength of the Wind. On the Belly-side of the Boat, parallel thereto, and at seven Feet Distance, lies a Log shaped like another small Boat, of a light Wood, almost as long as the great Boat, but not above a Foot and an half wide at the upper Part, and very sharp at each End. There are two *Bamboes*, of about eight or ten Feet long, and as big as a Man's Leg, placed over the great Boat's Side, one near each End of it, and reaching about six or seven Feet from the Side of the Boat, by the Help of which the little Boat is made firm to the other: These are generally called by the *Dutch*, and by the *English* from them, *Out-layers*: The Use of them is to keep the great Boat upright; because the Wind here is, in a manner, constantly East, and, if it were at West, it would be the same Thing; for the Range of these Islands where their Business lies to and from, being mostly North and South, they turn the flat Side of the Boat against the Wind upon which they sail; and the Belly consequently, with its little Boat, is upon the Lee; and the Vessel having an Head at each End, so as to sail with either of them foremost, they need not tack about, as all other Vessels do, but each End of the Boat serves for Head or Stern, as they please. When they ply to Windward, and have a mind to go about, he that steers, bears away a little from the Wind, by which the Stern comes to the Wind, and now becomes the Head, only by shifting the End of the Yard. This Vessel they steer with a broad Paddle instead of a Rudder, with great Dexterity.

Some Travellers have reported incredible Things, as to the Sailing of these *Proes*: Captain *Edward Cooke* speaks of twenty or thirty Leagues an Hour; but if what another Writer reports may be depended upon, viz. that one of these Vessels being dispatched Exprels from *Guam*, to *Manilla*, which is 400 good Leagues, performed the Voyage in four Days, it will be sufficient to raise our Admiration, and justify the Character given to these Vessels, for swift Sailing upon a Wind. In many other Places of the *East-Indies* they make use of *Proes* with Bellies or Boats on both Sides; but the *Proe* we have described, is peculiar to the *Ladrones*. Before the *Spaniards* made any Settlement on these Islands, the People lived, in their Way, very happily; every Man having his *Proe*, which tho' furnished with Mast, Sail, Yard, Tackle, Halliards, and Helm; he steered with one Hand, and with the other hoisted, lowered, or trimmed his Sail, having one of the Tackles fastened to each Foot, so as to veer out, and hale to, as Occasion required.

Fishing was, in a manner, their sole Occupation; and in that too they are equally skilful and dextrous: Their Hooks are made of a large Bone, with a small one fixed in it; and with these they take *Dolphins*, and other Fish, upon the Banks or Shoals. One Fish there is peculiar to this Coast, which the Sailors call a *Yellow tail*, about twelve Inches long, and three in breadth, having a small long Head, with a large Mouth and Eye, and a Fin on his Back, which extends quite to his Tail. His Body is of a dark Yellow, his Belly of a fine Silver, his Sides streaked from Head to Tail with two Stripes of Blue, and three of Yellow; his Fins and Tail of a bright Yellow.

So

So much for these Islands. Let us now return to the Ship's Company of the *Centurion*, on shore at *Tinian*. The sick People, having fresh Meat in plenty, Abundance of Greens, and as many Oranges as they pleased, recovered surprisingly. In the mean time, the Carpenter was employed in stopping the Leak, which, notwithstanding all his Care, was very indifferently done. That no Time might be lost, Provisions and Water were every Day carried on board, and the Ship washed and scrubbed; and every thing being in good Order by the 19th of September, they began to lath the Guns, and to prepare for their Departure, which was retarded by an extraordinary Accident, that happened on the 22d.

They had all that Day had Gales, and a great deal of Rain: About seven in the Evening they parted with the small Bower, and brought up and rid by their best Bower; when a great Sea, running at their Stern, saved the Long-boat against the Rails of the Gallery, so that she was over-set, with a Man in her, who with much Difficulty was saved, but the Boat was lost. At eleven they parted with their best Bower, and were forced to let go their Sheet-anchor, veering almost two Cables Length. Upon this they heaved the Lead, and, finding they were out of Soundings, fired four Guns, and made a Signal of Distress, but to no Purpose; for those on shore could afford them no Assistance; so that they were soon driven out to Sea. There were at this Time 60 Hands on board, and the Commodore and 110 Men left upon the Island. It is not easy to conceive how much this must have alarmed those who were South-west, with little Hopes of getting off, in a small uninhabited Island, seated, as it were, in the Extremity of the World, where they were, in a manner, surrounded by Enemies, and had nothing to trust to, but their own Efforts to escape.

This is the Scene which we mentioned, as a Parallel to the Shipwreck of the *Wager*; and, in one respect, the Distress of the *Centurion's* People was the greater of the two; for they had not the Benefit of a Wreck, from whence Sea Stores and Materials might be fetched at Will; all was gone with the Ship, and in her their ablest Hands. Such was the Matter of Fact; let us now see what were the Consequences, and how the Commodore and his People behaved in so uncomfortable a Condition.

23. As soon as the Ship was out of Sight, and every body seemed to be under Apprehensions from the Foulness of the Weather, that the Crew would not be able to bring her back into the Road, an universal Astonishment appeared in every Countenance. The Commodore however encouraged them to pursue their Labours, notwithstanding the Ship's being driven off the Island, assuring them, that if the Ship did not return, they would not be wholly useless; which gave the People great Spirits, foreseeing that the Commodore had already formed some Project for getting off the Island. In a Day or two after, the Commodore explained himself more fully, telling the People, it would be very practicable to save the Bark, which they had taken when they first came to the Island, and lengthen it, to such a Degree, as might render it a fit Vessel to carry them to some of the *Philippines*, and from thence to *Ceina*. When, by this Discourse, he had banished Despair, he entered into a regular Deduction of whatever would be requisite for such a Voyage; and, having assigned a certain Number of Men to every kind of Work, he not only took upon himself the Trouble of surveying them, but wrought, with his own Hands, amongst those he overlooked; so that his Example was at least equal to the Addition of a considerable Number of Hands; for, seeing the Commodore always busy, there was no Man had a Desire to be idle. This Industry of theirs had all the good Effects that could be wished for, since, at the same time it kept them to their necessary Business, it diverted their Thoughts, and preserved their Spirits, in a regular Motion; and this too was greatly forwarded by the personal Behaviour of the Commodore, who was always serene, always easy, gave his Orders cheerfully, pursued his Plans steadily, so as to be equally in a Condition of supplying the Ship with what was wanting to complete her Stores, in case she returned, or to finish, in a few Days, the Lengthening of the Barge, whenever they set about it, having a

considerable Quantity of Wood cut down and sawed for that Purpose.

But it is now time to follow the Ship, and to give some Account of the Hardships and Difficulties the People underwent who were on board her. On the 23d the Wind continued to blow very hard, so that one of their fore Shrouds broke, as did one of the Straps of their Bubbly, which they spliced as well as they could, and the next Day got up a Pair of Preventer-shrouds for the Foremast. On the 25th they had fresh Gales, and a rolling Sea. In swaying up the Main-yard, one of the Men being upon it to secure the Jack-jeer, some of the Tackle broke; upon which, down it came, and in the Fall, the poor Man's Arm was caught in a Block, and broke all to pieces, by which Accident, and the Fever that followed it, he died in a few Days. The same Day they swayed up the Fore-yard. All this time the Sheet-anchor was out, the People on board not having Strength to get her up; and, at the same time, the Ship made a great deal of Water; but, on the 26th, the Weather being moderate, they heaved the Sheet-anchor, and secured it. On the 27th they got up the Rigging, and bent another Top-sail. On the 28th the Ship was so full of Water, that they were obliged to pump every two Hours. It was the 6th of October, in the Afternoon, before they could discern the Island of *Tinian* from the Mast-head, which then bore South South-east, distant six Leagues. On the 10th in the Morning, they had a clear View of three of the *Ladron* Islands, *Zeapan*, which bore North-east, distant six Leagues; *Aguiguan*, South-east, distant four Leagues; and *Tinian*, South South-east, distant three Leagues. On the 11th in the Afternoon, they let go their Sheet-anchor, which was the only one they had left, in twenty-seven Fathom Water; and the next Morning sent their Boat ashore, with three empty Casks, for Water, exceedingly rejoiced at the Thoughts of seeing once again their Companions, and their Commander.

24. On the 12th in the Morning, Lieutenant *Gordón*, of the Marines, being by Accident on an Hill, saw the Ship in the Road, and carried the first News of it to the Commodore, who received it with the utmost Satisfaction, and immediately gave his Orders for sending Water on board, and for dispatching, with the utmost Diligence, whatever was necessary for their speedy Departure from the Island. They enjoyed, while they staid here, all the Conveniences they could well wish for. Cattle they had in abundance, which cost them no more than shooting them, and bringing them down to their Tents. They had Hogs also in great Plenty, and most excellent in their kind, as feeding upon solid and nourishing Fruits. Fowl also they had as much as they could wish, besides Fish, but not in so great Plenty. One Inconvenience they were expell'd almost as soon as they were settled on the Island, and that was the Plague of Flies, which was really greater than could well be imagined. The Reader will remember, that *Saboten* and *Le Maire* met with the same Inconvenience in an Island in the South Seas, which they from thence called *Fly Island*: And Captain *Dampier* reports the Coast of *New Guinea*, which is the nearest Continent to this Island, as pestered with Flies, to such a Degree, that the Inhabitants are almost blinded by them. But, as I do not find any Complaint of this Nature in the Voyages of such as have touched at the Island of *Guam*, I am inclin'd to believe, that only such of the Islands as are unenclosed are expell'd to this Inconvenience. Perhaps the Opening of the Country, by cutting down the Woods, and the smothering of many Fires, might contribute to the Destruction of these Vermin. Their Habitations were none of the best, but yet, through the Care of the Commodore, their Houses were as well disposed, and as effectually secured, from the Weather, as it was possible; so that, in the space of less than two Months, the Crew that landed there in so weak and so distressed a Condition, recovered their Health and Spirits, and moved very briskly about their Business.

They observed, during their Stay, that the Tide ran strong, between this Island and *Aguiguan*, at South South-east, and North North-west, and runs longer and stronger to the Southward, than to the Northward, making a great Sea when it lets against the Wind, and rises about eight

Feet perpendicular Moon it rises high Change; contrarily Tides it rises more of the Winds blowing The Flowing at These Variations, much less distress because the same are observed when even upon our own Western Islands, they had the Mistake of twelve Bells, which, they correct next Day, when Woods to get On Fruits, and other two old Indians or away from them and removed every board the Ship.

25. On the 22d they weighed from *Madaga*. The West Month, but on the 24 they had South-east Point of latitude of 21° 2' in that Island, be Leagues. On the Main-top-sail the Coast of *China* and Sight of *Pedra* Isles; it is so called, when nearest the Cape, they appear, when nearest the Cape, they appear, coming still being slender, high a Mile from the Point, and is about a full Point, gradually falls appearing very trees. On the South Water, and carry them to *Madaga* Dollars. They ran a-ground the Afternoon before lately in five Days, in the best Sheet-anchor to the Northward; this ship and hooped their own Anchor his being done, to seven Guns, and 26. The Commodore, and the Distress wanted in that Point in Periton, the Ship, and fuel the *English* Factor 16th, and was fifteen Guns, why hence the Commodore where at first he because the vulgar Man of War in as a Pirate; and who were with his odious Language, in bad Page: This, however, profecuted the rigour. The *D. Champar*, or *Cd* Vol. I.

Feet perpendicular along shore: at the Quarter of the Moon it rises higher by two Feet than at the Full and Change; contrary to the common Phenomenon of the Tides: it rises more or less also, according to the Strength of the Winds blowing into the Bay, by two or three Feet. The Flowing at Full and Change is about eight Hours. These Variations, with respect to Tides, do not at all affect, much less destroy, the modern Doctrine on that Head; because the same Variations, or others analogous to them, are observed where-ever there is a Cluster of Islands, and even upon our own Coast, particularly at the *Orkneys*, the *Western Islands*, and those of *Scilly*. On the eighteenth they had the Misfortune to lose a Raft of Casks, consisting of twelve Bots and three Punchons; notwithstanding which, they completed the Watering of their Ship the next Day, when a Man from every Meis was sent into the Woods to get Oranges, and whatever else they wanted of Fruits, and other Refreshments. On the 21st they sent two old *Indians* on shore: Two other *Indians* having swam away from them the Day before, set the Bark on Fire, and removed every thing from their little Settlement on board the Ship.

25. On the 22d of *October*, about five in the Afternoon, they weighed from the Island of *Tinian*, and made sail for *Macao*. The Weather continued fair during the rest of the Month, but *November* entered with Storms; so that on the 2d they had very foul Weather, being then off the South-east Point of the Island *Formosa*, which lies in the Latitude of $11^{\circ} 23'$ North. The next Day they saw Fires on that Island, bearing North-east, distant about fifteen Leagues. On the 4th they had an hard Gale, which broke the Main-top-sail Stay. The next Day they had Sight of the Coast of *China*. On the 6th in the Morning, they had Sight of *Pedra Blanca*, bearing West, half South, ten Miles; it is so called from the white Rocks lying off it: These appear, when off at Sea, just against the Cape; but, being, when nearer Shore, either Eastward or Westward of the Cape, they appear, at first View, like Ships under Sail; but, coming still nearer, they are like two high Towers, being slender, high, and steep, on all Sides, and are about half a Mile from the Cape. The Cape is in Latitude $21^{\circ} 06'$, and is about the Height of *Beachy head* in *England*. It is a full Point, with steep Rocks towards the Sea; then it gradually falls away on each Side, with a gentle Descent, appearing very pleasant, and covered with fair lotty Trees. On the 8th they came to an Anchor in eighteen Fathom Water, and took two *Chinese* Pilots on board, to carry them to *Macao*, for which they were to receive thirty Dollars. On the 11th, about nine in the Morning, they ran a-ground near that Island, and it was the 13th in the Afternoon before they got the Ship off, and anchored at last in five Fathom Water. They moored the next Day, in the best manner they were able, letting go their Sheet-anchor to the South, and their best Bower to the Northward; this was composed of two *Spanish* Anchors joined and hooped together with two Guns, having lost their own Anchor, when blown out of *Tinian* Road; and this being done, they saluted the Governor of *Macao* with eleven Guns, and he returned the like Number.

26. The Commodore, considering the Condition of his Ship, and the Difficulty he was under of procuring what he wanted in that Port, found it absolutely necessary to go to *Canton* in Person, in order to obtain Leave for heaving down the Ship, and such Assistance as could be afforded him by the *English* Factory. He went ashore accordingly on the 16th, and was saluted at his Landing by the Fort with eleven Guns, which the *Centurion* returned; and from thence the Commodore continued his Route to *Canton*, where at first he met with a very indifferent Reception, because the vulgar *Chinese*, having never seen an *European* Man of War in their Seas, took it for granted, that he was a Pirate; and therefore treated him, and the People who were with him, as they passed the Streets, with opprobrious Language, calling them Thieves, Robbers, and Pirates, in bad *Portuguese*, as well as in their own Language: This, however, the Commodore did not regard, but prosecuted the Business he came about with the utmost Vigour. The Day after the Commodore's Departure, a *Chinese*, or *Chinese* Guard boat, anchored close by the

Centurion, to observe her Motions. On the first of *December* arrived a Boatwain, with a Long-boat and Anchor from the Commodore, of which they were in great Want, their own having been staved, as has been already mentioned, in the Road of *Tinian*. They sent, by the Commodore's Orders, a Mate, and six Men, to attend him at *Canton*, and a Supply of 1000 Dollars, for purchasing Sea-stores.

By this Time the Commodore had made an Agreement with the *English* Factory for fresh Provisions, which were regularly supplied during the Time the *Centurion* lay in the Harbour of *Macao*; and the People on board were constantly employed in repairing and refitting the Ship, as fast as their present Circumstances would allow. On the 5th of *December* the following Account was taken of the Treasure brought on board from the *Gloucester*, when, at the Request of her own Officers, she was destroyed; viz. N^o 1. A Box of Gold: 2. A Box with 4000 Dollars: 3. A Box with 3000 Dollars: 4. A Box of 3000 Dollars, a Box of Jewels, and a Bag of Bits: 5. A Box with 1255 Dollars, and 49 Pounds of loose Plate: 6. Seventeen Pounds of loose Plate, *Averdupois* Weight. On the 8th they received in a Boat belonging to the *Defence*, an *English* Ship then in those Parts, a Cable, and other Necessaries, from *Canton*; and the same Day two Ships, one a *Dutch*, and the other a *Swedish East-Indiaman*, passed by them, Homeward-bound. They received, on the 9th, Orders from the Commodore to get ready for Sailing, and on the 11th they began to get their Water on board, and to fit their Ship: On the 12th they found their Main-mast sprung in two Places, two Feet above the Partition on the Lower-Deck: On the 13th three *Dutchmen* came on board, and entered themselves; and on the 15th the Commodore returned from *Canton*, bringing with him a considerable Quantity of Stores, necessary to put the Ship in a sailing Posture.

Immediately after his Return, the necessary Orders were given for dispatching the Repairs; in Obedience to which, the Carpenters were employed in finishing their Masts, the Sail-makers in repairing their Sails, the Butchers in salting Pork, and the rest of the Ship's Company in watering and getting ready for Sea. A Spectacle that surpris'd the *Chinese*, and increased the natural Jealousy they have of all Foreigners.

27. In order to be thoroughly satisfied, and agreeable to the *Chinese* Custom, of knowing to the utmost Certainty the Burden and Force of all Foreign Ships, the principal Mandarin at *Macao* determined to pay the Commodore a Visit, which he did on the 18th, and, having received all the Satisfaction he could desire, was very elegantly entertained, and at his Departure saluted with eleven Guns. The next Day Captain *Attebell*, who had commanded the *Gloucester*, went on shore in the Barge, in order to take his Passage home, with the Consent of the Commodore. The Order for heaving down was not yet expedited, and all that could be done was to get on board dry Provisions and Stores, of which they received more or less every Day. On the 23d the *Princess Mary*, a Ship in the *East-India* Company's Service, sailed for *England*, and saluted the Commodore with eleven Guns, who returned five. On the 25th two *Danish* Ships passed by, who likewise saluted the Commodore with eleven Guns, and had nine returned. On the last Day of the Year their Long-boat returned from *Canton*, with an Anchor, Hand-pump, and other Necessaries. The Commodore began the Year with distributing Part of the Plunder money taken at *Payta*, that the Officers and Seamen might have something of their own, to furnish themselves with Conveniences.

On the 7th of *January* came the Order for heaving down their Ship, and they immediately began to unmoor, weighed the Sheet-anchor, and warped over to the Northward for that Purpose. The Commodore contracted for 100 *Chinese* Workmen to assist, and two Junks to hold the Stores, and other Goods, that were taken out of the *Centurion*; he caused likewise a Tent to be erected on an adjacent Island, and placed a Guard there, for the Security of the Effects that were put on shore; he likewise hired thirty *Chinese* Carpenters; and, having lost no Time, by the End of the Month of *March*, the Ship was perfectly repaired; and,

and, by the 6th of April, completely rigged; and the same Day they began to unmoor. On the 7th in the Afternoon the Commodore went ashore, to take his Leave of the Governor of Macao; who, upon his coming off, saluted him with thirteen Guns. The next Day a Mandarin, and seven Chinese, in a Junk, anchored close by the Centurion, who pretended to give the Commodore Advice to make Haste, because the Tuffoon Season was advancing; but the Commodore very well understood the Meaning of the Message, and that they were only desirous of being rid of him, for fear of his interrupting their Manila Trade. This appeared more clearly on the 15th, when the Mandarin sent a Message, insisting upon his immediate Departure; to which the Commodore answered, that he would fail when he thought proper, and not before.

On the 17th a Swedish Homeward-bound East-Indiaman anchored near them, which saluted the Commodore with 16 Guns, who returned 15; and soon after went on board the Swede, where he was entertained with all imaginable Respect, and saluted again at his Departure with 16 Guns. The Commodore, finding the South West Monsoon setting in, and that it would be dangerous for him to sail for Europe before the Month of October, determined to take this Opportunity of sending home Captain Saunders, in the Swedish Ship, with an Account of his Proceedings, for the Satisfaction of the Government; and, in the mean time, resolved to cruise for the Acapulco Ship, which he had certain Intelligence was very soon expected at Manila.

The City of Macao, which in the Chinese Language signifies a Port, stands on the Point of an Island, called Heichew, in the Province of Canton. The Form of this Point of Land is very singular; it resembles a Man's Arm bent, the Shoulder-part being joined to the Island, and the rest surrounded by the Sea: The Haven is very safe and commodious, and the City was formerly very rich and splendid. It belongs, as it always did, to the Portuguese, who settled here by Permission from the Emperor of China: They have a Governor of their own, and live under their own Laws; but are, notwithstanding, subjected to the Chinese, to a Degree of Slavery. The Customs of the Port belong to the Emperor, who has an Hoppe, or Commissioner of Revenue, here, as in other Ports of his Dominions, and a Mandarin, who directs Civil Affairs; neither is it possible for the Portuguese to shake off the Yoke, because they are every way surrounded by the Chinese, and have not a Day's Provision but what they draw from the Country. While the Portuguese were in Possession of the Trade to Japan, this Place was in a very flourishing Condition, and one of the most considerable Cities in their Possession; but since their Expulsion from that Island, their Trade has declined here, tho' it seems now to be in a better Condition than it was some Years ago; and there are a considerable Number of Portuguese Ships that come hither annually from their Settlements in the West-Indies.

But the Chinese drive a much more considerable Trade from hence, especially to Manila, where they vend a vast Quantity of rich Goods, at a very high Price, to the Spaniards, who pay for them all in ready Money; that is to say, in Pieces of Eight, or in Silver Bars, which they bring from the West-Indies. This, however, seems to be a great Slip in their Politics; which may be the more easily apprehended, if we compare it with the prudent Management of the Dutch, who carry on likewise a great Trade with the Chinese at Batavia; where, notwithstanding, they never suffer them to deal for ready Money, but for Spices, and other Indian Commodities, and for the Manufactures of Europe; so that the same Commerce which exhausts the Spaniards, enriches the Dutch, who make the Chinese their Carriers at an easy Expence; whereas the Spaniards export immense Quantities of Chinese Goods in their Manila Ships to Acapulco, and bring from thence the Silver of Mexico in Return, the best Part of which comes, sooner or later, into the Hands of the Chinese; so that here, as well as in Europe, the Spaniards, thro' their own ill Management, are only Factors for other People, and have no more than a transitory Possession of that prodigious Wealth they draw from their Indies. It is no Wonder, therefore, that the Chinese, who are, without question, as cunning and as self-interested a People as any in the World, were very much disturbed at Commodore Anson's

lying so long in this Port, especially after the Arrival of a Ship from Manila, which happened a little before his Departure, and informed the Chinese thoroughly of the Apprehensions they were under from the Centurion's being in their Neighbourhood.

There is one Thing which has been before laid down in point of Fact, that seems to require some Explanation; and that is the Caution given by the Chinese Mandarin to the Commodore, in relation to the Stormy Season. We have already spoken in other Places somewhat of this Subject; but here it will be necessary to discuss the Matter more at large, in order to settle this Point: With respect to the Weather in China, Monsoon is an Indian Word, which, strictly speaking, signifies no more than a strong Wind; and is applied to the stated Trade-winds no otherwise than as they are remarkably strong, as well as steady; which Observations will hereafter appear to be of much greater Use, than at first Sight may be imagined. The Monsoons are distinguished into the East Monsoon, and the West Monsoon. The former sets in to the North of the Line in the Month of September, and blows till April, bringing usually fine, fair, and constant Weather; whereas the West Monsoon, which blows from April to September, is usually accompanied with heavy Rains, and dreadful Storms; which form the Reason that induced the Commodore to remain in this Part of the World, till the East Monsoon was well set in. It is not to be supposed, that the Change of these Winds is a Thing very regular or exact, or that the Succession of them is immediate; but it is to be understood, that the Months of April and September are the shifting Months, and that there is some Variation of Winds, before the Monsoon becomes fixed and steady. Thus much, however, is certain, that the Alteration of these Winds is as constant as the Change of the Year; and that all the Navigation in the Indies depends upon them.

All who are concerned in Trade wait for these Changes, and complete their Cargoes, and fit out their Ships, before these Seasons, taking such Measures to dispatch their Business, in the Places to which the Ships are consigned, as to take the Benefit of the next or contrary Monsoon, which brings them back again; neither is it easy to conceive how the Trade of India could be carried on, but for these regular and constant Winds. A Coasting Trade, indeed, might be practicable, from Places near each other, by the Help of Sea and Land-breezes; but Voyages of considerable Extent could by no means be carried on by the Help of such Land and Sea Winds; or, if they were, they might take up three or four Years, instead of six Weeks. At the Change of these Trade Winds there are frequently great Storms, which are also called in the Indies, Monsoons, taking the Word in its natural and strict Sense, for an high or strong Wind; and therefore this Distinction is very necessary to be observed, in order to prevent our confounding one Monsoon with another.

But the Winds mentioned by the Mandarin, were Typhoons, or, as some write them, Typhons, because the Greek Word Typhon signifies a violent high Wind. It would be at least a tedious and perplexed, and, perhaps, after all, a dry and useless Inquiry, should we endeavour to show, that the Chinese Term of Tuffoon is derived from, or is no better than a Corruption of the Greek Word Typhon; and as it is more agreeable to our Purpose, we will endeavour to explain the Thing, without troubling ourselves about the Name. Typhoons, then, are a particular Kind of violent Storms, which happen usually in the shifting Months, but especially April, on the Coast of China. They commonly happen near the Full or Change of the Moon, and are usually preceded by very fair Weather, small Winds, and a clear Sky: These Winds veer from the true Trade-wind, and usually shift almost round the Compass. Before the Storm comes on, there appears a dark thick Cloud on that Point from which the Storm will blow; as suppose it be from the N. E. which Cloud hangs always near the Horizon, the upper Edge of it being of a dark Flame-colour, which grows brighter and brighter, and then fades to a whitish glaring cloud. This is a very awful and terrible Spectacle, inasmuch as it lasts sometimes for twelve Hours before the Storm comes on: When that Cloud begins to move, the Wind presently follows it, and blows with great

Book I.

after the Arrival of a little before his Departure, and the thoroughness of the Apprehension of the Emperor's being in their

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the Mandarin, were Tabans, because the Great Wind. It would be, perhaps, after all, an endeavour to them, that ved from, or is no better word Typhoon; and as it is will endeavour to bring ourselves about the particular Kind of violent the shifting Months, but the Winds. They commonly the Moon, and are other, small Winds, and in the true Trade-wind, the Compass. Before the dark thick Cloud on that blow; as suppose it be always near the Horizon of a dark Flame-colour, and then fades to a very awful and terrible sometimes for twelve Hours when that Cloud begins to it, and blows with great

A View of the Town and Castle of Macao



1. The Canton 2. The Coast 3. The Manila Ship.

Chap. I.

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dible Violence at N. E. for about twelve Hours, accompanied with most horrid Claps of Thunder, large flying Sheets of Lightning, and a prodigious Rain. This furious Wind does not die by Degrees, but sinks almost all at once; then follows a dead Calm for about an Hour, till the Wind rises from the opposite Point at the S. W. and then it blows, thunders, lightens, and rains, with as much Violence, and for about the same Time, as it did before.

Varenius, who is justly esteemed for his excellent Writings on this Subject, has given us a large Description of this Kind of Storm, which, because it is more general, the Reader may perhaps be well pleased to see. * A *Typhon*, says he, is a strong swift Wind, blows from all Points, wandering about all Quarters, and generally comes from above. This is frequent in the Oriental Seas, especially in the Seas of *Siam*, *China*, and *Japan*, and between *Malacca* and *Japan*. It breaks out violently, almost from the Western Point, and turning round the Horizon with a rapid Force, performs the Revolution in twenty Hours; till, growing stronger and stronger, raising those Seas, with its strong Whirling about, to a great Height, every tenth Wave rising above the rest, which dashing against one another with great Force, the Seamen lose all Hopes of their Lives; for which, and other Storms, sailing from *India* to *Japan* is very dangerous; so that if one Ship in three gets safe there, it is look'd upon to be a prosperous Voyage. The *Typhon* rages most in Summer, and more than can be conceived by those who have not seen it; so that it is no Wonder the Ribs of the strongest and largest Ships should be loosened; you would think the Heavens and the Earth were turned to their antient *Chaos*. It rages not only at Sea, but also on Land; and overturns Houses, and pulls up Trees by the Roots, and carries great Ships a Quarter of a Mile from the Sea. The Cause of it, no doubt, is, that the Wind rushing to a certain Point is obstructed, and returns on itself, and is thus turned round; as we see in Water, that turns round about in a *Vortex*, when it meets with an Obstacle; or it may come from furious Winds meeting one another, which renders the Sea plain, and dashes against the Ships between them.

28. On the 19th of *April*, 1743, they sailed from *Macao*; and, on the 3d of *May*, found the Southernmost Part of the Island *Formosa*, lying East by South, at the Distance of ten Leagues, which afforded them a very pleasant Prospect. This Island, in the best Maps we have of *China*, is laid down from the Latitude of 22° to 25° 10' North, and in Longitude, from 3° 20' to 5° 30' East from *Peking*. Its nearest Distance from the Continent is about thirty Leagues; it is about seventy Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth. The *Spaniards*, who first discovered it, called it, from the fair Prospect it affords at Sea, *Formosa*; but the *Chinese* call it *Tai-uan*; which our Seamen, spelling according to the Pronunciation, write *Tey-uan*. It is, in all respects, a very fine Island, situated in a very wholesome Climate, finely diversified by Hills and Valleys, Plains and Woods, well watered, and affording not only the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, but also very rich and valuable Commodities; such as Gold in great Plenty, Raw Silk, Sugar, Copper, finer than in *China*, but coarser than that of *Japan*, with Abundance of Drugs.

The Natives differ much from their Neighbours the *Chinese*, and the Inhabitants of the *Philippines*, in their Complexions, Stature, and Make, for they are, generally speaking, a low squat People, with large Heads, low Foreheads, hollow Eyes, their Cheek-bones remarkably high, large Mouths, short flat Chins, with little or no Beard; their Necks small and long; their Arms and Legs long, small, and ill-shaped; their Feet very long and broad, and, generally speaking, they are Baker-kneed. The *English* and *Dutch* had Factories there till about the Year 1678, when the Province of *Fokien* having submitted to the *Tartars*, who were then about subduing that Island, they directed the *Europeans* to remove their Settlements to the Continent; upon which the *English* withdrew their Factory to *Amy*; but the *Dutch*, having a good Fortrefs, and a numerous Garrison, sustained a long Siege, and sold their Settlement very dear, the *Tartars* buying several Thousands of Men, before they became

Masters of it; and, since that time the Government of it is annexed to the Province of *Fokien*, and no Strangers are suffered to trade thither.

On the 6th in the Morning, they were in Sight of the *Bashee* Islands, which are five in Number, lying in the Latitude of 20° 25'. Three of these Islands are pretty large; that which lies most to the West is the biggest of the three, being about seven or eight Leagues long, and about two wide, lying almost North and South, the Land high, flat, and even on the Top, with steep Cliffs against the Sea. The other two Islands are about four or five Leagues to the Eastward of this, being between three and four Leagues long, and a League and an half wide, stretching North and South; and are very mountainous, with many steep Precipices. The two small Islands are flat and even; only one of them hath a steep rocky Hill: The Inhabitants live in small Villages, built on the Sides and Tops of these rocky Hills, and consist of several Rows of Houses, one over another, on these steep Precipices: They go to the first Row up a wooden Ladder, and so with a Ladder up to that above it, there being no other Way to ascend. The Plain on the first Precipice is so wide as to have Room for a Row of Houses that stand all along on the Edge or Brink of it, and a very narrow Street running along before their Doors: Between the Row of Houses, and the Brow of the next Precipice, the Plain is, in a manner, level to the Top of the Houses below; and the rest are pretty near the same Order and Proportion. The common Ladder to each Row or Street comes up at a narrow Passage, left purposely about the Middle of it; and the Street being bounded with a Precipice also at each End, it is but drawing up the Ladder, if they are attacked, and then there is no coming at them from below; and, that they may not be assaulted from above, they take care to build on a Hill, the Backside of which hangs over the Sea, or on some high, steep, perpendicular Precipice, altogether inaccessible.

The Men are generally employed in Fishing, and take their Sons with them, but their Daughters live at home with their Mothers; and, when they are grown up, they send them to their Plantations to dig Yams and Potatoes, of which they bring home on their Heads, every Day, enough to serve the whole Family; for they have no Rice or Maize. Their Plantations are in the Valleys, at a good Distance from their Houses, where every Man has a certain Spot of Land, which is properly his own; this he manages for his own Use, and provides enough, that he may not be beholden to his Neighbours. Both Men and Women wear very large Ear-rings, made of yellow Metal, which they call *Bullawean*, i. e. Gold, and very probably it is so. They are very ingenious in building Boats, having some that will carry forty or fifty Men; these they row with twelve or fourteen Oars of a Side. In regard to their Manners, they are neat, sober, civil, industrious, quiet, honest People, just to each other, and equally courteous and generous to Strangers.

They are very moderate in their way of living, contenting themselves usually with Fish and Roots. As for their Drink, it is commonly Water; yet they have a better sort of Liquor amongst them, made of the Juice of Sugar-canes, which they boil, and put some Blackberries among it; when it is well boiled, they put it into a great Jar, and let it stand three or four Days to ferment; then it settles, and becomes clear, and is presently fit to drink. It is an excellent Liquor, very much like *English* Beer, both in Colour and Taste; it is very strong and wholesome. They have no Sort of Coin, but barter small Pieces of yellow Metal, wrapped up in Plantain-leaves, for what they want. They are great Admirers of Iron, and will sell a good fat Goat for an Iron Hoop; and a large Hog, of seventy or eighty Pounds Weight, for two, three, or four Pounds of Iron. They will also give several Jars of their favourite Liquor for old Nails, Spikes, or Bullets.

This Account is intirely taken from Mr. *Dampier*, who, for any thing we know, is the only Author that has given any Description of them: He was there with Captain *Swan* in the Year 1687, or rather in Captain *Swan*'s Ship, for his Crew had then left him behind, and it was his Sailors that bestowed upon them the Name of the *Bashee* Islands, which

which they have since retained, even in the best Maps; and it is really wonderful, that, considering so much Notice has been taken of his Description, no Attempt has been hitherto made, either to settle in them, or trade with their Inhabitants. They had, towards the Middle of the Month of May, very stormy Weather, with much Rain. On the 21st they saw Cape *Spirita Santo*, on the Island of *Samar*, which is one of the *Philippines*, and lies to the South-east of *Manilla*. They exercised their Small arms on board constantly, when the Weather would permit; and kept cruising in the Way of the *Acapulco* Ship to the 18th of June, without meeting with any remarkable Accident.

20. On the 21st in the Morning they saw the Land, bearing South-west, at the Distance of about seven Leagues; and about seven o'Clock they first discerned a Ship, bearing South-east, which proved to be the Galleon they had long expected. As soon as the Commodore was informed of it, he came upon Deck, and the first Glimpse through his Perspective, shewing like two Ships, he said, very coolly, to the Sailors who were near him, My Lads, we will fight them both. As she drew nearer, they saw their Mistake; and that, in reality, there was but one Ship. The Commodore then gave Orders for making all Things clear, that they might be in a better Condition to chafe and fight. The *Spanish* Commander, however, did not give them much Trouble in this respect, but bore down upon them before the Wind; and, when she was come within a Mile of the *Centurion*, brought-to, in order to engage. In a little time after she fired a Gun, which was answered from the *Centurion*, by firing a Gun to the Leeward. At about half an Hour after ten the Enemy hoisted *Spanish* Colours, and a red Flag, with the Arms of *Spain* at her Main-top-mast-head; and then they began to fire random Shots, before they came to a close Engagement. At half an Hour after twelve o'Clock the *Centurion* hoisted her Colours, and fired a Shot at the Chace, which she returned. They then came close a long-side of each other, Yard-arm and Yard-arm, when the Attack began with all the Fury imaginable.

The Commodore remained, during the whole Action, upon the Quarter-deck, with his Sword drawn, and gave his Directions with the greatest Calmness imaginable. The Honourable Mr. *Van Kepple*, Son to the Earl of *Arbemarke*, gave his Orders between Decks; which were executed punctually, and without the least Confusion. As they had not a very large Stock of Ammunition, Instructions were given not to waste it by firing any Guns without Probability of doing Execution; and therefore they fired but four Guns at a time, which generally went through and through the Enemy's Ship; and, as the *Spaniards* had near six hundred Men on board, there was hardly a Shot that missed them. They made use, during the Engagement, of an excellent Feint; which was, making the usual Signal to board, by saluting their Sprit-hall-yard fore-and-aft, which made the *Spaniards* imagine the Commodore had his full Complement of Men; and, what confirmed them in this Opinion, was his shewing his whole Force, consisting of 227 Men, on one Side, which he had an Opportunity of doing by their engaging Yard-arm and Yard-arm; whereas, if they had fought Broadside and Broadside, he would have wanted Men to have managed his Guns. This surprized and intimidated the Enemy, who, being informed of the Condition they were in at *Tinian*, thought themselves sure of taking them; which was what induced them to bear down as they did before the Engagement. The Commander of the *Spanish* Ship, *Don Hieronimo Montero*, a *Portuguese*, behaved very bravely; and, for the first Hour, did very briskly; but afterwards the Ship lay like a Log in the Sea, and fired only now-and-then. The Action lasted an Hour and twenty Minutes. A *Spanish* Officer, who was ordered to strike the Colours, and who stood very near them, refused to do it for some time; but at last they were struck.

Upon this the Commodore ordered his Cutter to be hoisted, the rest of the Boats being rendered unserviceable in the Engagement, and sent on board Lieutenant *Summare* to take Possession of her; but, there being little Wind, she fell on board the *Centurion*, but, in a little time, they got clear. When the Cutter returned, she brought

the Governor of *Guam*, the Pilot of the *Spanish* Ship, and some of the principal Officers and Passengers. As for the Commander, he had received two Wounds, and it was not thought safe to remove him; but Orders were given for taking all imaginable Care of him on board his own Ship.

In this Action the *Centurion* had only two Men killed; viz. *Thomas Richmond*, who had his Head shot off, and *George Walton*: Lieutenant *Brett*, and fifteen Men, wounded. They had fifteen Shot through the Hull of the Ship; their Fore-mast, Main-mast, and Bow-sprit, wounded, and their Rigging very much shattered. In taking the Prize, they expended fifty hundred Weights of Round-shot, four Rounds of Grape, and four of Double-headed, and twenty-four Barrels of Powder. The *Spanish* Galleon was called *Nuestra Señora del Cabo Dongo*: she could mount sixty Guns, but had only forty-two actually mounted, seventeen of which were Brafs, and twenty-eight *Petererones*; each of which, that is of the *Petererone*, was loaded with seventy Musquet-balls, or what was equivalent to them, rusty Nails, Flint stones, and Slugs: they likewise fired abundance of Chain-shot, some Double-headed, with barbed Points, which with us are esteemed unlawful. She had fifty-eight Men killed, and eighty three wounded. To prevent their being intimidated by so great a Loss, the Commodore ordered twenty Men to be employed, during the whole Action, in throwing the Dead over-board, and in washing the Deck, that the Blood might not be perceived. She had 150 Shot through her Hull, many of which were between Wind and Water, which made her very leaky; her Masts were in a very bad Condition, and her Rigging tore all to-pieces, so that they were obliged to lend Blocks and Cails of Ropes on board, to repair as soon as she was taken. The Cutter and the Long-boat of the Prize were for some time employed in bringing on board the Prisoners, to the Number of three hundred, and Lieutenant *Summare*, with fifty Men, were left in Possession of the Prize, together with two Surgeons, to assist the Wounded. They found, on the first Search, on board the Ship, one hundred and twelve Bags and six Chests of Dollars, and one Bag of Plate.

On the 22d five of the Prisoners died, on board the *Centurion*, of their Wounds; the two next Days were employed in bringing on board great Part of their Rigging. On the 25th one hundred of the Prisoners were put into the Hold of the *Spanish* Ship. The same Day *Don Hieronimo Montero* came on board the *Centurion*, and, as he saw how inconsiderable their Force was, he could not help expressing the greatest Fury and Pailon at being taken by such a Handful of Men, and those too, in a Condition, for many, though they had some courage to fight, were almost eat up with the Scurvy, and a great Part of the Crew were, in a manner, perished. On the 26th more Money was brought on board, for which was now computed they had had a Million two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight from on board the Prize; a great deal more was brought on board the next Day.

On the 26th Mr. *Philip Summare* was appointed Captain of the Prize, his Commission bearing Date from the Day she was taken; and, as soon as he arrived on board, the new Captain saluted the Commodore with seven Guns, which was answered by three; but the Prize was on such a Condition, that they were obliged to take her in tow. The same Day they removed fifteen Bags of Dollars, three Plates, and three small Casks of Virgin silver, on board the *Centurion*, so that they had now every thing of Value out of the Prize, amounting, in the Whole, to 121,347 Pieces of Eight, and 3568 Ounces of Plate and Virgin silver. On the first of July they had Sight of the *Bahia* Islands, and the next Day found theelves on the Island of *Manilla*, for which their Prize was bound.

The proper Name of this Island is *Lucena*; but it is frequently called *Manilla*, from its Metropolis of the Name. It is the largest of the *Philippine*, and one of the very best Countries subject to the Crown of *Spain*. It affords all Sorts of Corn, Fruits, and Roots, in great Plenty, and Flesh and Fowl, in as great Abundance as could be wished; besides all these Advantages, which must make it a delightful Country to live in, it may be justly con-

sidered as the best of the *Indies*, or perhaps this Island are *India*, Rice, Sago, Salt, Quantity of Deer, Help of the *China* of *Manilla*, whose Latitude of 14° 15' of the Viceroys Splendor. The Streets wide and magnificent; the full of People, prodigious Trade them with heavy bell in the World, capacious, at the command equal *Indies*.

There is another and improve her of their Dominion, fit for Ship Construction of Trade between *Manilla*, that the *Spain* *East India* Trade they do not make these Advantage more Use of the Dominions. The trade here, though Exclusion of *Europe* the Exercise of to counterfeit *China* only, to promote Side of the Profit to view it a little very large; some in Circumference populous. The and have not most the Inhabitants equally active a Trouble, tortify; a sort of Retrench which defend them yet leave them and make dread.

There have been in the *Spanish* Nations of their V Intrigues of the fluted up the Pe very ill it, his Palace. It is there by apprehent here, since Natives of the own People on the *Portuguese* and the *Spaniards* in military and more than their are the *Dutch*: Natives and other Spice inhabitants, take the Apprehension and their Conquest *Dutch* can fear execute such a execute the *Indian* Assistance, have Revolutions, that to provoke the that darling Art policy of these *Spain* Vol I

considered as the best situated Place for Trade in the East Indies, or perhaps in the Universe. The Commodities of this Island are Iron, Steel, Gold, but not very fine; Wax, Rice, Sago, Saffron, &c. to which we may add a vast Quantity of Deer-skin, and Buffelo-hides, which, by the Help of the *Chinese*, they send yearly to *Japan*. The City of *Manilla*, which is wonderfully well leated in the Latitude of 14° 15' North, is the Seat of an Archbishop, and of the Viceroy; and they both live here in the utmost Splendor. The City itself is large and populous; the Streets wide and handsome; the public Buildings very magnificent; the Suburb of the *Chinese* is very large, and full of People, who are very indolent, and carry on a prodigious Trade, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* harass them with heavy Impositions. The Port is one of the best in the World, being at once extremely safe, and very capacious, at the same time that it is so well situated as to command equally the Trade both of the *East* and *West* Indies.

There is another Advantage, which the *Spaniards* possess and improve here beyond any thing they do in other Parts of their Dominions; and that is, abundance of fine Timber, fit for Ship-building, and which is employed in the Construction of those vast Gallies which carry on the Trade between this Port and *Callapulo*. It is likewise certain, that the *Spaniards* build other Vessels here for their *East India* Trade; and, though it must be granted, that they do not make the utmost Use that might be made of these Advantages, yet it cannot be denied, that they make more Use of their *Tree*, than in any other Parts of their Dominions. They admit *Mohammedans* and *Chinese* to trade here, though they are no-where more precise in the Exclusion of *Europeans*. The *Mohammedans* are allowed the Exercise of their Religion; but the *Chinese* are forced to counterfeit Christianity, which they will do very dexterously, to promote their Commerce. This is the bright Side of the Prospect; but, perhaps, it may not be amiss to view it a little in the Shade. The Island of *Lucoma* is very large; some say, not less than four hundred Leagues in Circumference, and, at the same time, is extremely populous. The *Spaniards* are possessed only of the Coast, and have not more determined Enemies in the World than the Inhabitants of the Inland Parts, who, as they are equally active and warlike, give them a great deal of Trouble, fortifying all the Entrances into their Country with a sort of Retrenchments made of Bamboos, or split Canes, which defend them from the Attacks of the *Spaniards*, and yet leave them secret Passages, by which they sally out, and make dreadful Excursions.

There have been likewise many civil Commotions even in the *Spanish* Settlements, owing chiefly to the Oppressions of their Viceroy, or Captain-General, and to the Intrigues of the Clergy. In the Year 1719 the latter stirred up the People against the Viceroy, who had behaved very ill in his Government, and actually killed him in his Palace. It is therefore easy to judge, why the *Spaniards* are apprehensive of *Europeans* carrying on any Commerce here, since they are equally in Danger from the Natives on the one hand, and from the Discontents of their own People on the other. Yet, in spite of all their Care, the *Portuguese* thrive in the rich Commerce of this Island, and the *Spaniards* were frequently forced to employ them in military and maritime Affairs, for which they are much better than their own People. But those they most dread are the *Dutch*: And, it is for this Reason; that, though Nutmegs and Cloves actually grow here, as well as Pepper and other Spices, yet neither the *Spaniards*, nor the Inhabitants, take any Care to cultivate them, merely from the Apprehension of its tempting their Neighbours to extend their Conquests on this Side. It is very true, that the *Dutch* can scarce draw together a Force sufficient to execute such a Design, but they know so well how to excite the *Indian* Nations against each other, and, by their Assistance, have brought about elsewhere such surprising Revolutions, that it would be certainly a dangerous thing to provoke them, by interfering, in any Degree, with that darling Article of their *Indian* Commerce, the Monopoly of these Spices. But to proceed with our Voyage.

On the 9th of July in the Afternoon, being then within Sight of the Coast of *China*, they discovered a Sail; to which they gave Chace, sending for all their People from on board the *Centurion's* Prize, excepting the Captain and nine Men, who had likewise Orders to quit her in case of an Engagement. The next Morning they saw her again, when she appeared to be a large Ship under *French* Colours. They continued the Chace all that Day, and the next Morning, but, finding they did not gain much upon her, and, considering they had not Water for above three Days, and so great a Number of Prisoners to guard, they resolved to prosecute their Voyage to *Macao*. On the 11th in the Afternoon, a Boat came on board them with two *Chinese* Pilots, one of which was taken on board the *Centurion*, and the other sent on board the Prize. The next Day several Boats came off from *Macao*, in order to tow them into the Road, where they anchored in six Fathom Water, the City bearing South-west, at the Distance of about two Leagues: When the Boats that had towed them in returned, they sent ashore by them seventy of their *Spanish* Prisoners, whom they let at Liberty.

As the Commodore had before experienced many Inconveniences from lying a considerable time in the Road of *Macao*, he was resolved not to remain there, but to proceed through the Cluster of Islands, that lie in that Gulph, to the River of *Canton*, or, as the *Chinese* call it, *Quang-tong*, which accordingly he did, and anchored, on the 14th of July, off an Island, which is called the Island of *Tygers*, at the Mouth of the Harbour. On the 15th, the Commodore sent a Lieutenant, with nineteen Men, in his Barge, up to the City, with a Letter addressed to the Viceroy, acquainting him with the Reasons which obliged him to enter his Port, intimating his Design to pay him a Visit, and desiring a Supply of Provisions and Stores. On the 16th, two *French* Ships entered the Road; upon which, the Commodore put his own Ship, and his Prize, in a proper Posture to receive them, in case they had acted as Enemies; but, upon his sending his Pinnace on board, they assured the Officer who commanded her, that there was no War declared between the two Crowns when they left *France*, which was about the Middle of *December*. On the 17th, they moored in the Mouth of *Quang-tong* River, at the same time that the *Harrington East Indiaman* came to an Anchor there, and saluted them with twenty-one Guns; which Compliment they returned with nineteen. The next Morning the Lieutenant returned in the Barge, and brought with them a Supply of fresh Provisions, but no Licence for proceeding up the Rivers as was expected; and from him the Commodore received Notice, that a Mandarin, of considerable Rank, would be very quickly sent from the Vice-King, to acquaint him with the Resolutions he had taken in reference to his Letter.

Upon this, every thing was put in order for the Reception of this *Chinese* Officer, who arrived on the 20th, attended by twelve *Champans*. He desired that the Commodore would spare the Ceremony of saluting him, because his Guns being large, the Noise would disturb him extremely. He assured him, that the Vice-King would take very kindly a Visit from him and the Captain of the other Ship; presented him with a Licence for a daily Supply of fresh Provisions; but intimate, at the same time, that the usual Duties, according to the Size and Measurement of his Ship, would be expected, as they made no Distinction in *China* between Merchantmen and Kings Ships. The Commodore replied, that the King of *Great Britain's* Ships of War were never treated on a Level with trading Vessels in any Port, and that he was absolutely restrained, by his Instructions, from paying any Acknowledgment for Leave to anchor in any Harbour whatever. The Mandarin behaved very civilly and politely, seemed to be extremely well satisfied with the Reception he met with, and promised, at his Departure, to hasten the Licence for proceeding up the River; for want of which, they had not hitherto been able to pass the Bar. On the 22d, they sent more of their Prisoners on shore.

On the 24th, two *Dutch* Ships anchored near them from *Batavia*, and the next Day arrived a third, which saluted them with fifteen Guns; to which they returned thirteen.

On the 27th the Licence arrived, and the next Day they sailed over the Bar, and anchored in five Fathom Water. The next Morning they sent the General of the *Spanish* Ship, the rest of the Officers, and all the Prisoners, except the Second Mate, some Carpenters, and ten or twelve more Men, who might be useful in refitting their own Ship, on board two *Chinese* Junks, to *Macao*. On the 29th, they weighed, and stood up the River, and came to an Anchor over-against the Custom-House; and now, having no further Occasion for the *Chinese* Pilots, the Commodore discharged them. The whole Month of *August* was employed in purchasing Stores and Provisions from several Ships in the River, as was also that of *September* in making such necessary Repairs as their Circumstances would permit. The 11th of *October*, being the Anniversery of his Majesty's Coronation, they dressed their Ship, displayed their Colours, and fired twenty-one Guns.

On the 12th, the Commodore being informed, that a Ship belonging to the *East India* Company, called the *Haefingfield*, was arrived on the Coast of *China*, in a very distressed Condition, occasioned by her meeting with a Tuffoon about thirty Leagues to the Westward of *Macao*, in which the lost her Main-mast, Fore-mast, Bow-sprit, and had her Quarter and Gunnel broke, he immediately sent the Long-boat belonging to the *Harrington*, another *East India* Ship, with an Officer and thirty Men well armed, with twenty Swords, as many Bayonets, and Cartridge-boxes, together with an Anchor, and a seven Inch and half Haller, for the Use of that Ship. He was the more anxious about this Affair, from an Apprehension, that the *Spanish* Prisoners he had lately discharged, and sent to *Macao*, might, on seeing her in this Distress, attempt something to her Prejudice: So careful was the Commodore, on every Occasion, to shew his Concern for whatever related to his Country, and so willing was he to contribute, so far as lay in his Power, to protect the Commerce of his Majesty's Subjects; which gained him the universal Esteem and Affection, not only of all in the *East-India* Company's Service, but of the *Europeans* also as were at this Time at *Canton*; of which they gave the most signal Testimonies, whenever any Opportunity offered, and particularly on the following Occasion; in which the Commodore acted with all the Prudence, Dexterity, and Presence of Mind, that so nice and delicate a Conjecture required: And, no doubt, his Behaviour will be esteemed a fit Precedent in succeeding Times, in case any of his Majesty's Ships of War should hereafter have Occasion to visit this, or any other Port in *China*.

22. The Ship being now almost in a Condition fit for Sailing, and nothing wanting but a sufficient Stock of Provisions and Naval Stores, for which, notwithstanding the most pressing Instances had been made, no Licence could be obtained, tho' all the Favour asked, was to purchase them for ready Money, the Commodore resolved to make a Visit in Person to the Vice King. But as it was impossible to foresee what Accidents might attend his putting himself absolutely in the Power of the *Chinese*, who had hitherto shewn no great Regard to his Representations, he very wisely provided for the worst, by granting a Commission to Mr. *Brett*, whom he appointed Captain of the *Centurion*, with these Instructions, that, in case he should be detained on shore by the *Chinese*, he should immediately destroy the Prize, out of which all the Treasure had been taken, and proceed with the *Centurion* without the Mouth of the River, and out of the Reach of the two Forts, that, at all Events, the Ship might be safe.

These Precautions taken, the Commodore acquainted the Captains and Super cargoes of the *English*, *Swedish*, and *Danish* Ships, that were in the Harbour, of his Design, and that he would be glad of their Company, to attend him to his Audience of the Vice King. Accordingly, on the 15th, at Nine in the Morning, they came on board his Ship; and, about Four in the Afternoon, the Commodore, with Captain *Sumner*, and Lieutenant *Van Kepple*, with the Captains and Super cargoes, put off in the Barge, which was rowed by eighteen Seamen, all chosen Men, and in new Cloaths. They were immediately joined by the Boats of all the *India* Ships in the River, the Crew of the *Centurion* giving the Commodore three Cheers as he went off,

and saluting him with 19 Guns. When he landed, his Officers, and those who accompanied him, marched in a solemn and regular Procession towards the Viceroy's Palace, the Commodore himself being carried in a Chair. His Attendants also were properly marshalled, and the whole Ceremony conducted with as much Decency, and even with all the Magnificence, that their Circumstances would allow. As the *Chinese* are extravagantly fond of Pomp and Shew, and as the Officers were all of them very richly dressed, and all their Attendants in new Cloaths, the Ceremony had a very proper Effect, and all the Spectators regarded it with Silence and Respect.

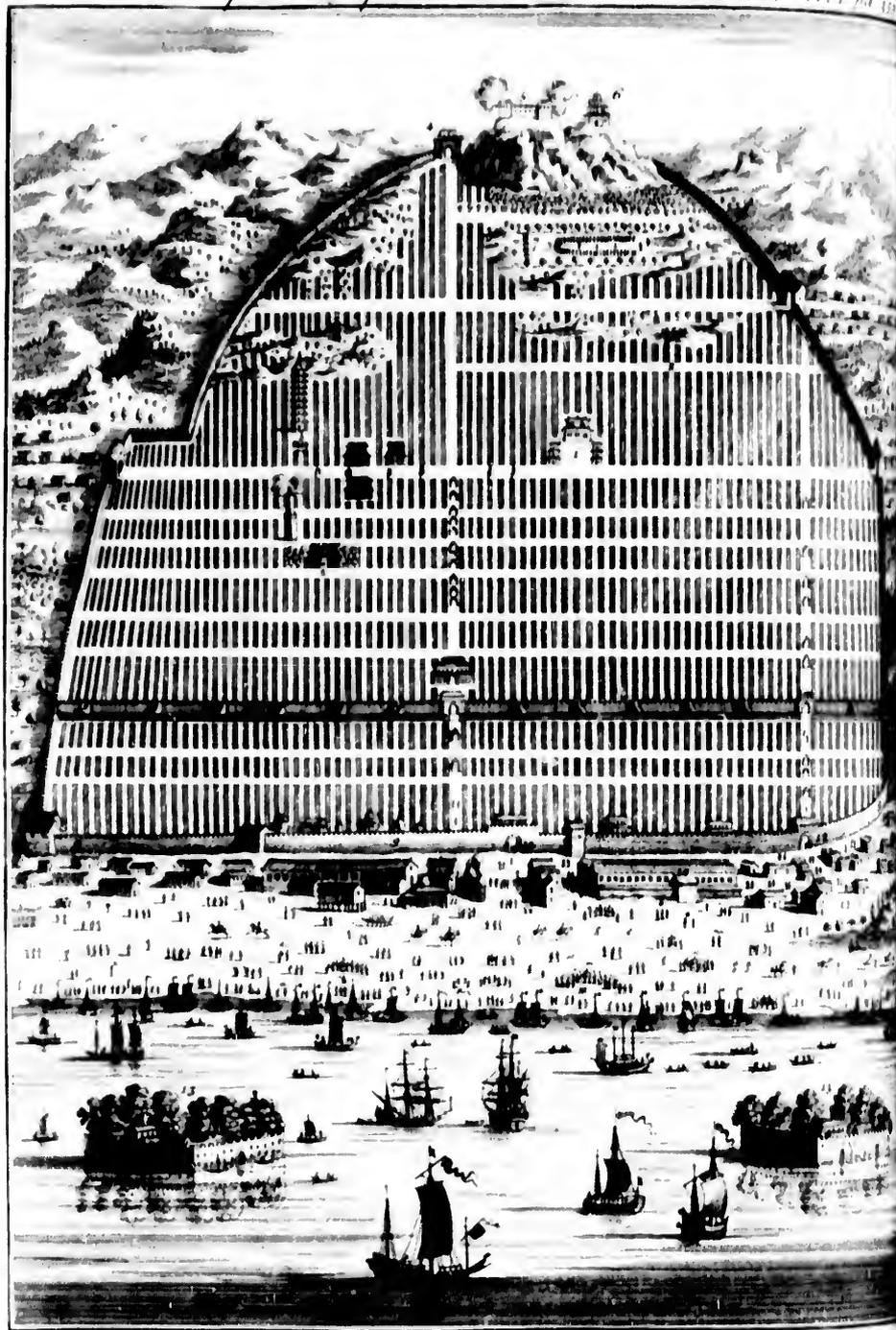
On their Arrival at the Vice King's Palace, they found 10,000 Men under Arms before it, the Windows, Galleries, and Battlements, all thronged with People belonging to his Court. The Commodore, and those who accompanied him, were immediately conducted into the great Hall of the Palace; and soon after were admitted to the Presence of the Vice King, who appeared on this Occasion with all the Pomp imaginable, being attended by the Ministers of his Council. He received the Commodore with the utmost Civility and Politeness, and gave him a great Entertainment, consisting, after the *Chinese* Manner, of a Multitude of small Dishes, filled with different Sorts of minced Meat; after which, and a proper Interval between, there followed a rich Desert of dried Fruits and sweetmeats; and, after that, Tea. The Vice King having readily granted all that the Commodore desired, and made him some Presents, as a Testimony of his Respect, the Commodore had also provided suitable Presents for the Vice King, who told him, with all the Civility imaginable, that it was contrary to the Custom of his Country, and incompatible with the Office he held, for him to receive any, and therefore hoped he would excuse his Refusal.

Such was the Issue of this Audience, with which the Commodore had all the Reason in the World to be satisfied, having succeeded therein to the utmost Extent of his Wishes, and much beyond the Expectation of all the *Europeans*; who gave it as their unanimous Opinion, that the Commodore's Departure, that the Port should be insisted on, there having been hitherto no Success in their being ever dispensed with. The Success in this Affair was entirely owing to the personal Conduct of the Commodore, who had thoroughly studied the temper and Disposition of the People he had to deal with, and his Wisdom, Moderation, and Discretion, over all the Difficulties which the most experienced People in the Country thought insurmountable; and by his Firmness and Presence of Mind, asserted the Honour of his Majesty, and of this Nation, among the most cunning and crafty Princes of the World. He returned with the same Satisfaction, and Money from this Audience, with which he was possest of the News of his happy Success, when his Departure from *Canton* was received with all possible Marks of the most sincere Joy.

The first Thing that was done after his Return, was to take an Account of, and to pack up in the proper Manner, the Treasure taken out of the Prize, and the Officers were ordered to prepare proper Receipts for the same: A certain Number of *Chinese* Captains were likewise taken into Pay, in order to forward the Return of the Beginning of *November*, they began to purchase Provisions and Sea stores, and sent a great Quantity of other Goods, on board the *Harrington*. On the 21st, the Men returned that had been sent to *Macao*, and, having reported, that they had discovered a new Channel, the Launch was sent with a proper Crew, in order to assist in bringing her up. The *Haefingfield* passed by them, and fired the 21 Guns, and received 19 in Return. On the 22d, they completed their Watering, and the rest of the Day spent in receiving all sorts of Provisions and Sea stores. On the 28th, a most dreadful Hurricane blew from the Suburbs of that City, by which 300 Houses were ruined, as were likewise the Factories belonging to the *Swedes* and *Danes*. By the Cloze of the Month, a Part of their Stores were on board, and they began to think of disposing all Things for their Departure.

Book I.

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 8. The City Wall 9. The University 10. The New Kings Palace 11. The Water-gates

Chap. I.

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31. After relating so many Transactions in the Port of Canton, it may be expected, that we should enter here into a particular Description of it, that the Reader may the better apprehend what we have delivered with relation to this Voyage: But, that we may preserve as great Propriety as possible, and that Regard which is due to the general Method of this Work, we shall confine ourselves at present to the Province of *Quang tong*, and the Capital thereof; and not run out into a Description of *China* in general, or of the *Chinese* Nation, because we shall be obliged to treat these Subjects largely in another Place. The Province of *Quang tong* lies in the South Part of the Empire of *China*, and is one of the most beautiful and fruitful Countries of that noble Empire. It is bounded on the North-East by the Province of *Lo kien*; on the North by that of *Kiang si*; on the West by that of *Quang si*, and the Kingdom of *Tong kin*, and on every other Side by the Sea. Before we speak of the Division of this Country, it is absolutely necessary to observe, that the *Chinese* divide each of their Provinces into certain Districts, in each of which there is a City of the first Order, which, in their Language, is called *Chiu*. This Division seems to resemble that of our Ridings in *Yorkshire*: There are again sub-divided into Districts, which have each of them a City of the second Order, which they call *Tcheou*; and these again, which seem to resemble our Hundreds, into lesser Paris, the Head of which is a Town of the third Order, called by them *Hien*; which will answer to our Tydings. In every Province therefore, there is a Metropolis, a certain Number of Towns of the first Order, equal to the Districts; and so of the second and third.

The Province of *Quang tong* is divided into Ten *Fou*: the first of which is that which the *Europeans* call *Canton*, at which the *Chinese* write *Quang tcheou fou*; which is at the Metropolis of the Province, and the Head of a District, in which there is one City of the second Order, and sixteen Towns of the third: The whole Province comprehending ten Cities of the first Order, and eighty-four Towns of the second and third. The Country is finely diversified into Mountains and Valleys; the latter so fruitful, that they produce two Crops of Corn every Year. There is no Province in *China* that abounds in richer Commodities than this, in which are found precious Stones of all Sorts, fine Pearls, Gold, Quicksilver, Copper, Iron, Lead, Tin, Saltpetre, Sugar, Silk, Ebony, and other rich Woods. There is likewise a prodigious Quantity of all sorts of fine Fruit, and the Sea on its Coast abounds with a variety of fine Fish, and with Fortresses of a prodigious Size, the Shells of which the *Chinese* make all Sorts of Toys. The supreme Governor of this Province, or, as the *Chinese* call him, *Tjang teu*, has also the Province of *Quang si* under his Jurisdiction, and therefore his ordinary Residence is at *Lo king*, which is the City of this Province nearest to *Quang si*; and he resides there, that he may attend with the greater Facility to the Affairs of both Provinces.

The City of *Canton*, which is one of the richest and best supplied in the whole Empire, stands on the noble River *Ho*, which rises in the Province of *Quang si*, and falls into the Ocean a little below this City, where it is wide enough to admit Ships of large Burden, notwithstanding many Canals that are cut from it into the adjacent Provinces. The Mouth of it, which the *Chinese* call *Hau men*, the *Gulph of Ayers*, is commanded by two Forts, that are, however, of no great Strength, but serve well enough to defend the City, and the Country adjoining, from the ravages of the *Chinese* Pirates, for which they are chiefly intended.

When the *Tartars* invaded and conquered *China*, this City made a noble Defence. The Siege lasted for nine Months, and the *Tartars* lost 100,000 Men; and it might have held out much longer, for there was a numerous Garrison, and no Want of Provisions, the Port remaining open. The *Chinese* Governor was throngly tainted with the Vices of his Country, Cowardice and Cunning; and, apprehending that his Family, if the City should be taken, would be exposed to the Fury of those barbarous Enemies, he made a private Treaty with the *Tartars*, and most perniciously opened two Gates in the Night, by which the

Tartars entered *Ho-fé* and *Foot*, and burnt and destroyed every thing without Mercy.

The Walls are pretty high towards the River; but on the East Side, as the Ground is hilly, the Walls are lower: The whole Extent of them is about ten or twelve Miles, but then there are large Spaces, on the East and South Sides especially, in which there are only Gardens and Summer-houses. There is a large Building of Timber on the highest of the little Hills to the East, that stands close to the Wall, and bears the Name of the *King's Banqueting-house*: It is four Story high, supported with great Firmness, very finely painted with Vermilion and Japan, and gilded, as are all the Walls and Cielings within it: from it may be had a very fair Prospect of the City and Suburbs. The Suburbs are so large, that some of them look like Cities, half the Number of Houses built in the Garden-plats would fill them up, and all other vacant Places in the Town. There are many stately Buildings in the City of *Canton*, and above a dozen triumphal Arches in several Places of the City, and a great Number of Temples well flock'd with Images. The *Italian* Church makes an handsome Figure, but the *French* Chapel is but mean on the Outside. At present this great City is so divided, that it forms, as it were, three different Towns, each of which is surrounded with Walls, with Gates, at proper Distances, and all together they make a Sort of a long Square. The Houses of private People are but very indifferent; but the Palaces of their Mandarins are large and beautiful, with spacious Courts. Their Streets are very long, strait, and neatly kept. All the Houses that front towards them, have Shops, before which there stands a Pedestal, on the Top of which there is a Board painted or gilt, with the Tradesman's Name, or Sign, with the Names of two or three of the principal Commodities in which he deals; and at the Bottom are generally these two Words, *Pou-hou*; which is as much as to say, that this Tradesman never cheats; or, to translate it literally, the Inscription may be thus read, *Pou-hou*, i. e. *No Fraud*. This double Row of Sign-posts, if we may be allowed so familiar an Expression, has a very good Effect on the Eye, and may be justly reckon'd not only the chief Beauty of this Place, but of all the great Cities in *China*.

The Streets of *Canton* are, in the Day-time, continually crowded. Persons in easy Circumstances are carried about in Chairs; but the ordinary Sort of People, and especially the Porters, for, by the way, there is no other Carriage in Use here but Mens Shoulders, are very poorly dressed, their Legs and Feet quite naked, and their Heads uncovered, if it be fair Weather; but, if it be very hot, they have monstrous large Straw Hats, to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the Night, however, this, like all the other great Cities of *China*, is as still and quiet as any of our Country Villages; which is owing to the Strictness of their Government, every Street having a Barrier at the End of it, which is locked every Evening, soon after the City-gates are shut, so that every body must take care to be at home in good Time. The River is covered on both Sides with an infinite Number of Vessels of all Sizes, most of which belong to Fishermen, and are their sole Habitations. Every Bark lodges a Family, so that this may be considered as a Kind of floating Town. The poor People who live in these Vessels, go out early every Morning to fish, or to work in the Rice fields, which, as we before observed, produce two Crops every Year. As to the Number of People in *Canton*, all Writers agree, that it is very great. The *Dutch* Millionaries say, that it is as large and as populous as *Paris*, and then tell us that it contains a Million of Souls; which Accounts, to such as are Judges of these Matters, do not seem to agree. A *British* Subject has made another, and more reasonable Computation, founded on the Consumption of Rice in that City; in respect to which he argues thus: There are 10,000 Peculs of Rice daily used in *Canton*, and it is known by Experience, that a Pecul of Rice will last a Person, one with another, three Months; so that if this Computation be just, the Number of People in the City may be about 900,000; and this is certainly a prodigious Number, considering how many great Cities there are in *China*.

The same Person who made this Computation, informs us that the Province of *Canton* pays yearly to the Emperor 1,200,000 Peculs of Rice, and 20,000 Peculs of Salt; out of which is served to the Military, who are reckoned 50,000, continually kept in the Emperor's Pay, 32,000 Peculs of Rice, and 8000 Peculs of Salt; the rest is sold in Markets at the common Price of five Maizes a Pecul; which may amount to 440,000 Tayals, which is appropriated towards the Payment of the Military Expence, which may amount to 1,000,000 of Tayals yearly. The Customs on Merchandize, and Poll-money, amount to prodigious great Sums, all which are gathered according to the Book of Rates, and sent to the Treasury of the Province, for the Use of the Emperor; which makes the Emperor's Treasury always full.

Canton is the Port of *China*, in which not only the best Part of the *European* Trade is carried on, but that also from which the *Chinese* themselves carry on most of their Foreign Trade, which is very considerable. In the Month of *March* they send annually a Fleet to *Cochin China*, laden with very rich Goods, mostly of their own Manufactures; from whence they bring in Return different Assortments of Goods, most of which they export again to *Japan* or *Batavia*; their Vessels return towards the latter End of *July*. Their Commerce to *Cambaya* is carried on by an annual Fleet which sails in the Month of *January*. The Returns they bring from thence are Sapan wood, Elephants Teeth, Lack, dressed Hides of all Kinds, together with the Skins of Birds, and their Feathers on them; as also Abundance of Drugs. From *Canton* to *Tonquin* is a Voyage of ten Days or a Fortnight; they sail in *January*, and return in *July*: They bring from thence Raw Silk, which is very good, Mudies, which is a Sort of Stuff made of the Bark of Trees; Wrought Silks, Calicoes, and Cinnamon, but it is not very strong.

The Ships destined for *Stam* sail about the Middle of *November*; they usually spend a Month in their Passage, but they do not return to *Canton* till towards the End of *July*. The Commodities they bring from thence are most of them exported again, either in gross, or manufactured. Their Commerce with *Batavia* is very extensive, the Ships engaged in it usually sail in the Beginning of the Month of *December*, and arrive there in *January*, they leave *Batavia* again in the Beginning of *June*, and reach *Canton* in the Month of *July*: The Distance between these Ports is usually reckoned 700 Leagues. As they pay the *Dutch East India Company* Four per Cent. for all they bring in, and make their Returns almost entirely in Goods, they pay no Duties upwards. The Goods they export are usually, fine Gold, Tutenagur, Gold Ware, China, Earthen ware of all Sorts, Quicksilver, Tea of all Sorts, Wrought Silks of different Kinds, Copper, Amieed, Vermilion, Mulk, Rhubarb, Borax, Glats of different Sorts, vast Quantities of Raw Silks. They bring from thence, in Return, Lead, Tin, Pepper, Camphire, Perfumes, Coral, Mats of different Sorts, Myrrh, Nutmegs, Cloves, Amber, Sugar-candy, and a vast Quantity of Drugs.

We have already given an Account of the great Commerce they carry on in *Japan*, and have more than once mentioned their Trade to *Manila*. This City lies at the Distance of two hundred Leagues from *Canton*, and the *Chinese* Junks go thither in *March*, and return in *July*. They export almost all the Commodities and Manufactures of *China* thither, and bring back Pearls, Sapan-wood, Hides, and Silver. The *Chinese* send annually a great many Ships to *Achin*, or, as they pronounce it in the *Indies*, *Acheen*. Each of these Ships is manned by five or six *Europeans*; the rest of the Ship's Crew are *Malays*, or, as they call them in the *Indies*, *Lafars*. The Super-cargoes, or Merchants only, are *Chinese*. The Season of their Sailing is towards the End of *October*, that they may arrive in the Beginning of *December* at *Achin*, and have time enough to proceed from thence to the *Maldives*. This is a very rich Commerce, and care is taken to afford their Goods in such a manner, as that they may sat the Markets of *Sarat*, *Achin*, and the *Maldives*. It is to be observed, that, throughout all the Trade they carry on in the *Indies*, the *Chinese* mingle *European* Commodities with their own;

and, where ever they traffick, they are sure to be considerable Gamers.

As to their Trade with the *Europeans*, we shall hereafter be obliged to speak of it very copiously, and explain the different Circumstances that have attended it in this Empire. At present, we shall conclude our Account of the Trade of *Canton*, by observing, that, besides all this foreign Trade, they carry on a prodigious Commerce with the Inhabitants of the different Parts of their own Empire, and this in several Ways; for the Inhabitants of this City are exceedingly industrious, very ingenious, and, what has the Advantage of working after *European* Models, so that there is a prodigious Quantity of all Sorts of Goods manufactured in the City and Suburbs, and exported to Sale in their Shops, where they are bought by those who come from other Provinces, to vend their own Commodities to the *Europeans*.

The Merchants of *Canton* also, as they have the Convenience of excellent Water carriage, not only to *Peking*, which is the Capital of the Empire, but likewise into most of the Provinces, freight abundance of small Vessels, and some of a considerable Size, with their Goods, and dispose of them every-where to great Advantage. Add to all this, that they carry on a large Commerce by Sea with the Island of *Hainan*, which is situated about ninety Leagues to the South-west of the River *Canton*, which, because it is less known, deserves a more particular Explanation. The Word *Hainan* signifies in *Chinese* the South of the Sea, which shews the Situation of the Country. This Island is about seventy Leagues from East to West, and about forty five from North to South, the North Part of the Island is a Plain, for about fifteen Leagues from the Shore; then the Mountains begin, which extend themselves into the Southern and Eastern Parts. The *Chinese* are possessed only of the Coast of this Island; the interior Part of the Country being still in the Hands of the Natives, who, from the Height of their Mountains, and the Thickness of their Forests, have hitherto escaped the Yoke both of the *Chinese* and *Japanese*. That Part of the Country which is possessed by the *Chinese*, is pleasant and fruitful, but, at certain Seasons of the Year, is not very wholesome; and, therefore, thought it almost the only Place to which Ships can sail at any time of the Year, yet they usually send their Vessels thither in the Month of *November*, laden with the Goods and Manufactures of *Canton*, for which they receive in Exchange fine Gold, of which there is Plenty in the Island, *Zeas* Wood, and other rich Commodities, which they vend throughout all Parts of the Empire, and even export to *Japan*, with large Profit.

On the Whole, therefore, their various Branches of Commerce being considered, there is nothing more to be said what our Travellers relate, of there being seldom less than 5000 Sail of trading Junks, besides smaller Vessels, lying continually in this Port. The ancient *Chinese* Emperors were extremely jealous of Foreigners, and put restrictions almost as many Restritions as the Monarch of *Japan*; and, before the *Tartars* had completed their Conquest of *China*, they were likewise in such the same Disposition. But the late, and the present Emperor, have altered in quite another manner, and have opened their Ports to *Canton* and *Amy* to all Nations, but still continue to impose high Duties, and to put the Merchants under various Restrictions, conformable to the Genius of the *Chinese* Nation, and the Maxims of their Policy. We cannot form a better Idea of the Nature of their Government, than from the Description given of it, by an Author perfectly acquainted therewith, in a single Line. *The Empire of China*, says he, is a City of 1200 Leagues in Extent. By which he meant, that the Whole of this vast Country is exactly regulated, and the Inhabitants as if they were contained within the Bounds of their Duty, as if the Whole was but one City, and under the Eye of the same Magistrate.

But, notwithstanding the vast Extent of the City of *Canton*, and the prodigious Number of its Inhabitants, we are not to imagine, that it is the only considerable Place in the Province; or that the other Cities and great Towns

are inconsiderable in true. As a Proof of this, we shall give a short Account of the Revolution in *Canton*. The Manufacturers retire to a Place, to a Circumference, and in the Number of its interior to *Canton* are also large, well and all the adjacent and not the Fields Spot of Ground, are advantage. In a Wonderful Spectator, sufficient to afford him *Chow*; and the Wilder he calls his Eye themselves to his View Advantage, and to decide, whether the Accessions made thence, ought not to return to the History made a long, but, we When we come in the large, of this nobly gratify, in their utmost our Readers by this perhaps, we may have made by the most interesting, who had, to making themselves pe the Country, and the time let us proceed.

On the 14th of *December*, *Canton*, and, on his Arrival by all the *European* Vessels. The next Day the Gentlemen who had Audience of the Vice- of the Ship, the Sea-Orders for completing his Resolution to return all the necessary. And on the 25th, they began to fall down the from the Middle of

On the 10th, their Boats a head to homeward bound Ship. Commence with six next Day they passed the Province, and the. The next Day they an fine Eastern Waters, Powder, dry Provioners, and then told her the Afternoon they had brisk Gale, with heavy, and that to further Inches in two owing to their Gun. Morning they put the anchor. On the 15th, for us, 2 Days together, as being the and the Island of *Batavia* three Fathom Water, and Fathom Water.

On the 10th, they the *Malays* Coast, and with great Danger, as on both Sides; for the South, the Strait the *Malays* Coast.

an inconsiderable in respect to it; for the contrary is strictly true. As a Proof of this, I must observe, that, within four Leagues of this City, there lies the Town of *Fo-chan*, to which, during the Troubles at *Canton*, occasioned by the Revolution in *China*, abundance of Tradesmen and Manufacturers retired; since which, it is become so considerable a Place, that it is no less than three Leagues in Circumference; and, in point of Riches, Trade, and even Circumference, it is very little, if at all, inferior to *Canton* itself. The other Cities of the Province are also large, well peopled, and have a great Trade; and all the adjacent Country is thick-set with fine Villages; and not the Fields only, but the Mountains, and every Spot of Ground, are laid out and cultivated to the best Advantage. In a Word, the View that is afforded to a judicious Spectator, in passing up the River of *Canton*, is sufficient to afford him a competent Idea of the Wealth of *China*, and the Wisdom of its Government; for, wherever he casts his Eyes, new Scenes of Industry present themselves to his View; every thing is improved to the best Advantage, and he finds himself absolutely at a Loss to decide, whether the Fertility bestowed by Nature, or the Accessions made thereto by the Labour of the Inhabitants, ought not to be admired. But it is now time to return to the History of this Voyage, from which we have made a long, but, we hope, not an unpleasant Digression. When we come in the second Book, to treat expressly, and at large, of this noble Empire, we shall endeavour to gratify, in their utmost Extent, the Expectations raised in our Readers by this short Account of *Canton*; in which, perhaps, we may have the Assistance of the Observations made by the most intelligent Persons concerned in this Expedition, who had, to be sure, great Opportunities of making themselves perfectly acquainted with the State of the Country, and the Manners of the People. In the mean time let us proceed.

On the 27th of *December*, the Commodore returned from *Canton*, and, on his Arrival on board his Ship, was saluted by all the *European* Vessels in the Harbour, except the *French*. The next Day he gave a grand Entertainment to the Gentlemen who had attended him when he had his Audience of the Vice-King; and, having taken a Survey of the Ship, the Sea-stores, and Provisions, and given his Orders for completing whatever was wanting, he declared his Resolution to return home immediately; and accordingly all the necessary Dispositions were made for sailing: And on the 29th, they weighed, with their Prize, and began to sail down the River of *Canton*, in which they had lain from the Middle of the Month of *July*.

On the 10th, they warped over the Bar, and sent their Boats a head to tow: The same Afternoon, a *Swedish* homeward-bound Ship, lying there at Anchor, saluted the Commodore with sixteen Guns, who returned fifteen. The next Day they passed *Lan-tin* Bar; and, on the 12th, sent the Pinnace, and the third Lieutenant in her, to *Macao*. The next Day they anchored in the Road of that Place in five Fathom Water, where they cleared the Piece of the Powder, dry Provisions, and Water, that was on board her, and then told her to the *Portuguese*. On the 13th in the Afternoon they sailed from *Macao*, the next Day they had brisk Gales, with Rain. They now found the Ship heavy, and that to such a Degree, that the Water gained seven Inches in two Hours, which it was judged was owing to their own ports not being caulked. The next Morning they put their Fore-sail, and were forced to bend it. On the 15th, in the Afternoon, the Water gained considerably, and the Weather continued very indolent for several Days together. On the 22d, they fell to blowing, a being then entered the Sea between *Macao* and the Island of *Borneo*, and found from sixty-four to fifty three Fathom Water. The two next Days they continued blowing, and had from thirty-five to twenty five Fathom Water.

On the 26th, they had Sight of some of the Islands on the *Malacca* Coast, and continued steering through them with great Danger, as having a narrow Channel, with Shoals on both sides; for the Island of *Langen*, which lies to the South of the Straights of *Singapore*, immediately under the Equinoctial. On the 29th in the Morning, the Southern

most of the *Seven Brothers*, which are so many small Islands lying off the Coast of *Sumatra*, bore East South-east, at the Distance of six Leagues: At two that Afternoon, they passed the Straights between *Sumatra* and *Banca*. The latter is a small Island, about fifty Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth; the most Southern Point of which lies in the Latitude of 3° South, and is undoubtedly the most conveniently situated of any Island in those Seas; which has made the *Dutch* often regret their not fixing the Centre of their *Indian* Trade in some Place on that Island rather than at *Batavia*; because they might easily have planted the whole Island, and have kept it intirely in their own Hands; whereas it is impossible for them to think of doing this in the Island of *Java*.

On the 29th they entered, and the next Day they passed through the Straights, between the Islands of *Sumatra* and *Borneo*; and had the Island of *Lucapara*, which lies without the Straights, bearing directly South. On the last of *December*, that Island bore North-east, at about four Leagues distant; and, on the 2d of *January*, they anchored on the Coast of *Java*, off the High-land of *Bantam*, at the Distance of about forty Miles from *Batavia*. There were two *Dutch* Ships in the Road, on board of which the Commodore sent his Pinnace; and those who were on board her reported, on their Return, that eight *Dutch* Ships, homeward-bound, were expected from *Batavia*, in order to pass the Straights of *Sunda*. On the 3d, about six in the Morning, they weighed, in order to pass through the Straights; and, at four in the Afternoon, saw *Prince's Island*, which was to be the Rendezvous of the *Dutch* Fleet, lying South-west by South. The next Day at Noon the Island bore West, and they sent their Boat on shore, in order to find the Watering place.

On the 4th, they anchored in forty-five Fathom Water on the Coast of *Prince's Island*; and, the same Evening, five *Dutch* Ships came to an Anchor there, which were homeward bound. While they were getting their Wood and Water on board, they felt the Shock of an Earthquake, which lasted about a Minute. The same Day there arrived two more *Dutch* Ships from *Batavia*, which were Part of those that were expected; and, on the 7th, there arrived three more. On the 8th, they completed their Watering, and received some Cordage from a *Dutch* Ship. On the 9th in the Morning, they unmoored, and made Sail, with five *Dutch*, for *Europe*. On the 15th, they had Sight of the South-end of *Christmas Island*.

On the 15th, they had very bad Weather; by which, about eight in the Morning, their Main-sail was split, and blown from the Yard; and from thence, to the 22d, they had hard Gales, dark Weather, and much Rain; but very moderate Weather for the next Week. On the 2d of *February*, their Fore-trussel-trees broke. On the 25th, they had very hard Gales, and much Rain: About six in the Evening their Main-sail and Mizzen were split. On the 28th, the Main and Fore-top sail split, which they mended; and, having mended, set them up again. On the 8th, they tacked, and stood to the North. On the 5th of *March*, they saw the Continent of *Africa*, bearing from North-east to North North-west. On the 11th, having little Wind, and fair Weather, about six in the Evening, they saw the Head-land of the Cape of *Good Hope*, bearing North North-east, distant about ten Leagues; and, about Noon the next Day, the Cape was distant about five Leagues.

On the 12th in the Afternoon, they anchored in *Table Bay*, at the Distance of somewhat more than a Mile from the Shore. They found riding here the *Salisbury*, Captain *Burroughs*, and the *Warwick*, Captain *Misner*, belonging to the *East India* Company, who saluted them with eleven Guns each; they answered them both with nine: Here were likewise five Sail of *Dutch* Ships, whose Commodore saluted them with eleven Guns, and they returned nine. At three in the Afternoon they warped farther into the Bay, and moored with their best Bower. At Six, one of the *Dutch* Ships failed out: At Ten, they struck the Main and the Fore yards, it appearing very likely to be a wet Night. About Midnight, their best Bower Cable broke, with the Haller that was bent to the Stream Anchor, so that they rode all Night by the Sheet Cable.

Cable. In the Morning they struck the Top-masts, in order to get the Fore and Main-top-gallant Yards down, and began to unstrip the Fore-masts, in order to fit new Trussel-trees: Sent their empty Casks for Water in the *Warwick's* Long boat; and, at Eleven, received on board, by the *Salisbury's* Boat, fresh Provisions, such as Beef and Mutton, for the Ship's Company. The *Dutch* Commodore fired the Morning and Evening Gun; and on the 18th, in the Evening, they received on board an Anchor, 2800 lb. Weight, and a Cable of nineteen Inches and a half about, and 120 Fathom long; bent the Cable to the Anchor, to make it ready for Use. At Four in the Morning they weighed, and warped in towards the Fort, and then new moored, having the following Bearings; the Castle and Town S. W. and the Body of *Penguin* Island N. W. the Water Fort S. W. distant three Quarters of a Mile.

On the 14th, the Commodore went ashore in the Barge; at his passing by the *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, they saluted him with eleven Guns. The next Day they began to unrig the Fore-mast, and over-hale their Rigging, and began to clear the Hold, that they might get at their Ground-tier. On the 16th in the Morning, they set up a Tent for the Use of the Coopers on shore, and sent their Cask by the Launch to be trimmed by them. In the Afternoon, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, which had been five Months coming from *Spithead*; and, at Nine, came in and anchored the *Margaret*, Captain *F. Heys*, which had been twelve Weeks coming from *Holland*. They sent the Launch to seek the best Bower Anchor, which the Cable parted from on *Sunday* Night last, the Buoy being sunk or lost, that hook'd the Cable. Their Carpenter found four Shot-holes within the Lining, under the Fore-chains, above the Water, and took abundance of small Shot out; which they believed was the Occasion of the Ship's being so leaky at Sea. This Day they sent all their sick People on shore.

On the 15th, at three in the Morning, they received from the Shore, by two *Dutch* Boats, eighteen Coils of Ropes, and a Remnant of white Rope for a Tiller rope, with other Stores. At Noon, they sent a large *Dutch* Boat to weigh their best Bower. They brought the Anchor on board, and the Cable, being near a whole one. On the 20 in the Afternoon, they heeled Ship to the Starboard, and then scrubbed it, and paid it with Tallow and Lime; men heeled the other Way, and scrubbed: But the Seabreeze came in, and cauled to great a Swell, that they could not make an End. The next Day, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, one of which had accompanied them from *Java*; the other was outward bound, and had spent three Months in coming from *Spithead*. On the 22d, there anchored another *Dutch* Ship outward-bound, which had been five Months in sailing from the *Texel* thither. That Day and the next, they sent their Launch several times for Water; but could get none, the Pipes being stopp'd: But that Evil was soon remedied, and the Launch came off in the Night, with ten Casks filled; and, in two or three Days, they made a great Progress in their Watering. On the 25th, a *Dutch* Ship anchored there from *Amsterdam*.

On the 26th, another arrived. The next Morning, about six o'Clock, the *Dutch* Commodore struck his Flag, and the other *Dutch* Ship hoist'd it at the Mizen-top-mast, and, about seven, sailed for *Batavia*. On the 27th, the *Winchester* anchored in the Bay, and saluted them with eleven Guns. She had been thirteen Months from *England*, and six Weeks in her Passage from *Pernambuco* on the Coast of *Brazil*, into which Port she had been obliged to put, in order to repair some Damage she had received at Sea. This Day, they received the Commodore's live Stock, and a small Quantity of Wine for his Sea-store. The next Day, they sent on shore 5000 Dollars, and, on the 29th, received on board thirteen Casks of dry Provision. On the 30th, the Commodore and Captain *Brett* came on board, and they began to prepare for their Departure, having spent about three Weeks at the Cape; which gave them an Opportunity of observing the mighty Advantages that the *Dutch* make of that Settlement, which had been slighted by us.

They were very kindly and hospitably treated, and had Leave to purchase whatever Stores or Provisions they had

Occasion for. Such as live in this Country have things very cheap, as well as very good; but Strangers pay a pretty high Price for Liquors and Provisions, which is occasioned by the high Duties imposed by the *East India* Company. This is a thing, of which *Englishmen* are often apt to complain; but, perhaps, without any great Reason, since the *Dutch East India* Company have no other Way to indemnify themselves for the great Expence they are at in the Support of this Settlement, which carries on little or no Trade, except this; and therefore there is no Wonder, that they make use of every Method possible, in order to make it turn to their Advantage. The Town at the Cape is pretty large, consisting now of 400 Houles and upwards; and yet there are but few Public-houses or Places licensed to sell Liquors by Retail. In these Houles Strangers drink the Cape Wine at about six Strivers a Quart, at least one half of which is paid for Excise, and so in proportion for other things. The Inhabitants purchase both *Indian* and *European* Commodities at a cheap Rate from the Sailors, which they send again, with great Profit, to the Farmers and Planters, who have no Opportunity of making any such Bargains, the nearest of their Plantations being twenty Miles from the Sea-coast.

Our People can by no means be reconciled to the *Hottentots*, but look upon them as the basest and most brutish People in the World; which is chiefly owing to their ill Smell, occasioned by their greasing themselves continually. Yet this is not a Custom peculiar to the *Hottentots*, but is used by most of the Negroes on the Coast of *Guinea*. It is true, that the latter, generally speaking, make use of Oil, which is less offensive; but, when they cannot get that, they, like the *Hottentots*, content themselves with fish Grease and Kitchen-stuff, as they can purchase from the *Europeans* who trade with them. This Custom likewise prevails in the *East Indies*, particularly on the *Molucca* Coast; but more especially in the Islands, as for Instance, at *Samatra*, where the Natives grease themselves as much, and smell to the full as strong, as the *Hottentots*. The *Jamaica* likewise practise the same thing; and so do the People of the *Philippines*, and of the Spice Islands; but then they commonly make use of Cocoa-nut Oil, which is far from being disagreeable. In one respect, however, the *Hottentots* excel them all; for they are particularly careful to grease and smut their Faces; which is what the *Indians* never do. This Custom of anointing is not altogether unknown to the *Americans*, tho', generally speaking, they rather affect painting their Bodies, perhaps from the same Cause that the *Hottentots* and *Indians* anoint themselves, in order to defend their naked Bodies from the Inclemency of the Weather.

It is plain therefore, that, even in this respect, the Manners of the *Hottentots* are not much grosser, or more barbarous, than those of other Nations; and a nearer Inspection would have shewn us, that, notwithstanding their Grease and their Grease, these poor People are endowed with Qualities that would not at all discredit even the politer Nations. For Instance, the *Hottentots* are exceedingly sincere; they profess the utmost Readiness to assist such Strangers as come amongst them, and they are never known to qualify their Professions. The *Hottentot* is not Master of much Eloquence, even in his own Language; but has a stout Regard to the Truth of what he delivers in any Language, even in that of Nature, I mean, by Signs; which is a Matter of great Consequence among an outtaught, and, as we affect to call them, a barbarous People. There was another Quality extremely conspicuous in the *Hottentots*, which ought to have secured them from our Contempt, and that is, their generous Love of Liberty: The *Hottentots* will rather die, than be a Slave; and what could a *Roman*, what could an *Athenian*, do more? I know it may be said, that this proceeds from Laziness: But I cannot allow that, for the *Hottentots* will work for the *Dutch* for Subsistence, tho' not as Slaves. They claim a Right of judging what and how much is necessary for their Maintenance, and, having acquired this, they are content. I do not pretend to say, that they reason right about the Necessaries of Life. Indeed, who does? But I say, that they have true Notions of Liberty, which consists in doing what we think fit ourselves, and not what is imposed upon us by others.

There is yet a third Quality most eminent in the *Hottentots*, for which they have been unjustly, shall I say, or barbarously, reproached by other Nations; the Quality I mean is, the Love of their Country. *Hottentots* have been carried off very young, both by the *English* and the *Dutch*, educated in *Europe*, and accustomed to our Manners; and, upon their being carried back, have immediately renounced all the Advantages they had over their Brethren, and became mere *Hottentots* again. This appears to us in the Light of Brutality; but let it appear in what Light it will, it shews their Love of their Country, and of their Countrymen: And the same Affection is most evident in every Part of their Conduct; for when an *Hottentot* has acquired Provisions by his Labour, he will share them with any *Hottentot* who is in Want; and no Alteration of Circumstances, no Change in Situation, can make an *Hottentot* forget that he is an *Hottentot*, and that every *Hottentot* is his Brother: Noble and generous Sentiments, in spite of their Grease and Sheep-skins!

I must observe, that their Virtues are as little controverted as their Habit, and therefore I can never be brought to think, that People who possess them, and are so tenacious of them, that even the Conversation and Example of the *Europeans* cannot despoil them of these Qualities, ought to be represented as almost on the Level with Beasts. Drunkenness, and other Vices, with which they are reproached, they have been taught by the *Europeans*; but who taught them their Virtues? or who has the Courage, who has the good Sense and Justice, to admire them? Some of the *Dutch* Writers have, and have, I am sorry to say, been laughed at for their Pains. I would not be thought a Lover of Paradoxes, or a Person who would pique myself on contradicting the common Notions of Mankind: I should not have taken these Pains, at least in this Place, to vindicate the *Hottentots* purely to amuse or entertain the Reader; but I am led to it from an *Hottentot* Principle, that of Love to my Country.

This absurd, this unreasonable Aversion to the Sheep-skins and Grease, to the untoward Appearance, and uncouth Manners of the *Hottentots*, lost us the valuable Settlement at the Cape. There were many Attempts made by the *English East India Company* to form a Plantation here; but in vain. Those who were sent reported, that the Country was only fit for *Hottentots*; and that there was no living in it, or with them: Yet we see at this Day, that there is not a finer, more fruitful, or more pleasant Country in the World; and that the *Dutch* are so far from thinking a Correspondence with the *Hottentots* inconvenient, that they have all along treated them with Justice and good Manners. They purchased from them the Country which they have cultivated; and the King of the Company's *Hottentots* is a free and independent Prince. It is therefore of great Importance for us to rid ourselves of these narrow and ridiculous Notions, and to eradicate that foolish Principle of making those Humours, which we are wise enough to condemn at home, the Standard of Right and Wrong abroad.

We often assert, and I believe justly, that the Knowledge, Learning, and Lights, of the present Age are superior to those of the past. Let us use them then; let us transmit the Fruits of them to Posterity; let us exceed, at least let us equal, our Ancestors, by showing them one Plantation, besides *GEORGIA*, the Work of ONE Man's Virtue, settled in our Time: Let us shew, that our Discoveries are not confined to speculation; but that we are able to execute, as well as to talk or write, let us join the Industry, the Activity, the public Spirit, of the last Age, to the Learning and Lights of this; let us amend our Errors, as well as to decay them; and let it be the Study of those, who enjoy Power, or who aspire to it, to convince their Countrymen, that they have nothing in View, but their Good. Without this, all our Application to the Sciences, all our Discoveries, all our Improvements, will do us no Good. We shall see, like the *Alchemists* in the Decline of their Republic, celebrated for our Knowledge, and despised for our Vices: We shall live upon what was transmitted to us by the Care and Courage of our Forefathers, and leave to Posterity the Admiration of our Abilities in Theory, and Weakness in Practice. But, in the Midst of their Reflections, our Po-

sterity must admit, that some Men are free from the Infection; and, while they read in our Annals too many Instances of naval Miscarriages, they will be obliged to confess, from the History of this Voyage, that there was one Man, who, in spite of the greatest Difficulties and Discouragements, did not miscarry.

On April 1, 2. they received the rest of the dry Provisions and naval Stores, which the Commodore had purchased; and, having reviewed their Store of Water, found it consisted of 108 Tons of Water; and that they were, in every respect, furnished with what was necessary for their Return to *England*, the Ship being in a much better Condition than when she failed from the River of *Canton*, the Men in good Health, and the Ship's Company recruited by such able Seamen, as the Officers could meet with at the Cape, and, in a Word, every Precaution made use of, that could possibly contribute towards making the Remainder of the Voyage safe and easy; and, every thing being thus in Order, on April 3. the Commodore gave Directions for sailing the next Morning as early as possible.

37. They began therefore to unmoor about four o'Clock, and at eight they weighed, and turned out of the Bay. The *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, and *Winchester*, saluted them each with eleven Guns; and they returned nine. The *Dutch* Commodore saluted with nine, and had seven returned. As we have often mentioned these Salutes, it may not be amiss to observe, that they are regulated by the Commodore's Instructions, which direct, 'That if Merchant-ships, whether Foreigners, or belonging to his Majesty's Subjects, salute the Admiral of a Fleet, they shall be answered by six Guns less. When they salute any other Flag-ship, they shall be answered by four Guns less; and, if they salute Men of War, they shall be answered by two Guns less. If several Merchant-ships salute in Company, no Return is to be made, till they have all finished, and then by such a Number of Guns as shall be thought proper; but, tho' the Merchant-ships should answer, there shall be no second Return. All Salutes are to be made with the Guns of the Upper-deck.'

By Noon, the Island of *Penguin* bore North-east by East, and the *Sugar-loaf* South-east, distant ten Leagues. On the 5th, they began to serve two Quarts of Water a Day to each of the Ship's Company. On the 10th, they exercised their Guns and Small-arms; and on the 11th, they did the same. On the 19th they had Sight of the Island of *St. Helena*, bearing North-east, at the Distance of eight Leagues. On the 30th, about two in the Morning, they saw a Light, which they took to be a Ship steering West by North, and therefore made a clear Ship. On May 3. in the Afternoon, they hoisted out the Cutter, and scrubbed the Ship between Wind and Water.

On the 4th, they exercised their great Guns and Small-arms. On the 5th, they sprung their Main-top-mast and Trussel-trees. On the 6th they repaired this Damage. On the 18th, the Wind being fair, they hoisted the Cutter, to scrub the Ship. On the 21st, they had a large swell from the North North-west; saw abundance of Weeds floating on the Sea, of which we have given a satisfactory Account in a former Section. On the 29th, about four in the Afternoon, their Fore-top-sail was carried away; which obliged them to get in their Sprit-sail-yard, and make it serve for a Top-sail-yard; and at the same time let their Fore-top for a Sprit-sail-yard. On the 30th in the Morning, they had a very hard and sudden Squall of Rain and Wind, which carried away their Top-sail-yard, and split the Sail; upon which they cued up all their Sails.

On the 31st, they had a great Swell from the North-west, which sprung the Fore-top-sail-yard; which obliged them to unbend their Sails, get them down, and double-reef the Top-sail. On June 5. they hoisted out the Cutter, to scrub the Ship between Wind and Water; and, on the 6th, about five in the Morning, they discovered a Sail steering North by West; upon which they made a clear Ship, and gave Chace. About ten, they came up with her, fired a Gun, and the brought-to. She proved a homeward-bound Merchantman: from *Cape Fare* in *North Carolina*, laden with Tar and Rosin. The Commodore had sent his Cutter on board, to inquire whether War was broken out with *France*, or

or not; but they were unable to resolve the Question. The three next Days, they had moderate Gales, and thick, foggy Weather.

38. On June 10. the Weather was dark and cloudy; and, on the 11th in the Morning, they discovered a Sail to Windward, fired a Gun, and brought her to. The Commodore then ordered his Cutter to be hoisted out, and sent his Third Lieutenant in her, to learn News: She proved to be a Ship bound from Rotterdam to Philadelphia, with 200 Palatines on board, who were going to settle in Pennsylvania. They informed the Lieutenant, that there was a French War; and that the British Channel swarmed with Men of War and Privateers, both English and French. At Nine they bent their Cables, hoisted the Launch over the Side, and lashed her there.

On the 12th, they had moderate and cloudy Weather: About one in the Afternoon, they saw three Sail to the E. N. E. distant about five Leagues, upon which they made a clear Ship, and ordered every Man and Boy to his Station; and then gave Chace. They came up with two of them about three in the Afternoon; these Vessels came from Dublin: They continued to chafe the Third, but they tacked and stood to the North; and the Commodore, finding that he could not come up with her, gave over the Chace.

At four the next Morning they found, and had fifty-three Fathom Water; at Noon they had Sight of the Lizard, bearing North half West, at the Distance of eight Leagues. About one of the Clock, they saw two Sail, distant about three Leagues, and gave Chace, and came up with them about Three, when they proved to be the Salamander Privateer, and a Martinico Ship, she had taken in Tow. They confirmed the Intelligence they had received of a French War. In the Evening, the Lizard bore N. W. and the Star; N. E. by E.

On the 14th, in the Morning they saw the Island of Portland bearing N. E. by E. and in the Evening they had Sight of the Isle of Wight: On the 15th, about half an Hour after eleven o'Clock, they came to, and anchored with their best Bower, in ten Fathom Water, in London-Bay: About Four the next Morning they weighed, and made Sail, and at Ten arrived at St. Helen's; the Crew being not a little rejoiced at the Sight of their native Country, after they had been absent from it near four Years; in which they had experienced every Kind of Hardship, to which the Life of a Seaman is exposed, and having run thro' a surprizing Variety of Dangers to the last: For it is to be remembered, that they arrived at a Juncture when Things were in the greatest Confusion, and when the French had the best Part of their Naval Force at Sea, and even cruising upon our Coasts. The Commodore immediately wrote to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, to acquaint him with his Arrival, and with the most material Occurrences, from the Time of his former Dispatch by Captain Stenders; which Letter, or at least an Extract from it, was published in the London Gazette, and occasioned as great and general Joy throughout the Nation, as can well be imagined: And, in order farther to indulge the Pleasure of the People, the Treasure taken in the Spanish Ship was carried in the most public Manner through the Streets, in thirty two Waggon, to the Tower, in the same Manner as the Silver formerly taken by Admiral Boscawen, when he burnt the Spanish Gallions, had been: I must confess, in my Judgment, with much better Reason.

29. As I open'd this Section with a Piece of ancient History, I shal open this Remark with observing, that, notwithstanding this Expedition was not attended with so great Success in the South Seas, as was expected, yet the Nation in general is very far from believing, that it ought to deter us from the Thoughts of such Expeditions for the future: since it appears plainly, that, if the Commodore's whole Squadron had got round with him into the South Seas, he would have been able to have performed much greater Things than any of our Commanders have hitherto done in those Parts. Neither is it all clear, that the Spaniards are in a better Condition, their Coasts better fortified, their Garrisons more numerous, or the Country in any respect better provided, than when our Privateers had for-

merly so great Success there. The Sacking of Payta proves the contrary, since it was actually in a worse Condition, when taken last, than when Captain Sbebrocke took it, and less capable of making any Resistance.

If this Expedition had never taken place, we might have been told, that it was impracticable, that the Spaniards were grown wiser: that all their Ports were well fortified; and that to attempt any thing would be only sacrificing the Lives of such as were employed in the Expedition. But we now know the contrary; that the Spaniards are actually as unguarded, and as little apprehensive as ever; and, perhaps, the Fate of this Undertaking may have made them less so; so that if a new Project of the same Kind was to be put in Execution, either at public or private Expence, there seems to be a moral Certainty, that it would succeed.

The Scheme which Commodore Anson was sent to execute, was certainly well laid; and if the two Ships that repass'd the Streights of Le Maire, and thereby exposed themselves to greater Dangers, than they could have met with by continuing their Voyage, had either proceeded with the Commodore, or had followed him to the Island of Juan Fernandez, he would have had Men enough to have undertaken somewhat of Consequence either in China or Peru, since he would have had 900 or 1000 Men under his Command: Or, if even the Wager had joined him, he must have had Men sufficient for the Centurion and Gloucester; and, consequently, would have been in a better Condition than the Duke and Dutchess were, who gained such immense Wealth in these Seas. But that he was joined by none of his Squadron at the Place of Rendezvous, except the Gloucester and the Trul Sloop, is a Thing that never happened before; and will, very probably, never happen again.

As to their Hardships in this Passage, we ought not to consider them as Reasons sufficient to deter us from making any Attempt on that Side again; because, in the first Place, they may be easily guarded against, by going at a better Season of the Year, with fewer Incumbrances, and touching at proper Places by the Way: And, in the next Place, we ought to consider, that the French have sent Ships thither, by Leave from the Court of Spain, since; and, beyond Question, we are as able Navigators as the French: Besides, if we suffer ourselves to be discouraged by the Accidents that betel this Squadron, we shall absolutely lose the Knowledge and Practice of this Navigation, and Despair of ever sending a Ship into the South Seas again; for, if we send no Ships in the time of War, there are many Reasons, and, which is more persuasive than any Reason, there is Experience, to induce, our Benefit will be less than our Loss: For, if we send no Ships at all; and, consequently, there is an End of all Hopes, either of Conquests, or of Discoveries, on this Side; that is, on the Side, where either, or where both, might be made, with greatest Advantage to this Nation.

Yet the Reasons that formerly made such Undertakings expedient, still subsist in their full Force: The Spaniards derive that Wealth, which makes them and their Allies, so formidable in Europe, from hence: It is as much in our Power, as it ever was, to distress them, and to the Spirit of availing ourselves, by distressing our Enemies in this way, was never stronger than it is now: There is another Argument that ought to prevail with us, to justify our Expeditions of this Kind, derived from the Success the Commodore met with in his late Voyage: It was not to take any Design in another Part of the World, but to do it, there is an End, and we must of late have done so, the Loss; but here, if we fail in one Place, we may succeed in another, and one rich Prize will be a great Benefit to the Public, at least for their Expences; for a Million brought home in Silver, will at any time compensate the Expence of the Loss of two or three Ships; and the Expence of rebuilding them, or at least the greatest Part of it, may be made up amongst ourselves: At all Events, it is better to hazard our Ships, nay, and our Men too, where something is to be got, than where nothing is to be had: Our Men have not been destroyed, and our Ships worn out, in service without a Shilling ever refunded to the Public: But the same cannot be said of this: It has actually cost us a great deal

Sum of Money into the South Seas, by which we may bring another Squadron into the South Seas, or we may be able to purchase a Spanish Commande: There was a great deal of Money that was lost in the War come this Winter: It is to the Spirit and Courage of our Men, as great as ever: But Actions, that engage us, to make the present War was unprofitable, and our Fate, in the present War, will determine the Fate of the future: It is extremely fortunate in the present War, and Spanish, in the present War, to complete our good Fortune in the South Seas.

Another Expedition attended with fewer Losses, might be undertaken, to settle all the Advantages that have become Proprietors of the South Seas, and the Advantage accrue to the Nation, by a Number of able Men, who will be able to navigate the South Seas, by any other Means.

Heretofore the whole Hands of the Maritime World, have been only the French, but now they are divided into the French, and the English, as appears by the late Rear-Admiral Anson's Voyage, and the late Admiral Boscawen's; which is a very interesting consideration: There was a Time, that we were endeavouring to strike out a new Branch of Commerce, which our Neighbourhood affords us no instance of, by going at a Stay: If we only go backward; every known Branch of Commerce, is not of our Safety, and it is not possible, open to the Benefit of this Country, never can be done, if we do not the perfecting our Commerce.

But I would not be misled by the Series and Misfortunes of the present Voyage: The contrary of the History I have given you, is, to convince us, that our Discoveries and Discoverments are sufficient to ground a doubt upon the Sentiment on this Side should be, that the putting the Loss of the Centurion's Company to Purse much be a great Loss to us.

For if, after being distressed by our Hardships, they land on the Island of Juan Fernandez, in the South Seas, then they took Shelter in the Bay of Maccas, was attended with the Taking of the Spanish Ship, which is a very credible, considering the Condition they were in, and the Difficulties they were in, and the Hazard of the Viceroy, and there is such a People as the Nation, and his Proceedings, to aggravate the Matter: It is to be feared, that from Canton through the Cape of Good Hope, with a Crew that wanted

Sum of Money into the Kingdom, and has shewn us the Way by which we may bring more.

Another Squadron may meet with the *Atapulco* Ship in the South Seas, or with the *Lima* Ship, in her Passage to *Atapulco*: There wants only Care, Diligence, and an experienced Commander, to make a Part of the Expences of the War come this Way out of our Enemies Pockets; for, as to the Spirit and Courage of the *English* Seamen, they are as great as ever they were, and there wants nothing but Actions, that may be attended with proper Encouragement, to make this evident to the whole World. The present War was undertaken for the sake of our Trade; and our Fate, in the present War, I mean our Fate at Sea, will determine the Fate of our Trade. We have been extremely fortunate in making Prizes, both from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in the North Seas: There wants nothing to complete our good Fortune, but to be as successful in the South.

Another Expedition might be, probably would be, attended with fewer Difficulties; at least, it is certain, that it might be undertaken at a much less Expence; and then, beside all the Advantages resulting to such private Persons as become Proprietors, there would this inestimable Advantage accrue to the Public, that we should once more have a Number of able Mariners, well acquainted with the Navigation of the South Seas, which we never can have by any other Means.

Hitherto the whole Trade of *Europe* was in the Hands of the Maritime Powers; but, at present, not only the *French*, but many other Nations, are putting in for a Share, as appears by the great Number of *European* Ships that Rear-Admiral *Anson* met with in the Ports of *Mocoa* and *Canton*; which is a Circumstance that deserves to be attentively considered. This therefore is a Time, if ever there was a Time, that we ought to exert ourselves, and endeavour to strike out some new Branch of Commerce into which our Neighbours cannot so readily fall. History affords us no instance of a Maritime Power that remained long at a Stay. If we do not go forward, we must necessarily go backward; and, as we are rivaled in almost every known Branch of Commerce, except that to our own Plantations, it is not our Interest only, but absolutely necessary to our Safety, to support and extend these; and, if it be possible, open some new Chancel, both for the Benefit of this Country, and of our Plantations, which never can be done, if we do not encourage long Voyages, and the perfecting ourselves in every Kind of Navigation.

But I would not be understood to lessen at all the Miseries and Misfortunes of such as were employed in this Voyage: The contrary, I think indeed, will appear from the History I have given of it. All I endeavour, all I aim at, is, to convince the Reader, that the Difficulties and Discouragements met with in this Voyage, are not sufficient to ground a decisive Opinion by the Few, in Opposition to the Sentiments of the Many, that all Attempts on this Side should be abandoned; and I really think, that the putting the Difficulties and Discouragements of the *Centurion's* Company in the strongest Light, will serve my Purpose much better than lessening or extenuating them.

For if, after being ruined by Storms, Diseases, and Hardships, they landed, rather Skeletons than Men, on the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; if, after their long Cruise in the South Seas, their Distresses came to be as great when they took Shelter in the Island of *Tinian*; if the going at *Macao* was attended with many Inconveniences; if the Taking the *Spanish* Galleon be a Thing almost incredible, considering the small Number of Men, and the Condition they were in, that attacked her in the *Centurion*; if the Difficulties they afterwards met with in the River of *Sanon*, and the Hazard run by the Commodore in visiting the *Viceroy*, and thereby putting himself into the Hands of such a People as the *Cinco*, who could not but be distressed with his Proceedings, are Circumstances that still aggravate the Matter; if to perilous a Navigation as that from *Canton* through the Streights of *Sunda*, and thence to the Cape of *Good Hope*, with little or no Retreliment, with a Crew that wanted it so much, is still more amazing;

and if the bringing home the Ship from thence, with a Company composed of so many different Nations, in the Midst of a *French* War, and without the least Assistance from home, swell the Whole into a kind of Miracle; What does all this prove? Why, since all this was, under God, intirely owing to the Prudence, Moderation, and wise Conduct, of the commanding Officer, it certainly proves, that, if a right Choice be made of Commanders, there are no Difficulties that may not be overcome; and therefore, this Voyage ought not to discourage us at all.

For, I presume, that, with the Help of Rear-Admiral *Anson's* Example, there are many Officers who would undertake and execute such an Expedition, to the Honour of their Country, and to the Advantage of those who employed them, supposing them to be employed by private Persons. This is the Use, the right Use, that might be made of this Expedition; an Expedition difficult, dangerous, and, in a manner, impracticable, considered in one Light; but an Expedition equally glorious and successful, when considered in another: An Expedition, that has demonstrated, to the whole World, that a Train of unforeseen and disastrous Accidents may be remedied, and even turned to Advantage, by an honest, skilful, brave, experienced, and well-meaning Officer: An Expedition, which shews, that there are no Hazards, no Difficulties, no Distresses, capable of depressing the Courage of *English* Seamen, under a proper Command: An Expedition, that makes it evident, that Discontent, Sedition, and Mutiny, do not arise from the restless Tempers, intractable Dispositions, and unruly Behaviour, of *English* Sailors, but purely from the want of Prudence, right Management, and, in short, from want of Experience and Capacity in such as are intrusted with the Command of them: An Expedition, in a Word, that puts it beyond all Doubt, that the *British* Nation is, at this Day, capable of undertaking as great Things, and of performing them as successfully, as ever their Ancestors did; and, consequently, an Expedition that must convince us, and not us only, but all *Europe*, that if our maritime Force be not employed in Undertakings of the most important Nature, it is not owing to the Degeneracy of our Seamen, not to be imputed to our want of able or daring Commanders, but to some other Cause, which it is not my Business, which, indeed, surpasses my Abilities, to find out.

But the Nature of my Subject, the Thread of this History of Circumnavigators: the Principles upon which I have all along proceeded, rendered it necessary for me to give an Account of this Expedition, and such an Account as the Reader has received: In which, with the greatest Sincerity, and with the strictest Regard to Truth, I can aver, that I have censured without Prejudice, and commended from no other Motive than the desire of doing Justice; have delivered all Things, as they appeared to me, and as I think they ought to appear to Posterity, without Favour or Affection, and without the least Influence, either of Hope, or of Fear. This I think necessary to say, both for my own Satisfaction, and for the Information of the impartial Reader; the only Person that I shall ever study to please.

40. We are now at the Close of this Chapter, in which we have completed that History which we proposed as the Subject thereof, and to which we gave the Preference, as it is general, and relates to the whole World; and, for the same Reason, the remaining Chapters in this Book refer to the Heads next in Importance; viz. the Discovery, Settlement, and Commerce, of the *East* and *West* *Indies*. It is true, that all the Circumnavigators did not propose, and that several of them made no Discoveries; but, notwithstanding this, all their Voyages are of great, though not of equal Importance, down to the very last; for, by comparing *Magellan's*, which was the first, with *Mr. Anson's*, we shall find them differ in many respects, especially in the Conclusion, that of *Mr. Anson's* being by far the longest of the two. Some of them again took quite a different Route: As for Instance, *La Maire* and *Roggewein*, who never ran at all into the higher Latitudes, but sailed directly through the South Seas to the Coast of *New Guiney*, and thence to the Island of *Java*, which is a much shorter Course than that from *California* to the *Phi-*

Sum of Money into the Kingdom, and has shewn us the Way by which we may bring more.

Another Squadron may meet with the *Acapulco* Ship in the South Seas, or with the *Lima* Ship, in her Passage to *Acapulco*: There wants only Care, Diligence, and an experienced Commander, to make a Part of the Expences of the War come this Way out of our Enemies Pockets; for, as to the Spirit and Courage of the *English* Seamen, they are as great as ever they were, and there wants nothing but Actions, that may be attended with proper Encouragement, to make this evident to the whole World. The present War was undertaken for the sake of our Trade, and our Fate, in the present War, I mean our Fate at Sea, will determine the Fate of our Trade. We have been extremely fortunate in making Prizes, both from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in the North Seas: There wants nothing to complete our good Fortune, but to be as successful in the South.

Another Expedition might be, probably would be, attended with fewer Difficulties; at least, it is certain, that it might be undertaken at a much less Expence; and then, beside all the Advantages resulting to such private Persons as become Proprietors, there would this inestimable Advantage accrue to the Public, that we should once more have a Number of able Mariners, well acquainted with the Navigation of the South Seas, which we never can have by any other Means.

Hitherto the whole Trade of *Europe* is in the Hands of the Maritime Powers; but, at present, not only the *French*, but many other Nations, are putting in for a Share, as appears by the great Number of *European* Ships that Rear-Admiral *Anson* met with in the Ports of *Mosco* and *Canton*; which is a Circumstance that deserves to be attentively considered. This therefore is a Time, if ever there was a Time, that we ought to exert ourselves, and endeavour to strike out some new Branch of Commerce into which our Neighbours cannot so readily fall. History affords us no instance of a Maritime Power that remained long at a Stay. If we do not go forward, we must necessarily go backward; and, as we are rivaled in almost every known Branch of Commerce, except that to our own Plantations, it is not our Interest only, but absolutely necessary to our Safety, to support and extend these; and, if it be possible, open some new Chanel, both for the Benefit of this Country, and of our Plantations; which never can be done, if we do not encourage long Voyages, and the perfecting ourselves in every Kind of Navigation.

But I would not be understood to lessen at all the Miseries and Misfortunes of such as were employed in this Voyage: The contrary, I think indeed, will appear from the History I have given of it. All I endeavour, all I aim at, is, to convince the Reader, that the Difficulties and Discouragements met with in this Voyage, are not sufficient to ground a decisive Opinion by the Few, in Opposition to the Sentiments of the Many, that all Attempts on this Side should be abandoned; and I really think, that the putting the Difficulties and Discouragements of the *Canton*'s Company in the strongest Light, will serve my Purpose much better than lessening or extenuating them.

For if, after being ruined by Storms, Diseases, and Hardships, they landed, rather Skeletons than Men, on the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; if, after their long Cruise in the South Seas, their Distresses came to be as great when they took Shelter in the Island of *Yiman*, if the Voyage at *Macao* was attended with many Inconveniences; if the Taking the *Spanish* Gallion be a Thing almost incredible, considering the small Number of Men, and the Condition they were in, that attacked her in the *Canton*; if the Difficulties they afterwards met with in the River of *Canton*, and the Hazard run by the Commodore in visiting the Viceroy, and thereby putting himself into the Hands of such a People as the *Cinese*, who could not but be displeas'd with his Proceedings, are Circumstances that still aggravate the Matter; if to perilous a Navigation as that from *Canton* through the Streights of *Sunda*, and thence to the Cape of *Good Hope*, with little or no Refreshment,

and if the bringing home the Ship from thence, with a Company compos'd of so many different Nations, in the Midst of a *French* War, and without the least Assistance from home, swell the Whole into a kind of Miracle; What does all this prove? Why, since all this was, under God, intirely owing to the Prudence, Moderation, and wise Conduct, of the commanding Officer, it certainly proves, that, if a right Choice be made of Commanders, there are no Difficulties that may not be overcome; and therefore, this Voyage ought not to discourage us at all.

For, I presume, that, with the Help of Rear-Admiral *Anson*'s Example, there are many Officers who would undertake and execute such an Expedition, to the Honour of their Country, and to the Advantage of those who employed them, supposing them to be employ'd by private Persons. This is the Use, the right Use, that might be made of this Expedition; an Expedition difficult, dangerous, and, in a manner, impracticable, considered in one Light; but an Expedition equally glorious and successful, when considered in another: An Expedition, that has demonstrat'd, to the whole World, that a Train of unforeseen and disastrous Accidents may be remedied, and even turned to Advantage, by an honest, skilful, brave, experienced, and well-meaning Officer: An Expedition, which shews, that there are no Hazards, no Difficulties, no Distresses, capable of depressing the Courage of *English* Seamen, under a proper Command: An Expedition, that makes it evident, that Discontent, Sedition, and Mutiny, do not arise from the restless Tempers, intractable Dispositions, and unruly Behaviour, of *English* Sailors, but purely from the want of Prudence, right Management, and, in short, from want of Experience and Capacity in such as are intrusted with the Command of them: An Expedition, in a Word, that puts it beyond all Doubt, that the *British* Nation is, at this Day, capable of undertaking as great Things, and of performing them as successfully, as ever their Ancestors did; and, consequently, an Expedition that must convince us, and not us only, but all *Europe*, that if our Maritime Force be not employ'd in Undertakings of the most important Nature, it is not owing to the Degeneracy of our Seamen, not to be imputed to our want of able or daring Commanders, but to some other Cause, which it is not my Business, which, indeed, surpasses my Abilities, to find out.

But the Nature of my Subject, the Thread of this History of Circum-navigators, the Principles upon which I have all along proceeded, rendered it necessary for me to give an Account of this Expedition, and such an Account as the Reader has received: In which, with the greatest Sincerity, and with the strictest Regard to Truth, I can aver, that I have censur'd without Prejudice, and commended from no other Motive than the desire of doing Justice; have deliver'd all Things, as they appear'd to me, and as I think they ought to appear to Posterity, without Favour or Affection, and without the least Influence, either of Hope, or of Fear. This I think necessary to say, both for my own Satisfaction, and for the Information of the impartial Reader; the only Person that I shall ever study to please.

40. We are now at the Close of this Chapter, in which we have complet'd that History which we propos'd as the Subject thereof, and to which we gave the Preference, as it is general, and relates to the whole World; and, for the same Reason, the remaining Chapters in this Book refer to the Heads next in Importance; viz. the Discovery, Settlement, and Commerce, of the *East* and *West* Indies. It is true, that all the Circum-navigators did not propose, and that several of them made no Discoveries; but, notwithstanding this, all their Voyages are of great, though not of equal Importance, down to the very last; for, by comparing *Magellan*'s, which was the first, with *Mr. Anson*'s, we shall find them differ in many respects, especially in the Conclusion, that of *Mr. Anson*'s being by far the longest of the two. Some of them again took quite a different Route: As for Instance, *Le Maire* and *Reggewein*, who never ran at all into the higher Latitudes, but sail'd directly through the South Seas to the Coast of *New Guiney*, and thence to the Island of *Java*, which is a

Philippines: And from hence it very clearly appears, that the Passage to the *East Indies* by the South Seas is shorter than that by the Cape of *Good Hope*, of which the Reader will be convinced, by considering the following Particulars: Captain *Woodes Rogers*, in the *Duke*, sailed from the Coast of *Ireland*, and doubled *Cape Horne* in four Months, that is, from *September* to *January*; and *le Maire* passed from the Islands of *Juan Fernandez* to *Nexo Guiney* and the *Molucas* in three Months: so that this Voyage takes up but seven in the whole: Whereas the *Dutch*, while the chief of their Colonies was fixed at *Amboyna*, thought it a good Passage thither from *Holland*, it performed in ten or eleven Months.

It is by comparing these Routs, as laid down in the general Map of the two Hemispheres, that we learn how far the World is already discovered, and how much of it remains yet to be discovered; what we owe to the Spirit and Industry of those great Men, whose History we have recorded, and what remains yet to exercise the Spirit and Industry of our own and of succeeding Times. We see, by comparing the old World with the new, how many and how great Countries this Scheme of Circum-navigating has actually brought to Light, and that too in a very short Space; that is, in the Compass of two hundred and twenty-two Years, which is the Distance between the Return of *Magellan's* Ship, and our last Circum-navigator *Anson*. All that has been discovered within that Space of Time lay hid, not from the Vulgar only, but from the wisest and most knowing Part of Mankind, for five thousand five hundred Years. This is the fairest and fullest Proof that can be given of the Importance of these Voyages, not to this or that Country, but to the whole human Species.

We may likewise observe, that the Attempts that have been made to discover a North-east and a North-west Passage are, in effect, no other than Attempts to discover a new Route of surrounding the Globe, either of those Passages answering the same End as that by the Way of *Cape Horne*, the very Probability of any such Passages depending on there being such a Passage already discovered towards the South; and, without doubt, if ever any such Passages should be found out, they would open a new Field of Discovery, and new Channels of Trade, exceedingly convenient for the trading Nations in the North of *Europe*.

It is for this Reason, that, as *Sir William Monson* long ago observed, the *Spaniards* have always been extremely jealous of their finding out such Passages, because the Navigation that would be established by them, must be fatal to their Empire in *America*, or to their Possessions in the *East Indies*: For, if there should be a Passage found into the South Seas by the North-west, it would afford a very short and easy Cut to our Squadrons into the very Heart of the most valuable of their Possessions in *North America*, I mean the Kingdom of *New Mexico*, which might be then attacked both by Land and Sea. On the other hand, if a Passage should ever be found to the North-east, it is impossible they should long continue Masters of the *Philippines*. It is true, that very great, and, as they are now thought, insurmountable Difficulties have been measured in attempting Circum-Navigations by either of those Passages; but when it is considered, that the Passage to the South was for so many Ages concealed, discovered at last with so much Difficulty, and so few Voyages made thereby, as this Chapter shews there have been, there seem to be no just Grounds for concluding, that no such Passage ever will be found, especially if it be considered, that it is not now the Interest of the *Spaniards* only, but of some other Nations, to prevent the Discovery of such Passages, as far as it lies in their Power.

But at the same time we ought to reflect, that the *Russians*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*, who formerly carried on little or no Trade, are, at present, exceedingly bent on extending their Commerce, and have each of them an Interest in discovering such Passages, if any such there be: If, I say, we reflect upon this, it is impossible for us to imagine, that there is less Hope at present, than there was formerly, of succeeding in some such Attempt. This, if ever it should be brought about, would afford Room for a new History of Circum-navigators, as useful and as curious, as that delivered in this Chapter. But even this Discovery, instead of diminishing, would add to, the Glory and Reputation of

those great Men, of whom we have been speaking; because they must be still regarded as those who first led the Way, who first shewed such a Passage round the Globe to be possible and practicable, tho' by another Course. This is what, in justice, Posterity must acknowledge, even if it should so fall out, that, by the Facility or Convenience of those new-found Passages, the Navigation by *Cape Horne* should hereafter fall into Disuse.

It is from these stupendous Voyages, that not only the greatest Discoveries have been made in general Geography, but from which all future Discoveries must be expected, and therefore this ought to be considered as one of the strongest Arguments for enforcing and encouraging Voyages. It was from their being confined to short Trips by Sea, I mean in point of Space, though, from their Want of Skill, the Antients made them long enough in point of Time, that they fell into those gross Errors, which were so unworthy of their Science and Penetration in other respects; so that it may be well affirmed, that if we compare what is now known, with what the greatest Men had before described, we shall find more than a new World has been, in two Centuries, discovered: By which those very such capital Truths have been set in so clear a Light, as to make even the common People wiser than the most Learned in former Ages.

For instance, almost every one has right Notions now of the true Figure and Magnitude of the Earth, whereas there was a time when both were unknown to such a Degree, that the Belief of the *Antipodes* was accounted and punished as an Heresy. Every one then conceived his own Country to be the Middle of the Plain of the Earth, and that the utmost Limits of it, which touched the Vault of Heaven, were the Sea, into which the Sun, Moon, and Stars, descended, when they set; and out of which they ascended again, when they rose; and hence it was, that the utmost Extent of Land seemed to be no more than what an active and vigorous Conqueror might, in a little time, be able to over-run and vanquish. How wild and ridiculous however this may seem, it was, however, the Principle upon which all great Heroes acted: As for instance, *Alexander* imagined he had penetrated to the utmost Bounds of the Earth, when he had but touched the Borders of the *Indus*: He fancied, from some Circumstances relating to the River *Indus*, which resembled those of the *Nile*, that he had found the Source of that River in the *Indies*; and actually fitted out a Fleet on the *Indus*, which he fancied might have proceeded into *Egypt*, and when he discovered his Error in this respect, by his Fleet's falling into the *Persian* Gulph, he fell into another and still greater Error; which was, that all must be Sea beyond; and that, consequently, he had reached the very limits of the World. As wise and knowing a People as the *Romans* were, they fell into the same Error, with respect to the *Northern Ocean*, and fancied that beyond the Extremity of *Scotland* lay that boundless Sea, which terminated the World.

These were the Consequences of being confined to short and limited Navigations; and, though it is simply impossible, that Mankind should ever fall into the same Errors again, yet it is highly probable, that if this known Route of Circum-navigating be not frequently pursued, and all Attempts for finding new Routs should cease, we shall again relapse into Errors of as dark and dangerous a Nature. As it is, we have, from these Discoveries that have been already made, a much nobler, as well as a much wider Field opened for the Exercise of enterprising Spirits, and though there are now no Hopes left for any Conqueror, how daring, how ambitious, how potent to ever, to make himself Master of the whole Globe, which, perhaps, is of small Benefit to Mankind; yet we have better, and more elevated Hopes, of discovering and settling a Correspondence with every Part of the Universe; a Scheme more extensive, as well as more rational, at the same time that it is as conducive to the general Good of the human Species as the other was to their Misery. This is a Point that has once or twice touched before, referring, however, to the more full Explanation of it for the Conclusion of this History. Add to all this, that, from Circum-navigations only, we can expect the absolute Solution of those great Difficulties that yet remain in the Science of Navigation, such, for

Instance, as the Variance of the Longitude, the true Form of the Earth, that it is spherical, that it is spherical, that we have a true Notion of its Realness to believe, upon this Subject, is Truth. What has to the Variation of appears, from Experience, from Observation should be hereafter established, or their Voyages only. It is the Knowledge we have of the Pole, as well as of hope or expect to come to the Longitude great Mathematician have a nearer Relation

I know it may be clearly the Figure of are all founded, are the Utes of Navigation, hitherto practised; but a much higher Degree the fittest Judges it ceases to be, as have been professed, or why find that Method to Advantage? It is ready touched, their tent to believe certain moved about them. Reason: And, as I of this Nature, I will It is supposed, that, being once certainly never alter, whatever to the celestial Bodies but the very contrary famous *Jesepo Scaglia* by a learned *French* expels Treatise upon time, the Latitude upon the Earth have a firm has compared many of of the Latitude of *Rome*, with modern Places, from whence considerable Differences ascribes to the Variation very certain, that the Differences between them; but I pretend this occasioned. Some time, the Positions as if they had been steady. But, it all that the respective of each other would find of Places on the earth though new Meridia over them. I only still many Things we far exceed the Estimation, either to the Degree of Discoveries, it appears from hence I intend of persisting, I Course by which to

But it may be desired who has written a vowed to hinder, take so much pains contrived? Such modern Way of R

Instance, as the Variation of the Needle, the perfect Knowledge of the Longitude, and the exact Description of the true Form of the Earth; for, though we know with Certainty, that it is spherical or globular, yet it is no less certain, that we have not as yet a clear, distinct, and demonstrative Notion of its true Form; though there are strong Reasons to believe, that, what Sir *Isaac Newton* advanced upon this Subject, is the Truth, or, at least, very near the Truth. What has been hitherto advanced with respect to the Variation of the Needle, and the Causes thereof, appears, from Experience, very uncertain and unsatisfactory. If, from Observations already made, any probable System should be hereafter formed, the Truth of them can be established, or their Fallshood fully detected, by such Voyages only. It we do not keep up, and even extend, the Knowledge we have of the Countries about the South Pole, as well as of those about the North, we can never hope or expect to come at Truth, either in regard to this, or to the Longitude; which, notwithstanding what some great Mathematicians have peremptorily determined, may have a nearer Relation to each other, than we can imagine.

I know it may be said, that all those Things, and particularly the Figure of the Globe, upon which, perhaps, they are all founded, are to such a Degree certain, as to serve the Uses of Navigation, so far as the Accuracy of that Art is hitherto practised; but yet, if that Art may be carried to a much higher Degree of Perfection, as in the Opinion of the finest Judges it certainly may, by the Prosecution of such Inquiries as have been mentioned, why should they not be prosecuted, or why should we either decline or circumscribe that Method by which alone they can be prosecuted to Advantage? It is certain, that, besides the Points already touched, there are many others, which we are content to believe certain, though some Doubts have been moved about them, not without great Appearance of Reason: And, as I am now taking my Leave of Things of this Nature, I will take the Liberty of mentioning one. It is supposed, that, the Longitude and Latitude of Places being once certainly and accurately determined, they can never alter, whatever Variation or Deviation may happen to the celestial Bodies. Yet this has not only been doubted, but the very contrary of it has been asserted, first by the famous *Jesep Scaliger*, in the Year 1610; and afterwards by a learned *Frenchman*, Mr. *Peter Petit*, who wrote an express Treatise upon it, affirming, that, after a certain time, the Latitude and Longitude of Places, on the Surface of the Earth have a sensible Change: And, to confirm this, he has compared many Observations, recorded by the Antients, of the Latitude of several Places, particularly *Paris* and *Rome*, with modern Observations of the Latitude of the same Places; from whence it appears, that there are very considerable Differences between them; which Differences he ascribes to the Variation of the Poles of the Earth. It is very certain, that such Differences there are, and smaller Differences between the Observations of modern Travelers; but I pretend not to determine, whether they are thus occasioned. *Scaliger* indeed says, that, after a certain time, the Positions of Diials will alter, and become false, as if they had been removed, and placed in a wrong Latitude. But, if all this should be true, I am very sensible, that the respective Position and Distance of Places towards each other would still remain the same, and the Description of Places on the artificial Globe remain true and unaltered, though new Meridians, and new Parallels, might be drawn over them. I only mention this, to shew, that there are still many Things to be inquired into; and that, though we far exceed the Antients, yet we have not carried Navigation, either to its utmost Degree of Perfection, or even to that Degree of Perfection, of which, from former Discoveries, it appears capable of being carried: And from hence I infer the Necessity of pursuing long Voyages, and of persisting, in order to farther Discoveries, in that Course by which to much already has been discovered.

But it may be demanded, Who is it that you oppose? Who has written against long Voyages? Who has endeavoured to hinder, or circumscribe them? Or why do you take so much Pains to establish a Thing, that nobody has controverted? Such Questions as these are common, in the modern Way of Reasoning; and this is called holding a

Man to a Point, to which if he cannot give an Answer, he is immediately condemned as unreasonable and chimerical. Now I very readily own, that I know of none who have opposed what I labour to establish. But if the Reader will weigh what is laid down in the Remarks on the last Section, and will reflect on what I have there said, as to the Impediments that stand in the Way of discovering the Southern Continent, he cannot be at a Loss for the Reasons that induced me to labour this Point with so great Diligence; because he cannot but perceive, that we are circumscribed on every Side by the highest Authority; inasmuch that, except in Time of War, and by Ships of War, there is no making any Discoveries, unless under the Direction of certain Persons, who have an Interest in avoiding, and even in preventing, Discoveries. I might carry my Observations on this Head a great deal farther; but, as I have already carried them far enough to justify my Conduct in this respect, I am content to say no more of it.

But there is one Thing, that, before I conclude this Chapter, it is requisite that I should suggest to the Reader; and it is this; That we can only circumscribe ourselves. Other Nations will, and, indeed, have a Right to take what Liberties they please; so that there is just Reason to fear, that if we go on in this Method, or if we do not very soon alter it, we shall see that Spirit of Discovery, that Genius for Commerce, and that Skill in Navigation, for which we have been, and are yet famous, transferred elsewhere; for though we may limit the Inclinations, and damp the Desires of our own People, yet we have no Power over Foreigners, much less over the Designs of Providence. An Instance will make this evident beyond Contradiction: We have taken all imaginable Pains, to secure to ourselves the Trade of the *East-Indies*, by Laws made in favour of the *East-India Company*: The *Swedes* and *Danes*, however, trade freely within the Limits of that Company, by which they not only supply themselves and their Neighbours with *Indian* Commodities, but likewise some of our nearest Neighbours, and even the Inhabitants of the Northern Part of our Island. But, perhaps, if other Measures had been taken, this Mischief might have been prevented.

In order to monopolize Trade, we must leave it free: This may seem a Paradox, if not a Contradiction; but Reason and Experience shew us, that it is a Truth. Where-ever Trade and Navigation are encouraged, they will prosper; where-ever they meet with Restrictions, they will remove, or die. If we would embrace the Trade of the World, we must encourage Trade more than any other Nation in the World; if we would maintain and increase our Maritime Power, we must extend our Discoveries, in order to make way for that Increase. It is a Maxim insisted upon by some Political Writers, and, I believe, they are not in the Wrong, viz. That a Nation may gain by Trade, though the Persons concerned in that Trade are Losers: But how long can this last? If we so manage Matters, that a great Number of Merchants over-trade themselves, or, to express it with greater Propriety, are disappointed in their Expectations from Trade, the natural Consequence is, that they will, or rather must, decline Trade, which will ruin our Navigation.

But, if new Discoveries could be made, new Channels would be opened, new Expectations raised; and this political Maxim would be verified in its utmost Extent; for tho' such private Persons as might first engage in these new Trades, might possibly be no Gainers by them, yet the Nation would; for, in time, those Trades must be established, and the Number of Shipping requisite to carry them on would be plainly a new Acquisition to our maritime Force. I know of no Method more likely to revive and restore such a Disposition amongst us, than this of recording the Exploits of eminent Seamen, that the present Age, and Posterity, may have before their Eyes Examples of those shining Virtues, which demand not only their Applause, but their Imitation; Virtues which have not only raised the Maritime Powers to that Height of Grandeur, which they enjoy at present, but have been likewise of such eminent Service to the whole Race of Mankind, by extending and promoting the most useful Kinds of Knowledge, and by contributing to polish and civilize the most distant and barbarous Nations, uniting thereby in friendly Correspondence

such as are fevered by Situation, and thereby spreading the Beams of Knowledge, where-ever the Sun spreads his. These are things so certain, and so apparent, that it is impossible they should admit of any Dispute; or that any Man should have his Country's Interest so little at Heart, as not to wish, that they were daily and hourly inculcated, in order to wear off that Rust, which, for half an Age past, has been growing upon us.

But tho' many of these Remarks are obvious enough, and notwithstanding our first Collectors of Voyages, such as *Hackluit* and *Purchas*, took care to insert the History of Circum-navigators down to their own Times in their Works, yet our modern Collectors have totally omitted this, or else inserted such Voyages promiscuously, and thereby destroyed that Connection, which is absolutely necessary for their being thoroughly understood. Some foreign Writers, indeed, have given us Lists of Circum-navigators, and intimated the Usefulness of a general History of them; and the Reason, as I conceive, that this Project was by them never carried into Execution, is this, that most of those Voyagers were *Englishmen*, and consequently it was not so easy for them to give the History of their Proceedings, very few of their Journals having been translated. It was from a just Sense of this,

that I thought it necessary to open our Collection, by supplying so great a Defect, and giving a regular History of all the Voyages that have been undertaken, of this kind, in all Countries, and in all Ages, interspersed with such other Voyages, as seemed to be naturally Supplements to these, and necessary to be read with them, to complete the Discoveries that are mentioned in them.

41. In order to render the Whole as perfect as it is possible, and to give the Reader an Opportunity of reviewing at once this Series of Voyages, in the Order of Time in which they were made, I thought it would be proper to conclude this Chapter with the following Table, which exhibits at once, and in the narrowest Compass possible, the principal Contents of this whole Chapter; from whence it appears, that there have been but fifteen Circum-navigations performed. Of these the first was by a Spanish Crew, under the Direction of a *Portuguese*; five have been undertaken by the *Dutch*; and the other nine have been performed by *Englishmen*: And of these Captain *William Dampier* and Captain *John Clipperton* went each of them twice round the World; which is, I think, what no other Country has to boast.

A Complete Table of all the Circum-navigators, the Ports from which they sailed, the Dates of their respective Voyages, and their Returns.

I. <i>Ferdinand Magellan,</i>	from <i>Seville in Spain,</i> Aug. 10. 1519.	returned <i>Sept. 8. 1522.</i>
II. <i>Sir Francis Drake,</i>	from <i>Plymouth Sound,</i> Dec. 30. 1577.	returned <i>Sept. 16. 1586.</i>
III. <i>Sir Thomas Candishe,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> July 25. 1586.	returned <i>Sept. 9. 1588.</i>
IV. <i>Oliver van Noert,</i>	from <i>Goeree,</i> Sept. 13. 1598.	returned <i>Aug. 26. 1601.</i>
V. <i>George Spilbergen,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> Aug. 8. 1614.	returned <i>July 1. 1617.</i>
VI. <i>William Schouten and James le Maire,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> June 24. 1615.	returned <i>July 1. 1617.</i>
VII. <i>The Nassau Fleet,</i>	from the <i>Goeree,</i> April 29. 1623.	returned <i>January 21. 1626.</i>
VIII. <i>Captain Cowley,</i>	from <i>Acbamack in Virginia,</i> Aug. 23. 1683.	returned <i>October 12. 1686.</i>
IX. <i>Captain William Dampier,</i>	from <i>Acbamack,</i> Aug. 28. 1683.	returned <i>September 16. 1691.</i>
X. <i>Captain Dampier and Mr. Funnel,</i>	from the <i>Downs,</i> Aug. 9. 1703.	returned <i>August 1706.</i>
XI. <i>Captains Rogers and Courtney,</i>	from <i>Bristol,</i> June 15. 1708.	returned <i>October 1. 1711.</i>
XII. <i>Captain John Clipperton,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> Feb. 15. 1719.	returned <i>June 1722.</i>
XIII. <i>Captain George Shelvoocke,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> Feb. 15. 1719.	returned <i>August 1. 1722.</i>
XIV. <i>Commodore Roggewein,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> July 17. 1721.	returned <i>July 11. 1723.</i>
XV. <i>George Anson, Esq;</i>	from <i>St. Helens,</i> Sept. 18. 1740.	returned <i>June 15. 1744.</i>

Book I.

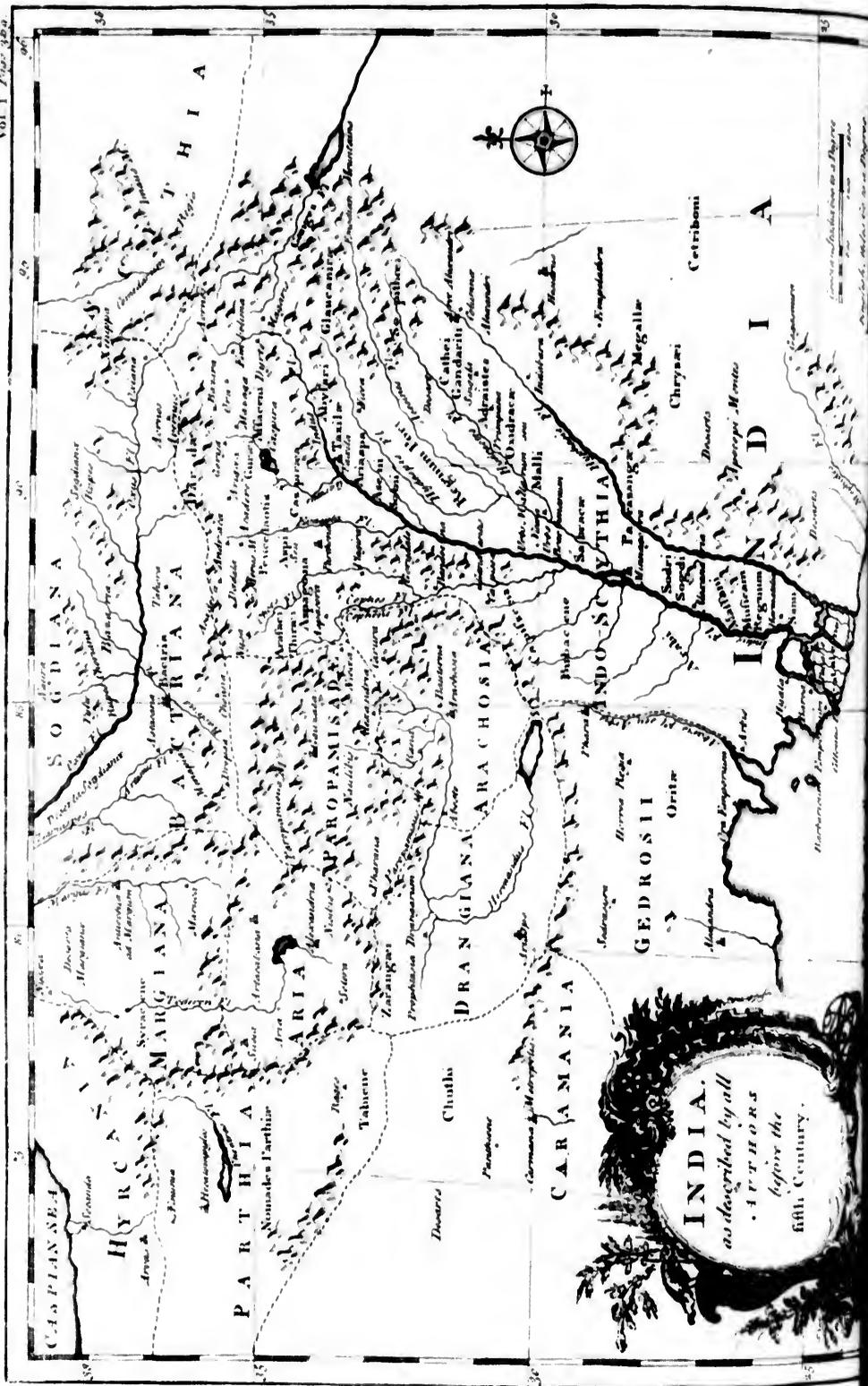
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C H A P.





CHAPTER. II.

Comprehending the DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT, and COMMERCE of the EAST-INDIES.

SECTION I.

An Account of the NATURE and IMPORTANCE of this Design, with a Regular PLAN of this Part of the Work.

1. The Curiosity as well as Curiosity of the Subject, has occasioned a Multitude of Books upon it. 2. Yet there is no complete System hitherto published. 3. The Difficulties that occur, with respect to the Credit due to the Antients. 4. The like, or greater, Difficulties met with in the Writings of the Moderns. 5. The Materials from which this Work is to be collected. 6. Preliminary Considerations. 7. The Manner in which the antient History of the Indies will be treated, to the Time of the Romans. 8. It is proposed to give a Summary of what the best Greek and Latin Authors have left us on this Head. 9. A distinct Account will next follow, of the Alterations to which this Commerce has been subject. 10. The Rise, Progress, and Declension, of the Portuguese Empire in the Indies will be considered. 11. The Expeditions, Settlement, and present State, of the English Factories to be set in a clear Light. 12. As also the Power and Occasions of the Dutch East-India Company, and the Disputes we have formerly had with the Dutch in these Parts. 13. The Origin, Alterations, and present State, of the French East-India Company explained. 14. And an Account given of the Ostend, Swedish, and Danish Companies. 15. The Whole to be concluded with Observations on the Consequence of the East-India Trade to Europe in general.



HERE are a few Subjects more instructive, or more entertaining, than that of the History of the Indies, or which have exercised the Pens of more able Men. To say the Truth, there is something in it capable of entertaining every Genius. Such as are fond of Antiquities, had an Opportunity afforded of exercising their Abilities in the most curious Researches; for though it is evident, from the Situation of this Part of the World, that India must have been peopled very early; yet it so falls out, that there is scarce a Country on the Globe, the antient History of which lies buried in so great Obscurity. The Lovers of Natural History found, in all Ages, the largest Field open to their Inquiries in these Regions, where every Animal, every Tree, every Flower, every Root, was a Curiosity. Such, again, as delighted in speculative Studies, in the quiet Pleasures of Philosophy, and in the Examination of the Efforts of the human Understanding, found sufficient Employment in tracing out the Opinions, Manners, and Course of Life, of the Brachmans, or Indian Philosophers, the oldest Sect in the World, and, in every respect, the most singular, and the most extraordinary; while those, who were charmed with a Variety of striking Events, Invasions, Battles, Revolutions, and the like, met with all they could desire, in exploring the Indian History; which abounds with a greater Diversity of such Events than any other. Lastly, the Lovers of Navigation and Commerce were attached to this Subject, from the Consideration of its peculiar Advantages; for never any Traffick made so considerable a Figure as that of the Indies; never was any Country so highly renowned for the Riches of its native Commodities, for so many and so valuable Manufactures, or for such a Spirit of Industry and Trade among its People; and this in all Ages, from the earliest to the present Times.

We need not wonder, therefore, that such a Multitude of Books have been written on those Topics that we have mentioned, or that so many able Pens should have been employed upon each of them. The Difficulty does not lie in finding Guides for our Journey, but in distinguishing amongst many, which has the properest Talents for conducting us, and how far we ought to follow him. This is an Evil, indeed, common to all curious and useful Subjects; on which there are naturally many more Books produced, than on such as are less pleasing, less instructive, and less agreeable, either to the Writer or the Reader.

2. But there is one Thing very singular with regard to this Subject: We have not so much as a single Treatise, that embraces it in its full Extent, that takes in the intire History of the Antiquities, Revolutions, Customs, Manners, and Trade of the antient Indians; their Correspondence with European Nations; the Falls and Revivance of that Correspondence in several Periods; the Civil, Natural, and Commercial History of the Indies, before and since the Discovery of the Passage thither by the Cape of Good Hope; and the Rise, Progress, and present Situation, of the Settlements of European Nations in the Indies. This, I say, in its full Extent, and with due Regard had to the Importance of the Work in general, and the Connexion of its several Parts, is what, in the Midst of so many Books, so many Collections, such a Multitude of general Histories and Abridgments, is no-where to be found.

Yet I should think myself very happy, if I could as easily supply the Defect, as I can point out the Causes of it, which seem to me to be principally these: In the first place, almost every Writer, who has meddled with this kind of Subjects, has a particular Genius, which determines him to this or that Part of them. One has a Relish only for antient History, and amuses himself with examining and comparing the Fables and Fragments he collects out of old Authors. Another is struck with Curiosities, and he, perhaps, spends many Years in compiling whatever is to be met with in relation to Natural History. A Third has a Taste only for Travels and Voyages, which leads him to collect these; without ever considering, that, in all such Works, there must be many dark and unintelligible Passages, if the Reader is not furnished with other Lights than such Sorts of Books will afford, to enable him to understand them.

Another Cause is, the not fully comprehending the Subject, but believing that a General History of the Indies may be written from the Memoirs of this or that particular Nation,

Nation, such as the *Portuguese*, the *English*, or the *Dutch*; of which many Instances might be given: And yet, when these Books are compiled, though they afford excellent Materials for such an History, they are nothing less than General Histories themselves.

A third Cause is, that Love of Amusement which prevails at present in the World, and inclines them to encourage that Sort of writing which is pleasant and entertaining; but at the same time leaves the Reader very little wiser than he was before; which is the Reason that many modern Voyages and Travels are written with such a Spirit of Indolence and Gaiety, and are so inaccurate in point of Dates and Facts, that we are sometimes apt to mistake them for fictitious Adventures and Romances. I could likewise support this Remark by Abundance of Instances, but that I am sensible my own and the Reader's Time may be much better employed; and that the Fact is so well known, that I am in no Danger of being called to an Account for the Assertion.

There are several other Causes that might be added, but, as most of them will occur to an intelligent Reader, I chuse to leave them to his Observation rather than dwell too long on an Introduction to a Subject so copious in itself, and which will require so much Time, and so much Room, to handle as it ought to be handled; even though all imaginable Pains be used to bring it within Compass, by giving nothing but what is curious and solid, and that in the fewest Words possible.

3. There is nothing more common in some Books relating to the *Indies*, than to meet with violent Invectives against the Ignorance, Credulity, and Folly, of the Antients, as if they had had no Opportunity of knowing any thing with relation to this Country and People, and had therefore delivered to Posterity an Heap of indigested Fables of their own Invention. In some other Books, again, we find this absolutely contradicted; the Accounts of the Antients commended and supported; and those who have treated them with Contempt, represented as weak Men, and incompetent Judges. When Books of both Sorts fall into the Hands of an *English* Reader, he knows not what to think, or whom to believe: He doubts of every thing; and as he meets with strange Stories, and seemingly extravagant Relations, in all the Voyages and Travels to this Part of the World, he is apt to suspect the Whole, and to believe that very little Credit is due to any of them. In order to clear up this, and to afford him a reasonable Satisfaction, he is usually turned over to the voluminous Collections of *Eden*, *Hacklart*, and *Purbach*. He has the Patience to run through these, and Abundance of Patience it requires, his Difficulties are rather increased than relieved; and, for want of knowing the true Characters of the Writers preserved in those Collections, and the not meeting with many ancient writers, whose Names are mentioned in other Accounts, he is more at a Loss than ever.

4. In the Histories of the Discoveries made by the *Portuguese*, they are usually treated in such a manner, that, at first Sight, one would be tempted to imagine, none of the Countries mentioned in them were at all known to the *Europeans*, before the Passage was found by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and yet, upon a closer Inspection, the contrary is very visible. This, again, gives the inquisitive Reader a great deal of Uneasiness: He is sensible, that, before that Passage was found, abundance of *Indian* Commodities were transported into *Europe*, some of them in greater Perfection than they are now. He is anxious to know when that Correspondence began, how, and by whom, it was carried on; what were the Advantages and Disadvantages that attended it, and the Reasons why it was discontinued; none of which are to be found in those Histories, who, full of a Desire to magnify their own Country, carry the Conquests and Discoveries of the *Portuguese* to the utmost Height, and leave the Report of other Nations Success, in Maritime Affairs and Commerce, to their own Writers.

The *English* and *Dutch* pursue pretty much the same Track; and tho' they sometimes run out violently against the Pride, Luxury, and Tyranny, of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, yet they omit many curious Particulars, in relation to the Decline of the *Portuguese* Empire, which may be

with Care collected from some of the Writers of that Nation. Thus we have only partial Representations, and such as, instead of instructing us, as to the true State of Things, shew us only such Pictures as, for the Honour of their respective Countries, these Writers have finished, to the highest Degree their Abilities would allow them.

5. The Sense that many able Authors of Voyages and Travels have had of these Imperfections and Difficulties, and the Desire they had to remove them, has engaged them in frequent Censures, long Disputes, and tedious digressions, which render their own Works heavy and tiresome, and, at the same time, very indifferently answer the End for which they were intended. I would not have the Reader imagine, that I am giving him a bad Opinion of other Peoples Books, that I may recommend my own, for, in Truth, there is nothing farther from my Intention than such a Conduct. I am very sensible, that there are Abundance of excellent Writers on each of the different Parts of the Subject which I am to handle; and I freely protest, that I have no Hopes of succeeding, but from the Use I make of their Labours. But what I would shew him in this, that how excellent soever these may be, take them separate, and with regard to the Designs by them respectively proposed, they cannot, however, even by the most laborious Course of Reading, be brought to answer the End of such a general and connected History, as has been mentioned.

They are, indeed, Materials for such a Building, and Materials without which it would be Madnes to attempt raising such a Structure; but still they are Materials only, and must be drawn together, and properly framed, before they can become Parts of such a Building. It is very happy for the Reader, as well as for me, that there is such Plenty of excellent Materials; and it will be very easy for him to decide how well they are ranged, and how far they occupy their proper Places. These Materials are to be collected from Writers of different Ages, in different Languages, and who wrote with very different Purposes: The great Difficulty therefore lies, in making them serve an End which none of them ever proposed, and to unite them in such a manner, as that the Piece may be whole and intire, without any Mark of Patchwork.

In order to this, the Deficiencies of some must be supplied from the Abundance of the others: The true Sense of the Antients must be collected from the best Commentaries of the Moderns, where any thing is dark, it must be explained; and where great Writers have erred, from their Fondness for particular Opinions, their Errors must be set right with Candour and Decency. When, after all the Care that can be taken, no Materials can be found, that shall be fairly contested, and the Reader plainly told, what is known, and what is likely to be buried in perpetual Obscurity. This may, indeed, seem to injure the Beauty, and destroy the Symmetry of our Work, but it is much better, that the Things should be left so, than that, after the Manner of *French* Historians, we should supply Facts with Inventions, and so build up a regular History, destitute of nothing but Truth; which ought to be the foundation of all History, and without which it is mere Romance.

6. But to descend from Generals to Particulars, and to represent, in few Words, what the Reader is to expect in this Chapter, as we did in the last, and to secure him from any Apprehension of our forgetting, that this is a History of Voyages; and, therefore, ought to consist principally of these; we will enter into an explicit Detail of the capital Points that are to be treated in the ensuing Sections. It is the more necessary for us to do this, because, without considering them as the Parts of the same Work, they might appear, at least many of them, to be placed in a wrong Order of Time; whereas, when the Design of this Chapter is fully disclosed, I hope it will appear, that they are digested in the most natural Order, and so, as that they explained and enlighten each other. This is certainly the great Use of Method, without which, it is impossible, that there should be any Peripateticity; and yet it is not impossible, that a Writer, by adhering too closely to Method, may fall into that very Error which he endeavours to avoid. And, therefore, as the Author has here preferred to the Means, I shall in this, as in the former

Chapter, prefer the Reader's Satisfaction to the strict Pursuit of my own Notion; and, where-ever it is necessary, shall, without Scruple, join Things together, that, perhaps, a strict regard to Method might have disposed in different Places. I shall likewise take the Liberty, where I find it requisite, of referring the Reader to what has been delivered in the foregoing Chapter, rather than run the Hazard of tiring him with needless Repetitions; and, as, in the Voyages I have already given him, I have been very copious in my Remarks, so, in these that are to follow, I shall be more concise, in order to bring my Matter within due Bounds. These Preliminaries being settled, I proceed, as I promised, to the Plan of what I propose in this Chapter.

7. In the first place, I shall treat of the State of the *Indies*, from the earliest Ages, to the Foundation of the *Persian* Monarchy; and, though, in doing this, I am sensible that I cannot give the Reader any more than a few capital Facts, in a long Series of Ages, yet, as these Facts are absolutely necessary to the understanding what follows, I persuade myself, that he will regard them as I do, in the Light of a necessary Introduction, I shall then proceed to the History of the *Indies*, so far as it can be discovered from the Histories that has been left us of the *Persian* Empire, through which the Riches of the *Indies* were first made known to the *Europeans*.

Having proceeded through these dark Periods, we shall arrive at a clearer Account of Things, deduced from the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great, after the Destruction of the *Persian* Empire, into the Countries of which we are speaking. This will lead us into an Explanation of the Politics of that mighty Conqueror, who, to the Possession of many large and fruitful Provinces, intended to have secured to the Empire that he erected, all the Advantages accruing from the rich Commerce of the *Indies*.

We shall likewise examine how far this glorious Design was prosecuted by his Successors; how, through their Quarrels and Disputes, it sunk into Oblivion, until it was revived by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, who thoroughly understood the Plan of *Alexander*, and improved it to great Advantage. After the Destruction of their Monarchy, we shall give a succinct Account of the Uses made by the *Romans* of their Conquest of *Egypt*, and of the Light they obtained from the *Greeks*, and other Nations, with regard to the Trade of the *Indies*, and in what manner they improved them.

8. In consequence of this Chain of History, which will afford us an Opportunity of explaining to the Reader the Characters of those Writers on whose Authorities the Antients chiefly depended, we shall be at Liberty to lay down the Substance of what they knew and believed, with respect to the Country, Inhabitants, and Commodities, of the *Indies*. We shall shew, from the best Writers of Antiquity, how far their Acquaintance with the *Indies* reached; in what Particulars they had right Notions, where they erred; and whence their Errors arose. We shall shew what they have delivered with respect to the Religion of the *Indians*; their Policy; the Division of their States; their Customs and Manners; together with the Animals, as described by them; and all the other Productions of that Country. In doing this, the utmost Care shall be taken to cite exactly the Authorities on which the several Facts we report are grounded; and, as Occasion requires, we shall shew how far they are confirmed or contradicted by the *Moderns*; and, by this Means, we shall bring a Multitude of various and instructive Passages into a very narrow Compass.

The Reader will then see, in one View, the true State of the Case, with respect to the Antients; and be able, with Certainty, to judge for himself, with respect to the Justice of those Censures, and the Value of those Panegyrics, which are before-mentioned. He will then see how far the Credulity of the Antients really extended, with what Caution their Works ought to be read, and what Credit is due to the surprising Relations that are met with in them. He will likewise see the Nature and Extent of their Commerce; the Manner in which they managed it; the Advantages they drew from it; and how it sunk and rose, according as the Countries, in which it was settled, were

blest with a wife and prudent Government, or cursed with a bad one. This will afford him an Opportunity of comparing, in his own Mind, the State of Commerce in those Days, with the Condition in which he sees it; and will enable him to pronounce boldly, that Justice, Equity, and a due Regard to the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, are the sole Means by which Nations are distinguished from each other; and that Power, Wealth, and Happiness, are not attached to Extent of Dominion, or Multitude of People, but, where-ever there is a wise Administration, may be enjoyed.

9. We shall then resume the historical Part of our Discourse, and treat of the Correspondence between the Subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, and the Inhabitants of the *Indies*; which will appear to be of more Importance than has been hitherto imagined. We shall next descend to a regular Account of the Alterations which happened by the Declension of that Empire, in the Management of that Trade, which threw it into different Channels, and into the Hands of several Nations. This will bring us to those Voyages and Travels that have been hitherto accounted the earliest that were made into the *Indies*. The most valuable of these we shall give the Reader at large, with a fair and clear Account of the Characters of their Authors; And, in order to make their Relations perfectly intelligible, we shall, in a previous Section or two, give a succinct Account of the Revolutions that happened in the *Indies*; without knowing of which, the Accounts given by these Travellers would be exceedingly obscure. But, by pursuing this Method, every Thing will fall into its proper Place; and, before the Reader meets with these Relations, he will have acquired the Lights necessary to the perfect Understanding of them; and will likewise discern, how these Voyages and Travels, dark and imperfect as they were, kindled that Spirit of Inquiry, and exhibited that generous Thirst of opening a shorter Passage to these rich Countries, which made Way for the Discoveries of the *Portuguese*. He will likewise see, how far the Accounts given us by these Travellers agree with those of the Antients, and how far they are supported or confuted by later Experience. He will likewise form a Judgment of the Value of such Pieces, and see how far they are still useful, notwithstanding the subsequent Lights we have received; and from thence he will have a just Idea of the Value of such Collections, as contain these, and little else.

10. After passing through these dark and troublesome Stages, we shall reach that famous Period, in which the Passage by the Cape of *Good Hope* was discovered, which transferred the Commerce of the *Indies* from the *Italian* Republics to the *Portuguese*. We shall then relate, as briefly as it is possible, the Progress of the *Portuguese* Conquests; exhibit the Nature and Extent of their Empire in the *Indies*; give the Characters of the principal Persons concerned in establishing it; shew of how great Consequence it was to *Portugal*, and what Effects the annexing, for a time, that Kingdom to the *Spanish* Monarchy, had upon the Affairs of *Europe*. We shall next endeavour to point out the Means by which the Empire of the *Portuguese* began to decay; trace out the Circumstances that concurred to its Destruction; and conclude with a Representation of the present State of their Affairs, and of the Remains of the great Power in the *Indies*, which are still in their Hands.

11. The Voyages made by our Countrymen into this Part of the World will next demand our Care; and here the Reader will observe, that, for the sake of being clear and perspicuous, we were obliged to dispense with Method; for otherwise some of our *English* Travellers ought to have been mentioned, not only with, but even before those, who visited these Parts in the 12th and 13th Centuries. After a very short Account, as indeed no other can be given of these old Voyages, we shall explain the Causes that led our Countrymen to engage in Expeditions to the *East Indies* during the Reigns of *Henry VII.* *Henry VIII.* *Edward VI.* and the Queens *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; by this means our History will be conducted as low as the Establishment of that Kind of Trade, which we carry on to the *Indies* at present; of the fixing of which we shall give a distinct Account, and insert, in their proper Places, such *English* Voyages, as

are likely to give Satisfaction to the Reader. We shall also enter, as far as is necessary, into the Disputes that have happened, in these Parts, between us and the *Dutch*; and particularly the famous Affair of *Ambeyna*, by which we lost the Spice Trade; an Affair, which, though it has been long ago forgiven, ought never to be forgot, any more than the Arts and Contrivances by which we were expelled from *Bantam* in the Island of *Java*, and other Parts of the *East Indies*. These things being dispatched, we shall examine the present State of the *British* Empire in that Part of the Globe, and give a particular Description of the Situation and Consequence of each of our Factories, concluding with some Remarks on the Nature and Value of the *East India* Trade with regard to this Nation, more especially with respect to the great Exportation of Bullion, which it contains. By this means we hope to render our Work equally agreeable and useful to the Subjects of these Kingdoms, by setting in a true Light this important Branch of our Commerce, and demonstrating the Necessity we are under, of maintaining and supporting it, in order to bring the general Balance of Trade in our Favour.

12. The first Voyages of the *Dutch* to the *East Indies*, and, in consequence of those Voyages, the Establishment of their *East India* Company, a Specimen of the most important Expeditions made under their Direction, and the Account which they have been pleased to give us of their Proceedings at *Ambeyna*, will fall here into their proper Place. To these we shall add an Account of the Oeconomy of this Company at home, and the Manner in which their vast Stock is managed for the Benefit of the Proprietors; for, as to their Settlements in the *Indies*, there has been already too copious and so accurate a Description given of them in Commodore *King's* Voyage, that we shall be under no Necessity of saying any thing more on that Head.

13. The *Trench East India* Company comes next to be considered; a Company not formed, like the rest, in consequence of Voyages made at private Expence, and in Compliance with the Genius and Desires of the People; but springing from a political Principle, projected by Ministers, and settled, according to their good Pleasure, by the Power of the Crown; and thus, too, after numerous Efforts, and repeated Disappointments. We shall insist the more particularly on the Rise and Progress of this Company, or rather enter into a Detail of the several *East India* Companies formed in *France*, in order to shew how hard it is to force the Spirit, and model the Inclinations, of a People after the Will of the Government, even when the Will of the Government is, in some measure, right, and agreeable to the Interests of the People. We shall particularly describe the Methods, by which the two great Ministers, *Richelieu* and *Colbert*, obliged the *French* Nation to think of settling themselves effectually in the *Indies*; and we shall render it evident, that nothing but the Ready Care and constant Attention of their Successors, to the Principles by them laid down, overcame those Obstacles that at first seemed insurmountable, and at last brought this Project to bear, and put the Affairs of the *Trench East India* Company into a flourishing Condition.

We shall lastly give a full and distinct Account of that Company, in respect of its Oeconomy at home, as well as its Settlements abroad; and the Effects, which, in time, and by the Continuance of its Trade, it may have in regard to the general Commerce of the *Indies*, and the Trade of *Europe*. These, we have Reason to believe, will be so much the more acceptable to our Readers, because they are absolutely new, and have not hitherto been treated, at least, clearly methodically, and from authentic Memoirs, in our Language.

14. It was the Success of this last, as well as of the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, that roused, about twenty Years ago, so strong a Spirit of Trading to the *Indies*, throughout all *Europe*, and which first displayed itself in the Attempt made to settle a Company for that Purpose at *Offen*, under the Protection of the late Emperor *Charles VI.*

We shall give a succinct Account of the Origin, Progress, and Declension, of that Company; and shall shew the Consequences that might probably have attended its Establishment, if it had not been opposed by vigorously by the maritime Powers. This will naturally bring us to the Companies that have been since erected, or rather revived, in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with greater Success, than could well have been expected, and which, prosecuted with the same Diligence and Attention that have hitherto been bestowed upon them, must necessarily be brought to that Perfection, which has been thought incompatible with the Genius of those Nations, the Nature of their Governments, and the Strength of their maritime Force. We shall likewise take notice of the Trade carried on to *China* by the *Russians*, and the Conveniences they have for establishing and extending it, together with some Thoughts on the Consequences of our new Trade through *Muscovy* to *Persia*, and the vast Regions of *Great Tartary*, which may possibly be improved into a Commerce of as great Consequence, or, at least, of as great Profit, as that which we now carry on to the *Indies*.

15. In the Conclusion of the Chapter we shall compare the old and new Trade to the *Indies*; examine the Advantages and Disadvantages of both, and the Consequence of this Commerce to the Eastern Nations, and to the People of *Europe* in general: From which it will appear, that the Prejudices entertained against this Trade, on account of the great Exportation of Silver which it occasions, are but differently founded; and that the necessary Attendants upon this Commerce, provided it be properly managed, will much more than balance this Inconvenience, and prove the means of enriching *Europe* in a much higher Degree, than it is supposed to be impoverished by the sending out such Quantities of Bullion.

Such is the Plan of this Part of our Work, which, though very extensive, is, however, to regular, that, by the Perusal of this Section, the Reader cannot but be convinced, the Subject could not have been treated in less room to any Purpose. The Importance of it is so great, that it may well justify the Labour and Pains that it will cost in the Execution; and every Part of it will be to curious and entertaining, as well as useful and instructive, will comprehend the Subtilance of so great a Number of valuable Books, and convey to large a Proportion of practical Knowledge, in comparison of the Bulk of the Chapter, that there is the greatest Reason to believe our Readers will not think their Time at all mispent in its Perusal.

It is but a very few Years ago, that the Disputes about this Commerce to the *East Indies* divided and distracted all *Europe*: And it is very easy to foresee, that, in the Course of a few Years, the same Disputes must necessarily be revived with as great Warmth as ever, especially if there be any Truth in what some People have founded in *Finland*, as to the Intention of the King of *Prussia* to establish a new *East India* Company at *Embden* in *East Frisia*. If this should ever take Effect, it would create greater Apprehensions, especially in the *Dutch*, and with more Reason, than the Attempt made to fix such a Company at *Offen*, because, from the Situation of that Port, they would have much greater Reason to fear the Ruin of a great Part of their Trade in *Germany*.

Upon these Motives we have been led to handle this important and interesting Subject in all its Branches, every Section of which will be a complete Treatise in its kind; and its Relation to, and Connexion with, the rest of the Work will immediately appear, by referring to some Scheme of the Whole, as it is in this Section delivered. We have now nothing more to add, but an Assurance, that the same Diligence shall be used in rendering every Part of the Chapter as perfect as possible, that we hope is discoverable in this large and particular Account of the whole Design, intended as well to manifest the Attention thrown in composing it, as to give such a Key to the whole Chapter, as may serve the Purposes before-mentioned.

The Tradition of Semiramis attacking the Indians had their purpose the ant of the Indians to a may be collected from ing of this Subject

As we have v of the first it is no We find and untelegible India; especially if we were he from those whom all our Accou Monarch, or Conqueror Hahay, is the God Ba to have led an Army which he conquered, a Wine, and built the good Reason to believe only a Greek Name for the People of that Cu Winters of Antiquity, Hahar thus, and telat the Miter in the

That Bacbar was first who found out and making Wine; the pruning fig-trees, and in which he likewise little Particpanty in the Capital Nyja, from th had likewise a Traditio and a Lawgiver, built Worship, and erecte They say further, that Space of nity-two Ye and left his Dominions enjoyed for many Generations happenings, set up such Forms of able to the Inhabitants is also the latter Part his Death, he was rev

In the ancient H the *Opris*, the great first added *Etropolis* to Country into *Arabia*, where he taught the founded the City of the *Opris* is the same seems to be no great Story, since it is a Learned, that the *P* favourite Opinion, th in the World, and th to other People from whatever they learn Princes in other Coun and thus, it is high *Indians* reported of a by *Genis*. The *Gen* then learning from them, endeavoured to inguity, adjusted the stance arises all the posed by several Co was which we thout will be found necess

Vol. I.

SECTION II.

The History of INDIA in the Earliest Ages.

1. The Tradition of the Indians concerning Bacchus. 2. The Egyptians transferred their Reports to Oſiris. 3. The Scythians attacked the Indians, and was repulſed. 4. The Invaſion of India by Semiramis. 5. The Indians had their Hercules as well as the Greeks. 6. M. Huet, Biſhop of Avranches, had no juſt Grounds to ſuppoſe the antient Indians deſcended from the Egyptians. 7. The Argument drawn from the Confeſſion of the Indians to Alexander the Great, examined and confuted. 8. A Summary of Matters of Faſt, which may be collected from this fabulous Hiſtory. 9. The Uſefulneſs of theſe Inquiries to the thorough underſtanding of this Subject.

AS we have very confuted and indifinct Accounts of the firſt Settlements of almoſt all Nations, it is no Wonder, that we ſhould have many abſurd and unintelligible Fables as to the Settlement of the Indians; eſpecially if we conſider how remote theſe Countries lie from thoſe which produced the Hiſtorians, from whom all our Accounts are derived. The firſt Indian Monarch, or Conqueror, of whom any mention is made in Hiſtory, is the God Bacchus or Dionyſius, who is reported to have led an Army out of Greece as far as the Indies, which he conquered, and taught the Inhabitants the Uſe of Wine, and built the City of Nyſa. There is, however, good Reaſon to believe, that Bacchus, or Dionyſius, is only a Greek Name for that Indian Prince who firſt civilized the People of that Country; for one of the moſt valuable Writers of Antiquity, Diodorus the Sicilian, explains the Hiſtory thus, and tells us, that the Indians themſelves related the Matter in the following Manner.

That Bacchus was a Native of their Country, and the firſt who found out and taught the way of preſſing Grapes, and making Wine; that he likewiſe employed himſelf in pruning Fig-trees, and other Fruit-trees, of a larger Size; in which he likewiſe inſtructed his People, eſtabliſhed a little Preſtiny in the Country of Nyſea, and called his Capital Nyſa, from the Name of his Nurſe. The Indians had likewiſe a Tradition, that he was a great Conqueror, and a Lawgiver, built many ſtately Cities, inſtituted divine Worſhip, and erected every-where Courts of Juſtice: They ſay further, that, after ruling over all India for the Space of fifty-two Years, he died in an extreme old Age, and left his Dominions to his Children, by whom they were enjoyed for many Generations; till at length, ſeveral Revolutions happening, many of the Cities became free, and ſet up ſuch Forms of Government as ſeemed moſt agreeable to the Inhabitants. All this is reaſonable enough; as is alſo the latter Part of the Story, which is, that, after his Death, he was revered as a God.

In the antient Hiſtory of the Egyptians we are told, that Oſiris, the great Conqueror of that Country, having firſt added Ethiopia to his Dominions, paſſed over from that Country into Arabia, and marched from thence into India, where he taught the Inhabitants the Uſe of Wine, and founded the City of Nyſa; from whence it is plain, that this Oſiris is the ſame with Dionyſius, or Bacchus. There ſeems to be no great Difficulty in accounting alſo for this Story, ſince it is a Point univerſally agreed among the Learned, that the Egyptians, in order to fortify their favourite Opinion, that they were the moſt antient Nation in the World, and that all Arts and Sciences were derived to other People from them, were accuſtomed to transfer whatever they learned relating to the Actions of antient Princes in other Countries, to ſome of their own Monarchs; and thus, it is highly probable, they delivered what the Indians reported of their firſt Lawgiver, as if performed by Oſiris. The Greeks, who moſt certainly borrowed their Learning from the Egyptians, and, in Imitation of them, endeavoured to eſtabliſh a Notion of their own Antiquity, adulterated theſe Accounts to the Grecian Bacchus; whence ariſes all that confuted and fabulous Hiſtory, related by ſeveral Greek Authors, upon this Subject, and with which we ſhould not have meddled at all, but that it will be found neceſſary to explain ſome Paſſages in Alex-

ander's Expedition, which is a thing of the utmoſt Conſequence with reſpect to the Indian Hiſtory.

3. The Aſſyrian, which was the firſt of the great Empires erected after the Flood, was governed, after the Death of Ninus, by his Widow Semiramis, who founded the antient Babylon. This great Princeſs, after the Conqueſt of Baſtria, reſolved to undertake that of India. The Reaſons that moved her to this Reſolution, were the Reports ſhe had heard of the Fertility of the Country, and the Riches of its Inhabitants; but, as ſhe knew, that this Enterprize would be attended with many and great Difficulties, ſhe ſpent no leſs than three whole Years in preparing for it. In order to this, ſhe ordered a prodigious Army, drawn out of all the Provinces of her extenſive Empire, to aſſemble in Baſtria: She likewiſe directed the Inhabitants of Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus, to ſend her a ſufficient Number of Shipwrights to build two thouſand Ships, or rather large Barks, which were to be contrived, as that they might be taken to pieces, and carried, according to her Project, from Baſtria to the River Indus, where ſhe underſtood the Indians had a conſiderable Naval Force.

But, as ſhe was apprehenſive, that her Troops might be ſtruck with a Panic at the Sight of the Elephants, which the Indians uſed in War, or, rather, apprehending that the Indians themſelves would place all Confidence of Victory in their armed Elephants, ſhe contrived certain Machines, made of the Skins of Oxen ſewed together, and carried by Camels, which reſembled Elephants, in order to take from the Indians their Notion of Superiority in this reſpect. All Things neceſſary being provided, ſhe marched out of Baſtria, with an Army, that the Greek Hiſtorians have, by their Relations, rendered leſs formidable than incredible; for they report, that it conſiſted of 3,000,000 of Foot, 200,000 Horſe, 100,000 Chariots, and 100,000 mounted on Camels.

Semiramis, who was at that time King of the Countries that border on the River Indus, as ſoon as he had Intelligence of this formidable Invaſion, prepared to defend his Country, and his Subjects; and, with this View, aſſembled a prodigious Army, augmented the Number of his Elephants, and cauſed four thouſand Boats to be built of Cane, which is not ſubject either to rot, or to be eaten by the Worms, to encounter the Aſſyrians on the River, having his Army and Elephants drawn up on the Shore ready to ſupport them. The Fleet of Semiramis, either becauſe her Veſſels were ſtronger, or better manned, proved victorious, a thouſand of the Indian Boats being ſunk, with all who were on board them, and a vaſt Number of Indians taken Priſoners. Upon this, the Indian King abandoned the oppoſite Shore, and left the Enemy a free Paſſage, in hopes of attacking them with better Succeſs by Land. Semiramis, as ſoon as the Indians withdrew, converted her Fleet into a Bridge of Boats, over which ſhe marched her whole Army, with the counterfeit Elephants in the Front.

When the Indians were informed by their Spies, that the Aſſyrians had a great Number of Elephants, they were amazed at it, and in great Confuſion; but they ſoon recovered their Spirits, when, by the Deſertion of ſome of the Troops of Semiramis, they came to underſtand the Truth. A Battle ſoon after followed, in which the Aſſyrians had at firſt the Advantage, but at laſt the Indians

Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. cap. 4. Cicero

habitants to govern by their own Laws; for, *Dionysius*, after he had conquered the *Indians*, and was about to return to the *Greecian* Sea, built this City for those Soldiers who were unserviceable for War, as a perpetual Monument to Posterity, of his Expedition and Victory, as your Majesty has built *Alexandria* at Mount *Caucasus*, and another in *Egypt*; and many others, some finished, and others in Buildings, having now performed much more than our *Dionysius* did: And he called the City *Nysa*, from his Nurie, so named, and the Country *Nysa*; and the Mountain, which hangs over the City, he was pleased to call *Meros*, because, according to the Fable, he was crucified in *Jupiter's* Thigh. Since that Time we have dwelt in *Nysa*, as a free City, and have lived at Ease under our own Laws. And that this Place was built by *Bacchus*, this one thing may be a Demonstration; that Ivy grows no-where in *India*, but in this City.^k This may, indeed, as at first Sight it does, look like a conclusive Proof; but, I presume, when closely examined, it will have a quite different Appearance: For, in Answer to this, I observe, that, instead of proving the Conquest of *Ofiris*, this really proves the direct contrary; viz. the Conquest of the *Greecian Bacchus* exploded, as absurd and unsustainable, even by the wit of the *Greeks* themselves. But whoever considers the Character of the *Indians*, the Turn of this Speech, and the Prayer of *Asopis*, at the Close of this Address, must easily discover, that the whole is no more than an artful and well-turned Compliment, calculated to lay hold of the Conqueror's Vanity, and thereby procure a Confirmation of the City's Liberties, as accordingly it did. All, therefore, that this Fact absolutely proves, is no more than this, that in the Time of *Alexander*, the *Indians* were excessively tenacious of their Liberties, passionately fond of their own Country and Customs, and very adroit in contriving the Means to avoid the Change of them. On the Whole, the Story of *Ofiris* is unsustainable, and the pure Effects of *Egyptian* Vanity; that of the *Greecian Bacchus* ridiculously absurd: But, if we admit the Reports of the *Indians*, as to their own *Bacchus*, or *Hercules*, mixed, no doubt, with Fables also, to have given Occasion to the *Egyptian* Story, as that did to the Fiction of the *Greeks*, we shall trace ourselves from all Difficulties, and open a Passage to the true History of this Period, short and obscure indeed, but, however, worthy of Notice. Thus it runs.

8 The Country of *India* was very early peopled after the Dispersion of Mankind; and, being in itself exceedingly fruitful and pleasant, it soon began to grow populous, after a certain great Prince had introduced Religion, and Civil Policy, by which the People, who before lived like Savages, were formed into Societies, and taught to improve, and be content with, the happy Country they possessed. The Situation of most of their great Cities upon Rivers, and the Property of most of those Rivers to overflow at certain Seasons of the Year, obliged them to contrive, improve, and addit themselves, in an extraordinary degree, to Boat-building, and the Art of Navigation; which, as it enabled them to carry on a great Commerce amongst themselves, in a Country very extensive, and every where very plentiful, so it furnished them also with a very considerable maritime Force, especially for those Times, capable of resisting the whole Force of the *Assyrian* Empire. Their steady Resistance proceeded chiefly from their generous Notions of Liberty, concerning which, the best Writers of Antiquity tell us, that as the *Indians* had Laws proper to themselves, widely different from those of all other Nations. So this was the Foundation of all their Liberty, being the fundamental Maxim of their Policy, laid down by their first Legislators, and from which they never departed. That none among them should be a Slave to any other, but every one, being free, and equally entitled to the Benefit of the Laws, should, from that Consideration, be ready to venture their Lives in Defence of their Liberty, and for the Preservation of their common Liberties.

The Knowledge the World had of this, that produced a Passion in all the great Conquerors of that Age, to attempt some Conquest over the *Indians*;

as will be fully shewn, when we come to treat of the Motives which induced *Alexander* the Great to undertake his Expedition into that Country. In these early Times, the *Egyptians* were almost the only Nation that had any Commerce with the *Indians*, which they carried on by Sea; and this it was that gave them an Opportunity of imposing for many Ages, upon the rest of the World, by their Fictions, in relation to the Conquest of *Ofiris*: But when the *Greeks* came to be better acquainted with the *Indians*, they discovered the Fallshood of these *Egyptian* Fables, and brought to Light, in some measure, the true History of these People, as derived from their own Traditions. And it is for this Reason, that I esteem the Accounts given us by the *Greek* Historians, as more antient in themselves, tho' later known to the World, than the Stories delivered by such Writers as copied the *Egyptian* Records.

9. The looking back so far into these fabulous Histories, is, indeed, very laborious, and at first Sight appears a little unnecessary; but when we consider how many great Men have employed their Thoughts upon this Subject, we ought, in Justice to their Abilities, to suppose they saw some Reason for taking so much Pains. It is, indeed, no difficult Thing to discern that Reason, which was the Desire of coming at Truth, or, at least, as near it as possible, by putting Things into a proper Method. Such as have neglected these antient Accounts, and have begun their Histories of the *Indes* much lower, have been obliged to insert many Things, necessary to explain the Transactions they record, quite out of the Order of Time; and in such a manner, that they have rather perplexed than enlightened their Relations: For that the antient *Indians* were a very wise and powerful People, whose History therefore deserved to be recovered as much as any other, appears from very different Quarters.

For Instance, when the *Chingse* Antiquities came to be looked into narrowly, it appeared that their Learning, which has made so much Noise in the World, was really derived to them from the *Indians*; their great Philosopher *Confucius* owning, in his Writings, that he had been assisted by the Lights he drew from the Philosophy of the *Brachmanians*.^m The Truth of this is also manifest, by comparing what the *Greek* Writers have left us, in relation to the Doctrines of those *Indian* Philosophers, with what the *Jesuits* have been pleased to publish from the Works of that great Author of *Chingse* Learning. It was from the *Indians* also, that the *Cingese* derived what they know of the Art of Navigation; and if they improved that Art to a greater Degree than the *Indians*, and made longer Voyages, this ought to be attributed to the civilisation of the People. And that the *Indians* Faculty was the ruling Passion. They long to the Coverments of Life, it is true, by the Assistance of their Maritime Force; but they fought them among themselves, and never affected Conquests or Commerce without the Limits of *India*; which, in this Period of Time, ought to be confin'd within the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*. The Name of *India* is certainly derived from the first of these Rivers, which, rising near *Persia*, was thereby first known to the Western Nations. But the ruling Passion among the *Chingse* Learning amongst the People in general, seems to have been always the Love of Gain; which naturally led them to foreign Commerce, and foreign Conquests. It is true, that the wild *Mers*, and great *Perficians*, of that Empire, have been always of a different Sentiment; and have frequently run abroad to their Empires, the daily and Danger of all being to relaxe their enormous Subsistive Wives. This is plain by the Consequences of their paying duty of the fundamental Maxims of their Learning, the *Indians*, who were so upon that equitable principle of being free themselves, and leaving others free also.

It is such a great Number of Republics mentioned by the *Greek* Writers, as if till now, and we are not to invade them, and hence the many Resolutions of *Rome*, and other, in such Cases, were still governed by *Rome*, as if we had had a Mixture of *Indians* in the governing Sections. In the Appearance of a great part of the *Indies* widely from what it was reported formerly, we find

^k See the Account of *Nysa*, in *Dionysius* Siculus, lib. 2. ^m See the Account of *Confucius*, in *Confucius*, lib. 1. ⁿ See the Account of *Confucius*, in *Confucius*, lib. 1.

discern the Occasion of this Difference; and, consequently, the Credit due both to antient and modern Accounts: For it will appear in the Course of this Work, that most of the despotic Governments that now subsist in the Indies, are the Effects of Foreign Conquests; and that the antient Principles of Liberty, and assigning proper Bounds to Sovereign Power, are still sufficiently visible among the un-

mixed Nations of India. These are Motives sufficient to justify Inquiries of this Nature; especially when they are regularly made, confined within due Bounds, and applied chiefly to the Explanation of those Points, which make it worth our while to inquire into the Transactions of past Times, in Countries at such a Distance.

SECTION III.

The History of this Commerce in the Hands of the Idumeans, Israelites, Tyrians, &c. with some Account of its Profits.

1. The Manner in which the Phœnicians became acquainted with this Commerce through the Idumeans.
2. Are intruded with the Management of it by the Israelites.
3. Different Opinions as to the Situation of Ophir.
4. Advantageous Consequences of this Commerce to the Jews.
5. They are totally deprived of it, under the Reign of Ahaz, by the Assyrians.
6. The Tyrians aim at the monopolizing the Commerce of the Indies.
7. The extraordinary Means they made use of to open a new Route from these Countries.
8. Become thereby exceedingly rich and powerful, as well as very formidable to their Neighbours.
9. The City of Old Tyre taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and New Tyre erected on an Island at a small Distance.
10. An Account of the Troglodytes, and of the Nature of their Commerce.
11. Observations on the Profits of this Trade in these Times, and on the Nature of the Proofs brought to support these Observations.

THE whole Trade of the antient World seems to have been divided between the Egyptians and the Phœnicians. The former had engrossed to themselves the Eastern Commerce, and the latter extended their Navigations more to the West. It is certain, that never any Country was better situated for Trade than Phœnicia, and the two great Cities Sidon and Tyre, the famous Ports thereof, which make to great a Figure in antient History. Sidon stood on the Sea-shore, having behind it a fine Plain, which reached as far as Mount Libanus, or rather Anti-Libanus. The antient Tyre stood also upon the Continent, was founded by the Sidonians, and came afterwards to make a greater Figure than Sidon itself.

The Inhabitants of these two Cities prosecuted Trade, and every thing that had any Relation to Trade, with the utmost Diligence. The Mountains behind them furnished excellent Timber, and this traded them to perfect the Art of Ship building. They also made great Discoveries in Astronomy, and were particularly skilful in applying it to Navigation. They must have had early some Intelligence of the Indies, if there be any Truth in what is reported of Hercules of Tyre, that he penetrated into those Countries; but it is certain, that this Hero, who was called *Melchior* in the *Punic*, or *Phœnician* Tongue, lived more than a thousand Years before the famous Expedition of the Golden Fleece. And therefore there is good Reason to conclude, that his Indian Expedition is a Fable, but a Fable that might be thus far founded in Truth, that the *Greeks* might believe in it, to express thereby the *Phœnician* being taught that Commerce by *Hercules*, their tutelar Divinity.

We shall however endeavour to give a clearer and more probable Account of the Manner by which they came to the Knowledge of all the rich Commodities they brought from the West by their Shipping, they distributed thro' the East by Caravans, which was and is the Method by which all inland Commerce is carried on in the East; and this occasioned a Correspondence between them and the *Indians*, or *Idumites*, who were then a very powerful Nation, and possessed of very extensive Possessions.

These *Indians*, who in the Scriptures are called the *Children of Idum*, were probably of that Side of the Arabian Gulph which is opposite to *Esop*, and from thence that Country received the Name of the *Red Sea*, by a mistaken Conception. For the *Indians*, being by this Gulph carried to the *Islands*, and thence to *Idum*, which was a Country that in most Parts of the World they call *Red*, as is that Part of the Ocean which divides *Idum* from *Arabia*. Upon

that Gulph the *Idumeans* had two Sea-ports, *Elat* and *Eghebar*; from whence they carried on a Trade by Sea to *Arabia*, *Perfia*, and *India*; and through them the *Phœnicians* came first to be acquainted with this Commerce, into which, however, they were more freely admitted by the *Israelites*.

For when King *David* had made himself Master of *Jerusalem*, and thereby obtained the Ports before mentioned on the *Arabian* Gulph, he immediately resolved to establish a Maritime Power, and to carry on from thence that beneficial Trade which had been before driven by the *Idumeans*, which he did with great Success, as appears by the great Quantities of Gold he brought in one Voyage from *Ophir*. His Son *Solomon*, who was a greater Politician, and who had both Leisure and Inclination to cultivate the Art of Peace, resolved to make the best Use possible of his Possessions; and therefore went in Person to *Idum* and *Esop*, where, under his own Eye, those Ports were fortified, and Abundance of Vessels put upon the Stocks. Those who were chiefly employed by him, both in building and navigating his Fleet, were the Subjects of his own Kingdom; but his faithful Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, who it is thought means the *Tyrians* became acquainted with the Voyage to the *Indies*, in which they were ever afterwards employed.

I shall not enter very deeply here, into the current Question, Where *Ophir* is situated? because, first, that will be always a Question; and I would not use it as a long tract; and then reason upon them, who I know not possibly they may be disputed. Yet it may not improperly be said to mention some of the Opinions, which have been supported by the learned Men of the last and present Ages. In the first place, let it be observed, that though it is said that the Fleets of *Solomon* were three Years in making a Voyage to *Tarshish*, yet there is no Line of Time that is mentioned, from whence the Commodities that were brought, are said to be Gold, Alluvial Stones, *Incense*, *Sapphires*, *Emeralds*, an old *Arabian* Author, quoted by *Strabo*, asserts, that *Ophir* was an Island in the Indian Ocean; *Josephus* says, that the Country of *Ophir* was a vast Quantity of that precious Metal, as to be a great Part thereof the *Land of Gold*. By the Help of these and other different Authors have found it in different Places.

Some say they have it to be the little Island of *Zeilan* in the East-India, or *India*, at a small Distance from the Straights of *Hormandel*; others imagine it to be the Island of *Ceylon*; others again contend that it is the *Indies*. The famous *Franciscus Barabius* would have us believe that *Ophir* was no other than the Island of *Arabia*.

Discovery of which gave the Name to the Countries in the Sea could never since the Fleets of *Solomon* came there are two ways of these: The Part of *Arabia*, con- Geographer, that *Arabia*, who inhabits *Perfia*, that they were three its Weight so Silver. This Gold is some very large, and which needed no rich Country in *Ma* the most reasonable *Peninsula* in the true the Description give agrees exactly with been known to *Anti* *India*. But there is remarkable: At the *laccæ*, there is a very is called *Ophir*, and have been, very rich work some *Lin Min*.

As to this Circum- highly probable, an- tence from Experience the richer the Mines, longer they are in *Ca* Cause not only of our were famous for it an finding it any where This Subject I shall possible, when I come when it was first disco- what it has produced *Phœnician* employed ther, and acquired t Count; which bring to a perfect Acquaint- to the Monopoly of time, let us proceed while in the *Hlands* from this Time fore- more, sometimes with different Administrat

4. Upon the Divi- of *Idumæa* remained a *Juda*, the Princes of *Sidon* that determined the *Elat*. *History* hath the god Account of the *King of Israel*, *King of Sidon*, and he had many Seamen came to assist him in *Idumæa*, of which *Idumæa*.

The Fleet consist- of *Rod* from which *Ridge* of *Idumæa* covered the *Idumæa* various *Idumæa* brought to *Idumæa* covered; *Idumæa* the *Idumæa* *Idumæa* from *Idumæa*.

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Discovery of which was revived by *Columbus*. The *Spaniards* gave the Name of the *Ilands of Solomon* to certain Countries in the *South Seas*, very rich in Gold, and which could never since be found; because they imagined the Fleets of *Solomon* came thither.

But there are two Opinions infinitely more probable than any of these: The one is, that *Ophir* was the Southern Part of *Arabia*, concerning which we are told by an ancient Geographer, that two Nations called *Abileans* and *Cassandrians*, who inhabited thereabouts, had Gold in so great Plenty, that they would give twice its Weight for Iron, three its Weight for Brass, and ten times its Weight for Silver. This Gold they found in Pieces amongst the Sand, some very large, and the smallest of the Size of Olives, which needed no refining. The other Opinion places this rich Country in *Malacca*: This, I must confess, appears the most reasonable to me of them all; for *Malacca* is a Peninsula in the true *Red Sea*; which answers well enough the Description given by *Eupolemus*, and at the same time agrees exactly with what we are told by *Josephus*, having been known to Antiquity by the Name of the *Golden Chersonese*. But there is another Circumstance, that is still more remarkable: At the Distance of twelve Leagues from *Malacca*, there is a very high Mountain, which by the Natives is called *Ophir*, and which is reported to be, or rather to have been, very rich in Gold, though at present they only work some Tin Mines that are there.

As to this Circumstance of Gold Mines wearing out, it is highly probable, and very agreeable to the Lights we receive from Experience, as to the Nature of that Metal; for the richer the Mines, the sooner they are exhausted, and the longer they are in recruiting; which, very possibly, is the Cause not only of our not finding Gold in such Countries as were famous for it among the Antients, but also of our not finding it any where in the same Proportion that they did. This Subject I shall endeavour to set in the clearest Light possible, when I come to treat of the Riches found in *Peru*, when it was first discovered, and which were far superior to what it has produced since. But where-ever *Ophir* was, the *Phoenicians* employed by *Solomon* navigated his Ships thither, and acquired thereby a distinct Knowledge of this Coast, which brought them, as shall be afterwards shewn, to a perfect Acquaintance with the *Indians*, and, in time, to the Monopoly of the Trade of them. In the mean time, let us proceed in our History of this Commerce, while in the Hands of the *Israelites*; who prosecuted it from this Time forward very constantly, sometimes with more, sometimes with less Advantage, according to the different Administrations they were under.

Upon the Division of the Kingdom, the Province of *Luzan* remained annexed to the Kingdom of *Judab*, or *Juda*, the Princes of which carried on this Trade with great Success from the Port of *Esiongeber*. What the Reasons were that determined the *Jewish* Monarch to prefer that Port to *Elath*, History hath not informed us; but we have a very good Account of the Causes which induced them to flight to *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judab*, thought fit, from political Considerations, to strike up a close Alliance with *Achaz*, King of *Israel*, very probably, because allied to the King of *Sidon*, and his Country, lying nearer to *Phoenicia*, he had many Seamen of that Nation in his Service, and to come to assist him into a Share of this Trade, for the carrying on of which they fitted out a joint Fleet at *Esiongeber*.

This Fleet consisted of ten Sail, which were shipwrecked on a Ridge of Rocks, which lay before that Port, and from which Ridge of Rocks it received its Name; for *Esiongeber* signifies the *Red Stone*; and the Rocks were in that Place covered by the Sea at High-water, and sticking up with various Points in a Lane, when it was low. This Accident brought such a Discredit on that Haven, as it was afterwards observed: And therefore, when *Jehoshaphat* had recovered from the preceding Year, another Squadron of Ships was sent from *Elath*, and he would not suffer his

Neighbour, the King of *Israel*, to have any Concern therein at all.

His Successor *Jehoram* lost both Ports by the Rebellion of the *Edomites*; and by this means the *Jewish* Commerce, in the *Red Sea*, suffered an Interruption of some Years: But *Uzziab*, in the Beginning of his Reign, recovered *Elath*, and fortified it again, well knowing its Importance; and from thence carried on that advantageous Trade, which had been the great Source of the Riches which the *Israelites*, and afterwards the *Jews*, possessed: For tho', as I observed, they did not carry it on always with the same Success as in the Days of *Solomon*, yet, when they carried it on at all, it brought in such constant Supplies of Gold, and other rich Commodities, that, notwithstanding the Misfortunes they met with, and the prodigious Sums extorted from them by several Eastern Conquerors, yet they quickly recruited again; and, as appears from the Sacred Writings, grew very rich in every small Interval of Peace, till they lost this Trade altogether; and then they sunk into the lowest degree of Poverty and Distress, having no way to supply extraordinary Demands, but out of the dead Stock of the Treasures they had saved in better Times.

This Misfortune befel them in the Reign of *Abaz*, against whom two powerful Princes considered themselves; viz. *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and *Pekab* King of *Israel*, who, in a short time, conquered almost all the Kingdom of *Judab*; by which means, *Elath* fell into the Hands of *Rezin*, who immediately established there a Colony of *Syrians*, in hopes of transferring that profitable Commerce to his own Subjects, which seems to have been the great Point he had in View, when he began this War: But *Pekab* King of *Israel*, aiming at the total Destruction of the *Jewish* Monarchy, shut up *Abaz* in his Capital, and besieged him there. On the Retreat of *Rezin*, the King of *Judab* ventured a Battle, in which he was totally defeated; lost the City of *Jerusalem*; and had an infinite Number of his Subjects, with all the Riches of his Kingdom, carried away by the victorious *Israelites*.

In this Distress, he took all the Gold and Silver, which, out of respect to Religion, the Enemy had left in the Temple, and sent them to *Tigath-Pilezer* King of *Assyria*, the most powerful Monarch in those Parts, to procure his Assistance. This Prince, who was excessively ambitious, seeing to find an Opportunity offer of enlarging his Dominions, immediately closed with his Proposal; attacked first *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, whom he deprived of his Dominions; and then fell upon *Pekab* King of *Israel*, from whom he took the best Part of his Territory also; which, however, instead of proving an Advantage to *Abaz*, was in Truth, a greater Misfortune than any he had yet suffered.

For the *Assyrian* Monarch forced him to pay such heavy Impostions, under colour of reimbursing him for the Expenses of a War entered into on his Account, that they equalled, if not exceeded, the Ravages committed by his former Enemies, and reduced the People of *Judab* into the most deplorable Circumstances. These Mischiefs affected not only the People of that Age, but their latest Posterity; for now they had a powerful a Neighbour, who, at the same time, was to tyrannical a Matter, that they neither knew how to bear his Yoke, nor had strength enough to shake it off; and, which was the greatest Mischiefs of all, this powerful Prince, under colour of his Right of Conquest, kept *Elath*, and thereby deprived the *Jews* of their *Indian* Commerce, by which they had recovered from all former Oppressions, and which they never afterwards had the least Share in: So that here end all our Concerns with them.

The *Tyrians* were, by this time, become the most potent Maritime Power; and, having all along been employed in their Voyages to *India*, wanted only an Opportunity of possessing themselves of some Port, capable of being made the Emporium of this Commerce, in order to

1 Kings xxi. 37.

1 Kings xxi. 47.

1 Kings xxi. 6.

gain it wholly to themselves. This, considering their Situation, and the Means by which that Trade had hitherto been carried on, was exceeding difficult; for the *Egyptians*, and their Neighbours the *Ethiopian* and *Troglodytes*, were absolutely possessed of one Side of the *Arabian* Gulph; and the other was now entirely in the Hands of the *Affyrans*, and *Arabians*: so that there seemed to be no Possibility of their attempting any thing to Purpose, without a Land Force, which they had not, tho' their Power was to great by Sea.

This the Reader will more easily and fully comprehend, if he considers, that they had the whole Country of *Palestine*, and that of *Livonia*, between them, and the *Arabian* Gulph; and that, on the other hand, they had the whole Continent of *Africa* to sail round, in case they attempted to enter the Red Sea by another Navigation, supposing them to have, at that time, a Notion of the Possibility of such a Passage, which, I must confess, I do not believe they had. But whichever way we take the Case, their Design seems to have been obstructed by insurmountable Difficulties, which, however, did not deter them from attempting, or hinder them from achieving what appeared to them a Point of so great Consequence; which is a clear Proof, that a Spirit of Commerce is capable of undertaking and executing as great Things as a Spirit of Ambition, or the Thirst of Conquest.

7. They considered, that the Isthmus between the *Arabian* Gulph, and the *Mediterranean*, was very narrow: so that if they were in Possession of any Port, on the Side of the Isthmus next them, it would be no difficult Matter to transport by Land the Merchandise of the *Indies* thither. Such a Port they found, as it had been prepared by Nature to facilitate the Execution of their Project, the Name of which was *Rhinoceros*, or *Rhinocorura*, situated not far from Mount *Casius*, in the Confines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*.

The Occasion of founding this City, and Port, was very extraordinary. Some Ages before *Sithones*, King of *Ethiopia*, having deposed *Amis* King of *Egypt*, and reduced his Country under his Dominion, caused all the Thieves and Malefactors in *Egypt*, who, by their own Law, should have been put to Death, to be assembled together; and, having cut off their Noes, that they might never escape from the Place to which they were banished, directed a Town to be built for them here, which, from the Noes of their Noes, was called *Rhinocorura*, and there he fixed them. A dreadful Situation it was, in the midst of Desert; the Country about it excessively barren; the Soil full of Salt; and all the Waters in their Wells brackish and bitter. Yet these People, being once established, and knowing it was a strong Impediment for them to escape, applied themselves, with such Diligence, to cultivate this inhospitable Territory, that at last, by dint of Labour they got a better Soil of Nature, and procured for themselves a fertile Dwelling, which, in Process of Time, was much improved by their Pottery.

Such was the Situation of *Rhinocorura*, when the *Tyrans* laid their Eyes upon it, for the Staple or Mart of *Indian* Commodities. It quickly appeared how wisely they had taken their Measures, and how practicable this Method was, which at first seemed full of Difficulties. To understand this perfectly, it is necessary to consider the Form of the *Arabian* Gulph, which, running up between *Babai* and *Egypt*, divides into two Points almost at the Top; and then by turns two lesser Bays, or Gulphs, with a Tract of Country between them. The inner Gulph, on the *Arabian* Side, is more properly in the Country of *Livonia*, by ancient Writers called *Nepi*, *Parthia*, or the *Parthian* Gulph, from the Port of *Lacus*, or *Parthia*, as the *Comes* called it, that Bands upon it. Whereas the Port of *Egypt* is a Bay on the Point of *Egypt*, that, by running out into the *Babai* Gulph, produces the smaller Gulph, or the *Parthian* Gulph, and the Isthmus between them, that the Land carriage from *Babai* to *Rhinocorura* could be made in a few Days. As this had not been discovered till the Time of our Magazine, in which all these things were first published. And, as the Design required, and

they could be brought with Advantage to Market, they transported them from thence to *Tyre*; and they were thence either sold to such foreign Merchants as resorted to that great Emporium, or else were again exported into the West, by the *Phœnician* Fleets; that is, the Shipping not of *Tyre* only, but also of *Sidon*, and all their Colonies.

8. It was this extensive Commerce, that raised *Tyre* to such a Height of Glory, and enabled her to maintain herself, for upwards of eight hundred Years, in so great Power and Splendor: Yet we are not to conceive, that *Sidon* was absolutely eclipsed by this Colony of hers, for the contrary appears, both from sacred and profane Writers. These Cities stood but sixteen Miles distant from each other, under different Governments, but united by a strict Alliance. Each of them had its Prince; but these Princes were far from being absolute Sovereigns; they were only Heads of two potent Republics, who were contented to allow them all the Pomp of Princes, provided they not governed by Law, and administered the public Affairs in such a manner, as that every Man's Property might be safe. It was from this Mildness of their Government, that their Trade was so extensive; and it was in consequence of this extensive Commerce, that many brave Men amongst them, lived in all the Affluence of Wealth; and that the State arrived at so great Power, as to be able to establish to many considerable Colonies, to keep on Foot a constant Standing Army, composed of different Nations, for their own Defence.

At last, when the famous King of *Assyria*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, had over-run all the Kingdoms in his Neighbourhood, he found himself unable to reduce this City of *Tyre*, till after thirteen Years Siege, which is the longest History of Commerce, is capable of supporting a very small State, against the Force, even of the greatest Empire, which seldom last so long as such Republics. It is from the Destruction we have of this Siege, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, in one of the Prophets, that we derive the Knowledge we have of the Wealth and Grandeur of this City, which are there painted in the most lively Colours, and with such a Multitude of Circumstances, in relation to different Places with which the Inhabitants of *Tyre* traded on their Commerce, the vast Variety of their Exported Imports; their wonderful Skill in Ship-building; the mighty Magnificence in their private Houses, and public Buildings; their great Wisdom, in leaving to the other Cities of *Phœnicia* their proper Manufactures, and convenient Share of Commerce; that it is possible to conceive a better regulated Policy, or a Government, in which Things were more prudently, or more happily conducted. For it was the Privy of their Project, to have a Policy could prevent, that drew on their final Destruction.

9. This Siege of *Tyre*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was ended in the Year of the World 3427, when he became Master of that Place. But such was the Spirit, such the Liberty, such the Confraternity of the *Tyrans*, that they preferred themselves, and their Republic, in spite of his Misfortune, for, as soon as they perceived, that it was possible their City should escape being taken, when so great a Force was to long employed against it, they provided a way, for the worst that could happen, and, by transferring their Fleets to an Island, which lay at the Mouth of a little Harb'ur, a Mile from the Mouth of their Harbour, saved the greatest Part of them in a new City, which was called there, and which, as *Nebuchadnezzar* said, was the Power, lay out of that Conqueror's Reach.

This was that *Tyre*, which made so great a Figure in the ancient History; the Inhabitants of which, in all the Trade they had carried on, which led to the Continent, as well as the Port of *Rhinocorura*, were equally, the Trade which they had carried on, and which, as we shall hereafter have Occasion to mention, was the same. But it was necessary, both of a History of *Tyre*, before the City of *Tyre* was destroyed, to an Island, to avoid that Conclusion, in which the Reader might easily have misapprehended the

Routes and Stages of the

by distinguishing the
10. The *Phœnicia* to the *Indies* by the with the *Ethiopian*, either Side of the C whom we meet with Writers; but what may be reduced to treated on the *African* bottom of it: They of People.

One Sort of them settled chiefly on the and Recks by the Sea, and was by fishing, and had a singularly putting an End to them, which made them a Sort of Socie fear, delayed this in mind of the was checked by Du which, he did not ce he was put to De long this Trade. N always a rebellious nation, and all the

Such a man, a fall of their Countrymen, some, they trained out some, and was to be *Indies*, for both of these had Occasion to

Then, in our third Period of History, we in Commerce, in the abundance of Ports to fight for which, but principally their their Commodities; not only from the Se Commerce with each respect large Returns. Secondly, by *Tyre* to Nations from endless hazardous and danger

It was the more ca Stones on the rest, naturally credulous, improving Estates; *Phœnician*, they not the utmost Pains to them out to the belt

part from the Wor exam, in which we Circumstances, told accompanied with man such extraordinary R light at an Effect, t hats was received tributed greatly to h and was the effect of near the City, ev Wood were to be the Cause of Count

It is very evident that, as in the form of the World, and that it is not in constant their depend entirely on Affairs. It is certa

of inquiring into the Accounts, which, in earlier Times, the Egyptians had received of the Indians. They had likewise a very strict Intercourse with the Tyrians, who still preserved, in virtue of their strict Alliance with the Persians, that Commerce which they had settled with the Indians, in the manner we have described in the last Section: And, as in this Period of Time, the Greek Learning was at the greatest Height, and as many of their Philosophers and learned Men travelled into the most distant Countries, purely for the Sake of Information, we cannot doubt, that to curious and to useful a Subject escaped them.

It is, however, true, that some of them took such a Method in relating their Discoveries, that it is not easy to discern, whether they intended to write Histories or Fables; of which we have Instances in the Fragments that still remain of *Solon*, the great Law-giver of *Athen*, who was also a great Traveller, and spent a long time in *Egypt*; who brought home from thence an Account of a Discovery, made by the Egyptians, of an Island, in a far distant Climate, equally rich, fertile, and pleasant, and remarkable for the singular Manners of its Inhabitants. *Plato*, the most celebrated Philosopher of *Greece*, took Occasion from hence, to compose a fine Dialogue upon this Subject; in which he introduces *Solon*, and an Egyptian Priest, discoursing upon this Discovery; and therein gives us a long and entertaining Account of this new Island of *Atlantis*, but, in such a manner, that it has been, to this Day, a Question, whether the Whole be not an elegant Fiction. *Aenopben*, who was one of the gravest Historians, and, without Controversy, one of the best Writers among the Greeks, has also given such a Turn to one of his best Performances, I mean his *Cyropædia*, that Posterity has been at a Loss to know, whether it was to be understood as a History, or a Roman-e; and the latter Opinion seems to have prevailed.

Yet, it is highly probable, that there is a great deal of Truth, mixed with Fables, in both these Works; and that their Authors, though they had chiefly in View instructing their Readers in moral Philosophy, might, notwithstanding, insert many Matters of Fact, as they really happened: But how to distinguish these, is a Question not easily answered. There is, however, extant, in a *Greek* History, the History of a Voyage, undertaken in a singular Manner, and as surprisingly executed; which is related in a plain and simple Style; and, as it seems to have been the first ever made to the *Indies*, of which we have so distinct Account, I shall give it the Reader as near as possible in the Words of the Author; the rather, because, though it is very curious and entertaining, yet I do not remember to have seen it in any of our Collections of Voyages, at least in its full Extent; and, without taking in all its Circumstances, it is impossible for the Reader to apprehend it clearly, or to pass a right Judgment upon it.

There was one *Iambulus*, who, from his Youth, was addicted to Learning; His Father was a Merchant; and, after his Decese, he applied himself, with great Diligence, to the same Profession. This Man, travelling into *Arabia*, in order to purchase Spices, was there taken Prisoner, with all his Company, by a Party of Robbers. At first, he, and one of his Companions, were employed in keeping Sleep; but they were soon after carried off by the *Ethiopian*, inhabiting the Coast, who conveyed them into their own Country, in order to serve a very extraordinary Purpose. For these *Ethiopian*s had a Custom, which had then subsisted six hundred Years, and was originally derived from the Direction of an Oracle, to expiate the Sins of their Nation once in an Age, or Generation, which with them comprehended the Space of thirty Years, by exposing two Strangers, in the following manner.

They prepared a little Vessel, well built, and extremely well equipped, with Provisions for six Months, on board of which the Men were put, at a certain Season of the Year, with Instructions to steer directly South, in order to arrive at a certain fortunate Island, inhabited by a kind and hospitable People, with whom they might live happily all the rest of their Days. The Oracle declared, that, if these

Men succeeded in their Voyage, the Country would enjoy Rest and Quiet for many Years; but, if, frightened by the Dangers of the Sea, they should return, it was ominous to *Ethiopia*; and, therefore, they threatened *Iambulus*, and his Companion, with the severest Punishments, in case they did not prosecute their Voyage. When the Season of the Year came, the *Ethiopian*s celebrated the Festival of Purgation with most splendid Sacrifices; and then, having crowned each of them with Garlands, they put *Iambulus*, and his Companion, on board the Vessel that had been prepared for them, and obliged them to put to Sea.

They were four Months toils'd by the Winds and Waves, before they arrived on the Coast of the Island to which they were bound; at length they reached it safely. In its Form it is almost round, being about five thousand Stadia in Compass, containing about five hundred of our Miles, if we allow six hundred Stadia to a Degree. As soon as they came within Sight of Land, the People on the Island crowded on the Shore, to behold them: And, when they landed, Multitudes came from all Quarters, to gaze on, and admire them, wondering how they came thither; but treating them with the utmost Kindness and Civility, and offering them, with the greatest Readiness, whatever their Country afforded.

These People differed not a little from other Nations in their Appearance, as well as in their Manners; for they were all of a pretty equal Size, each of them about four Cubits, or six Foot high. They bent and turned their Bodies with such Agility, that their Bones seemed, to our Travellers, as flexible as the Sinews of other People: Their Bodies were very tender; notwithstanding which, they were so strong, that whatever they grasped, could not be forced out of their Hands. On their Heads, Eyebrows, Eye-lids, and on their Chins, they had Hair; but they rest of their Bodies perfectly smooth. They were handsome, and well-shaped; only the Holes in their Ears were much wider than those of other Men, and had fleshy Protuberances in them. Their Tongues were very singular, being by Nature somewhat divided, and cut in their Infancy to the very Root; so that they seemed double; which enabled them to imitate the Notes, and even the Chatterings, of Birds: And, if our Travellers say true, they could discourse with two People at once.

This Island is situated in a most excellent and moderate Climate, lying very near the Equator; so that the People are neither torched with Heat, nor pinched with Cold, enjoying, at once, all the Seasons, without any Division, like ours, of Spring and Harvest; so that, as *Homer* sings,

*Here ripe and green, at once, their Fruits appear,
And Eggs and Grapes are gather'd through the Year.*

The Days and Nights are there always of equal Length; neither is there any Shadow at Noon-day, because the Sun is directly in the Zenith. They are divided into Tribes, according to their Kindred, and into distinct Societies; yet so, as there are not above four hundred admitted into any one Tribe. They live in Meadows, where they are plentifully supplied with all things necessary for Food, by what the Earth produces; for the Fertility of the Soil, and the Temperature of the Air, are such, that Corn grows there of itself.

Plenty of Calamus, probably Maiz, grows there, whose Fruit is like to white Vetches: When they have gathered it, they steep it in hot Water, till it puffs up to the Bigness of a little Egg; then bruising it, and rubbing it in their Hands, they knead it into Dough; and so bake and eat it, being exceeding sweet and delicious Bread to the Taste. There are there both hot and cold Baths, which are for the curing and preventing of Dilempers, being exceeding sweet and pleasant. They are learned in all Sorts of Sciences, especially in Astrology. They use eight-and-twenty particular Letters, for the expressing what they mean, computed of seven Characters; each of which is varied four Ways. They live long, without ever being sick, and commonly to one hundred and fifty Years of Age.

As the Design of *Lambulus's* Voyage was to purchase Spices in *Arabia*, it is very likely he failed down the Red Sea to the famous Mart of *Zeila*; and in going to, or returning therefrom, might fall into the Hands of some of the wandering Inhabitants of that Country, who have always justified by Plunder: The Circumstance of his being employ'd with his Companion to keep Sheep, is highly probable, for, according to the best Accounts we have of those Nations, that was the only Service, in which they were likely to employ them: While they were thus occupied, the second Misfortune betel them of being stolen off the Coast by *Ethiopian* Privateers; which was also no small Thing in those Days, especially among the *Vragnols*, who crucified themselves by this Practice: After he was taken by these People, he was carried into the maritime Parts of *Ethiopia*; which is a very general Expression, the Sense of which is not easily fixed.

Our *Portuguese* Traveller thought, that *Lambulus* might have been carried as far as the Kingdom of *Magadash*, which lies within two Degrees of the Line, and on the other side of *Cape Guardafuy*; which, I must confess, is possible, without supposing these Pirates, or their little Bark, to have pass'd the Straights of *Babelmandel*, or to have doubled the Cape; because they might have landed in the Gulph, and have carried him and his Companion by Land. Here then we are to place the Scene of the next Transaction, and the turning these poor Men adrift into the Ocean, at the Season of the Year when the Trade-wind was likely to carry them directly to the *East-Indies*.

Our *Portuguese* seems to be of Opinion, that this Island, to which they were driven after a Voyage of four Months, must be the great Island of *Sumatra*, which lies immediately to the Equinoctial, and extends itself five Degrees on each Side the Line; so that, if *Lambulus*, and his Companion, came on shore in the South Part of that Island, the Description he has given of the Climate, the Length of Days, and the not seeing any of the Northern Constellations, would be very exact. Our *Portuguese* is the rather inclin'd to embrace this Opinion, because of the Circumstances that attend his Return, in which he spent four Months, before he reach'd the Continent of *India*. He suppos'd therefore, with great Probability, that he land'd near the Mouth of the *Ganges*, and so came to the City of *Panabotera*, which was there situated, a Place very famous among the *Vedants*, and which, as we have before inform'd the Reader, was supposed to be built by the *Indian Heroes*. It must be allow'd, that these Reflections are very curious, and very judicious, as well as the Observation of the same Gentleman, that it is not probable *Lambulus*, and his Companion, should be able to navigate their small Bark to any of the Islands of the *Moluccas*.

Yet, after all, some Objections may be rais'd against this Account, that are not easily answer'd; for, in the first place, as to their Passage, they must have necessarily pass'd through that great Chan of Islands, call'd the *Maldives*, and it is not at all probable, that in their Circumstances they should continue their Voyage any farther than the first Land they met with: But if we pass by this Difficulty, we suppose that they fell through the Southern Passage, in the Latitude of three Degrees, and so had no Sight of any of those Islands, but fell directly on the South Point of *Sumatra*, yet this brings us under a new Difficulty; for the first thing we meet with, in the Voyage of *Lambulus*, is the Figure of the Island, upon which he and his Companion land'd: And, as to this, he tells us expressly, that it was round, or at least, very near it, than which nothing can be more irreconcilable to the Figure of the Island of *Sumatra*, which is very long, and very narrow: And, though we should endeavour to help this, by supposing *Lambulus* took this upon Trust from the Natives, yet it is very difficult to conceive this for two Reasons; First, because it is no way probable that a Nation so just and prudent, as he describes the People among whom he lived to be, should impute upon them in this respect, to no Purpose; and next, we can hardly think he should live there five Years without discovering the Falshood of this Report, the Island being no-where above seventy Miles broad.

There is another Circumstance no less destructive of this Supposition; which is, the Vicinity of this Island to the Coast of *Malacca*, which does by no means agree with what is related by *Lambulus*. I must own, that if we should suppose *Borneo* to be the Island he has described, it would be attended with as great, or rather, with greater Difficulties; for they must then have pass'd in their little Bark the Straights of *Anda*; and there is no assigning any Reason why they should continue their Voyage to *Borneo*, and leave the Islands of *Sumatra* and *Java* behind them: Besides, the Navigation from *Borneo* back again, would have been much more difficult and perplex'd than that from *Sumatra*.

Perhaps, after all, the Island of *Java* is liable to fewer Objections than either *Sumatra* or *Borneo*, if we can suppose, that they could make so long a Passage in such a Vessel: And indeed this seems to me the greatest Difficulty of all; and therefore I should rather incline to think, that this Island was one of the *Milders*, though I do not deny, that there might be many Objections rais'd also against this Opinion. The intelligent Reader will from these Remarks, however, be the more able to settle his own Opinion of this Matter; and I dare say, will not think it reasonable to conclude the whole Voyage a Fiction, because it is not easy, at this Distance of Time, and for the Want, perhaps, of some necessary Circumstances, to decide with Certainty, what Island it was where *Lambulus*, and his Companion, made their Residence for so many Years.

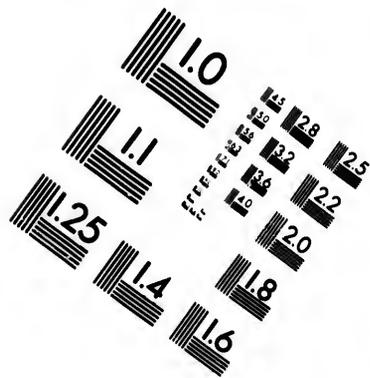
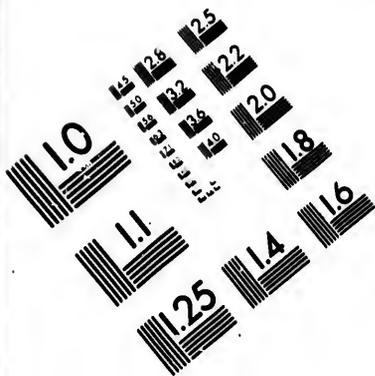
II. We have given the Whole of this Relation, that it might be the better understood. It is generally taken for granted, that the Island here describ'd is that which in ancient Authors is call'd *Taprocana*; of which Island, supposing it to be the same, we have a very copious Description in the Natural History of *Philostratus*: In which Description of his there are Abundance of curious things; but, I must confess, it is by no means clear to me, that this Island has any thing to do with that Relation. In the first place, they differ in Size; for, whereas this is said to be five thousand Stadia in Circuit, the Island, describ'd by *Philostratus*, is affirm'd to be ten thousand Stadia long, on that Side which fronts the Continent of *India*: But, what has greater Weight with me, this Description agrees as little with what we are told by *Strabo*, the most accurate of the ancient Geographers: And there is one Circumstance which plainly shews, that this Island cannot possibly be the same with *Taprocana*; and that is, its being so far distant from any other Land, whereas *Taprocana* was within Sight of the Continent of *India*.

The only Reason I can conceive, why this Island should be call'd the same with that, is, because of the Election of their Kings, which is thus relat'd by *Philostratus*. Their Monarch is chosen by the Voice of the whole Nation, wherein they generally govern themselves by the Qualities, which they esteem absolutely necessary in their Prince; viz. That he be old, of a good Constitution, and without Children; for, if he afterwards begets any, he is immediately oblig'd to abdicate; which Precaution is taken to prevent the Crown from becoming hereditary. There is likewise a Council of thirty Persons assign'd him by the People; neither can any Man be condemn'd but by the Majority of this Council: Yet, even after this, he may appeal to the People, who appoint twenty Persons to sit in Judgment upon the Party accus'd; and if, upon hearing the Cause, he is acquitted, then all the Members of the Council of thirty are instantly degraded, and are ever after esteem'd infamous. If their King is guilty of any Offence, he is punish'd with Death; they do not, however, slay their Kings with his Blood; but, refusing to speak or look upon him, they deliver him up to be torn to-pieces by Tygers and Elephants: What occurs in *Philostratus's* Description of that Island, in respect to its Produce and Inhabitants, is still more extravagant than what is reported in the foregoing Relation, which, how very fabulous in some Circumstances, seems in others comfortable enough to Truth.

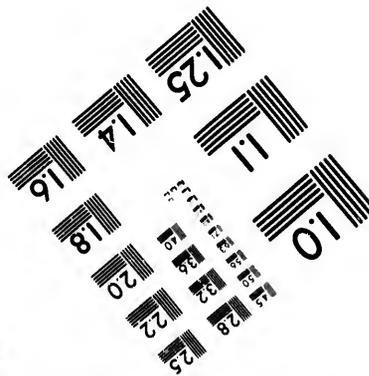
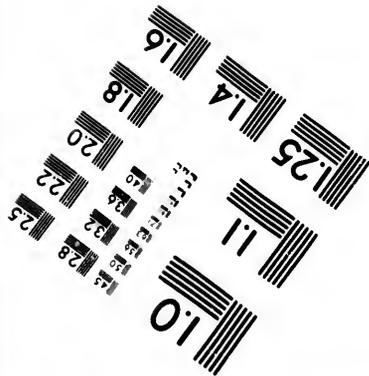
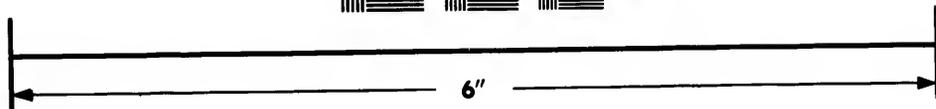
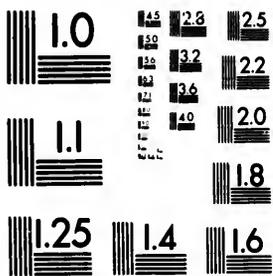
For, as to the Soil, Climate, and Produce, there is nothing that surpasses Belief; and, as to the rest, they were,

1. I suppose the Jews it, must have been to the South of the Line. 2. *Geograph. lib. xv. p. 108.* 3. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 4. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 5. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 6. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 7. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 8. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 9. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 10. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 11. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 12. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 13. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 14. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 15. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 16. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 17. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 18. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 19. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 20. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 21. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 22. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 23. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 24. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 25. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 26. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 27. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 28. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 29. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 30. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 31. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 32. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 33. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 34. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 35. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 36. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 37. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 38. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 39. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 40. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 41. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 42. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 43. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 44. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 45. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 46. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 47. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 48. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 49. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 50. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 51. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 52. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 53. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 54. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 55. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 56. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 57. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 58. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 59. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 60. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 61. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 62. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 63. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 64. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 65. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 66. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 67. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 68. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 69. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 70. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 71. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 72. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 73. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 74. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 75. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 76. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 77. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 78. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 79. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 80. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 81. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 82. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 83. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 84. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 85. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 86. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 87. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 88. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 89. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 90. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 91. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 92. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 93. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 94. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 95. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 96. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 97. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 98. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 99. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.* 100. *Ibid. lib. xv. p. 108.*





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Probably, thrown in to comply with the Humour of the Age, and to make this Story agree with other Accounts of the *Indies*: Take it altogether, it is an excellent Specimen of the Relations published by Travellers in those Days; and is, perhaps, the only one that is to be met with.

It is much to be regretted, that we have none of the *Phœnician* Accounts, or even so much as Extracts from them, preserved by any Authors; for as they were perfectly well acquainted with these Seas, and carried on a constant and extensive Trade with the *Indians*, it is highly probable, that whatever they wrote upon the Subject, must have been curious and exact, at least in Comparison of what we have received from the *Greeks*, who frequently contradict each other. Some indeed have conjectured, that there never were any Writings of that Sort published by that Nation, because they looked upon themselves to be concerned, in point of Interest, to conceal what they knew, from an Apprehension, that divulging their Observations might be fatal to their Commerce. This indeed has an Air of Probability: And yet, if we consider how difficult a thing it is to preserve this Kind of Knowledge, without committing it to Writing, I think it is much more likely, that they had some Memoirs of this Kind amongst them.

However that may be, certain it is, that the *Persians* never acquired any great Skill in maritime Affairs, but left the Management of them intirely to the *Phœnicians*, who adhered readily to the *Persian* Emperors till the Death of *Artaxerxes Menon*; for then, finding themselves oppressed by the *Persian* Governors, and dreading the Cruelty of *Oebus*, who succeeded his Father in the Empire, a great Part of them revolted, the *Sidonians* being the chief in that Enterprize: But the *Tyrians* still adhered to the *Persians*, who had been always very kind to them: Yet, in all Probability, the chief thing that determined them upon this Occasion to divide themselves from their Countrymen, was their Concern for their *Indian* Trade, which they could not possibly have carried on but under their Protection, because the Passage of the *Sibmus* was always in their Power.

Oebus marched with a great Army, in order to lay Siege to *Sidon*. The Inhabitants prepared to receive him, and took all the necessary Precautions for making a most vigorous Defence. The Place was well fortified; they had a numerous Garrison, and a Fleet of no less than one hundred Gallies, well manned, in their Port: But, foreseeing that, if they should be very hard pressed, many might endeavour to make their Escapes, by the Assistance of the Ships, which would expose them to certain Ruin, they caused them all to be set on Fire, that every Man's private Interest might engage him to do his Duty to the Public. They had also a Body of *Greek* Mercenaries, under the Command of one *Mentor*, upon whom they chiefly depended. In all human Probability, they might have defended themselves well enough, if their King, whose Name was *Temes*, had not agreed with *Mentor*, to betray them to the *Persians*; which was executed in such a manner, that the Enemy was within their Walls, before they knew any thing of the Matter. When the *Sidonians* found themselves thus betrayed, every Man retired to his House, and set Fire to it; by which means the whole City was con-

sumed, and in it forty thousand People. *Oebus* put their King to Death, as he deserved, and sold the Ashes of the Town for a vast Sum of Money, on account of the prodigious Quantities of Gold and Silver that the Inhabitants had amass'd^b.

After the Destruction of *Sidon*, the *Persian* Emperor undertook the Reduction of *Egypt*, where *Nectanebus* had made himself King, and had about him a very formidable Army. The great Difficulty was to march the *Persian* Troops into that Kingdom, on account of the sandy Deserts on its Frontiers. The *Tyrians*, however, conducted him, and his Forces, by the Way of their Colony of *Rhinocorura*, tho' not without some Loss, into the Kingdom of *Egypt*, which he speedily reduced, *Nectanebus* retiring in time into *Ethiopia*, carrying with him a vast Quantity of Treasure: *Oebus* caused all the rest, that could be collected, to be transported to *Babylon*. As he was naturally cruel, he punished the Rebellion of the *Egyptians* with great Severity; and, having been informed, that the *Egyptians* were wont to call him the *Royal Ox*, by way of Contempt, he caused the Ox, which they worshipped as a God, and which they called *Apis*, to be sacrificed to an *Ajs*, and afterwards gave his Flesh to be eaten by his Attendants. This so provoked *Bagoas*, an Eunuch, and his first Minister, that he soon after poisoned him, caused another Body to be laid in the *Royal* Tomb, and, having cut his Master's Body to-pieces, fed his Cats with it. This wicked Minister set his Master's youngest Son upon the Throne, whose Name was *Arses*, putting all the rest of his Brethren to Death; and, finding that the young Prince began to suspect him, he soon after destroyed him, and his whole Family.

Such was the miserable State of this Empire under the Government of Strangers and Eunuchs, when the last Emperor mounted the Throne. He was of the *Royal* Blood, though not the immediate Son of any of the former Emperors; and his Name *Codomanus*, while in a private Station; but, upon his being raised to the Empire, he assumed that of *Darius*. He was the handsomest and bravest Man in his Dominions, and endowed with all the Virtues worthy of a Prince, which soon gained him the Love of his People to such a Degree, that the Traitor *Bagoas*, fearing he might be punished for what was said, attempted to poison him; but *Darius*, suspecting his Design, obliged him to drink the Poison he had prepared, which soon dispatched him.

If the great and good Qualities of a Prince could have preserved an Empire so over-run with Corruption, *Darius* might have died in Peace; but his Virtues came too late to save his Country. That War was already concerted, which proved his Ruin, before the Diadem was fixed upon his Head; and he was scarce seated on the Throne, before his Empire was invaded by the *Macedonians*, who, not satisfied with its extensive Dominions, penetrated beyond them into the *Indies*, and thereby opened the Way to a more perfect Knowledge of those Countries than hitherto had been attained, as shall be shewn more largely in the succeeding Section.

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. p. 531 — 533.

^b Solinus, cap. 25. Syncellus ex Africanis, p. 256. Orobasis, lib. xxxi. cap. 7.

^c Strabo, lib. xv. cap. 8. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

^d Diodor. Sicul. Asian. Strabo, Plutarch. &c.

SECTION V.

An exact Account of Alexander's Conquest of the Persian Empire, and, more particularly, of his Indian Expedition, and the Consequences he intended to have drawn from thence

1. The State of the Persian Empire, and that of the Kingdom of Macedon, compared.
2. An Account of the Battles of Granicus, Illus, and Arbela, by which the Persian Empire was overthrown.
3. Alexander, having attained the Power, effects the Manners of the Persian Monarchs.
4. His Motives to the undertaking an Expedition into India.
5. His besieging the Rock Artimus, and contriving to exceed Hercules, who formerly attempted it.
6. His Victory over Porus, and Design of passing the Ganges.
7. His Arriving in order to invade and amuse Ptolemy.
8. His Retreat out of India, and the Circumstances that attended it.
9. His Army suffers exceedingly, in marching through Gedrosia, until his Arrival on the Coast of Caramania.

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His Motives to the war-
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Caramina, where he celebrates new Games for his Deliverance. 10. A Review of his Indian Expedition and Discoveries. 11. His Conferences with the Brachmans, and high Esteem of their Wisdom. 12. The Character of Calanus the Indian, and the remarkable Manner of his Death. 13. The exalted Reputation of Dindamis, and the Condescension of Alexander towards him. 14. A Copy of that Philosopher's Letter to Alexander, containing an Abridgement of the Moral Philosophy of the Brachmans. 15. The Return of Alexander into Persia, and the Measures taken by him for establishing his Empire. 16. His Entrance into Babylon, in Contempt of the Prejures of his Soothsayers. 17. His Death in that City, and the memorable Circumstances attending it. 18. The Minutes of his great Designs, as set down in his Pocket-Book, examined and explained. 19. The true Character of Alexander, drawn from his public and private Life. 20. His Memory still glorious in the East. 21. An Application of his Discoveries to the Design of this Work.

AS the Wealth and Luxury of Persia seemed to fit that Empire for Destruction, at this Juncture, by spreading a total Corruption of Manners throughout all Degrees of its Inhabitants, inasmuch that the whole Continent of Asia was infected with the Vices that naturally flow from Prosperity misapplied; so there was a Power growing in Europe, by almost imperceptible Degrees, which, at the very time *Darius Codomanus* ascended the Throne, had projected the Destruction of his Empire. This was lodged in the Monarch of the little Kingdom of Macedonia, remarkable only for the Poverty and Hardiness of its People. It had been tributary to, and dependent upon, the *Persian* Empire, from the Time that *Xerxes* invaded Greece. All its Princes had been remarkable for a kind of tricking Policy, which enabled them to keep fair with their Masters the *Persians*, on the one Side, and their Brethren the *Greeks*, on the other.

The sudden, and extraordinary Rise of this little, and hitherto contemptible State, was intirely the Work of one able Prince; indeed, take him in all Lights, the ablest Prince mentioned by Antiquity. This was *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*, who not only found his hereditary Dominions small and poor, but also in a weaker and more distressed Condition, than they had been in the Days of his Predecessors: Yet, in the Space of little more than twenty Years, he made himself intirely Master of Greece; so that, much against their Will, the *Greeks* were obliged to elect him Captain-General against the *Persians*; and he was actually preparing to undertake the War, when he was assassinated in his own Palace, at Pella in Macedonia, much about the same Time that *Artus* was poisoned by *Bagoas*: So that these Competitors for Empire, *Alexander* and *Darius*, arrived at the Sovereignty both at a time.

They were each of them Princes of great Courage and Abilities, but as opposite in their Dispositions, as in their Fortunes. *Darius* was mild, and too ready to listen to whatever Advice was given him. *Alexander*, on the other hand, was fierce and positive; was willing to hear what others said, but could seldom be prevailed upon to follow any but his own Notions. *Darius* was inclined to Moderation, and capable of yielding, with a good Grace, to what the Necessity of the Times required. *Alexander* acted as if Fortune had been his Slave, and discovered most Confidence in Times of greatest Danger: In a word, *Darius* had all the Qualities of a good, and *Alexander* all the Talents requisite to form a great Prince. Such were their Characters, and their Fortunes proved suitable.

2. Immediately after his Accession to the Throne, the *Macedonian* found himself engaged, first, in a War with his Northern Neighbours, and, soon after, with his Countrymen the *Greeks*. He finished both with that Rapidity agreeable to his Character; and, in the second Year of *Darius* determined to pass the *Hellepont*, and attack the Empire of *Persia* in his own Dominions. The Strength with which he attempted this, was very inconsiderable: His whole Force consisted but of thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse; and all the Treasure he possessed, amounted to no more than seventy Talents, which comes to between fourteen and fifteen thousand Pounds of our Money.

The Generals of *Darius's* Army, in the Beginning of the War, disputed with him the Passage of the River *Gra-*

nicus, with one hundred and fifty thousand Men; but they were beaten: And by this single Victory he gained all Lesser Asia, and the Treasury of the *Persian* Monarchs at *Sardis*. The next Year he prosecuted his Conquests with the utmost Vigour, and marched directly towards *Darius*, who had been assembling, with the utmost Diligence, the whole Force of his Empire, in order to meet him. A second Battle ensued at *Issus*, in the Straights of *Cilicia*, where *Darius* was defeated, though he had an Army of six hundred thousand Men; and soon after the City of *Damascus* surrendered, in which were *Darius's* Treasures of War. The next thing *Alexander* undertook was the Siege of *Tyre*, in which he vanquished Nature, as well as Art; for he caused a Causeway to be run out into the Sea, by which he joined the Island the City was built upon, to the Continent. After the taking of *Tyre*, he marched into *Egypt*, which he easily subdued, from the natural Fickleness of the People, and their great Aversion to the *Persians*. While he was in that Country, he gave Directions for building the new City of *Alexandria*, of which we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter, because it was one of the greatest Designs he ever formed, and the best executed.

The next Spring he returned again into Asia, and marched directly towards *Babylon*; in the Neighbourhood of which, *Darius* had drawn together a new Army of above a Million strong. *Alexander* passed the *Tigris*, and came up with the *Persians* near the little Village of *Gugamala*, where a decisive Engagement ensued, in which, with 50,000 Men, he beat *Darius* in an open Plain, where the Enemy had all Advantages, and he none. This Battle, which most Historians call the Battle of *Arbela*, determined the Fate of the *Persian* Empire; for *Darius* then fled into *Media*, and left *Babylon*, with all his Treasures in it, to the Conqueror. *Alexander* marched directly into *Persia*, made himself Master of *Susa* and *Persepolis*, the Capitals of the *Persian* Empire; the latter of which he burnt.

Early in the Spring he pursued *Darius*, who was soon after seized and murdered by his own People; and thus, in four Years time, the *Persian* Monarchy was intirely overthrown, and *Alexander* had nothing now left to employ his Arms, but the Reduction of the Northern Provinces, and the punishing those Traitors who had so barbarously destroyed their Master in his Distress; which he performed very honourably, and therein shewed himself worthy of that Fortune which had hitherto attended his Arms. But, after this, turning his Force against the *Scythians*, *Dabans*, and *Maffagets*, he found amongst them a more vigorous Resistance than from all the *Persian* Empire besides; so that this War employed him a whole Year, and, very probably, he had not made an End of it so soon, if the Fame of his Generosity had not done him as much Service as the Reputation of his Victories: And, indeed, it will be always found, that brave Men yield sooner to virtue, than they can be subdued by Force.

3. In this Account of the Destruction of the *Persian* Empire, and the great Achievements of *Alexander*, I have been as concise as it was possible, intending it only as an Introduction to what is the proper Business of this Section, the Expedition of this great Conqueror into the *Indies*, at which we are now arrived. But, first of all, it will be necessary to say something of the Province of *Seg-*

¹ Darius. See Strabo. Arrian. Plutarch. Quint. Curtius.

² Darius. See Strabo. lib. viii. Plutarch. in Alexander.

³ Darius. See Strabo. in Alexander. Quint. Curtius. lib. iv. c. 8.

⁴ Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. c. 52.

⁵ Arrian. Quint. Curt. Plutarch. Justin.

⁶ Arrian. lib. iii. Diod. Sicul.

⁷ Arrian. Plutarch. Curtius.

⁸ Arrian.

⁹ Arrian. lib. iii. Diod. Sicul.

¹⁰ Arrian. Plutarch. Curtius.

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¹⁰⁰ Arrian. Plutarch. Curtius.

diana, where Alexander passed the Winter, in which he projected his Conquest of *India*. This Frontier Province of the *Persian* Empire lay upon the Eastern Side of the *Caspian* Sea, between the River *Oxus* on the South, and the River *Orxartes* on the North. The last of these *Quintus Curtius*, and *Arrian*, called *Tanais*, very erroneously; for the River *Tanais* is much more to the West, and dischargeth itself not into the *Caspian* but into the *Euxine* Sea, and is the same which we now call the *Don*. This Error is taken notice of by *Pliny*, who has let us into the Cause of it; which was, the Vanity of the *Macedonians*, who, by giving false Names to Rivers and Mountains, thought to make Posterity believe they had extended their Conquests into Places where they never set their Feet.

The chief City of this Province was *Maracanda*, a Place ten Miles in Circuit, the same that is now called *Samaracand*, and is the Capital of the *Uzbek Tartars*. In this City *Alexander* spent Part of his Winter; and there, in one of his drunken Entertainments, he murdered *Citus*, a brave old Soldier, fitter to conquer Countries, than to flatter Conquerors; for the want of which courtly Vice, he paid with his Life. From hence *Alexander* removed into *Bactria*, and took up his head Quarters at *Nautaca*, where he married a *Persian* Wife, and spent the best Part of his Time in bringing most of his Officers to follow his Example, and in the Feasts and Entertainments which followed upon these Marriages. This was the first Step to his *Indian* Expedition, which he had already contrived in his own Mind, without communicating it to any.

His Courage was to be sure as great as ever appeared in Man, and yet his Conduct was equal to his Courage; for this always furnished him with Expedients so much the more effectual, as they were altogether unsuspected. By these Marriages he proposed to himself two great Ends: The first was, to breed the *Persian* and *Macedonian* Interests, in such a manner, that he might be sure to leave all fate behind him: The other to engage his *Macedonians*, in some measure, to forget their Country, and be the more willing to follow him, where-ever he thought fit to lead: But, at the same time, that he formed this Project, he foresaw the Possibility of its failing him, and therefore he set on foot other Schemes, to which, whenever they did fail him he might have recourse.

These were, the appointing the principal Nobility of *Persia* Governors of Provinces and Cities, and the ordering thirty thousand young Men, of the best *Persian* Families, to be disciplin'd after the *Greek* Manner, that, on certain Occasions, they might serve as Hostages for the Fidelity of their Countrymen; and that, on other certain Occasions, they might be a Check on his *Macedonians*. For, by a failing, incident to great Princes, he began now to dislike the Manners of that Nation to which he owed all his Victories; and, considering himself as a mighty Emperor, disdain'd those Freedoms which were agreeable to the little King of *Macedon*.

4. But, after all, these wise Precautions were taken, in favour of a very idle Expedition, which took Birth from an Accident I should be ashamed to mention, but that it is too necessary for conducting the Thread of my History, that I cannot omit it. *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, was a Woman of Gallantry; of which his Father *Philip*, for some political Reasons, did not think fit to take the severe Notice that it deserved: And therefore, to cover some unlucky Circumstances that attend'd the Birth of *Alexander*, it was given out, that *Jupiter* had been familiar with his Mother. In the earlier Part of his Life, *Alexander* treated this ridiculous Story, as it became him, with Contempt; but now, his Vanity having got the better of his Understanding, he was desirous it should be believed. He had read, in the old *Greek* Fables, that two of the Sons of *Jupiter*, *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, had each of them made an Expedition into *India*; and he had a mind, not only to be on a Level, in this respect, with his Brethren, but to out do them: And this was the true Source of this hazardous Undertaking.

To pave the Way to it, he began to affect the Honours

that were paid to the *Persian* Kings, which was a kind of Adoration suitable enough to the slavish Manners of their Subjects, but utterly irreconcilable to the manly Freedom of the *Greeks*. This Innovation produced an Action much more cruel than the Murder of *Clitus*: For *Callistene*, the Kinsman of his Master *Aristotle*, a grave and wise Man, who had accompanied him in all his Expeditions, having taken upon him to expose the Absurdity of this Behaviour, he caus'd him, under colour of a Conspiracy, which he pretended was form'd against him, to be put to Death. By removing him out of his Way, he got rid of all Opposition; and, if the rest of his *Macedonians* did not concur with his Flatterers, they were at least wise enough to hold their Tongues; to which they were the more inclin'd, when, by buying new Troops, he had swelled his Army to 120,000 Men.

The *Indians*, having, by this Time, got hold of the Story of this third Son of *Jupiter*, had many of them Address'd enough to secure their Safety, by taking in with his Folly: And it was upon this Occasion, that they pretended to believe the Fable of the *Grecian Bacchus*, which we before related, and confuted. Such of them as did not, or could not, prostitute their Understanding in so gross a manner, he subdued by Force of Arms. Amongst these was the Nation of the *Affacans*, who had lost their Freedom, if it had not been for the Complaisance of their Queen *Cleopbis*, the handsomest Woman in that Part of *India*, who by admitting *Alexander* to her Embraces, re-deem'd her Kingdom; but such was the stubborn Virtue of her Subjects, that, notwithstanding they reaped the Benefit of this Treachery on her Honour, yet they afterwards remembered it, to her Disgrace; and never call'd her by any other Appellation, than that of the *Royal Harlot*. By this Prince's our Conqueror had a Son, who bore his Father's Name; and of the Posterity of this *Indus Alexander*, *Marco Polo*, whose Travels we shall shortly give our Readers, affirms there were some Princes remaining, at the Time he visited these Countries. Such were the Transactions with which this great Design, of penetrating to the utmost Limits of the World, began.

5. As it was the fabulous History of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* produced this Resolution in *Alexander*, to invade and conquer *India*, so he chose to carry on the War after a new manner, and as if his Army had been dress'd rather for the Stage than the Field; for the Shields of his Soldiers were adorned with Silver Plates, the Brules of their Helms were studded with Gold, and, in short, all their Armour was beautified and enriched with these precious Metals; in Humour the more singular, since it was known, that the *Indians* set a less Value on such Finery than any other Nation.

The only Place that gave him any Difficulty in this Year's War, was the famous Rock of *Jornas*, excessively high, and the River *Indus* running by it. A Report was current in *Alexander's* Army, that *Hercules* had twice attempted this Post, but in vain: The Honour therefore of the third Son of *Jupiter* was very nearly concern'd; but he proceeded very judiciously for its Preservation. He found, after lining up all the Ditches, and taking every Method that the Practice of the Art of War had taught him, the Place was truly impregnable; and that if he depend'd on Force, he was likely to be toiled as well as *Hercules*; and therefore, he turn'd this Siege, after it had cost him Abundance of Men, into a Blockade, leaving, however, one Passage by which the Besieged might escape, promising that, when they were half starv'd, they would take this Road, and leave him their Rock, which he had set a Mind to: In which Scheme he succeeded, and turn'd at once over the *Indians* and *Hercules*.

In the mean time, *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas*, who had the Direction of the *Phoenicians*, who were employ'd in building him a portable Fleet for passing the several Rivers of the *Indies*, had finish'd their Task, and provided him with a sufficient Number of Boats, so trained, as that they might be taken to pieces, and so transported over-land from one River to another. And, now having all things

* *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Arrian, lib. vi. O. Cornut. lib. vii.*

4 *Lucian. in vita Demosthenis. O. Arrian. Quint. Curt. Plutarch. in Alexan. lib.*

* *Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 16.*

4 *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. O. Arrian, lib. vii. Plutarch.*

thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, that had marched further out of Greece; and met also with other Supplies. His Ships, when finished, consisted of a thousand Sail; of which two hundred were Ships of War, and eight hundred were Transports.

He then divided his Army, going on board the Fleet with one Part of it, and ordering the rest, under the Command of *Crotus* and *Hephestion*, to march along the Bank of the River down which he sailed, to the Junction of the *Hydaspes*, and the *Acetes*, reducing all the Country in his Passage, particularly the *Oxydracians*, and the *Malians*; and to proceed to the River *Indus*. Among the rest, the *Brachmans* suffered by his Fury; for their King, whose Name was *Sambus*, having first submitted to him, and opened the Gates of his City, afterwards revolted, which cost his Subjects dear; for many Thousands were slain, and a much greater Number sold for Slaves. Yet we are informed by *Plutarch*, that many who were destined to Destruction, were preserved, on their answering, to the Satisfaction of *Alexander*, certain Questions in Philosophy, which he caused to be proposed to them.

While he was engaged in this War with the *Brachmans*, *Moris* King of *Pattalena*, an Island at the Mouth of the *Indus*, came and submitted himself, whom he received very graciously, directing him to provide all Necessaries for his Army, because he meant speedily to visit his Country. When the Fleet, however, had fallen as low as this Island, they found it abandoned, the People having retired into the Mountains, whither *Alexander* sent Messengers, to persuade them to return. He had now spent ten Months in his Voyage, and found himself and his Fleet in a very indifferent Condition; that Side of the Island near which he lay, being, in a great measure, destitute of Water, which obliged them to send People on Shore, to sink Wells, who were cut off by the *Indians* that fled to the Deserts. At this Island the River *Indus* divides into two Branches, both of which retain that Name, till their Fall into the Ocean; And thro' the Branch on the Right-hand, *Alexander* resolved to pass into the Sea. But the Day after he left the Island, there arose such a Tempest, as distressed them exceedingly; which obliged him to shelter himself again upon the Coast, and to send for Pilots from among the Natives; for this proved a Navigation which none of his People understood. When they refused their Voyage, they met with new, and still greater Difficulties: For the Tide rising exceedingly high, as it always does there, all the Country near the River was quite overflowed, except some Hills, the Tops of which appeared like to many Islands in the Water; to which the *Macedonians*, leaving their Boats, swam for their Preservation, not being at all acquainted with the Nature of Tides, but supposing this some extraordinary Accident; for their Heads were so full of Fables and Wonders, that every thing appeared to them miraculous. When the Water ebbed, some of their Vessels were left on dry Ground; some were overwhelmed, and sunk; others turned Bottom upwards. On the Return of the Tide, those that stuck in the Mud were got off, without Hurt; but the rest were either dashed to Pieces, one against another, or perished in different Ways, to the Terror of *Alexander*, and all who were about him.

After this unlucky Accident, collecting his Navy as he could, and repairing as many of the Vessels as were yet in a Condition for Service, he detached two of the best to examine another Island that lay lower, which the *Indians* called *Calluta*, and he thought fit to name *Scyllastis*, by which he must of Necessity pass, in his Voyage to the Ocean. On their Return, and reporting, that there was in this last Island, a very commodious Harbour, he ordered the Fleet thither; but proceeded himself, without further Delay, down the Channel, that he might be satisfied whether his Fleet could pass safely, that Way, into the *Indian* Sea, or not. At the Distance of about 200 Stadia, he discovered another Island; and then returned to the Fleet, where he sacrificed to the Gods after a certain Manner; and then, going back to the Island, he sacrificed after another Manner to other Deities; affirming that he was so directed

by the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. When he came to the Mouth of the *Indus*, he offered up Bulls to *Neptune*, by crowning them with *Wreaths*, and then throwing them bound, into the Sea; made great Feasts for his Friends; and threw a golden Phial, and certain gold Cups, into the Sea; beseeching the Gods to be propitious to the Fleet, that he intended should speedily sail under the Command of *Nearchus*. He likewise erected Altars to *Thets* and *Oceanus*, offering magnificent Sacrifices, and beseeching those Divinities, that after him no Mortal might pass the Bounds of his Expedition.

Then returning up the River to *Pattala*, he there found Part of his Forces, which had marched by Land. Judging this City to be extremely well situated for a Port, he directed *Hephestion* to make an Haven there, and to construct Wharfs, and whatever else was necessary for Shipping; and, having given these Instructions, he sailed down the other Channel of the *Indus*, which brought him first to a large Lake, where he left most of his Forces; and, having with him no more than thirty Vessels, passed this Way into the Ocean. The Design of this Voyage was, that he might be able to judge, whether this or the other Channel would afford the safest Passage for his whole Fleet; and, being convinced, that the Left-hand Channel was the best, he returned the same Way, causing Wells to be dug all along upon the Coast, that those on board the Fleet might not be distressed in their Passage for want of Water.

When he returned to *Pattala*, he sent Part of his Army to dig more Wells; and, proceeded a second time as low as the Lake before-mentioned, where he ordered several Havens to be made, and Magazines to be erected, for the Use of his Shipping, and leaving also a Garrison for the Defence of these Works, together with Provisions sufficient for eight Months, he prepared for his Return to *Persia*, leaving the Care of the Fleet to his Admiral *Nearchus*, to whom he gave Instructions, when the Season of the Year would permit, to fall down the Left Channel of the River *Indus* into the Ocean, and, sailing along the Coast, to proceed up the *Persian* Gulph, and so to the Mouth of the *Euphrates*.

It is very plain, from this Relation, that, notwithstanding all the Pains he had taken, and the pompous Account given of his Fleets, he was very indifferently furnished with Seamen; and therefore we need not at all wonder at the mistaken Notions, which some Writers tell us he conceived, concerning this River. But there is one thing very commendable in this Expedition; which is, the personal Pains he took to be informed of all Things, that he might be the better able to frame a Judgment of what might be expected from the Building of Cities, settling Colonies, and establishing a constant Commerce between them, and other Parts of his Dominions. This was a labour truly worthy of a Prince, or, to carry it much higher, worthy of *Alexander*.

9 After he had thus settled all Things behind him, he passed through the Country of the *Arbita*, who fled on his Approach into the Mountains, so that he passed the River *Arbis* without any Opposition, and so came into the Territories of the *Orite*, where he began to destroy the Country, on account of their joining with the *Gedrosians*; but, upon their Submission, he treated them kindly, and left there a considerable Body of Horse and Foot, to wait the Arrival of his Fleet, and with Orders to build a new City. In his Passage through the Country of the *Gedrosians*, greater Losses happened to him, than in all his Expedition through *Asia* besides; because, what for want of Water, by Excess of Heat, ill Diet, and Hunger, he carried out the fourth Part of those Forces he brought into *India*: Yet was not this Loss sustained through Ignorance: For, some tell us, he knew of the Danger very well; but, hearing this Country had been formerly invaded, both by *Semiramis*, and *Cyrus*; and that the former was forced to fly but with thirty Attendants, and the latter with only seven; he had an earnest Desire to pass through it, and, for the Glory of his Adventure, to excel them.

^a *Arrian* *Dindor*. *Sic* ^b *Plutarch*.

Alexandro.

^c *Strabo* *lib* *xi* *Arrian* *2* *Curt*.

^d *Curt* *Plutarch*.

^e *Plutarch* *in* *Alexandro*.

^f *Arrian*, *lib* *vi* *Diodor* *Sicul*. *lib* *xvii* *Plutarch*.

^g *Arrian* *Justin*. *Plutarch* *in* *Alexandro*.

^h *Diodor* *Sicul* *lib* *xvii*.

After incredible Fatigue undergone for sixty Days, he came to *Pura*, the chief City, where he refreshed his Army, and thence marched towards the Borders of *Caramania*. Here he received News, that *Philip*, Governor of the *Oxydracians*, and of other *Indians*, was killed by the mercenary *Soldiers*; but that his Death was revenged upon them by the *Macedonians*: Whereupon he wrote to *Taxiles* and *Eudamus*, to take care of the Country, till such Time as he could send one to succeed *Philip*. When, after all these Daughters, he arrived safely in the Province of *Caramania*, he received Complaints of many of his Governors, that, supposing he would never return, had behaved tyrannically, and whom he punished for their Offences very severely. He likewise celebrated, as the Custom of those Days was, Games, and exhibited Plays, by way of Thanksgiving, to the Gods, for having preserved him, and his Army, in the Midst of so many Dangers. And while he was thus employed, *Nearchus*, the Admiral of his Fleet, arriving on the Coast, and hearing that his Master was only five Days Journey from him, thought proper to go thither, with a few Attendants, in order to report to him what had happened in this Voyage. On his entering the Theatre, the *Macedonians*, surprised and overjoyed at the Sight of him, set up a great Shout, expressing thereby their dreadful Apprehensions of being obliged to serve by Sea, which they looked upon as little better than being destined to certain Death. But, as for *Alexander*, he was extremely pleased at the News he told him; and so far from being affrighted at the strange Things he related, that from thence he conceived a Design of sending a Fleet from the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, which, passing round the whole Continent of *Africa*, should have entered the *Mediterranean* by the Straights of *Gibraltar*, then called the Pillars of *Hercules*: For which Expedition he caused great Preparations to be made, as we shall see in another Place; when, for the sake of enriching this Collection, with so curious, and so authentick a Piece, we shall give the Reader the whole Voyage of *Nearchus*, as near as may be, in his own Words; and shall, at the same time, enter into the Discussion of the true Designs of *Alexander*, with regard to Navigation and Commerce; Points in which he shewed a greater Superiority of Genius, than in all his Conquests, which, exclusive of those Viewings, were to many Outrages on the Rights of Mankind. At present we will take a View of his *Indian* Expedition; and see how far it contributed to his own Benefit, or to that of others.

It is, in the first Place, observable, that however weak, and contrary to good Sense, that Humour of *Alexander's* might be, which led him to assume the Honours of a God; to boast of being the Son of *Jupiter*; and to attempt not rivalling only, but excelling, his Brethren *Bacchus* and *Hercules*; I say, how wild or extravagant to ever this might be, in one Sense; yet it was attended with many good Consequences, especially to the *Indians*, who knew how to turn this Fable of his to their own Advantage; that is, to the Preservation of their Liberty, which seems to have been the only Point they had in View. We have already had an Instance of this, in the artful Speech of *Aspith*, at the Head of the Deputies from the City of *Nijis*. But it may not be amiss to add some farther Particulars relating to the same Adventure.

When these Embassadors were introduced to *Alexander*, they found him standing in his Tent, completely armed, with a few Officers about him, and without any of that Pomp or Splendour, which used to distinguish the Monarchs of those Times. They were a little alarmed at this Appearance, and afraid of meeting with a rough Reception; but their Countenances soon altered, when *Alexander* commanded one who was near him, to fetch a Cushion; on which, as soon as it was brought, he very civilly desired *Aspith* to sit down. The old Man, overcome with Tenderness, on this extraordinary Mark of Distinction, cried out, *What is it, O King, that my Countrymen can do, to merit your Friendship? Let them, said Alexander, make Choice of thee for their Governor, and send one hundred of their best Citizens to remain with me, as Hostages for their Fidelity.* This Answer shews the Wisdom and Pe-

netration of *Alexander*, who thought to secure his own Purpose, by paying this Compliment to *Aspith*. But the quick Reply of that sensible old Man does Honour to the Wit and Spirit of the *Indian* Nation: *I shall govern them with more Ease, O King, said he, if I send you, instead of the best, so many of the worst of my Subjects.*

The Behaviour of *Mopbis*, afterwards called *Taxiles*, has been already related; but the Motives which induced him to deliver up his Kingdom to *Alexander*, deserve our Notice: They are contained in the following Speech he made to him at the Time of his Submission: 'To what Purpose, *Alexander*, should we make War upon each other, if thy Design of coming into these Parts be not to rob us of our Water, or our necessary Food, which are the only Things that wise Men are indispensably obliged to fight for? As for other Riches and Possessions, as they are accounted in the Eye of the World; if I am better provided of them than thou, I am ready to let thee share with me; but, if Fortune hath been more liberal to thee than me, I will not decline thy Favours, but accept them with all the thankful Acknowledgments that are due to a Benefactor.' This Compliment was extremely grateful to *Alexander*, who, after embracing, made him this Answer: *Do not imagine, Taxiles, that these soft Expressions, and so polite a Behaviour, shall binder our coming to an Engagement: No, you are not like to escape by changing the Nature of the War; for I will not be conquered even in Complaisance.* It was upon this Occasion that he made him a Present of a thousand Talents, which displeas'd the *Macedonians* so much, but which, however, gain'd him the Friendship of the *Indians*.

These are certainly Instances of the good Sense, great Prudence, and generous Spirit, of these People. As to their Bravery, and excellent military Discipline, the following Instances will be sufficient to satisfy the Reader as to both. Such of the free Cities in *India*, that is, such as lived under a Republican Government, did not practise these Arts to secure, but hired Soldiers to defend their Liberties; which they did so effectually, that, when *Alexander* had granted them an honourable Capitulation, he was tempted to break it, and open a Passage to farther Conquests, by thus dispensing with his Word; which, however, lessened his Reputation exceedingly, and induced others to defend themselves with incredible Obstinacy. The Courage of *Perus*, the military Skill he shewed in the Disposition of his Forces, and the dear bought Victory which *Alexander* obtained over him, were very fully set forth by the Pen of *Alexander* himself, in the Epistles he wrote upon that Subject; and the Request, which he made to *Alexander*, that he might be treated like a King, will, probably, be remembered and admired to long as the Light of History, remains unextinguished. But it may not be amiss to observe, that in this hard fought Battle *Perus* had no Advantage of Numbers; the Force he brought into the Field did not exceed twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and it was the Use he made of these, that struck the *Macedonians* with such a Dislike to the *Indian* War, that all the fine Speeches of *Alexander* could not inspire them with Courage enough to attempt the Passages of the *Ganges*.

It was in his Battles and Sieges in *India*, that *Alexander* received most of his Wounds. In other Countries he fought for Fame and Victory, but it was in *India* only that he fought for his Life. In a word, all his Conquests here were either obtained by the Admiration of his Virtue, or by dint of superior Force. It must be likewise observed, that the *Indians* were never charged with Infidelity to him, but maintained their Promises with the strictest Honour; and, therefore, when the *Greek* Mercenaries had murdered *Philip*, he recommended the *Macedonians* he had left in *India* to the Care of *Taxiles*, and never had any Reason to distrust his Friendship. There are solid and incontestable Proofs of the Civility, Wisdom, and Virtue, of the *Indians*, who, though they abounded with Riches, and them with Dignity and Moderation; and who appear, in all the Accounts we have of *Alexander's* Expedition, to have been a People well governed, obedient to their Laws, and

* *Strabo*, lib. xv.* *Strabo*, lib. xv.* *Strabo*, lib. xv.* *Strabo*, lib. xv.* *Strabo*, lib. xv.

jealous of those Advantages that were the Result of their respective Constitutions; which, duly considered, will appear the highest Character that any People can deserve.

11. I have purposely omitted speaking hitherto of the *Indian* Philosophers, and of the Treatment they met with from *Alexander*, because I thought, both with respect to him and them, it was a Subject that required particular Consideration. These Men had the Misfortune to incur his Displeasure; and, in consequence thereof, to be very severely treated for doing their Duty, and acting as it became Men to act, who professed themselves Lovers of Wisdom. In short, these *Indian* Sages, instead of court- ing this victorious Prince, or endeavouring to gain his Favour by persuading the People to submit to him, exerted all their Eloquence, and all their Influence, to incite their Countrymen to behave with Courage and Firmness in the Defence of their Liberties; and this it was that exposed them so much to his Relentment.

We have already given an Account with what Severity he treated *Sambus*, who was their Prince, and his Subjects; and we have likewise taken Notice, that *Plutarch* informs us, that many of them preserved their Lives, by the satisfactory Answers they gave to the Questions that Conqueror proposed to them. As this Passage has a nearer Relation to the Subject of this Chapter, than most of the Adventures of *Alexander*, it cannot be disagreeable to the Reader, if we treat it at large. In the midst of the Violences that were committed, on account of the Revolt of the *Brachmans*, *Alexander* thought fit to make a Trial of their boasted Wisdom, by sending for ten of them into his Presence, whom he commanded to answer such Questions as he proposed to them, threatening such as answered amiss, with Death; and, appointing the eldest of them to be the Judge, he asked the first, 'Which, in his Opinion, were more numerous, the Living, or the Dead?' The *Brachman* answered, 'The Living; for the Dead are not.' He asked another, 'Which of all Animals was the most subtle?' That, said the *Brachman*, whatever it be, with which Mankind are not yet acquainted.' Of another, he demanded, 'What the Arguments were, by which he persuaded *Sambus* to revolt?' 'But one,' returned the *Indian*; 'I told him he ought either to live free, or to die in the Endeavour to live so.' Another was required to tell him, 'Whether Night, or Day, was oldest?' 'Day,' answered the *Philosopher*, by one Day, at least.' But perceiving that *Alexander* was not satisfied with this Answer, he added, 'You ought not to wonder, Sir, if strange Questions meet with odd Replies.' One of them he asked, 'How a Man might become exceedingly beloved?' His Answer was, 'If he be very powerful, and, at the same time, be not very much feared.' To another this Question was proposed, 'How shall a Man act, to be thought a God?' 'Let him do,' replied the *Brachman*, 'what by no other Man can be done.' The last of them, being ask'd, 'How long a Man ought to desire Life?' answered, 'Till Death shall become more eligible.'

When all had answered, *Alexander* commanded the Judge to give Sentence. 'All I can say,' replied the old Man, 'is, that every one has answered worse than his Fellow.' 'That is false,' said *Alexander*; 'and thou shalt die first, for having passed to fool a Sentence.' Not so, 'Sir,' replied the *Brachman* very coolly, 'if you mean to keep your Word; for you said he should die first who answered worst; which I have not done, because you have not hitherto asked me any Question.' The King, surpris'd at their Firmness, as well as pleas'd with the Quickness of their Parts, and the shrewd Answers they had given him, not only dismissed them without Injury, but made them very considerable Presents.

It is to be remembered, that, in those Days, the common Method of putting Wisdom to the Test was by asking difficult Questions; as the common Method of Teaching was by short Sentences, which the *Greeks* called Aphorisms, and we Proverbs, taking that Word in its strictest and gravest Sense, which, even vulgarly used, im-

plies a Saying grown into Credit, by the Experience of its Truth. In this, undoubtedly the *Brachmans* were much happier than most other Philosophers, that hitherto they have escap'd Censure, the wisest Men, in all Ages, having afforded them a just Tribute of Applause; which seems to have been chiefly derived from this Maxim, which regulated their whole Conduct, viz. to reserve speculative Doctrines for their private Conversations, and to teach the People such things only as regarded the right Use of Life. It was owing to this Regulation, that the *Brachmans* themselves maintained their Characters unspotted; and that the *Indians* in general, of every Rank, were Men of Principle, and acted, on all Occasions, as became them. We shall have another Opportunity of describing more largely the Learning of these Sages, and their Manner of Living: At present, all I aim at, is to represent truly their Conduct, with respect to *Alexander*, and his Behaviour towards them, as a Point very curious and entertaining in itself; and which is of no small Consequence to this History.

12. It was a Custom, inviolably observ'd amongst the *Brachmans*, never to visit any Man, let his Rank be what it would; and that upon this Principle, that others had need of them, and they of none. In their Schools or Assemblies they spoke freely; but one thing they required of their Disciples, as well as practis'd themselves, which was, to appear quite naked; and in this respect they were so strict, that when *Alexander* sent *Onesivritus*, who was a *Philosopher* himself of the Sect of the *Stoics*, to hear one of them, who had the highest Reputation, the *Brachman* order'd him to strip, and hear what he had to say, naked; otherwise he would not open his Mouth, if he came from *Jupiter* himself. Thus the Story is told by *Plutarch*; but *Onesivritus* himself told it in another Manner.

He said, that he found fifteen of these *Brachmans* sitting together, at some Distance from the Town; to whom having told his Message, one of them, having consider'd his *Garb*, could not forbear smiling, and then proceed'd thus: There was a Time when Corn and Flour was plenty as the Dust that covers the Earth; when the Fountains ran, some with Milk, some with Water, some with Honey, some with Wine, and some with Oil; But when, through Plenty and Luxury, Men grew vain and proud, the great God took away those Benefits; and decreed, that the Necessaries of Life should be obtained by Labour: Then Temperance, and other Virtues, produc'd once again Plenty of all Things; but now, that this Plenty seems to have begotten Vanity and Pride again, we are in Danger of being reduced once more to Penury and Want. He therefore who would hear me, must throw off his Clothes, and lie naked on the Stones, as we do.

The Name of this *Indian* *Philosopher* was *Sphrus*; but, when he became better known to the *Macedonians*, and they observ'd that he saluted them always with the Word *Calc*, which, in the *Indian* Tongue, signifies *God save you*, they call'd him from thence *Calanus*. It was *Tasala* who prevail'd upon him to visit *Alexander*, and to converse with him; and, by degrees, he became more tractable. He was an old Man, and naturally of a severe Disposition, but withal very communicative; and, when he saw that *Alexander* delighted in philosophical Discourses, he no longer shunn'd his Company, or thought it a Disgrace to attend him.

On the contrary, when he left *India*, he followed him into *Persia*, where he made him, and the *Macedonians*, at they had been long Admirers of his Virtue and Wisdom, Witnesses also of his Death: For, being upwards of seventy-three, and being attacked by a Loutsens, he took a Resolution of putting an End to his Life; from whence *Alexander* labour'd to dissuade him, by representing, that Medicines, and a proper Diet, might produce a Cure. The *Philosopher* answer'd, that possibly it might be so; but that, according to the Custom of his Brethren, he look'd upon it as a Summons from Nature; and that it became a wise Man not to wait, till the Force of his Reason

* *Dial. Scilicet lib. xv. Plutarch ubi supra*

† *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

‡ *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

§ *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

* *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

† *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

‡ *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

§ *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

* *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

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‡ *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

§ *Plutarch in Alexandri Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 357*

was destroyed, or, at least, weakened by long Sickness; but rather to die while he had the full Use of his Faculties, and was capable of making his Death as useful to his Disciples, as the Doctrines and Example of his Life.

When Alexander saw, that his Resolution was not to be altered, he gave Instructions for performing his Request; and committed the Care of erecting the funeral Pile, to Ptolemy the Son of Lagus, who was afterwards King of Egypt. When all things were ready, the King gave Orders, that he should be preceded by his Guards of Horse and Foot; and caused not only Spices and Perfumes to be scattered over the Pile, but likewise directed it to be adorned with several Gold and Silver Vessels. Calanus, being very sick and weak, was brought thither on Horseback, with all imaginable Splendor: But, before he mounted the Pile, he bestowed the Horse the King had given him, upon Lyciscus, one of Alexander's Captains, who had been his constant Disciple; and, in like manner, distributed all the Gold and Silver Plate among his Friends; then, singing Hymns of Praise to God, for the Blessings bestowed upon him, he ascended the Pile; and, having decently composed himself on the Bed, which lay on the Top of it, he continued unmoved, and without varying his Posture when the Fire reached him; and so was consumed in the Sight of the whole Army. Plutarch reports, that when he embraced and took leave of the Macedonians, he desired them to pass that Day in Mirth and good Fellowship, with the King, whom he doubted not to see again, in a little Time, at Babylon.

Strabo observes, that Writers differ very much, as to the Circumstances attending this extraordinary Fact; but, as to the Fact itself, there never could be any Doubt about it, because it was done publicly, and in the Sight of the whole Army; all their Trumpets sounding, and the Soldiers, with the loudest Acclamations, commending the high Courage, and steady Bravery, of the old Man. Alexander himself pronounced his Elogium, in these few Words: Calanus hath vanquished greater Enemies than I, for, whereas I waded with Darius and Porus, Calanus hath overcome both Pain and Death.

Returning from the funeral Pile, Alexander invited many of his Friends, and principal Officers, to Supper; and proposed a Drinking-match, in which the Victor should be crowned. Promachus drank eighteen Quarts of Wine, and won the Prize, which weighed a Talent, from them all: But he survived his Victory but three Days: and was followed, as Chares says, by one-and-forty more, who died of the same Debauch, by reason of the severe Frost, which happened at that Time.

This was certainly a very odd Conclusion of a Scene so solemn, as that of the Death of Calanus had been: And one cannot help admiring the Inconstancy and Inconsistency of human Nature, when one reads such strange Relations as these, which would be certainly incredible, if daily experience did not shew us, that Mankind are still the same; and that the greatest Vices, and the greatest Virtues, the noblest Sentiments, and the weakest Conduct, are very often observed in the same Man.

The History of Calanus is extremely famous, because all the Writers of the Life and Actions of Alexander, have mentioned it. But with respect to others of the Brachmans, to whom he applied himself, they are more silent; and, even in what they do report, there is such Diversity and Confusion, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to come at the Truth. As to one Fact, however, they all agree, viz. that Dindamis, or Dandamis, was esteemed the chief of all the Brachmans, as much excelling the rest in Years, and in Wisdom. He it was, that when Onesivertus came to them, with a Message from Alexander, reproved Calanus for giving him so rough an Answer; and, having conferred with the Greek Philosopher for some Time, on the Doctrines delivered by Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, the Indian readily confessed, that they appeared to him to be very wise Men: In one thing only, said he, I blame them; which is, that they prefer Law and Custom to Nature, which if they

did not do, they would never be ashamed of going naked, as we do. Yet this Dandamis was more steady in his Resolution than Calanus; for he absolutely refused to visit Alexander, upon any Terms: And when his Messenger told him, that their King was the Son of Jupiter; that he was Master of the World; and would reward him with great Gifts, if he listened to his Proposal; but would otherwise cause him to be fastened to a Cross; he answered roundly, that he did not believe he was the Son of Jupiter; neither did he conceive, that he really possessed any thing; for if he did, he would be satisfied, and not give himself, or the rest of the World, so much Trouble: That, as to his Gifts, he neither needed nor desired them: And that even his Threats made no Impression; for, said he, if he should put me to Death, he will only release my Soul from this old decrepit Body, which will then pass into a freer and purer State: So that I shall suffer nothing by the Change.

This very plainly shews, that they over-rate this Matter, who suppose, that Alexander's professing himself the Son of Jupiter, was a Stroke of refined Policy, made use of for no other Reason, than to facilitate the Conquest of the Indies: Since there are two Things certain; one, that he assumed this Title long before he thought of conquering the Indies; the other, that the Indians never believed it. They some of them, indeed, seemed to believe it; and, by returning him Fable for Fable, saved themselves, and their Cities from Destruction. But we shall soon see, that what the Greek Writers have reported, in relation to their Notions of Divinity, is, in most respects, very superficial; and, in many, absolutely false. Alexander himself was so thoroughly persuaded of this, and had so high an opinion of the Wisdom of the Brachmans, that instead of relenting the Answer which Dandamis had sent him, he admired the Courage and steady Resolution of the Man: Nay, he carried his Admiration so far, as to write to this Brachman, acquainting him, that he had heard of many extraordinary Things, in relation to the Wisdom of their Doctrine, and their singular manner of Living, that he was desirous of learning, from him, what their Notions were, and what their manner of Life; since, if he found that Excellency in them, which was reported, he was content to become his Disciple.

14. This Condescension of Alexander, as it was very singular, so it had as remarkable an Effect; for Dandamis no sooner received the King's Letter, than he wrote him a long Epistle, so curious in itself, so full of extraordinary Facts, and withal so agreeable to his Character, that, I conceive, the translating it will afford no small Satisfaction to the Reader: inasmuch as it contains a clearer and better Account of those Philosophers, than, for any thing I know, is yet extant; and therefore, though the Epistle be long, I shall give it the Reader intire, without the least Variation: Thus then it runs.

Alexander, the Desire you discover of being acquainted with Wisdom, inclines me to think, that you ought to be already ranked among wise Men. There is nothing that hinders me from regarding you as such, but your immoderate Passion for subduing Mankind, and commanding the Universe. The true Philosopher learns to conquer himself, and submit to the Law of Reason without Reluctance. But your Character, and, above all, your immoderate Ambition, is an invincible Obstacle to this. You desire to be instructed as to our Manners and Customs; I dare not undertake this, because I am conscious to myself, that I have not a Talent for speaking; and that your Course of Life, and the continual Exercise of Arms, will not allow you Time to hear me. Yet I will not wholly refrain, since you so earnestly desire it. But do not expect, that I should flatter you; we are a plain Sort of People, and know not how to colour or disguise Things.

The life of the Brachmans is equally pure and simple. That Pleasure which seduces the rest of Mankind, has no Charms for us: Reason is the sole Guide of our Desires: Always satisfied with the State we are in, we

^a Arrian lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

^b Plutarch in Alexander

^c Thasiaria Historia, lib. v. cap. 6.

^d Plutarch

lib. vi.

^e Strabo, lib. xv

^f is also reported by Plutarch, in the Life of Alexander, but not to distinctness.

^g Strabo,

lib. vi. ^h Anonymus in Collectione Londonense, 1608.

• never so much as murmur at any Accidents that befall us.
 • Indifferent to Nourishment, we know not so much as
 • what Delicacy means: Our Tables are only furnished with
 • such Roots and Herbs as the Earth produces in herself,
 • without Trouble, without Toil; and hence it is, that we
 • know nothing more of Diseases, than what we are taught
 • by the Pains and Complaints of others. That pure Joy
 • which reigns in our Breasts is never disturbed but by the
 • Sense we have of other Peoples Miseries.

• An absolute Equality renders every one of us independent, and banishes from amongst us Envy, Jealousy, Ambition, and Malice. We have no Courts of Judicature, because we do nothing that is amiss, and our strict regard to Justice hath exempted us hitherto from those severe Laws, by which Crimes are punished among other People. We are even afraid, that the introducing of them should awaken the Notions of those Evils which they are intended to prohibit. The sole Law amongst us is, not to violate the Laws of Nature. By avoiding all Reproach, we are not exposed to the Necessity of pardoning others, in hopes of being treated by them with the like Indulgence: Much less do we purchase Pardon or Impunity by the Force of Money; a sort of Tenderness produced by Avarice, and which renders the Judge more guilty than the Criminal.

• Amongst us, Idleness is most rigorously chastised. We dread Pleasure as the Source of Weakness. We love that Sort of Labour which exercises the Body, but we detest that which springs from the Desire of Gain. Our Occupations tend only to procure the Necessaries of Life. We abhor all other Views, and regard them as the Fountain of Evils. In our Fields we have neither Bound nor Limits, nor any thing that can constitute Property. We are convinced, that this is an Usurpation directly contrary to the Laws of Nature; every one therefore takes where he pleases, what the Earth bountifully produces for the Service of All. We let the Birds fly quietly in the Air; the Beasts feed peaceably in the Fields; and the Fish are unmolested by us in the Waters. We possess all that we can wish; because we desire no more than we want. There is nothing we dread so much as that insatiable Desire of acquiring Property, which creates a thousand Wants in the Heart of Man; and renders him daily poorer and poorer, in proportion as his Wealth increases.

• We warm ourselves in the Sun-beams. The Dews refresh us. We wash in the Rivers. We eat the Herbs and the Roots, which the Field produces. The Earth serves for our Bed. Cares never disturb our Sleep. Peace of Mind preserves our Thoughts always free. Our Interdependency delivers us from Fear, and from Subjection, of every kind. We look upon each other as Brethren, whom Nature has made equal, and as the Children of one supreme God our Father, who ought therefore to share alike the Inheritance he has given us. We are ignorant amongst us as to the Art of destroying Forests, and breaking Rocks to-pieces, to build Houses, while Nature has formed Caves for that Use. There we neither fear Winds, Rain, Cold, Heat, or Tempests. These natural Habitations are our Dwellings while we live, and serve us for Sepulchres after Death.

• We avoid in our Dress, whatever has the least Appearance of Softness or Luxury. Leaves, or the Bark of Trees, cover what in Decency should not be exposed. Our Women are not allowed to adorn themselves like the rest of their Sex; and, even if they were permitted, their Sentiments would hinder them from making use of that Permission; persuaded, as they are, that vain and gaudy Attire is rather troublesome than Ornamental; and that all the Art in the World cannot add to Beauty, or supply the want of it. All such Pains, therefore, are either thrown away, because they do not correct Defects; or criminal, because they would improve the Work of an All-wise Creator. Such as our Women are by Nature, they merit all our Affection; and we never hear named among us the Crimes of Incest, Adultery, or other Infidelities which dishonour Nature, and violate the conjugal Tie.

• Peace and Quiet rule always our Society. The bare Thought of killing a Man fills us with Horror. We never provoke Strangers. We know not how to handle Arms. It is Mildness, and not Force, by which we maintain a good Understanding with our Neighbours. Fortune alone is our only Enemy; with her only we contend; and, generally speaking, the Blows she aims at us fall beside us. Attentive as we are to do nothing that may expose us to Mischiefs, we have few Evils which we can justly complain of. Death troubles us only when we are taken off immaturally; otherwise the Father attends not the Funeral of the Son, and we consider it as the Lot of Nature. Whenever it befalls us, we never attempt to raise pompous Monuments, which seem to insult the Relicks which they cover. For what more vile, more wretched, than the miserable Remains of a disfigured Corpse, destroyed by the Flames, that it might not pollute the Earth!

• Be not displeas'd, if these first Strokes of our Picture disfigure thine. With what Ravages hast thou not desolated the Universe? Madly fond of Riches, and too vain with Ambition, how much Blood has been shed by thy Hands, or, which is the same thing, by thy Orders? Thou tear'st Children from their Parents, depravest Men of funeral Rites, thou violatest Tombs; thou art eager in endeavouring to reach the rising Sun, as if thou meantst to stop his Course. Thou overturnest Thrones; thou drawest after thee captive Kings to adorn thy Triumphs. Of Citizens thou delightest to make Slaves; and, from a like Inconstancy, thou lettest Slaves at Liberty. Thou persuadest thyself thou hast taken Towns, when thou hast bribed their Governors with Money. Without doubt, hereafter, thou flatterest thyself thou shalt be able to corrupt the Prince of Hell.

• I forbear to set thy Image before thy Eyes, that I may proceed in the Account I am giving you of our Manners. We know nothing of those tumultuous Assemblies, those Games, those Spectacles, which are your supreme Delights. Of what Use would your Comedians be in the midst of a People who most heartily despise the Profession, and who do nothing that can furnish a Subject for Ridicule? Amongst us, there are none of those crowd Scenes proper to form your Tragedies. The Bravans would tremble at the Sight of young Men exposed to wild Beasts, or at the Sight of strong lusty Men, who, in cool Blood, beat and wound each other for the Diversion of such as look on. Heaven is to us the noblest Spectacle; we admire, we rejoice at the Order, the Economy, the Regularities of its Motions; we are ravished in contemplating the Sun, mounted on his purple Car, and travelling through the Realms of Night, till he returns, at the End of the Year, to the Point from which he set out. From the Heaven, we turn our Eyes to the Earth, and behold there the Spectacle of Nature; all whose Works appear to us equally lovely, admirable, and incomprehensible. The Notes of the Birds, the murmuring Streams, the Flowers, nay, a single Leaf of a Flower, sufficiently employ our Thoughts, and absorb our Attention.

• Content with what grows in our own Country, we never think of looking elsewhere, for the Rarities of other Soils, and other Climates. Nothing strikes us so much as what is our own. We despise all the Flowers of your Eloquence; we condemn it as a pernicious Art, which too often teaches Men to employ their Talents in giving Falshood the Air of Truth, protecting Crimes, accusing Innocence, and sometimes justifying Parricide. All our Eloquence consist in being sincere, and in never telling an Untruth.

• This is a short Account of our Manners; this is a succinct Detail of our Doctrines. It is a Maxim among the Brachmans, never to fally their Sacrifices with Blood by the Slaughter of innocent Victims; they adorn not their Temples with Gold or Silver Plate, or with the Lustre of precious Stones. They look upon this as insulting the Divinity, as if we meant to give him what he has not, or as if we intended to show ourselves as powerful as he, by affecting to display our

Riches in his Sight. God requires of us, that we should worship him with Purity, and not with Blood; and will accept only the Prayers and Humiliation of Men. He is that Word by which he has created the visible World, by which he preserves, governs, and causes it to subsist. He is a pure Spirit, and requires therefore no other Offerings from us than our good Works, our Virtues, and our Prayers.

As I have thus given you a Sketch of our Religion, compare it, I beseech you, with your own; or, at least, permit me to make a Comparison. I can, by no means, suffer that astonishing Blindness, which allows you to pretend to draw your Original from Heaven, and to make so free, as you do, with the Supreme Being. You have no Idea of Grandeur, but as it consists in an illustrious Blood; you desire thereby the Nobility of your first Birth, by referring all Things to the Flesh, in which you place all your Delight: You make it the sole Object of your Attention; you nourish it with Delicacies; you love nothing else; and, which is a much greater Crime, you think it worthy of being presented in Sacrifice to the Supreme Being. You know not the one God, who is, and you adore a Multitude of Gods, that are not; you place many of these in Heaven, and yet assign them the Direction of several Parts of your Body: *Minerva* resides in the Brain, as in the Seat of Wildom; *Juno* governs the impetuous Motions of the Heart; *Mercury*, your God of Eloquence, dwells on the Lips; *Hercules* gives Force to your Limbs; *Cupid* inspires you with Sentiments of Tenderness; *Bacchus* gives you Taste: Your Aliments are under the Care of *Ceres*; *Venus* procures your Embracements; *Jupiter* opens the Organs of Respiration; and *Apollo*, so famous for his Adireis, conducts your Fingers in playing on musical Instruments.

What Divinities are here! how narrow are the Bounds of their Power, inasmuch that they either will not, or cannot, change their reciprocal Functions! Their Opposition is manifest, even from the very Worship you pay them. You must offer a Bull to *Jupiter*; a Peacock to *Juno*; a wild Boar to *Mars*; a Goat to *Bacchus*; a Swan to *Apollo*; a Dove to *Venus*; an Owl to *Minerva*; Cakes to *Ceres*; and Honey to *Mercury*: *Hercules* will have Branches of Poplar to adorn his Statues and Altars; *Cupid* will have none but Roses. You dare not change so much as the Order of these Ornaments, without running the Hazard of being disgraced with them. Now, do but consider the Contradiction of these Characters; and how they all seem to have entered into a League, to torment you. One calls you to War; another to Pleasure: This to the Toils of Commerce; and that to the Delights of good Cheer. All of them command you to do what they like: They invite, they press, they solicit you; and they never allow you any Peace, till you have obeyed them. Are such Gods as these capable of promoting human Felicity? Speak but the Truth, and you will own, that they are your own Passions canonized.

You may discover yourselves also, in the Divinities with which you have filled your Hell: It is easy there to find your own Crimes under honourable Symbols. The *Pantheons* are your fallacious Thoughts; *Tisiphone* is the Reproach of a Conscience loaded with Crimes; *Tantalus* your insatiable Covetousness. *Cerberus* expresses the Punishment due to Ill-speaking; *Hydra* is your Vices rearing, as often as they are cut off. *Pluto* himself, thrown down from Heaven, teaches that you are degenerated, like him, in forgetting that sole Being to whom you owe your Original. O unfortunate Nations! whose Religion is your Crime, while living; and your Punishment after Death.

Alexander gave no Answer to this Letter; neither did he apply himself any more to the Brachman, but accused him of Pride and Impiety; and despised that Wisdom, which he would not take the Pains to understand. But it is now Time to return to that Conqueror's Expedition, and to attend him back to *Persia*, as we followed him to the *Indes*.

15. His Admiral *Nearebus* having informed him, that the Season was very favourable, and that there was no Danger in sailing to the *Euphrates*, he ordered *Hephestion*, with a great Part of the Army, to embark; and with the Remainder marched on to *Pasargada*, where he heard the Complaints that were made to him of the ill Conduct of his Governors in his Absence, and punished them very severely; and, having made *Peucestes* Governor of *Persia*, he advanced to the *Pestigris*, where a new Bridge had been thrown over the River, for the Passage of the Land-forces, and where, at the same time, *Nearebus* arrived with the Fleet, and that Part of the Army which had been embarked on board it, after they had been six Months at Sea: And on this Account *Alexander* instituted new Games, and sacrificed according to the Custom of the *Greeks*.

When he arrived at *Susa*, he married *Statira* the Daughter of *Darius*; bestowed most of the *Persian* Ladies on his *Macedonian* Captains; and made a magnificent Entertainment on account of their Marriages, at which there were 9000 Guests, to every one of which he gave a golden Cup: And that they might have nothing to embitter their Mirth, he paid all their Debts; and, suspecting that out of Shame they might not give a fair Account, he directed the Sum total to be brought him, without inquiring into each Man's Account. *Plutarch* says, that this amounted to 9570 Talents; and other Authors agree with him in that Account: But *Arrian*, the most exact Writer of his Memoirs, affirms that their Debts came to 20,000 Talents.

Here he likewise punished, with great Severity, such as had been guilty of Oppression and Corruption during his Absence; and rewarded others, who had behaved well. To *Peucestes*, *Leonnatus*, *Nearebus*, *Onferitus*, *Hephestion*, and others, he gave golden Crowns. At the same time he mustered the 30,000 young *Persians*, who had been trained in the *Macedonian* Exercise, and expressed great Satisfaction as to their Behaviour. He likewise ordered all the Invalids in his Army to prepare for their Return into *Greece*, promising to provide for them generously at their Departure; in which he certainly meant them well: But the *Macedonians*, who were now grown peevish and disaffected, put a bad Construction upon it; and, running into a Mutiny, cried out, that now he had worn them out in his Service, he was weary of the Sight of them, and did not care to look upon the Malt and Maimed, who had lost their Health and their Limbs in his Battles. They therefore desired he would discharge them all, and make use of his dancing Boys to conquer the rest of the World; or, if he found them insufficient, he might have recourse to his Father *Ammon*'s.

Alexander was greatly provoked, ordered thirteen of the Ringleaders to be immediately drowned in the River, and for three Days admitted none of them to his Presence, which threw them into Despair, and brought them to make the deepest Submission: Upon which, after a gentle Reproof, he was reconciled to them, and gave the Charge of the Invalids to *Craterus*, ordering every Man to have his Arrears paid him, with Money sufficient to bear the Expence of his Journey, and a Talent besides. He likewise bestowed on *Craterus* the Government of *Macedon*, and ordered that *Antipater* should come over, with fresh Recruits, from *Greece*; sending him Instructions likewise, to pay the utmost Honour to his Invalids; and to take care, that at all public Shews, and in the Theatres, they should have the first Seats, and be allowed Chaplets of Flowers. He likewise directed, that the Children of such as had lost their Lives in his Service, should have their Fathers Pay continued to them.*

When he came to *Ecbitana* in *Media*, he celebrated new Games, having just received a Supply of 3000 Performers from *Greece*. But, in the midst of these Rejoicings, his Favourite *Hephestion* died: Upon which he put the whole Empire into Mourning; ordered the sacred Fire of the *Persians* to be extinguished; and, being informed that the *Cesset*, who lived in the Mountains, and had never been subdued by the *Persians*, refused Submission to him, he resolved to divert his Grief, by an Expedition into that

* *Diod. lib. xxv. Arrian. Quint. Curt.*

† *Diod. Sicul. Quint. Curt. Plutarch. in Alexander.*

‡ That is, at the lowest, 1,974,000 *l* of our Money, or 4,000,000 *l* at the highest.

§ *Arrian, lib. vii. Plutarch. in Alexander. Quint. Curt.*

Country; which he reduced, notwithstanding it was the Winter-season, and very cold, in forty Days, ordering the whole Nation, without Distinction of Sex or Age, to be put to Death, styling this Cruelty a Sacrifice to *Hephaestion's* Ghost.

He was now in the Neighbourhood of the *Thracian*, or, as it is at present called, the *Caspian Sea*; and therefore he gave Directions, that a great Quantity of Timber should be cut down in the adjacent Mountain, and a Fleet built, on board which he intended to have gone himself the next Summer. In the mean time he resolved to proceed to *Babylon*, where he had ordered the Embassadors from foreign States to meet him, and where he intended to erect a most magnificent Monument to the Memory of *Heptastion*; for the Expence of which, he had destined 10000 Talents; and declared besides, that he expected he should be worshipped as an Hero, or Demi-god.

16. When he drew near the City, *Nearbus*, in whom he had great Confidence, informed him, that he had met with some *Chaldean* Soothsayers, who were in great Reputation, and who had declared, that the King's Entrance into that City would be fatal to him: He had the same Intimations from other Hands; to which, probably, he would have listened, but that the *Greek* Philosophers, who were about him, took Pains to persuade him, that it was unworthy a great Prince, and unbecoming a wife and brave Man, to listen to such Stories. His Priests then suggested, that it would be best for him to enter the City on the West side, with his Face towards the East; but, upon Trial, this was found impracticable. *Alexander* did not however, shew, upon this Occasion, that Firmness and Steadiness which some have reported; but, on the contrary, had a thousand Doubts and Fears, as was evident from the Time he spent without the City, removing his Tent from Place to Place, and betraying strong Apprehensions of his being deserted by the Gods, and betrayed by his Friends: So that he fell, at once, into such black Fits of Despair and Suspicion, as terrified all who were about him.

At last, he recollected himself, and determined, without further Delays, to enter the City: To which he was chiefly moved by two Reasons; one, that he might shew his Contempt of these Predictions, to the foreign Embassadors before mentioned; the other, a Conjecture, that the *Chaldeans* might have some private Reasons to endeavour to prevent his entering *Babylon*. After he had taken this Step, he gave Audience to all the Embassadors who came from the different Parts of the known World: Some from the Sea-coasts of *Africa*, as far as the *Atlantic Ocean*; others from the *Thracians*, *Thyrians*, and *Scythians*. Some of the Nations of *Italy* sent to compliment him; such as the *Brutti*, *Lucani*, and *Tusci*: There came likewise from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; and even from the *Gauls* and *Celts*. There are some Writers, who pretend that the *Romans* also sent Embassadors upon this Occasion; but they are Writers of no great Credit: For *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and *Aristobulus*, who constantly followed him, and who left Memoirs of every thing that happened in those Days, say no such thing: And, as *Arian* very well observes, the Story is not probable in itself; for, as the *Romans* were at that time perfectly free, and the Republic excessively jealous of their Liberty, it is a Thing incredible, that they should pay such an extraordinary Mark of Respect, as this, to a foreign Prince; and more especially to one who set up for universal Monarchy, and pretended to lord it over the whole World. It is certain, however, that he considered this Concourse of foreign Ministers, as the noblest Incident of his whole Reign, as he judged it the strongest Proof of his being become formidable to People even at the greatest Distance.

To keep up, therefore, this Reputation, and to have his great Officers in Action, which was a Maxim he constantly pursued, he set on foot three vast Designs at once. The first of these was the perfect Discovery of the *Thracian*, or *Caspian Sea*, the best Part of its Shore being hitherto unknown, notwithstanding the many great Rivers

that fall into it; and this it was that tempted *Alexander* to make a perfect Discovery of its Bounds, and to reduce all the Nations that inhabited on its Borders, under his Dominion. His second Design was, the establishing a great Fleet in the *Indian Ocean*; for which Purpose he ordered forty seven large Ships, according to the Notion of those Times, to be built by the *Phoenicians*; then taken to pieces, and brought to *Thapsacus*, and from thence to *Babylon*. The Use he intended to make of these Ships, was to examine the *Indian Coast* thoroughly, and to take a perfect Account of the Places where convenient Ports might be made; as also to acquire perfect Intelligence as to the Nature and Value of *Indian Commodities*. But, as he knew, that Ships were of little Use, unless they were conducted by able Seamen, he intrusted *Mysalus* of *Cassimena* with five hundred Talents, and sent him into *Phoenicia*, to contract there with a sufficient Number of skilful Pilots, and able Seamen, to navigate that Fleet. And, to shew how little Regard he had to the Maxims of the *Persian* Policy, he ordered all the Impediments to the free Navigation of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* to be removed, that Fleets might pass these Rivers as easily as ever.

His third Project was the Conquest of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by various Motives, the first of these, as we find in *Arian's* History, is very remarkable. He was informed, that the *Arabians* worship but two Gods, *Heaven*, and *Baalus*; the former, because it contains the Sun and Stars; the latter, on account of his Victories in *India*: *Alexander* therefore had a mind to make their third Deity, and to force them to the same Submission that had been paid him by the *Indians*. Another Reason was, the Desire he had of being Master of their Riches; for, at that Time, the *Arabians* had Abundance of Gold, and possessed all the Spices and rich Perfumes that were known to the World. A third Reason was, the Situation of the Country, which lay in the Midst of his new Conquests; so that, without this Accession, he judged them to be incomplete. But, that he might be perfectly satisfied, both as to the Extent and Worth of the Country against which he was sent to lead his Armies, and that he might know how to dispose of his Maritime Force to the best Advantage, he thought proper to send three of his ablest Officers, each in a large Ship, to examine the Coast. The first of these was *Archias*, who, in a Vessel of thirty Oars, proceeded out of the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, and discovered, at the Distance of one hundred and twenty Stadia, an Island, in which was a Temple sacred to *Diana*. This Island, by the Command of *Alexander*, was called *Ianus*. He also discovered another, and a larger Island, at the Distance of a Day and a Night's Sail from the River's Mouth, the Name of which was *Tylus*. It was not overgrown with Wood, as the former, but a well-inhabited and well-cultivated Country: But farther he durst not proceed. *Be*: *Androstellenes*, who had a Ship of the same Burden, sailed farther, and examined Part of the maritime Coast of *Arabia*. *Heaven* excelled them both; for he sailed quite round the *Cerberose*, into the *Arabian Gulph*, and so to the opposite Coasts of *Egypt*; and, on his Return, gave a full Account to *Alexander*, of the Extent of the Country, which he affirm'd to be very near as big as that Part of *India* which they had discovered.

The King was very well satisfied with these Accounts; and therefore gave Directions for making all the necessary Preparations for the Invasion of *Arabia*. He likewise ordered an Haven to be made at *Babylon*, and sailed himself down the *Euphrates*, and into the *Palleops*, which was a Chanel cut from the former River; the Passages of which he opened, and caused a new one to be cut toward the Lakes; and, having thus passed as far as the Frontiers of *Arabia*, he ordered a new City to be built, as a Monument of his coming into these Parts. On his Return to *Babylon*, he derided the *Chaldean* Soothsayers on the Faithfulness of their Prophecies; because he had not only entered *Babylon*, but had left it, made a Voyage, and returned thither again, without meeting with any unlucky Accident.

^a *Plutarch in Alexander*

^b *Diodor Sicul lib. xvii. Arrian.*

^c *Arian, lib. vii.*

^d *Diodor Sicul. Quest. Cass. Plutarch.*

^e *Diodor Sicul lib. xvii. Arrian, lib. vii. Plutarch in Alexander*

^f *Strabo. Arrian. Diodor. Sicul.*

^g *Arian, lib. vii.*

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As he had now conquered his Apprehensions in respect to the Fatality of the Place, he began to be extremely pleased with the convenient Situation of this City, and to think of making it, at least for the present, the Seat of his Empire; for which Reason, he gave directions for repairing some, and erecting other, public Buildings. While his Thoughts were thus occupied, he spent the Evenings in feasting; and, having sat up one Night till it was late, he was invited, as he was going to Bed, to pass another Hour with one *Melus*, a *Thessalian*, which he unluckily complied with; and there drank so hard the remaining Part of the Night, that it threw him into a Fever. The next Day he bathed, and remained in the Bath-chamber all Night. The Day following, which was the 19th of the *Macedonian* Month *Dehus*, he thought himself better, and sat heartily at Supper; but had a restless Night. On the 20th he sacrificed, and in the Bath, heard *Nearchus* read the Journal of his Voyage; and heard him finish it the next Day: But then, his Fever prevailing, he grew extremely ill, and continued so till the 28th in the Evening, when he expired. These, and some other Passages relating to his last Illness, are taken from his Diary, written with his own Hand; for in this he was extremely exact, setting down every thing of Moment that happened till within a Day or two before his Death. These Passages we find transcribed in *Arian* and *Plutarch*.

One thing, however, was so remarkable in his Conduct, even in his last Moments, that it ought not to be omitted. When he was very near his End, he asked some who were about him, *Whether they thought they should have such another King?* As they remained all silent, and made him no answer of Answer, he proceeded. *You are ignorant of this,* says he, *and so am I; but this I can foretell, nay, I don't see it with my Eyes, that Macedonia will overflow with Blood before this Centenary can be decided, and that my Funeral will be celebrated by sanguinary Disputes.* When he was asked to whom he bequeathed the Kingdom, he answered, *To the next worthy;* and, when *Perdiccas* demanded, *At what time he would have divine Honours paid him,* he replied, *Whenever you are all happy.*

At the Time of his Decease, he was in the thirty-third Year of his Age, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign over *Macedon*, and in the eighth of his Empire; and this great Event, according to the best Chronologers, fell out in the 33d Year before the coming of *Jesus Christ*.

It has been already observed, that this great Prince was exceedingly exact in committing to Writing whatever occurred to him of Importance, and this to the very last. When he was dead they examined his Table-book, or, as the Ancients called them, his Commentaries; and therein they found these five Schemes mentioned, as necessary to be put into Execution, for establishing and securing the Empire. I. That a thousand long Ships of a larger Size than any that were then in Use, should be built in *Phoenicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cyprus*, in order to subdue the *Carthaginians*, and others inhabiting the Sea Coasts of *Africa* and *Spain*, together with the adjacent Islands, as far as *Sady*. On this Head, it is natural to observe, that *Alexander* had chiefly in View, in the bringing this Project to bear, the establishing a maritime Power not to be disputed with; which was in Truth, the Thing, of all others, he most affected, as well knowing, that, without maritime Power, the widest Empire is a Prison, the Keys of which are in the Hands of whatever State is Mistress of the Sea.

II. That a plain and direct high Road should be made all through the Coast of *Africa* to the Pillars of *Hercules*. This was properly added to the former, as conducive to the same Design; for, without such a Road, neither the Dominion of those Coasts could be secured, or the Communication necessary for a free and universal Commerce be kept open. Such a Road would, he forewaid, prove to be useful, and in a short Space of Time, be found so convenient, especially in the Hands of so wise a People as the *Greeks*, that it would prevent the Country, through which it passed, from falling under the Yoke of barbarous Masters,

and thereby preserve the Empire, into whose Hands soever it fell, in a great measure, intire, as affording the Means of keeping regular Garrisons in convenient Stations, and facilitating the March of such Bodies of Troops as might be necessary for suppressing Rebellions, so as to reach any Part of that great Space of Country in a very short time.

III. That six magnificent Temples should be built, and the Sum of fifteen hundred Talents be laid out on each of them, another Stroke of the same Policy, in order that the Concourse of People to these Temples should maintain Society and Acquaintance, prevent the Revival of *Barbarism*, and insure all Nations to the Love of a free and general Correspondence, by the mingling frequently in the Celebration of the same sacred Rites. This was very consonant to his own constant Practice of keeping up a great Spirit of Religion in his Army; in which he found his Account, and had the Priests, in every Part of his Dominions, intirely devoted to his Service, which was the surest Means of keeping the People quiet: Yet it does not appear, that he was a Bigot, or aimed at obliging all Nations to follow his Sentiments in Religion, but rather the contrary; for he left the *Jews*, *Persians*, *Indians*, and *Egyptians*, the free Exercise of their respective Forms of Worship, though they were all directly repugnant to his own.

IV. That, in convenient Places, Arsenals and Havens should be constructed for the Reception and Security of the Royal Navy. It is clear from hence, that he intended his Empire should be protected and defended by a Naval Force. It was exactly conformable to his Behaviour in the *Indes*, and at *Babylon*, where he neglected nothing, spared no Pains, either of his own, or of his Army, to discover every Corner where he came, to examine the Rise and Course of Rivers, their Mouths, and the Means of rendering them serviceable by the Constructions of proper Harbours and Fortresses to protect them. This appeared fatiguing and useless to his *Macedonians*, who had always an Eye to their own Country, and considered all their Conquests as Acquisitions to that little contemptible State. But *Alexander* had other Thoughts, and other Views, as his Intent was not only to conquer the best Part of the Universe, and to keep it when conquered, but to reduce it under a regular Form of Government, so beneficial to all his Subjects, that they might find their private Interests deeply concerned in maintaining the public Regulations he meant to have established.

V. That all the new Cities he had founded, should be planted with Colonies; and that People should be for that Purpose transported out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and out of *Asia* into *Europe*, to the end that, by reciprocal Marriages and Intermixtures, Peace and Concord might be established between the two great Continents of the World. This was the Point to which the other Projects tended; this was the Center of his Designs, and the grand Object of all his Contrivances. The Consideration of this Proposition explains his whole Conduct, and serves as a Key to every one of his particular Schemes. It was in order to this, that he was so carefully in subduing all the barbarous Nations in his Return from *India*; that he took so much Pains to have the Coasts of *Persia*, and the *Persian* Gulph, so accurately examined; that he determined to reduce *Arabia*, that all the Sea Coasts on that Side might be in his Possession; that he thought of discovering surrounding *Africa*; and, in fine, that he framed, on the other hand, a Resolution of examining the Coasts, and subduing the Nations that bordered on the *Hyrcanian* Sea.

He was not of the narrow Spirit of his Countrymen, who would have subjected all the World to *Macedonia*, but had a Soul as capacious as the World he fought to conquer. He did not, as many have imagined, rush on from Victory to Victory, from Conquest to Conquest, without knowing what he would bear, or when he would be contented; but proceeded uniformly, and on a regular Plan, which he laid down early, as we shall shew when we come

Plutarch in Alexander. He died, according to the best Calculation that can be made, about the latter End of May
Strabon. lib. vii. Quint. Curt. lib. x. cap. 7. Justin ex Trogo Pompeio, lib. xii. Corn. Nepos in Eumene.

Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

to speak of the Foundation of *Alexandria*; and pursued steadily to the very Day of his Death, as appears by his attending, when he was so near it, to the Journey of *Nearchus*, whose Voyage had so close a Relation to his grand Design. As, in laying open this System of Policy, I have followed evidently the Minutes of this great Monarch, the Reader can entertain no doubt of the Truth of what I say. Indeed I might have collected much of what is here delivered from other Steps of his Conduct; but then my Conjectures might have been disputed; whereas now, I have given unquestionable Authority for every Tittle I have advanced.

19. *Plutarch*, in his two learned Orations on the Fortune and Virtue of *Alexander the Great*, has given us abundance of fine Thoughts on these Subjects; and many of our modern Writers have, with infinite industry, collected, from his Life, all the different Indications of his Virtues, and of his Vices. I must confess, that I do not think the true Character of *Alexander* can be this way reached; for his Virtues and Vices were most of them constitutional, and appeared accidentally, as they were by different occasions struck out. His sole Principle of Action, his ruling and sovereign Passion, was the Conquest of the known World; from a Notion, that, under his Direction Mankind might be re-modelled, and his Empire so constituted, as to maintain and support itself. In all human Probability, he originally either derived this Notion from the Lectures of *Aristotle*, or gathered it from the Works of *Homer*. But, however he came by it, there is no Question to be made, that he had formed an Idea of this Empire before he quitted *Macedon*; and this is the true Sense of the Answer he made one of his Captains when he divided all Things amongst them, What he kept for himself? Hope, returned he; that is, the Hope of this Empire, the very Thought of which made him regard his hereditary Kingdom, and all his former Conquests, as nothing.

It was this that induced him to reject all the Propositions made him of Peace; for, according to his Scheme, there could be no Peace, till he was Master of all. This led him to destroy the City of *Tyre*, that he might put an End to their Monopoly of Trade, which was directly opposite to the System he had formed, and was endeavouring to carry into Execution. It was this that induced him to stay so long in *Egypt*, which has been censured by so many Writers; because they did not enter into his Plan, or conceive the ultimate View of all his Conquests. It was this that led him to the hazardous Expedition to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and the sole Reason why he affected to be thought the Son of that God, from a Notion, that the Sovereign of the Universe should not be considered as the Offspring of a Man.

By degrees, however, this grew upon him; and what at first was a Principle of Policy, at last became a Fable. He found his *Macedonians*, whenever they were out of Humour, ready to rally him on that Subject, and this was a Raillery he could not bear, because he really believed it necessary to the Support of his Designs; and therefore he took several Methods of inculcating this into them; not that he ever proposed they should believe it, but that they might be silent on this Head, and leave it to such as had a Capacity for Fables. But he erred egregiously, when he imagined it would pass upon the *Indians*, who were really too subtle for him in that Point, and turned the Fable upon himself.

It was this that induced him to comply with the Manners of the *Persians*, a thing detested by his *Macedonians*, because they did not understand it; for he did not fall into this from a Spirit of Luxury, or from a Desire of leading the same effeminate Life, which the *Persian* Monarchs had done; but with a View to conciliate the Affections of his new Subjects, and because he thought the *Persian* Manners more agreeable to his System, than those of the *Macedonians*. The Truth of this may be fully shewn from two Actions of his Life, which most Writers have related without Reflection, as if they had been Acts of Passion, or of

Madness. He selected thirty young Men, of the greatest Families in *Persia*, to whom he gave the Title of *Epeiroi*, i. e. his Children, and allowed him the Honour of saluting him; which threw the *Macedonians* into that violent Mutiny, when he actually disbanded them, upon which they spent two Days and a Night in Tears before his Tent, till at last he was reconciled to them; and, upon this Reconciliation, he wept himself, and, with great Tenderness, told them, they were all his Kinsmen, and allowed as many of the private Men, as pleased, to kiss him; which plainly shewed, that his former Institution was not the Effect of Pride, but of Policy; and did all that was in his Power to make them conceive and enter into his Sentiments, that there might be an End of these peevish Disputes for the future. But after this, when *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, who was just come from *Greece*, had Audience of him at *Babylon*, and could not help laughing when he saw the *Persians* adore him, this threw *Alexander* into such a Transport of Passion, that, taking him fast by the Hair, he beat his Head against the Wall; nor that he really delighted in these Honours, so much from Vanity, as from a Persuasion, that keeping up this Decorum was absolutely necessary to his new Character.

To say the Truth, if there was a Difference between the King of *Macedon*, and his Subjects, there was as wide a Difference between the Monarch of that little Country, and the Sovereign of the World.

But to conclude, though there were other Conquerors, as well as *Alexander*, who had Notions of becoming Lords of the Universe, yet in this he was singular; viz. that he entered into the Spirit of the Character, and sincerely and earnestly endeavoured to behave as it would become such a Monarch to do. He threw off all Partiality for his Country, or that Family; and as he affected to rule Mankind, so he made the Interest of Mankind his Care. When he built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, he intended to make it the Centre of Commerce; he cast his Eyes upon *Babylon*, not the Seat of Government; and seems to have reserved *Greece* for the Theatre of Arts and Sciences, which he thought were best understood by the *Athenians*; and thus he intended to have made one Part of the World useful to the other; and, by inspiring the *Greeks* with the Love of Commerce, and the Barbarians, as they were then filled, with an Inclination for the *Greek* Literature, and behaving with equal Kindness to all Nations, when their Affairs led them to his Court, he thought to have blended the human Species in such a manner, as to have worn off their narrow Principles, and to have inspired them, by degrees, with Sentiments like his own.

It was this that made him so desirous of searching out new Countries, not that he would spoil and plunder the Inhabitants; for this Army, when it had conquered the *Indies*, were in Debt; but, that, by acquiring new Subjects, he might make a great Number of Men happy. To sum up all in a Word, other great Conquerors have had the Possession of the World in View, as well as he; but *Alexander* was the only Prince that ever thought of acquiring a Title to that Possession, by making it the Interest of all Men, that he should govern and command them.

20. It is not to be doubted, that the Conquest made by *Alexander* were long remembered, tho' they were not long maintained, in the *Indies*; for, upon the first Division of *Alexander's* Dominions, his Captains, who could scarce agree in any thing else, were unanimous in their Resolutions of giving up their Provinces to *Taxiles* and *Perus*, because they knew not how to keep them. *Plutarch* reports, on the Credit of some Writers, who composed Memoirs of *Alexander's* Life, that long after his Decease, the *Indian* Princes came to sacrifice on the prodigious Altars he set behind him. This however, does not seem probable, but looks like a *Greek* Fiction, since no Author of unquestionable Credit ever reported, that the ancient *Indians* sacrificed at all, at least in the Sense of the *Greeks*: For, to say the Truth, that was repugnant to their religious Principles.

But there is better Weight, viz. that if the Request of their *Ganges*, they had very soon, notwithstanding prepared to oppose hatred and despised by Mother, who was the fallen in Love with a Way, by the fame v. his Father's Blood. the Queen, who was some Writers call was hated and content his low and vicious standing his potent to have withstood. At least, this was afterwards ruled in this ence with the *Greeks*. we may guess at his salenus, of 500 Elep in Army of 600,000 was; and had a great der, whom he had seen. The Eastern Histo great Conqueror; but have reached us, in tended upon: For the are so vividly mixed w Use to such as desire to be entertained with be, and doubtless th those Times, in the have hitherto had no of great Learning tra other Stamp are better as full of marvellous pertaining. It is, ho ions Writings, that ives in these Parts: Works of our antie Victories was very th the *Indies*. And the present this Section t to men we shall refer

21. In order to ap to satisfy our intrud Great here, it is nec who, by his Expedit better known than it coumouted the *Indie* tween the *Euxine* and probably, those Em ferred certain Dispute But nothing was more with the *Indies*, and tells us, *Alexander* his *Indies*, wrote a Lette lary that he had ac *Indies*; which sufficien the Antients then had

It is to be observe the Northern Provin Country of *Paropamis* Mountains, which *Canopus*; and here l named *Alexandria*. *Capitole*, the Capit had been ruined by by *Ptolemy*, Ay, *Alex*, from whence

* *Diodor Sicul lib. xxii. Arrian. Curt. Ceval. Quint. Curt. Justin ex Trogo*

* *Plutarch. in Alexandro. Plutarch in Alexander*

* See the Letter of *Dionysius*, p. 113. *Diodor Sicul. lib. xxiii.*

* *Plutarch. in Alexander.*

* *Plutarch. in Alexander lib. xx.*

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But there is better Authority for a Fact of a greater Weight, viz. that if the *Macedonians* had complied with the Request of their King, and had passed the River *Ganges*, they had very probably succeeded in their Expedition, notwithstanding the Force of the *Gandaride*, who prepared to oppose him; for their King *Xandrames* was hated and despised by his Subjects, for this Reason: His Mother, who was the lawful Queen of that Country, had fallen in Love with a Barber, whom she first raised to great Employments, and then gave him an Opportunity of murdering the King her Husband, which made way for him to marry her, and to become the Guardian of the King's only Son, who was a Child; and soon after put out of the Way, by the same vile Hands that had been imbrued in his Father's Blood. This successful Traitor had a Son by the Queen, who was the King before-mentioned, whom some Writers call *Xandrames*, and others *Agrammes*, who was hated and contemned for his mean Original, and for his low and vicious manner of Living: So that, notwithstanding his potent Army, he would have scarce been able to have withstood *Alexander*, whose Manners would probably have been more agreeable to the *Indians*.

At least, this was the Sentiment of a great Prince, who afterwards ruled in this Country, and held a fair Correspondence with the *Greeks*. His Name was *Andracontus*; and we may guess at his Power, by the Present he made to *Selucus*, of 500 Elephants. This Prince, at the Head of an Army of 600,000 Men, conquered the best Part of *India*; and had a great Esteem for the Memory of *Alexander*, whom he had seen when a Boy.

The Eastern Histories are full of the Exploits of our great Conqueror; but very few of them, at least, that have reached us, in this Part of the World, are to be depended upon: For they are written in a poetical Strain, and are so wisely mixed with Fictions, that they can be of no Use to such as desire to be acquainted with Facts, and not to be entertained with romantic Adventures. There may be, and doubtless there are, some valuable Histories of these Times, in the *Arabic* and *Indian* Tongues; but we have hitherto had no Accounts of them, because few Men of great Learning travel into the *Indies*; and those of another Stamp are better satisfied with their kind of Books, as full of marvellous Stories; and consequently more entertaining. It is, however, clear, even from these fabulous Writings, that the Glory of this Monarch still survives in these Parts: And, as we shall see hereafter, in the Works of our ancient Travellers, the Tradition of his Victories was very strong, when the *Europeans* first visited the *Indies*. And therefore, to avoid Repetitions, and to prevent this Section from swelling to any greater Length, to them we shall refer our Readers.

In order to apply what has been already said, and not to weary our introducing the History of *Alexander* the Great here, it is necessary to consider him as a Traveller, who, by his Expedition into this Country, made it much better known than it had been before his Time. *Xenophon* contemned the *Indies* with a Province of that Name, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas; from whence, very probably, those Embassadors came, to whom *Cyrus* referred certain Disputes between him and his Neighbours. But nothing was more common, than to confound *Ethiopia* with the *Indies*, and even with *Egypt*: So that, as *Arrian* tells us, *Alexander* himself, when he first came to the River *Indus*, wrote a Letter to his Mother, in which he told her, that he had actually discovered the Sources of the *Sea*; which sufficiently discovers how little Acquaintance the Antients then had with those Countries.

It is to be observed, that *Alexander* entered them from the Northern Provinces of *Persia*, passing through the Country of *Paropamisus*, so called from the neighbouring Mountains, which the *Macedonians* thought fit to call *Paragis*; and here he caused a City to be built, which he named *Alexandria*. In this Country lay the Region of *Cappisus*, the Capital of which was *Capissa*, a City that had been ruined by *Cyrus*. *Babacene*, which was reduced by *Pergamon*, lay not far from hence. The City of *Mylæ*, from whence *Amphis* came Embassador, was seated

on the *Coptes*, the first River in the *Indies* passed by the *Macedonians*; tho' some do not reckon that, but the *Choaspes*, the first *Indian* River. Between these, lay the *Aracians* and *Tyrans*. Advancing still towards the East, he met with the *Aspians* and *Aspagonians*, the little River *Evaspla* terminating that Country. From whence he marched among the *Dardians*, a very numerous Nation: He likewise approached the City of *Pucela*; and then, falling into the Country of the *Ajaceni*, took their Capital *Mallata*, where he was wounded. Turning then towards the South, he reduced *Ora*, the Rock of *Aornus*, and *Ecbolima*, which lay near the River *Indus*. From that River to the *Hydaspes*, lay the Dominions of *Taxiles*, the Countries inhabited by the *Ariaspans*, the *Sobeans*, the *Aseniens*, the *Sibes*, and the *Mallians*; in whose Territory *Alexander* caused the City of *Nicea* to be built, as a Monument of his many and rapid Victories.

On the other Side of that River, he erected *Bucephalis*, in Memory of his Horse, which had served him many Years, and died of old Age, near this Place; all the Country hereabouts being within the Dominions of the brave *Porus*, which extended as far as the River *Aefnes*. Between this last-mentioned River, and the *Hydraotes*, the Country was barren and uncultivated, as being inhabited by *Brachmans*, who had, however, a large and flourishing City on the other Side the *Hydraotes*. Between that and the *Hyphasis*, lay the Territories of the *Sopbites*, *Catbeans*, *Pharascians*, *Phogoleans*, *Oxydracians*, and other Nations. This River *Hyphasis*, which some Authors call *Hypafes*, and also *Hypans*, was the Eastern Boundary of the *Macedonian* Empire; for they never passed that River, but in order to erect the Altars, and other Monuments of their having encamped there, which have been so often mentioned, and which were erected in Imitation of *Hercules*.

It is intirely owing to *Alexander's* Expedition, that we know any thing of the antient State of these Countries; and, as to what lay between the *Hyphasis*, and the *Ganges*, we know little of them, except that *Arrian* has mentioned two Cities, *Minagoria* and *Barygaxa*, which, he says, were very opulent, and Places of great Trade. All that vast Country, which is at this Day so famous, and so well known, from the Junction of those Rivers, quite to the *Indus*, as well as the lower Part of the Peninsula, were absolutely unknown to them, except a few Nations, whose Names the Reader will find in the Map: They called the rest of the Inhabitants by the general Name of *Indo-Scythians*. All this Country is what we now call *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*: It contained in the whole 118 Nations, or Provinces; some of which were pretty large: As, for Instance, the Kingdom of *Porus*, which contained 300 Towns; but others, again, were very small, some of the *Indian* Princes not having above two Towns belonging to them, and those, probably, not very large. Within this Space, there were not fewer than forty Rivers, most of them navigable, and all running into the *Indus*; which must have been very large, since the *Hydaspes*, which was only one of the Rivers that fell into it, is said to have been twenty Stadia, which is a full League in Breadth.

Let us now endeavour to fix the Bounds of the *Indies*, as they appear from this Description: On the North, they were separated from the Country of the *Scythians* by a Ridge of Mountains, which the *Macedonians* called *Caucasus*, that *Alexander* might have the Honour of reaching them, as well as *Hercules*. On the East lay the *Ganges*. As to the Western Bounds, one knows not well what to say to them, since the oldest Writers certainly take in *Arabia*, with a View, no doubt, to give an Air of Probability to what they relate of the Conquests of *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Ofris*, and *Sesoftris*; but, with regard to the Expedition of *Alexander*, the Western Limits of the *Indies* ought certainly to be placed at the River *Arbis*, or *Abalus*. On the South, they were bounded by that Part of the Ocean, into which the *Ganges*, and the *Indus*, discharged themselves.

As to the Cities that were built by *Alexander*, and on most of which he bestowed his Name, there are so many of them, that it is very difficult to describe them. That

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in, in *Alexand*
Bt.

^a *Plutarch*, in *Alexandris*.

^b *Diodor. Sicul. Justin.*

^c *Arrian*, lib. vi.

^d *Strabo*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*.

^e *Geop.*

which

which lay farthest North, was built upon the River called *Tanais*, by the *Macedonians*, but falsely, as has been before observed; and was, without Doubt, intended to facilitate the Expeditions he intended to have made for the Discovery of the *Caspian* Sea, and the adjacent Countries: To the South of this stood another City of *Alexandria*, upon the River *Oxus*; another on the River *Ochus*; and a third on the River *Margus*. All these were to the North of Mount *Parepanisus*; to the South of which lay two other Cities of the same Name; one near the Mountains, and another in the Country of *Aria*. On the River *Indus* stood another *Alexandria*; and, in his Return from the *Indies*, *Alexander* directed a City of this Name to be built in the Country of *Gedrosia*.

In all these Cities he left *Grecian* Colonies, in order to establish an intimate Correspondence between them and his *Indian* Subjects, that he might have a more perfect Account of all these Countries; and might know the better how to regulate his future Undertakings: Yet, how wise forever his Proceedings in this respect might be, they were intirely overturned by his Death, which gave the *Greeks*, who were weary with living in those Cities, an Opportunity of forsaking them; and the Inhabitants of those Countries, who were as weary of their Neighbourhood, an Occasion to recover their Freedom: So that all the fine Plan he had formed for the perfect Settlement of this Part of his Dominions, was quickly overturned and destroyed: And, which is not a little singular, the very Method he employed for making this Part of the World better known to the *Greeks*, proved the Means of leading them into new Mistakes about it, since such of his Soldiers as lived to return home, instead of giving a just and fair Relation of their Adventures, in the Country through which they had travelled, amused themselves with contriving idle and extravagant Fictions, as irreconcilable to each other, as all of them were to Truth. We may easily guess to what a

Height the Invention of his Soldiers rose, from a Passage that happened in his Life-time; for *Craterus*, one of his principal Officers, in a Letter to his Mother *Aristopatra*, which was extant in the Days of *Strabo*, gave an Account of his arriving, with *Alexander*, on the Banks of the River *Ganges*; of the Breadth and Depth of which River he reported boldly whatever he had heard, or came in his Head; since it is most certain, that he was never there, nor, indeed, near the *Ganges*.

Strabo therefore, who was a very learned, and a very judicious Writer, treats the Stories of these Men, that had defenced to him, as equally incredible and absurd; and particularly mentions three of those Authors, who, with some People, were even then in great Credit, viz. *Daimachus*, who is first named, not in Order of Time, but as the greatest Liar. *Megasthenes*, who was employed in an Embassy to *Andracottus* before mentioned, and to other *Indian* Princes; whereas *Daimachus* was sent to his Son *Alistrobades*: These both reported such Things of *India*, as were not to be endured, much less believed; such as that there were Nations that wanted Mouths; others Noses: Some with one Eye; and others with prodigious large Feet: Nay, they talked of *Pygmies* that were not above three Spans high; with Abundance of such-like strange Stories, of which the Reader may find a large Account in *Pliny*. The third Author in this Catalogue is *Onesimus*, who was employed by *Alexander* in Maritime Affairs, who, tho' addicted to Fables, did not go quite so great a Length as the other two. But the Credit of *Nearchus* remains unimpeached, in a great measure: And therefore, as we have his Journal still preserved by *Arrian*, it is requisite, that it should follow, as a Supplement to this Section, and a Specimen of the Journals that were written in this Period of Time; from which the Reader will be able to form a Judgment of their Author's Knowledge and Abilities.

a *Arrian. 2. Curt. Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. Tom. ii.*

b *Lib. ii. p. 70.*

c *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 23.*

SECTION VI.

An Account of the Voyage made by the Fleet of Alexander the Great, under the Command of Nearchus, from the Mouth of the River Indus, up the Persian Gulph, for the Discovery of the Coasts, and their Inhabitants.

[From the Journal of *Nearchus*, preserved by *Arrian*.]

1. The Reasons that render the inserting this Voyage necessary; with some Observations on the Translation of it in Ramusio's Collection, and the Extract published by Purchas.
2. The Design of Alexander in this Expedition explained, and the Manner in which Nearchus came to be intrusted with the Command of it.
3. The Fleet sails from the Mouth of the River Indus, to the Island of Crocala.
4. Continue their Voyage, and are exceedingly distressed by hard Weather.
5. Arrive at the Mouth of the River Tomarus, and disperse the Barbarians that endeavoured to hinder their landing.
6. Remarks made in this Voyage by Nearchus, and a Justification of those Remarks.
7. Oblige them to make a Descent, in order to obtain a Supply of Provisions by Force.
8. That Part of the Persian Coast, inhabited by the Ichthyophagi, i. e. Fish-eaters, accurately described; together with the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants.
9. The Amazement of the Macedonians at the Sight of Whales in those Seas, and the Prudence of Nearchus on that Occasion.
10. Arrive at a Port, within five Days Journey of the King's Camp, to which Nearchus repairs, and is most honourably received by Alexander.
11. Resumes the Command of the Fleet, and prosecutes his Voyage through the Persian Gulph.
12. Brings the Fleet safely to the appointed Rendezvous, and is magnificently rewarded by Alexander for his Diligence.
13. The Sentiments of ancient Writers in respect to this Voyage, and the Character of Nearchus.
14. Remarks, which prove the Necessity and Utility of preserving such ancient Voyages.
15. Some Observations on the State of the Commerce of the Indies within this Period, and on the Manner in which, by the Consequences of this Voyage, it might have been affected.

IT has been before observed, that *Alexander* the Great is considered, in this Work, as a Traveller, as well as a Conqueror. Had he only overturned the *Persian* Empire, and established that of the *Greeks*, he might have merited some Notice in a Collection of this Nature; but we should never have taken the Pains to have followed him so closely in his Travels, or to have examined the Principles of his Policy: But as these were different,

indeed widely different, from those of most great Conquerors, and tended solely to unite the human Species, and to promote and extend the Intercourse of distant and different Parts of the World with each other, it became absolutely necessary to set these Designs, and the Progress he made in them, in the fullest Light possible; the rather, because the best Geographers, the most accurate Historians, and the ablest Philosophers of Antiquity, acknowledge themselves

elves indebted for all of this Part of the World, and the Consequences, the most remarkable the Mouth of the River through the Gulph of the River *Euphrates*.

This Voyage *Nearchus* wrote also a very which, in his own Work in the *Indian* History *Strabo* and *Pliny*; and great Writers of Antiquity Piece of its kind the same Reason, that he inserted it in his Catalogue *Samuel Purchas*; but abridged, mangling those Impertinencies, are filled.

One thing I must say, the ablest Man, but took a Labour of time observed any Order of I apprehend, is of the History Reason, which, I do that I rather chose the in the first Section of adding Voyage to which might have I have favoured the Error we are now in.

We are told by *Arrian*, with so much River *Indus* to the Sea, famous to pursue his Design, and to enter the Gulph the same Writer expounded in this Design, long a Voyage on an immense Difficulties impeded to many Hazards happen, that might sets, and expose himself all things, he most intrust the Command of it, rather than make he informed *Nearchus* an Officer extremely Pan, those on whom endeavoured all of the others through *Lazarus*. Desire of returning to Reason to doubt, that which he forelaw we might be absolutely

Nearchus, touched showed upon this occasion. O King, of the Fleet; and conduct it, and the known Sea be navigable. Man can overcome therein, safe to the refusal to accept this expose one, for who getous an Enterprize has Resolution, he, humanity, and immortality, and immortality in Christ.

The News of their and Sailors, situation; for, well Friends, and how he conceived, that the Difficulties thereof returned their great Alacrity. Vol. I.

debt for almost all the Knowledge they acquired of this Part of the World, to the Expedition of *Alexander*, and the Consequences of that Expedition: Among these, the most remarkable was the Voyage of *Nearchus*, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, along the Coast of *Persia*, through the Gulph of the same Name, to the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

This Voyage *Nearchus* not only conducted in Person, but wrote also a very accurate and distinct Account of it, which, in his own Words, is in a great measure preserved in the *Indian History of Arrian*; is frequently quoted by *Strabo* and *Pliny*; and was indeed considered, by all the great Writers of Antiquity, as the most curious and authentic Piece of its kind that was then extant. It was for the same Reason, that the judicious and industrious *Ramus* inserted it in his Collection; and our voluminous Collector *Samuel Purchas* has an Extract of it in his Work, but abridged, mangled, and interspersed with many of those Imperterencies, with which most of his Relations are filled.

One thing I must observe, even with regard to *Ramus*, the ablest Man, beyond Comparison, that ever undertook a Labour of this Kind; and that is, that he has not observed any Order of Time in his Collections, which, as I apprehend, is of the utmost Importance to the understanding the History of Discoveries: And it was for this Reason, which, I doubt not, the Reader will approve, that I rather chose the hard and laborious Method laid down in the first Section of this Chapter, than the easier Way of adding Voyage to Voyage without any Connection; which might have indeed entertained, but never would have answered the End of Instruction so well as the Track we are now in.

We are told by *Nearchus* himself, that when *Alexander* had, with so much Pains and Labour, sailed down the River *Indus* to the Southern Ocean, he was extremely desirous to pursue his Navigation along the Coasts of *Persia*, and so into the Gulph, through what was then called, as the same Writer expressly tells us, *The Red Sea*; but was check'd in this Design from an Apprehension, that, in so long a Voyage, on an unknown Coast, where many unforeseen Difficulties might be met with, and his Fleet be exposed to many Hazards, some unlucky Accident might happen, that might tarnish the Glory of his former Successes, and expose him to a Reverse of Fortune, which, of all things, he most feared. He therefore determined to intrust the Command of his Fleet to some experienced Officer, rather than make the Expedition in Person: But, as he informed *Nearchus*, he not only found the Choice of such an Officer extremely difficult; but, what gave him most Pain, those on whom he had cast his Eyes for this Service, endeavoured all of them to decline it; some through Fear, others through Laziness, and others again from an earnest Desire of returning to their own Country; which gave him Reason to doubt, that an Expedition, the Consequences of which he forelaw were of the last Importance to his System, might be absolutely overturned.

Nearchus, touch'd with the Concern which *Alexander* shew'd upon this Occasion, frankly offered him his Services. O King, said he, will undertake the Direction of the Fleet; and, if Providence second my Desires, will conduct it, and the Soldiers embark'd thereon, if this unknown Sea be navigable throughout, and the Industry of Man can overcome the Hardships that may be met with therein, safe to the Coast of *Persia*. *Alexander*, at first, refus'd to accept this Offer: told him, he was unwilling to expose one, for whom he had so great a Regard, in so dangerous an Enterprize: But, when he saw *Nearchus* fix'd in his Resolution, he, at last, complied, applauded his Magnanimity, and immediately declared him Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Fleet.

The News of this Choice quieted the Minds of the Soldiers and Sailors, who were to be employ'd in the Expedition; for, well knowing the King's Tenderness for his Friends, and how high *Nearchus* stood in his Esteem, they conceiv'd, that this Voyage would not be attend'd with the Difficulties they had figur'd to themselves; and therefore reluc'd their Spirits, and began to prepare for it with great Alacrity. They were likewise mightily encouraged

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by the Pains the King himself took in sailing down both Channels of the *Ganges*, and by his magnificent Sacrifices to the Gods of the Ocean for their Safety. This sufficiently shews, that what *Alexander* did on this Occasion, proceed'd not from a superstitious Nature, but from a refined Policy; for he well knew, that, to excite and strengthen the Courage of such as are to encounter them, is the same thing as lessening the Dangers to which Men are expos'd.

Nearchus followed in this the Example of his Master; for, as soon as the Season of the Year would permit, that is, in our Author's own Words, when the *Etesian* Winds cease to blow, or, in our Language, when the Monsoon sets in, he weigh'd Anchor on the twentieth of *August*, when *Cephalodorus* was *Arbon* at *Athens*, and in the eleventh Year of *Alexander's* Reign, having first sacrific'd to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and celebrat'd Gymnastic Games. The first Day he sail'd lower towards the Mouth of the *Indus*, to a Place call'd *Stura*, at the Distance of about 100 Stadia, where he remained two Days; the third Day he weigh'd from thence, and proceed'd thirty Stadia down the River, to a Place call'd *Cauwana*, where he observes the Water remained salt, even after the Ebb; which shews in how low a State Navigation was in those Days.

They sail'd thence to *Coreatis*, at the Distance of about twenty Stadia; but here, or at least when they weigh'd from hence, they met with great Difficulties; for, seeing that the Mouth of the River was, in a manner, block'd up with Rocks, the Coast steep, and the Sea running high, they were afraid to make much Way; but, at last, finding the Rocks soft, they cut a Channel five Stadia in Length, through which, with the Assistance of the Tide, the Fleet pass'd safely into the Sea. They then sail'd one hundred and fifty Stadia, and discover'd a sandy Island, call'd *Crocala*; on the Coast of which they remain'd another Day: The Coast opposite to this Island was inhabit'd by the *Arabians*, an *Indian* Nation, so call'd from the River *Arbis*, which, running through their Country, falls into the Sea, dividing their Territories from those of the *Oritans*.

Sailing from *Crocala*, they had on their Right Hand a Mountain call'd *Irus*, and, on their Left, a low marshy Island; which stretching towards the Shore, made a narrow Gulph or Bay. In this Arm of the Sea, they found a very safe and convenient Port; which, because it was large and fair, *Nearchus* thought fit to call *Alexander's* Haven. Against the Mouth of this Haven, at the Distance of about two Stadia, lay an Island, which was call'd *Bibalis*; but all the adjacent Country was comprehended under the Name of *Saugada*: The Island before-mentioned render'd the Port perfectly secure, which was a great Comfort to the *Macedonians*; because the Winds were now exceedingly high and tempestuous. *Nearchus*, that he might secure the Forces under his Command from any Attempts of the *Barbarians*, caus'd the Camp, in which they lay on shore, to be secured by a good Retrenchment, well lined with Stone; and here he lay twenty four Days.

It is very easy to account for this Accident, which happen'd at the Time of the Year when the Monsoon is not thoroughly set in, when there are commonly Storms in these Seas; and it is likewise no difficult Thing to apprehend, how *Nearchus*, and his Seamen, came to be so extremely timorous and cautious; for, in the first place, they were sail'd through Seas absolutely unknown to them; in the next place, the Shape and Size of their Vessels render'd them unfit to live in a rough Sea; and, which was, perhaps, the greatest Inconvenience of all, they had no Stock of Provisions, but depend'd intirely on what they could, from time to time, get on shore: While they lay in this Camp, the Seamen too, abundance of Water-mice, and Oysters of a very large Size, call'd *Solones*, and found the Water, when they attempt'd to drink it, very salt.

The Wind being allay'd, *Nearchus* again weigh'd Anchor; and, having made about sixty Stadia, found himself on a sandy Coast: An Island that lay near it, and was desart, form'd a tolerable Port; the Name of which Island was *Dona*; but no Water being found on the neighbouring Coast, they were forc'd to go to a Meadow at the Distance of about twenty Stadia, where there were good Springs. The next Day, having sail'd till it was Evening, and having

made

made about three hundred Stadia, they anchored, and found Water about eight Stadia distant from the Shore. Thence they sailed to a desert Place, called *Sacala*; and, in their Way, passed over two Rocks, or rather between them, so that the Oars struck against them; and, having sailed three hundred Stadia, they arrived at *Morontobaris*: This they found a large round, deep, and safe Port, the Entrance into which was narrow, and called in the Language of the Country, *Womens Haven*; because the Nation inhabiting the Coast had, in former Times, been governed by a Woman.

Having passed the Rocks, they found themselves now in a wide rolling Sea; having all that Day an Island on the Left, between which and the Continent the Sea made a narrow Strait or Gulph, so that it looked like a Canal cut by Art; they proceeded that Day seventy Stadia. The Shore of this Island appeared covered with tall and thick Trees, which afforded a pleasant Shade. They passed, the next Day, through a narrow Chanel, occasioned by the Ebb; and, after sailing one hundred and twenty Stadia, arrived at the Mouth of the River *Arbis*; where they found a very large and convenient Port, but the Water was so brackish, that they could not drink it: They continued, therefore, their Passage up the River about forty Stadia; and there they came into a Lake; and, having taken in Water, fell down the River again.

The Island that lies before the Port is very large; and on the Coast there are very fine Oysters, and almost every other kind of Fish, in great Plenty, and excellent in their kind. Here ended the Country of the *Arbians*, who are the last of the *Indian Nations*: They inhabit one Side of the Mouth of this River, and the *Oritans* the other: Sailing from the Mouth of the River *Arbis*, and coasting along the Country of the last mentioned People, they came, at last, to *Pagala*, at the Distance of two hundred Stadia, and moored close by a Rock. In the mean time, some of the People went on shore for Water, which being brought on board, they weighed early in the Morning, and made that Day three hundred Stadia, arriving in the Evening at a Place called *Cabana*; they anchored at a good Distance from the Shore, because it was extremely rocky.

In their next Day's Course, having very bad Weather, two of their large Ships foundered, and a lesser Bark was also lost; but, being pretty near the Shore, the People escaped by Swimming. In the middle of the Night they put into *Cocala*, having sailed about two hundred Stadia; and, for fear of farther Accidents, they anchored at a considerable Distance from the Coast.

5. As the Soldiers and Sailors both were extremely fatigued with the Dangers through which they had lately passed, he thought proper to suffer them to go on shore, in order to recover their Strength and Spirits, fortifying his Camp, for fear of the *Barbarians*, with a good Retrenchment. *Leonnatus* was then here, to whom *Alexander* had committed the Care of reducing the *Oritans*, whom he had just defeated in a great Battle, wherein they lost six thousand Men and all their chiefs; and for which service *Leonnatus* afterwards received from his Master a Crown of Gold.

There was likewise in this Neighbourhood a Magazine of Corn, which had been erected by the King's Command; and from whence the Fleet was furnished with ten Days Provisions, the Vessels that had suffered by the late Storms being repaired, and such as were weary of the Voyage left on shore: Their Places were supplied by such of *Leonnatus's* Army as were willing to go in their room; so that the Men being in good Heart, and the Ships in tolerable Condition, they put to Sea with a fair Wind, and proceeded for the Space of five hundred Stadia, when they arrived at the Mouth of a River, called *Tomerus*.

There was a kind of Lake near the Mouth of the River, and on the Coast the People lived in little Huts or Cottages; who, at the Appearance of so unusual a Sight, assembled in great Numbers on the Shore: They were armed with Lances of about nine Feet long, the Heads of which were not of Iron, but hardened in the Fire, and sharpened so as to serve instead of Iron: These they shook at the *Macedonians*; and seemed to threaten and invite them to fight. Of these *Barbarians* six hundred formed

themselves into a kind of regular Body, and seemed to dispose themselves in such a manner, as if they intended to hinder them from coming on shore. *Nearchus*, having considered their Disposition attentively, ordered the Fleet to draw so close to the Land, as that their Javelins might reach the Enemy. He rightly foresaw, that, though the Lances of the *Barbarians* might serve them well enough in a close Fight, yet it was simply impossible they should be able to use them at a Distance, because their Weight rendered them unwieldy, and not at all fit to be thrown. When the Fleet had brought-to at a proper Distance, *Nearchus* directed the lightest-armed Soldiers, and those who could swim best, to hold themselves in Readiness, and, on a Signal given, to throw themselves into the Water; giving them, at the same time, a strict Charge to wait for each other, and not to attempt setting Foot on the Shore, till they were drawn up in order of Battle, three-deep; and then to rush on the Enemy at once with a loud Cry.

The Soldiers in each Ship executed his Orders exactly, threw themselves into the Sea, swam towards the Shore, and, being drawn into a Phalanx, rushed upon the Enemy at once with loud Shouts: At the same Instant, those on board rent the Air with their Acclamations, and threw a large Flight of Darts and Javelins from their Engines. The *Barbarians*, amazed at the Splendor of their Arms, the Suddenness of the Attack, the vast Number of Arrows and other Weapons that fell amongst them, who were half naked, and not in a Condition to resist, fled as fast as they were able. In their Flight many were killed, many taken, and some few escaped to the Mountains. Such of them as were made Captives had not only their Heads, but their Bodies, covered with long Hair, and their Nails prodigiously long and sharp, so that they made use of them to cut Fish, and even soft Wood; such as was harder, they cut with sharp Stones; for they had not the Use of Iron: All the Cloathing they had was a kind of Mantle; made either of the Skins of wild Beasts, or of large Fish. *Nearchus* ordered such of the Ships as had suffered by bad Weather, to be drawn on shore, and refitted. On the sixth Day, he prosecuted his Voyage; and, having sailed three hundred Stadia, came to a Place called *Melana*, which was the last Port in the Country of the *Oritans*: This Nation, in their Habit and Arms, resemble the *Indians*; but differ from them in their Laws, and in their Language. The Length of their Voyage, from the River *Arbis*, was a thousand Stadia; but, in the Whole, about sixteen hundred.

6. In sailing on the Coast of *India*. *Nearchus* observed that the Shadows of the People did not fall one Way; but where the Country ran out into the Southern Ocean, the Shadows fell also Southward; but at Noon there was no Shadow at all. The Stars also, that before appeared very high, were now either scarce seen, or were depressed towards the Earth; and such as had been always conspicuous, were now observed to rise and set. I do not, says *Arrian*, dissent from this, because at *Siene* in *Egypt*, in the Summer Solstice, there is a Place shewn, where the Sun, at Noon, casts no Shadow; and in the Island of *Mera*, at the same time of the Year, there are no Shadows. It is therefore, very probable, that the *Indians*, who live under the same Latitude, should have their Shadows cast the same Way, especially towards the *Indian Ocean*, and where the Country runs out most towards the South.

This Observation of *Arrian's* is very judicious; and the Fact, as it is stated by *Nearchus*, may be very probably true, since that Part of *India* he speaks of, lies immediately under the Tropic of *Cancer*, where, when the Sun is in their Zenith, Bodies cast no Shadow; otherwise their Shadows must fall to the North: But such as live to the South of the Tropic, at that Season of the Year, when the Sun is to the North of them, have their Shadows on the South: It must, however, be allowed, that if *Nearchus* was an Eye-witness, the Mouth of the *Indus* is laid down, even in the best Maps, a little too far to the North; which, I think, is agreeable to some modern Observations: But we shall have Occasion to treat of this Matter more at large, in another Place.

In the mean time, we will proceed with the Voyage before us. Beyond the *Oritans*, within-land, inhabit the

Gedrosians; in passing more People, than in a *Gedrosians* inhabit like the Maritime Coasts that is, the *Sis-esters* weighing Anchor on they sailed 600 Stadia where they found a very The City of *Pafira* in adjacent Country is its Name.

The next Day they a rocky Promontory, Sea, they were obliged ing Wells on the Sho but brackish: That Shore being unsafe.

Calma, at the Distance Morning early, they dored off *Calama*, w with green Fruit upon Stadia from the Sho was very hospitably er Village, who presented Fleth of their Sheep few, and for the sam for in that Country th

The next Day they a Village, at the Dist which was called *Cyfa* they met with some of the Fleet they fled.

on this Coast; but se caught a few Goats, w then doubled a Promt Sea, on the other S Port, where there was large inhabited by Fish *Melana*. Here *Near Arrian* Pilot, who, a promised to carry the from hence to the F and the Sailing much

The Fleet weighed having sailed 750 Stad they proceeded to *Bas Stadia from thence; a trees and Gardens. I of Myrtle, of which made Garlands: And loud Trees cultivat From thence sailing a where they did not in the Night, they c *Cephanta*, at the D likewise was inhabite painful Boats, which manner, with Oars, met with Plenty of V*

In the first Watc tence; and arrived, but the Shore being manted on board the Stadia farther, they upon an Hill, not far it probable, this Cou Sun of *Anaxidatus*, amongst the *Macedon should possess them self refused to part with impracticable, becau On the one hand, he Bread; and, on the leve the Place was n had met with some Sea, not far from the t naturally, it was sed, or, at least, fear*

Cedrosians; in passing thro' whose Country *Alexander* lost more People, than in all his *Indian Expedition* besides. The *Cedrosians* inhabit likewise that Country, within-land, on the Maritime Coasts of which, dwell the *Icthyophagi*, the *Sybarites*, on whose Coasts they failed; and that is, the *Sybarites*, on whose Coasts they failed; and weighing Anchor on the first Day, at the second Watch, where they found a very convenient Harbour for the Fleet. The City of *Pafra* lies 60 Stadia within-land; and the adjacent Country is inhabited by a Nation of the same Name.

The next Day they failed very early; but, meeting with a rocky Promontory, which ran a great Way out into the Sea, they were obliged to sail round it; and, on their sinking Wells on the Shore, they had a great deal of Water, but brackish: That Day they remained at Anchor, the Shore being unsafe. They came the Day following to *Calama*, at the Distance of 200 Stadia; and, sailing the next Morning early, they made that Day 600 Stadia, and anchored off *Calama*, where they found a few Palm-trees, with green Fruit upon them. There lay an Island 100 Stadia from the Shore, called *Carnine*, where *Nearbus* was very hospitably entertained by the Inhabitants of the Village, who presented him with Sheep and Fish. The Flesh of their Sheep had a fishy Taste, like that of Sea-fowl, and for the same Reason, because they feed on Fish; for in that Country they have no Grafs.

The next Day they proceeded 200 Stadia, and found a Village, at the Distance of thirty Stadia from the Shore, which was called *Cyza*, but the Coast is called *Carbis*. Here they met with some small Fishing-boats, but at the Sight of the Fleet they fled. There is no Corn to be met with on this Coast; but some of the People, going on Shore, caught a few Goats, which they brought on board: They then doubted a Promontory, which ran 150 Stadia into the Sea, on the other Side of which they met with a safe Port, where there was great Plenty of Water, and a Village inhabited by Fishermen. The Name of this Port was *Mofarno*. Here *Nearbus* met with one *Hydraces*, a *Gebrifian* Pilot, who, at his Request, sailed with them, and promised to carry them safely to *Carmania*. All the Coast from hence to the *Perfian* Gulph is much better known, and the Sailing much less difficult.

The Fleet weighed from *Mofarno* in the Night; and, having sailed 750 Stadia, arrived at *Balomum*: from whence they proceeded to *Barna*, which lies at the Distance of 400 Stadia from thence; and here they found Plenty of Palm-trees and Gardens. In these Gardens there was Abundance of Myrtle, of which, and of other Flowers, the People made Garlands: And this was the first Place in which they found Trees cultivated, and People who were civilized. From thence sailing 200 Stadia, they came to *Dendrobosia*, where they did not go on Shore. Weighing from hence in the Night, they continued their Voyage to the Port of *Cephanta*, at the Distance of 400 Stadia. This Town likewise was inhabited by Fishermen, who had some small pitiful Boats, which they did not row, after the *Grecian* manner, with Oars, but with Paddles: In this Place they met with Plenty of Water, very good.

In the first Watch of the Night, they weighed from thence; and arrived, after passing 800 Stadia, at *Cyza*; but the Shore being extremely steep and rocky, they remained on board their Ships. Sailing from thence 500 Stadia farther, they arrived off a small Town, standing upon an Hill, not far from the Shore. *Nearbus* thought it probable, this Country was cultivated; and *Archias*, the Son of *Anaxidatus*, a *Pelleian*, a Person of Distinction amongst the *Macedonians*, gave it as his Opinion, that they should possess themselves of the City; for the Inhabitants refused to part with Corn: Yet the taking of it appeared impracticable, because they had not Leisure to besiege it. On the one hand, however, they were in great Want of Bread; and, on the other, they had good Reason to believe the Place was not destitute of Provisions, because they had met with some full Ears of Corn, swimming in the Sea, not far from the Coast. After considering the Matter maturely, it was resolved, that the Fleet should proceed, or, at least, seem to do so; and *Nearbus* having given

Archias necessary Instructions, in his own Ship, cast Anchor before the Town, in order to manage the Business.

He accordingly approaching, as near as he could, to the Town, and speaking to the Citizens on the Walls, in a friendly manner, in order to obtain Refreshments, they brought him some Cakes, made of Fish dried and baked [for these, being the last of the *Icthyophagi*, did not eat their Fish raw, as the rest did]; some Dates, and other Things, which, with them, were esteemed Rarities; which when they had kindly accepted, *Nearbus* desired to see the Town; and, as they did not refuse him, he, and those who were with him, went into it, leaving two Archers at the Gate: Then himself, and two others, with the Interpreters, mounted the Walls on that Side; and having given the Signal to *Archias* that was agreed between them, the State of things was easily understood, as soon as that Signal appeared; and the *Macedonians* immediately ran their Ships close into the Shore, and began to make a Descent: Upon which the Inhabitants took Arms. *Nearbus* then commanded the Interpreters to make Proclamation, that, if they would save their City, they must furnish the Army with Corn. At first, they denied they had any Corn, and endeavoured to force them from the Walls; but *Nearbus*, and his Archers, letting fly among them, they were soon forced to retire; and now, finding that the City was taken, they were forced, as suppliants, to apply to *Nearbus*, and beseech him, that, accepting all the Corn they had, he would be pleased to spare the Place.

Hereupon *Nearbus* gave Orders to *Archias* to secure the Walls and the Gates, himself sending others thro' the City, to see that they fairly brought forth what they had. The People shewed them a great Quantity of Meal, made of dried Fish ground, but very little Bread-corn. After they had taken as much as they thought might serve them, they failed to a Rock, which the Inhabitants called *Bagia*, and held it sacred to the Sun. Weighing from thence, in the middle of the Night, they sailed 1000 Stadia to *Talmena*, a very safe Port, well secured from all Winds. Thence they sailed 400 Stadia to *Canafida*, a deserted City, in the Neighbourhood of which they found a Well, near which grew some wild Palm-trees, the tender Tops of which they cut down, and eat; for they were, by this time, again in great Want of Provisions. All the next Day and Night they continued their Voyage, under the great Inconvenience of perpetual Hunger, being still on a barren Coast, where *Nearbus* would not suffer them to Land, for fear, in this desperate Condition, they might be tempted to desert their Ships.

8. They continued their Voyage, therefore, 750 Stadia to *Canate*; but, finding the Landing difficult, they proceeded still 800 Stadia farther, to a Place called *Troefos*. On this Shore there were some small, pitiful Villages, the Inhabitants of which had quitted their Houses: However, they found in them a little Corn, and some Dates. The People had also left behind them seven Camels, which they immediately killed, and eat. They put to Sea again, by Break of Day; and, having rowed 300 Stadia, they arrived at *Dagafira*, which was inhabited by Shepherds; and, continuing their Voyage the whole Day and Night, without Intermission, after a Run of 1100 Stadia, found themselves clear of the Country of the *Icthyophagi*, but in extreme Want; for, even there, they could not go ashore, because the Coast was rocky and steep.

The Length of this whole Coast, which they had now sailed, was about 10,000 Stadia; and tho' the People are called *Icthyophagi* from their eating Fish, yet they can scarce be called Fishermen, few of them having any Boats, or knowing how to go out, and catch Fish, but taking them on the Strand, as they are left by the Tide: Some of them have Nets, that will extend two Stadia, which are made of the Leaves and Boughs of Palm-trees, wrought in an aukward manner: With these they spread the Shore about the time of Ebb, and so catch a vast Quantity of Fish, of all Sizes. The small ones they eat raw, as soon as they are taken out of the Net; the larger and firmer Fish they dry in the Sun, till they grow perfectly hard, and then grind them into Meal, of which they make Bread: Some of them, likewise, fry this Meal into a sort of Pancakes:

cakes: They feed also what Cattle they have with this sort of Fish-meal; for they have no kind of Grains in all this Country.

There are, likewise, found, upon this Coast, vast Quantities of Crabs, Oysters, and other Shell-fish. The Soil of itself produces Salt, and the People themselves have an Art of making Oil. They build their Houses in this manner: Those who are in the best Condition, make use of the Bones of Whales, that are thrown on shore, instead of Beams; and of the largest Bones they make Doors. The poorer Sort make use of the small Fish-bones, to build their Huts; for the Whales, and other large Fish, which are bred in these outer Seas, are of a much larger Size than in our inner Seas.

9. *Nearcus* likewise tells us, that, sailing from *Cyiza*, about Break of Day, he saw a great deal of Water thrown up out of the Sea to a considerable Height: Being very much struck at this strange Appearance, he inquired of the Pilots, and other knowing Seamen, what it meant; who told him, that the Water was spouted up by Whales; at the Hearing of which his Men were frightened, so that they let the Oars fall out of their Hands. *Nearcus*, however, encouraged them as much as he could, advised them to row towards these Creatures briskly, and as if they were going to an Engagement, making all the Noise they could, both by shouting, and with their Oars.

The Men, returning their Spirits upon this, began, on a Signal given, to row with all their Force; and, as they drew near the Whales, shouted as loud as they were able, sounded their Trumpets, and beat the Water with their Oars with all the Force they had. The Whales, who were just under their Prows, frighted at the Noise, sunk at once, and rose a good Way behind the Ships, blowing up the Water again with prodigious Force. The Seamen, seeing themselves thus unexpectedly delivered from so great a Danger, loudly applauded the Boldness and Dexterity of *Nearcus*.

Sometimes the Whales, running in too near the Shore, are left upon it by the Ebbing of the Tide; and sometimes, being thrown thereon by Storms, their Flesh corrupting by the Heat of the Sun, the Bones are left dry upon the Shore, which these People gather carefully, in order to make use of them in building their Houses. The largest Bones they make use of for Raters; those of the Jaws they convert into Doors, and of the smaller Bones they make their Utensils.

While *Nearcus* and his Fleet were on the Coast of the *Ibthyophagi*, he discovered an Island, which lay at the Distance of about one hundred Stadia from the Continent, which was absolutely uninhabited. This Island, those who dwell on the opposite Coast called *Nesala*, which they believed sacred to the Sun; adding, that it was inaccessible to Mortals; and farther, affirmed, that, in case any Man was to imprudent as to set his Foot upon it, he was never seen more: An Instance of this the Pilots mentioned to *Nearcus*, of a Ship, manned by *Egyptians*, which, for this impious Attempt, had vanished from the Sight of Men. This, however, did not deter *Nearcus* from going in Person, with one of his Ships, to view this Island, or from putting the Reporters of this Fable entirely out of Countenance by landing upon it; which he did. There was also another Fable related of this Island; which was, that a certain Sea-nymph, or Goddess, dwelt there, who inticed Men on shore, and, after criminally conversing with them, changed them into Fish; but the Sun obliged her to quit the Place, and to restore the Men, whom she had thus changed into Fish, to their former Shape.

Some of these *Ibthyophagi* were brought to *Alexander*. These People inhabit the Coast only; but, within-land, inhabit the *Getrisians*, in a Country barren and sandy, where *Alexander* and his Army suffered great Hardships. When the Fleet had quitted this Coast, and were arrived on that of *Carmania*, they were obliged to come to an Anchor without landing, the Coast being so rocky and steep, that they durst not approach it. They sailed from thence, not directly West, but rather West and by North, and so reached that Part of *Carmania* which was a more fruitful and agreeable Country than those they had left, and

abounds in Grains, and where they found fresh Water in Plenty.

10. When they came to *Badis*, on the Coast of *Carmania*, they found all Sorts of Refreshments, except Oil; and, sailing eight hundred Stadia farther, they came upon a desert Coast, where a Promontory appeared, that ran far out into the Sea, and was about a Day's Sail. Such as were acquainted with the Coast, said, it was a Promontory of *Arabia*, called *Macta*, from whence Cinnamon, and other Spices, were sent into *Affria*. While the Fleet lay at Anchor, and had this Promontory in Sight, there arose great Disputes; for *Onesifritus* would have had the Fleet sail thither, to avoid the Hardships and Difficulties they might meet with in the Gulph: But *Nearcus* was of a contrary Opinion, and affirmed, that *Onesifritus* had quite misunderstood the King's Design; for it was not, said he, because *Alexander* could not have safely led the Army intirely by Land, that he put a Part of them on board the Fleet, but because he would have all these Coast, Ports, and Islands, thoroughly examined, and the Gulph likewise sailed through, that it might be known what Cities there were near the Sea, what Countries were fertile, and what desert. He was not therefore for changing their Course now, when they were in a manner at the End of their Labours; and therefore he was not for steering on the Side of the Promontory, for fear it might bring them on a bad Coast, especially as they were not now in want of any thing necessary for continuing their Voyage.

The Opinion of *Nearcus* prevailed; and, in my Judgment, says *Arrian*, it was by following his Advice that the whole Fleet was saved; for the Coast beyond that Promontory was absolutely desert, and afforded no Water. The Fleet therefore, weighing, proceeded seven hundred Stadia along the opposite Coast, which was called *Neoptana*; and, continuing their Voyage early the next Day, after sailing one hundred Stadia more, arrived at the River of *Anamis*. The Name of the Place in which they now were, was called *Harmozia*, since called *Ormuz*, where they found abundance of wild Fruit, and were pretty much at their Ease. There most of the Men went ashore to refresh themselves after all the Hardships they had gone through; and some of them, rambling up and down, met with a Person dressed after the *Grecian* Manner, and who spoke *Greek*; which at once surpris'd and overjoyed them exceedingly: And, upon inquiring who and what he was, the Man answered, that he belonged to *Alexander's* Army, and that the King was encamp'd not far from thence. They presently conducted this Man to *Nearcus*, to whom he told the same Things, and that the King was encamp'd no farther from him than five Days Journey. *Nearcus* also conferred with the President of the Province about the Security of the Fleet, after the taking the proper Measures, for which he agreed to go with him to the King.

The Day following, by that Time it was Sun-rise, *Nearcus* caus'd such of the Ships as were in bad Condition, to be drawn on shore, in order to their being repaired; and, resolving to leave a great Part of the Troops on shore, he took care to fortify the Place with a strong Retrenchment, and a deep Ditch, so that both the Ships and Men, might remain as safe as possible. In the mean time, the President of the Province, knowing that the King was under the utmost Concern for this Fleet, took a short Cut to the Camp, in order to inform him of their safe Arrival. This News was received by *Alexander* with the greatest Joy imaginable, though he could not help doubting the Truth of it: And his Doubt still grew upon him, because some who were sent with Carriages, to meet *Nearcus*, and bring him to Court, returned after they had were a little Way, without finding him; and others who had a greater Respect for him, continuing their Journey, did not return at all: At last, the King losing all Patience, and his Concern being doubled by this short Glimmering of Hope, order'd the President to be committed to safe Custody, for having reported false News.

In the mean time, some of those who had been dispatched to meet and conduct *Nearcus* to Court, actually met with him upon the Road, accompanied by *Arrian*, and five or six more; but they were all to alter'd, both

in their Persons and Knowledge of them; King's Camp, told the for pursuing their Jour *Nearcus*, told him, t were come in Search o Condition they were in, *Nearcus* also thinking them, whether they we ther, that they were t chole under his Comm. *Nearcus*, and the Pe you conduct us to the an Account of the Fleer took them up in the the royal Camp.

Some of the Number come early Mornings to the Camp, and info led, and *Arrian*, with as to the Army and F *Alexander*, from this that *Nearcus* and *Arrian* had in some way Roin, but that, as fo they were, beyond Thoughts of which g of beholding *Nearcus* soon after arriv'd; i know them, they wer kill, and were in fo Nation he had conce embrac'd *Nearcus* ho gratulat'd him on his

At last, moderating the Sight of you *Nearcus*, moderates the Loss of the Fleet; *Nearcus*, catching t plied, the Fleet and A only as M'ssengers of hurt out again into their Safety; and, with Port they were. Ne at the Mouth of the R the Ships to be drawn. Now, by th and by the *Libyan* A more Joy than the c cul'd the President of ha Confinement. T fervation of his Force *Jupiter* the Saviour; l liver from Misfortu Sa-gods: He likew pponous Shews, acc *Arrian* was Chief, Garlands, and with F over, the King said *Arrian*, you shall ne Service: I will imme shall bring the Fleet f out *Nearcus*: To fo in my Desire, and i incline to gratify me but let me rather c brought your Ships f so many and great Charge with which Matter is easy, and i take the Glory of pe

To this *Alexander* again to his Commas was now to travel th Yet it was not witho more reached the Se up Army, and possi and *Pall's* in *Carman* former Governour t Vol. I.

in their Persons and Garbs, that they had not the least Knowledge of them; but, upon their Inquiry about the King's Camp, told them where it was; and were then for pursuing their Journey: *Archieus*, however, turning to *Nearchus*, told him, that he apprehended these People were come in Search of them; and that, considering the Condition they were in, they might not know them; which *Nearchus* also thinking not unlikely, they inquired of them, whether they were going; and he received for Answer, that they were going in Search of *Nearchus*, and to make under his Command: Upon which he replied, I am *Nearchus*, and the Person here with me is *Archieus*; do you conduct us to the Camp, that we may give the King an Account of the Fleet. Upon which they immediately took them up in their Carriages, and returned towards the royal Camp.

Some of the Number, however, being desirous to become early Messengers of such important Tidings, hastened to the Camp, and informed the King, that *Nearchus* himself, and *Archieus*, with five more, were at hand; but that, as to the Army and Fleet, they were able to learn nothing. *Alexander*, from this Account, collected within himself, that *Nearchus* and *Archieus*, with the five Men that attended them, had in some wonderful Manner escaped the general Ruin; but that, as for the rest of his Fleet and Army, they were, beyond Question, lost and destroyed; the Thoughts of which gave him greater Sorrow than the Joy of beholding *Nearchus* and *Archieus* could overcome. They soon after arriv'd; and *Alexander* himself could scarce know them, they were so overgrown with Hair, looked so ill, and were in so bad a Dress, which confirmed the Notion he had conceived of the Loss of the Fleet: He embraced *Nearchus* however, and, with many Tears, congratulated him on his Arrival.

At last, moderating his Transport, he said, It is true, the Sight of you *Nearchus*, and *Archieus*, who return safe and sound, moderates, in some measure, my Concern for the Loss of the Fleet; but tell me, How did they perish? *Nearchus*, catching the Words out of his Mouth, replied, the Fleet and Army are safe, O King; and we come only as Messengers of the good News. Then *Alexander* burst out again into Tears at this unexpected Account of their Safety; and, with much Struggling, demanded in what Part they were. *Nearchus* informed him, that they were at the Mouth of the River *Anamis*; and that he had caused the Ships to be drawn on shore, in order to their being repaired. Now, by the *Grecian Jupiter*, cried the King, and by the *Libyan Ammon*, I swear, this News gives me more Joy than the Conquest of all *Asia*. He likewise caused the President of the Province to be discharged from his Confinement. The King, in Gratitude for the Preservation of his Forces, ordered Sacrifices to be offered to *Jupiter* the Saviour; to *Hercules*, and to *Apollo* the Deliverer from Misfortunes; as also to *Neptune*, and all the Sea-gods: He likewise celebrated new Games, ordered pompous Shews, accompanied with Music; in which *Nearchus* was Chief, all the Army presenting him with Garland, and with Flowers. When these Rejoicings were over, the King said to the Admiral, Henceforward, *Nearchus*, you shall never go on any laborious or dangerous Service: I will immediately appoint another Admiral, who shall bring the Fleet safe to *Susa*. Not so, O King, cried out *Nearchus*: To follow and to serve you in every Degree, is my Desire, and my Duty: But if, for what is past, you incline to gratify me, let not that be done you spoke of; but let me rather continue in my Command, till I have brought your Ships safe to *Susa*; nor, after running through so many and great Hardships in the Execution of the Charge with which you intrusted me, now, when the Matter is easy, and in a manner accomplished, let another take the Glory of performing it out of my Hands.

To this *Alexander* readily assented, and dismissed him again to his Command, with a small Guard, because he was now to travel through a Country inhabited by Friends. Yet it was not without great Difficulty that *Nearchus* once more reached the Sea Coast; for the Barbarians had taken up Arms, and possessed themselves of all the strong Places and Passes in *Carmania*: For the King had caused the former Governor to be put to Death, and *Alepolemus*,

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whom he had appointed his Successor, was not as yet firmly fixed in his Government. Thrice, therefore, in one Day, *Nearchus*, and his Guard, engaged for many different Bodies of Barbarians who attacked them.

At last, however, *Nearchus* safely, though after struggling with many and great Difficulties, reached the Fleet and Army. The first Thing he did on his Arrival, was to sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and to celebrate Games. These divine Rites thus taken care of, the Fleet weighed Anchor, and sailed to a desert barren Island, and thence to another large and well inhabited Island, three hundred Stadia distant from the Port they had left. The Name of the desert Island was *Organa*; that of the last-mentioned Island *Oarabla*: This last was a fine Country, abounding in Corn and Palm trees: It was in Length eight hundred Stadia, and the Governor of it, whose whole Name was *Mazones*, offered, of his own Accord, to accompany *Nearchus*, and to pilot him to *Susa*. In this Island, it is said, they shew the Tomb of *Erythras*, who first governed this Country, and from whom that Part of the Ocean was called the *Erythrean*, or *Red Sea*.

11. They sailed from hence two hundred Stadia, when *Nearchus* thought proper to put in with his Fleet at another Port in the same Island, from whence they had the Sight of another Island, about forty Stadia distant from the great one, which was sacred to *Neptune*, and reported to be inaccessible. They sailed again about Day-break; but the Sea being lower than usual, three of their Ships were left upon the Strand; and it was with great Difficulty that the rest, getting clear of that rocky Coast, once more gained the open Sea. At the Return of the Tide, however, the three Ships before-mentioned floated again, and the next Day rejoined the Fleet. Having continued their Voyage 400 Stadia, they put into a Port in an Island distant 300 Stadia from the Continent. They weighed from thence early in the Morning, and, leaving an uninhabited Island, called *Pylora*, on their Left, they anchored before *Sidones*, a very small City, in want of every thing, except Water and Fish; for Necessity, and the Barrenness of their Country, make them likewise *Ichthyophagi* against their Wills.

Thence, having taken in Water only, they proceeded to *Tarfa*, a Promontory running out into the Sea, distant from the last-mentioned Place 300 Stadia. Thence they sailed 300 Stadia farther, to the Island of *Catea*, which is desert and marshy, reported to be sacred to *Mercury* and *Venus*. Into this Island, every Year, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Coast have a Custom of sending Sheep and Goats, which are dedicated to *Mercury* and *Venus*, and run there wild. This Place belongs to *Carmania*; and from hence the Province of *Persia Proper* begins. The whole Length of the Coast of *Carmania* is 3800 Stadia; the *Carmanians* resembling in their Manners and Customs, the *Persians* their near Neighbours; are armed in the same way, and make use of the same Methods in carrying on their Wars.

The Fleet, sailing from hence, came to *Ilan*, on the Coast of *Persia*, before which Port there lies a small barren Island, called *Caicandus*: To reach this Port, they sailed 400 Stadia from their former Station. Early the next Morning they weighed Anchor, and proceeded to another Island, well inhabited, and on the Coast of which, as well as in the *Indian Sea*, *Nearchus* affirms, that they fish for Pearl. Having doubled a Promontory upon this Island, by sailing about forty Stadia, they anchored on the other Side. They proceeded next to a certain high Mountain, called *Oebus*, where they found a very safe and commodious Port, in which they anchored, the adjacent Coast being well inhabited by Fishermen. Weighing from hence, after a Passage of 450 Stadia, they came to *Apostanos*, where they found abundance of Ships in the Harbour, the Town lying about sixty Stadia from the Sea. Thence they sailed, in the Night, to a Bay, adorned with abundance of beautiful Villages on its Shore; and, after coasting 400 Stadia, they came to an Anchor at the Foot of an high Mountain, covered with Palm, and other Fruit-trees, common in *Greece*. Sailing from thence, they passed along a well inhabited Coast, called *G-gana*, for the Space of 600 Stadia, the Fleet anchoring at the Mouth of a

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certain

certain River, or rather Torrent, called *Arcan*, in a very inconvenient Place, the Bottom being soft, and unfit for Anchorage, and the Mouth of the River very narrow.

They sailed from thence to another River, called *Sitacus*, distant 800 Stadia; but here likewise they found very indifferent Anchorage; and, indeed, *Nearchus* complains, that the whole Coast of *Persia* is very indifferent, being in some Places intolerably stony, and in others a loose Slime, to a great Depth. Here they took in a great Quantity of Corn, the King having directed considerable Magazines to be raised there for the Use of the Army and the Fleet. They remained here twenty one Days in the Whole, refitting such Ships as were in a bad Condition, and rebuilding others. Sailing from thence, after a Passage of 750 Stadia, they came to a well-built and well-inhabited City, called *Hieratis*; and anchored in a Port, made by Art, called *Hieratomis*.

The next Day they weighed, as soon as it was Light, and continued their Voyage to the Mouth of a Torrent called *Padargus*. The Whole of this Country is a Peninsula, laid out in regular Plantations of Fruit-trees, of all Kinds; and the Name of this Peninsula is *Mesambria*. Sailing from *Mesambria*, after a Voyage of two hundred Stadia, or thereabouts, they arrived at *Taoce*, on the River *Granidis*. About two hundred Stadia within-land, from the Mouth of this River, stands the Capital of *Persia*. In this Navigation, *Nearchus* informs us, they met with a dead Whale thrown upon the Shore, which some of his Sailors had the Curiosity to measure, and found it fifty-five Cubits long: On the Skin of which they found Oysters, and other Shell-fish sticking, as also Sea-weed. They likewise saw many Dolphins upon this Coast, which were of a much larger Size than those in our Seas.

12. They proceeded thence two hundred Stadia, to the Mouth of the River *Rogons*, where they found a very convenient and safe Harbour, at the Distance of two hundred Stadia from their former Station. Sailing from hence four hundred Stadia, they came to the Mouth of another River, called *Irizania*. Here they found the Coast very unfit for Anchorage; and, for want of a proper Acquaintance with the Tides, some of their Vessels were left ashore at the Ebb, but were easily got off again at the time of Flood, and continued their Voyage to the Mouth of the River *Susis*, where they came to an Anchor. Thus, *Nearchus* assures us, was the largest of all the Rivers that ran into this Sea. It was also the Boundary of the Province of *Persia Proper*; the *Susians* inhabiting on the other Side. Amongst these last-mentioned People, there were a free Nation, called the *Uxians*, which inhabited the Mountains, and committed frequent Robberies on such as dwelt in the flat Country.

The whole Extent of the *Persian* Coast reaches four thousand four hundred Stadia. This Province is divided, as the Inhabitants report, into three Parts, which differ from each other in Soil and Climate. That Part of it which lies along the *Red Sea*, is sandy and barren, arising from the excessive Heat; but the Country that lies more to the North, enjoys a temperate and pleasant Climate; the Soil exceedingly fruitful, affording fresh and beautiful Meadows, that are very well watered, abounding with Vines, and all kind of Fruit-trees, except Olives. In this Country there are very fine Gardens, watered by Streams, exquisitely clear and pleasant; on the Banks of which are all kinds of Fowl; and Horses, and other Cattle, are found here in Abundance; and some Part of the Country also is woody, and very fit for Hunting. The most Northern Part of *Persia* is very cold, and the Snows lie long upon the Mountains. *Nearchus* tells us, that some Ambassadors from the Borders of the *Euxine* Sea coming, in a short Space of Time, to *Alexander* in *Persia*, he was, at first, much surpris'd, till they explained to him how the Country lay, and that the Distance was not so great as he had hitherto imagined.

As the *Uxians* before mentioned inhabit the Country of the *Susians*, to the *Mardians*, another thievish Nation, are settled in the Mountains of *Persia*; and the *Cesians*, who likewise practise the same villainous Trade, inhabit among the *Medes*. This last-mentioned Nation *Alexander*, this Winter, contrary to all Expectation, subdued; built Cities in their Country, and oblig'd such as inhabited them,

to apply themselves to Agriculture, and other honest Professions, that they might live comfortably themselves, and not be any longer terrible, or troublesome to their Neighbours.

From hence, *Nearchus* tells us, he is not able to write any thing with Certainty, except as to the Ports they met with, and the Length of their Navigation, because all that Coast is extremely foul, and rocky: So that there is no entering its Ports, but with the utmost Danger. When, therefore, they sailed from the Mouth of this River, which is the last in *Persia Proper*, they took care to furnish themselves with Water for five Days, their Pilots having informed them, that the Coast along which they were next to sail, was absolutely dry and barren. When they had sailed five hundred Stadia, they came to an Anchor at the Mouth, or rather Fall, of a certain Lake, abounding with Fish, which was called *Cataderbis*. There lay immediately before this Port, a small Island, called *Margallana*. Weighing from thence early in the Morning, they continued their Course through a Chanel so narrow, that they were forced to sail in a Line. This Chanel was marked with Stakes set upright in it, as in the Isthmus between the *Leucedian* Islands, and the Coast of *Acarmania*; there are the like Signals, or Beacons, to prevent the Ship from running upon the Shoals. There is, however, the Difference between these Coasts, that the Shoals, in the Neighbourhood of those Islands, are all of them sandy; to the whatever Vessels run ashore, they are sure to float again at the Return of the Tide; whereas here the Mud is so thick and deep, that Vessels left upon it are sure to be lost, sinking by their own Weight, beyond the Possibility of weighing them; besides, that it is impossible to reach any Vessel in such a Situation, in order to use the proper Means for getting it out. Through this difficult Chanel, and by so hazardous a Navigation, they row'd for 600 Stadia, without being able to find any Port into which they could put, with Safety; and therefore they were oblig'd to take what Refreshment they could, on board their Ships.

All that Night they continued their Course, and at the next Day, till it was Evening, having made, in that time, nine hundred Stadia; arriving then at the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, and at a Port in the Province of *Babylonia*, called *Deridatus*, where there is a great Trade carried on in Frankincense, and other Aromatics brought thither from *Arabia Babylonica*, according to the Computation of *Nearchus*, stands at the Distance of three thousand three hundred Stadia from the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

While they were here, they received an Express from *Alexander*, who was arriv'd at *Susa*; upon which, *Nearchus* steered back to and then up the River *Pasitigris*, that he might the more easily reach the King's Army. When they weighed, they had the Country of the *Susians* on their Left; and, proceeding in their Voyage, arriv'd at a Lake, into which runs the River *Tigris*, which rising in *Armenia*, passes by the City of *Ninus*, heretofore a great and flourishing Place, and rolls on through the Country, which, because it lies between it, and the *Euphrates*, is called *Mesopotamia*, i. e. Between Rivers. From this Lake to the River itself, the Distance is about six hundred Stadia; and near it stands a Town of the *Susians*, called *Ayres*, from whence the City of *Susa* is distant five hundred Stadia. The whole maritime Coast of this Country, to the Mouth of the *Pasitigris*, extends about two thousand Stadia.

Then sailing along a pleasant and fruitful Coast, for the Space of one hundred and fifty Stadia, they came to an Anchor, in order to wait the Return of the Messengers sent by *Nearchus*, to learn where the King then was. This Day they sacrific'd to all the fixing Powers; celebrated Games; and the whole Fleet indulg'd themselves in every Method they could devise, that might express their Joy. But afterwards, being inform'd, that *Alexander* was approaching with his Army, they again resumed their Voyage, and arriv'd at the Bridge, which, by the King's Command, had been lately built over the River, for the Convenience of marching his Army to *Susa*. Here both Armies joined, and *Alexander*, as well in regard to the Victories gain'd by his Land forces, as in Gratitude for the Success and Safety of his Fleet, and those on board it,

offer'd magnificent Sacrifices, rejoicing in the Camp, the Soldiers, the Flowers, the young, and by way of *Leontius*, by preference to the former, on account of the latter, him over the *Oritian* their Neighbourhood. Account of the Manner of his late to *Alexander*.

Here, properly speaking, it is preferred by *Alexander* the Great, commended both by Elegance, and excellent strict Regard to the *Indian* History is he professes to have Circumspection, the as, as well as those

As to the first of *Alexander* Captain of the *Indies* History, *Arrian* on account of his caution, on account of his fabulous Writer: *Alexander* to take notice of, that *Clearchus* all the rest of *Asia*: counted it to be no more, this, however, there *run* himself is misall have been in the right moirs he collected probably the whole Cont to the Sea of *Japan* could only speak of from *Alexander's* Expedition Account given by well reconciled to contradicting, appear each other. This is down Authors at ration under a heavy for the Destruction of the *Cale* of *Oncostorus* *gastrius* was still therefore borrows from has given us the *Indus* Length, and, as near of his Credit, we should rather. At present the Author who has antiquity; I mean *Arrian* and on whose Credit

He was a Man of great Learning, a Native of *Carthage*, who flourished under the Macedonian made Governor of *Cyrene*, as appears of his Commentaries wrote also, besides *Arrian* the Great, a which there are now valued likewise historical *Arrian* and *Arrian*, as the former; but the was supposed to be, *Arrian*, it was distinguished as the eighth century; reality, this *India* is: for whoever is has read the Works *Arrian*, that the *Indians* and that the *Expedit*

offered magnificent Sacrifices, and celebrated Games. During these Rejoicings, where-ever *Nearchus* went through the Camp, the Soldiers covered him with Garlands and Flowers.

Alexander himself also, as a Mark of his Favour, and by way of Distinction, honoured *Nearchus*, and *Leontatus*, by presenting to each of them a gold Crown; to the former, on account of his good Service on board the Fleet; to the latter, by reason of the Victory obtained by him over the *Oritans*, and other barbarous Nations, in their Neighbourhood. Thus the Reader has received a full Account of the Manner, in which his Fleet and Army returned safe to *Alexander*, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*.

Here, properly speaking, ends the Voyage of *Nearchus*, as it is prelerbed by *Arrian*, in his *Indian History*; which serves as an Appendix to his noble Memoirs of the Life of *Alexander* the Great. A Work highly and very justly commended both by antient and modern Writers, for its Elegance, and excellent Method; but more especially for the strict Regard the Author every-where pays to Truth. His *Indian History* is written with the like Care; in which he professes to have read, with the utmost Diligence and Circumspection, the Works of *Onesiferitus*, and *Magasthenes*, as well as those of *Nearchus*.

As to the first of these, I mean *Onesiferitus*, he was the Captain of *Alexander's* own Ship, and wrote a large Account of the *Indus*; from which, in the Beginning of his History, *Arrian* has taken many Things, but with great Caution, on account of the bad Character he had, as a fabulous Writer: And here, by the way, it may not be amiss to take notice of one of *Arrian's* Observations: He says, that *Ctesias* the *Cnidian* asserted *India* to be as big as all the rest of *Asia*: In which he err'd; for *Onesiferitus* accounted it to be no more than the third Part of *Asia*. In this, however, there is good Reason to believe, that *Arrian* himself is mistaken; for both of his Authors might have been in the right. *Ctesias*, who wrote from the Memoirs he collected in the *Persian* Court, meant very probably the whole Continent of *India*, from the River *Indus* to the Sea of *Japan*; and, on the other hand, *Onesiferitus* could only speak of that Part of *India*, which was known from *Alexander's* Expedition: And, taken in this Sense, the Account given by each of these Authors, may be pretty well reconciled to Truth; and their Opinions, instead of contradicting, appear, thus considered, very agreeable to each other. This shews how unsafe a Thing it is to run down Authors at random; and, by burying their Reputation under a heavy Load of Censure, to pave the Way for the Destruction also of their Works, as has happened in the Case of *Onesiferitus*, and many other Authors. But *Magasthenes* was still lower in the Esteem of *Arrian*, who therefore borrows from him but sparingly; whereas he has given us the *Indian* Expedition, by *Nearchus*, at full Length, and, as near as might be, in his own Words: But of his Credit, we shall have an Opportunity to say more hereafter. At present, therefore, let us confine ourselves to the Author who has preserved this noble Fragment of Antiquity; I mean *Arrian*, whom we have to often quoted, and on whose Credit this Part of our Work must depend.

He was a Man of distinguished Quality, as well as excellent Learning, a Native of the City of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, flourished under the Emperor *Adrian*, and was by him made Governor of *Cappadocia*: He was an excellent Philosopher, as appears by the four Books, that are still left of his Commentaries upon the Works of *Epictetus*: He wrote also, besides his Memoirs of the Life of *Alexander* the Great, a large History of the *Parthians*; of which there are now only a few Fragments left: He published likewise historical Collections in relation to the *Bithynians* and *Alans*, as we are informed by *Pbotius*, who cites the former; but these are now lost, as the *Indian* History was supposed to be, till, by the Industry of some learned Critics, it was discovered, that what had been long regarded as the eighth Book of the Life of *Alexander*, was, in reality, this *Indian* History: And so, undoubtedly, it is: for whoever is acquainted with antient Authors, and has read the Works of *Xenophon* and *Arrian*, will easily discern, that the former served for a Model to the latter; and that the Expedition of *Alexander* (for so *Arrian* mu-

deftly intitles his History) was, in reality, a Copy of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, written by *Xenophon*; and, for that very Reason, divided into no more than seven Books.

But as his *Indian* History had so near a Relation to that Work, it was joined to it as a Supplement; and, at last, through the Ignorance of Transcribers, came to be reckoned a Part of it, and was called the eighth Book, directly contrary to the Intention of its Author, as appears, both from the Beginning, and the End of it. He wrote also, in ten Books, the History of what followed after the Death of *Alexander*, which, to the irreparable Damage of the learned World, have wholly perished. We have, however, still remaining a *Periplus*, or Description of the *Euxine* Sea, addressed to the Emperor *Adrian*, which the learned *Mr. Dodwell*, with great Probability, conjectures to have been written about the Year of *Christ* 137. There is also a *Periplus* of the *Red Sea*, which goes under his Name, and, as a Work of his, has been translated by the learned *Battista Ramusio*, and inserted in his excellent Collection.

Yet many great Critics have been of Opinion, that it was none of his, but belonged to an Author of great Antiquity. *Mr. Dodwell* has very fully proved the former, and denies the latter with good Reason, having shewn as clearly, as a thing of that Nature can be shewn, that the Author of that Work lived much later than *Arrian*. It may not be amiss to add one Observation more, before we quit this Subject; which is, that we have given a Place here to the Voyage of *Nearchus*, as it is taken from his own Work; for, otherwise, it must have come in later; and this naturally leads us to say something more as to the Character of this original Author.

Nearchus, the Son of *Androtimus* a *Cretan*, attended *Alexander* in his *Indian* Expedition, and behaved with so much Fidelity, giving at the same time, such Instances of his Capacity, that when *Alexander* settled the Embarkation of his Forces, and appointed *Onesiferitus* Commander of his own Vessel, he made *Nearchus* his Admiral, and *Euagoras*, the Son of *Euclion* a *Corinthian*, Secretary to the Fleet. There is very great Reason to believe *Nearchus* had been the King's old Servant, since it appears, that before the *Asian* Expedition, he was settled at *Ampipolis*, on the River *Strymon*, one of the most considerable Places in the *Macedonian* Dominions; where, very probably, he had been employed in the Sea-service; otherwise one can hardly suppose, that *Alexander* should give him the Command of his Fleet.

How well he performed that Service, the Reader is able to judge from his own Relation; and, that he might be able to judge of it, was one great Reason of our giving it a Place here. That his Master was extremely well satisfied with his Conduct, appears not only from the Praises and Rewards he bestowed upon him, but also from his listening to this very Journal, in the very last Moments of his Life. After the Decease of *Alexander*, when the Provinces of his great Empire were divided, he had *Lycia* and *Pamphylia* assigned him.

It is not very clear what other Books he wrote; but as to this Journal, it is very evident, that it was composed immediately after his Return from the Voyage, and while things were fresh in his Memory: Neither does it to me appear probable, in the least, that he should either attempt or desire to impose upon *Alexander*, who does not seem to have sought Entertainment from such Expeditions so much as Instruction. It is true, that *Strabo* sometimes questions the Credit of our Author, and has even treated this Journal with some Severity, particularly with regard to what is related of the Whales, which to him appears incredible; but I doubt very much, whether it will appear in that Light to such as Experience has rendered better Judges, since it is very certain, that there are Whales in these Seas, and that the Size he speaks of is far from being extraordinary. Another Observation of *Strabo's* is, that *Nearchus* was rather terrified with his own Fears, than with real Dangers; to which it may be answered, that, as those Seas were then unknown, the Coast extremely bad, and the Vessels, of which the Fleet was composed, very indifferent, there is nothing astonishing in what our Author says of his Apprehensions. In respect to what other Authors

thers have cited from him that is manifestly fabulous, they ought not to prejudice his Authority in our Opinion, because the Books are now extant, from which they cite them; and therefore, it is impossible for us to judge with what View he wrote, or in what Manner he told them. On the Whole, the Advantage of reading so curious an History, in the Words of its original Author, is certainly very considerable, and may very well justify both my Pains, and the Reader's Patience; and I make no manner of Doubt, that the Navigation of *Alexander's* Admiral will afford as great Pleasure to the intelligent Peruser, as the Adventures of any modern Traveller whatever.

Besides, he gives the *English* Reader an Opportunity of judging of the Credit and Value of this Performance, the only one of its kind that is preserved intire; which he could not have done from any Extract whatever, much less from the very lame one of *Purchas*, which is as dry and insipid as the Voyage of *Nearchus* is curious and entertaining. After these Reflections. I hope it will not be amiss to add two short Observations on the Behalf of our Author: The first is, that some Writers, who cite him, such as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, are remarkably fond of Fables; and, therefore, it is very possible they may relate from him Stories that he did not believe, any more than the Tale of the Island of the Sun, for the very inserting of which, in his History, he is censured by *Arrian*. On the other hand, there are some Authors so fond of criticizing, that they frequently condemn what they do not understand; and, without doubt, the Geography of the Antients was so imperfect, that even the best Writers amongst them were very indifferent Judges of what might be true or false in such Relations.

14. It is not only our Curiosity that is gratified by the Reading of such antient Voyages as these, but they add likewise very much to our Knowledge, and particularly to that sort of Knowledge which is, or ought to be, most sought for, in Collections of this kind. We learn, for Instance, from this Voyage of *Nearchus*, the true State and Condition of maritime Affairs at that time. We plainly discern, that their Vessels drew very little Water, that they were managed chiefly by Oars, that they neither carried, nor were capable of carrying, any considerable Quantity of Provisions, but that they trusted chiefly for these, either to Magazines erected on shore, or, where these were wanting, to what they could obtain by making Descents. We learn from hence, what Services these Vessels were fit for, and for what they were unfit, and, in short, what they could, and what they could not, perform; and from hence we are enabled to form a true Judgment of the Conduct of their Commanders. It is certain, that this seven Months Voyage was in itself no great Affair, and might have been performed with Ease in the very worst sort of Ships that are now in Use: But when, from this particular Account, we become perfectly acquainted with the manner in which it was performed, we cannot be surpris'd, either at the Concern that *Alexander* was under about the Success of this Expedition, or the Apprehensions of *Nearchus*, since both of them were very rational.

In regard to *Alexander*, it is apparent, that he had but a very dark and confused Idea of the Nature of this Voyage, when he thought of sending his Fleet this Way into the *Persian* Gulph. He judg'd, agreeable to Truth and good Sense, that such a Passage there was, and that it might be practicable; but it was impossible for him, or any Man, to foresee the Dangers with which it might be attended; since it is plain, that if any great Part of these Coasts had been either absolutely uninhabited, or if the Inhabitants had been numerous and hardy enough to have prevented his People from landing, they must have perished; and the same thing might have happened, if they had met with very high Winds; or, for a long Space of time, a rocky and impracticable Shore, as appears from the Difficulties of that kind with which they actually encountered: And of this *Alexander* himself was to sensible, that, upon the News of *Nearchus* and *Archibius's* coming to meet him in *Carmania*, he took it for granted, that the Fleet had perished, and that these People had luckily made their Escape. But then, in the midst of these Inconveniences, we must allow, that, with regard to surveying

a Coast, and performing what *Alexander* expected to be performed, his Fleet was every way sufficient, under the Care of so prudent and experienced an Officer as *Nearchus*, who, in the first place, took care to be perfectly acquainted with his Master's Design, and then spared no Pains to accomplish it intirely. It was for this Reason that he so often landed his Troops, that he might be the better acquainted with the Country on the Coast of which he sailed, and be the more able to answer any Questions that *Alexander* might ask about it.

At the same time that he did this, he took all the Precautions possible, by fortifying his Camps on shore, to secure his People from the Effects of their own Indiscretions, or the bold Attempts of the Barbarians. We learn from hence another Advantage that these People had; which arose from every Man's being both a Soldier, and a Seaman, and from the Capacity of their Officers to act with equal Abilities on board, and on shore; all which were of the utmost Consequence in an Expedition of this Nature. There could no Comparison be made, no true Judgment formed, of the Merit of the famous Men who are mentioned in those Days, if we were ignorant of these Circumstances. We must, in that Case, certainly, either let them too high, or too low, in our Esteem; whereas we have it now in our Power to frame as true Notions of their Behaviour, as if they lived in or very near our own Times.

We can likewise judge exactly of their Deficiencies, and our own Advantages; we can account in our own Minds for the small Progress that was made for so many Ages in Discoveries and Navigation, at the same time that we read of so many and so great Fleets; because we are perfectly convinc'd, that, though their Ships might serve indifferently for fighting, and be capable enough of waiting Troops backwards and forwards, from one Coast to another, yet they were absolutely unfit for long Voyages, and even, in point of Trade, could do very little in Comparison of ours; because even their largest Ships were of little Burden. It helps us likewise to account for another thing, that might otherwise seem very surpris'ing; I mean the Number of Ships, that antient Historians tell us, were either built or drawn together, in very short Spaces of Time, for the Execution of sudden Expeditions: For when we are satisfied, that in those Days they call'd such Vessels Ships as were not much better than our Long-Boats, the Wonder ceases. Nay, when it is farther laid, that such Fleets actually performed great Services, we are able to understand that too; for where the Force on each Side is the same, the Event will be determin'd in Disputes between them, in the same manner as it would be, if the Force on each Side was to be increased in equal Proportions. Such are the Advantages that result from the perusing of this Voyage: It remains to connect this Section with the next, to shew what Benefits they were that *Alexander* propos'd therefrom.

15. The Concern shewn by *Alexander* for this Voyage, and the Success of it, is, generally speaking, related to his Vanity, or his Ambition: Yet, if one considers attentively, it is easy to perceive, that there must have been some other Motive. He told *Nearchus*, when he first talk'd to him of the Expedition, that he would have undertaken it himself, but for certain Reasons; one of which was, that he thought it extremely hazardous; and was apprehensive, if it miscarried, that it might be fatal to his Glory. This was reasonable enough; but it does not by any means prove, that his Vanity only led him to this Expedition. The contrary is very evident: He conceiv'd, that his Navigation along the Coast might be useful to himself; but he bestow'd all the Honour of it where it was due; that is, on his Admiral: But it was an usual Thing with him, to conceal his true Designs, under the specious Cover of aiming at a superior Degree of Reputation; and alleging no other Reason, even for the most hazardous Attempts, than that they were for his Glory. But if we look closely into his Conduct, we shall find, that his ruling Maxim was the Care of keeping what he got; and this, he knew, could not be done but by a Maritime Force. It is true, that he establish'd Colonies and Garrisons, from the Rivers that run into the *Caspian* Sea, to the very Mouth of the *Indus*: But he easily foresaw, that to secure those Gar-

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have a Fleet: And
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visions, and to awe so vast a Country, it was necessary to have a Fleet: And he likewise very well knew, that he could make no Use of this Fleet, without being perfectly acquainted with the Coast upon which it was to act. And this was the sole substantial Reason, why he made such a Point of this Expedition. Most of the Historians, and even *Arian* himself, suggests that he made that ruinous March through *Gedrosia*, that he might surpass *Semiramis* and *Cyrus*: But I think they were mistaken; and that the true Cause of his marching through that Country was, that he might not be at too great a Distance from his Fleet. It must at least, be allowed, that this was a better Reason, and the Care he took in sending Provisions to the Coast, as soon as he had any, is, I think, a clear Proof, that this was his Reason. I do not depend, however, on that alone, but on a Multitude of Circumstances, that, when collected together, and coolly considered, put it beyond Dispute. He was no sooner informed by *Nearchus*, of the Discoveries he had made, than he immediately took the necessary Measures for having a potent Fleet in the *Indian Ocean*. It was for this Reason, that he ordered a great Number of Ships to be built by the *Phenicians*, and brought by Land to *Thapracus*. This was a City that stood on the River of *Euphrates*; from whence they were to fall down to *Babylon*, where he likewise caused a Haven to be made for their Reception, and went in Person from that City, down the *Palocopa*, that he might see every thing disposed, for rendering their Passage safe and easy, into the *Perjan Gulph*. At the same time, he projected the Circum-navigating of *Arabia*; and, very probably, the first Service he intended to have put this Fleet upon, was the sailing round into the *Arabian Gulph*, while he marched with an Army by Land, from *Cbaldea* into that Country. When he had subdued *Arabia*, he might, and certainly would, have transferred all the Trade of that Country, and of the *EghIndies*, to this new City of *Alexandria*: And it appears also, that he had taken the most effectual Measures for making it the Centre, also of the *African Trade*. This Scheme of his was afterwards pursued, and, in some measure, perfected, by the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*. So much at present for this Part of his Project: Let us turn our Eyes now to some other of his Designs. There was actually preparing, at the Time of his Death, a large Fleet, which was to have been employed in the *Hyrcanian*, or *Caspian Sea*; and there needs but a little Attention to discern, that when he had perfected these two Designs, all that vast Country which he had subdued would have been effectually in his Power, because those Provinces are bounded on the South by one Sea, and on the North by the other. But this was not all: He had formed another Design, which would have united them to his other Dominions; for he was extremely inquisitive as to the *Pontus Euxinus*; or *Euxine Sea*; and in Time would have had a Fleet there too: So that we need but cast our Eyes upon any Map of

these Countries, to be satisfied, that he had framed and digested, in his own Mind, the easiest and most probable Method for maintaining all his Conquests. We can hence, also, perfectly well account for his being so suddenly charmed with the Situation of *Babylon*, the City in the World the best seated for becoming the Head of such an Empire. It is true, that they are vast and prodigious Designs; but then we are to consider, that they were the Designs of a Man, who had made himself Lord of the best Part of the known World, before he was Thirty; which puts me in mind of what *Lorenzo Gracian*, a *Spanish* Writer, tells us of this Conqueror, 'The Heart of *Alexander*, says he, was an Arch-Heart, in a Corner of which the World lay, and left Room for many more.' It is a bold and extravagant Thought; but it is not easy to avoid Sentiments of this Sort, when one has long and attentively considered the Actions of this Man. After all, tho' his Empire perished with himself, or, at least, was split into a Multitude of Pieces, soon after he expired; tho' he did not live to perfect his Schemes; and tho' hardly any of his Successors understood them; yet it has so fallen out, that from the Wisdom he shewed in contriving, and the right Methods he took for perfecting them, all the Projects of Trade, and all the Discoveries that have been made since, are, in Truth, owing: For the *Ptolemies* first fixed the *Indian Trade* to *Alexandria*; the *Romans*, when they became Masters of *Egypt*, pursued it the same Way; when the Subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire found a Way to come at a Part of this Trade, by the *Euxine*, or, as we now call it, the *Black Sea*, it was no more than a Branch of one of his Projects; and the same thing may be said of the new Trade by *Astracan*. It is true, indeed, that he knew of no such Place; but it is as true, that he meditated a Design for establishing a Commerce, by the means of the *Caspian Sea*, with the Northern Part of the *Indies*, thro' the Country of the *Ubeck Tartars*, whose Capital *Samarcand*, how little soever known to us, was once his Winter Quarters. All this will be more plainly made out in the Sequel of this Work: In the mean time, what has been already said, will sufficiently shew, that as the Study of History answers many other Purposes, so it may be made to answer the noble Purpose of promoting extensive Commerce, which is the greatest Benefit that can accrue to Mankind. This, I think, is a sufficient Apology for the Pains I have taken to explain and vindicate the Character of this great Prince: For, sure it cannot be better vindicated, than by shewing, that, in the midst of his Conquests and Victories, he did not, as some Writers would persuade us he did, forget that he was a Man; but, on the contrary, kept constantly in View a Character much superior to that of the Conqueror of the World; I mean that of being a Friend and Father to Mankind; a Title which, whoever will weigh the Nature and End of all his Designs, can never see any Reason to refuse him.

SECTION VII.

The History of the Selucidæ, Kings of Syria, who were the immediate Possessors of Alexander's Indian Conquests.

1. The Disturbances which happened on Alexander's Death, and the Division of his Empire.
2. The Establishment of Seleucus Nicator, in Syria, and the Rise of a new Monarchy in India, under Sandracottus.
3. The absolute Loss of the Indian Provinces, and the new Policy of the Syrian Princes.
4. Of the Successors of Seleucus, and the Declension of their Affairs in the East.
5. The Attempt made by Antiochus the Great to recover India, and his Treaty with Saphagafenus.
6. A View of the probable Causes of this ill Management, in the Monarchs of Syria.
7. The Wisdom and Magnanimity of the Indian Princes, and the Manner in which they preserved the Correspondence, after throwing off the Dominion, of the Greeks.

THE Death of *Alexander* was succeeded, as he foresaw it would, by Seditions among his principal Commanders; and, in consequence of that, the Division of his Dominions; in sharing of which they were so much taken up, that for several Days his Body lay neglected. At last it was agreed they should be

parted, in the following manner: *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus* had *Thrace*, and the adjacent Countries; *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Arabia*, and *Cale-Syria*; and *Seleucus* all the rest.

* *Diodor. Stral. lib. xviii. Arian, lib. vii. Strabo, lib. xv. Justin. lib. xiii. Ptolemaic, in Alexandria.*

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By this Division, all the Schemes of *Alexander* were totally defeated; for every one minding his own Interest, there soon arose four Kingdoms out of *Alexander's* Empire: So that, tho' the Dominions of the *Greeks* subsisted, yet the Form of his Monarchy, was lost within seventeen Years after his Decease, and there was only an empty Form of it preserved during that Space: For tho' these great Officers contented themselves, during that Time, with the modest Name of Governors, yet they had, in effect, as much the Power of Kings, as after they assumed the Title.

It is not my Business to pursue their History farther than it concerns my Subject: And therefore, I am first to speak of *Seleucus*, within whose Division the *Indian* Provinces lay; and then I am to shew by what means *Ptolemy*, and his Successors in *Egypt*, transferred the Trade of the *Indies* intirely to their own Dominions, by pursuing a Part of that vast Plan which *Alexander* had laid down, when he proposed the Limits of the World to become those of his Empire: And this will at once answer the End of this, and the next Section, and preserve a proper Connection between the several Periods of general History, which I am constrained to touch in the Progress of this Work; and without a due Conception of which, the *Indian* Story can never be thoroughly understood.

2. It is observed, that the Follies of great Princes are much oftener copied than their Virtues. The Humour that possessed *Alexander*, of being thought of divine Original, was still stronger in *Seleucus*, and the Story he published more improbable and absurd. It was, in few Words, this. His Mother *Laudice*, being the Wife of *Antiochus*, one of *Philip's* Captains, pretended she dreamed that she had conversed with *Apollo*, and conceived by him; and that he gave her a Ring, on the Stone of which an Anchor was engraved, and directed her to bestow it on her Son, when he came to be a Man. This Son was *Seleucus*, said to have been born with an Anchor on his Thigh, by which also the whole Race of the *Seleucidae* were distinguished, and which was supposed to give them a Title to the Dominion of the Sea, for the sake of which, perhaps, the Story was invented. However that might be, it was affirmed that this Ring was actually found in the Bed of *Laudice*; and that she delivered it to *Seleucus*, when he went to the *Persian* War, assuring him that he was not the Son of *Antiochus*, but of *Apollo*. This Notion he took care to inculcate amongst his Soldiers, as much as possible, and to keep up the Credit of it as far as lay in his Power, affected always a great Attention to Naval Affairs.

But this was after he had established himself in the Kingdom; for, immediately after *Alexander's* Death, he found himself fully employed in securing his Share of his Master's Territories from being torn from him by the Ambition of his Collegues.

It was during these early Disputes, that the *Indian* Provinces were irrecoverably lost. This Blow was given to *Alexander's* Empire by *Andracottus*, whom we have formerly mentioned, and whom *Justin*, and other Authors, frequently called *Sandracottus*. He was not of Royal Extraction, but he must have been the Son of some Person of Distinction, since, being a Youth in *Alexander's* Camp, he, some way or other, offended that Monarch to such a Degree, that he ordered him to be slain; which severe Sentence he escaped, by speedy Flight. It was on this Occasion, that an odd Accident inspired him with the Hopes of acquiring the Regal Dignity: Being excessively tired with the Heat of the Weather, and hard Travelling, he lay down in a Wood, to sleep; and a Lion having gently licked the Sweat off his Body, till he awaked, then left him without doing, or endeavouring to do him, the least Hurt. He gathered about him, soon after, a Crew of Outlaws, and began to make Inroads on the *Macedonian* Colonies. He saw the Disposition of the People was absolutely repugnant to the Yoke of *Greek* Slavery; and therefore, under Pretence of restoring Liberty, he very artfully brought them into Subjection to himself.

As this was an Age when Prodigious had great Effects, *Andracottus* produced an Elephant, of a very unusual Size, which, he assured the People, came, of its own Accord,

out of the Woods, and behaved towards him as tamely as if it had been long disciplined. This Story served his Purpose very extensively, for it encouraged the People every-where to rise; and induced them to accept of him for their Chief: So that, in a very short Space, he cut off all *Alexander's* Garrisons, and those who commanded them, breathing, where-ever he marched, the strongest Passion for Liberty; and enlarging, by Degrees, both his Forces and Dominions, till he was become much too potent for any of his Neighbours, and durst avow publicly his Design, not only of throwing off the *Greek* Authority, but of creating a new and powerful Empire in the *Indies*.

As soon as *Seleucus* found himself well fixed in the Possession of his Dominions, he determined with himself, to recover the *Indian* Provinces, and to repress the Pride of this new Conqueror, who was the first Stranger that had attempted to reject the Government of the *Greeks*. But his endeavour came to late, *Andracottus* was become, by this time much too powerful to apprehend any thing from one of *Alexander's* Successors. Instead, therefore, of abandoning his new Conquests, he was no sooner apprized of *Seleucus's* March into the Northern Provinces, than he began to assemble a numerous Army, in order to march towards, and give him Battle. *Seleucus* had been hitherto extremely fortunate, and was now at the Head of a great Body of excellent Troops, flushed with Conquest; yet when he heard, that *Sandracottus* was moving towards him with a well disciplined Army of 600,000 Men, and a great Number of Elephants; and that, instead of inclining to part with what he had already obtained, he demanded that all the Country, to the River *Abis*, should be restored to the *Indians*, to whom it formerly belonged, he paid a little, and shewed an inclination to treat.

On the other hand, the *Indian* Prince, being, by the standing Maxims of their Policy, restrained from attacking a Foreigner, that did not act offensively against him, readily listened to the Proposal; and gave *Seleucus* to understand, that he had no Quarrel or Aversion to the *Greeks*, but sought only for the Preservation of that Freedom, which the *Indians* held dearer than their Lives. An Incident happened, at this time, which contributed not a little to the bringing this Negotiation to an amicable Conclusion, viz. the Apprehensions *Seleucus* was under, from the Power of *Antigonus*, which had united the other Kings against him, with whom *Seleucus* was inclined to cooperate himself; and was, therefore, very desirous of getting this *Indian* War well off his Hands. After some time spent, therefore, in Conferences, they came, at last, to this Agreement, viz. that *Seleucus* should give up all the Frontier Provinces, between the Rivers *Abis* and *Janus*, to *Sandracottus*; and that he, on the other hand, should deliver five hundred of his disciplined Elephants, to *Seleucus*: And this being complied with by both Parties, *Sandracottus* was left in quiet Possession of his Kingdom, and *Seleucus* marched Westward again with his Army, strongly reinforced by those five hundred Elephants.

It is impossible, from the few Circumstances that are left us by antient Writers, to pretend to fix the Boundaries of this *Indian* Monarch's Territories, or to say, with any Degree of Certainty, of what Nation he was King: It is indeed certain, that he made Choice of the chief City of the *Profans*, for his Capital; but I do not think it probable, that he was first King of that People: On the contrary, it seems most likely, that having first got together an Army, composed of such as *Alexander* had driven out of their Countries, he became strong enough, by Degrees, to reduce all the Countries between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, and many also, on the other Side of the last mentioned River; and then fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Palmotbra*. It is true, that *Megesthenes* reported, that *Sandracottus* was the hundred and fifty third Monarch from *Bacchus*; and that those Princes had reigned for the Space of six thousand and forty two Years; which is very improbable in itself; and not at all agreeable to the Lights we have from History.

As for this City of *Palmotbra*, which, in many Authors, is called *Palibotbra*, it stood at the Confluence of

^a *Justin*, lib. xv. c. 4.

^b *Megesthenes* ap. *Strabo*.

^c *Strabo*, lib. v. p. 724. *Justin*, lib. xv. c. 3. *Plutarch* in *Alexand.*

^d *Strabo*, lib. xv.

the Rivers *Erannobotrus* famous City in the *Indies* then there, affirms that it is situate in Breadth six hundred and seventy four Miles. *Ptolemy* places it in the *Lacina*, from this *Royal* *Palibotbra* which had such a Custom of *Alexander*, who *Justin*, affirmed that the City of *Palibotbra* was the utmost *Alexander* had continued, to the *Metropolis* of *India*. *Justin* likewise with the most Dominions, situated *Indus*, and *Esprate*, the foregoing Description played in several Negatives, represented him a Virtues, than formidable with the utmost Regard even his Soldiers to fight four hundred thousand Country, without hard indeed, have been a from such small Begs Empire, and leave it Name of this Successor read in *Pliny*, that there were six hundred thousand and nine thousand Miles.

By this Treaty, mentioned, *Seleucus* at that *Alexander* had his twenty Years after his wards recovered the actions with the King whom we have so often thus employed by *Seleucus* requisite for the written, tho' there He is censured as a sate him; and, in the came into the Head of *Amus*, of *Viterbo*, have been speaking, of it, as to mistake *Megesthenes*; into which Translation of *Josaphat's* wife, as well as fort much troubled with think of any thing else

There is, however must not be forgot, River *Tigris*, at the in order to make it the Provinces of his Emperors of *Alexander* Matter; and none *Seleucus*: For his new the River, soon drest which sunk so low, into a Park for wild Name was transferred that we find afterwards not be amiss to observe sunk as low as the drest, on the other Side of a Christian Cell of the Situation to please after Christ 762,

^e *Arrian* in *Indic.*
^f *Strabo*, lib. xv. c. 24.
^g *Justin*, lib. xv. c. 24.

the Rivers *Fransabou*, and *Ganger*, and was the most famous City in the *Indies*. *Megasthenes*, who had been taken there, affirms that it was eighty Stadia in Length, and fifteen in Breadth; furrowed with a Ditch, of a prodigious Breadth, and forty-five Foot deep: There were five hundred and seventy Towers on its Walls; and it had fifty-four Gates. *Ptolemy* calls it, *The Royal Palibotra*; and places it in the Latitude of 27°: And *Strabo* tells us, that from this Royal City, the King was frequently called *Palibotrus*; which is probable enough, since it is plain, that such a Custom prevailed in the *Indies*, from the Instance of *Mepbus*, who, on his Accession to the Kingdom of *Taxila*, assumed the Title of *Taxiles*.

The City of *Palibotra* is frequently mentioned, with Marks of the utmost Admiration, by many ancient Authors, and continued, to the Time of *Pliny*, to be considered as the Metropolis of *India*. There is good Reason to believe, it is the same with the modern City of *Halabas*, in the *Mogul's* Dominions, situated on the Confluence of the Rivers *Ganges*, and *Euphrates*, and agreeing, in other respects, to the foregoing Description. *Megasthenes*, who was employed in several Negotiations, at the Court of *Sandracottan*, represented him as a Prince no less conspicuous for his Virtues, than formidable for his Power; as one who ruled with the utmost regard to Equity and Justice, and kept even his Soldiers to such strict Discipline, as that an Army of four hundred thousand Men, could march thro' a Country, without harrassing, or destroying it. He must, indeed, have been a Prince of singular Abilities, who, from such small Beginnings, would raise up so potent an Empire, and leave it, at his Decease, to his Son. The Name of this Successor of his, was *Alitrochades*; and we read in *Pliny*, that the Standing Forces of this Monarch were six hundred thousand Foot, thirty thousand Horse, and nine thousand Elephants.

By this Treaty, made with the *Indian* Prince before mentioned, *Seleucus* absolutely abandoned all the Conquests that *Alexander* had made on that Side, within less than twenty Years after his Death; and they were never afterwards recovered. It was this Prince, who in his Transactions with the Kings of *India*, made use of *Megasthenes*, whom we have so often mentioned; and it was, by being thus employed by *Seleucus*, that he acquired the Knowledge requisite for the writing of his Book, which is long ago perished, tho' there are still some Fragments preserved. He is censured as a fabulous Writer, by most of those who cite him; and, in the Beginning of the 15th Century, it came into the Head of an *Italian* Monk, whose Name was *Amasius*, of *Viterbo*, to counterfeit the Book of which we have been speaking, notwithstanding that he knew so little of it, as to mistake the Author's Name, whom he calls *Megasthenes*; into which Mistake he was led, by the *Latin* Translation of *Josaphat*. His Master *Seleucus* was a very wise, as well as fortunate Prince; but his Reign was so much troubled with Wars, that he had scarce Leisure for to think of any thing else.

There is, however, one Circumstance in his Reign, that must not be forgot, which was his building *Seleucia*, on the River *Tigris*, at the Distance of forty Miles from *Babylon*, in order to make it the Seat of Government, for the Eastern Provinces of his Empire: And in this he, and other Successors of *Alexander* the Great, affected to copy their Master; and none of them with better Success than *Seleucus*: For his new City, which stood on the West Side of the River, soon drew most of its Inhabitants from *Babylon*, which sunk so low, as to be turned, by the *Parthian* Kings, into a Park for wild Beasts. By Degrees, however, its Name was transferred to *Seleucia*: And this is the *Babylon* that we find afterwards mentioned by Historians. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the new *Babylon* is now sunk as low as the old: For the Caliph *Almansur*, observing, on the other Side of the River *Tigris*, a very beautiful Spot of Ground, on which there was nothing but the Cell of a Christian Monk, and a little Garden, he thought the Situation so pleasant and commodious, that in the Year after Christ 767, he built there a new City, which he

made the Capital of his Dominions; and called it, from the old Monk, *Bagdad*; i. e. the Garden of *Dad*; which is the modern *Babylon*; and the very Place which is now besieged by *Thomas Khoul Kan*: And this Remark will be found of great Use, in the Perusal of the remaining Part of this Work; and therefore I introduced it here. The same *Seleucus Nicator* was also the Founder of *Antioch*, on the River *Orontes*, about twenty Miles above its Fall into the *Mediterranean* Sea; which continued, for many Centuries, the chief City of the East: And so, indeed, it well deserved to be, for its convenient Situation, lying at an equal Distance from the two great Cities, of *Constantinople* in *Europe*, and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, about 700 Miles from each of them.

He, and his Successors, had Fleets, both in the *Caspian* and *Black* Seas; but the Accounts we have, of the Voyages made in both, by their Direction, in *Pliny*, are so obscure, and, in Truth, so absurd, that it would be to no Purpose, to trouble the Reader with any Account of them. We have, indeed, a better Character given us of one *Patroclus*, whom they employed to inquire into the Government and Trade of the *Indies*, and who wrote a Book upon this Subject, often cited, and much commended by *Strabo*; but it is long since lost, tho' from his Account of it, most certainly it deserved a better Fate.

4. This *Seleucus Nicator*, or the Conqueror, who was the first Monarch of *Syria*, and of whom we have hitherto been speaking, reigned thirty-three Years; and, on his Death, was succeeded by his Son *Antiochus Soter*, i. e. the Saviour, which Surname he obtained by defeating the *Gauls*, who broke into lesser *Asia*, and threw all that Part of the World into Confusion: He reigned nineteen Years; most of which were spent in War; and was succeeded by his Son *Antiochus Theus*: In the eleventh Year of whose Reign the *Parthians* and *Bactrians* revolted, which cut off from him most of the Eastern Provinces, and, with the Rebellion of his Son, perplexed his Reign so much, that he had not Time to look into the domestic Oeconomy of his Empire, which he enjoyed fifteen Years; and was then succeeded by his Son *Seleucus Callinicus* who, in the Beginning of his Reign, was involved in a War with his Brother, which gave an Opportunity to *Arfaces*, the new King of *Parthia*, to add *Hyrcania* likewise to his Dominions; which, however, *Seleucus* endeavoured to recover, and marched with a great Army into *Parthia* for that Purpose, but with no great Success. In the sixteenth Year of his Reign, he invaded *Parthia* a second Time with worse Fortune than before; for he was defeated and taken Prisoner by *Arfaces*, and, having lived in Confinement three Years, died of a Fall from his Horse.

He was succeeded by his Son *Seleucus Ceraunus*, i. e. the Thunderer, an odd Surname for a weak and pusillanimous Prince, who, after sitting three Years on the Throne, and doing nothing remarkable, was poisoned by some of his Ministers, leaving behind him no Issue; after his Death, succeeded *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, when the Kingdom of *Syria* was in the most distressed Condition imaginable, distracted at home, and embroiled abroad.

5. This *Antiochus* merited the Title of Great; for, though at his Accession to the Kingdom, which happened in the Year 222 before Christ, he was but fifteen Years old, yet he discovered a Spirit worthy of his Crown, and capable of restoring the Glory of his Country. In the Beginning of his Reign, he sent *Molon* and *Alexander*, two Brothers, one into *Media*, and the other into *Parthia*; but they, despising the King's Youth, set up for themselves and seized the Countries they were sent to govern: These Rebels defeated two Armies that were sent against them; but King *Antiochus* himself, marching first into *Media*, there defeated *Molon*, who killed himself in Despair: His Brother *Alexander*, finding it impossible to resist, destroyed his Mother and all his Family, and then killed himself; by which means these two Provinces were again restored to the *Syrian* Empire. Encouraged by this Success, he, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, attacked *Arfaces*, King of *Parthia*; and, after a long War, concluded a Peace with

^a *Asian* in *India*.

^b *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^c *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^d *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^e *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^f *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^g *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^h *Strabo*, lib. vi.

ⁱ *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^j *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^k *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^l *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^m *Strabo*, lib. vi.

^a *Ap. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. p. 745.*

^b *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^c *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^d *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^e *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^f *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^g *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^h *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

ⁱ *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^j *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^k *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^l *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^m *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, l. II. p. 145.*

^a *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^b *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^c *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^d *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^e *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^f *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^g *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^h *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

ⁱ *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^j *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^k *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^l *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^m *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

^a *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^b *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^c *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^d *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^e *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^f *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^g *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^h *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

ⁱ *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^j *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^k *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^l *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

^m *Strabo, lib. xi. Plin.*

Number of Cubits which that River runs, when at the Spring-tides: And, indeed, in laying these together, confists the

... that, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, there was a Law made, that no Man should wear a Crown, but in order to understand the true Sense of that Law, it is to be observed, that the *Romans* had two Crowns; the one, in which the *Warp* was silk, and the *Wooll* Thread, which was called *Sabotum*, and this was the *Clasping* Crown; the other, in which the *Warp* was silk, and the *Wooll* Thread, which was called *Habitus*, and was worn only by *Women*, till the Emperor *Augustus* forbade Men to wear it. The other Manufacture, which was all silk, called *Habitus*, and was worn only by *Women*, till the Emperor *Augustus* forbade Men to wear it. The other Manufacture, which was all silk, called *Habitus*, and was worn only by *Women*, till the Emperor *Augustus* forbade Men to wear it.

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Book I.

Chap. II.

of the EAST INDIES.

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In the Accounts that has been published of Sir *Thomas Roe's* Voyage to the *Indies*, which was drawn up by his Chaplain, we have the original Rule delivered to the *Indians*: It runs thus; 'Thou shalt not kill any living Creature, whatsoever it be, having Life in the same; for thou art a Creature, and so is it; thou art endowed with Life, and so is it; thou shalt not therefore spill the Life of any of thy fellow Creatures that live. Other precepts, they say, were delivered unto them by their Law-giver, about their Devotions in their Washings and Worship-pings; wherein they are commanded to observe Times for Fasting, and Hours for Watching; that they may be the better fitted for them. Other Directions they have about their Festivals; wherein they are required to take their Food moderately, not pampering their Bodies. Concerning Charity, they are farther commanded to help the Poor, as far as they are possibly able. Other Precepts, they say, were likewise given them in Charge, as, Not to tell false Tales, nor to utter any Thing that is untrue; not to fight any thing from others, be it never so little; not to defraud any by their Cunning in Bargains or Con-tracts; not to oppress any when they have Power to do it.' This Writer farther informs us, that some of the *Bramins* had told him, 'They acknowledged one God, whom they described with a thousand Eyes, with a thousand Hands, and as many Feet; that thereby they may express his Power, as being all Eye to see, and all Foot to follow, and all Hand to smite Offenders. The Consideration whereof makes that People very exact in the Performance of all moral Duties, following close the Light of Nature in their Dealings with Men; most carefully observing that Royal Law, in doing nothing to others, but what they would be well contented to suffer from others.'

There is a very curious Piece relating to this Subject, that has been preferred by the Royal Society, written by Mr. *John Maiball*, who lived long in the *Indies*, and had taken a great deal of Pains to make himself perfectly acquainted with the Notions of the modern *Bramins*; and what he says is so conclusive, that the Reader must be satisfied, that what the Antients have delivered to us concerning the Religion and Philosophy of the *Bramins*, was strictly true. "Upon what Ground, says he, some Travellers have stiled these People Polytheists or Atheists, I cannot tell. It is very observable here, that their Priests, or *Bramins*, and holy Men, whom they call *Jogees*, or *Giglis*, when they have Occasion to write any thing, they always put a Figure of One in the first Place, to shew, as they say, they acknowledge but One God, who, they say, is *Burm*; that is, immaterial. When they preach to the People, and instruct them, which is commonly every first day, Full Moon, or the Time of an Eclipse of either Sun or Moon, they tell the common People much of God, Heaven, and Hell, but very imperfectly, obscurely, and mystically: They say, that when God thought of making the World, he made it in a Minute. They account this World the Body of God: For all that, they say, he is immaterial; and say, that the highest Heavens are his Head, the Fire his Mouth, the Air his Breath and Breast, the Water his Seed, and the Earth, and the Mountains there- of, his Legs and Feet; but assert, in general, that God is the Life of every Thing; yet is the Thing nei- ther greater or less for him. They hold, that God dwelt in a Vacuity before that he created the World; and that, as he dwelt in the Vacuity, he created several Beings out of himself: The first were Angels, the second Souls, the third Spirits, all differing in Degrees of Purity; the first being more pure than the second, and the second than the third. The Angels, they say, neither act Good or Evil; the Souls either Good or Evil; but the Spirits, or *Deutias*, as they call them, act scarce any Thing but Evil. They have a good Opinion of the Angels, and think their State mighty happy, hoping,

their pre-existent State, so are their Actions in this World either good or bad, by a sort of fatal Necessity, which is very hard to conquer or overcome. Hence it is, say they, that there are so many different Humours and Dispositions of Men; for their Souls, before their Entrance into their Bodies, being tainted with different Affections, cause the like Difference in the Parties, whose Bodies are their Vehicles; so that if a Man happens to have a sudden or unfortunate Death, they immediately ascribe the same to the Party's own Wickedness, or the bad Life that his Soul led, before that it entered into his Body: For, say they, the afore-acted Evil that his Soul did in its other Life, brought these Accidents upon him, by getting the upper Hand of him, and by being too powerful and strong: And these, that die thus, they believe their Souls turn into Devils. They maintain *Pythagoras's* Transmigration, or *Metempsychosis*, but in a grosser Sense than he did: For they believe that Mens Souls, that have not lived to well as they ought, go, as soon as the Body dies, not only into the Birds and Beasts, but even into the basest Reptiles, Insects, and Plants; where they suffer a strong sort of Purgation to expiate their former Crimes. But as for the Souls of the *Jogees* or *Giglis*, that is, of religious Men and Saints, they fancy that they go and inhabit, with the good *Deutias* or Angels among the Stars. As for the Spirits, or inferior Angels, they believe that they are very evil, and have a hand in all Wickednesses, Murders, Wars, Storms, and Tempells; so that when they solemnize the Funeral of those that are dead, they always present Dishes of Meat as Offerings to those Spirits, and sometimes sacrifice unto them, that they may not hurt the Souls of the Dead. As they acknowledge the Being of a mighty God, so they hold, that he created the World, and every Thing therein. They believe, that there are almost infinite Numbers of Worlds; and that God has often-times annihilated, and re-created the same; but how he came first to create the World and Mankind, they relate to have been thus: Once, on a time (say they) as he was set in Eternity, it came into his Mind to make something; and immediately, no sooner had he thought the same, but the same Minute was a perfect beautiful Woman immediately presented before him, which he called *Mea Sukttes*, that is, the first Woman: Then this Figure put into his Mind the Figure of a Man; which he had no sooner conceived in his Mind, but that he also started up, and presented himself before him; this he called *Manapuff*; that is, the first Man: Then, upon a Reflection of these Things, he resolved further to create several Places for them to abide in; and, accordingly, assuming a subtil Body, he breathed in a Minute the whole Universe, and every Thing therein, from the least to the greatest. A Divine of the Church of *Rome*, who had resided long in the *Indies*, and fill'd there with great Dignity a very high Post, in a Relation which is not yet printed, and therefore the more curious, gives us the following Account: "The *Bramins* are, at this Day, the only People among the *Indians* that have a Right to cultivate the Sciences; and of this Right they are so jealous, that they suffer scarce any of those Rays to shine upon the World, which might be expected from Perions, boasting themselves in Possession of so much Light. Their Call is the most noble and the most considerable of all, and is even looked upon to be as much superior to Princes, as Wisdom and useful Knowledge are in their Nature preferable to Grandeur and Power, which Kings so easily abuse. The Sciences cultivated by these *Bramins*, and in which they make a greater or less Progress, in proportion to their Parts and Application, may be reduced to eighteen. The first is a kind of Grammar, which contains the Rules necessary for the understanding of that Lan-

... says he, all agree; for Souls; which, according to think, are sent by God s, more or less clean, or else of Men, more or e or less pure of Race, their vain Superstition, Religions, besides them- others, according as they is: All equally to believe, a with God, but that their own Nation, more re lived piously in this ned, that after diverse of Animals and Men, World, undergone many at last die in the Body Race, as the *Brachmans*, self and purest, because out the divine Worship, ing; and they observe or than any others' edge there is a Devil, me manner that we do: ny wretched Souls, us- God, as the last of the sserve, become Devils cannot be a greater No- d they a court flouting and then, above all, the barous Nations do, who e than all others. Hence *Brachmans*, and particu- but eat not, any thing dured with any rubbish wholly abstain. Other s; and the lowest Sort, science at all, tho' they all sorts of Animals fit and eat which, they have ay, that the Cow is their he gives them, and the y plough, and make use Animals, upon almost they have Reason to say w, which, from being into a Fable. *Mur- ndia*, and much taken Souls, to whom God pas into them; wher

might avoid Spilling the Blood, which they thought rendered the Victim imperfect; and, therefore, the Priest contented himself with strangling them. It was farther remarked, that in this Ceremony the holy Man did not wear a Wreath, or Crown, as the Priests of all other Nations did.

* *Philostratus in Ctesia. 2. Curt. 14. vii. c. 9. Philo. 14. vii. 3.*
* *Herodotus lib. iii. c. 100. Pausanias lib. vii. c. 10.*

obtain the Favour of *Jupiter*, the Gover of Rain. As they were a very temperate and abstemious People, they never drank Wine but at their Feasts; and even the Princes themselves, as *Apollonius* reports, drank that liquor only when they offered to the Sun. There is, however, great Reason to doubt, whether much Care could

* *Philostratus in Apollonius lib. i. c. 11. In Pausanias lib. vii. c. 10.*

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“ those which are more difficult and complex. The last, which is esteemed the Perfection of all Sciences, is styled *Veddata* or *Vendata*; which is, as much as to say, the Close, or the Sum of all Things. This is a kind of metaphysical Theology, which the *Brachmans* receive not with a Spirit of Inquiry, but with profound and implicit Submission, as a kind of Divine Doctrine, which is, in its Nature, superior to all Examination or Dispute. Thus, these Men suffer their Wisdom to be bounded by that of their Ancestors, which, as they desire not to transcend, it is very probable they do not equal.”

10. I have treated this Subject more largely, because I find many Things omitted by very great Men, who have undertaken to give us Accounts of the *Brachmans*, their Learning, Manners, and the particular Turn of their Philosophy. The celebrated *Bayle* has vouchsafed them Two Articles in his Dictionary, but seem in both to have aimed more at exposing the Contradictions of such ancient Writers as have mentioned these Philosophers, than to give his Readers any distinct and methodical Account of them from what he had himself read. In one of his Articles indeed he tells us, that the Book, written by *Palladius* on this Subject, deserves to be consulted; and in his Notes informs us, that this Author was published from a Manuscript in the Royal Library, by Sir *Edward Byke*, *Clarencieux King at Arms*; and furnishes us with some Remarks on the Fictions of the Book, or rather on the Change of the Title Pages for there never was but one Edition, which I have read with a great deal of Care, and am from thence enabled to give the Reader some Lights, beyond what he can receive from Mr. *Bayle*.

The Editor of that Book collected every thing that had been written upon this Subject, of which he composed a very curious Miscellany, addressed to the *Earl of Glouceston*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*. The Treatise of *Palladius* of the *Indian Nations*, and of the *Brachmans*, was indeed never published before; yet it contains very little, if any thing, new upon the Subject, since the Discourse of *St. Ambrose*, of the Manners of the *Brachmans*, which is addressed to one *Palladius*, and had been long before published in *Latin*, contains the Substance of what is related by the other in *Greek*; but the Letters of *Dindamis* or *Dandamis*, which are added to these Two Pieces, are absolutely new, and never were published but by Sir *Edward Byke*; to which Reason I thought the Substance of them would be acceptable to the Reader, and therefore I inserted it in a former Section.

Strabo mentions the Application of *Alexander* to this Philosopher, and so does *Philostratus*; but both *Ambrose* and *Palladius* gives us a large Account of a Conference to which the King had with this *Brachman*, which they received from the *Indians* themselves; which is the more probable, because it is certain they had formerly Books upon this Subject, which, very probably, contained the very same Accounts that are preserved to us in these: They are much more curious, and will afford the inquisitive Reader far greater Satisfaction, than any thing that I know of, that has been written of this kind; and therefore I wonder, that so judicious and so learned a Man as Mr. *Bayle* did not rather chuse to give us some Quotations from these scarce and valuable Pieces, than from Books that were in every body's Hands, and had been to often quoted before.

The Bounds prescribed to this Work, and the many Things that are to be treated of in this single Chapter, will not allow me to insert the Whole of either of these Pieces: But, after having given such a Character of them, the Reader, perhaps, would not excuse me, if I should chuse this Section, without putting it in his Power to judge for himself, by adding a Specimen from a Book, which, to great Men has told us, ought to be consulted by whoever pretends to write upon this Subject. I will therefore subjoin the Discourse between *Alexander* and the *Indian Philosopher*, which I think will be sufficient to satisfy his Curiosity.

11. “ When *Alexander* had heard, from the Report of *Onofritus*, whom he had sent to him, that neither Promises nor Threats would induce *Dindamis* to come to him, he was the more desirous of seeing one, who, tho’ naked and old, was able to overcome the Conqueror of so many Nations. He went, therefore, with a few of his Friends to the Wood where the Philosopher was; and when he drew near it, alighting from his Horse, laying aside his Crown, and every thing that had an Appearance of Pomp or Shew, he went alone to the old *Brachman*, and sat himself down at his Feet. God save you, *Dindamis*, said he: I am come to you, because you refused to come to me. And to what Purpose do you come? said he: What is there in our Solitudes that you can desire to carry away? What you want, we have; and what we have is not necessary to you. We honour God, love Man, neglect Gold, and condemn Death: You, on the other hand, fear Death, honour Gold, love Man, and condemn God. Teach us, replied *Alexander*, some of your Wisdom: They say, that you are full of Divinity, and that you often confer with God himself: Now, I would willingly know in what you excel the *Greeks*; in what you are better; in what wiser than other Men. And I, returned *Dindamis*, would willingly bestow on you what I have received from God, but that I know your Bosom affords not Room for such a Gift: Thy Mind is filled with vast Desires, and insatiable Avarice, and a diabolical Thirst of Empire; all which fight against me, who would endeavour to extract them from your Breast. You are desirous of going to the Ocean, and after that would conquer some other Part of the World, to satisfy those Desires which would afflict you with Sadnefs when you had no more to conquer. How then is it possible I should content you, who all the World were subjected to your Service, would not even then be at Rest? You are made master of the World; and yet you would conquer all, and obtain whatever Mankind possels; but, after all, you could have no more than you see me lying on, or far you sit upon. The case would be exactly the same if we should remove from hence; for you and I would then be still equal in our Possessions. I desire only to use the Elements of Air, Water, and Earth, as other Men use them; and therefore whatever I have justly possels; for if you were posselled of all the Rivers of the World, you could only drink Water from them as I do. If you will but learn Wisdom of me, you will want nothing; for he has all who desires no more than he has. For it is Desire that is the Mother of Poverty, which, without knowing the proper Remedy, you seek to cure; for whoever seeks to possels all Things will never find what he seeks; and mixing with no Rest what he possels, but expecting it from what is past, he posselled, he still execrates himself more and more. You will have the greatest Wealth possible, and enjoy it with the utmost Pleasure if you would live thus with me; for if you could taste the Wisdom I teach you, you would possels all the Riches I have. The Heaven is my Bed, the Earth is my Bed, I drink out of the River, and the Field here supplies me with Food; I do not eat other Animals like a Lion, neither do the Remains of other Animals cultivate me, nor do I make my Body their Sepulchre; but I feed naturally upon Fruits, as on the Milk my Mother gave me.

But you are desirous of knowing what it is I possels more than other Men, and how far I am wiser. I am, as you see, agreeable to the Manner in which I was created: I live as I came from my Mother’s Womb, naked, without Riches, and without Care. I know what God has done, and I know what will be done to him. You, on the other hand, are amazed at the Distribution of Things to come, because you understand not the Works of God, which he sheweth you every Hour: Such a Common Phrasing Wars, Crunels, Raids, and

Chap. II.

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... jared the King; and I am extremely glad, that your Sentiments agree with mine. Is it the Laws of our Country, continued *Apollonius*, or is it your Majesty's particular Favour, that removes from your Court all that Magnificence and Pomp, that are usually found in the Dwellings of Princes? It is both the Law, replied the Prince, and my

... into India, p. 121. * See Is. lib. xv. p. 99. Dabr. Stud. v. 6. 9. * Philo. lib. i. c. 10.

... Dandamis having said this immediately rose; and go-

communicated to me by Providence, and it rejoices me, that God is pleased to communicate his Works to my Understanding, so that I know, and am persuaded of his Justice. If, at any time, Kings address themselves to me, as to a Messenger of God, under the Apprehensions of War, or any other Evil, I pray to God in their Behalf; and, having restored their Courage by Words of Consolation, I send them back with some comfortable Messages.

Tell me which is best, to kill and destroy Men, and thereby obtain a Fame for Mischief, or, by preserving them, and doing them good, to acquire that of a Benefactor? And which agrees best with the Character of the Sons of God, to war against and overturn what God hath established, or, rather, peaceably to support, and earnestly endeavour to restore, whatever is decayed, as the Servant of the Duty? It is not, O King, either thy great Power, thy immense Wealth, the Multitude of Elephants, the costly Robes that are about thee, the numerous Armies under thy Command, or what thou hast taken from other Nations in War and Battle, that can assist thee, but a proper Attention to my Words, and a due Regard to the Counsels I give thee. Neither am I afraid of thee, O *Alexander*, though thou shouldst kill me; for I should go immediately to God, who knows my Cause, and from whom my Life has not been hid: For what can there be hid from him? The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, all serve him for Eyes; and he will judge whoever does an Injury to his Neighbour; neither is there any Place to which thou canst fly, to avoid his Justice in that State of Retribution.

Therefore, O *Alexander*, seek not to overturn what God has established, or to ruin and deface what it hath pleased him to adorn: Neither shed the Blood of Citizens, nor lay waste whole Nations, that they may feel the Weight of thy Power: For, is it not better for thee to live, than to make others die, and thereby render your own Death a Blessing to others? Tell me why, having but one Soul thyself, thou wouldst destroy whole Nations? Why shouldst thou rejoice at filling the World with Mischief? Why shouldst thou regard the Distresses of others as thy Gain? Why shouldst thou smile, because others weep? Share here with me my naked Solitude, and thereby enrich thyself at once, and others. He that renounces all Wars, and embraces Peace, which Submission to Providence be-comes: That no longer of your Power of doing Mischief, but enjoy here with us all the real Pleasures of Life: Throw off that Garment made of a Sheep-skin, and be no longer proud of wearing the Spoils of a dead Beast: you will then, by imitating us, do Honour to yourself, and become such a one as you were created to be; for the Soul exercises itself in Virtue, when in this State of Solitude. Prefer therefore, King *Alexander*, our seemingly savage Life, in which you will be happier than you have hitherto been. Even now your *Macedonians* expect you to rule new Wars, to slaughter other Nations, and to dispossess them of their Country, as if they are sad, if other People be late; and, as if they are in the right of the World; and, having conquered, they have but their own Gain, regard not what great Injustice they commit, to they augment

How happy a Life might thou lead, by doing what God has created you shouldst do, pursuing thy own Good, without prejudice to others! Now, while it is yet in my Power, what I say, and listen to the good Advice I give thee: For, if thou art dead to these Admonitions, I shall hereafter, when we are delivered out of this World, see thee suffering in the Air, and bitterly lamenting the Evils brought upon thyself, by inclining thyself to others. You will then think of my Words, when you see your Horse and Foot will follow you there,

View all the Murders thou hast committed, or caused to be committed; and of these how canst thou possibly excuse thyself?

All this *Alexander* heard patiently, and without the least Displeasure; but an evil Spirit hindered him from profiting by this good Advice. He answered therefore the Philosopher thus: I am thoroughly sensible of the Truth of all you have said; for, descending of an holy Race, thou art here conveniently situated, where, without any Trouble, thou enjoyest with the greatest Pleasure the whole Circle of thy Days, and possessest all the Riches of Nature in a perfect and uninterrupted Peace. I, on the other hand, live in the midst of Tumult, and of Toils: For much I fear even those, who by their Office ought to defend me from Fear; and seldom raise the Apprehensions of my Enemies so high, as those I have of my Friends; for I am daily in greater Dread of their Treachery, than of the Force of my Foes. Thus, between the Necessity of having Guards for my Safety, and the Dread that these very Guards may deprive me of Safety, I live in perpetual Anxiety.

My Days are spent in troubling, distressing, and destroying other People; and in the Nights I am filled with Terrors and Suspicions, lest, by some sudden and secret Enemy, I should be cut off myself. If I put to Death those I fear, I become hateful; if again I am mild and gentle, I am contemned: And how, out of such a Variety of Dangers, I shall be able to snatch myself, I know not; for if I fought to quit the World, and to live with you in the Deserts, it would not be in my Power. It is impossible for me to quit the Station I am in; and therefore I hope that this will excuse me to God, who placed me in this Station, and made me what I am. But thou, O wife and good Man, who have heard my Complaints, and soothed my Grievs by the Wisdom of thy Words, dissuading me from War and Battles, be pleased to accept the Gifts I offer; and do not contemn me so far, as to reject the Tribute I bring to thy Wildom.

As he spake these Words, the Slaves, who waited with the Presents, brought them in, and spread abroad great Variety of Gold and Silver Vessels, rich in themselves, and exquisitely wrought; together with large Quantities of Oil and Bread.

At the Sight of all this, *Dandamis* could not help smiling. At last he delivered himself thus: Who do you think could persuade the Birds, that haunt these Woods, to the Use of Gold and Silver, and to sing the better for it? Or, if this you conceive impossible, why should you judge me to be worse than they? Why should I accept from you what I cannot either eat or drink? Why should I take what I can make no Use of? Why retain under my Care what cannot contribute to my Benefit? and to bind and inure myself, who have hitherto been free; for I desire not to purchase, in any Shape, what in these Solitudes I cannot sell. God bestows upon me here Fruits on every Side, which I pull and eat freely. God fills Man nothing for Gold; nay, he even bestows his Wisdom freely upon such as are able and qualified to receive it. I am covered with that Garment with which my Mother brought me forth. The Air I freely breathe, and steem my Limbs at Liberty, while unrestrained by any Garment; and Honey cannot be sweeter to the Tattle, than whatever from the Relish of Hunger I eat and drink. If these Cakes were good before, why were they exposed to the Fire? For my part, I suffer not that Element to touch what I eat, any more, than in the Flesh of other Animals, I chuse to eat at second-hand what they have eaten before: Take then away these Cakes that are baked; but, that I may not seem to despise every thing you offer me, I am content to accept this Oil.

Dandamis having said this immediately rose; and go-

... into India, p. 121. * See Is. lib. xv. p. 99. Dabr. Stud. v. 6. 9. * Philo. lib. i. c. 10.

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adorned with the Figures of several kind of Birds, painted of different Colours. This State-Room was open to all the World, at the Hours of Audience especially; but at these Seasons, while the King gave Audience to Embassadors, heard Causes, or did any other kind of Business, he had

become a perfect Deity. The several Apartments of the *Partian* Kings, which it never was, for those Princes spent the Winter at *Cressphon*, near *Selma*, and the Summer at *Eibatana*. There are many other Signs of the same Kind; by whose Negligence committed, it must

* Pl. Hist. lib. ii. c. 25. § 1. § 2. § 3. § 4. § 5. § 6. § 7. § 8. § 9. § 10. § 11. § 12. § 13. § 14. § 15. § 16. § 17. § 18. § 19. § 20. § 21. § 22. § 23. § 24. § 25. § 26. § 27. § 28. § 29. § 30. § 31. § 32. § 33. § 34. § 35. § 36. § 37. § 38. § 39. § 40. § 41. § 42. § 43. § 44. § 45. § 46. § 47. § 48. § 49. § 50. § 51. § 52. § 53. § 54. § 55. § 56. § 57. § 58. § 59. § 60. § 61. § 62. § 63. § 64. § 65. § 66. § 67. § 68. § 69. § 70. § 71. § 72. § 73. § 74. § 75. § 76. § 77. § 78. § 79. § 80. § 81. § 82. § 83. § 84. § 85. § 86. § 87. § 88. § 89. § 90. § 91. § 92. § 93. § 94. § 95. § 96. § 97. § 98. § 99. § 100.

* On first. ap. Strabonem, p. 710. § 10. § 11. § 12. § 13. § 14. § 15. § 16. § 17. § 18. § 19. § 20. § 21. § 22. § 23. § 24. § 25. § 26. § 27. § 28. § 29. § 30. § 31. § 32. § 33. § 34. § 35. § 36. § 37. § 38. § 39. § 40. § 41. § 42. § 43. § 44. § 45. § 46. § 47. § 48. § 49. § 50. § 51. § 52. § 53. § 54. § 55. § 56. § 57. § 58. § 59. § 60. § 61. § 62. § 63. § 64. § 65. § 66. § 67. § 68. § 69. § 70. § 71. § 72. § 73. § 74. § 75. § 76. § 77. § 78. § 79. § 80. § 81. § 82. § 83. § 84. § 85. § 86. § 87. § 88. § 89. § 90. § 91. § 92. § 93. § 94. § 95. § 96. § 97. § 98. § 99. § 100.

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Hymn to God, the immortal Giver of all good Things, thanking him for the manifold Gifts he had bestowed. Which Things when *Alexander* had seen and heard, he went away astonished, causing all his Gifts, except the Oil, to be carried back. At the same time, *Dandamis* gave him many other Pieces of sound Advice, desiring him to remember, that the *Brachmans* were such as himself, and not such as *Calanus*, whom they esteemed the worst of Men, for having deserted their Society, to embrace the Manners of the *Greeks*.

There is great Reason to believe, that these Facts are reported but confusedly, and with many Variations, by the Authors I have cited; but as there appears to be a great Certainty of their coming originally from the *Brachmans* themselves, they deserve to be attentively considered, because they very plainly prove, that the Correspondence between *Alexander* and *Dandamis* was very famous amongst those People, and had made a great Impression upon them. As to the modern *Bramins*, it is certain, that they fall very short of their Predecessors in Learning, and have very much corrupted their religious Principles, by the Liberties they have taken; which we need not wonder at, since the same thing has happened to almost every kind of Philology; and, we may likewise add, every kind of Religion.

It is not evident, from any of the Accounts given us by the Antients, that the *Brachmans* had any Book or Writings which contained the Principles of their Science: And the contrary seems probable from the Nature of their Education. The modern *Bramins*, however, tell us, that the first Being created by God was *Brabma*, the Author of their Sect; of whom they have many Images, which have commonly four Heads, because he is said to have been the Author of a Book, containing four Chapters, or Sections; wherein are contained the Principles of the Religion and Philosophy which he taught. This Book is still extant amongst them, and is what we may call their Bible; neither is it absolutely unknown to other Eastern Nations, having been translated out of the Eastern Tongue, by one *Anabacumath a Gregéi*, who embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, into *Arabic*, under the Title of *Morat al mâini*; that is, *the Mirror of Science*: But they say, that the true Sense of it cannot still be understood, without the Assistance of some learned *Bramin*.

* The Name of the Book, in the *Indian* Language, is *Adastind*, which is as much as to say, the Elders of Living Waters. It consisted of five distinct Treatises, each divided into ten Chapters, and in this Book their Theology, Philosophy, and Poetry, are all contained chiefly in Parables and Allegories, so that ordinary Readers can make little or no Use of it.

All these, however, are Inventions far later than the Times of which we are now speaking; and, as we have hinted before, the old *Brachmans*, tho' they took their Name from the Word *Brabma*, yet they did not consider that as the Name of any particular Person, but as expressive of that Character which they affected, the natural signification of that Word, in their old Language, being no more than a *Man enlightened*, or one filled with divine Science. As they had no Books, much less had they Images, neither is it clear, that they made Use of any fabulous Theology, in order to amuse the People; but, on the contrary, told them in plain and pathetic Terms, what they conceived fit for them to know and practise.

All the rest came in by Degrees: And this is the true Reason, why it is so difficult for the modern *Bramins* to give any rational Account of that Doctrine which they preach to the People, because it is all invented, and has not the least Relation to that secret and solid Science, which the most learned of them still retain by Tradition from their Ancestors. We may from hence easily apprehend, why the Lectures of some learned *Bramins* are necessary to render the Book before-mentioned intelligible. The Purpose of those Lectures, no doubt, must be to explain away the best Part of that celebrated Treatise, by shewing that whatever is delivered therein, relating to Idols, Saints, and Demigods, are, in Fact, but Parables relating to the Attributes of the true God, and his Providence; concerning which their Ancestors discoursed clearly, plainly, and without making use of any of those Figures or Fables.

Having thus used my utmost Endeavours to bring this Subject in a clear Light, and to reduce the scattered Passages of ancient Authors, relating thereto, in such a Method as that they might contribute to illustrate each other, and leave nothing obscure, I shall proceed next to the *Indians*, as they are described to us by other Authors; and shall fairly shew wherein they deviate from Truth; wherein their Accounts have been mistaken by the Moderns; and in what Cases their Descriptions, though heretofore rejected with Contempt, have of late Years, and upon a stricter Examination, been again admitted as true and more suitable to Truth, than those which had been hastily received in their Read, upon the Credit of those who were not proper Judges of what they saw.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Land-Animals in the East-Indies, as described by antient Authors, compared with modern Writers: And some Remarks upon both.

1. A Description of the Elephant; with a particular Account of the different Methods of hunting him, as described by the antients.
2. The modern Method of hunting Elephants, described as it is by the Orders from Louis XIV. to the King of Siam.
3. The great sagacity, wonderful Memory, and Fidelity of this Creature.
4. Some other singular Properties of the Elephant, from antient and modern Remarks.
5. The Manners of Elephants, and their Aversion to Indians in the Indies.
6. The Manners of the Indians, and other Oriental Nations, with respect to these Creatures, as they are described by the white Elephant.
7. Some miscellaneous Observations as to the Size, Laces, and medicinal Use of the Elephant, their Skin, Bone, Fat, &c.
8. An exact Description of the Rhinoceros, from antient and modern Remarks.
9. An Account of his Size, Food, Manner of living in the Woods, and of the Uses of his Horn, Fat, &c.
10. Some extraordinary Passages in modern Travels, relating to this Animal.
11. Of the Lion and the Lioness.
12. Of the Tiger, as described both by the Antients and Moderns, with some remarkable Influences of the Strength and Agility of these Creatures.
13. A particular Account of the Leopard and Panther; both from old Authors and new.
14. Of the Camel, its Size, Strength, and other Properties; and the Uses for which it serves in the Indies.
15. Of the Don, and some other remarkable Influences of the Strength and Agility of these Creatures.
16. An exact Description of the Gnu, or Camelpard; and of the Uses of its Skin, Fat, &c.
17. Of the wild Ass, and of the Uses of its Skin, Fat, &c.

Chap. II.

concerning i Errors that they are sup

IT has, in that the Air in all some Measure ought to be fit for it was hel Officers, since it

Amongst the Men, the Animal most, we the most extor Elephant, a Cre southern Provin however, was in Eyes of Men, b we may credit w These Create a dark Colour, rze.

Their Bodies being beautiful those of a H g yet they lead selves or sleep; tier Necks; t very close; The parks down r below; they c full-Cruncler, mung; a P fants; they n The legs, con Muzz; The from Member, Creature as. covered with a Dunt; and any the two Coners between the f Tube, or large penable Feeped on Giras; the Nature; an d the Lion, an They are an Peas; and are by the Call er make this L xer re in which the first and by; find a Plane r of Dutch, w soon Bidge tted for the course they cor the Miles were the Men A

one Family. We might very reasonably suspect the Truth of all this, tho' confirmed to us by the concurrent Testimony of ancient Historians, if this Division of the Indians

in their Alliances, they were unalterable, and that a Treaty concluded with them, held them as fast as a Anchor; a Character they justly deserved. They attend

D. de la Roche, Hist. de l'Inde, tom. 1. p. 41.
Plinius, lib. 7. Plinarch. in deinde. p. 2. Cap. 11. Nov. Hist. de l'Inde.

Plinius, lib. 7. Plinarch. in deinde. p. 2. Cap. 11. Nov. Hist. de l'Inde.

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and, if he is troublesome, beat him soundly, but without wounding him; while others go behind, and push him along: Then the Men who are employed in this Hunting, fetch the Remainder; in like manner tie them with Ropes; and, mounting them, force them along to a Post, to which they are fastened, till, by Hunger, they are made as tame as Sheep. At this hunting they took twenty. The King of Siam, then reigning, had revived this Method of hunting Elephants, was present himself, mounted on an Elephant of War, and gave his Orders. The Embassadors were informed by his Prime Minister, that this Prince had at this time two thousand Elephants of War, and forty-five thousand Men, in his Service.

Father *Tachard*, who was of this Embassy, tells us farther, that there was a kind of Amphitheatre, which was built in the Form of a long Square, walled on every Side, and a convenient Terrace on the Top, on which the Spectators were placed. On the Inside, there was a kind of Paddock, composed of large wooden Pillars, fixed in the Earth, at the Distance of about two Feet one from another; behind which the Huntsmen retired, when pursued by the enraged Beast. A large Extent of Ground was taken in towards the Country, and over-against it, near the City, a smaller Part; at the End of which there was a long Passage, so narrow that an Elephant could not pass thro' it without Difficulty; which led into a Court where the Elephants were tamed. On the Day appointed for the Chase, the Huntsmen entered the Woods, mounted on female Elephants, properly trained to the Sport, being themselves to covered, as not to be seen by the wild Elephants. When they were to far advanced in the Forest, as that they judged themselves near the Haunts of those wild Beasts, they made the female Elephants roar; to which the Males never failed to answer with a most dreadful Noise: By which the Huntsmen judging of the Distance they were from them, began to return, and, leading the Females gently towards the Amphitheatre, the wild Elephants followed them very peaceably, till they entered within the Inclosure, and the Barrier behind them was shut.

The Females continued their March thro' the Amphitheatre, and entered, one after another, the narrow Passage on the opposite Side. The wild Elephant, at the Entrance of that Passage, stopped; and then they put in Practice every Method to force him forward, by making the female Elephants that were on the other Side cry; while the Huntsmen in the Amphitheatre pushed the Elephant forward with loud Cries; and when he turned upon them, they took Shelter behind the Pillars. At last, having got him to the Entrance of the Passage, one ran before him; and the wild Elephant following with all imaginable Fury, his Passage was presently stopped by two sliding Barriers that were let fall, one before, the other behind him. The Animal finding himself in this Situation, not able to get either forward or backwards, made prodigious Efforts, and set up a loud Cry. They then endeavoured to pacify him, by throwing Buckets of Water over him, rubbing him with Leaves, and wetting his Ears with Oil: They likewise brought tame Elephants, both Male and Female, who caressed and made much of him with Trunks.

In the mean time, they fastened Ropes under his Belly, and to his tender Legs: Then an Officer mounted on an Elephant trained for that Purpose, advanced and retired several Times thro' the Passage, to shew the wild one how he might come out; and the Barrier before him being removed, he readily followed the other Elephant to the End of the Passage. As soon as he came to the Entrance of the little Paddock, they fastened him, by the Help of the Ropes, to two of the Pillars that waited for him, one on each Side. Another marched before him, and pulled him along by a Rope, while a fourth, that was behind, thrust him on, by pushing him with his Head, till they brought him to a great Post, fixed like the Capstem of a

ter out of a gold Vessel; by which Ceremony they fancy the Elephant is deprived of his Fierceness, and rendered fit for Service. The Day following he went with the rest, and in a Fortnight's Time was quite tame.

3. The Elephant, tho' the largest of all Beasts, some of them being twenty Feet in Compass, is extremely docile, very industrious, and has Sense so much superior to a Beast, that it seems in some Measure to approach human Reason. It is very certain, that this Creature is capable of Fidelity, deep Affection, and Gratitude; and that to such a Degree, as to be extremely afflicted on the Loss of its Governor: But this Passion rises to a surprising Height, if by any Accident he injures his Keeper; which sometimes falls out, when the Creature is seized with that kind of Fury which its Species is subject to. The Compassion and Tenderness of its Nature appears in various Circumstances: The Loss of its Companion distresses the Elephant more than any thing; for it is reported, that it never makes a second Choice. In some Countries they had a Custom of taking Elephants, by digging deep Pits, and covering them with Hurdles, strewn with Leaves. If a female Elephant beheld her Young one thus caught, she would throw herself into the same Pit, there to remain, at the Hazard of her Life and Liberty. In a Word, she never abandoned it in any Danger, but would rather suffer herself to be killed. In passing a River, the carried it on her Trunk, if the River was fordable; but if they were obliged to swim, the young one passed first, before the Water was raised by the Entrance of so many Creatures of such Size, the Elephants going usually in an Herd. If at any time, they found one of their own Species wounded in the Woods, they took all imaginable Care to succour and relieve it, by bringing Food to the Place where it lay, and such Remedies as might contribute to its Cure: If, in spite of all their Endeavours, it died, they found means to inter and cover it with Leaves, that the Body might not be exposed, and torn to Pieces by wild Beasts.

When they were tamed, they were taught to know the Approach of the Kings, as if they meant to advance, after the Fashion of the East. Some Princes had more than twenty of them belonging to their private Use, which in their Turus, did Duty before their Tents, and in time of Battle defended them with the utmost Zeal. Among Writers of the Life of *Alexander* agrees, that the Elephant on which *Porus* was mounted, took more than Care of his Prince, sitting him safely down when he was wounded, drawing the Darts out of his Body with his Trunk; and then, gently replacing him in his Seat, carried him safely back to his Quarters. The Reader will observe, that we do not deliver these Facts as either certain or credible: We mention them only as related by ancient Authors, and leave the rest to his own Judgment.

Aelian, in his History of Animals, mentions several Things very curious and remarkable as to these Creatures: He tells us, with respect to their Fidelity, that a young Indian Lord, having caught a small white Elephant, brought it up with the utmost Tenderness, and was exceedingly beloved by that Animal. The King of the Country, having a very extraordinary Account of the Beauty and Docility of the Beast, demanded it from its Master for his own Use; but the young Lord not being able to part with it, chose rather to fly to the Mountains. He was pursued therefore by the King's Orders, where, in the Top of a Rock, he for a long time defended himself, by throwing Stones, in which he was perfectly well seconded by his Elephant; but at last the Soldiers getting up, and the young Man being much wounded, the Elephant was left alone to sustain the Combat; when the rushing Turbans of his Enemies, threw some of them over the Precipice, and having put the rest to Flight, returned, took up her wounded Master, and carried him off. What *Reynolds* continues that Naturalist, is the Fidelity of this Beast on

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Plinius tells us that at the Time of *Pompey*: A Soldier received a wound on the Ground, and was attended with his Master's Mallet, and overtook him. If these Creatures and their Courage, and placed Kings in a general was given the Spirit of Behaviour, they tolerance, overture, Confusion, the Small and C by the Enemies long on their Ape of all that co one in his Ar he him Victory. The Use of t amongst the *Per* from the *Roman* rived very muc the Force of t ber Darts; t on Advantage. *Al* had thirty th which this, w who fat before co. The *Indians* th gent manner, an ther Nations; to the Army, th they were intre ned Years les which their E fan was impossible stivals, in ord of *Torus*, to th aged in the fro or the Great: s. *Marcus* *Ant*, that the which desolated the painted at a Sige to thank th did not be bro gre than the J. *Indians*, when *Ant*. The *Roman* ed on their A star the building to the last time they were a new Army, in his of *Roman*, he ex right against a T of *Spain*, equally o of their militan and made a of the *Elk* that he could ha ing on upon the which he threw Address, to the

more clearly appear, when we come to speak of their
and their Functions. They were divided into *Brach-*
man and *Gomman*. The former were *Brachman* by
the name by *Platon*, as that he explained here-
after. Their Attention to their Piety begins very
early, and even while their Children were in their Mo-

to abate, during her Pregnancy, for what might be
harmful to the Child, inasmuch, as what I scarce the
might use, and what it was fit for her to do. Accord-
ing to the Reception she gave to these Advices, they
regulated their Conduct, as to the Genus and Disposi-
tion of the Child.

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more than the Signs or Shadows of them, which
is as reasonable, as it, upon reading *Aesop's* Fables in
which, by the way, is only a Translation of the
original Writer *Lokman*, we should reproach the *Greeks*
with their Folly, in believing that Birds could argue, or
hold any Conversation. It was in all Ages, and is to
this Day, the Custom of the oriental Nations to wrap up
their Wisdom, either in short Sentences or Proverbs, or
in Allegories and Parables; which if, for want of suffi-
cient Information, we cannot perfectly understand, it does
not follow, either that these People believe these Stories
to be true, or that they may not come under them Truths
of great Importance.

It is not at the same time he confessed, that the Monarchs
of the *Indies* sometimes carry their Passion for support-
ing and giving Credit to these Sort of Fables to a very
great Height; of which we have an Instance, in regard
to the Animal now under our Consideration; an Ele-
phant, perfectly white, is in itself a great Curiosity, and
therefore worthy of being preserved, with peculiar Care, in
the Stables of Kings; but this Point is carried much far-
ther; and, as the Reader will see, in four Voyages that
follow, very long and bloody Wars have happened in this
Quarter of the World on account of the *White Elephant*,
a Possession of which is esteemed of so great Conse-
quence, that it finds Place amongst, or, otherwise, comes
in the End of, a Prince's Titles. In order to account for
this, we are told, by such as have inquired very diligently
into the Matter, that the high *Bhacem* the *Indians* have
for a long Time past, is grounded on a Fable related of
a famous principal Idol, who is the same with *Chana*, *Saca*,
Chana is called by the *Juggers*, and about whom
there is a thousand superstitious Stories. They say,
that he has eight hundred Names, in different Species,
that he is the Son of a Neuman; and that, when he was
born, he passed through his Mother's Sides, through
her back, and through his Teeth. The *Fruthis*, *Saca*
was a *Fruthi*, who perished People of any thing he
pleas'd his Mother, being big of him, dreamt, that a
white Elephant issue through her Mouth; Hence it is,
that white Elephants are held in Veneration in *India*, *China*,
Tangor, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, where they are treated in Great
Courage and Nobleness of great Distinction visit them in
great Courts, and pay them the same Honour as to
Kings. *Yera* was would be exceedingly mistaken, who
should from hence conceive, that these Stories are really
believed by Kings; the contrary of which is to true, that
the *Brazza* themselves make no Difficulty of acknowledg-
ing to any intelligent Person, that talks to them on the
Subject, that all these are Fables, invented at Pleasure;
but only to amuse the common People, and keep them
from enquiring into what their Betters do not think it fit
for them to understand.

It is now time to leave the Elephant; with respect
to which, however, it would be very easy to assemble twice
as many curious Relations: But, before we quit it, it will
not be amiss to give the Reader a few Particulars about
this wonderful Creature, which may be depended upon,
and true, in many respects, to settle his Opinion with
respect to the Facts before related. The largest and finest
Elephant in the World are those of the Island of *Ceylon*;
next to them, those of the Continent of *India*; and
thirdly, the Elephant of *Africa*. The Moors, who deal in
these Creatures throughout all the *Indies*, have a fixed
Price for them, it is found and strong. They measure them
in the Neck on one of his fore Feet, to the Top of his
Shoulder; and for every Cubit he is high, they give a
Gold and Parabol, which is, in our Money, about 100 l.
An Elephant of the largest Size, is nine Cubits, or thirteen
feet and a half high; so that the largest Elephant is worth
eleven good, unless he be of the *Ceylon* Breed, for then he
will fetch four times that Sum.
The Female Elephant goes sixteen or eighteen Months
with her Young; which, when brought forth, is as big as

a Colt: They are fifty or sixty Years old before they come
to their full Strength, or are fit to have Towers upon their
Backs, or Coaches, such as are used in *Cochin China*, where
Elephants carry in both Machines twelve Persons, besides
him who rules the Elephant, and sits before, upon the
Shoulders, and a Boy, who belongs to him, and sits upon
the Elephant's hinder Parts, and who, if the Rider
pleas'd, may be called, the Coachman and Post-boy.
As to the Age of these Creatures, nothing can be said with
Certainty. If we could depend upon what we are told by
Pliny, in his late of *Alphonsus Tyrans*, we should
believe, that this great Traveller saw the very Elephant
upon which *Porus* rode in the Battle he fought against
Alexander the Great, with two Hoops of Gold on his
Teeth, signifying, that *Alexander*, in Esteem of his Fi-
delity, had consecrated him to the Sun. At this rate, that
Elephant must have been above four hundred Years of
Age. That they lived between two and three hundred
Years, is not only affirmed by the best Authors of Anti-
quity, but also by such as are best acquainted with them
in the *Indies*; and that they are in full Vigour at much
above a hundred, is very certainly known.

They feed, when will, upon Grass, or on the green
Boughs of Trees; when they cannot get their, they will
eat Roots; if they can get into Corn-fields, they commit
terrible Ravages: When tame they will eat almost any
thing, but are particularly fond of Sugar-canes, or what-
ever else is sweet; they will likewise drink Wine or Ale;
and it is observed, that, when they drink Water, they first
stir, and make it thick, with their Feet: The Reason ge-
nerally assigned for this is, that they hate to see their own
Figure in the Water, which is a mere Fancy; and the true
Cause, that the Gravel and small Stones which they swal-
low by this Means, may help to digest their Food; which
is likewise practis'd by Geese, Ducks, and other Water-
fowl; but is the more necessary to the Elephant, because
this Creature is very much troubled with Indigestion and
the Colic.

The famous *Sir Thomas Brown* enforces the Antients,
for supposing that the Elephant slept standing; and yet the
Fact is really so; and, which is more extraordinary, they
shake their Heads continually while they sleep. *Sir Thomas*
was, however, thus far right, that this does not proceed
from their being unable to lie down, because in Places
where they are wild, the Print of them is frequently seen
upon the Grass. In all Parts of *India*, but in *China* espe-
cially, they make use of almost every Part of this Animal
in Medicine. The Broth, made of its Flesh, is excellent for
a Loosens; and the Flesh burned, becomes a Specific for
the Flux of Urine. The Gall is very good for the Eyes;
and the Humour of the Elephant's Eye, mixed with
Bread-milk, is also held a most excellent Ophthalmic.
They likewise use the Gall to take away an offensive
Breath. A Powder, made of the Athes of the Skin,
burnt, and mixed with Oil, is an excellent Balsam for
green Wounds; and the Hare at the Pit of the Stomach,
powder'd, is a noble Stomachic. I shall speak, in another
Place, of the Use and Value of the Elephants Teeth, but
it may not be amiss to observe here, that in the *Indies*
they reckon three Sorts of Ivory; the best, that which is
taken out of the Mouth of the Beast immediately after it
is killed; the second Sort, when the Teeth are taken out
of the Head of an Elephant that has died a natural Death;
and the third or worst So, that is found in the Woods,
where the Elephants have shed or lost their Teeth. The
Pace of an Elephant is equal in Speed to that of a Horse in
full Trot, and they will travel at this Rate some Hours. The
most cautious of our modern Travellers jollity to the tall
what *Pliny* says of this Creature, and what *Cicero* had
said before him, that no Animal seems to approach, by
its Actions, to near the Reason of Man as this.

The *Rhinoceros*, next to the Elephant, has been always
esteemed the most extraordinary Animal in the *Indies*, both
with respect to Size and to Shape. This Creature is com-

mon in the Isle of Java, as also in the Kingdoms of *Bengala* and *Patala*. There is scarce any Creature more frequently mentioned by ancient Writers than this; and yet there are very few that have been so imperfectly described. I shall pass by the Sentiments of some learned Men, who conceive this to be the Unicorn of the Scriptures: I say, I shall pass them by, because I do not see how the Question can ever be decided; only thus much seems to be certain, that the Unicorn is there mentioned for his Strength, and for his Strength lying in his Horn, which is exactly true of the Rhinoceros. *Pliny*, who is fond of Wonders, and to copious in his Recital of most of them, is very short in his Description of this Animal, not having vouchsafed us as many Lines upon the Subject, as he has written Chapters upon the Elephant. All he tells us of it amounts to this, that *Pompey*, in his Shews, exhibited, among other strange Beasts, a Rhinoceros, with one Horn, and no more, and that in his Snout. This, continues he, is by Nature a dreadful Enemy to the Elephant; and, by rubbing his Horn against hard Stones, makes it to very sharp, that he is able to pierce with it the Belly of that Creature; at which Part he aims, because it is tenderer than the rest. In point of Description, he tells us, that he is full as long as the Elephant, but that his Legs are shorter, and his Skin of the Colour of Box. *Aelian*, who infits to largely upon other Animals that are very common, did not think it necessary to describe the Rhinoceros, because all the World has seen it at *Rome*, in the Shews given by the Emperors for the Amusement of the People. *Strabo* is as short in his Description as *Pliny*, though he tells us, that he had seen this Creature at *Alexandria*, and cites *Arimendorus* on the same Subject. *Dion Cassius* contents himself with observing, that this Animal had never been seen at *Rome* before the Triumph of *Augustus*, in which he contradicts *Pliny*.

It would be to no Purpose to collect a great Number of Citations, unless we could meet with some that were larger and fuller in the Description of this Animal; and, therefore, it is necessary, in order to give the Reader a tolerable Idea of it, to have recourse to the Moderns. *Boninus* has described it in his excellent Work, and so has *Father Le Comte*; and, as they agree perfectly well, I shall only relate what we are told by the latter. The Rhinoceros, says he, is one of the most extraordinary Animals in the World: He seems to me to resemble, in many Respects, the wild Boar, except, that he is much bigger, has shorter Legs, and a heavier Body. His Skin is entirely covered with large and thick Scales of a dark Colour, and exceedingly hard. They are divided into little Squares or Buttons, which arise somewhat above the Skin in a manner not much unlike those of the *Crocodile*. It is by this means that its Legs seem to be inclosed in a kind of Boots, and its Head wrapped up behind in a sort of Hood or Capochin; for which Reason the *Portuguese* call this Creature the Monk of the *Indies*. Its Head is very large, but its Mouth is not very big; its Snout long, and armed with a large Horn, which renders it extremely terrible even to Tygers, Buffaloes, and Elephants. But what seems to be the most wonderful in this Animal is its Tongue, which Nature has covered with a Membrane so tough and strong, that in Effect it differs nothing from a File, so that he tears his Prey to pieces barely by licking it. As we see some Animals that delight in feeding on Thistles, the little Points of which, by pricking the Extremities of the Nerves in their Tongues, afford them an agreeable Sensation, so the Rhinoceros feels with the greatest Pleasure on the Branches of such Trees as are thick set with the toughest and strongest Thorns. I have myself often given this Creature Twigs of such Trees as were thick-set with Brers that were exceedingly sharp and strong; and have been amazed to see how greedily, and with what Addrets, he chewed and fed upon them, without being at all incommoded by their Points. It is true, that sometimes his Mouth is a little bloody, but that serves

has apparently no other Effect on his Tongue, or Throat, than Salt and Pepper on ours. Some other Authors, according to this Description, that he has under his fore Legs a kind of very ugly loose Skin, that hangs down over his Body of a Texture not unlike that of the Wings of a Bat, which, all together, must render this Creature equally disagreeable.

The ingenious *Mr. Kallen*, in his excellent Account of the Cape of *Good Hope*, has given us a still more accurate Description of the Rhinoceros; and, make it, by comparing it with all that I have met with on this Subject, I am thoroughly satisfied, that it is more clear, more distinct, and more agreeable to Truth, because the Author seems to have had more Attention, and less Quickness of fancy than other Writers. Its Skin, says he, is without Hair, or other Covering; but is of itself so thick and hard, that even the most sharp pointed Knife will hardly pierce it. Painters generally represent this Creature with Scales, but it has really nothing of this kind. Its Skin is not full of Scratches and Scabs, that, at a Distance, the eye may be very well taken for Scales, especially as they frequently run over and across each other. His Nose, or Snout, is not unlike that of an Hog; on the End of which he has a Horn of a dark-brown Colour, which, without counting by the continual Use he makes of it, is bent back towards his Head, so that it in some measure resembles a *Peapack* there. This Horn is of very different Sizes, according to the Age of the Animal; but, in Length, never exceeds two Feet. It has another Horn a little above the first one, towards the Front of its Head, which is of a yellow Colour, but small in a young Rhinoceros, and in an old one, does not exceed six Inches at most. In shape it resembles a *Blow* cut in half; the Cavity is towards the Head: This lesser Horn hinders the greater from doing all the Mischief that it otherwise might. Its Ears are less, and its Limbs shorter than those of the Elephant: Its Eyes are exceedingly small, and are set straight forward; which is the Reason, that when it pursues its Prey, it is always in a straight Lane, foregoing turning, and throwing up, whatever it meets with on its Passage, so that neither Bush, Tree, Thicket, or Log Stone, ever oblige it to quit its Path. With the Horn upon its Nose he tears up Trees by the Roots, throws some of them in his Way over his Head to a great Distance, and with a prodigious Noise. When he meets with a young one of his kind, and is in a Rage, he will make a great noise in the ground, and throw, from time to time, large Quantities of Earth over his Head. The Grunt is very much like that of an Hog, and not very loud if he is a young one; but if he is in Pursuit of his Prey, he makes a terrible Noise as may be heard at a great Distance, and he is very dreadful to all Kinds of Beasts, by the loud Sound of it in the utmost Terror.

9. The principal Food of the Rhinoceros is the Bark of Shrubs, Branches of Trees, and other Vegetables of the Nature: For though this Creature be a kind of *Pygmy*, and one of the most terrible in this Part of the World, yet it is both able to subsist, and does subsist for a great while together, without feeding on Flesh. What the *Ancients* report, of the Rhinoceros having a natural Antipathy to the Elephant, is strictly true; and they never meet in the Woods but it is fatal to the latter, if it does not kill the Rhinoceros time enough to make its Escape; for the Elephant places all its Safety in Flight; and, if once attacked, is scarce able to make any Defence through Fear. It is very seldom that the Rhinoceros attacks a Man, or a Cow, or ever, unless he happens to be distressed in Retire, or when he has a mortal Averision. When he comes to the Man whom he pursues, he licks him by rubbing his Horn, and throws him directly over his Head with such Force, that he never fails of finding him, when he comes to devour him, which he does by licking out the Flesh from the Bones with his Tongue, in the same manner that he destroys other Animals. But, however terrible

Engering Kind of War, till towards the latter End of the Month of *August* both Armies and Fleets were in Sight of each other. *Antony*, with his Forces, encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Asium*, a small City of *Egyptus*, lying on the South Side of the Mouth of the *Ambraçian* Gulph; and *Augustus* was on the other Side, with his Army and Fleet, at the Distance of about a Mile from each other. *Cleopatra* was with *Antony*, and prevailed upon him to try his Fortune by Sea; and accordingly, on the second of *September*, in the Year before Christ thirty-one, a decisive Engagement ensued, in which *Antony* was far from having the worst, till *Cleopatra*, with the *Egyptian* Squadron of sixty Sail, deserted him; and he forgot his own Interest so far as to follow her: Notwithstanding which, his Fleet continued the Engagement till Night, when they were intirely beaten; and, in a few Days after, his Army deserted to his Rival^a.

As for *Cleopatra*, she sailed directly to *Alexandria*; but, fearing that her Subjects would not receive her, if acquainted with the true State of her Affairs, she entered the Harbour, with all her Ships adorned, as if they had carried the Victory: And having, by this Artifice, got into full Possession of the City and Kingdom, she caused such of the Nobility of *Egypt*, as she most suspected, to be put to Death; and then it was, that she formed the Project of putting all her Treasures on board her Ships, and drawing those Ships through the Canal before-mentioned, into the *Red Sea*; which Design was prevented by the Vigilance of the *Romans*, who prevailed with the *Arabians* on the opposite Side of the Gulph to burn those Ships; which wholly disappointed her Design^b.

Antony was at that Time absent, and seemed to be endeavouring to collect new Forces; but he soon abandoned that Project, and followed *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where he fell into the same lazy and luxurious Life he had led before. All his Hopes lay, now, in endeavouring to soften *Augustus* by Submissions; and, with this View, both he and *Cleopatra* sent to the Conqueror, offering to resign all they yet possessed, and to lead a private Life, in whatever Place he thought proper to assign them. To *Antony's* Proposals no Answer was made, but *Cleopatra* was flattered with Hopes, that she might not destroy, or make away with, her Treasures. And these fallacious Hopes led her to the greatest Malices, that of betraying *Antony*, by giving up *Pelufum*, which was garrisoned by her Forces, to *Augustus*, on the first Approach of his Army. *Antony* would then have put himself on board his Fleet, which was still numerous, in order to have fought another Battle; but, as soon as they were drawn into a Lane, most of his Ships went over to the Enemy. His Land Forces acted by him in the same manner, through the Insinuation of *Cleopatra*; which drove him into such a Fit of Despair, that he threw himself upon his Sword, choosing rather to die by his own Hands, than to fall alive into those of his Enemy^c.

A little before this Accident happened, *Cleopatra* had retired to a magnificent Monument, which she had caused to be built for herself, near the Temple of *Isis*; and thither she removed the best Part of her Treasure, shutting up herself therein, with only two of her Maids, and one of

her Eunuchs, expecting, in that Solitude, what was to befall her^d.

Upon the coming of *Augustus* to *Alexandria*, all *Egypt* submitted to him; and he took all the Precautions possible, for settling and preserving it; and, among all these, we are to reckon his putting to Death *Cæsion*, which he did for two Reasons; first, because he had been declared the lawful Heir of *Julius Cæsar*, which might have awakened new Troubles in *Italy*; and next, because of his Descent from the *Ptolemies*, which might have given him a Claim to the Kingdom of *Egypt*. He likewise put to Death *Antyllus*, the eldest Son of *Antony* by his first Wife, though he had married his own Daughter: As to the Reason of which, History is silent^e.

Cleopatra remained, all this time, shut up in her Tomb; for *Augustus*, having now made sure, both of her Person and her Treasures, neglected her; which she perceived, and being likewise informed that he intended to carry her, in three Days time, to *Rome*, in order to grace his Triumph, she caused herself to be bit by an Asp, a Kind of Serpent found only in *Egypt* and *Lilya*; the Bite of which induces a Lethargy, which brings on Death without Pain, in about three Hours time. Such was the End of this Princess, in the thirty-ninth Year of her Age, and in the twenty-second of her Reign, accounting it from the Death of her Father *Ptolemy Auletes*; and in her ended the Royal Race of the *Ptolemies*, after they had governed in *Egypt*, from the Death of *Alexander* the Great, two hundred ninety-five Years^f.

The Senate and People of *Rome* were so well pleased with the Conduct of *Augustus* in this Affair, that he spent but a single Month, in the Subjection of this whole Kingdom; that they decreed the Name of this Month to be altered, and that, instead of *Septilis*, it should be called *Augustus*, as it has been ever since. They likewise decreed, that the Day, on which *Augustus* had entered *Alexandria* should, in all succeeding times, be accounted fortunate; and that a new Æra should take Place in *Egypt* from that Time, as it did; and derived its Name from the Victory at *Actium*, though it did not commence till near a Year after, being fixed to the twenty-ninth of *August*, in the thirteenth Year before Christ, because on that Day *Cleopatra* died, and the *Macedonian* Empire ending in this Country, dated the *Romans* commenced^g.

By this Æra, all publick Transactions were computed in *Egypt*, so long as it remained a Province of the *Roman* Empire, which was six hundred and seventy Years. When *Augustus* staid at *Alexandria*, he visited the Tomb of *Alexander* the Great, and saw his Body, which lay embalmed there, in a Case of Glass: It had formerly been kept in a Case of Gold; but that being stolen by *Seleucus* *Cyrenensis*, who had married an *Egyptian* Queen, this of Glass was provided in its stead. But *Augustus* would not be persuaded to see the Sepulchres of the *Ptolemies*, nor to visit the *Egyptian* *Apis*, telling those who would have had him done it, that he worshipped the immortal God, and not Beasts^h. At the Close of the Month of *August*, when he left this Country, he appointed *Cornelius Caninus* the first Governor of the Province.

^a Dion Cassius, lib. li. Plutarchus in Antonio. L. Florus, lib. iv. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. Orosius, lib. vi. ^b Plutarchus in Antonio. ^c Dion Cassius, lib. li. ^d Strabo, lib. xvii. Plutarchus in Antonio. L. Florus. Velleius Paterculus. Eusebius. Orosius. ^e Plutarchus in Antonio. ^f Dion Cassius, lib. li. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 89. Orosius, lib. vi. c. 19. ^g Plutarchus in Antonio. ^h Dion Cassius, lib. li. ⁱ Plutarchus in Antonio. ^j Dion Cassius, lib. li. ^k Plutarchus in Antonio. ^l Plutarchus in Antonio. ^m Plutarchus in Antonio. ⁿ Plutarchus in Antonio. ^o Plutarchus in Antonio. ^p Plutarchus in Antonio. ^q Plutarchus in Antonio. ^r Plutarchus in Antonio. ^s Plutarchus in Antonio. ^t Plutarchus in Antonio. ^u Plutarchus in Antonio. ^v Plutarchus in Antonio. ^w Plutarchus in Antonio. ^x Plutarchus in Antonio. ^y Plutarchus in Antonio. ^z Plutarchus in Antonio.

The History of the Romans; the discoveries made

1. The Romans li. by the Desire of the Sea. 3. The Roman Empire, according to the Expedition of the Emperor, which it produced, the Indies, Portugal, to the End of the annual Exploits in them, and on the Object the Romans. w

1. THAT that Po- nagement especially of the Trade to the highest Degree of Maritime Affairs in something of the Roman which did not make the Beginning of Time, they had the mention thereto, either in extending the first Misfortunes the disgraced them in respect exposed to Chance, But as their Genius whatever they one really useful, the fans, when they find them with their Victory, that it was to the of which gave the chiefly indebted for

When therefore fatal Retulacion of the Conflic C. M. by their Order, to 'mighty Power y 'lures you have d 'year Fall. It is 'has thereon, that 'Spain; that fed 'Peace; to pillag 'warr to hide you 'to board them.

' Knowledge of M 'ung dies, and l 'ting such mischie 'in a Condition, 'I shall not p 'the Expeditions of 'Fate Wars; and 'preaty, in the Con 'tence of Mind, in 'goring the Hearts 'willingly obeyed t 'Subjects by Force. 'Enterprizes had fo 'sided to keep great 'able and experien

^a Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^b Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^c Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^d Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^e Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^f Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^g Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^h Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ⁱ Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^j Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^k Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^l Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^m Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ⁿ Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^o Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^p Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^q Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^r Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^s Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^t Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^u Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^v Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^w Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^x Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^y Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^z Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^{aa} Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^{ab} Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^{ac} Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^{ad} Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^{ae} Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^{af} Polib. Excerpt. lib. C. 2. ^{ag} Polib. 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SECTION IX.

The History of the Indian Trade, as carried on through Egypt by the Red Sea, under the Romans; the Manner of its Establishment; the Profits drawn therefrom; and the Discoveries made in Consequence of this Commerce.

1. The Romans little addicted to Maritime Affairs before the second Punic War, and incited thereto chiefly by the Desire of destroying Carthage.
2. The Progress of their Naval Power, till they became Masters of the Sea.
3. The extraordinary Establishments of Augustus, for the Support of the Maritime Force of the Roman Empire.
4. His Maxims for the Government of Egypt, considered as inviolable Laws by the succeeding Emperors; and contributed greatly to the Preservation of the Province.
5. An Account of the Expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia, the many Difficulties he met with therein; and the Consequences which it produced.
6. The Ethiopians invade Egypt; are repulsed by Publius Petronius, the Roman Prefect, who penetrated as far as Nepata, the Capital of Ethiopia.
7. The Fame of Augustus reaching the Indies, Porus sends Ambassadors to desire his Friendship.
8. The History of this Commerce continued to the End of the Reign of Vespasian, including the Embassies of Indian Princes.
9. An exact Description of the annual Fleets sent within this Period, to the Indies; the Nature of their Voyages; the Sums employed in them, and the Profits.
10. Observations upon the State of that Commerce, within this Period; and on the Objections raised against it by Pliny.
11. Of the new Channels of Trade opened from Egypt by the Romans, within the Compass of this Period; and the Advantages derived from them.

THAT we may fully enter into the Wisdom of that Policy shewn by the Romans, in the Management of the Affairs of Egypt, and more especially of the Trade to the Indies, which they improved to the highest Degree possible, considering the State of Maritime Affairs in those Days, it will be necessary to say something of the Rise and Progress of their Naval Power, which did not make any great Figure in the World, till the Beginning of the second Punic War. Before that Time, they had shewed a very trivial, or scarce any, Attention thereto, either because they were then wholly occupied in extending their Dominions by Land; or, that the first Misfortunes they had experienced on their own Coasts, disgusted them in respect to a Trade, where all Things are exposed to Chance, and where there is perpetual Danger: But as their Genius led them to persevere, in Support of whatever they once discerned to be certainly and incomparably useful, they no longer abandoned Maritime Affairs, when they found, that it was possible to reconcile them with their Views and Interests: And one may safely say, that it was to Carthage, the Haughtiness and Obstinacy of which gave them so much Trouble, that they were chiefly indebted for this Obligation.

When therefore the Senate of Rome took, at last, the fatal Resolution of razing that City to its very Foundations, the Consul C. M. Figulus made the following Harangue, by their Order, to the Carthaginians: * It is the Sea, the mighty Power you have acquired thereon, the Treasures you have drawn from thence, that have hastened your Fall. It is the Sea, and the Powers that you possess thereon, that tempted you to seize Sardinia, Sicily, Spain; that seduced you to break your Treaties of Peace; to pillage our Merchant Ships; and to endeavour to hide your Crimes, by drowning those you found aboard them. In one Word, it has been your perfect Knowledge of Maritime Affairs, made you regard nothing else; and led you to place your Glory in committing such mischievous Acts, as hitherto we have not been in a Condition, nor had the Power, to punish.

I shall not pretend, here, to run into a Detail of all the Expeditions entered into by the Romans, since the First Wars; and in which they shewed to extensive a Capacity, in the Conduct of their Arms; to perfect a Pre-eminence of Mind, in all Danger; and an Industry so happy in gaining the Hearts of all People, and making themselves willingly obeyed by those, whom they had rendered their Subjects by Force. I shall only observe, that as all their Enterprises had some great End in View, so they never failed to keep great Fleets at Sea, under the Command of able and experienced Captains. The Love of Glory,

amongst them, was the universal Passion; and this it was, that induced them to think, that there was something low and indecent in all kind of Commerce. But Sentiments so rigid softened by Degrees; and these very Romans, who would appear to conquer, merely to have an Opportunity of giving Examples of Probity, Disinterestedness, and Moderation, began, at length, to vanquish, in order to procure the Delights and Commodities that they wanted; and that they might adorn Italy with the Spoils, and render her opulent, at the Expence of other Nations.

The Ruin of Carthage, which, however, was purchased by Rivers of Blood, subjected to Rome all the rest of Africa; which was of infinite Advantage, by securing to that proud City a constant Supply of Corn; and the burning of Corinth, which followed afterwards, finished the Destruction of Greece, and threw her into a Slavery so much the more galling, as for so long a Tract of Time she had been used to command.

With respect to the Conquests made by the Romans in Asia, they proved the Source of such immense Riches, as were little known to former Times; and, with these Riches, were introduced at Rome, and all the principal Cities of Italy, refined Luxury, a studied Elegance, which distorted itself through all; and was alike visible in Buildings, Furniture, Dress, Gardens, and the Appurtenances to the Table. The Love of Pleasure, that Pomp which tickles the Eye, and that Magnificence which captivates the Senses, banished the ancient Severity of Manners; and the Romans became now more rich, more polite, more voluptuous; disdain'd the humble Poverty of their Ancestors, and began to form new Notions of Virtue.

In this, undoubtedly, they were happy beyond all other Nations, that every new War not only led to new Conquests, but taught them likewise fresh Improvements in the Arts of Military and Naval Armaments: And thus one Victory, by the Care and Skill they discovered in improving it, became the Means of obtaining many more. Thus, for Instance, when Lucullus triumphed over Mithridates, he caused to be expoted, among the rest of the Spoils he had taken from him, one hundred and ten Prows of Gallies, sheathed with Copper. It is well known, that this it was, that heretofore constituted the great Force of Ships of War, and rendered them terrible in the Day of Battle: And as these Prows were easily taken off, they were, in the Day of Triumph, carried before the Victor; who, besides, had his Temples adorned with a Crown, or Circle of Gold; on which were embossed the Prows and Poops of Gallies, intermingled one with another, when Crown was ruled Naxos, or Rejale.

* Plutarch lib. viii. Oratorum lib. vi. Plutarch lib. viii. Oratorum lib. vi.

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* Plutarch lib. viii. Liv. Epitom. lib. xlix. Flor. lib. ii. Oratorum lib. vi. Euseb. lib. iv. It is evident from this Speech, that the Carthaginians were long Masters of the Sea, and that Rome was but lately so. * Liv. lib. vi. Flor. lib. ii. Plutarch lib. viii. Oratorum lib. vi. This Naval Crown Augustus bestowed on Agrippa, for his eminent Services performed at sea. ab. xxix. c. 2. Justin lib. xxv. c. 2.

into the Prosecution, that *Gallus*, to prevent being sent into Banishment, threw himself upon his Sword, and died on the Spot. The Zeal shewn by the Senate upon this Occasion was so grateful to the Emperor, that he returned them his Thanks for it; and it is observed, that this *Cornelius Gallus* and *Salvidienus Rufus* were the only Persons given up by *Augustus* to the Severity of the Laws during his whole Reign; and it is very possible, that the former, in some measure, met with his Fate to gratify the Egyptians upon their first becoming Subjects to Rome, and to whom he had rendered himself hateful.

Publius Petronius was made Governor of Egypt in the Year before *Christ* 26, and, in the Year after, *Augustus* formed a Design, which very plainly shews how far the Indian Trade had already made an Impression upon his Mind. He had been informed, that the Southern *Arabians*, that is, the *Arabians* who inhabited the Side of the Gulph opposite to Egypt, were a Nation very rich in Gold, Silver, and precious Stones: He, therefore, determined either to make them Friends to his Government, or to bring them under Subjection, by which means two very desirable Ends would have been answered; for, in the first place, a very rich Commerce, and very commodious, would be secured to his new Subjects; and next, he flattered himself there would be such Discoveries made, as might enable him to extend either his Conquests or his Trade on that Side much further. As this Scheme of his was really of great Importance, so the Means he took to have it executed were exceedingly well contrived, and plainly shew how much he was conversant in the Thing was difficult to be executed, unless it was conducted by Persons who were well acquainted in the Country, it would certainly miscarry. He, therefore, directed *Herod*, King of *Judea*, who was always his faithful Friend, to assist in the Execution of this Project; and gave the like Orders to an *Arabian* Prince, whose Dominions bordered on those Nations that were to be affected by this Project, which rendered his Assistance of the utmost Importance.

Elus Gallus, a Roman of the Equestrian Order, was the General of this Expedition, for which *Augustus* furnished him with ten thousand of the Allies; to these were added five hundred Men from *Herod* abovementioned, a thousand more that were brought him by *Syllens* from *Chari*, King of the *Nabatean Arabs*. This *Obodas*, succeeded *Makbas* in the Kingdom, and *Syllens* was his chief Minister, and a Person of great Craft, Vigour, and Activity on; He, knowing the Country, undertook to be the Guide in this Expedition, and thereby made it necessary to betray him in it. It was proposed to march to the Coast of the *Nabateans*, and from thence to proceed in this Expedition; but *Syllens* fully informing *Gallus*, that there was no safe Passage thither by Land, he proposed on building a Fleet to pass thither by Sea; and that, having provided an hundred and thirty Triremes at *Clepatris*, a Port at the Bottom of the *Arabian Gulph*, or *Red Sea*, he there put his Army on board them, and sailed to *Lucocone*, a Port of the *Nabateans*, lying on the Eastern Side of that Sea. This being a very dangerous Navigation, by reason of the many Rocks and Shoals that are in that Part of the *Arabian Gulph*, and *Syllens* pointing him the worst Way through it, he was fifteen Days in the Passage, and lost several of his Ships in it; and when he was landed, all his Army being sick of a Disease common in that Country, he was forced to lie by all the remaining Part of the Summer, and the Winter following to wait their Recovery.

We have all these Circumstances from *Strabo*, who was the intimate Friend of *Gallus*, and must, therefore, have been perfectly well acquainted with every thing relating to this Expedition; and it is his Observation, that tho' *Obodas* was very hearty in this Affair, yet leaving it, as it was so much the Custom of the *Arabian* Princes, to his Ministers, he ventured upon these extraordinary Measures, with a View, as our Author conjectures, to his own private

Advantage; for his Design was, that the Romans should conquer a great Part of the Country, but with such Difficulties, and under such Disadvantages, that they might be weary of keeping it, and that so it might, with the rest of his Master's Dominions, fall into his Hands; for he had already projected the Poisoning of King *Obodas*, which he afterwards executed. It is, also, worthy of Observation, that this Disease, which carried off such Numbers of the Romans, was a Swelling in their Gums, their Thighs, and their Legs, or, in plain English, the Scurvy. In the Beginning of the Spring, when his Army had recovered their Health and Spirits, *Gallus* continued his March, but through such Roads, as made it absolutely necessary to carry a Supply of Water on the Backs of Camels, which was another Contrivance of *Syllens*, who, if he pleased, might have shewn them a much easier and shorter Passage.

After a tedious March of many Days, they arrived in the Country of *Arata*, in the Neighbourhood of *Obodas*, who came thither to meet the Roman General, treated him with great Kindness, and made him many Presents. They made, from thence, another fatiguing March of fifty Days, through a sandy and desert Country, belonging to a King whose Name was *Sabus*; and then came into the Country of the *Agrarians*, the chief City of which they took; and in this Country they found great Riches, being in a Soil very fruitful and pleasant, and inhabited by a People who were naturally peaceable. Continuing their March for six Days, they came to a River, where, for the first Time, they saw an Enemy; for, the neighbouring Nations, having heard of their Approach, assembled to stop their Passage; a Battle ensued, in which the *Arabians* were routed, or rather slaughtered; for here were ten thousand of them killed, with the Loss of no more than two Romans: The *Barbarians*, indeed, were armed with Lances, Swords, Bows and Slings; but they were naturally a timorous People, and made but poor Use of their Weapons. They took from after the City of *Ajra*, the King having abandoned it.

Thence they marched to *Abundia*, which they took without any Trouble; and, making it a Place of Arms, they provided themselves there with Corn, and other Necessaries. Thence they moved on to *Marebas*, a City of the *Romanitians*, not far from *Basarus*, which Place they besieged for six Days, and were then obliged to decamp for Want of Water. The Treachery of the Guides being by this Time fully detected, they took another Road in their Return, and, in the Space of sixty Days, reached the Port of *Nagra* on the *Arabian Gulph*, though they had been six Months in penetrating into that Part of the Country, from which, without any great Difficulty, they returned in two. There they again embarked, and in eleven Days, and without any Accident, arrived safely at *Ayes Holmes*: From thence they continued their March to *Coptos*, and so back to *Alexandria*.

Elus Gallus brought home with him, after two Years Absence, but a small Part of his Army, having lost the rest, not in Battle, but by Hunger, Fatigue, Sickness, and the Hardships they endured; for, in the whole Expedition there were no more than seven left by the sword. After all, there was but very little gained by all this Labour, either in point of Conquest or Discovery; which was absolutely owing to the treacherous Arts of *Syllens* before mentioned, who, being at Rome some Years afterwards, and there charged with these and other Offences, and fully convicted, suffered an infamous Death, the just Reward of his superlative Wickedness. Yet, as unsuccessful as this Enterprize proved, it was undoubtedly a well laid Design; and, if it had taken Effect, must have contributed greatly to the opening a free Commerce throughout the whole Gulph, from the City of *Affinoe* to the City of *Petalmais*; and, as *Strabo* likewise suggests, it would have afforded a short and easy Passage across the Streights of *Sabat-Mendel*, to the Region of the *Troglytes*; the Reduction of which must have been very advantageous, especially, as we had

¹ *Deu. Cassin*, lib. liii. p. 512. *Sueton* in *Augusto*, c. 66. The learned *Cassinus* has confounded in his Notes upon *Strabo* this *Cassius*, the Patron of *Virgil*, and himself an excellent Poet, with *Elus Gallus*, of whom we are to speak immediately; and, indeed, the mistake was easily committed, they were of the same Name, flourished at the same time, and were both Privy Counsellors of *Augustus*. *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 780. ² *Deu. Cassin*, lib. liii. *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 780, 781, lib. xvi. p. 519. ³ *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 780.

shew very speedily, the Commerce of that Country, when opened, proved very beneficial to the *Egyptians*. One good Effect, and, perhaps, the only one that followed from this Expedition, was, the spreading the Fame of the *Romans*, and of *Augustus*, through the *Indies*, which produced two several Embassies; an Honour the *Romans* never received before, and which might, very probably, operate favourably for their Commerce; and, if so, the Expense of this Undertaking (which fell, however, mostly on the Allies) was not wholly thrown away.

6. But while *Aulus Gallus* was endeavouring to extend the *Roman* Conquests in *Arabia*, there happened a very unlooked-for Invasion in *Egypt*. *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, for this, it seems, was a Name common to those Princesses, as *Cleopatra* to the Queen of *Egypt*, made an Irruption into the Frontiers of the Province, and carried off three Cohorts of *Roman* Soldiers from *Syene*, *Elephantina*, and *Péris*, where they likewise threw down the Emperor's Images. As for *Petronius*, the Prefect of *Egypt*, was informed of the Invasion, he marched with near ten thousand Foot, and about eight hundred Horse, in order to come up with the Enemy, though they were upwards of thirty thousand. They were not much inclined to fighting, but retired before him to the City of *Pfela*, where they made a Halt: There *Petronius* sent Embassadors to demand the Prisoners, and to know the Causes of the War. But finding that Negotiation would do nothing, and having waited three Days as they desired, without receiving any satisfactory Answer, he resolv'd to attack them, as he accordingly did, and defeated them intirely. They were, in truth, very poorly armed, in all of their Shields being made of raw Hides, and, for offensive Weapons, they had some Swords, some Pole-axes, and some nothing but long Sticks, so that they were speedily routed^b.

Many were taken in this Engagement, and sent by Water to *Alexandria*; but most got into *Pfela*, which was soon taken; and in it an infinite Number of People of all Ranks. From hence he advanced to *Premnis*, a Place exceeding strong by Situation; in the Neighbourhood of which there are many Mountains, which being blown by the Winds, on the Army of *Comyses*, buried a great Part of them, which forced him to a precipitate Retreat. This Place reduced, he marched forwards to the Royal City *Nepata*, where *Candace*, and her Son, then were. She now offer'd to treat, and to restore the Prisoners, and the Statues of the Emperor. *Petronius*, however, attacked and plunder'd the City: From whence the Son of *Candace* privately fled. Having now pierc'd near eight hundred Miles into the Enemy's Country, and finding it grow very tedious of Woods and Delights, and the Weather proving extremely hot, he determin'd to return, after putting a strong Garrison into *Premnis*, and causing it to be victualled for two Years, that he might have a more Passadge into *Ethiopia*; and then he march'd safely back to *Alexandria*. There, having recover'd the Prisoners, he sent a thousand of the best of them to *Augustus*, who was then just returned out of *Spain*; but of these many died by the Way. The rest of the Prisoners were sold by the Soldiers, into whose Hands they fell, to the Amount of many Thousand.

By leaving for his red Men in *Premnis*, he provided effectually against any future Irruptions of *Ethiopians*; for he foresaw, that however terrified they might be, while he continued with an Army in their Country, they would, notwithstanding, return to their former furious Disposition, as soon as that Check was withdrawn. In this he was far from being mistaken; for when it was known, that he was returned to *Alexandria*, then *Candace* immediately drew together the whole Force of her Empire, and march'd it down to *Premnis*, which lay towards the Frontiers of *Egypt*, and besieg'd it. We have already had an Instance, that the *Ethiopians* were no great Soldiers in the Field; and therefore we may easily conceive, that they were incapable of using a Fortrel strengthened by Works, after the *Roman* Manner, and well supplied with Men and Provisions. A great deal of Time they spent before it, without making any great Progress; and the *Roman* Prefect, having Intelligence of what had happened, immediately

collected his Forces, and moved towards it, in order to raise the Siege. On his Approach, the *Ethiopian* Army quitted the Place with the utmost Precipitation; and, as soon as they were at a safe Distance, *Candace* sent to know from the *Roman* General, what his Demands were; and upon what Terms the might hope for Peace. *Petronius* answer'd, that he form'd no Pretensions on the *Ethiopians*; and that what he had done was in Discharge of his Duty, and for the Preservation of the *Roman* Province. As to the rest, he could not pretend to propose any Terms of Peace, but they must be content to send their Embassadors to *Cesar*, in order to execute what was said, and know his Pleasure, as to their Conduct, in Time to come. This amaz'd *Candace* more than the War: She declar'd that she knew not *Cesar*, or where to seek him; and seem'd to doubt whether this was not an evasive Answer given, to furnish themselves with a Pretence for conquering her Dominions. But *Petronius* quickly eas'd her of these Apprehensions, by offering to send her Embassadors to *Cesar*; and to conclude a Peace till their Return. This Proposal was readily accepted, and the Embassadors discharg'd to the *Roman* Camp; with which the *Ethiopian* War ended, and the Province was again restor'd to Quiet.

We have an Account of this Expedition, and of the Embassy sent by *Candace* to *Augustus Cesar*, in the Natural History of *Pliny*^c; but he says not a Word of the Invasion; which, however, is fully related by *Strabo*, who was, of his own Knowledge, perfectly acquainted with these Matters, and has recorded them very factually. By this War, as he justly observes, the *Romans* came to be acquainted with the Nations bordering on *Egypt*, and was, by being subdu'd by the *Ethiopians*, now call'd under their Name. In consequence of this, they were unobserv'd as to the strange Reports they had heard, of the Strength and Courage of these People, for they found them half naked, badly armed, far from being of a martial disposition, living in Tents, on the Produce of their Herds and Flocks; and quitting their Habitations, as the Convenience of feeding those Herds and Flocks, requir'd them. They likewise saw, that their Black Cattle, Sheep, and every thing but their Dogs, were of a swinish and diminutive Kind, as well as the People themselves, who, with the Help of a strong Lance, might have pass'd the Pygmies: So that, here, all their Terror was over, and they could not themselves fully believe to maintain the Frontiers of the *Roman* Province, against all its Enemies this Side. But, however I misnd the *Roman* Soldiers might be of all this, who resided in *Egypt*, and were Witnesses of these Things, yet the *Roman* Emperor follow'd the Fictions of the *Greeks*; and therefore sent to the Kings of some Nations without Noises, others without Money, and some without Tongues, that lived by the Mountains on the other Side of *Ethiopia*, towards the *Red Sea*: All which Fictions I attribute to the many Accounts they received from the People on the Frontiers between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as to various Kinds of Beasts and Monkeys. One thing, however, this Expedition plainly effected, that it extend'd the Knowledge of the *Romans* 800 Miles, and drove these Monsters to much farther.

7. When *Augustus* had settled his Government at *Rome*, and obtained, in a legal way, the Supreme Authority over the Empire, he began to think of visiting the East, where he had many Things to settle; and accordingly, in the sixth Year of his Administration, and in the twenty first before *Christ*, having devolved on *Agrippa* the Affairs of the West, *Augustus* went as far as the Island *Samos*, in his Journey thenceward, and there he pass'd the Winter. While he was at *Samos*, came the Embassadors from *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, to execute what had happened in that Country, and to beg a Peace, which he granted them very readily, and the Embassadors returned into their own Country, full of Amazement at the Sight of the Power and Glory of the *Roman* Prince: And it was owing, in all Probability, to their Report, on their Return home, that a firm Peace ensued between the *Ethiopians* and the *Romans* on the Province of *Egypt*, which subsisted for many Years. The next Year

^a I think it was probably owing to his Expedition, that *Petronius* the Prefect hereafter mentioned

^b *Deus Cæsar*, in *Plin.*

Augustus went into with the *Parthian* which he had taken

This spread his *Porus*, King of *India* sent an Embassy to send a second Time *Augustus* might imitate as far as the *Indus* to execute their Commissions, there deliver'd appears from hence *Porus* was the Country: And it is Resolutions in the Kingdoms continu'd

In this Letter I wish the Grandeur consist'd in his having which some moderns now subject to the great these Princes Empire of *Porus* consequently have makes to great a Victory the *Romans* could therefore, to me, Princes were no more Towns; and, taken just twice as big as for this Display of acquainted *Augustus* his great Actions, his Friendship, and attended it; desir'd the highest Respect there was nothing would not readily c

The Prefect, who by eight Slaves, an first seen by the *Romans* fifteen Feet l and an half over; calculated rather to the Country from buladors, that we *Bushman*, whom *Porus*; but *Strabo* Name; who was mewith, that he had being caus'd his Emperor, that, having experienced proper, as a wife from any Influence bearing Death, who and Strength, and Exercise of his Faculty in this Act, on in the like Manner However that man's self Comtancy and his Body announc'd he mounted the Pillars being let the *Arabians*, according to his Memory, which who says nothing, who lived at the ve Works, and says, it *Belon* of *Babylonia*, Country, the *Indus* coast, from the West *Augustus* had ex of the East, that *Porus* and from

Plin., lib. vii. c. 2. *Deus Cæsar*, in *Plin.*

Augustus went into Syria, settled the Affairs of the Empire with the Parthian Monarch, and recovered the Ensigns, which he had taken from Crassus.

This spread his Fame over all the East, inasmuch, that Porus, King of India on this Side the Gangus, who had before sent an Embassy to compliment him, thought proper now to send a second Time, from an Apprehension, probably, that Augustus might imitate Alexander, and attempt to penetrate as far as the Indus. Of these Embassadors only three lived to execute their Commission; and, finding Augustus at Antioch, there delivered him the Letters of King Porus. It appears from hence, that, according to the oriental Custom, Porus was the common Name of all the Princes of that Country: And it likewise shews, that there were no great Revolutions in those Parts of the World, since the same Kingdoms continued for the Space of three hundred Years.

In this Letter from Porus to Augustus, there was first set forth the Grandeur and Power of the Indian Prince, which consisted in his having under him six hundred petty Princes; which some modern Writers have compared to the Rajahs, now subject to the Great Mogul; but I can scarce think, that these Princes could be so considerable; for then the Empire of Porus must have been very extensive, and must consequently have swallowed up that of Sandracottus, which makes to great a Figure in antient History, and with which the Romans could not but be well acquainted. It seems, therefore, to me, very probable, that these six hundred Princes were no more than the Heads or Chiefs of so many Towns; and, taken in this Sense, the Empire of Porus was just twice as big as when it was subdued by Alexander. After this Display of his own Greatness, the Indian Prince acquainted Augustus, that he was moved by the Fame of his great Actions, to send this solemn Embassy to request his Friendship, and the Acceptance of the Presents, which attended it; desiring him to believe, that he had conceived the highest Respect for his Person and Power, and that there was nothing he could desire of him, with which he would not readily comply.

The Presents, which accompanied this Letter, were borne by eight Slaves, and consisted of Tygers, which were then first seen by the Romans, Birds of a prodigious Size, Serpents fifteen Feet long, and Shells of Tortoises four Feet and an half over; which Presents seem to have been calculated rather to deter, than to invite the Romans into the Country from whence they came. Amongst the Embassadors, that were sent on this Occasion, there was a Brahman, whom Dion Cassius, in his History, calls Zarnanochas; but Strabo, as we shall see, calls him by another Name; who was so well pleased with the Reception he met with, that he followed Augustus to Albens; and there, having caused his Funeral Pile to be prepared, he told the Emperor, that, having lived to a good old Age, and never having experienced the Frowns of Fortune, he judged it proper, as a wise Man, to put it out of her Power to give him any Injustice of her Inconstancy, by voluntarily embracing Death, while he was yet in the Possession of Health and Strength, and, which he valued much more, the full Exercise of his Faculties. In all Probability, he emulated, in this Action, the steady Bravery of Calanus, who died in the like Manner, in the Presence of Alexander the Great. However that may be, certain it is, that he shewed no less Constancy and Courage; for, coming out naked, and his Body anointed, as if he had been going to Exercise, he mounted the Pile, whereon he laid himself down; and, he being set thereto, he was consumed to Ashes. The Athenians, astonished at this Action, erected a Tomb to his Memory, which was standing in the Days of Ptolemy, who says nothing, however, of any Intercession; but Strabo, who lived at the very Time, has preserved it in his excellent Work, and says, it ran thus: Here lies Zarnanochas, an Indian of Bangala, who, according to the Custom of his Country, the Indies, voluntarily quitted this Life. It is very clear, from the Whole of this Transaction, that the Fame of Augustus had extended itself into the most distant Parts of the East, that were at that Time known to the Europeans; and from hence it is evident, that the Trade car-

ried on from Egypt to those Countries, through the Red Sea, instead of being interrupted or restrained, was preserved and protected by the Romans, after they had reduced Egypt into a Province.

Petronius did not hold the Government of Egypt long; for in the Year before Christ 18. he was succeeded by Aelius Gallus, of whose Expedition into Arabia we have already given a large Account. This celebrated Governor of Egypt was the Patron and Friend of Strabo the Geographer, whose Work we have already so often quoted, and which we shall be obliged to mention frequently, before we bring this Chapter to a Conclusion. This learned Man was a Native of the City of Amasia in Pontus, a Stoic Philosopher, and justly famous for his excellent Geography; to qualify himself for writing which, he not only studied, as his Book plainly shews, the best Writers on that Science, that were then extant; but had likewise travelled through most of the Countries which he describes: That is to say, Westward, from Armenia to that Part of Italy which is opposite to the Island of Sardinia; and Southward, from the Euxine Sea into Eibiopia. This last Journey he made in the Company of Aelius Gallus, who went to take a View of the Frontiers of Egypt, as far as Syene; all which Circumstances of Strabo's Life we learn from himself; and these serve to shew, that he must have lived to a very great Age, since he published his Work in the Reign of Tiberius, and pretty late in that Reign too. He is also thought to have written some other Books, particularly an History, some Passages of which are cited by Josephus; but this is perished long ago, to the inexpressible Loss of the learned World; for he was so accurate a Writer, and took care to be so perfectly informed as to every Fact he related, that whatever fell from his Pen, must, on that Account, have been extremely valuable and useful. We may likewise see, from this second Expedition of Gallus, how attentive the Romans were to the Concerns of this Province, and how desirous of being acquainted with every thing that belonged to it.

Indeed the securing to Rome all possible Advantages from so great an Accession of Territory, seems to have been one of the principal Objects of the Policy of Augustus; for he took care to establish a regular Commerce between Rome and Alexandria, as well for the Sake of a continual Supply of Corn, as for the bringing thither the Merchandizes that they acquired by their Indian Traffick; so that, as we shall see hereafter, many of the Romans themselves, who hitherto had not been much addicted to Trade, were, with the Sight of these rich Commodities, induced to embark their Fortunes therein, becoming thereby Principals in this Sort of Traffick, and making use of the Egyptian Merchants as their Factors. Thus we have shewn, how this Trade came into the Hands of the Romans, and what Pains were taken by Augustus to settle and secure it, by reducing, if it had been possible, the Nations on the opposite Side of the Arabian Gulph, whose Piracies were the only Evils to which it remained exposed; and how, by this Care, a new Turn was given to the Temper of the Romans, who, in succeeding Times, became as active and vigorous in the Management of this Business, as they had been before unattentive to any thing of this Nature. But it is Time for us to take our Leave of the Reign of Augustus, of which we have already said so much, in order to give the Reader, in as few Words as possible, an Account of such Facts as relate to this Subject, and are recorded in the Histories of succeeding Emperors: After which we shall proceed to an exact Description of the Manner in which this Trade was carried on by the Roman Factors; and give some Account of the immense Profits that annually resulted from it.

Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus in the Possession of the Roman Empire, was not of a Disposition to forget or leave unimproved any Part of his Dominions, much less a Province capable of yielding such Advantages as Egypt, in the Management of which he steadily pursued the Maxims of his Predecessor; for so careful was he to prevent any Danger, that might arise from the sending a Person of considerable Rank to govern that Country, that he made

Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 1. Justin. lib. xli. c. 1.

Strabo, lib. xv. p. 686. Ptolemy in Alexandria.

Strabo, lib. xv. p. 789. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxi. p. 527.

Strabo, lib. xlii. Puff. de Hist. Græc. lib. 4.

Choice of one of his Freedmen for that Employment: And when his Nephew *Germanicus* took the Liberty of visiting that Province without asking his Leave, he reprimanded him for it very severely; and it is with good Reason supposed, that it was chiefly from the Suspicion he conceived on account of this Journey of his into *Egypt*, that he caused him to be poisoned; so jealous he was of any Inquiries into the State of a Country that furnished him with so great a Revenue.

Caligula, the Son of *Germanicus*, who succeeded *Tiberius*, tho' in all other things as bad a Prince as he was a Man, yet encouraged and protected Commerce, keeping always a strict Eye to the maritime Force of the Empire, which, under him, was at its greatest Height. With respect to *Egypt*, he understood the Worth of the Country to well, and had so true a Notion of its Strength, that when he had rendered himself universally odious to his Subjects, he had Thoughts of retiring thither, in order to have passed there the Remainder of his Days; but he was cut off by a sudden Conspiracy before he could execute his Intention.

It is uncertain whether *Caligula*, or his Successor *Claudius*, began the Custom of letting the Revenues of *Egypt* to Farm; but, certain it is, that they were let out in this manner under the Reign of the latter; which produced, accidentally, a very extraordinary Discovery. There was one *Amnius Placamus* who farmed the Customs of the *Red Sea*, and who, on that Account, visited the Coast in a Vessel of his own; and being once on the Shore of *Arabia*, on some Business relating to his Office, he was suddenly driven to Sea by a strong North Wind, which blowing for fifteen Days together, he was thrown first on the Coast of *Carnania*, and then on a certain Island, in a Port of which he came to an Anchor; the Name of the Port, as he was informed by the Inhabitants, being *Hippus*: He was there very kindly entertained by the King of the Country for six Months, who furnished him with whatever he wanted, and was extremely delighted with the Accounts he gave him of the *Romans*, and of their Power; but what struck him most was, the Sight of the *Roman* Coin, it appearing to him a very singular thing, that though the several Pieces were of the same Weight and Value, yet, by their different Impressions, they shewed, at first Sight, by whom and on what Occasion they were coined.

This, and the Explications given him by *Placamus*, induced him at last not only to provide for the late Return of the *Roman* into his own Country, but engaged him likewise to send four Embassadors to *Rome*, the chief of whom was one *Rachias*, who was a Man of great Figure in that Country. It seems, from the Account that *Pliny* has given us of this Adventure, that he had seen and conversed with those, who had what he relates from the Mouth of this *Rachias*. The most remarkable Points mentioned by him were these: That the Island he came from contained five hundred great Towns; that it had a spacious Port on the South Side belonging to a City called *Palestimon*, which was the Capital of the Island; and so populous, that it was esteemed to contain not fewer than two hundred thousand Inhabitants. In the Neighbourhood of this City there was a Lake called *Meggha*, two hundred seventy-five Miles in Circumference, in which there were several Islands very fruitful in Pasture. Out of this Lake there ran two Rivers, one to the South called *Palsymondas*, which fell into the Sea by three Mouths, on one of which stood the City called by the same Name, the smallest of these being of the Breadth of five Stadia, and the largest fifteen. The other River ran Northwards towards the Continent of *India*, called *Cybara*. Opposite to the Island there ran a large Promontory of *India*, called *Colaniam*, distant four Days Sail; and in the midst of the Passage there lay an Island sacred to the Sun.

The Sea on the Coast was of a very deep Green, with Trees at the Bottom, the Branches of which were sometimes beaten off by the Heads of their Ships. The Sight of the Northern Constellations surprised the Embassadors at *Rome* very much, and seemed to them like a new Heaven. In their own Country, they said, they observed the Moon only from the eighth to the sixteenth Day, and spoke much

of the bright Star *Canopus*, which was visible in their Hemisphere. But what most amazed them was, the falling of their Shadows to the North; and that the Sun rose to the Left, and set to the Right. They affirmed, that the Coast of their Island, opposite to the Continent of *India*, was ten thousand Stadia in Extent, and that it reached towards the South-east beyond the *Emodian* Mountains. They added, that the Country of the *Seres* lay within Sight of them; and *Rachias* affirmed, that his Father had traded with them. He said that the Country inhabited by that People was much infested by wild Beasts; that the *Seres* were of a gigantic Stature, red-haired, their Eyes blue, and their Voices hoarse and rough, so that they were unintelligible to Strangers; that in other Respects they were like other Men, and traded fairly; for when Commodities were laid down on their Side the River, they came and took them away, if they liked them; and left in Exchange enough to satisfy those who brought them. As to the Island from whence these Embassadors came, *Pliny* tells us, that it was *Laprobana*; and that Gold and Silver was esteemed there, as well as at *Rome*, which he thinks strange; as also precious Stones, and Pearl, especially if they were bright and transparent. He tells us further, that the Embassadors were wont to say, that there was greater Plenty of Riches in their Island, but that the *Romans* made more use of them. They likewise observed, that they had no Slaves amongst them; that they never slept in the Day-time; that their Houses were but low; that they knew not what Law-suits were; and that they worshipped *Bacchus*. They likewise informed the *Romans* that their Country was extremely well cultivated, and that it produced other Fruit-trees in abundance, but that they had no Vines: That on their Coast they had Plenty of Fish; and that the People were much given to Fishing, and especially to the catching of Tortoises, the Shells of which were so large, that they made use of them to cover their Houses: That their Climate was so wholesome, that a Man of 100 Years of Age was no uncommon Sight. The Account they gave of their Government was this; that their King was elected by a Plurality of Voices, and was assisted by a Senate composed of thirty Persons; who were likewise chosen by the People, together with some other Circumstances which have been already taken Notice of in the Account we gave of the Voyage of *Iambulus*.

We shall hereafter have Occasion to inquire more particularly into the Situation of this Island, which makes so great a Figure in the Writings of the Antients; as also of some other Islands, Part real and Part imaginary, which are mentioned in their Works, and which it will be necessary to explain, that the Reader may not be misled into wrong Notions on this Subject, or suppose, that because the Antients speak of prodigious Riches found in these Islands, that we are less knowing than they, since we are not at present acquainted with any Island that produces the Commodities they mention.

The Emperor *Nero*, who succeeded *Claudius*, was very attentive to the Affairs of *Egypt*, and not only took care to maintain his Fleets in perfect good Condition in both Seas, but likewise sent Persons on Purpose thro' *Egypt* into *Ethiopia*, in order to have a clear and distinct Account of its Products and Inhabitants; to which he was very probably incited from the Scheme he had formed of retiring into *Egypt*, in case he found it impossible for him to maintain himself against his Enemies at *Rome*: And it was from the Report of these People, that the Distance was determined between *Syene* or the Frontiers of *Egypt*, and the Island of *Meroe*, to be eight hundred and seventy Miles: And we may judge of the great Commerce carried on to *Arabia*, in the Reign of that Prince, from the vast Quantity of Incense that he is said to have burnt at the Funeral of his Wife *Poppaea*. The Reigns of the three succeeding Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, were too short to afford us any thing remarkable, and therefore we must pass on to *Flavius Vespasian*, who received the Empire in *Egypt*, where *Tiberius Alexander*, who was then Governor of that Country, declared for him, and *Vespasian*, making haste to *Alexandria*, no sooner found himself in the

* To it Suet. *Tiberius* Potentulus. cap. 24. Sueton. in *Nero*, cap. 47.

† *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 32.*

‡ See *Suetoniv. p. 587.*

§ *Plin. H. N. lib. vi.*

Possession of the Imperial Ornament able to romps Master of the world.

His Son *Titus*, time of his Father and being received this alone created let up for himself of the *Romans* as was sufficient to give self Master of the

As we have no merce to a proper Description of the Customs of the *Romans* with this Traffick closed to Trade, Foreigners establish

o. The Navig when the *Romans* down the *Arabian* of *Syagra*, which Latitude of four

verly, is that P called Cape *Fur* Maps, is laid down forty Minutes; was assigned by self sailed to the Island of *Patala*,

Alexander the Great changed; for, un there was one *Hyp* *Alexandria*, of *Gr* and easier passage: Time when the *T* pass, at once, thro' *dian* Ocean, direct as to extraordinary was afterwards called

petal Monument Yet in succeeded they made still part *Zur* Voyage; in a real Interruptions, constrained them

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Alexandria, to the numbers: The *Gr* Markets were carried and to up the Riv three hundred and in the Latitude of

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fall time, they *Red* in thirty Day down in the Latitude, that is too far to *Meca*, all *P*

† *Plin. H. N. lib. vi. c. 32.*

‡ *Plin. H. N. lib. vi. c. 32.*

§ *Plin. H. N. lib. vi. c. 32.*

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Possession of that City, than he ventured to assume the Imperial Ornaments, not doubting that he should now be able to compass his Design, and make himself entirely Master of the whole Roman Empire, which in Effect he did.

His Son *Titus*, who succeeded him, having in the Life-time of his Father made a sudden Journey into Egypt, and being received with great Honours at *Alexandria*, this alone created a Suspicion that he intended to revolt, and set up for himself; which plainly shews the settled Opinion of the Romans at that Time, that the Possession of Egypt was sufficient to give any Prince a Power of making himself Master of the whole Empire.

As we have now conducted the History of this Commerce to a proper Period, it is requisite to give a particular Description of the manner in which it was carried on, and of the extraordinary Changes it produced in the Customs of the Romans, who, till they became acquainted with this Traffick, had never shewn themselves much inclined to Trade, but left it rather to the Greeks and other Foreigners established amongst them.

9. The Navigation to the Indies was prosecuted, when the Romans first became Masters of Egypt, by sailing down the Arabian Gulph, to a Port near the Promontory of *Sagrus*, which *Ptolemy* the Geographer places in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees; which beyond Controversy, is that Point of the Arabian Coast which is now called Cape *Fartak*, and which, in the best modern Maps, is laid down in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees, forty Minutes; which agrees very well with the Situation assigned by *Ptolemy*: And from hence their Vessels sailed to the Mouth of the River *Indus*; that is, to the Island of *Pattala*, so often mentioned in the History of *Alexander* the Great. But afterwards this Navigation was changed; for, under the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*,

there was one *Hypalus*, who was, probably, a Citizen of *Alexandria*, of Greek Extraction, that found out a shorter and easier Passage: And this by the Observation of the Time when the Trade-wind blew, which enabled him to pass, at once, through the Straights, and across the Indian Ocean, directly to *Pattala*; which was looked upon as so extraordinary a Thing, that the South-west Wind was afterwards called by his Name, and so became a perpetual Monument of his good Fortune, in this respect.

Yet in succeeding Times (but all within this Period) they made still farther Discoveries, with respect to this Indian Voyage; in which, however, they met with perpetual Interruptions, from the Piracies of the *Arabians*, which constrained them to carry, besides their ordinary Complement of Men, a certain Number of Soldiers, or Archers, in each Ship, to defend them from these Robbers. At length, however, the great Profits, arising from this Trade, increasing the Number of such as engaged in it, they conquered all Difficulties, and settled an annual Trade from *Alexandria*, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*, after this manner: The Goods that were intended for the Indian Markets, were embarked at *Alexandria*; from whence they were carried to *Julesopolis*, two Miles from thence; and so up the River *Nile*, to *Coptus*, at the Distance of three hundred and three Miles; which City *Ptolemy* places in the Latitude of twenty-five Degrees twenty Minutes; which agrees very well with the Accounts that modern Travellers give us of the Situation of its Ruins at this Day.

If the Wind was fair, they commonly performed their Voyage in twelve Days. At *Coptus*, the Vessels were unloaded, and the Goods on Camels Backs, were transported, in eight Days, to *Berenice*, which lay at the Distance of two hundred and fifty-eight Miles; and there they remained in Warehouses, till the proper Season of the Year for the Continuance of their Voyage, which was about the Rising of the Dog-star. When they were embarked for the last Time, they steered directly for the Arabian Coast, and in thirty Days arrived at *Ocelis*, which *Ptolemy* lays down in the Latitude of twelve Degrees, tho' undoubtedly, that is too far South. Or else the Fleet sailed to *Cana*, a Port to *Maza*, all Ports on the opposite Coast of *Arabia*; but

the two last were only frequented by the Merchants of the Country; and therefore were not visited but by such as intended to take in Frankincense, and other Arabian Commodities; for which they exchanged Arms, Knives, and Glass Vessels, and other Things.

But *Ocelis* was the principal Place, because there they met with Merchants from the Indies, with all Sorts of Goods; and it likewise lay very commodiously for prosecuting their Voyage to the Continent of India, where they usually made the Port of *Muziris* in forty Days, which *Ptolemy* lays down in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees, if his Tables have not suffered some Alteration. But this Port being found inconvenient, from the continual Depredations of Pirates in its Neighbourhood, it was thought necessary to seek a better Station; and this led them to the Port of *Becara*, where, by the Help of Indian Proes, they transported their Goods up a navigable River, to a great trading Town, called *Madufa*; and, having completed their Affairs, so as to have the Advantage of the Trade-wind back, they usually returned to *Alexandria* towards the latter End of *December*, or the Beginning of *January* at furthest. The Indian Commodities, which were thus brought to Egypt, were again unladen, and carried to *Berenice*; from whence they were transported by Land to *Coptus*, thence by the Nile to *Alexandria*, and so to Rome by the annual Fleet from *Alexandria*, which was settled by *Augustus*.

The Expence, or, properly speaking, the Stock which was annually invetted by the Romans, in the Commodities fit for this Commerce, amounted, in the Time of *Pliny*, to fifty Millions of Sesterces, which makes about four hundred and three thousand Pounds of our Money: And, by the Profit of the Goods returned, they gained one hundred per Cent.

It may not be amiss, to add to this general Account some Particulars as to the Commodities in which these Indian Merchants dealt. In the first place, we ought to reckon Spices, and particularly Cinnamon; of which we have a large Account given us by *Pliny*, wherein there are some Circumstances that deserve to be considered: In the first Place, he observes, that very strange Stories were told by the Antients, in regard to these Spices, on purpose to increase their Value; such as, that they were collected under Trees, in which the Phoenix built her Nest, being pressed down, and broken, by the Prey she brought to feed her Young; or else that they were collected with Lead. To this Story succeed another, no less incredible, viz. that Cinnamon-tree grew in certain Marthes, guarded by frightful Dragons. And when People grew too wise to believe this, it was next said to come from very distant Countries, where it grew in such Abundance, that the Scent of it might be perceived at a great Distance; by which, as they pretended, the Fleet of *Alexander* discerned the Coast of *Arabia*. All these Accounts he declares to be false; and then tells us what, in his Opinion, was the Truth; which is, that Cinnamon grew in *Ethiopia*, and the adjacent Country of the *Trogodytes*, from whom the *Ethiopians* purchased it, that they might keep this Trade intirely in their own Hands. This precious Commodity they exported in small Boats, without either Oars or Sails; and, putting to Sea in the midst of Winter, they, by the Help of the South-east Wind, doubled the Cape of *Argente*, and so arrived at the famous Port of *Ocelis*, where they trafficked with the Merchants from Egypt for Glass, Copper, and Brass Ware, fine Linnen, and Toys. This Navigation was so tedious, that these People very seldom returned in less than five Years; and many of them perished in their dangerous Voyages. At *Ocelis* the King set the Price upon it, which was formerly so high, that a Pound of Cinnamon was sold at Rome for one thousand Sesterces, which was about eight Pounds of our Money: And it even arose to a much higher Price, when it was pretended, that the Woods of Cinnamon in *Ethiopia* were burnt down by the *Trogodytes*: But, at the time *Pliny* wrote, it was much sunk in its Value, and yet remained dear enough, in his Opinion.

^a *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.*

^b *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.*

^c *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.*

^d *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.*

^e *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.*

certain rich Islands in the *Indian Seas*, such as *Taprobana*, *Palisunda*, and *Panchaia*; but they were very confused indeed. As to the first, they have described it so imperfectly, that it is almost impossible to guess where it lies; the second was no other than the Island of *Patala*, long before discovered by *Alexander*; and the other was a mere Invention, or a Story palmed upon them by the *Arabians*, as *Plutarch* very judiciously observes^a.

It is true, that several ancient Writers speak of the *Indian Merchants*, that frequented the Ports of *Arabia*; but they came only from the Coast of *Malacca*, and the Countries bordering upon *Persia*; and were as little acquainted with the Countries from whence the *Arabians* transported their most valuable Merchandize, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* themselves, who also frequented their Coasts, and carried on a considerable Commerce with them; but not in these rich Commodities; for *Pliny* observed, that they came only from *Ochilz*, and that the Price was set by the King of that Country, which other Writers have confirmed^b.

This Account is so much the more probable, as it corresponds exactly, both with ancient and modern Relations; for, with respect to the former, it shews how the Country might of old be as rich and opulent as the *Greek* Writers represent it; and, on the other hand, how it comes to be in so different a Condition at this Day; for that the Air is excessive hot, the Climate near the Coast very unwholesome, the best Part of the Soil sandy and barren, and the Country in general producing nothing but Incense, and rich Gums, of all the valuable Commodities that were formerly brought from thence, are Facts that cannot be now disputed: And, upon a View of what ancient Writers have delivered, we shall easily discover, that many of the wisest of them suspected the very thing that I maintain, that is, that the Wealth of this Country was the Result of Commerce, and not of its natural Fertility; for *Strabo*^c long ago observed, that they obtained vast Quantities of Gold, and precious Stones, in Exchange for their Aromatics; and that these rich Goods were again exchanged for such Commodities and Manufactures of the West, as they stood most in need of, or with which they were most affected: And hence it was, that, in spite of the Difficulties attending its Navigation, the *Arabian* Gulph was one of the most frequented Seas in the then known World. In the second Place, I observed, that this accounts perfectly well for the Mistakes that we meet with in ancient Writers, as to the Places where Spices, and other valuable Commodities, are found. Their Reports as to *Arabia*, and its Fruitfulness in Spices, were so far founded in Truth, as that they knew no Country where they were to be found, but that; and the Desire of possessing so rich and valuable a Place, was what principally moved *Augustus*, and some of the succeeding Emperors, to think of conquering *Arabia*, which had been before in Danger, from the Power of *Alexander*, on the same Account^d.

It was probably the Fear of the *Romans*, that induced the *Arabians* to frame the new Tale of Cinnamon's growing in the Country of the *Ethiopians* and *Trogodytes*, and that it was brought to them with infinite Difficulty; I say, they might very possibly be induced to circulate this Story, in order to engage the *Romans* in a War with those People; which would have been an effectual Means of keeping their Forces on the other Side of the Gulph. It is very plain, from what *Pliny* says, that this Notion of Spices growing in *Ethiopia*, was a very new thing, and that he thought he had made a great Discovery, in publishing it to the World. And what still confirms this the more, is, the Fact he gives us from his own Knowledge; *viz.* that the first Cinnamon-plant that ever was seen at *Rome*, was brought thither in the Reign of *Titus*, and was consecrated in the Temple erected to the Memory of *Flavius Vespasianus*^e.

But I know it may be objected, that abundance of Doubts have been moved about the Cinnamon of the Antients, as if it was quite another thing from the Spice known to us by that Name. In Answer to this, I must remark, that the Objection rises from the Descriptions left us by the Antients, of a thing they had never seen, but took their Ac-

counts upon Trust from the *Sabeans*, who, with respect to them, had the Monopoly of that Commodity; so that, in the first Place, there is no great Credit due to their Descriptions; and the less, because they agree as little with each other, as with our Accounts of that Spice, from those who are best acquainted with it. In the next Place, we are to consider, that in the Island of *Ceylon*, from whence we have all our Cinnamon, they distinguish no less than nine different Sorts, by the Adjunctive of so many different Epithets to the Word *Coronda*, which, in their Language, signifies Cinnamon: The third Sort, for Instance, is called *Cappereon Coronda*, which is as much as to say, the Camphire Cinnamon; and there is a Kind of wild Cinnamon, that grows on the Continent of *India*, near *Goa*, called by the Naturalists in *India*, *Canella Malabarica sylvestris*, or the wild *Malabar* Cinnamon; which so exactly resembles the *Cappereon Coronda*, that it is not to be distinguished but by the Taste: And, in all Probability, it was a Root of this Plant that *Pliny* saw consecrated in a golden Urn, in the Temple of *Augustus*; or, at least, his Description agrees very well with this. In the third Place, if we consider the imperfect and discordant Descriptions which the Antients give of this Spice, and the many Kinds of it that are known to the Moderns, we cannot wonder at the Doubts that have arisen about it; nor can we reasonably believe, that any Argument, drawn from thence, ought to weigh against the positive Matters of Fact, that have been laid down, and are not liable to any Dispute^f.

The third Observation I shall make with regard to the Commerce of the *Romans* in the East, is in relation to the precious Stones they brought from thence; about which as many Doubts and Difficulties have been raised, as about the Spices; and for the very same Reason, because they were not well acquainted with the Subject, but spoke of Things at second-hand, and generally from the Reports of the *Arabian* Merchants, from whom they received them. Thus, for Instance, their Description of the *Opal* does by no means agree with the Stones of that kind that are known amongst us; and as for the *Topaz*, it is impossible to know what to think of it, since they sometimes describe it of a green, as well as at other times of a gold Colour, which is the only one known to us. As to their Emeralds, they distinguish the *Indian* from the *Egyptian*, but we know not now of any *Indian* Emeralds; by which I mean, Emeralds that are actually found in *India*; for the oriental Emerald is a Phrase in Trade, and means no more than a very perfect Stone in point of Colour and Hardness, which the best Judges have esteemed to be the *Egyptian* Emerald; though some say, that the Inhabitants of the *Philippines* actually received them from *Peru*, before that Country was discovered by the *Spaniards*; and that these, coming into *Europe*, from *India*, were, on that account, distinguished by the Name of oriental Emeralds^g.

Before I part with this Subject, I cannot but observe, that the Heat, expressed by *Pliny*, against these Ornaments, and his sarcastic Remark, that if the antient Conquerors of *Rome* could return from the Dead they would regret their Triumphs, when they saw that the sole Effect of them was to deck the fine Ladies, their Descendants, with an infinite Number of Jewels of high Price, is ill-founded. There is, no doubt, a Luxury in Stones, as well as in other Things: But, on the other hand, they are much mistaken, who affirm, there is no intrinsic Worth in them, and that they ought not to be regarded, or valued. The intrinsic Worth of Iron, and other Metals, consists in their Usefulness; the intrinsic Worth of Silver and Gold, in their being proper Measures of the Value of other Things; and the former, with respect to Mankind, is not a Grain more important than the latter: Without useful Metals, we should be much at a Loss at home; and, without these common Standards, as to the Worth of which all Nations are agreed, we could not conveniently carry on any Commerce abroad. It is in this last Light, therefore, that precious Stones are to be considered; they are extremely beautiful to the Eye, which gains them a general Esteem; they are wonderfully firm and durable; and this augments their

^a De Hist. cap. 12.

^b Geogr. lib. vii. c. 9.

^c Geogr. lib. vii. c. 9.

^d De Hist. lib. vii. c. 9.

^e De Hist. lib. vii. c. 9.

^f De Hist. lib. vii. c. 9.

^g De Hist. lib. vii. c. 9.

^a Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 19.

^b Geogr. lib. xvi.

^c Geogr. lib. xvi.

^d See the Account of the Jewels brought from the *East*, in Sect. xv.

^e See the Account of the Jewels brought from the *East*, in Sect. xv.

^f See the Account of the Jewels brought from the *East*, in Sect. xv.

^g See the Account of the Jewels brought from the *East*, in Sect. xv.

Reader: To say, that these Circumstances do not constitute a kind of antient Worth, is to confound, instead of explaining, our Notions. And, therefore, how sparkling was the Thought of *Pliny* may be, it is not, at this Distance, founded in Truth; and I must, for my own Part, confess, that I do not think the Vanity of a Roman Lady, dressed out with Jewels to the Value of forty Millions of their Money, was at all greater, or more worthy the Contempt of a Philosopher, than the Vanity of *Alexander*, in his triumphal Car; since, in the Eye of *Plato*, one Species of Pride is as much, and as truly, a Fault, as another; of which the elder *Joseph* was very sensible, when, being extremely fatigued with the Length of his Triumph, he could not help saying, I suffer, very justly, for being bold enough to delight in such a Spectacle as this at these Years. But it is now time to return from these Remarks to the Prosecution of our Subject; which leads us to show more particularly, what Improvements were made in this kind of Commerce, after the Romans took the Management of it into their Hands.

The antient Egyptians had very early and constant Quarrels with their Neighbours the Ethiopians, which kept them at a great Distance from, and hindered them from engaging in any Commerce with them, at least of great Importance: But, after the Kingdom of Egypt fell under the Dominion of the Greeks, these Disputes subsided, and the Nations began to entertain a friendly Intercourse; & a new Management of which, the City of *Coptus* was originally designed. This Commerce between the Egyptians and Ethiopians was particularly promoted by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, for the sake of obtaining Elephants; for the Training of which he was very famous: When the Romans came to the Possession of this Country, they were likewise very desirous of penetrating into Ethiopia, for many Reasons; but more especially for the obtaining of Elephants, and their Teeth. And so eager was *Nero* in this Matter, that he sent an Officer, with a Detachment of his own Footguards, into Egypt, on purpose to invade Ethiopia, if they might not have Leave to march through it peacefully. This People performed their Errand, and returned with a fair Account of what they had seen; which did not, by any means, answer the Expectations that were raised by the Descriptions that had been formerly given of that Country. They found it, for the most part, good and barren, the People, on the Frontiers of Egypt, being mostly upon Millet; and those beyond them, upon Milk and Venison. By Degrees, however, there grew a considerable Commerce with this Country, from whence they brought Elephants, Rhinoceroses, and other wild Beasts, Ivory, and particularly that Sort of it which was called wrought into Truggs, Chairs, Thrones, and other Furniture; as also rich Gems and precious Stones, especially Emeralds and Topazes.

At last they proceeded to the very Extremity of the Arabian Gulph, on the Coast of the *Trogodytes*, who had been quoted in such disagreeable Lights by old Writers; and there carried on a very lucrative Commerce with these People, at a Port of their own, called *Adala*, which *Ptolemy* the Geographer places in the Latitude of 14° 20', and must consequently have been in that Part of the Country, which is now in the Hands of the *Turks*, and there they met with very just and honest Usage from these Barbarians, as they were then pleased to call them. Over against this Port of *Adala* lay the Island of *Orino*; and there were some considerable Cities wittenland, from whence the most valuable Commodities were brought down to this Port, which was looked upon as the Staple of the Ivory Trade; and for the Myrrh that was most esteemed, with various Sorts of Gums, and some precious Stones.

It was in consequence of their Possession of Egypt, that the Romans carried on a considerable Traffick into the *Perisian* Gulph, at the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*; as

also along the Coast of *Perfis*, to the Frontiers of the *Indies*; but the Produce of all this Commerce, as it came to *Rome*, the Fleet from *Alexandria*, was generally considered as Egyptian, at least by the common People; as, on the other hand, all the Commerce of Egypt was, at *Rome*, called by the general Name of the Trade of *Alexandria*. This City, which had made for great a Figure from the Time of its first Foundation, and, indeed, in Right of its Founder, which was afterwards made the Capital of their Dominions by the *Ptolemies*, received great Additions, in point of Wealth, under the Romans; inasmuch that *Joseph* reports, that the Romans drew as much from thence in a Month, as from the rest of Egypt in a Year; and this, in point of Riches, it did not only equal, but even *Rome* itself; which is the more probable, since, under the *Ptolemies*, who were remarkably tender of imposing high Duties, and thereby injuring the Commerce of their Subjects, the Customs of the Port of *Alexandria* amounted annually to a Million and an half of our Money. And *Dionysius Siculus* reports, from his own Knowledge, that, at the Time he was there, the Freemen of the City were above three hundred thousand: So that it must have been then as populous as *London* is at present, even upon the lowest Computation, and supposing that the far greater Part of its Inhabitants were wholly supported by Trade.

To say the Truth, *Alexandria*, within this and the Period which will be contained in the next Chapter, seems to have attained to that Grandeur for which its Founder designed it, since it embraced, in a great measure, the whole Trade of the Roman Empire. This was principally owing to the two Causes: First, the Convenience of its Situation, by which it lay open to the *Mediterranean*; and the Care taken by the Romans to preserve, and even to enlarge its Ports: And next, to the *Indian* or *Oriental* Commerce, which has always had an attractive Quality, and drawn, where-ever it was seated, almost all the Trade of the World beside. Thus, for Instance, when the *Phoenicians* and *Greeks* shared that Trade between them, they ingrossed all the rest: Then it was, for a small Time, attached to *Lisbon*; and came afterwards, in consequence chiefly of their *Indian* Commerce, to the *English* and the *Dutch*. This, I think, is the clearest and most satisfactory Answer that can be given to that Objection, which was often hear made to this Commerce, that it carries out vast Quantities of Silver; and which, as I conceive, was first started by *Pliny*, who actually complains, that the *Arabians* received ready Money for their *Indian* Commodities, and had out nothing in Return. This, I say, is the most satisfactory Answer, because it shews, that whatever Loss may attend this Trade in the full Instance, yet those who are possessed of it are sure to have a large Balance in their Favour, in consequence of the general Return on occasions, and the Returns that are made from those Countries which take their *Indian* Commodities of their Hands. How far this Object may lie to the Trade of *Europe*, in general, with the *Indies*, is another Question, and shall be largely considered at the Close of this Chapter; when I hope to demonstrate, that all that has been hitherto said on this Topic, flows from a Misapprehension of the Nature of Commerce; and that, upon the Whole, whatever Country maintains the greatest and most extensive Trade, under proper Regulations, must be the greatest Gainers by Trade, tho', in some particular Branches of it, they may be said to lose. At present, our Business is to pursue this Subject one Step farther, and to shew what additional Improvements the Commerce of the East, by the Way of Egypt, received, while in the Hands of the Romans, till the Seat of the Empire was removed from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, which created a great Alteration in the Face of Affairs in this, as well as in all other respects.

An Account of that Country Constantinople.

A Succinct Account of the Reign of ... and the Migrations from the ... continued, for Commerce carried off the Success of the Roman.

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He was raised ... and having first ... *Garmey*, he began ... and having order ... the *Stony* with an ... East, that some ... *Rome*, where he ... Kindness. He ... East, where he ... the Empire, as ... himself Master of ... claimed Emperor ... him by the Senate ... of *Alexander* ... the him: For wh ... der Ocean, he ... do not in Execu ... *Egyptians*, he sav ... der, with which ... dred that he w ... making the Voy ... he was.

He rendered ... the Spot where ... then for his ... great Dignity ... view he directed ... for the Defence ... entook himself ... lages of securing ... his Subjects, wh

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 6, 7, 8.

Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. l.

Perisus Maris Erythraei, p. 2.

Strabo, lib. xvii.

Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. i.

SECTION X.

An Account of the Affairs of Egypt, and of the Commerce carried on by the Romans, through that Country, to the East, till the Seat of the Empire was transferred from Rome to Constantinople.

1. A succinct Account of the Attention paid to Commerce in general, and to this Branch in particular, from the Reign of Trajan, to that of Marcus Aurelius.
2. The State of this Commerce, during that Period, and the Mistakes that have been made about it rectified.
3. A succinct Account of the Roman Emperors, from the Accession of Marcus Aurelius, to the Death of Alexander Severus.
4. This View of their Reigns continued, from Maximin to Aurelian.
5. The History of Tadmor, or Palmyra; and of the Indian Commerce carried on there, from the Rise to the Destruction of that City and Principality.
6. An Account of the succeeding Emperors, from Aurelian to Constantine the Great.
7. The Situation of the Commerce of the Romans, at the Close of this Period.

THE Rest which the Roman Empire had enjoyed under two such excellent Princes as *Flavius* and *Titus Vespasian*, was intirely forgotten under the tyrannical Yoke of *Domitian*, the last Prince of that Family, and one of the worst that ever profaned the Imperial People. As he lived in Blood, so he died by the Hand of an Assassin, who thought he did the World good Service, by removing one who had thrown himself an open Enemy to Mankind. He was succeeded in the Empire by *Corceus Nervus*, who reigned only a Year and four Months; and in that Time, shewed a laudable Intention to have remedied all the Evils introduced by his Predecessor: And that he might secure the Happiness of his Country, in case he should be taken off by an unexpected Death, he, without any Regard to his own Family, chose for his Successor *Ulpianus Trojan*, a Spaniard by Birth, and one who was recommended to him only for his Virtues. The raising this Man to the Empire, was not more fortunate to him, than happy for his Subjects; for he was a Prince endowed with all the Qualities that were necessary to the Support of that high Dignity, and with the Talents that were peculiarly requisite to restore the Reputation of the Roman Name, and the Forces of a Government now sinking under its own Weight.

He was raised to the Empire in *A. D.* ninety-eight; and having first secured all the Provinces on the Side of Germany, he began to turn his Eyes to the opposite Frontier; and having ordered the Governor of Syria to enter Arabia the easy with an Army, he bruck such Terror into the East, that some Indian Princes sent their Embassadors to Rome, where he received them with great Civility and Kindness. He made afterwards an Expedition into the East, where he extended, by his Conquest, the Bounds of the Empire, as far as the River *Tigris*: And, having made himself Master of the City *Cisophon*, he was again proclaimed Emperor, and had the Name of *Paribicus* given him by the Senate. He was a great Admirer of the Fortune of *Alexander*; and in some Things affected to imitate him: For which Reason, as he was now near the Indian Ocean, he determined to visit it; which Design he also put in Execution. While he was at the Mouth of the *Araby*, he saw a Ship there that was bound to the Indies, with which he was exceedingly pleased, and declared that he would have taken that Opportunity of making the Voyage, if he had been a younger Man than he was.

He tendered divine Honours to *Alexander* the Great on the Spot where he died; and often expressed a very high Esteem for his Virtues, and an earnest Desire to imitate his great Designs for the Benefit of Mankind; with which View he directed a large Fleet to be built in the Red Sea for the Defence of the Navigation on that Side; and undertook himself the Reduction of Part of *Araba*, in hopes of securing by that means the Trade of the East to his Subjects, who were extremely harassed by the con-

tinual Piracies of the *Arabians*: With this View he entered the Country of the *Arabians*, which lay on the South Side of the *Persian* Gulph; but found that Region so barren and destitute of Provisions, that he was constrained to retire from before the Capital of their Country, to which he had laid Siege. In this Enterprize, however, he fatigued himself to much, that he fell into a Looseness, of which he died in *Cisophon*, after he had reigned only nineteen Years. He was a Prince careful, in all respects, of the Interests of the Empire, but particularly of what concerned the East; and, therefore, he took care to cause the Canal between the Nile and the Red Sea to be cleaned and repaired, so that it was thenceforward called the Canal of *Trojan*.

He was succeeded, *A. D.* 117, by *Adrian*, who had been his Ward; and to whom, for his constant Fidelity in all the various Scenes of his Life, *Trojan* bequeathed the Empire. There were few of the Roman Princes who had either great Talents for governing, or the Qualities of whose Minds were better suited to the Times in which they lived, than those of *Adrian*, whose Knowledge was extensive, his Temper firm, his Capacity equally great as a Soldier and a Statesman. At his Return to Rome from the East, he remitted at once all the Taxes due to his Predecessor. Then he made a Journey into the Western Provinces, where having restored all things, he returned to Rome with great Glory, and, with the like Diligence, applied himself to settling the Affairs of the East. In the fifteenth Year of his Reign he made a Tour into Egypt, and resided for some Time at *Alexandria*, where he took a great deal of Pains to examine into the Character of its Inhabitants, and has left us in his Letters several curious Remarks; among which we may reckon these two; first that though the *Alexandrians* seemed to live amongst them many Religions, yet, in fact, they all of them worshipped but one God, which was *Gen*: The second, that it was the busiest Place in the World, where there was no Room for Beggars, since they made even blind Men get their own Bread. He found the City labouring under many Difficulties, many of their Privileges being lost by their frequent Seditions; all of which, however, he restored, repaired such Parts of the City as had suffered in their Commotions, restored all the public Foundations of the *Ptolemies*, and made some excellent Regulations for the Security of Commerce. In his Return through Syria he received the submission of the City of *Palmyra*, as we shall hereafter shew more largely: And it was about this time, that *Adrian* undertook, by his Direction, the Examination and Description of the *Euxine* Sea: And, indeed, his Care of the Public was in nothing more remarkable, than in restoring the Sea-laws, and in the Edicts he made in favour of Mariners.

Titus Antonius succeeded in the Empire, by Virtue of his Nomination, *A. D.* 138; and proved as worthy a Prince as ever sat upon the Throne: He is generally called, in or-

^a Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii. p. 771. ^b Plin. Paneg. Avel. Victor. Eusebius. Niphil.

^c Dion. Cassius, p. 784. ^d Pan. ab. la. r. s. ^e Euseb. ^f Dion. Cassius, p. 135. ^g Avel. Victor. ^h Ptolem. lib. vi. c. 1. ⁱ Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii. de vit. Adrian. ^j Avel. Victor. ^k Ptolem. de vit. Avelian. ^l Spartac. de vit. ^m Avel. Victor. ⁿ The Title

of this celebrated Work of *Adrian* is as follows. *Arriani Epistola in qua Periplos Ponti Euxini.* ^o Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii. ^p Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii. ^q Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii. ^r Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii.

^s Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii. ^t Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii. ^u Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxviii.

der to distinguish him from the Princes of his Family, *Pius*, for his Regard to his Predecessor, and the Purity of his Life, by which he was as illustrious as from his imperial Dignity: He was naturally a Lover of Peace, and strict in the Administration of Justice: His Care of Trade was equal to that of any of his Predecessors; for the promoting it, he caused all the High-roads throughout the Empire to be repaired, and for the Conveniency of such as were engaged in Business, he directed, that the Diversions of the Play-house should begin later on those Days, on which the Merchants met on the Exchange. As the Works of the best Historian of these Times, which regarded his Reign, are long since lost, we have a much worse Account of it than it deserved; and therefore we cannot enter into any Particulars, relating immediately to our Subject; but this we know in general, from an Oration, that has escaped Oblivion, that the Commerce of the *Romans* was never better protected, and consequently, was never more extensive or flourishing, than while the Reins of Government were held by this excellent Prince, whose constant Maxim it was, that the Glory of the Monarch consisted solely in the Happiness of his Subjects; and by the Prosecution of this Maxim he secured to himself the peaceable Possession of his Dominions while living, and the greatest Respect to his Memory after his Decese.

2. It is by no means my Intention to enter here even into a succinct History of the *Roman* Emperors; all I am at is, to give the Reader such an Account of them, as may render what I have to say with regard to this Trade, while in the Hands of the *Romans*, perfectly intelligible; that I may avoid putting him under a Necessity of consulting many other Books, that he may be able to understand this; a Fault which having often observed in other Works of this Nature, rendered me the more careful in avoiding it. We have an ancient Writer who has given us a very complete Description of the *Mare Erythraum*, or *Red Sea*; which has long past, under the Name of *Arrian*, as I have hinted, more than once, before; but is, I think, unanswerably shewn by the learned Mr. *Dobson* to have been written by some other Author. This Writer, whoever he is, has shewn us, that, within the Compass of Time mentioned in this Section, there were very great Improvements made in the Navigation of the *Romans* to this Part of the World: And, therefore, I am not a little surpris'd, that so learned a Man as *Bishop Huet* should suggest, that the Trade to the *Indies* was sunk in some measure till revived by *Trajan* and supported by the Fleet which he caused to be sent into the *Red Sea*. The avowed Design of that Fleet was to crush the Pirates in those Seas: But these Sort of People never trouble any Seas where there is not a great Trade carried on; and, therefore, the building such a Fleet was by no means a Proof, that the Trade of the *Indies* was at that time any way lessened, but rather the contrary. The secret and true Design of *Trajan's* equipping this Fleet was, that it might facilitate a Project he then had of rivalling *Alexander* by the Conquest of the *Indies*: And the Reason he had it aside was, that he began to suspect, that it would be impossible to keep such Conquests, even supposing it possible to make them.

He, therefore, began to turn his Eyes towards *Arabia*, with a Design to establish, and even to enlarge the Conquest that had been made by his Lieutenant *Cornelius Palma*. Of these Conquests we have very indistinct Accounts in History; for they must have been much more considerable than those Accounts make them, since there are yet extant several Medals struck on taking of Towns in that Country. It is likewise very certain, that either *Trajan*, or some of the Emperors who succeeded him, reduced the greatest Part of *Arabia the Happy*, under their Dominion; for the Writer I have before mentioned, who describes the *Red Sea*, speaks of a Port without the Straights of *Babel-mandel*, called *Eudemon*, or the *Happy*, which, he says, was formerly a Place of very great Commerce: But a little before our Time, continues he, it was destroyed by *Cesar*.

Some Writers, indeed, ascribe the Ruin of this Place to *Cæsar*, the Grandson of *Augustus*; for which the *King Juba* wrote a large Work in relation to those Countries: But if we consider what *Pliny* says, that *Cæsar* only looked into *Arabia*, and that *Ælius Galus*, of whose Expedition I have already spoken, penetrated farther than any other *Roman* into *Arabia*, we shall easily see, that this is a Mistake; and that this *Cæsar* lived much later, than to fly, within the Compass of the Period of which we are now writing.

It appears, moreover, from the Description of the *Red Sea*, so often cited, that, by this Time, I mean under the Emperors who succeeded *Trajan*, the *Romans* had extended both their Power and their Trade, very far on this Side and were, in a manner, Masters of all *Arabia*, though when, or how, it was subdued, is a Point not so easily resolv'd; nor do I intend to trouble my Readers with a tedious Inquiry into so perplexed a Subject. It is sufficient for my Purpose, that I have cleared the Matter thus far, and have shewn the true Period within which these Conquests were made; by the Mistake of which, we must be led into many others, capable of misleading us in our Inquiry into the History of the *Indian* Commerce, by inclining us to believe, that it was in a declining State in that Period, when, in Truth, it flourished most.

This Port of *Eudemon*, which I before-mentioned to have been destroyed, was afterwards restored and repaired, and became so famous a Mart for all the Commodities of the East, and, withal, was so much frequented by the Subjects of this Empire, that it was called, by Way of Emphasis, the *Roman* Port; and is the very same which is now called *Aden*, a Name that signifies nearly the same in *Arabic*, that *Eudemon* did in *Greek*, according to the well-known Custom of the *Arabians*, who every where retain the old Names of Places that they become Masters of. It is also very clear, that, at this Time, the *Romans* carried on a great Trade in Countries much beyond the Limits of their Knowledge in former Times, that is to say, along the Coasts of *India*, *Perfia*, *Cambaya*, and the *Peninsula of Malacca*; but they were still as far from being acquainted with the Spice Countries as ever. The Author of the Description of the *Red Sea* does indeed speak of the River *Ganges*, and of the Countries lying on the Gulph of *Bengal*, but not with the same Accuracy that he does of other Places; from whence, I think, it may be justly concluded, that he drew the Accents he had of them from Hearsay, that is, from the Report which the *Roman* Merchants receive at *Barygaza* and *Muziris*, who were Ports of *Malacca*; and the latter is, with great Probability, thought to be that which is now called *Dia*.

It was by the prodigious Profits arising from this Commerce, that, on the one hand, the People of *Assyria* grew so rich, and so motinous, as all the Labours of these Times respect them; and that, on the other hand, the *Roman* Emperors, of whom we have been speaking, and who were by far the best, if we except one or two that enjoyed that Dignity, were engaged to make so many Visions to that City in particular, and to take so much Care as they did of all Things relating to Trade in general, which had an extraordinary Effect on the Manners of the *Romans*, and altered their Notions to such a Degree, that even the most considerable Persons of the Empire, for Birth and Quality, were not at all ashamed of becoming Merchants; and this, in all Probability, was the Cause that their Capitals became larger, and their Trade through *Lypt* much more considerable than in former Times. However this might contribute to the corrupting the Minds of the People, by the increasing Luxury, I shall not pretend to determine; but, most certain it is, that the Manners did not appear to have been worse within this Period, but rather better; and, therefore, it seems more agreeable to Truth, to attribute that Corruption of Manners, which was afterwards visible amongst the *Romans*, and had very near ruined their Empire, to the bad Example of successful

* This Part of the Work of *Dion Cassius*, whose History is here meant, printed, before *Nephtis* made his Abridgment. See the Introduction to the first Volume of *Dr. Hudson's* Collection of ancient Geographers, under the Title of *Arrian's Periplus Maris Erythraei*, where the Editor has used. We have this Circumstance from *Eusebius*; and the Reader, by consulting *Dion Cassius*, will find, that the *Roman* Emperors regarded him as the Conqueror of the *Indies*; which was either a great Flattery, or they must have reckoned *Arabia Felix* as a Part of the *Indies*. See *Pliny's Natural History*, l. 6. c. 14. *Idem ibid.* *Nat. Hist. lib. 6. c. 14.*

Princes, than to their exertion by their exertion; their Conduct, it is in order to preserve the Connection may same time, we shall strain this Section v

3. *M. Aureus* succeeded *Antoninus Pius* in the the *Romans* had been in his Instance, and was fully esteemed; to his Conduct, to his Character, and Respect, which his Greatness, and alone, with the utmost nothing that Character he had and Esteem of his the Eleventh Year was had, a Title which he beheld to their Privileges; doubt, that the Trade was preferred in it.

His Son *Commodus* A.D. 180. was as had been just an Scene of Blood and general, suffered execution, to the Traaged by an Insurrection heard of in *Arabia*, in the last Year murdered by some to remove in it.

Heliogabalus was as his Reign was in it all, but for which he is famous; that the Reader a His Father was a considerable Ports have entered the a Traiter; to which that all his Father best: And from that his Conduct long Series of C Empire: With it People were ple Reign of three M After his Death A.D. 193. *Septimus* however, he had the East, for his Reign, he entered *Asia*, the same *Trajan*, out of a make himself M blood was in the Dols, and forced ever, was to the Time; and had not had not himself was apprehensive would share the fore he would in which they employ dicially, that Assault: So that time. Thus In a Height of Pow

Princes, than to the great Wealth that was poured in upon them by their extensive Trade. Of these Princes, and of their Conduct, it is necessary, that we should say something, in order to preserve the Thread of our History, and that the Connection may be preserved throughout; but, at the same time, we shall use all possible Brevity, in order to restrain this Section within due Bounds.

3. *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, surnamed the *Philosopher*, succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, A. D. 161. and associated *Lucius Verus* in the Government, which was the first Time the Romans had seen two Emperors at once; neither had it, in this Instance, any ill Consequence: For, as *M. Aurelius* was justly esteemed the very best of all the Roman Emperors, so his Colleague *Lucius*, during the nine Years of his Reign, behaved towards him with all that Modesty and Respect, which was due from him to the Author of his Greatness. After his Decease, *M. Aurelius* governed alone, with the utmost Wisdom and Moderation, neglecting nothing that could contribute to maintaining the great Character he had gained, and securing, at once, the Love and Esteem of his Subjects. He made a Visit to *Egypt* in the fifteenth Year of his Reign; and though the Inhabitants had, a little before, shewn an Inclination to revolt, yet he behaved towards them very kindly, and renewed all their Privileges: So that there is not the least Reason to doubt, that the Trade of the Romans through that Country, was preserved in its full Extent.

His Son *Commodus*, who succeeded him in the Empire, A. D. 180. was as wicked and cruel a Prince, as his Father had been just and virtuous: His Reign was a continued Scene of Blood and Debauchery; and as the Empire, in general, suffered exceedingly under his scandalous Administration, so the Trade of the East was particularly endangered by an Invasion of the *Saracens*, who were now first heard of in *Arabia*, where they defeated the Roman Armies, in the last Year of the Reign of this Prince^a, who was murdered by some of his Favourites, that he had intended to remove in the same Way.

Herennius Pertinax was raised to the Empire in A. D. 193. and as his Reign was very short, I should not dwell upon it at all, but for the singular Circumstance of his Name, which sometimes Obliviate, and was given him for a Reason that the Reader may, perhaps, think worth his Notice. His Father was a Woodmonger; but, having acquired a considerable Fortune, he was willing, that his Son should have entered the World in another Character, than that of a Trader; to which, however, he was so strongly inclined, that all his Father's Persuasion, for some time, had no Effect: And from thence he was called *Pertinax*^b. He altered his Conduct afterwards, and rose regularly through a long Series of Civil and Military Employments, to the Empire: With his Piety to which, all Degrees of People were pleased, except the Soldiers, who, after a Reign of three Months, murdered him^c.

After his Death followed many Disturbances; but at last A. D. 193. *Severus* was raised to the Empire, in which, however, he had *Niger*, who was declared Emperor in the East, for his Competitor. In the fifth Year of his Reign, he entered *Arabia* with an Army, and laid Siege to *Dera*, the same Place that had been formerly attacked by *Trojan*, out of a covetous Disposition, and that he might make himself Master of the vast Wealth, that he understood was in the Place; but he was repulsed with great Loss, and forced to retire. His Passion for Money, however, was so strong, that he returned thither a second Time; and had certainly taken the Place, if his Covetousness had not hindered him: For the Breach being made, he was apprehensive, that his Soldiers, if they took it by Storm, would share the Plunder amongst themselves; and therefore he would needs give the Besieged Time to capitulate, which they employed in repairing the Breach; and did it to effectually, that the Roman Army refused to return to the Assault: So that he was obliged to raise the Siege a second time^d. This Instance sufficiently shews us, to how great a Height of Power the Profits of their Trade had, in those

Days, raised the *Arabians*, since a small Principality amongst them, was capable of defending its Liberties against two such Princes as *Trojan* and *Severus*: And we may add to this another great Prince no less powerful, viz. *Artaxerxes*, who re-established the Empire of the *Persians*. In the succeeding Year *Severus* visited *Egypt*, and made some Stay in *Alexandria*, where he repaired the Tomb of *Pompey*, and granted to the City a Senate and publick Council, which hitherto the Romans had constantly refused them^e. This Emperor travelled over all *Egypt*; inquired carefully into every Thing that related either to his Government or Commerce; and, having seen the Body of *Alexander*, he ordered the Tomb to be walled up, that others might not satisfy their Curiosity in like manner^f. His Son *Cara-calla* succeeded him, A. D. 211. and proved as great a Tyrant as any that had hitherto sat upon the Throne. He was, however, extremely fond of *Egypt*; and admitted one *Ceranus*, an *Alexandrian*, into the Senate of *Rome*, contrary to the established Maxim of *Augustus*, that no *Egyptian* should ever enter that August Assembly^g. Towards the End of his Reign he went to *Alexandria* upon a very odd Errand: He had heard, that the People treated his Vices and Follies with Hatred and Contempt: He, under Pretence of visiting it, as his Father had done, entered it with his Troops; and, having directed them to kill, without Distinction, all they met, destroyed an infinite Number of all Ranks and Ages. He afterwards abolished their Privileges; destroyed a great Part of the City; demolished the Museum; banished the learned Men who lived there, and all Strangers, Merchants only excepted, to whom he vouchsafed his special Protection^h. This Tyrant was soon after killed, in an Expedition he made into the East, to the great Joy of the Senate and People of *Rome*.

Macrinus, One of his Officers, and his Murderer also, succeeded him: But we find nothing in his Reign, nor that of his Successor, the execrable *Hellogabalus*, worthy of Notice.

Alexander Severus was raised to the Empire while a Boy, A. D. 222. He proved an excellent Prince, and a great Blessing to the Empire; and, being governed, during his whole Reign, by very wise and prudent Councils, did every Thing that could be expected from him, for promoting the Welfare and Happiness of his Subjects. He was particularly attentive to Trade, and the Ease and Comfort of such as were engaged in it. He took off many of the high Duties imposed by his Predecessors: And it is remarkable, that he was the first of the Roman Emperors who made any Distinction between Merchants and Tradesmen or Mechanics; which he did by dividing them into separate Companies, and appointing Judges to hear and decide the Disputes that might arise amongst the Members of either Company. Towards the End of his Reign, he made an Expedition into the East; from whence he returned victorious, and was honoured with a Triumph. But the Soldiers, who were in a great measure corrupted by the Licence allowed them under former Emperors, being no longer able to bear the Strictness of his Discipline, or endure the Purity of his Manners, took an Opportunity to murder him a little after Dinner, when he was left almost alone, in his Tent, in the twenty-seventh Year of his Age, and fourteenth of his Reignⁱ.

3. The execrable Murder of so good an Emperor was followed by the Soldiers setting up a perfect Monster, both in Body and Mind, called *Maximin*; which obliged the Senate to sit up other Emperors, in order to preserve some Degree of Decency in the Government, which they found very difficult for them to do, the Army being as much bent to maintain their Power, as the Senate were to support their Authority: But at last *Maximin*, on whole Account these Disturbances began, being slain, and *Gordian* and his Nephew, who were exalted to the Empire in the Year 236. being slain also, the People would needs have a Share in making Emperors; and therefore obliged the Senate to declare the younger *Gordian*, who was a Boy of thirteen, and the third of his Name, *Augustus*. It is natu-

^a *Max. Aurel. Vit. p. 13.*

^b *Herodian, lib. iii. Spauran de Vita Nigri, p. 77.*

^c *Capitulum de Vita Pertinacis.*

^d *Idem.*

^e *Herodian, lib. ii. Capitolin de Vita Pertinacis.*

^f *Idem de Vita Nigri, p. 77.*

^g *Idem de Vita Nigri, lib. ix.*

^h *Idem.*

ⁱ *Spauran de Vita Nigri.*

^j *Idem de Vita Nigri, lib. ii. p. 455 lib. ix. p. 32.*

^k *Idem de Vita Nigri, lib. ix.*

ral to suppose, that, in the Midst of these Confusions, the whole Oeconomy of the Empire sull' red; and, indeed, suffered in every Part, by the Ambition of their Governors, who all imagined, that, by courting the People under their Subjection, they might be able to raise themselves to Sovereignty. The Army, disdaining the Youth of *Gordian*, could scarce be persuaded to follow him to the *Perſian* War; and tho' he was there successful against the Enemy, yet he found it impossible to triumph over the Malice of his own Troops, who taking the Opportunity, when he had few of his Friends about him, and being headed by *Philip*, who was the Captain of his Guard, murdered him, when he had held the Empire about six Years.

M. Julius Philippus, who had thus betrayed his Trust, and murdered his Prince, was, by the Army, raised to the Empire. He was an *Arabian* by Birth, and attended, so far as the Disturbances of his Reign would give him Leave, to the Concerns of the Government with great Diligence; but a Sedition rising in his Army, and he sending *Decius* to quiet it, the Soldiers threw an Imperial Mantle over his Shoulders, and, declaring for him against *Philip*, a Battle was soon after fought between them, in which the latter was slain, after a short Reign of four Years. This *Decius*, who was an *Illyrian* by Birth, governed the Empire with Reputation for two Years and an half, and was then slain in a Battle against the *Goths*, by the Treachery of *Vulpius Galus*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and affected his Son *Vulpius*; but they scarce held it long enough to be accounted Emperors: for the *Scythians*, and other barbarous Nations, invading the *Roman* Territories on all Sides, who ever had Courage and Fortune enough to resist these Barbarians, was presently saluted Emperor by his Soldiers: And thus the Misery of the Empire was increased by what ought to have been her Defence, the having many brave Men, and good Officers, in her Service.

It was in this manner that *Similianus*, an *African*, was raised to the Purple, which he held but a few Months; for another Army, having proclaimed *Valerian*, who was a Man of Quality and great Abilities, the Army that had chosen *Similian*, thought proper to dispatch him out of the way, rather than involve themselves in any Danger about a disputed Title. The Emperor *Valerian* assumed the Purple A. D. 253, and having a great Reputation, brought the Affairs of the *Roman* Government into some Order; for, having, repelled the *Germans* on one Side, and the *Goths* on the other, he resolved to march himself against the *Perſians*, who had created new Disturbances in the East. In the Year 258, he was at *Edessa*, in his Way towards the East; and, having spent the next Year in a slow War against the *Perſians*, it came, in the Year following to a decisive Engagement, in which he was beaten, and afterwards taken Prisoner.

He had succeeded his Son *Gallienus* in the Empire, soon after he was raised to it; and this Son now succeeded him in the imperial Dignity, and governed alone near nine Years, but without either Peace or Reputation; for he gave himself up to a luxurious and indolent Life, without taking the least Care to free his Father out of the Hands of the *Perſians*, or to prevent his Dominions from being over-run by the numerous Armies of Barbarians, that tracked them on every Side. While Affairs were in this Posture, almost every great Province gave the Title of Emperor to whoever commanded in it, and *Egypt*, amongst the rest, where the Country was mixed, and the City of *Alexandria* desolated by War, Pestilence, and Famine, all at one Time. These Miseries, however, were not sufficient to hinder them from creating new Disturbances; for in the Year 262, they gave the Title of Emperor to *Aemilian*, who was then Prefect of *Egypt*, against whom *Gallienus* sent *Maximian*, who was an *Egyptian* by Birth, and who having shut up *Aemilian* in the *Bruchian*, or Palace of *Alexandria*, at last made him Prisoner, and in that Condition sent him to *Rome*, where, by the Order of the Emperor, he was beheaded. In this unfortunate Dispute the City of *Alexandria* suffered very severely; for, the *Bruchian*, or royal Quarter, which was very large, and very magnificent,

was intirely destroyed, and rendered desert; so that in succeeding Times the Ruins of it were at some Distance from the City, which, we may hence conclude, began about this Time to decline; and no Wonder that it did, since the whole *Roman* Empire was now visibly sinking under its own Weight, and crumbling into as many Parts as there were Provinces.

The *Roman* People, perceiving that *Gallienus* took but little Care of Affairs, began not only to hate, but to despise him. This created some Insurrections in *Italy*; and *Gallienus* putting himself at the Head of an Army, in order to repress them, he was there murdered; and soon after, his Son and his Brother were cut off at *Rome*. He had for his Successor *Claudius Gothicus*, who received that surname for a great Victory he obtained over the *Goths*, in which he destroyed three hundred thousand of them, and sunk two thousand of their Ships or Barks, for which the Senate decreed him a golden Shield, and ordered his Statue to be set up in the Capitol. The *Romans* began now to conceive Hopes of seeing better Days; and indeed there is no Instance of any Prince, who, during to short a Reign, made himself to much beloved, since he died, at the Age of his second Year, at *Syracusa*.

He recommended, on his Death-bed, *Valerius Arrius*, whom he had sent into *Thrace* against the *Goths*; but the Army, instead of proclaiming him Emperor, set up *Maximian*, the Brother of *Claudius*, in a Fit of Zeal for that Monarch's Memory; but, finding their new Emperor a Man of too severe Morals for those licentious Times, they murdered him in a Fortnight, and proclaimed the Person whom *Claudius* recommended. This *Aurelian*, who was raised to the Empire in 270, was a Person of great military Capacity, a Lover of strict Discipline, and, in every respect, proper to restore the distracted Affairs of the Empire, and to retrieve the ancient Glory of the *Roman* State. He soon freed the Western Provinces from the apprehensions they were under, from their barbarous Neighbours; and, having likewise settled the domestic Oeconomy of the Empire, to the Satisfaction of the Senate, he began to turn his Eyes towards the East, where a new Power was erected, and had assumed the imperial Title: Here his Rile and Progress of this Power has a very close Connection with our Subject, it is necessary, that we should examine it more at large; which will enable us to ascertain many Particulars, that must otherwise have been lost in Obscurity.

5. While the *Roman* Empire was thus torn by intestine Confusions, and while many wore the Title of Emperor, with Power enough to oppress, and too little to protect their Subjects, a new Principality started up, and recovered its Power to the World; of which, as I have already observed, I am necessarily obliged to speak more at large; because it owed that Grandeur, which it possessed in so high a Degree, intirely to the Commerce of the Indies; so that it may serve us for an Instance, that the same Situation to which, as not to be improved and rendered pleasant; no Country is barren, as not to admit of Cultivation; no Spot of Ground is unhappily placed, as not to become the Seat of Pleasure, if, by any Art or Contrivance, any Commerce of Importance can be had there.

The Place, of which I am to speak was originally built by King *Solomon*, after he had conquered the King of the *Arabia Felix*, a little *Syrian* Prince, within whose Dominions the Country lay, upon which this City was afterwards erected. It was called by *Solomon* *Tadmor*, and in that Situation in the midst of a sandy Desert, which surrounded it on all Sides, *Tadmor* in the *Hebrew*; but, as the singularity of its Situation was private to the King, who attentively considered it, from its Position in the Empire in the East, it became a free City, and the Head of a small Principality, under the Name of *Palmyra*, from whence the Country upon its Jurisdiction was called *Palmyrene*. The City and Country are described by *Pliny*.

Palmyra, says he, is excellently fit for the

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Herodotus, lib. vii. c. 102. *Strabo*, lib. vii. c. 1. *Pliny*, lib. vi. c. 31. *Ptolemy*, lib. vi. c. 16. *Josephus*, lib. vii. c. 1. *Herodotus*, lib. vii. c. 102. *Strabo*, lib. vii. c. 1. *Pliny*, lib. vi. c. 31. *Ptolemy*, lib. vi. c. 16. *Josephus*, lib. vii. c. 1.

to maintain an Army, which he undertook to raise under Colour of supporting the Cause of *Zenobia*; but, in fact, with a View to have secured to himself the Sovereignty of *Egypt*, where he found the People inclined enough to mutiny; and was soon in a Condition to render himself formidable; the rather, because the first Step he took was to lay an Embargo upon the Fleet that was bound from *Alexandria* to *Rome*. But this, instead of contributing, as he vainly imagined it would, to his Safety, drew upon him immediate Ruin; for *Aurelian*, knowing well the Consequences that this must produce at *Rome*, marched with all imaginable Diligence to *Egypt*; and having easily made himself Master of *Alexandria*, he blocked up *Firmius* in a Castle, and soon after took him Prisoner, and caused him to be put to Death with horrid Torments*.

He likewise settled the Trade of that Country on a new Foot, by the Regulations which he made, and which seem to have been very advantageous to the *Romans*, whatever hardships they might bring upon the *Egyptians*. These Precautions, however, could not have affected the Inhabitants of this Country so deeply, or the Severities exercised by *Aurelian* have depressed them to such a Degree, as History mentions, if they had remained at Peace among themselves, and had been content to enjoy quietly, what was left them after their Misfortunes: But this they could not do; for their mutinous and restless Temper threw the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* into such factious Disputes, as occasioned a kind of civil War amongst them; which produced the Ruin of many of the public Buildings, and finest Edifices, that were yet left standing; so that, with their own Hands, they laboured incessantly to demolish, what had been raised by the Industry and public Spirit of their Ancestors; and thus the Desolation of this great and rich City was increased, and in a manner finished, by the Madness of her Citizens†.

Soon after, this *Aurelian* was murdered by some of the principal Officers of his Army; and the Senate and Soldiers were, for some time, in Suspense, before they proceeded to an Election, which at last fell upon *Tacitus*, who was at the Head of the Senate, and seventy-five Years of Age: For which Reason, he laboured, with the utmost Diligence, to have avoided, had it been possible, the Acceptation of this Dignity; but, finding that his Endeavours were vain, and knowing that it was sometimes as dangerous to refuse the Purple as to accept of it, he yielded at last to the Intreaties of the Senate, and became, as it were, Emperor by Force.

9. The Reign of *Tacitus* began and ended in the Year 276. For, having sent a Relation of his to govern *Syria*, while himself was in the Neighbourhood of that Province, and this Man having discharged his Duty but indifferently, the People first murdered him; and then, fearing they might be punished for this Action, endeavoured to secure to themselves Impunity, by cutting off the Emperor also: He was succeeded by *Probus*, who was a most excellent Prince: For he first settled Peace at home, and then visited the Provinces, where he, likewise, gained great Honour, and secured the Empire from all Apprehensions of Disturbance from any of the barbarous Nations that had hitherto interrupted its Quiet. His Reign, however, was disturbed by an Insurrection in *Egypt*, where the Soldiers and the People made *Saturinus*, a worthy Officer, Emperor against his Will. *Probus* had made him General of the Forces in the East, with a particular Caution, that upon no Account whatever he should enter *Egypt*: But he, being extremely desirous to see the Curiosities of that Country, and, perhaps, not the less so for this Prohibition, made a Journey to *Alexandria*; which City he had scarce entered, when the People, out of that Spirit of Fickleness, of Flattery, and of Folly, for which they were famous, saluted him *Augustus*. He acted right at first, by quitting the Place instantly, and returning to *Palestine*; but, fearing afterwards, that he should be punished for what the People had done, he changed his Conduct, and assumed the Purple. *Probus*, at first, would

not believe the News of his Revolt, so great was his Confidence in this Man's Virtue; but when it was confirmed, he marched against him with an Army; and, after several hard-fought Battles, besieged him in a Castle; which was taken by Storm, and *Saturinus* killed, in spite of all the Care the Emperor took to save him‡.

This Revolt did not hinder *Probus* from labouring to restore the Affairs of *Egypt* to their former flourishing Condition; in order to which, he caused all the Mouths of the Nile to be cleansed and repaired, and enlarged the Ports of that Province: He further declared his Resolution to take the same Care, and employ the same Pains, in all the other Provinces of the Empire. This gracious Disposition, this Desire of establishing universal Peace, this Hope of finding it possible to govern Mankind upon Principles of Humanity, inspired him with an Openness of Heart, and Freedom of Speech, which drew upon him a sudden and violent Death: For tho' it may be a new, a strange, and seemingly absurd Maxim, yet Reason and Experience will shew it a true one, that more Care and Art ought to be employed in covering and concealing good Designs, than bad ones; and that for this plain Cause, the Majority of the World are bad, or, at least, weak Men, who prefer their present Interest, or what they think so, to any future Good, how great soever: And therefore, whoever proposes to act for the Benefit of all, will be sure to provoke the Displeasure of many, and awake the Affections of very few. This was the Case of *Probus*; for his great and good Projects being interrupted by a War with the *Persians*, he was so indiscreet as to sit, in the midst of the Preparations for it, that he hoped would come a Time when Soldiers would be no longer necessary; which, with the hard Labour he put them upon, in draining the Waters about *Syrmium*, irritated his Forces to such a Degree, that they first mutinied, and then murdered him§, when he had reigned six Years in universal Applause, and had restored the Affairs of the Empire miraculously.

After his Death, the Army, A. D. 282, declared *Carus* Emperor, who entered on a Scene of Trouble; and entered only to go off again; for the barbarous Nations began, on every Side, to be in Motion, as soon as the Death of *Probus* was known. And his Successor, advancing with the Army as far as the River *Tigris*, was there founded in his Tent, in the Middle of a Storm of Thunder and Lightning, in the second Year of his Reign. He had nominated his eldest Son *Carinus* in the Empire, and his younger Son *Numerianus*, who was with him, and who was acknowledged by the Army, and continued the War some time after his Father's Death, till by the Fraud of *Iper*, who was Captain of his Guard, and who hoped to succeed him, he was murdered in his Tent: Upon which the Army chose *Dioclesian* Emperor, who revenged the Death of his Predecessor, by killing *Iper* with his own Hands¶.

Dioclesian was raised to the Empire A. D. 284, and as soon as he found himself established, entered into a War with *Carinus*, in which the latter was slain. In 286, *Dioclesian* associated *Maximian* in the Empire, that they might be the more able to act against all the Enemies of the *Romans*; and the Troubles still increasing, the two Emperors named *Constantius Chlorus*, and *Maximian Galerius*, *Cæsars*. At this Time one *Aballus* had drawn *Egypt* to revolt, and assumed there the imperial Ornaments, and maintained himself better than five Years; but when other Parts of the Empire were quieted, *Dioclesian*, in the Year 296, entered *Egypt*, attacked, defeated, and killed *Aballus*, and as some Writers say, suffered his Soldiers to pillage the City of *Alexandria*. But the Nations who inhabited the Country between *Egypt* and *Arabia*, were now become too powerful, and the Affairs of the *Romans* in that Province were in such Contusion, that *Dioclesian* could find no better Expedient for securing the Peace and Safety of the Province, than yielding up a large Part of Country to that Nation, with whom he contracted

* *Zorn Hist. Egypt. p. 104. Aurelian*
 † *Zorn Hist. Egypt. p. 104.*

‡ *Ammon. Mar. p. 11. xxxi.*

§ *Zorn Hist. Egypt. p. 104.*

¶ *Zorn Hist. Egypt. p. 104.*

perpetual Alliance, but for protecting which was paid to them, how it was sunk; and it is Things contained in it would have sunk like the Troubles of the *Conflantius*, from *Tangs* began to challenge for restoring her to its proper Plan is executed, and reded with that of a ruler under whom it

7. All the Proof of the *Indian* Commerce drawn from the *History*; which, however, tho' they do not The great Attention regard to the Province and over the *Port* as high Idea of the World, that we hear every Emperor, from therefore we have here, that their Commerce with all the Vigour

Another Proof of the Reins of *India* which we learn of *Indian* Commerce notice of, only made of *Silk*

Commodities, the thought made in this and for letting the *India*, by this Commerce. We may admit, which happy Effects of the valley, derived to their own Manufactures, they found out, and other Goods, and Man acquired success to maintain the Cause of *Marcus* attempt making his becoming, from a nation. In 6 d, not been prodigious account for the *Peter* to many *Phil* cease of the *Di* which must have Province.

It is impossible, without reason, with man Experience of *Egypt* where they were on Purpose, and for Instance, *Flav* which he created the that had been had that was called represented the *N* with sixteen chi Number of *Cub*

* *P. P. B. P. p. 2.*
 † *Ammon. Mar. p. 11. xxxi.*
 ‡ *Zorn Hist. Egypt. p. 104.*
 § *Zorn Hist. Egypt. p. 104.*

perpetual Alliance, and agreed to pay them an annual Tribute for protecting the Frontiers from other Barbarians, which was paid to the Time of *Justinian*. This is sufficient to shew, how far the Power and Credit of the *Romans* was sunk; and it is natural to suppose, that with them, had Things continued in this State, the Commerce of *Egypt* would have sunk likewise. But in succeeding Times, when the Troubles of the Empire were appeas'd, and the Emperor *Constantine*, surmounting the Great, mounted the Throne, Things began to change their Face, and new Measures were taken for restoring and settling the Affairs of *Egypt*, as will be shewn in its proper Place. At present, this Part of our Plan is executed, and the History of this Commerce connected with that of the Princes by whom it was established, and under whom it flourished.

All the Proofs we have of the flourishing State of the *Indian* Commerce, in the latter Part of this Period, are drawn from the Circumstances of Things related in History; which, however, sufficiently demonstrate it in general, tho' they do not enable us to enter into Particulars. The great Attention shewn by many of the Emperors, in regard to the Provinces of the East, and the Victories obtained over the *Parthians*, and other Nations, kept up such an high Idea of the *Roman* Power in all that Part of the World, that we hear of *Indian* Embassadors sent to almost every Emperor, from *Alexander Severus* to *Diocletian*: And therefore we have the greatest Reason that can be to believe, that their Commerce was, at this time, carried on with all the Vigour and Success imaginable.

Another Proof of this, is the Accounts we have of the pious Reigns of *Caracalla*, *Hellogabalus*, and *Carinus*: From which we learn, that there were prodigious Quantities of *Indian* Commodities at *Rome*; and it is particularly taken notice of, that *Hellogabalus* first wore a Robe entirely made of Silk, at that Time one of the dearest and most valuable Commodities they received from the East.

The strongest and clearest Proof we derive from the Laws made in this Period, in favour of Trade in general, and for settling the particular Duties on the Goods imported from the *Indes*, by the Way of *Egypt*: For these plainly shew, that this Commerce was now more extensive than ever. We may add to this the several Seditions and Rebellions which happened in *Egypt*, and which were the pure Effects of the vast Wealth of the Inhabitants of that Country, deriv'd to them from the Progress they made in their own Manufactures, and the Means that within this Period they found out, of vending their Paper, Glass, Linen, and other Goods, throughout the East; by which private Men acquired such immense Fortunes, as enabled them even to maintain Armies at their own Expence; which was the Case of *Marcus Firmus*, whose Riches induced him to attempt making himself Master of the Province, and of bringing, from an *Indian* Merchant, an *Egyptian* Merchant. In short, if the Returns of their Traffick had not been prodigiously great, it would be very difficult to account for the People of *Egypt*'s recovering themselves, after so many Pillagings as they were expos'd to, in consequence of the Disorders and Confusions of those Times, which must have carried immense Wealth out of the Province.

It is impossible to turn one's Thoughts upon this Subject, without remembering, that the City of *Rome* was adorn'd with many of its most costly Ornaments, at the Expence of *Egypt*, and particularly of *Alexandria*, from whence they were transported in Ships that were contriv'd on Purpose, and were of a most extraordinary Size. Thus, for Instance, *Flavius Vespasian* dedicated, in his Temple, a Machine erected to the Goddess of Peace, the largest Statue that had been seen, of *Egyptian* Porphyry; and of that kind that was call'd *Bajales*, of an Iron-colour, which represented the Nile, under the figure of an old Man, with sixteen children playing about him, signifying the Number of Cubits which that River rises, when at the

highest. Innumerable Instances might be given of the same Kind, but that one is sufficient; and it is impossible to conceive how such prodigious Expences could be defray'd, as must have been necessarily occasion'd by the Luxury of those Times, and particularly the Love they had to Building, in a manner which employ'd many more Hands than any that has been practis'd in later Ages. And, to be convinc'd, that ancient Writers have not deceiv'd us in what they have deliver'd upon this Subject, we need only consult what modern Travellers have written, of the Ruins that are still remaining in that Country; which not only come up to, but even very far exceed, all the Accounts we have in Books; So that the Wealth and Splendor of this Country must have been very astonishing, in its flourishing Condition, since the very Remains of *Roman* Magnificence in *Egypt*, are capable of surprising such as behold them; and are observ'd to strike those most, who are best acquainted with the Nature and Value of such Things.

These are all certain and indubitable Signs of immense Riches: And tho' these might fall into the Hands of particular Persons, even in Countries that were not, generally speaking, more opulent than their Neighbours; yet we are sure this could not be the Case in *Egypt*, since it was not *Alexandria* alone, but all the Cities of the Province that were enrich'd with such Ornaments: So that their Wealth seems to have been very equally spread; or rather, there was such an Abundance of it, that not a Corner of the Kingdom remained unimprov'd. The City of *Sisene*, the Ruins of which are yet to be seen, as it stood near the *Arabian* Gulph, and at the Mouth of the Canal that had been cut from the Nile to the Sea, was crowded with fine Works, costly Obelisks, and Pillars of incredible Size; which must have been brought thither with inexpressible Difficulty: And yet to invent were the *Romans*, in what ever might contribute to the Improvement of their Trade to the East, that, finding an Obelisk of exquisite Beauty, that had been set up by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in Memory of his Wife and Sister, whose Name the City bore, and which was 120 Feet high, incommoded the Dock, because they were then wont to build larger Ships than were us'd in *Ptolemy's* Reign, *Maximus*, who was then Governor of the Province, caus'd it to be taken down, and remov'd to *Alexandria*.

But if it should be objected, that there is no reasoning, with any Certainty, about things of this Nature, if the Expence, at the Time they were made, cannot be known, it is a very easy Matter to answer this, since, at the Time Time that this Obelisk was hewn out of the Quarries in the *Higher Egypt*, there were six more cut, of the same Size, for which the Workmen received fifty *Egyptian* Talents, which amounts to upwards of thirteen thousand Pounds of our Money; and the Expence of carrying them must have been far larger.

But to sum up all in a Word: Even at the Close of this Period, I mean, when the Emperor *Diocletian* was in *Egypt*, he thought it necessary to burn all the Books of Chymistry that could be collect'd, from a Notion, that it was by this Art the *Egyptians* became possess'd of such prodigious Sums of Gold and Silver, as made them mutinous and ungovernable; which is a clear and certain Sign, that the *Romans* themselves had not a full Notion of the mighty Profits that accrue'd from the Commerce that the *Egyptians* carry'd on.

But it is now high Time to inquire into the Discoveries that were made, in consequence of this Trade, and the Accounts that were from time to time transmitted, of the State and Condition of the Countries, which their Merchants, and other Travellers, visit'd; a Thing extremely requisite, even for the understanding of modern Voyages and Travels, where we often meet with Passages, that either tend to explain the Accounts given by the Antients, or to refute them; the Worth of which we cannot comprehend, unless we are acquainted with the Accounts themselves: And, indeed, in laying these together, consists the

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

* *Justinus* tells us, that, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, there was a Law made, that no Man should be allow'd to sell by way of Silk Commodity. But, in order to understand the true Sense of that Law, it is to be observ'd, that the *Romans* had two Sorts of Manufacture: the one, in which the Warp was Silk, and the Woof Thread, which was call'd *Sabotum*, and this was the Cloathing which the Law of *Tiberius* forbid Men to wear: The other Manufacture, which was all Silk, call'd *Holotum*, and was worn only by Women, till the Emperor *Diocletian*, in the Life of *Hologabalus*, that effeminate Emperor wore his Imperial Robe made of purple Silk.

* *Voyage de Thevenot, Lett. 1.*

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 22. cap. 1.*

* *Lib. ibid.*

* *Z. Jen. lib. 1.*

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be given to these Relations. The *Greeks* themselves were
to ascribed to Idolatry, that they had no other Idea of
Religion, than as it consisted in the Worship of a Multi-
tude of Divinities; and therefore, in their Reports of the
Indians, they attributed the Ceremonies they saw practised
to Principles like their own. But it is very plain, even
from the Writings of their best Authors, that at the time
Alexander the Great invaded this Country, the *Indians* had
not the Use of Images; and even *Apollonius* confesses,
that the Representation of the Sun was the only one he
saw. It is likewise very certain, that these People made a
great Secret of their religious Opinions; which was another
Cause why the *Greeks* had recourse to their own Inventions,
which were very fertile; and, by this means, represented
the Sentiments of the *Indians* as conformable to their
own. The *Brachmans*, however, who were, for the most
part, their Priests, and, as we shall see hereafter, were
in that respect, in some sort, superior to their Kings, dis-
claimed these superstitious Notions, and either worshipped
in the open Air, turning their Faces to the East, with-
out any regard to the Sun or other heavenly Bodies, or in
Temples that had neither Images nor Ornaments of any
kind. They likewise professed their Belief in One God,
the Author of all Things, the Creator and Sovereign of
the Universe, and the Father of Spirits; conformable to
which, when *Onofritus*, in the Name of *Alexander the Great*,
threatened *Dindamis* with Death if he did not imme-
diately rise, and go and wait upon that Prince, he told
him, smiling, that the King's putting him to Death would
do him no hurt at all: For, said he, when this Head is
divided from this Body, they will return to the Earth from
whence they came; and the Spirit, now included in them,
to Him, by whose Power it was included; for the Body,
said he, is the Clothing of the Soul, and has no more to
do with the Man than his Garments¹.

It is true, that, since these early Times, the *Indians* have
deviated much into Idolatry; but it is no less true, that
the *Brachman*, who are the wiser and better Sort, have al-
ways possessed a different Opinion; and, upon certain Oc-
casions, have ventured to declare, in Confidence, that they
did not believe in Idols; but that they considered them as
fanciful Representations, which were necessary to fix
the Attention, and to exercise the Piety, of the common
People, who were not able to comprehend, or were not
fit to be trusted with, the Secrets of their Religion. This
I will know, and indeed all that can be known, of the
Religion of the ancient *Indians*, except that the very
Barang of themselves proceeded from a Principle of Reli-
gion, and from the Hopes of avoiding, by that kind of
Devotion, the being transfused into any Animal; upon
which Principle, Women, to this Day, burn themselves
with their Husbands Bodies, in hopes that their Souls
shall again enter the World with those of their Husbands
in a happy Condition, and in an human State, that is,
without passing through Plants or Beasts².

As to the Government of the Country, it was, ge-
nerally speaking, monarchical, though there were some Re-
publics amongst them: But the *Cutbeans* had a very singu-
lar Custom; for, amongst them, their Kings were chosen
only on the Score of Beauty; and, therefore, when
their Children were but two Months old, they were examined
by proper Judges, who, if they found them perfect in all
their Limbs, well made, and likely to prove handsome,
considered them to live, otherwise they put them to Death;
and, in virtue of this Precaution, that they were con-
sidered as the handsomest People in the World. It is
worthy of Observation, that the Custom of Women burn-
ing themselves with their Husbands was first introduced
here, which was occasioned by their frequently detesting
the weak sake of younger Men; and, where this could
possibly be done, removing them out of their Way by
Poison. In all the other Countries of the *Indies* the Crown
was hereditary, and the eldest Son constantly succeeded his
Father without any Difficulty or Dispute: But, as to the
several History of these Principalities, there are none that
have been preserved, if we except that of the *Indian*
Emperors, concerning which *Megasthenes* received in the

Indies the following Information: *Bacchus*, when he had
settled a Principality in the Neighbourhood of *Nysa*, de-
volved the Government upon *Spartibebras*, his Friend,
who reigned fifty-two Years, and left the Crown to his
Son *Budyas*, who ruled twenty Years, and was succeeded
by *Crudevas*, his Son; and so, in a continued Descent
from Father to Son, except where a King died without
Issue, and, in that Case, a new Prince was elected; the
Succession in this Order came to the famous *Saudracitus*,
who was the hundred and fifty-third Successor of *Bacchus*³.

But besides this great Monarch, who had a considerable
Territory, and Abundance of tributary Princes, every
Tribe of *Indians* had its particular Prince, who was at
once King and Priest within his own Dominions, according
to the ancient Custom of most Countries; from whence it
came, that the *Hebreus* used the same Word to signify
both Prince and Priest. The *Indian* Monarchs were far
from having absolute Power, or from living in a State of
Luxury and Ease: On the contrary, they were obliged to
hear every Day the Causes that were brought before them,
and to give Audience to such of their Subjects as had any
thing to say to them: Nor were they allowed, by their
Laws, to go into the Bath, or even to dine, before all these
Suits were answered. In Matters of great Consequence,
they could not act without the Advice of their Council;
and, in Points of Religion, they received the Instructions
of the *Brachmans* with implicit Obedience; so that, in
all respects, they were circumscribed, and had it not in
their Power to violate the Constitution⁴. This was very
probably the Reason, that these small Principalities, which
had neither great Power, nor much Wealth, to support
them, subsisted for so many Ages. It is, however, to be
observed, that to prevent the People from being over-
born by the Torrent of a sudden Invasion, there was al-
ways a supreme Monarch over a certain Country, who
could draw together the Forces of all these subordinate
Chiefs on any public Occasion that required it: And thus
it was that the numerous Armies were raised, which in the
foregoing History have been mentioned; and, in this
respect, the ancient Constitution of *India*, was very like the
Gothic Form of Government, and came very near the
Constitution in this Island, before it was invaded by the
Romans.

The Reception which *Apollonius* met with from the
King of *Taxis*, affords us a very agreeable Picture of
the Court of an *Indian* Monarch. When the Philosopher
arrived there, he found the Palace a large and convenient
Structure, but, in every respect, perfectly plain; so that,
if he had not been informed, that it was the Royal Dwel-
ling, he would have taken it for the House of some con-
siderable Citizen. He found there neither Guards nor At-
endants: There were only a few Slaves at the Gate,
and three or four Persons of an ordinary Rank, who de-
sired to speak with the King. *Apollonius* entered with
them into the Royal Apartments, where he found every
Thing plain and neat, disposed, however, in to excellent
an Order, that they struck him with much greater Awe
and Reverence, than the lofty and sumptuous Palace of the
King of *Babylon*, which he had visited before. The Ap-
pearance of the Monarch, whose Name was *Phraortes*, or
Phraotes, was in every respect suitable to the Modesty of
his Palace; a noble and majestic Presence was the sole
Mark of Dignity he bore, and he was attended by a very
slender Retinue; so that *Apollonius*, recollecting what he
had heard of the *Brachmans*, and of their Disciples, con-
cluded that the Princes of *India* were, also, a kind of
Sages; and, therefore, he addressed him by his Interpreter
in these Words: It appears to me, Sir, that Philoso-
phy is your supreme Delight, and the Rule of your Ac-
tions: Permit me, therefore, to have the Honour of
congratulating you thereupon. What you say is true, re-
plied the King; and I am extremely glad, that your Sen-
timents agree with mine. Is it the Laws of our Country,
continued *Apollonius*, or is it your Majesty's particular
Taste, that removes from your Court all that Magnificence
and Pomp, that are usually found in the Dwellings of
Princes? It is both the Law, replied the Prince, and my

¹ *Strabo*, lib. vii. c. 10. ² *Pliny*, lib. vii. c. 10. ³ *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 9. ⁴ *Diodor. Sicul.*

⁵ *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 9. ⁶ *Diodor. Sicul.*

⁷ *Pliny*, lib. vii. c. 10.

own private Judgment, that have banished that outside Shew, which is certainly no more than a false Glory, and has no sort of Correspondence with true Merit. I use, with Moderation, the little Splendor that our Laws permit; and, though I may truly say, that there are few Monarchs more powerful than myself, yet, with like Veracity, I can affirm, that I can be content with a little, and leave the rest to my Friends. Happy Economy, cried out *Apollonius*, which teaches you, by despising Wealth, to purchase a Treasure of Superior Nature! But, replied the King, it is not only to my Friends that I part with my Riches; I even bestow some upon my Enemies, that my Subjects may enjoy Rest and Tranquillity. It is in that, and that alone, that I place all my Glory*.

Apollonius, afterwards, inquired into the King's manner of living; to which that Monarch answered very graciously, I never drink Wine, but when I sacrifice to the Sun: What I take in hunting I distribute among my Friends, contenting myself with the Benefit I receive from the Exercise. As for my Food, it consists of Herbs, the Fruit of the Palm-tree, and other Vegetables, which I cultivate with my own Hands. After this he bathed with the King, and was entertained at a sumptuous Dinner, at which no more than five Persons were present; at which were served Fish, Fowl, whole Lions, Kids, the Paws of Tygers, Roots, Fruits, and Bread. Every one rose from his Place, and took at the Table what he thought fit, returning to his Place, and eat it there at his Leisure. Branches of Laurel, Myrtle, and other odoriferous Trees, were scattered in the Room, yielding an agreeable, but not an overcoming Scent. All Dinner-time the Table was surrounded by thirty Musicians; and, at the same time, several young *Indians* diverted the King with Feats of Activity. When every body had done eating, several Cups were brought of a very large Size, out of which every Man drank what he thought fit; his Head, according to the Custom of the Country, being entirely covered by the Cup†.

It is not to be supposed, that in a Country of so large Extent as the *Indies*, all the Princes should pursue the same regular Plan, or preserve a like Severity of Morals: And, indeed, the contrary of this is evident from what History informs us, with respect to the Kingdom of *Musican*, which lay towards the Mouth of the River *Indus*, in that Part of the Country, which, from its Lakens to the *Delta* of *Egypt*, bore the same Name; the Princes of which lived in all the Splendor, and in all the Luxury, of the *Persians*, or rather exceeded them in both. A Multitude of Women were perpetually about the King's Person; to that he was, by their Actions, their Songs, and their Discourse perpetually excited to lascivious Pleasures. Whenever this Monarch appeared in public, his Officers carried silver Incense-Pots before him, to perfume the Air. He lay at full Length in a Litter of Cloth of Gold, garnished with Pearls, long Strings of which hung down on every Side. His Habit was a long Robe of Linen, embroidered with Gold and Purple. His Concubines accompanied him with a Pomp equal to his own; and his Guards carried Branches of sweet-smelling Wood, filled with Birds of every Kind, the wild Notes of which were esteemed by the *Indians* beyond any kind of Music. After his Train followed the Queen, with a Magnificence equal, in all respects, to that of her Consort.

The only Kind of Exercise used by this King, was Hunting: And when he took this Diversion in a Park, he was always in his Chariot, surrounded by his Concubines, who shot at the wild Beasts, as well as he; but if he pursued his Sport in the open Field, he went alone, mounted upon his Elephant. The Entry of his Palace was adorned with a stately Portico, composed of many Pillars richly gilt, on each of which a Vine of Gold twisted itself to the very Top, adorned with the Figures of several kind of Birds, painted of different Colours. This State-Room was open to all the World, at the Hours of Audience especially; but at these Seasons, while the King gave Audience to Embassadors, heard Causes, or did any other kind of Business, he had

several Women about him; some of whom combed his Hair, some perfumed his Hands, and others his Feet: His Face was very closely shaved, except the very Point of the Chin, from whence there hung a long Beard. At Table, and on all other Occasions, he was served by three Ladies; and was so jealous of sinister Designs against his Person, that if any looked upon him too steadily, or came nearer than he thought convenient, he ordered them to be put to Death. So passionately fond this Monarch was of Horrifics, that he commanded Holidays on their Account, as if they had been really Part of the Royal Family. It may not, however, be amiss to caution the Reader as to both these Accounts, which, it must be confessed, are liable to some Objections: And, in my Opinion, an Author has no more a Right to produce a suspicious Witness, and avail himself of his Testimony, than he would have to deceive, in the same manner, a Court of Justice. In both Cases, there is an Injury done to Truth; and tho' it be true, that the latter may have more fatal Consequences than the former, yet the Falsifier of Truth does his utmost, in one Case as well as the other: And so far the Crime is alike in both. The Author of the latter Account is *Orontius*, who was Captain of *Alexander's* Ship, and had, doubtless, Opportunities of knowing the Truth of the Fact, if he could have had Candour enough to have related it; but he had naturally such a Love for the Marvellous, that he could not help exaggerating whatever he reported, as *Strabo*, and other Writers, agree, and as the Facts themselves plainly declare. *Quintus Curtius*, an elegant Writer, but one who was likewise fond of Wonders, copied this Story where-ever he found it; which may, possibly, be true, but has an Air of Improbability, at least.

As to the former, *Apollonius Tyanicus*, I ought to have given the Reader a complete Section of his Travels, if it had not been for the former Objection; which, I must confess, weighed with me so far as to engage me to lay aside that Design. He was a very famous Philosopher of the *Pythagorean* Sect, born about the time of the Commencement of the Christian *Æra*, and who lived to the Age of ninety-six, or thereabouts. He was a Man of very singular Character; for he affected great Purity of Manners, and, at the same time, aimed at two Things, which seem incompatible therewith: The first of these was Magic; in which he pretended to have extraordinary Skill, and took a great deal of Pains to persuade the World, that he had a great Familiarity with the Demons, and was able, by their Helps, to perform mighty Feats. The other great Aim of his Life, was the reasoning and supporting *Polylem*, or Idolatry, which was then very much on the Decline.

To accomplish these Views, he travelled more than any Man of his Time. His principal Disciple was one *Damis*, who followed him in most of his Peregrinations, and particularly into the *Indies*: And this Man it was, that left behind him Memoirs of his Master's Life, which were drawn up in a very confused Way, and in a Style that was very uncouth. *Philostratus* undertook to polish these, and to put them into proper Order; and this Work of his is that which I cite. But whether it be thro' his Fault, or from the Defect of the original Memoirs of *Damis*, it so falls out, that there many Things very punctually related in the Story of his Travels, which, even at this Distance of Time, we know could not be true. One Instance of this may suffice, for the Reader's Satisfaction, which I shall bring within as short a Compass as possible.

In his Way to *India* *Apollonius* passed thro' *Babylon*, which in his Life, is described as a City of twenty-four Leagues in Circuit; and, in short, appears, in every respect, as it stood in the Days of *Nebuchadnezzar*†, tho' it is certain that his City was long before destroyed; and *Pliny*, who was his Contemporary, assures us, and that very truly, that nothing but the Temple of *Belus* remained entire, all the rest being become a perfect Desert. He likewise represents it as the Seat of the *Parthian* Kings, which it never was; for those Princes spent the Winter at *Cisophon*, near *Selucia*, and the Summer at *Ecbatana*. There are many other Slips of the same Kind; by whose Negligence committed, it is not

easy to say; but it abounds with such insert the Travels of to quote him as to des, without giving matter, that so it may dit due to the Mat

It is likewise nothing he proposed U better informed by Practice of Magic; perfectly well: An Cloud of Witnesses the World, the last the Ends at which in point of Opinion without doubt, Ma sisting in nothing Trucks, to amuse a Whole, therefore, I we believe, that it Splendor than he r an ancient Author dent of *Porus* was the *Parthian* Kings be without any Di the Possession of sitates Luxury an Character he has g or improbable, bec the Principles ascrib done no more the smooth Words and the Great, and not iminions, by the W

3. The Virtues for the Preservation the Light of Reaso pience: But parti Instance of a Natl Care to secure their Power, as the *Indi* Senate, without wh of Importance; a jured by the post not without Remem the People. It wa Preservation of th zow State the P Tribes, or whatcy of which had a f competent Degre Protection of their in their Laws, th other, so that all thing as Servitudo

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* *Phil. Istr. lib. ii. c. 25. § Equin.*

† *Phil. Istr. de vita Apollonii Tyanici, lib. i. c. 10.*

‡ *Phil. Istr. lib. iii. c. 26.*

§ *On Juris. ap. Strabonem, p. 710. § Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.*

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easy to say; but inasmuch as the Work of *Philestratus* abounds with such Mistakes, it was neither fit for me to insert the Travels of *Apollonius* in this Collection, nor even to quote him as to any particular Facts relating to the *Indies*, without giving the Reader a fair Account of his Character, that so it may be in his Power to judge of the Credit due to the Matter which he relates.

It is likewise necessary to observe, that the principal thing he proposed by this Journey to the *Indies*, was to be better inform'd by the *Brachmans*, as to the Theory and Practice of Magic; in which, it is pretended, he succeeded perfectly well: And yet, as we shall see hereafter, from a Cloud of Witnesses, the *Brachmans* were, of all People in the World, the last that ought to have been applied to for the Ends at which he aimed, since they were strict Deists in point of Opinion, and heartily abhorred Fraud, in which, without doubt, Magic is, and ever was founded, as consisting in nothing more than the Invention of cunning Tricks, to amuse and impose upon the Ignorant. On the Whole, therefore, we may, perhaps, come near the Truth, if we believe, that the *Indian* Princes lived in much greater Splendor than he relates, since we have the Authority of an ancient Author to prove, that the Palace of a Defendant of *Perus* was much more magnificent than those of the *Parthian* Kings at *Susa* and *Ecbatana*; yet this might be without any Diminution of their Virtue; for it is not the Possession of Wealth, but the ill Use of it, that constitutes Luxury and Effeminacy. In other respects, the Character he has given *Piraxotes*, has nothing in it absurd or improbable, because, supposing him to have acted on the Principles ascribed to him by *Apollonius*, he would have done no more than his successor *Taxies* did, who, by smooth Words and rich Gifts, got the better of *Alexander* the Great, and not only preserved, but enlarged his Dominions, by the Wisdom of his Behaviour.

3. The Virtues of Kings are not to be depended upon for the Preservation of States; which is a Maxim taught by the Light of Reason, as well as supported by that of Experience: But perhaps no History furnishes us with any Instance of a Nation, that took such early and effectual Care to secure themselves from the bad Effects of arbitrary Power, as the *Indians*. In every Principality there was a Senate, without whose Advice the King could do nothing of Importance; and in case any Man thought himself injured by the joint Power of the King and Senate, he was not without Remedy, but might, if he pleased, appeal to the People. It was for this Reason, and to facilitate the Preservation of their respective Privileges, that in every *Indian* State the People were divided into seven Classes, Tribes, or whatever else you will please to call them, each of which had a sufficient Number of Heads, vested with a competent Degree of Power, for the Preservation and Protection of their Brethren: And it was the capital Maxim in their Laws, that every Man belonged to some Class or other; so that all were alike free; and there was no such thing as Servitude known amongst them.

The first of these were the *Brachmans*, or Philosophers; of whom we shall speak particularly in the next Section, and shall, therefore, content ourselves with only naming them here, in their Order. The second were the Husbandmen and Farmers, who composed the Body of the State; and the signal Service they rendered to the Public, by cultivating the Land, and securing Plenty, joined to their exemplary Probity, obtained them the highest Respect. It was for this Reason, that in all Wars, whether civil or foreign, they were exempted from taking up Arms: Neither could they be injured or disturbed in their Labours, without a Breach of the Law of Nations; a Crime no *Indian* Prince was ever hardy enough to commit. It was, therefore, no uncommon Sight, to behold a bloody Battle on one Side of a Plain, and on the other, Men sowing or reaping, without the least Apprehension, either from the Fury of the Victor, or the Despair of the Vanquished. They were, likewise, exempted from all publick Offices: For it was held, that their very Profession was a publick Office, since it contributed to the Good of all, by main-

taining a constant and uninterrupted Plenty. The King, however, was acknowledged the sole Proprietor of all the Lands in his Dominions, from which he received a certain Tribute; and besides that, a fourth Part of the net Produce; out of which Revenue, all the Expences of the State were defrayed.

The third Class was composed of *Graffiers*, *Shepherds*, and *Huntmen*: These had the Care of their Herds and Flocks, and had the sole Privilege of breeding, buying, and selling Horses: And as the Country was much infested by *Lions*, *Tygers*, *Elephants*, *Birds of Prey*, and other pernicious Animals, the *Huntsmen* were not only regarded as a Race of People very useful to the State, and allowed to possess, in full Property, the Fruits of their Labour; but received also an annual Proportion of Corn, as an Acknowledgment for their preserving the rest, which could not have been either sown or reaped in Safety, but under their Protection. As these People led a wandering kind of Life, they had no Villages or Settlements; but pitched their Tents, led their Cattle, and pursued their Hunting in the Woods or Mountains: So that they did no Prejudice to any Part of the arable Ground.

Under the fourth Class were comprehended *Artificers* and *Merchants*. They paid the King a certain Tribute, except such as were employed in making Arms, or in the Construction or Service of the Fleet, who were paid for their Labour by the Public.

The fifth Class was composed of *Officers* and *Soldiers*, or, to use a modern Phrase, the fifth Class was the *Militia*. They had no other Business to mind, than the Preservation and Protection of the State, and were obliged to take Arms whenever the King thought fit, for the publick Service. They were lodged and maintained at the King's Expence, who provided for their Families when they were absent in War. At that time, the whole Society contributed to the Support of what was intended for the common Good; some furnished Elephants, some Horses; one Province Forage and Provision, and another Arms. The *Megallians*, who were a People inhabiting on the other Side the *Hyphasis*, supported constantly five hundred Elephants, and a considerable Body of Troops besides. The *Chrysians*, the *Avangians*, and the *Parangians*, who were all Subjects of the same Prince, kept constantly on Foot for his Service, an Army of thirty thousand Men, eight hundred Horses, and three hundred Elephants. The Soldiers, after their Return from the War, were kept constantly to martial Exercises, and a very strict Discipline, tho' at the Close of the Campaign, they delivered up the Arms and the Horses, which were furnished them at the publick Expence.

The sixth Class was composed of the *Inspectors*, who had the Care of examining and looking into the Affairs of Town and Country, and were intrusted with the Superintendance of Arts and Commerce, each Man in his particular District; and these People made from time to time, exact Reports to the Prince, if the Government they lived under was Monarchical, or, if a Republic, to the chief Magistrates, of the Condition that all things were in, within the Limits of their respective Jurisdiction. And if we can give Credit to what the *Historians* report, we must allow the *Indians* to have been the wisest and happiest of Nations, since they positively assert, that before they were conquered by, or intermixed with *Foreigners*, there never was an Instance of an *Inspector's* neglecting or betraying his Trust, to the Prejudice of the Crown, or to the Oppression of the Subject. It is requisite to add, that the Women were under the Care of female *Inspectors*, who had a Power of correcting all Excesses in Dress, in the Luxury of the Table, and Digressions from the strict Rules of Morality.

This Country was subject to Inundations, like that of *Egypt*, and perhaps to those that were more considerable; for the Snow melting on the Hills of *Paropamisus*, *Caucasus*, *Imaus*, and the *Emodian* Mountains, together with the prodigious Quantity of Rain that falls in their Winter-months, of *April*, *May*, and *June*, floods the Country to

^a *Strabo de Asiat. lib. xii. c. 18.*
^b *Diocr. Scul. lib. iii.*

^c *Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian. de Ind. lib. i.*

^d *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi.*

^e *Diocr. Scul. lib. iii.*

such a degree, that when the Waters are sunk, it is simply impossible, that any Boundaries, Land-marks, or other Signs of Property, should be discerned. To prevent any Disputes that this might occasion, there were, in every District, a certain Number of Inspectors, who were Men of such Skill and Dexterity, that by retracing every Man's Limits, they prevented any Disputes. The same Persons had likewise the Care of the public Reservoirs of Water, and of the Sluices: So that, by their Diligence, the Country never suffered in the driest Summer. Another Branch of their Charge was, to look into the Conduct of the Graiers and Huntmen, such as wrought in the Woods, and in the Mines. They were also Surveyors of the Highways; and in that Quality they appointed Guides, who at every ten Stadia informed the Traveller which Way the Road lay, where he might have Lodging, and how far it was to the next Stage.

The Inspectors that resided in Towns, were divided into six Classes: Of these, some looked into the Management of Tradesmen and Artificers; others had the Care of the Inns, where they examined such Strangers as arrived, in relation to their Business in the Country, and gave Directions, that they should not stay above three Days in one Town. They likewise prevented Strangers, as far as they were able, from committing any thing contrary to good Manners; visited them, if they were sick; examined them as to the Nature of their Distemper, that they might be sure it was not contagious; Took care that they wanted for nothing; and, in case of their Deaths, that their Effects were disposed of pursuant to their Wills. Others kept a Register of Births and Burials, and set down very exactly the Time, the Place, and other Circumstances: These likewise looked into Weights and Measures, and saw that they were agreeable to the Standard: They also prevented the same Man from dealing in different Goods, saw that Manufactures were properly finished, and set their Seal, to prevent Disputes; inquired into Workmen's Wages, and caused them to be regularly paid: They received likewise the King's Revenues, which consisted in Duties on Goods sold, and not on the Stock in Trade; but if any Man was convicted of selling, without bringing it to Account, he suffered Death.

The military Inspectors had many things committed to their Care: As, for Instance, they were charged to keep a certain Number of Boats in constant Readiness, for the Passage of Rivers, and for transporting Forage and Provisions by Water; as also a certain Number of Cattle for Carriages, and for removing Baggage. The Magazines were likewise under their Care; and it was their Duty to look to the Arms that were laid up in them, that they might be constantly in good Order, and fit for Service. Some of them had the Charge of the Elephants, others of the War-chariots, and others again inspected the Conduct of the Soldiers in their Quarters.

It is not a little surprising, that such as composed the Council of the Prince, were thrown into the seventh and last Class: Yet these were nearest the Throne, and had the largest Share both in the Pains and in the Honours of Government. All Affairs relating to the Public were submitted to the Deliberation of the Senate; and their Authority was, in some respects, superior to that of the Crown: For they had the sole Power of Life and Death in their Hands, and possessed all the Dignities of the State. These Senators seemed the more honourable, from the Continuance of their Offices in their Families, from Time immemorial; for by the fundamental Laws of their Constitution, it was forbidden for any Man to pass out of one Class into another, even by Marriage. A Farmer could not become an Artificer, or an Artificer a Merchant or Soldier: By which prudent Provision, all kinds of Professions rose to the highest Perfection, the Lights of the Father being communicated to the Son, and to downwards, every Calling being, in this respect, as it were, one Family. We might very reasonably suspect the Truth of all this, tho' confirmed to us by the concurrent Testimony of ancient Historians, if this Division of the *Indians*

did not subsist even to our Times: For these Clauses are precisely the several *Indian* Casts, of which modern Travellers speak at this Day; so that, as to the Form of the ancient *Indian* Government, it is a Fact out of all Dispute: And one may safely affirm, that there scarce ever existed a better Constitution.

4. The *Indian Bacchus*, whoever he was, has the Honour of being the Author of this wise and wonderful System of Government, which was every where established in the *Indies*, at the time of *Alexander's* Expedition, when the Subjects of every little Principality, the Inhabitants of every free City, lived exactly in the manner as we have described; and were, in all respects, the most civilized, and the best regulated People in the World. All the Writers of those Times, and even such as are the least given to Fables, represent the *Indians* as a very robust People, and of extraordinary Stature; some of them seven Foot high, particularly King *Porus*, who was vanquished by *Alexander*. The Inhabitants of the lower Provinces, lying on the Banks of the River *Indus*, were of as dark Complexions as the *Ethiopsians*: And the only Difference between them was, that the *Indians* had long black Hair, whereas the Hair of the *Ethiopsians* was short and curled. It was a Custom among the *Indians*, to wear long Beards, which they dyed of several Colours; some white, some red, some green, and some of a purple Colour.

Their Habits also differed very much: Some of them wore the Skins of Lions and Tygers; others covered themselves with a single Piece of Cloth, which reached from their Heads to their Knees. As for the Soldiers, their Diets consisted in a Turbant, and a light Coat: All their Cloaths were commonly white, and were made either of Worsted or Cotton; for tho' many Authors speak of the latter, as if they were Linen-Garments; yet it is certain, that Flax is not of the Growth of the *Indies*. The only Show they made of their Riches, was by wearing a sort of Ivory-Pendants in their Ears, now and then a purple Robe, white or striped Shoes, and Umbrellas of several Colours, which the Heat of their Climate rendered necessary, as well as agreeable.

But the *Macedonians*, and other *Greeks*, who were the Remains of *Alexander's* Army, introduced amongst them, by degrees, the Luxury which they had themselves learnt from the *Persians*; and tho' the *Indians* soon shook off their Yoke, yet they found it impossible to quit the Customs these Strangers had brought amongst them: And from this Time it was, that these People began to wear Cloth of Gold and Silver, to embroider with Pearls, and other Stones of Price; and to endeavour to display, to the utmost, the Riches with which their Country furnished them. It is from this Account of the Matter, that we are enabled to judge of the Truth, or, at least, of the Probability, of what Authors report concerning this Nation: for as on the one hand it is certain, that they were a plain, open, and generous People, who despised Pomp and Show, before they were corrupted by Strangers, so it is no less certain, that after they became acquainted with the *Greeks*, and with the *Persians*, by their means, the Courts of our Princes, at least, received considerable Alterations; and they began to affect Pomp and Splendour to almost as high a degree as any of their Neighbours, which was the more easy for them to do, since they were possessed of much greater Riches; and saw too, that this Display of their Wealth had a great Effect upon Strangers, and procured an unusual degree of Reverence and Complaisance: For it is with Nations as with private Families, the only Way to avoid all Customs, is to remain unacquainted with them.

5. It does by no means appear, that, upon their going into this Change in their Habits and Cloaths, they lost all in their Morals; but, on the contrary, maintained the high Reputation they had acquired for their Ready Virtue, and strict Honour, for several Ages. Their Heralds wore a Gold Anchor, embroidered on their Coats, to signify that, in their Alliances, they were unalterable; and that a Treaty concluded with them, held them as fast as an Anchor; a Character they justly deserved. They admired

the Courage, but did not less Justice, taking care constantly to accompany their Sermons to the point, though they were for the *Brachmen's* fabulous Tale, the their own, which

But what a great Regard for the Virtue of which, Spectors were appointed, and Actions, of which, cluding with his either of Partiality, and were declared were very few in number, it was in consequence of any Monuments supposed that this Fame more effectually

They had, naturally, exceedingly attentive to it. They cut Part of their Police have often obtained Ages, any Correction be true, that they visited their Subjects of these Nations of *Indians*, who took Frame of their highest Orders of distinction of their in any respect, to Censure of their nite Consequence the State.

It was in virtue of every one of us to travel so much other manner than for instance, the Elephants, such a lowed four Horses travelled on Came enter on Horses of

It is easy to conceive Rules, Pride and self, could not gain any time, in spite Disputes arose about raised in a public. There, also, all Councils and decided was by this means Law suits were private Nation effectual

Their Monarchs, their Subjects a little though they had actually well disciplined yet they very rarely appears from the influence that *Alexander's* India, they were a warlike People, it still more clearly *Indus* and his Successor, though at a Quiring and maintain

* D. de. Suel. lib. m. Phœbat. ab. n. c. 42.

* Arrian. lib. v. Phœbat. in *Alexandro*. 2. Cap. 11. var. Herod. lib. m. c. 10.

* D. de. Suel. lib. m. Phœbat. ab. n. c. 42.

* Arrian. lib. v. Phœbat. in *Alexandro*. 2. Cap. 11. var. Herod. lib. m. c. 10.

* D. de. Suel. lib. m. Phœbat. ab. n. c. 42.

the Courage, but more the Clemency of Alexander; and did no less Justice to the Bravery of their own Prince Porus, taking care that the Statue of the one should be constantly accompanied by that of the other. Their Brachmans were continually inculcating Principles of Virtue in their Sermons to the People, which Sermons are still continued, though the Subjects of them were much changed: For the Brachmans, finding their People began to relish the fabulous Theology of the Greeks, invented one of their own, which is now the current Religion of the Indies.

But what must appear an incontestable Proof of their great Regard for Virtue, is, the Law they established, by Virtue of which, when any eminent Person died, Inspectors were appointed to examine strictly into his Life and Actions, of which they composed a Memoir, concluding with his Character; in which, if they were guilty either of Partiality or Prejudice, they lost their Offices, and were declared infamous to all Posterity; but there were very few Instances of their incurring this Punishment. It was in consequence of this Law, that they never erected any Monuments to the Memory of the Dead; for they supposed that this Memorial of their Virtues secured their Fame more effectually.

They had, naturally, a great Love for Order, and were exceedingly attentive to whatever might promote, or preserve it. They could not be said to have borrowed any Part of their Policy from foreign Nations, because, as we have often observed, they had not, for a long Series of Ages, any Correspondence with Strangers: And though it be true, that the Egyptians, Spartans, and Romans, divided their Subjects into Tribes, yet it is certain, that none of these Nations carried this Regulation near so far as the Indians, who took in all sorts of People; so that, by the Frame of their Constitution, the lowest, as well as the highest Orders of Men, were under the immediate Inspection of their Government; and could not be wanting, in any respect, to their Duty, without falling under the Censure of their Superiors; which was a thing of infinite Consequence to the Well-being and Tranquillity of the State.

It was in virtue of this Regulation, that the Government was perfectly acquainted with the Rank and Fortune of every one of its Subjects; so that none were permitted to travel so much as from one Town to another, in any other manner than was suitable to their Characters. Thus, for instance, their Princes and great Lords rode upon Elephants; such as were next to them in Rank were allowed four Horses in their Retinue; the next in Degree travelled on Camels; the ordinary sort of People rode either on Horses or on Asses.

It is easy to conceive, that by adhering strictly to these Rules, Pride and Ambition were hardly known, or, at least, could not gain much Ground amongst them. If at any time, in spite of all the Care that could be taken, Disputes arose about Place or Precedency, they were terminated in a public Audience before the King and Senate. There, also, all Controversies relating to Property were heard and decided almost as soon as they rose; and it was, by this means, that all the Mischiefs arising from Law suits were prevented, and the Peace and Quiet of the Nation effectually preserved.

Their Monarchs, in regard to the Love of Peace, set their Subjects a constant and persuasive Example: For though they had all of them great Armies, and those perfectly well disciplined and provided, perpetually on Foot, yet they very rarely brought them into the Field; though it appears from the Example of Porus, and from the Resistance that Alexander met with from the free Cities of India, they were capable of making a great Figure, as a warlike People, if they had affected it: And this appeared still more clearly from the Conduct of the famous Sandracottus and his Successors, who were content to purchase Peace, though at the Head of Armies, capable of acquiring and maintaining Conquests.

6. In a Country so happily situated as theirs, and which has been, in all Ages, renowned for its Abundance, they might certainly have lived with as much Delicacy as their Neighbours the Persians, who, from the most hardy and frugal, became the most luxurious and profuse People in the East. But, amongst the Indians, the Love of Temperance, insinuated into them as a Principle of Religion by the Brachmans, prevented any Excess of this kind, and restrained them to a very moderate Use of that Plenty which they possessed.

They had not, properly speaking, any Wine of their own Growth; and the Liquor so called by ancient Writers, was drawn either from Rice, or from the Cocoa tree: But, as both Sorts of Liquor were very apt to intoxicate, they were very seldom used but in Sacrifices, public Feasts, and in very small Quantities at the Tables of their Kings. If at any time a Prince so far forgot his Dignity and Character, as to filler himself to be over taken with Liquor, their Laws allowed any Woman who was about him, to put him to Death while he was drunk; and his Successor was obliged to espouse this Woman, and make her the Partner of his Throne. The common Drink of the Indians, in general, was Milk and Water.

As for their Food, the System of the Metempsychosis, which prevailed generally throughout the Indies, kept their Tables within due Bounds, allowing nothing more for their Supply than Corn, Roots, Fruit and Milk-meats; yet some kind of Animal Food they had, such as Tygers, and other wild Beasts; and Fish too; but they were very plainly dressed, without any Sauces, or other Allurements to the Taste, that they might not be tempted to eat more than was necessary for the Support of Nature, and, thereby, render themselves liable to Diseases. As they lived sparingly, they slept not much at their Ease, having nothing but a Mat, or the Skin of a Beast, between them and the Ground. Their Houses were low, composed, for the most part, either of thin Planks, or of Reeds, small, with little Furniture, and no Ornaments at all, unless we should account for such their Roofs being made of Tortoise-shells. Thus, in all respects, they were perfectly uniform, and led their Lives in the quiet Possession of what their Labour and Industry procured; content with what they possessed, and willing rather to part with somewhat of their own, to secure that Peace, which they held their great Blessing, than desirous of employing Force to enrich themselves at others Expence. It was, indeed, the great Felicity of these People, that they acted in every respect upon Principle; and were so addicted, from their Intancy, to a regular Life, and an equal Contempt of Danger and of Pleasure, that they were not liable to the common Failings of Men, but were capable of resisting Temptations, and of despising Threats.

7. If we had no other Proofs of the constant Courage, and magnanimous Spirit of the Indians, we might be convinced of it from that Readiness with which almost every Rank of People not only met, but, if Occasion required it, hastened Death; and, if we may be allowed the Expression, went out to receive him. It was not the Brachmans only, who, from the Maxims of Philosophy, were able to steel themselves against the common Weakness of human Nature; but even Women, who, by Constitution and Education, were in the Indies, as well as every where else, naturally of a more timid Disposition than the Men. The Accounts we have of this differ something from one another; but, by a little Attention, they may be easily reconciled. It was certainly in the Beginning a voluntary Act, arising from an extravagant Affection, which induced them to quit that Life which appeared to them more hateful and terrible, than Death itself: But, afterwards, there were some Reasons which made it requisite to encourage this Practice by Laws; yet still the Spirit and Courage of the Women, who thus devoted themselves to Death, rather than survive their Husbands, deserved Admiration. An ancient Writer, of great Integrity, as

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Heckel lib. vi. c. 10.
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¹ Diod. Sicul. lib. iii. ² Arrian. Ind. Philostrat. lib. ii. ³ Arrian. Ctesias in Ind. ⁴ Arrian. Strabo. ⁵ Diod. Sicul. lib. supra. ⁶ Strabo, lib. xv. ⁷ Athen. Deipn. lib. xii. ⁸ Plin. lib. c. 28. ⁹ Philostrat. lib. i. ¹⁰ Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. ¹¹ Philostrat. lib. iii. ¹² Mela, lib. iii. ¹³ Diod. Sicul. Strabo. ¹⁴ Philostrat. ¹⁵ In some Copies, when some attribute this to the Laws, and others to the Will of the Women themselves, they may be proved to agree, by shewing that the Law made this honourable, and, in some measure, requisite; and yet without imposing an absolute Necessity, for that could have rendered it not proper to mention it.

In a Word, the *Indian* Constitution was wholly of a Piece; and, if we take it throughout, was the best calculated for the Good of the Whole, of any Form of Government devised by the Wit of Man. By considering it, as we find it stated at large in this Section, we shall easily discern, why the ancient *Indians* were so jealous of Foreigners settling amongst them; since it is very evident, that a mixt People could never be brought to live peaceably under such a Constitution, which required a suitable Education, from their very Infancy, to dispose the Minds of Men to submit to it. It is also no less clear, that they discouraged as long as they found it practicable, all foreign Trade, from the same Principle; on which they reasoned after this manner: The great End of Commerce is to procure and to maintain Plenty; and as this was already well provided for by the Nature of their Constitution, and their Lass, in favour of Husbandmen, it seem'd to them, that there was no foreign Trade requisite for completing the Happiness of their Subjects; but that, on the contrary, it must be attended by Consequences detrimental to that Firm of Government, upon which their Felicity depended; which may be thought therefore justify'd this Prohibition.

Hence, likewise, we discover the true Grounds of that Policy which restrain'd the Ambition of *Indian* Princes, and deterred them from making Conquests. The Prosperity of an *Indian* Kingdom did not depend upon an Extent of Territory, or a Multitude of Subjects; but upon the strict Obedience of those Subjects to the Laws, which never would have been secured by overrunning their Neighbours; for either the conquered Nation must have been incorporated with their own, which would have been a Work difficult, if not impracticable, or these new Subjects must have lived after their old manner, which would have produced numberless Inconveniences. It was therefore the Interest, even of the most powerful of their Monarchs, rather to satisfy the Avarice of foreign Invaders, by costly Gifts, than to run the Hazard of ruining their Dominions, and their Subjects, by long and bloody Wars, which never could produce them any Good, and were, in their Nature, pregnant with Mischiefs.

But what is most wonderful, and best deserves our Notice, was the Care taken by the *Indian* Constitution, to conciliate the Love of Peace with undoubted Courage, and the surprising Expedients they made use of, to inspire their Subjects with a Contempt of Death, at the same time that the great End of all their Laws was, to render their Lives easy and happy. Where People are frequently exposed to Dangers, the Sense of Danger wears off, and they acquire an habitual Courage; but where People lead an easy, regular Life, in the full Possession of all that they desire, they naturally become timorous and effeminate. This, however, was not the Case of the ancient *Indians*, among whom, there were daily Instances of Men dying, because they were not inclin'd to live longer; and of Women that chose to accompany their Husbands in Death, rather than endure Life without them. By these Examples, a Spirit of Heroism was kept up, and the Brachmans, by sealing their Doctrines with their Blood, secured an implicit Belief of all they taught; that is, of all the Principles on which their Religion and Government were founded.

There cannot, therefore, surely, be any thing more instructive, more entertaining, or more worthy of the Reader's Attention, than an ample and distinct Account of these extraordinary Men, their Tenets, Discipline, and manner of Living; by a thorough Examination of which, we shall be able to discover what mighty things the human Understanding is capable of achieving, when it is not dejected by Tyranny, or weakened by a luxurious way of Living. We shall see too, with how much Justice the *Brachmans* held the first Place assigned them in their Calls or Tribes, as Men who spent their Lives in the Study of Truth, and in teaching it to others; whereby they maintained and exercised a Power equal to Kings, in virtue only of the Wisdom of their Words, and the Conformity of their Actions to their Professions; and how the Being of this most excellent Constitution depended on the Maintenance of this Order of Men, in their primitive Integrity.

SECTION XII.

The Learning, Discipline, Offices, Manner of Living, and Privileges of the Brachmans; including also an account of their peculiar Doctrines in Theology and Divinity.

1. The Care taken of the Women, before the Children of the Brachmans were born; and the Pains bestowed on the Education of their Sons, in order to fit them for their Profession.
2. The Discipline in their Schools, and their Exercises, in order to form their Minds, and qualify them for their public Offices.
3. Their Councils, in quality of Priests and Prophets; their Precautions for securing their Authority, and Punctuality in Discharge of their Duties.
4. A rational and distinct Account of their Philosophy; and an Explanation of the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, as it was taught by them.
5. The Time at which they were allowed to quit this austere Course of Life, to marry and to settle in Families, with their Privileges.
6. Of the Germanians, Sarmatians, or elected Brachmans; the manner of their coming into the Society, their Studies and Employments.
7. Of the Brachmans which Alexander the Great met with in the Indies, with some Conjectures as to their Form of Government.
8. Of the Mistakes, Fables, and improbable Reports, concerning these Sages, and their Philosophy.
9. Of the Proofs derived from the present State of the Brachmans, or Bramins, in the Indies, in support of the foregoing Particulars.
10. Some Remarks on what modern Authors have delivered upon this Subject.
11. The Conversation of Alexander the Great, with Dindamis the Brachman.

THE Brachmans were a Tribe, or Cast of *Indians*, who accustomed themselves to the Study of sublime Things, and were esteemed the first Call, on Account of the Excellence and Importance of their Duty, upon the right Discharge of which depend'd, in a great measure, the Safety and Prosperity of the State, as will more clearly appear, when we come to speak of their civil and sacred Functions: They were divided into *Brachmans* and *Germanians*: The former were *Brachmans* by Descent, the latter by Election, as shall be explained hereafter. Their Attention to their Posterity began very early, and even while their Children were in their Mo-

ther's Womb. As soon as it was known, that one of their Wives was become pregnant, such of their Society as were charged with the bringing up of Children, went to visit the Mother, under colour of giving her the Blessing, but, in Reality, that they might have an Opportunity of bellowing on her good Councils; such as engaging her to abstain, during her Pregnancy, from what might be hurtful to the Child, informing her what Exercises she might use, and what it was fit for her to avoid. According to the Reception she gave to these Admonitions, they regulated their Conjectures, as to the Genius and Disposition of the Child.

1. Descriptions d'un Indien, de l'Esprit, d'Alcandre lib vii. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib iv. Palladius de B. in Ind. S. 1. de l'Inde. de l'Inde. de l'Inde.

As he grew up, he passed gradually from the Care of one Master to another, all watching attentively, not only over his Progress in Learning, but more especially, in regard to the Purity of his Manners; and, in the mean time, the greatest Care was taken, that neither the Abilities of his Mind, or the Strength of his Body, should be weakened by too great Tenderness or Indulgence. If, as he grew up to Years of Discretion, it appeared that he wanted Talents for acquiring their Knowledge, or a Constitution capable of undergoing the Hardships of that Life which these Philosophers led, he was not constrained to pursue their Course of Life, but allowed to follow any other. But, on the contrary, if he was assiduous in his Studies, and exact in the Performance of what was directed by his Superiors, he was initiated into their Mysteries, and brought up to all the Learning of the Sect. Their Schools were kept in a little Grove, at a Distance from the Town to which they belonged, where there was a Throne of Ebony placed for the Superior, from whence he delivered his Lectures, and this with such an Air of Gravity, as made so deep an Impression on the Minds of his Auditors, as that they never presumed to speak, or to say much as to him, during the time of his Discourse. If thro' any Accident, they did either, they were turned out of the School for that Day, as rude and intemperate Persons.

To say the Truth, the Subjects of these Lectures were of so exalted a Nature, and were delivered with such Seriousness and Dignity, that they naturally commanded a most profound Reverence, especially from such as from their tender Years were filled with the highest Respect for their Instructors, and taught to conceive just Notions of the Consequences of what was thus delivered to them. In these Lectures, they inhaled chiefly on the Principles of natural Religion, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Duties of Men towards each other, and to their Creator. They explained the Advantages that arose from a strict Morality, and took Pains to shew, that a Life of Hardships, in which a Man was continually exposed to what the World thought the greatest Evils, such as Abstinence from Meat and Drink, a perpetual Solitude, and the bearing the Intemperance of the Air, and the Inclemency of the Seasons, was, notwithstanding, preferable to any other Course, inasmuch as it led to the Possession of true Wisdom, the obtaining a perfect Command over their Passions, and the Enjoyment of Health; together with an undisturbed Peace of Mind. They likewise set forth the Perfections of the Supreme Being, the Wisdom and Goodness of Providence, the admirable Harmony of the Universe, the Position of Man in the Scale of Beings, the End of his Creation, the Dignity of his Nature, and the Means of exalting it to the highest Degree of Perfection.

It is a thing well known to those who have studied Mankind, that it is not so much for want of Lights, as for want of Will to follow those Lights, that People fall into dangerous Errors, and gross Vices. Amongst the *Brachmans* this was rendered almost impracticable; for being obliged daily, to attend several Hours to the wife Duties of the Chief, their having constantly before their Eyes so many Examples of rigid Virtue, and the Reproaches to which they were exposed, if they, at any time, failed in their Duty, kept them equally firm in their Principles and Practice. We may add to this; the Ambition of obtaining the Rank of their Call, which was the first in the State, and to which the highest Honours were paid by the People, must have contributed not a little to keep up their Spirits, and to encourage them in the Pursuit of those Studies which were attended with so high a Reward.

2. As to their Exercises, they spent a great Part of the Day and Night in Prayer, in singing Hymns to the Deity, in making Vows for the Prosperity of their Prince and People, and for procuring the Blessing of Heaven upon all their Endeavours. When they were not thus occupied, they retired to their Cells, where they meditated on the great Truths of Philosophy, amused themselves with Experiments, or discoursed with such of their Friends as came

to see them: But if, at any time, they were sensible, that they exceeded in this, by talking too much, too freely, or upon improper Subjects, they imposed a voluntary Silence upon themselves, which, continuing in an absolute Silence for a certain Space of Time, made a sufficient Amendment for their former Indiscretion.

It is inconceivable to what Heights of Science and Knowledge of Life conducted them; for their Spirits being constantly active, their Heads perfectly clear, and their Hearts free of that Confusion which is the Result of Innocence, they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as a Race of People superior to common Men. Their Simplicity, this led them to a sort of Behaviour, which looks like Pride; for they never visited any: And when their Friends came to see them, they constantly entertained them with moral or philosophical Discourses, suited to the Capacities of their Hearers; and meddled very little, if at all, with the common Concerns of Life, despising all the Pleasures which other Men sought, and the Difficulties which they complained. They are, on this Account, charged with Haughtiness, Self-conceit, and Vanity, by some of the Antients, and by most of the Moderns. But whoever attentively considers the Necessity of such keeping exalted Ideas of a future State constantly in view, in order to lead such a Life here, as their Gods did, will, at the same time that it was so honourable for themselves, be sensible of the great Confidence to Society, they displayed, that nothing but such a Frame of Spirit and Baconian are said to have possessed, could have enabled them to have gone through to facing a Court of Law, with Satisfaction to themselves, and to the Benefit of their Countrymen.

In a Word, the Abatement of their Pride, as it really must have been attended with an abatement of their Virtue; of which we have an Example in *Alexander*, who was once prevailed upon to visit *Alexander* the Great, and to converse with the *Grecians*, came soon after to his own Compliance for them, as to quit his Country, and to make that Monarch into *Persia*; for which he was ever after despised by his Brethren, as a Reregale; and was the first, unless we can imagine, that the *Manners* and *Mores* of the *Brachmans*, at that time equally free from all Submission and Impunity, were not superior to those of the *Indians*, who were visibly the most ambitious, most unjust, and the cruellest People upon the Earth; who, as it they were to lord it over all other Nations, and to taste the Victories of their Princes, were to leave no other Nation filling their Pockets, and gratifying their Passions. They, unless we can prefer such a Conduct, to the plain, modest, and quiet Behaviour of the *Indians*, would allow his Brethren to have been in the Right, and *Alexander* in the Wrong: And consequently, we must confess, that the Appearance of Pride in the *Brachmans* was really more than the Reflexion of too bright a Virtue, which vulgar Eyes are not able to bear.

3. They were as venerable in their public Characters as blameable in their private Lives; and it was the Reason of the latter, that recommended them to the former. The *Indians*, in the earliest Ages, were thoroughly persuaded, that Sanctity of Manners was the Quality most required of Priests. The *Brachmans* acted, every-where, exactly as the *Indians*, in this Capacity; so that whenever Sacrifices were made to the Gods, either to deprecate some Misfortune, or by way of Thanksgiving for their Favours, the *Brachmans* constantly officiated: It was on such Occasions that they made solemn Sermons to the People, in which they usually inculcated three Things: The first was, Reverence to the Divine Being, from whom they received all Blessings, who was alone capable of granting them what they desired, and of defending them from what they feared; and whom they were accountable for the Use they made of the Benefits he bestowed upon them. The second was, Obedience to the Laws, and a hearty Consent to the Will of the Society. The third regarded the Love of Liberty, and the Obligations they were under to sacrifice themselves

* Strabo, lib. xv. *Alexander in India*. Ptolemy in *Alexandria*.
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small Distance from Towns, where they eat and slept under the Trees upon the Ground, or in Caves. As to their Dress, Authors differ very widely: It is generally said, that they went naked, and were, from thence, called Gymnosophites; but this must be understood only when they were at home, that is, in their Groves: For, when they were employed in their public Functions, they wore a Turbant on their Heads, a Linen Garment on their Bodies, which was called the sacred Robe; had a Staff in their Right Hand, and a Ring upon one Finger. Some Authors, indeed, speak of very different Clothing; *Heraclitus* mentions a Robe of that kind of Stone, which may be spun into an incomhustible Cloth*. *Megasthenes* asserts, that their Garments were made of the Barks of Trees*, and, very probably, their Customs, in this respect, might vary in different Ages.

After they had spent thirty-seven Years in their Ministry, they were allowed to quit it, to live the Remainder of their Days at Ease in the Towns, dressed like other People; might eat the Flesh of wild Beasts, and take as many Wives as they thought fit, in order to preserve the Race of the *Brachmans*. But it was an essential Rule, to such as entered into the Matrimonial State, that they were not to reveal any of the Secrets of their Philosophy to their Wives; and this for two Reasons: First, because there was great Reason to doubt, whether they would be discreet enough to conceal what they were thus taught: And, secondly, it was no less doubted, if they should, whether this Accession of Knowledge might not incline them to Pride and Disobedience. This is certainly a very plain and probable Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*; and we discern therein the same wise Precaution, the same Regard to the particular Interest of this Call, and the same Respect to the Good of the Whole, that is to be manifest in the Provisions made for all other Classes of People, in virtue of the *Indian* Constitution.

Notwithstanding they had quitted their Order, as we may call it, yet they were treated with the utmost Respect, and enjoyed all the Privileges annexed to their Call, as much as if they had still remained in their Groves, and continued to officiate as Priests. That is to say, they were exempted from all Duties, they were permitted to gather Herbs, Fruits, and Puls, when ever they thought fit; and were allowed Oil, for anointing their Bodies, at the public Expence: They were likewise made welcome at the Tables of the Great, where they gave their Advice, and discoursed freely, on public Affairs: And it was commonly out of the Number of these named *Brachmans*, that the Senators were chosen, in whom was vested to large a Share of the Administration. Thus, in every Station, they were attended with Reverence, and found themselves particularly considered both by their Princes and Fellow-Subjects; who treated as they perfectly understood, to they constantly pursued them, and by interposing, when their Princes were inclined to arbitrary Measures, they hindered the Violation of the Laws, and secured the Happiness of the People.

Thus they passed their Days, even to old Age, without any Danger of being neglected, or meeting with Contempt: The Law secured them from this, as an habitual Temperance did from most Diseases; of which they were, generally speaking, so much ashamed, from an Apprehension, that they would be looked upon, especially if of a long Continuance, as the Effects of Excess, that they, generally speaking, chide to die rather than bear them. When the Inconveniences of old Age began to weigh them down, they had certainly recourse to this violent Remedy; and, having ordered a Pile of Wood to be erected in some public Place, they ascended it, dressed in their best Apparel, and with whatever Ornament they possessed. There they sang certain Hymns, setting forth the Vanity of human Life, wherein Men amide themselves with Dreams and Shadows, except the few who are mindful of that heavenly Country, which their Souls are to inhabit; and then laid themselves down upon their Faces, and remained there still and quiet, without to much as a

Groan, till they were consumed to Ashes, leaving the Example of their Death to inspire their Countrymen with Courage to adhere steadfastly to the Principles which they had taught them, in spite of any Checks or Misfortunes that they might meet with. Thus living and dying, they were always useful to Society; and, as their Duty began even before their Entrance into Life, so it ended only with their last Breath; for they were wont compare the Weakness and Infirmities of old Age to the impotent Senses of a Child while in the Womb, and their turning themselves to their being brought to a second Birth to a new Life, being that Action their Re-generation.

6. We are now to speak of the second Sort of *Brachmans*, or of such as became so by Election, and who were taken from different Classes, being such as were to be admitted into the Order: For, as the *Brachmans* professed themselves Lovers of Wisdom, they thought it neither just nor reasonable to exclude those who were desirous of attaining, by voluntary Application, what they, by a regular Education, had acquired. Thus, as *Megasthenes* reports, were called *Germanians*, as they are styled *Sarmatians* by *Clement Alexandrinus*. The Manner in which they were admitted was thus: They went to the Magistrate of the City to which they belonged, and, in the first place, made a clear and distinct Discovery of all their Effects, which they delivered up to them for the Maintenance of their Wives, in case they had any; and, if they had Children, they were taken care of by the King. After this Step they presented themselves to the Person who was at the Head of this Body of Sages, and desired to be admitted amongst them. Upon which they were strictly examined, as to the Sincerity and Steadiness of their Resolution, and the Degree they had to put the Remainder of their Days in the Study and Practice of Philosophy. An Inquiry was next made into the Behaviour of their Ancestors, in which they succeeded as high as their great Grandfathers; and it was found, that any, within these three Degrees, were chargeable with Pride, Intemperance, or Covetousness, such a Candidate was rejected; but if nothing of this sort appeared, then as strict an Inquiry was made into his own Life and Conversation; and if he had a good Memory, had been always remarkable for Modesty, for a peaceable and humble Behaviour throughout his whole Life, and had never given any Marks of a proud, revengeful, or luxurious Disposition, he was admitted.

These differed from the *Brachmans* in this, that they inhabited most of them between the Rivers *Hyphes* and *Ganges*, where they had Houses and Temples not erected and convenient, but also handsomely adorned, at the King's Expence. At a certain Hour they were called to the Temple, by the Sound of a Bell, where they attended at public Prayers; and from whence they were not allowed to stir till the Bell rung again, to inform them, that the Service was over for that Day. The King's Officers then gave each of them a Porringer of boiled Rice, or some sort of Food which was equivalent; and thus they eat before they separated. The Habes they wore were made of the Bark of Trees, or of some Cotton; they pulled all their Days in the strictest Chastity, and never drank any strong Liquor whatever. As they valued the Divinity, Philosophy, and Policy, of the *Brachmans*, they attained, in time, to a great Degree of Wisdom, and were consulted by their Kings; and profited with equal Honour at the Sacrifices that were made by the People. In a Word, it appears that they were received into a full Participation of all their Privileges, except that of quitting the Order, and of marrying, which there was the less Reason they should enjoy, in respect of their own Accord, they had quitted that Society. It was of this kind of *Brachmans* that most of the Stories were told, that we find recorded in the *Life of Alexander*, for, instead of cultivating the high and hard Sciences, they amused themselves chiefly in searching out natural Secrets, which Science, in those Days, was held

Main: They were and took a great interest in this Way; but consisted chiefly, if not entirely, in the Knowledge of certain elementary Calculations.

The Reader, also, to relieve, without delay, which I am not responsible. For that says, that the manner that they were named into the Call, to a Contract of Marriage, as the latter, according to the custom, to marry, to himself likewise be free between being a man, but through the former by consent, and to the own Request, as in a Wo, as a City Collection, or a Village, narrow, to other Public Notions, with Terms methodically, as in a dispute, clear and true Light.

7. The Account following a King's duty: And, from that time, to be a certain that their Philosophy make themselves.

Alexander put to the People; which the *Brachmans*, taken in, apt to think, that it were a Prince, was a Senate, and in that became than or Deputies. It is another of the Kings of King, as in the Account of the River, but that the *Brachmans* was a Case or Court, in a Greek, and a S, shows their King, but the most of the account, in my Opinion we have, in my Book, I will explain another great which happened Kingdom of this, that the King, the *Maedonians* or *Pelousians*, as *Strabo* *Alexander* had been killed, that could be was saved by the, that a cure this

* *Heraclitus* says, that they were made of the Barks of Trees. * *Megasthenes* asserts, that they were made of the Barks of Trees. * *Megasthenes* asserts, that they were made of the Barks of Trees.

Might: They were likewise a kind of itinerant Physicians, and took a great deal of Pains to make themselves successful this Way; but we are informed that their Medicines consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in Draughts, or Fomentions, and we are told by *Strabo*, that they professed the Knowledge of certain Secrets, that were equally extraordinary and ridiculous.

The Reader, after perusing these Accounts, will be able to resolve, without much Trouble, most of those Difficulties, which some modern Critics have represented as insuperable. For Instance, when he is told that one Author says, that the *Brachmans* live always in Woods, and another that they were frequently seen at Courts, and admitted into the Cabinets of Princes; instead of taking this to be a Contradiction, he will perceive, that the former speaks of the *Brachmans* that were still pursuing their Studies, and the latter, of such as had completed their Course; and according to the Rules of the Society, had Liberty to go, to marry, to live in Cities, and to be chosen Senators. It will likewise be able to account for the seeming Difference between being together in a kind of collegiate State, or straggling through the Country like a kind of Doctors; because the former must be understood of the *Brachmans* by the first, and the latter of their Associates, who, at the King's Request, were admitted to the Pursuit of such Studies. In a Word, it is in most other Things, a very Collection of the various Accounts, given by different Authors, thrown together without Order or Method, gives no other Purpose than giving us confused and intricate Notions; whereas when we take the Pains to range them methodically, and under their proper Heads, this Obscurity is dispelled, and we see the whole Matter in a clear and true Light.

The Account we have of *Alexander's* attacking and destroying a Kingdom of the *Brachmans*, is very extraordinary: And, from the Lights afforded us from History, naturally to be accounted for, since we are no-where told, that the Philosophers affected Government, or desired to make themselves Princes. It is likewise related, that *Alexander* perished near fourscore thousand of these People; which cannot, certainly, be understood of the *Brachmans*, taken in a strict Sense. And therefore I am apt to think, that in this Country, upon the Death of some hereditary Prince, without Issue, a *Brachman*, who, perhaps was a Senator, succeeded him in his Throne by Election: And in that Case, it is natural to believe, there might be more than an ordinary Number of his Cast resident in his Dominions. It is true, that *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, and another of the Writers of Antiquity, called the Sub-king of King *Sambus* expressly the *Brachman* Nation; but from the Account that we have given, the Reader will be apt to receive some Doubt from this Difficulty, from his Knowledge, that the *Brachmans* are not a Nation by themselves, but a Class or Cast in every Nation; tho' it was very natural to a *Greek* Writer when he heard of a *Brachman* Nation, and a Senate of *Brachmans*, to conclude that it was their Kingdom: But there is no Reason, that we should be misled by his Mistake, especially when it can be easily accounted for, and plainly set to Rights, by the Reason we have proposed.

As it is my Business to give the Reader all the Information I can, I will take this Opportunity of inserting and explaining another Passage in the History of *Alexander* the Great, which happened at the time that he destroyed the Kingdom of this *Brachman* Prince *Sambus*. It happened, that the Siege of *Harmathia*, which was the principal City of that Kingdom, the Inhabitants wounded many of the *Macedonians* with poisoned Arrows; amongst the rest *Ptolemy Lagus*, afterwards King of *Egypt*; for whose Misfortune *Alexander* was exceedingly concerned, because all who had been hitherto wounded, died, in spite of all the Care that could be taken of them: But the Life of *Ptolemy* was saved by the King's having a Dream, in which he was informed, that a certain Herb, common in the Country, would cure this Poison; which it did effectually. Now

this Dream was, undoubtedly, no more than an Artifice, and *Alexander* received his Information from some *Brachman*; for, as we have seen before, no such Poison could be used, unless the Remedy was likewise known; and this gives a fair Account of the Performance of this Cure, without a Miracle. This Pretence of the Dream, however, was a well-chosen Stroke of Policy, because it intimated, that *Alexander* was particularly favoured by the Gods; which was an Opinion he always laboured to establish, especially among his own People: For, as to the *Indians*, it can hardly be supposed, that the Tale of the Dream would go down with them, because they knew the Remedy before, and could therefore account for the Discovery of it to the King, without the Interposition of any Divinity.

8. As the *Brachmans* were, in reality, a very extraordinary People, and had amongst them some very strange Customs, it was natural enough for Authors, who delight in relating Wonders, to give us some very improbable Stories about them. It appears from a Passage in *Strabo*, that they insured themselves to Fatigue; for he speaks of two *Brachmans*, one of whom gave a Proof of Patience, by lying on the hard Ground, and there suffering whatever the Sun and the Rain pleased. The other, who was not so far advanced in Years, exhibited his Proofs, by standing a whole Day, sometimes on the Right Foot, sometimes on the Left, while, with both his Hands, he bore up a large Piece of Wood in the Air.

All this is very credible; and the *Greek* Writers tells us something of the same Kind, with regard to their great Philosopher *Socrates*; but *Pliny* carries these Exercises of Patience beyond all Bounds, when he says, that the *Brachmans* gazed upon the Sun with fixed and steadfast Eyes, from his Rising to his Setting; and that they sometimes stood whole Days upon one Foot, in the midst of burning Sands. Yet *Solinus* advances this a Step farther; and for Fear it should be thought, that they did all this to no Purpose, he is so kind as to assure us, that they discovered mighty Secrets by thus surveying the Sun.

We have already given an Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*, and have assigned the true Reason why their Caste was less numerous than the rest, notwithstanding that the *Indian* Women are generally very prolific. But *Suidas* hath a very extraordinary Story upon this Subject; He says, that the *Brachmans* dwell in an Island in the Ocean, where the Air is so pure, that they lived one hundred and fifty Years; they are obliged to be contented there, not with Bread and Water, but with Water and a few Apples: They do nothing but pray to God. In the Months of *July* and *August*, the Fruits, being more plentiful warm them with the Line of Love; so that they go to find out their Wives beyond the *Ganges*, and stay with them forty Days, and then repass into their Island. So soon as a Woman hath brought forth two Children, her Husband goes to see her no more: She, on her side, comes not near any Man more; and if any Woman has been barren for five Years together, her Husband makes no farther Trial of her, and repass the Sea no more with the others. This was not the Way to stock the Country greatly; nor was it very populous, as *Suidas* observes: But he should not have forgotten to acquaint us, that these are Stories made at Pleasure, and Romances which idle Scribbles have forged.

But, notwithstanding all these Fables that disfigure their History, we find, in all Ages, the most intelligent and polite Writers extremely favourable to these Sages; and *Apuleius*, who was both an elegant and candid Writer, has it to us such a Character of these Men, as extremely deserves our Notice; and therefore I shall finish my Citations with his judicious Account of our Philosophers: 'There is also, says he, among the *Indians*, a noble sort of Men called *Gymnosophists*. I have a very great Value for them, because they are skilful Men, not, indeed, in laying the Vine, nor in grafting a Tree, nor in tilling the Ground. They do not know how to cultivate a Piece of Land, or to melt Gold, or to break a Horse, or to tame a Bull, or to shear a Sheep or a Goat, or to lead them to the Pasture.

¹ *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 107. where he says, that by the use of Medicines they could make a Person beget many Children; and those either Boys or Girls, or both the selves. ² See the Article of *Gymnosophists*, in *Bayle's* Dictionary. ³ *Dr. Bar. Sicul. lib. xvii. Strabo*, lib. xv. ⁴ *Strabo*, lib. xv. ⁵ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 2.* ⁶ *Solin.*

What is it then? Instead of all this, they know one thing: Both the most ancient Masters, and the youngest Scholars, study Wisdom; nor is there any thing for which I commend them more than for their Aversion to Indolence and Sloth. When the Cloth is laid, before the Meat is brought upon the Table, all the Youths are called together from several Places and Offices; but they are not suffered to sit down, till they have answered the Matters, who ask them, What Good they have done since Break of Day till Dinner-time? One will answer, that having been chosen Arbitrer between two Persons at Variance, he has removed all Subjects of Hatred and Suspicions between them, and reconciled them together. Another will say, That he obeyed his Parents Commands. A third, That he found out some Truth by his own Meditation, or learnt it from another. Thus they all give an Account of the Good they have done. He who has nothing to say why he should be admitted to Table, is sent back to his Work without his Dinner.

I think it necessary to take some Notice here of what has been said by the Moderns upon this Subject; more especially by such as might either be supposed better Judges from their Learning, or better qualified to come at the Truth, by their having travelled in the Indies, and being acquainted with those of this Sort of Sages that still remain there. A learned French Writer observes, that Dr. Hyde, in his most learned Book on the Religion of the Persians, has advanced a new Notion, in supposing, that the Brahmans were so called from Abraham: But he is mistaken in this; for, though Dr. Hyde inclines to this Opinion, yet he did not advance it, since it had been long before maintained by William Puffendorf, who asserts, that the Brahmans were descended from one of the Sons of that Patriarch by Keturah. I agree, however, with this Critic, that the Notion is improbable; and that it is much more likely they were so called from the Word Bram, or Brama, which signifies an enlightened Man, and is also the Name of the reputed Founder of their Sect.

Their fundamental Notions remain so much the same, that it is really wonderful they have not, in the Course of so many Ages, received greater Alteration, especially considering the Revolutions that have happened in their Country, and that they have been now, for many Centuries, under a foreign Yoke; for the Megus is a Tartar by Descent, and a Mohammedan by Religion; and yet it is with the Indians who are his Subjects, that we are best acquainted. Francis Xavier, whom the Papists stile the Apostle of the Indies, says, in one of his Letters, that, having acquired the Friendship of a Brahman, very eminent for his Knowledge and Learning, he opened himself to him in the following Terms: 'The secret of our Religion consists in these two Points; first, in knowing that there is one God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and the Author of all Good, who alone is to be worshipped: The second is, that the Idols are the Images only of evil Genii: But Care must be taken not to divulge this to the People; it is a Doctrine quite out of their Reach; and the Principles of good Policy require, that they should not be made acquainted with any Divinity. These were the Principles of our old Philosophy; prosecute your Studies, and pursue Truth; but, if you should be so happy as to reach it, communicate your Discoveries only to a Few. The Many are to be held with a tight Reim, and are to be kept in strict Subjection, which cannot possibly be done, if they are not hindered from seeing to the Bottom of Things, and their Imaginations flattered with pleasing Appearances.'

Our old, and our modern Travellers, agree very well in their Accounts of the modern Bramans, with what I have before delivered: The celebrated Signor Pietro della Valle, a noble Roman, a learned and candid Writer, and whose Travels are justly esteemed as accurate as any that were ever made into this Part of the World, tells us, that though the Sects of the Indians are multiplied to eighty-four, yet they may be reduced to four, viz. the Brahmans, the Soldiers, the Merchants, and the Mechanics,

In the essential Points of Religion, says he, all agree; for all believe the Transmigration of Souls; which, according to their Merits and Demerits, they think, are sent by God into other Bodies, either of Animals, more or less clean, and of more or less painful Life; or else of Men, more or less noble and handsome, and more or less pure of Race, wherein they place not a little of their vain Superstition, accounting all other Nations and Religions, besides themselves, unclean; and some more than others, according as they more or less differ from their Customs: All equally believe, that there is a Paradise in Heaven with God, but that thercinto go only the Souls of their own Nation, more pure, and without any Sin, who have lived piously in this World; or, in case they have sinned, that after diverse Transmigrations into various Bodies of Animals and Men, having, by often returning into the World, undergone many Pains, they are, at length, purged, and at last die in the Body of some Man of Indian and noble Race, as the Brahmans, who amongst them are held the noblest and purest, because their Employment is nothing else but the divine Worship, the Service of Temples and Learning; and they observe their own Religion with more Rigour than any others.

He likewise says, they acknowledge there is a Devil, whom they describe much in the same manner that we do: And they likewise think, that many wretched Souls, unworthy ever to have Pardon from God, as the last of the great Punishments which they deserve, become Devils also; than which they judge there cannot be a greater Mifery. The greatest Sin in the World they a count shedding of Blood, especially that of Men; and then, above all, the eating of human Flesh, as some barbarous Nations do, who are therefore detested by them more than all others. Hence the strictest among them, as the Brahmans, and particularly the Betsi, not only kill not, but eat not, any living thing; and even from Herbs tinctured with any reddish Colour, representing Blood, they wholly abstain. Oxen of a larger Conscience eat only Fish; and the lowest Sort, and such as have scarce any Conscience at all, tho' they will not kill, will nevertheless eat all sorts of Animals fit for Food, except Cows; to kill and eat which, they have an absolute Abhorrence; for they say, that the Cow is their Mother, on account of the Milk she gives them, and the Oxen the breeds, with which they plough, and make use of them, from the Scarcity of other Animals, upon almost all Occasions; so that they think they have Reason to say the World is supported by a Cow, which, from being used as a Proverb, is now converted into a Fable. Moreover, as Cows are well kept in India, and much taken Care of, they believe that the best Souls, to whom God has given little Pain in this World, pass into them, which is a new Motive of Veneration.

The same Author informs us, that the Race of the Germans are still in Being, tho' under another Name. I shall give the Reader the Author's own Words, and leave him to judge of them. 'The Goglus, says he, are not Brahmans by Descent, but by Choice, as our religious Orders are. They go naked; most of them walk with Bodies painted and lined with different Colours; yet some of them are only naked, with the rest of their Bodies smooth, and only their Foreheads dyed with Sanders, and some red, yellow, or white Colour; which is also imitated by many secular Persons, out of Superstition and Gallantry. They live upon Alms, despising Cloaths, and all other worldly Things. They marry not, but make severe Profession of Chastity, at least in Appearance; for in secret it is known, that many of them commit as many Debaucheries as they can. They live in Society, under the Obedience of two superiors, and wander about the World, without having any settled Abode. Their Habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples and Groves, especially under those where any Idol is worshipped by them; and they undergo, with incredible Patience, Day and Night, no less the Rigour of the Air, than the excessive Heat of the Sun, which, in these sultry Countries, is a thing sufficiently to be admi'd.'

Hydrologia, &c. de la Philosophie, p. 95

In Commentaria ad Xenoph.

Cap. xv.

Cap. xvii.

Cap. xviii.

In the Accounts of the Voyage of his Chaplain, we have seen by Bramans: It runs to Creature, what is for the art a Creature, and so is it of any of thy fellows they say, were de about their Devotions; wherein the Falling, and Ho better fitted for their Festivals; Food moderately concerning Charity, Poor, as far as they say, were like the false Tales, not to steal any thing, not to defraud any man's, not to oppress; This Writer farther had told him, that he described with a true and as many Feet Power, as being and all Hand to whereof makes the of all moral Duty Nature in their Dis leaving that Royal what they would be There is a very curious that has been preferred Mr. John Malball, taken a great deal acquainted with the Nature what he says is so satisfied, that what concerning the Religion was strictly true. Travellers have said I cannot tell. It is or Bramins, and Goglus, when they always put a Figure they say, they say, is harmful, that the People, and heathen, Full N I am sorry, they Heaven, and He mystically: They the World, he material; and say the Fire his Mother Water his Seed, of his Legs a God is the Life ther greater or less They hold, that created the World he created several Angels, the second, and the third, neither act Good; but the Spirit scarce any Thing of the Angels, and when they die, they are said to have Pleasure both Late hath a strange, strangely, affairs, Malballan Curiosity.

It is positively insisted on, both by Aristotle and Pliny, that the Bones of the Lion are much firmer, and more solid than those of any other Beast: which some Moderns have

Flesh of this Animal is often eaten, is not at all unwholesome, and is not known to prove unwholesome; but, whether any Part of this Creature be eaten, it is not known to be

In the Accounts that has been published of Sir *Thomas Roe's* Voyage to the *Indies*, which was drawn up by his Chaplain, we have the original Rule delivered to the *Indians* by *Brama*, in relation to sparing the Lives of Animals: It runs thus; 'Thou shalt not kill any living Creature, whatsoever it be, having Life in the same; for thou art a Creature, and so is it, thou art endowed with Life, and so is it; thou shalt not therefore spill the Life of any of thy fellow Creatures that live.' Other precepts, they say, were delivered unto them by their Law-giver, about their Devotions in their Washings and Worshipings; wherein they are commanded to observe Times for Fasting, and Hours for Watching: that they may be the better fitted for them. Other Directions they have about their Festivals; wherein they are required to take their Food moderately, not pampering their Bodies. Concerning Charity, they are farther commanded to help the Poor, as far as they are possibly able. Other Precepts, they say, were likewise given them in Charge, as, *Not to tell false Tales, nor to utter any Thing that is untrue; not to steal any thing from others, be it never so little; not to defraud any by their Cunning in Bargains or Contracts; not to oppress any when they have Power to do it.*

The Writer further informs us, that some of the *Bramins* had told him, 'They acknowledged one God, whom they described with a thousand Eyes, with a thousand Hands, and as many Feet; that thereby they may express his Power, as being all Eye to see, and all Foot to follow, and all Hand to smite Offenders. The Consideration whereof makes that People very exact in the Performance of all moral Duties, following close the Light of Nature in their Dealings with Men; most carefully observing that Royal Law, in doing nothing to others, but what they would be well contented to suffer from others.'

There is a very curious Piece relating to this Subject, that has been preserved by the Royal Society, written by Mr. *John Masball*, who lived long in the *Indies*, and had taken a great deal of Pains to make himself perfectly acquainted with the Notions of the modern *Bramins*; and what he says is so conclusive, that the Reader must be satisfied, that what the Antients have delivered to us concerning the Religion and Philosophy of the *Brachmans*, was strictly true. 'Upon what Ground, says he, some Travellers have stiled these People Polytheists or Atheists, I cannot tell. It is very observable here, that their Priests, or *Bramins*, and holy Men, whom they call *Jogees*, or *Giglis*, when they have Occasion to write any thing, they always put a Figure of One in the first Place, to shew, as they say, they acknowledge but One God, who, they say, is *Burms*, that is, immaterial. When they preach to the People, and instruct them, which is commonly every Feast day, Full Moon, or the Time of an Eclipse of either Luminary, they tell the common People much of God, Heaven, and Hell, but very imperfectly, obscurely, and mystically: They say, that when God thought of making the World, he made it in a Minute. They account this World the Body of God: For all that, they say, he is immaterial; and say, that the highest Heavens are his Head, the Fire his Mouth, the Air his Breath and Breath, the Water his Seed, and the Earth, and the Mountains thereof, his Legs and Feet; but assert, in general, that God is the Life of every Thing; yet is the Thing neither greater or less for him.

They hold, that God dwelt in a Vacuity before that he created the World; and that, as he dwelt in the Vacuity, he created several Beings out of himself: The first were Angels, the second Souls, the third Spirits, all differing in Degrees of Purity: the first being more pure than the second, and the second than the third. The Angels, they say, neither act Good or Evil; the Souls either Good or Evil; but the Spirits, or *Devtas*, as they call them, act scarce any Thing but Evil. They have a good Opinion of the Angels, and think their State mighty happy, hoping, when they die, they shall be made Partakers of the same Bless'd Pleasure. They believe, that every thing that hath Life hath a Soul, but especially Man; and they, accordingly, affirm, that as these Souls behave themselves in

their pre-existent State, so are their Actions in this World either good or bad, by a sort of fatal Necessity, which is very hard to conquer or overcome. Hence it is, say they, that there are so many different Humours and Dispositions of Men; for their Souls, before their Entrance into their Bodies, being tainted with different Affections, cause the like Difference in the Parties, whose Bodies are their Vehicles; so that if a Man happens to have a sudden and unfortunate Death, they immediately ascribe the same to the Party's own Wickedness, or the bad Life that his Soul led, before that it entered into his Body: For, say they, the afore-acted Evil that his Soul did in its other Life, brought these Accidents upon him, by getting the upper Hand of him, and by being too powerful and strong: And these, that die thus, they believe their Souls turn into Devils.

They maintain *Pythagoras's* Transmigration, or *Metempsychosis*, but in a grosser Sense than he did: For they believe that Mens Souls, thus have not lived so well as they ought, so, as soon as the Body dies, not only into the Birds and Beasts, but even into the basest Reptiles, Insects, and Plants; where they suffer a strong sort of Purgation to expiate their former Crimes. But as for the Souls of the *Jogees* or *Giglis*, that is, of religious Men and Saints, they fancy that they go and inhabit with the good *Devtas* or Angels among the Stars. As for the Spirits, or inferior Angels, they believe that they are very evil, and have a hand in all Wickednesses, Murders, Wars, Storms, and Tempells; so that when they solemnize the Funeral of those that are dead, they always present Dishes of Meat as Offerings to those Spirits, and sometimes sacrifice unto them, that they may not hurt the Souls of the Dead.

As they acknowledge the Being of a mighty God, so they hold, that he created the World, and every Thing therein. They believe, that there are almost infinite Numbers of Worlds; and that God has oftentimes annihilated, and re-created the same; but how he came first to create the World and Mankind, they relate to have been thus: Once, on a time (say they) as he was set in Eternity, it came into his Mind to make something; and immediately, no sooner had he thought the same, but the same Minute was a perfect beautiful Woman immediately presented before him, which he called *Alia Suktée*; that is, the first Woman: Then this Figure put into his Mind the Figure of a Man; which he had no sooner conceived in his Mind, but that he also started up, and presented himself before him; this he called *Manapussé*; that is, the first Man: Then, upon a Reflection of these Things, he resolv'd further to create several Places for them to abide in; and, accordingly, assuming a subtil Body, he breathed in a Minute the whole Universe, and every Thing therein, from the least to the greatest.

A Divine of the Church of *Rome*, who had resided long in the *Indies*, and fill'd there with great Dignity a very high Post, in a Relation which is not yet printed, and therefore the more curious, gives us the following Account: 'The *Brachmans* are, at this Day, the only People among the *Indians* that have a Right to cultivate the Sciences; and of this Right they are so jealous, that they suffer scarce any of those Rays to shine upon the World, which might be expected from Perions, boasting themselves in Possession of so much Light. Their Call is the most noble and the most considerable of all, and is even looked upon to be as much superior to Princes, as Wisdom and useful Knowledge are in their Nature preferable to Grandeur and Power, which Kings so rarely abuse.

The Sciences cultivated by these *Brachmans*, and in which they make a greater or less Progress, in proportion to their Parts and Application, may be reduced to eighteen. The first is a kind of Grammar, which contains the Rules necessary for the understanding of that Language, when they call *Grandham*; in which they converse amongst themselves, and wherein all their Books are written: From hence their Sciences attend in a very regular Scale, from the more simple and easy, to

* *Philos. Trans.*, vol. 3, p. 237.

† Extract from a Manuscript written by *Dom Jean de Ros*, Archbishop of *Coarima*.

“ those

those which are more difficult and complex. The last, which is esteemed the Perfection of all Sciences, is titled Vedata or Vendata; which is, as much as to say, the Close, or the Sum of all Things. This is a kind of metaphysical Theology, which the Brachmans receive not with a Spirit of Inquiry, but with profound and implicit Submission, as a kind of Divine Doctrine, which is, in its Nature, superior to all Examination or Dispute. Thus, these Men fuller their Wisdom to be bounded by that of their Ancestors, which, as they desire not to transcend, it is very probable they do not equal."

10. I have treated this Subject more largely, because I find many Things omitted by very great Men, who have undertaken to give us Accounts of the Brachmans, their Learning, Manners, and the particular Turn of their Philosophy. The celebrated Bayle has vouchsafed them two Articles in his Dictionary, but seem in both to have aimed more at exposing the Contradictions of such ancient Writers as have mentioned these Philosophers, than to give his Readers any distinct and methodical Account of them from what he had himself read. In one of his Articles indeed he tells us, that the Book, written by Palladius on this Subject, deserves to be consulted; and in his Notes informs us, that this Author was published from a Manuscript in the Royal Library, by Sir Edward Byke, Clericorum King at Arms; and furnishes us with some Remarks on the Fictions of the Book, or rather on the Change of the Title Pages for there never was but one Edition, which I have read with a great deal of Care; and am from thence enabled to give the Reader some Lights, beyond what he can receive from Mr. Bayle.

The Editor of that Book collected every thing that had been written upon this Subject, of which he composed a very curious Miscellany, addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England. The Treatise of Palladius of the Indian Nations, and of the Brachmans, was indeed never published before; yet it contains very little, if any thing, new upon the Subject, since the Discourse of St. Ambrose, of the Manners of the Brachmans, which is addressed to one Palladius, and had been long before published in Latin, contains the Substance of what is related by the other in Greek; but the Letters of Dandamis or Dandamis, which are added to these Two Pieces, are absolutely new, and never were published but by Sir Edward Byke; for which Reason I thought the Substance of them would be acceptable to the Reader, and therefore I inserted it in a former Section.

11. The Author mentions the Application of Alexander to this Philosopher, and to does Plutarch; but both Ambrose and Palladius gives us a large Account of a Conference that Alexander had with this Brachman, which they received from the Indians themselves; which is the more probable, because it is certain they had formerly Books upon this Subject, which, very probably, contained the very same Accounts that are preserved to us in these: They are much more curious, and will afford the inquisitive Reader far greater Satisfaction, than any thing that I know of, that has been written of this kind; and therefore I wonder, that so judicious and so learned a Man as Mr. Bayle did not rather chuse to give us some Quotations from these scarce and valuable Pieces, than from Books that were in every body's Hands, and had been so often quoted before.

The Bounds prescribed to this Work, and the many Things that are to be treated of in this single Chapter, will not allow me to insert the Whole of either of these Pieces: But, after having given such a Character of them, the Reader, perhaps, would not excuse me, if I should chuse that Sections without putting it in his Power to judge for himself, by sending a Specimen from a Book, which, to treat a Man has told us, ought to be consulted by whoever pretends to write upon this Subject. I will therefore subjoin two Discourses between Alexander and the Indian Philosopher, which, I think, will be sufficient to satisfy his Curiosity, and discharge me effectually of this Part of my Task.

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11. "When Alexander had heard, from the Report of Onofritus, whom he had sent to him, that neither Promises nor Threats would induce Dandamis to come to him, he was the more desirous of seeing one, who, tho' naked and old, was able to overcome the Conqueror of so many Nations. He went, therefore, with a few of his Friends to the Wood where the Philosopher was; and when he drew near it, alighting from his Horse, bringing aside his Crown, and every thing that had an Appearance of Pomp or Shew, he went alone to the old Brachman, and sat himself down at his Feet. God save you, Dandamis, said he: I am come to you, because you refused to come to me. And to what Purpose do you come? said he: What is there in our Solitudes that you can desire to carry away? What you want, we have; and what we have is not necessary to you. We honour God, love Man, neglect Gold, and in contempt Death. You, on the other hand, fear Death, honour Gold, hate Man, and condemn God. Teach us, replied Alexander, some of your Wisdom: They say, that you are called Divinity; and that you often confer with God himself. Now, I would willingly know in what you excel the Greeks; in what you are better; in what wiser than other Men. And I, returned Dandamis, would willingly bellow on you what I have received from God, but that I know your Hofom affords not Room for such a Gift: Thy Mind is filled with vain Desires, and insatiable Avarice, and a diabolical Thirst of Empire; all which fight against me, who would endeavour to extract them from your Breast. You are desirous of going to the Ocean, and after that would conquer some other Part of the World, to satisfy those Desires which would afflict you with Sadness when you had no more to conquer. How then is it possible I should content you, who all the World were subjected to your Service, would not even then be at Rest? You are made much less than the World; and yet you would conquer all, and obtain whatever Mankind possess; but, after all, you could have no more than you see in living or, or let you sit upon. The case would be exactly the same if we should remove him hence; for you and I would then be still equal in our Possessions. I desire not to use the Elements of Air, Water, and Earth, as other Men use them; and therefore whatever I have I sell; for if you were possessed of all the Rivers of the World, you could only drink Water from them. I do. If you will but learn Wisdom of me, you will want nothing; for he has all who desires no more than he has. For it is Desire that is the Mother of Pain; which, without knowing the proper Remedy, yields to cure; for whoever seeks to possess all Things, never find what he seeks; and, meeting with no Rest what he possesses, but expecting it from what is yet to be possessed, he still excrecates himself more and more. You will have the greatest Wealth possible, and enjoy it with the utmost Pleasure if you would live thus with me; for if you could taste the Wisdom I teach you, you would possess all the Riches I have. The Heavens serve me for a Canopy, the Earth is my Bed, I drink out of the River, and the Field here supplies me with Food; I do not eat other Animals like a Lion, nor do the Remains of other Animals continue in me, as to make my Body their Sepulchre; but I feed sparingly upon Fruits, as on the Milk my Mother gave me. But you are desirous of knowing what it is I possess more than other Men, and how far I am wiser. Tell me, as you see, agreeable to the Manner in which I was created: I live as I came from my Mother's Womb, naked, without Riches, and without Care. I know what God has done, and I know what will be done to him. You, on the other hand, are amazed at the Production of Things to come, because you understand not the Works of God, which he sheweth you every Hour, such as Famine, Plagues, Wars, Droughts, Rains, and fruitful Seasons; all which I know how, whence, and to what End they come: Which Knowledge is com-

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communicated to me by Providence, and it rejoices me, that God is pleased to communicate his Works to my Understanding, so that I know, and am persuaded of his Justice. If, at any time, Kings address themselves to me, as to a Messenger of God, under the Apprehensions of War, or any other Evil, I pray to God in their Behalf; and, having restored their Courage by Words of Consolation, I send them back with some comfortable Message. Tell me which is best, to kill and destroy Men, and thereby obtain a Fame for Mischief, or, by preserving them, and doing them good, to acquire that of a Benefactor? And which agrees best with the Character of the Sons of God, to war against and overturn what God hath established, or, rather, peaceably to support, and earnestly endeavour to restore, whatever is decayed, as the Servant of the Deity? It is not, O King, either thy great Power, thy immense Wealth, the Multitude of Elephants, the costly Robes that are about thee, the numerous Armies under thy Command, or what thou hast taken from other Nations in War and Battle, that can assist thee, but a proper Attention to my Words, and a due Regard to the Counsels I give thee. Neither am I afraid of thee, O Alexander, though thou shouldst kill me; for I should go immediately to God, who knows my Cause, and from whom my Life has not been hid: For what can there be hid from him? The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, all serve him for Eyes; and he will judge whoever does an Injury to his Neighbour; neither is there any Place to which thou canst fly, to avoid his Justice in that State of Retribution. Therefore, O Alexander, seek not to overturn what God has established, or to ruin and deface what it hath pleased him to adorn: Neither shed the Blood of Citizens, nor lay waste whole Nations, that they may feel the Weight of thy Power: For, is it not better for thee to live, than to make others die, and thereby render your own Death a Blessing to others? Tell me, why, having but one Soul thyself, thou wouldst destroy whole Nations? Why shouldst thou rejoice at filling the World with Mischief? Why shouldst thou regard the Distresses of others as thy Gain? Why shouldst thou smile, because others weep? Share here with me my naked Solitude, and thereby enrich thyself at once, and others. Heretofore renounce all Wars, and embrace the Peace which Submission to Providence bestows: Hast no longer of your Power of doing Mischief; but enjoy here with us all the real Pleasures of Life: Throw off that Garment made of a Sheep's fleece; I'll be no longer proud of wearing the Spoils of a dead Beast; you will then, by imitating us, do Honour to yourself, and become such a one as you were created to be; for the Soul exercises itself in Virtue, when in this State of Solitude. Prefer therefore, King Alexander, our seemingly savage Life, in which you will be happier than you have hitherto been. Even now your Macedonians expect you to raise new Wars, to slaughter other Nations, and to despoil fresh Countries: for they are sad, if other People be late; unquiet, if they make for the rest of the World; and, having no other View but their own Gain, regard not what is a great Injustice they commit, to they augment it. How happy a Life shouldst thou lead, by doing what God wouldst thou shouldst do, pursuing thy own Good, without the Office to others! Now, while it is yet in your Power what I say, and listen to the good Advice I give you: For, if thou art dead to these Admonitions, I shall hereafter, when we are delivered out of the World, see thee suffering in the Air, and bitterly cursing the Devils, brought upon thyself, by inflicting them upon others. You will then think of my Words; and, in your next Year's Horte and Foot will follow you there, to see how your Clansons of thoub your Meditations, which were wholly employed in the Remembrance of Mischief, done, as thou wilt then feel, to thy ill: For well have the put Punishments which God inflicts upon such Men. You will then say to me, Dandamis gave thee good Counsel: For dead will be present to thy

View all the Murders thou hast committed, or caused to be committed; and of these how canst thou possibly excuse thyself? All this Alexander heard patiently, and without the least Displeasure; but an evil Spirit hindered him from profiting by this good Advice. He answered therefore the Philosopher thus: "I am thoroughly sensible of the Truth of all you have said; for, descending of an holy Race, thou are here conveniently situated, where, without any Trouble, thou enjoyest with the greatest Pleasure the whole Circle of thy Days, and possessest all the Riches of Nature in a perfect and uninterrupted Peace. I, on the other hand, live in the midst of Tumult, and of Toils: For much I fear even those, who by their Office ought to defend me from Fear; and seldom raise the Apprehensions of my Enemies so high, as those I have of my Friends; for I am daily in greater Dread of their Treachery, than of the Force of my Foes. Thus, the Necessity of having Guards for my Safety, and the Dread that these very Guards may deprive me of Safety, I live in perpetual Anxiety. My Days are spent in troubling, distressing, and destroying other People; and in the Nights I am filled with Terrors and Suspensions, lest, by some sudden and secret Enemy, I should be cut off myself. If I put to Death those I fear, I become hateful; if again I am mild and gentle, I am contemned: And how, out of such a Variety of Dangers, I shall be able to snatch myself, I know not; for if I fought to quit the World, and to live with you in the Deserts, it would not be in my Power. It is impossible for me to quit the Station I am in; and therefore I hope that this will excuse me to God, who placed me in this Station, and made me what I am. But thou, O wife and good Man, who have heard my Complaints, and soothed my Grievs by the Wisdom of thy Words, dissuading me from War and Battles, be pleased to accept the Gifts I offer; and do not contemn me so far, as to reject the Tribute I bring to thy Wisdom." As he spake these Words, the Slaves, who waited with the Pretents, brought them in, and spread abroad great Variety of Gold and Silver Vessels, rich in themselves, and exquisitely wrought; together with large Quantities of Oil and Bread. At the Sight of all this, Dandamis could not help smiling. At last he delivered himself thus: "Who do you think could persuade the Birds, that haunt these Woods, to the Use of Gold and Silver, and to sing the better for it? Or, if this you conceive impossible, why should you judge me to be worse than they? Why should I accept from you what I cannot either eat or drink? Why should I take what I can make no Use of? Why retain under my Care what cannot contribute to my Benefit? and to bind and ensnare myself, who have hitherto been free; for I desire not to purchase, in any Shape, what in these Solitudes I cannot sell. God bestows upon me here Fruits on every Side, which I pull and eat freely. God tells Man nothing for Gold; nay, he even bestows his Wisdom freely upon such as are able and qualified to receive it. I am covered with that Garment with which my Mother brought me forth. The Air I freely breathe, and discern my Limbs at Liberty, while unrestrained by any Garment; and Honey cannot be sweeter to the Taste, than whatever from the Relish of Hunger I eat and drink. If these Cakes were good before, why were they exposed to the Fire? For my part, I suffer not that Element to touch what I eat, any more, than in the Flesh of other Animals, I chuse to eat at second-hand what they have eaten before: Take then away these Cakes that are baked; but, that I may not seem to despise every thing you offer me, I am content to accept this Oil." Dandamis having said this immediately rose; and going into the Wood, gathered up a considerable Quantity of dry Sticks, which having railed in an Heap, he set Fire to them; and then, turning to Alexander, said, "The Brachman hath all Things, and enjoys Abundance, because he enjoys all he desires." Then pouring Oil into the Fire, while it burnt up very freely, he sung an

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^a See the Art. of *Palladius* and *Strabo*.

^b *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^c In *Alexandro*.

^d *Palladius* de *Gentibus*, lib. ii.

^e *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 70.

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 when in this State of Solitude. Prefer therefore, King
Alexander, our seemingly savage Life, in which you
 will be happier than you have hitherto been. Even
 now your *Macedonians* expect you to raise new Wars,
 to slaughter other Nations, and to despoil fresh Coun-
 tries: but they are sad, if other People be late; uneasily
 they make for the rest of the World; and, having
 no other View but their own Gain, regard not what
 of a great Injustice they commit, to they augment
 their Misery.
 How happy a Life shouldst thou lead, by doing what
 God intended thou shouldst do, pursuing thy own
 Good, without doing any harm to others! Now, while it is
 yet in my power, what I say, and listen to the good Ad-
 vice I give thee: For, if thou art deaf to these Admo-
 nitions, I shall hereafter, when we are delivered out of
 the World, see thee suffering in the Air, and bitterly
 cursing the Evils I brought upon thyself, by inflicting
 Evils on others. You will then think of my Words,
 as you see of an Horse and Foot will follow you there,
 and the same Clansons of flesh your Meditations, which
 are now wholly employed in the Remembrance of Mis-
 chief done, as you will then feel, to thyself: For well
 know the just Punishments which God inflicts upon
 the Wicked. You will then say to me, *Dandamis* gave
 me good Counsel: For men will be present to thy

View all the Murders thou hast committed, or caused
 to be committed; and of these how canst thou possibly
 excuse thyself?
 All this *Alexander* heard patiently, and without the least
 Displeasure; but an evil Spirit hindered him from profiting
 by this good Advice. He answered therefore the Philo-
 sopher thus: "I am thoroughly sensible of the Truth
 of all you have said; for, descending of an holy Race,
 thou are here conveniently situated, where, without any
 Trouble, thou enjoyest with the greatest Pleasure the
 whole Circle of thy Days, and possessest all the Riches
 of Nature in a perfect and uninterrupted Peace. I, on
 the other hand, live in the midst of Tumult, and of
 Toils: For much I fear even those, who by their Of-
 fence ought to defend me from Fear; and seldom raise
 the Apprehensions of my Enemies so high, as those I
 have of my Friends; for I am daily in greater Dread
 of their Treachery, than of the Force of my Foes,
 Thus, between the Necessity of having Guards for my
 Safety, and the Dread that these very Guards may de-
 prive me of Safety, I live in perpetual Anxiety.
 My Days are spent in troubling, distressing, and de-
 stroying other People; and in the Nights I am filled
 with Terrors and Suspensions, lest, by some sudden
 and secret Enemy, I should be cut off myself. If I
 put to Death those I fear, I become hateful; if again
 I am mild and gentle, I am contemned: And how,
 out of such a Variety of Dangers, I shall be able to
 snatch myself, I know not; for if I fought to quit the
 World, and to live with you in the Deserts, it would
 not be in my Power. It is impossible for me to quit
 the Station I am in; and therefore I hope that this will
 excuse me to God, who placed me in this Station, and
 made me what I am. But thou, O wife and good
 Man, who have heard my Complaints, and soothed
 my Grievs by the Wisdom of thy Words, dissuading
 me from War and Battles, be pleased to accept the Gifts
 I offer; and do not condemn me so far, as to reject the
 Tribute I bring to thy Wisdom."
 As he spake these Words, the Slaves, who waited with
 the Presents, brought them in, and spread abroad great
 Variety of Gold and Silver Vessels, rich in themselves, and
 exquisitely wrought; together with large Quantities of
 Oil and Bread.
 At the Sight of all this, *Dandamis* could not help smile-
 ing. At last he delivered himself thus: "Who do you
 think could persuade the Birds, that haunt these Woods,
 to the Use of Gold and Silver, and to sing the better
 for it? Or, if this you conceive impossible, why should
 you judge me to be worse than they? Why should I ac-
 cept from you what I cannot either eat or drink? Why
 should I take what I can make no Use of? Why retain
 under my Care what cannot contribute to my Be-
 nefit? and so bind and mangle myself, who have hitherto
 been free; for I desire not to purchase, in any Shape,
 what in these Solitudes I cannot sell. God bestows upon
 me here Fruits on every Side, which I pull and eat
 freely. God tells Man nothing for Gold; nay, he
 even bestows his Wisdom freely upon such as are able
 and qualified to receive it. I am covered with that
 Garment with which my Mother brought me forth.
 The Air I freely breathe, and esteem my Limbs at Li-
 berty, while unrestrained by any Garment; and Honey
 cannot be sweeter to the Taste, than whatever from the
 Relish of Hunger I eat and drink. If these Cakes were
 good before, why were they exposed to the Fire? For
 my part, I suffer not that Element to touch what I eat,
 any more, than in the Flesh of other Animals, I chuse
 to eat at second-hand what they have eaten before:
 Take then away these Cakes that are baked; but, that
 I may not seem to despise every thing you offer me, I
 am content to accept this Oil."
Dandamis having laid this immediately rose; and go-
 ing into the Wood, gathered up a considerable Quantity
 of dry Sticks, which having raised in an Heap, he
 set Fire to them; and then, turning to *Alexander*, said,
 "The *Brachman* hath all Things, and enjoys Abundance,
 because he enjoys all he desires." Then pouring Oil into
 the Fire, while it burnt up very fiercely, he sung an
 Hymn

Hymn to God, the immortal Giver of all good Things, thanking him for the manifold Gifts he had bestowed. Which Things when *Alexander* had seen and heard, he went away astonished, raving all his Gifts, except the Oil, to be carried back. At the same time, *Dandamis* gave him many other Pieces of sound Advice, desiring him to remember, that the *Brachmans* were such as himself, and not such as *Calanus*, whom they esteemed the worst of Men, for having deserted their Society, to embrace the Manners of the *Greeks*.

There is great Reason to believe, that these Facts are reported but confusedly, and with many Variations, by the Authors I have cited; but as there appears to be a great Certainty of their coming originally from the *Brachmans* themselves, they deserve to be attentively considered, because they very plainly prove, that the Correspondence between *Alexander* and *Dandamis* was very famous amongst those People, and had made a great Impression upon them. As to the modern *Bramins*, it is certain, that they fall very short of their Predecessors in Learning, and have very much corrupted their religious Principles, by the Liberties they have taken; which we need not wonder at, since the same thing has happened to almost every kind of Philology; and, we may likewise add, every kind of Religion.

It is not evident, from any of the Accounts given us by the Antients, that the *Brachmans* had any Book or Writings which contained the Principles of their Science: And the contrary seems probable from the Nature of their Education. The modern *Bramins*, however, tell us, that the first Being created by God was *Brahma*, the Author of their Sect; of whom they have many Images, which have commonly four Heads, because he is said to have been the Author of a Book, containing four Chapters, or Sections; wherein are contained the Principles of the Religion and Philosophy which he taught. This Book is still extant amongst them, and is what we may call their Bible; neither is it absolutely unknown to other Eastern Nations, having been translated out of the Eastern Tongue, by one *Abubacumath a Greget*, who embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, into *Arabic*, under the Title of *Morat al ma'ini*; that is, *the Mirror of Science*: But they say, that the true Sense of it cannot still be understood, without the Assistance of some learned *Bramin*.

* The Name of this Book, in the *Indian* Language, is *Ashtak*; which is as much as to say, the Elders of Living Waters. It consists of two distinct Treatises, each subdivided into ten Chapters, and in this Book their *Theology*, *Philosophy*, and *Policy*, are contained chiefly in *Fables* and *Legends*, so that ordinary Readers can make little or no Use of it.

All these, however, are Inventions far later than the Times of which we are now speaking; and, as we have hinted before, the old *Brachmans*, tho' they took their Name from the Word *Brahma*, yet they did not consider that as the Name of any particular Person, but as expressive of that Character which they affected; the natural Signification of that Word, in their old Language, being no more than a *Man enlightened*, or one filled with divine Science. As they had no Books, much less had they Images; neither is it clear, that they made Use of any fabulous Theology, in order to amuse the People; but, on the contrary, told them in plain and pathetic Terms, what they conceived fit for them to know and practise.

All the rest came in by Degrees: And this is the true Reason, why it is so difficult for the modern *Bramins* to give any rational Account of that Doctrine which they preach to the People, because it is all invented, and has not the least Relation to that secret and solid Science, which the most learned of them still retain by Tradition from their Ancestors. We may from hence easily apprehend, why the Lectures of some learned *Bramins* are necessary to render the Book before mentioned intelligible: The Purpose of those Lectures, no doubt, must be to explain away the best Part of that celebrated Fable, by shewing that whatever is delivered therein, relating to Idols, Saints, and Demigods, are, in Fact, but Parables relating to the Attributes of the true God, and his Providence; concerning which their Ancestors discoursed clearly, plainly, and without making use of any of these Figures or Fables.

Having thus used my utmost Endeavours to fit this Subject in a clear Light, and to reduce the scattered Fragments of ancient Authors, relating thereto, in such a Method as that they might contribute to illustrate each one, and leave nothing obscure, I shall proceed next to the *Animals* in the *Indies*, as they are described to us by other Authors; and shall fairly shew wherein they deviate from Truth; wherein their Accounts have been mistaken by the Moderns; and in what Cases their Descriptions, though heretofore rejected with Contempt, have of late Years, and upon a stricter Examination, been again admitted as more and more suitable to Truth, than those which had been hastily received in their Read, upon the Credit of those who were not proper Judges of what they saw.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Land-Animals in the East-Indies, as described by ancient Authors, compared with modern Writers: And some Remarks upon both.

1. A Description of the Elephant; with a particular Account of the different Methods of hunting and killing him, as described by the antients. 2. The modern Method of hunting Elephants, described to us by the Authors from Louis XIV. to the King of Siam. 3. The great sagacity, wonderful Memory, and Fidelity of this Creature. 4. Some other singular Properties of the Elephant, from ancient and modern Remarks. 5. The Methods of Elephants, and their Aversion to Indulgences in the manner of eating. 6. The Nature of the Indian Elephant. 7. Some miscellaneous Observations as to the Size, Value, and medicinal Use of the Elephant. 8. An exact Description of the Rhinoceros, from ancient and modern Authors. 9. An Account of his Size, Food, Manner of living in the Woods; and of the Uses of his Horn, Fat, &c. 10. Some extraordinary Passages in modern Travels, relating to this Animal. 11. Of the Lion and the Lynx. 12. Of the Tiger, as described both by the Antients and Moderns. 13. The remarkable Instances of the Strength and Agility of these Creatures. 14. A particular Account of the Leopard and Panther; both from old Authors and new. 15. Of the Camel, its Size, Strength, and other Properties; and the Uses for which it serves in the Indies. 16. Of the Donkey, and its religious Sanctity. 17. An exact Description of the Giraffe, or Camelpard, and what is known of its other Properties; and the Uses for which it serves in the Indies. 18. Of the Dog, and its various and singular Properties. 19. An Account of Apes, Monkeys, &c. with some Conjectures as to the Mistakes of the Antients, and the wild Men, Satyrs, &c. 20. Of the Musk-Cat, and the various Qualities of that Animal. 21. Of the Dragons in the Indies; the strange Reports of the Antients concerning them, how far they are exploded by the Discoveries of the Moderns. 22. Of the Gryphon of the Antients, and the

concerning it. Errors that have they are supported.

I T has, in the Peo- lar in all Re- some Measure due to yet ought to be chief- fusions, since we h- racters given of in- case 'ent Pictures of the Truth, India was really happy in one- carely pressed thro- other Riches, the In- inclination to wander kind of Wants to g- eign Climates. The- and Riches, we nat- urally the Work o- thor too, that preten- remarkable.

Amongst these, it- Men, the Animals of Animal most, which- the most extraordinary Elephant, a Creature- fouthin Provinces- however, was in eve- Eyes of Men, but ev- we may credit what f-

These Creatures a- a dark Colour, or c- race.

Their Bodies are b- being beautiful in the- those of all g-; their- yer they bend their- lives at their: They- their Necks; their F- very close; their Tr- starts down to the- know; they can op- tal- Cancers, like- riving, a P-; to- feet: They make- Dullness, conveying- Murders: The whole- fith Member, in v- Creature was. Ther- covered with a Mem- Dens, and any Wou- the two Councils of t- between these the T- Talle, or large Fee- the male Elephants- free on Great, Nois- the Nature; and the- the Lion, and of t-

They are natural- Pests, and are the r- the East of India- are this I xerte a- for in which they l- Post named by good- Old a P- and a w- 20 of Dutch, ove- worn Badges; a- tention for the Rec- tance they consu- the Mills were tur- the men heard the- Bridges, humming- hangs to assist in-

They are natu- Pests, and are the r- the East of India- are this I xerte a- for in which they l- Post named by good- Old a P- and a w- 20 of Dutch, ove- worn Badges; a- tention for the Rec- tance they consu- the Mills were tur- the men heard the- Bridges, humming- hangs to assist in-

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They are natu- Pests, and are the r- the East of India- are this I xerte a- for in which they l- Post named by good- Old a P- and a w- 20 of Dutch, ove- worn Badges; a- tention for the Rec- tance they consu- the Mills were tur- the men heard the- Bridges, humming- hangs to assist in-

concerning it. 23. The Camoleon particularly described; its remarkable Properties, and the Causes of those Errors that have been spread about it. 24. Of the Ants of India, the Wonders related of them, and how far they are supported by Facts. 25. Various Remarks, and curious Observations, on the Subject.

It has, in the foregoing Sections, been fully shewn, that the People of the Indies were very singular in all Respects. This, tho' it might be in some Measure due to Education, and other Accidents, yet ought to be chiefly ascribed to their Nature and Constitutions, since we know by Experience, that the Characters given of most Nations by ancient Authors are excellent Pictures of their even at this Day. To try the Truth, India was alike singular in all Things, and particularly happy in one, that while the rest of the World earnestly pressed through all Obstacles to come at a Share of her Riches, the Inhabitants of India themselves felt no Inclination to wander, and were never compelled by any kind of Wants to go and proclaim their Indigence in foreign Climates. The accurate Description of the Singularities and Riches, with which this Country abounded, was naturally the Work of every Traveler; and of every Author too, that pretended to write any thing of a Region so remarkable.

Amongst these, it is natural to suppose, that, next to the Men, the Animals struck them first; and of these, that Animal most, which of all the rest was, in every Respect, the most extraordinary. This, without Question, was the Elephant, a Creature found only in the Indies, and in the southern Provinces of Africa. The Indian Elephant, however, was in every Respect superior, not only in the Eyes of Men, but even of those Creatures themselves, if we may credit what some Authors relate.

These Creatures are, generally speaking, either of a dark Colour, or of a white; but the latter are very rare.

Their Bodies are heavy and gross, and far enough from being beautiful in their Appearance: Their Eyes are like those of a Hog; their Legs and Feet resemble Columns; yet they bend their Fore legs when they rest themselves or sleep: They cannot bend their Heads or turn their Necks; their Ears lie pretty much behind, and are very close: Their Trunk is as long as their Fore-legs, and hangs down to the Ground; it is strong, tough, and flexible, they can open and shut it, and by the Help of this Couplet, like small Points, they are able to take up every thing, a Pin, for Instance, or a Grain of Mustard-seed: They make use of their Trunks in Eating and Drinking, conveying with them what they take into their Mouths. The whole Force of the Animal chiefly consists in its Member, in which if he be deeply wounded the Creature dies. There lies behind the Ear a little Cavity, covered with a Membrane no thicker than the Head of a Drum, and any Wound in that Part also is mortal. At the two Corners of the Mouth grow two large Teeth, and between these the Trunk is placed, in the Male: These Teeth, or large Teeth, are six or seven Foot long; but in the female Elephants, they rarely exceed a Foot. They feed on Grass, Nuts, Sugar canes, and other Things of a like Nature; and they are chiefly afraid of Smoke or Fire, of a Lion, and of some kind of Serpents.

They are naturally as wild as Tygers, or any other Beasts, and are therefore, like them, caught by Hunting, by the Call of *Indians*, which, as we have before shewn, is the most useful Part of their Profession. The Manner in which they hunted them is very remarkable, and is thus related by good Authors: In the first Place, they inclosed a Plain somewhat less than a Mile over, with a large and deep Ditch, over which, in several Places, there were wooden Bridges; and in the midst there were Cabins erected for the Reception of the Elephants. Into this Inclosure they conducted some female Elephants, to whom the Males were sure to come in the Night: As soon as the Hunters heard them, they withdrew, and took up the Bridges, summoning the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages to assist in bringing them away. Some Days

after, when they judged them to be sufficiently weakened by Hunger and Thirst, they returned, mounted upon tame Elephants, with which they pursued and fatigued them, till they were quite spent. Then they bridled them, and gave them some Cuts over their Jaws, and over their Neck, that they might humble them more effectually; and then, mounting them, they forced them by Blows to proceed to their Stables.

They used, besides this, another Method as singular as the former: They hunted them out of the Forest with a great Noise, and drove them before them all Day long: When it was Evening, they drove them back again; but, in the mean time, the Huntsmen had taken care to set the Bruthood on the Skirts of the Forest on Fire. The Elephants, being extremely afraid of that Element, when they drew near the Flames, were so astonished that they stood stock-still, and suffered themselves to be easily taken; and then they beat them till they grew tame. This, however, seldom answered the End at once; and therefore, to complete the Business, they fastened them to Pillars, and there by Hunger and Beating made them perfectly tame. Sometimes, however, the Loss of their Liberty threw them into a deep Melancholy, that they began to pine and languish, refusing all Sustenance, and seeming disposed to seek a Remedy for their ill Usage in Death. Their Keepers, in this Case, had Recourse to Singing and Music; which soon dissipated the Grief of the Animal, and brought it to its Stomach again.

Pliny assures us, that the *Troglodytes*, who live on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, and who hunted these Creatures merely for the sake of feeding upon them, did it in quite another Manner: They got up into high Trees, and there they waited the coming of the Elephants in Herds: They suffered all to pass them but the hindmost; upon which he who had the most Courage, and was esteemed most active, leapt down on the Back of this Elephant; and striking his Heels into the Creature's Sides, and laying hold of the Tail with his left Hand, he sat fast: Then bending backwards, with a Hatchet which he held in his right, he hamstringed the Elephant on one Side; and as he grew lame thro' Loss of Blood, and began to slacken his Pace, the Man got down, and took his Leave with another Stroke with his Hatchet at the Sinews on the other Side. He afterwards tracked the Elephant by his Blood; and, having found where the Creature lay, seized him when dying, and cut him to Pieces. Of this Sort of Venison those *Troglodytes* were so fond, that they seldom eat any thing else: Nor would they listen to any Proposals that were made them by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to forbear destroying Elephants; for the preserving and taming of which that Monarch had a particular Passion. The Elephants in the *Indies* were never hunted in this barbarous Manner.

2. The modern Method of hunting Elephants is particularly described by the Embassadors sent by the late *Louis XIV.* to the King of *Siam*. They say that it is a Diversion in its Nature truly royal; and from their Account of it the Reader will be probably of the same Opinion. The Ground originally encompassed, say they, is in Extent near twenty Leagues; and this is bounded by a double Row of Fires, which burn all Night. At each Fire, that is to say, at the Distance of about ten Yards, there are two Men posted with Pikes; and the intervening Space is filled up by Elephants trained to War, and small Pieces of Cannon. When the Hunting begins, a Body of armed Men enter the inclosed Space, and by Degrees proceed to frighten the wild Beasts. The Fire, the Elephants, and the small Pieces of Cannon, gradually advance, till such time as they are very near the wild Elephants; and then they begin to attack them with their Lances. When one of them is surrounded and taken, the War Elephants, which are trained for this Purpose, place themselves on each Side of him;

¹ This Description is taken from a Manuscript in the Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. ² This Description is taken from a Manuscript in the Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. ³ *Pliny* Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 37. ⁴ *Pliny* Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 37. ⁵ *Pliny* Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 37. ⁶ *Pliny* Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 37.

and, if he is troublesome, beat him soundly, but without wounding him; while others go behind, and push him along: Then the Men who are employed in this Hunting, fetch the Remainer; in like manner tie them with Ropes; and, mounting them, force them along to a Post, to which they are fastened, till, by Hunger, they are made as tame as Sheep. At this hunting they took twenty. The King of Siam, then reigning, had revived this Method of hunting Elephants, was present himself, mounted on an Elephant of War, and gave his Orders. The Embassadors were informed by his Prime Minister, that this Prince had at this time two thousand Elephants of War, and forty-five thousand Men, in his Service.

Father *Tachard*, who was of this Embassy, tells us farther, that there was a kind of Amphitheatre, which was built in the Form of a long Square, walled on every Side, and a convenient Terrace on the Top, on which the Spectators were placed. On the Inside, there was a kind of Paddock, composed of large wooden Pillars, fixed in the Earth, at the Distance of about two Feet one from another; behind which the Huntsmen retired, when pursued by the enraged Beast. A large Extent of Ground was taken in towards the Country, and over-again it, near the City, a smaller Part; at the End of which there was a long Passage, so narrow that an Elephant could not pass thro' it without Difficulty; which led into a Court where the Elephants were tamed. On the Day appointed for the Chase, the Huntsmen entered the Woods, mounted on female Elephants, properly trained to the Sport, being themselves covered, as not to be seen by the wild Elephants. When they were to far advanced in the Forest, as that they judged them selves near the Haunts of those wild Beasts, they made the female Elephants roar; to which the Males never failed to answer with a most dreadful Noise: By which the Huntsmen judging of the Distance they were from them, began to return, and, leading the Females gently towards the Amphitheatre, the wild Elephants followed them very peaceably, till they entered within the Inclosure, and the Barrier behind them was shut.

The Females continued their March thro' the Amphitheatre, and entered, one after another, the narrow Passage on the opposite Side. The wild Elephant, at the Entrance of that Passage, stopped; and then they put in Practice every Method to force him forward, by making the female Elephants that were on the other Side cry, while the Huntsmen in the Amphitheatre pushed the Elephant forward with loud Cries; and when he turned upon them, they took Shelter behind the Pillars. At last, having got him to the Entrance of the Passage, one ran before him; and the wild Elephant following with all imaginable Fury, his Passage was presently stopped by two sliding Barriers that were let fall, one before, the other behind him. The Animal finding himself in this Situation, not able to get either forward or backward, made prodigious Efforts, and set up a hideous Cry. They then endeavoured to pacify him, by throwing Buckets of Water over him, rubbing him with Leaves, and wetting his Ears with Oil: They likewise brought tame Elephants, both Male and Female, who caressed and made touch of him with their Trunks.

In the mean time, they fastened Ropes under his Belly, and to his hinder Legs: Then an Officer mounted on an Elephant trained for that Purpose, advanced and retired several Times thro' the Passage, to show the wild one how he might come out; and the Barrier before him being removed, he readily followed the other Elephant to the End of the Passage. As soon as he came to the Entrance of the little Paddock, they fastened him, by the Help of the Ropes, to two of the Pillars that waited for him, one on each Side. Another marched before him, and pulled him along by a Rope, while a fourth, that was behind, thrust him on, by pushing him with his Head, till they brought him to a great Post, fixed like the Capstern of a Ship: There they left him till the next Day, to cool himself; and while he was turning round this Pillar, came a *braceman*, dressed in white, mounted on a tame Elephant, who gently sprinkled him with a kind of consecrated Wa-

ter out of a gold Vessel; by which Ceremony they fancy the Elephant is deprived of his Fierceness, and rendered fit for Service. The Day following he went with the rest, and in a Fortnight's Time was quite tame.

The Elephant, tho' the largest of all Beasts, some of them being twenty Feet in Compass, is extremely docile, very industrious, and his Sense is much superior to a Beast, that it seems in some Measure to approach human Reason. It is very certain, that this Creature is capable of Fidelity, deep Affection, and Gratitude; and that to such a Degree, as to be extremely afflicted on the Loss of its Governor: But this Passion rises to a surprising Height, if by any Accident he injures his Keeper; which sometimes falls out, when the Creature is seized with that kind of Fury, which its Species is subject. The Compassion and Tenderness of its Nature appears in various Circumstances: The Loss of its Companion distresses the Elephant more than any thing; for it is reported, that it never makes a second Choice. In some Countries they had a Custom of taking Elephants, by digging deep Pits, and covering them with Hurdles, strewed with Leaves. If a female Elephant beheld her Young one thus caught, she would throw herself into the same Pit, there to remain, at the Hazard of her Life and Liberty. In a Word, she never abandoned it in any Danger, but would rather suffer herself to be killed. In passing a River, the carried it on the Trunk, if the River was fordable; but if they were obliged to swim, the young one passed first, before the Water was raised by the Entrance of so many Creatures of so tall Size, the Elephants going usually in an Herd. If at any time they found one of their own Species wounded in the Woods, they took all imaginable Care to favour and relieve it, by bringing Food to the Place where it lay, and such Remedies as might contribute to its Cure: In a spite of all their Endeavours, it died, they found means to inter and cover it with Leaves, that the Body might not be exposed, and torn to Pieces by wild Beasts.

When they were tamed, they were taught to know the Approach of the Kings, as if they meant to advance, after the Fashion of the East. Some Princes had more than twenty of them belonging to their private Use, which, in their Turns, did Duty before their Temples, and a time of Battle defended them with the utmost Zeal. Some Writers of the Life of *Alexander* agree, that the Elephant on which *Porus* was mounted, took incredible Care of its Prince, sitting him safely down when he was wounded, drawing the Darts out of his Body with its Trunk; and then, gently replacing him in his Seat, carried him safely back to his Quarters. The Reader will observe, that we do not deliver these Facts as either certain or credible: We mention them only as related by ancient Authors, and leave the rest to his own Judgment.

Aelian, in his History of Animals, mentions several Things very curious and remarkable as to these Creatures: He tells us, with respect to their Fidelity, that a young *Indian* Lord, having caught a small white Elephant, brought it up with the utmost Tenderness, and was exceedingly beloved by that Animal. The King of the Country, being a very extraordinary Account of the Beauty and Docility of the Beast, demanded it from its Master for his own Use; but the young Lord not being able to part with it, chose rather to fly to the Mountains. He was protected thro' by the King's Orders, where, from the Top of a Rock, he for a long time defended himself, by throwing Stones, in which he was perfectly well seconded by his Elephant; but at last the Soldiers getting up, and the young Man being much wounded, the Elephant was left alone to sustain the Combat; when the rushing Troop of her Enemies, threw some of them over the Precipice, and having put the rest to Flight, returned, took up her wounded Master, and carried him off. What a Reputation continues that Naturalist, is the Fidelity of this Beast, of the Ingratitude of some Men, who, having received in manner of Favours and Support from others, leave them at last to perish under Misfortunes, or perhaps, to complete their Fortunes, assist in their Ruin.

Journal de Voyage de Siam, p. 171. *Histoire de Siam*, l. 4. p. 248. *Asian. Hyp. Animal*, lib. 1. c. 8. *Journal de Voyage de Siam*, p. 171. *Journal de Voyage de Siam*, p. 171.

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Journal de Voyage de Siam, p. 171. *Journal de Voyage de Siam*, p. 171.

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Plutarch tells us something of the like Kind, that hap-
pened at the Time the City of Argos was taken by Storm
by Perillus: A Soldier of his, mounted on an Elephant,
and received a dangerous Wound, fell from his Back
upon the Ground. The Creature, sensible of the Accident,
lattered with his Trunk all that were about him, till he
found his Master; and then lifted him gently upon his
fore-teeth, and, returning to the Gate by which they had
entered, overturned, without Mercy, all that stood in his
Way.

But if these Creatures were valuable on account of their
Fidelity and Tractableness, they were no less serviceable
in their Courage and Strength: They were disciplined for
War, and placed either in the Front, or in one of the
Flanks, in a general Engagement; and as soon as the
Signal was given, either by the Sound of Trumpets, or
the Sight of Blood, for which Elephants have a natural
Aversion, they rushed on the Enemy with incredible
Furor, overturning whole Battalions, and spreading
Terror, Confusion, and Death, where-ever they came.
The Snell and Cry of the Elephants were enough to dis-
turb the Enemies Cavalry from fighting, the best Horses
flying on their Approach, and running out of the Field, in
steed of all that could be done to restrain them. *Cæsar* had
one in his Army, and yet it proved sufficient to pro-
cure him Victory over the *Gauls*.

The Use of these Creatures in War was common
amongst the *Perjians* and the *Syrjans*; and it was from
them the *Romans* learned the Use of them, which they im-
proved very much. Sometimes they did not truit merely
in the Force of the Elephants, but erected Towers upon
their Backs; from whence their Archers fought with great
Advantage. *Antiochus Epator*, when he invaded *Ju-
daea*, had thirty such Elephants in his Army; on each of
which there were ten Men fought in a Tower; while an *Indian*
shot before conducted the Elephant.

The *Indians* themselves used them in somewhat a dif-
ferent manner, and, perhaps, with greater Advantages than
other Nations; for they made them always the first Line
of the Army, their Foot being drawn up behind them, as
they were intrenched. There was a Space of about one
hundred Yards left, from one Elephant to another, through
which their Infantry might safely advance and retire: But
it was impossible for the Enemy to penetrate through those
Lines, in order to begin the Attack. The Elephants
of *Perus*, to the Number of two hundred, were thus
used in the front Line, when he was attacked by *Alex-
ander the Great*: And it was owing to the long Spears of
the *Macedonians*, and to the invincible Strength of their
Archers, that the Elephants could not bear them down;
which equalled the Fate of the Day: For the *Indians*, being
surprised at a Sight which they had never beheld before,
supposed that these People were invincible; and, therefore,
did not be brought to return again to the Charge, any
more than the Elephants; for it is the Nature of these
Beasts, when once beaten, to turn upon those behind
them.

The *Romans* frequently produced them in Shows,
and on their Amphitheatres. It was in the Year 655,
after the building that City, that this Spectacle appeared
for the first time. They were then opposed to Bulls; but
they were afterwards brought to fight with Men. When
Pompey, in his second Consulship, dedicated the Temple
of *Venus*, he exhibited twenty Elephants, which were to
fight against a Troop of *Gothians*, who were a People of
Scythia, equally remarkable for their natural Courage, and
for their military Skill. This Combat was very singu-
lar, and made a great Impression upon the People: For
most of the Elephants being so wounded in the Fore-feet,
that he could hardly stand, fell upon his Knees; and, run-
ning in upon the *Gothians*, tore from them their Shields,
which he threw into the Air with incredible Agility and
Alacrity, so that they fell down, without hurting any of
his sections. Another Elephant was in the Fight killed
by an Arrow which struck through his Eye into
his Brain: The Elephants, at this Sight, endeavoured to

burst through; but, being repulsed, they feared, with
heavy Mourning, to beseech the Pity of the People; who
were so much affected therewith, that, forgetting the Re-
spect due to *Pompey*, they began to cuff him, and to wish
all those Mischiefs might light upon his Head, which soon
after fell upon him. But this did not hinder *Cæsar* the
Dictator from exhibiting another Shew of Elephants,
when he brought forth twenty, which were opposed to five
hundred Foot: And finding that the People were ex-
tremely pleased with it, he again exhibited twenty Ele-
phants, with Towers upon their Backs; in each of which
were sixty Defendants: And to these he opposed not only
five hundred Foot, but as many Horses. The Emperors
Claudius and *Nero* caused single Elephants to fight with
experienced Fencers; with which the *Roman* People were
exceedingly delighted.

It is to be observed, that, with all their Force, the
Elephants are far from being cruel; so that, unless they
are provoked, they never commit any Violence. We are
told a very remarkable Passage in Support of this natural
Clemency of those Creatures, which is this: A certain
King, whose Name was *Beabus*, having destined thirty
Persons, who had offended him, to be torn to Pieces by
Elephants, they were tied to so many Posts, and the Ele-
phants turned loose upon them, with Soldiers behind, who
pricked and pushed them forward, in order to put them in
a Rage: Which, at last, they did, but to their own De-
struction; for, instead of attacking the naked and defence-
less Men, they fell upon those who injured them; and
could not, by any means, be rendered the Instruments of
this Monarch's Cruelty. It is further asserted, that, in
passing through a Flock of Sheep, they separate them into
two Lines with their Trunks, that they may march through
without treading or trampling upon them.

It is from *Pliny* also we learn, that a certain noble *Rom-
an*, whose Name was *Mutianus*, who had been three
times Consul, taught an Elephant the Knowledge of the
Greek Alphabet; in which, it is said, he wrote these
Words, by placing the Letters in their proper Order, *viz.*
This I wrote, and dedicated the Celtic Spoils. Another
gave a manifest Proof of Memory, by performing in the
Morning, perfectly, certain Lessons, which he had been
beat for not performing over Night. Almost every Ele-
phant understands so much of the *Indian Language* as con-
cerns him, or he hears from his Keeper; and so gentle they
are, that a Child of twelve or thirteen Years old may mount
and guide them as he pleases.

As extraordinary as these Stories may seem, one might
be almost tempted to believe them, considering that *Ariano*,
the most sincere, the least credulous, and by far the most
authentic Writer of the Life of *Alexander the Great*, gives
us the following Story of his own Knowledge: I have
seen, says he, an Elephant, that had two Cymbals fastened
to its Fore-legs, upon which it beat or played a regular
Air with its Trunk; while others danced about it, with
their Steps making a regular Cadence. Yet this Animal
as gentle and as quiet as he seems to be, gives sometimes
Proofs of his Memory, by revenging the Injuries he re-
ceives at some Distance of Time. One Instance of which
we have from an eminent Writer of the last Age; and
this too of his own Knowledge: He was at *Macassar*
in the Year 1658, and there saw the King's Elephant
passing quietly along, with his Driver upon his Back;
But soon after he returned alone; which surprising the
Company, they began to inquire how it happened, and
were told, that, the Day before, his Keeper had a Cocoa-
nut given him, which he threw twice at the Elephant's
Head, with all his Force, in order to break it; and, going
into the Town, when they saw him pass by, it so hap-
pened, that some People were selling Cocoa-nuts in the
Streets; and as soon as the Elephant had Sight of them,
he snatched one out of the Basket with his Trunk, and
beat it to pieces about his Rider's Head; by which he
killed him on the Spot. This, says my Reverend Author,
came of jelling with Elephants.

¹ *Antiq. Tyrsh.*

² *Plin. an. Strategem. lib. viii.*

³ *Arrian. in Indiam, cap. 14.*

⁴ *2 Macab. vi. 34.*

⁵ *Narrative's History of China Book vi. Chap. 8.*

more than the Signs or Shadows of them; which is as reasonable, as if, upon reading *Aesop's* Fables in French, which, by the way, is only a Translation of the original Writer *Iokan*, we should reproach the *Greeks* with their Folly, in believing that Birds could argue, or that Fishes have Conversation. It was in all Ages, and is to this Day, the Custom of the oriental Nations to wrap up their Wisdom, either in short Sentences or Proverbs, or in short Fables and Parables; which if, for want of sufficient Information, we cannot perfectly understand, it does not follow, either that these People believe these Stories to be true, or that they may not couch under them Truths of great Importance.

It is not at the same time to be confessed, that the Monarchs of the *Indies* sometimes carry their Passions for supposing and giving Credit to these Sort of Fables to a very great Height; of which we have an Instance, in regard to the Animal now under our Consideration; an Elephant, perfectly white, is in itself a great Curiosity, and therefore worthy of being preserved, with peculiar Care, in the Stables of Kings; but this Point is carried much farther; and, as the Reader will see, in four Voyages that follow, very long and bloody Wars have happened in this Quarter of the World on account of the *White Elephant*, the Possession of which is esteemed of so great Consequence, that it finds Place amongst, or, otherwise, comes in the end of, a Prince's Titles. In order to account for this, we are told, by such as have inquired very diligently into the Matter, that the high Priest of the *Indians* have for a while Elephants, is ground'd on a Fable related of *Ishtar* principal Idol, who is the same with *Chaac, Saca*, or *Ishtar*, as he is called by the *Juggesees*, and about whom there is a great and important Service. They say, that *Ishtar* was eight hundred years, in different species, before he was born of a Woman; and that, when he was born, he was nursed through his Mother's sides, through which he gnawed with his Teeth. The Truth is, *Ishtar* was a Sorcerer, who persuaded People of any thing he pleased; his Mother, being big of him, dreamt, that a white Serpent came through her Mouth: Hence it is, that his Elephants are held in Veneration in *India, China, Siam, Pegu, Java, and Pegu*, where they are served in a noble and Nobleman of great Distinction visit them in great Cities, and pay them the same Honour as to Kings. Yet a Man would be exceedingly mistaken, who should from hence conceive, that these Stories are really believed by Kings; the contrary of which is to true, that the *Indians* themselves make no Difficulty of acknowledging to any intelligent Person, that talks to them on the Subject, that all these are Fables, invented at Pleasure, and only to amuse the common People, and keep them from guessing what their Betters do not think it fit for them to understand.

It is now time to leave the Elephant; with respect to which, however, it would be very easy to assemble twice as many curious Relations; But, before we quit it, it will not be amiss to give the Reader a few Particulars about this wonderful Creature, which may be depended upon, and serve, in many respects, to settle his Opinion with regard to the Facts before related. The largest and finest Elephant in the World are those of the Island of *Ceylon*; next to them, those of the Continent of *India*; and, lastly, the Elephant of *Africa*. The Moors, who deal in these Creatures throughout all the *Indies*, have a fixed Price for them, if found and brought. They measure them in the Neck on one of his fore Feet, to the Top of his Shoulder; and for every Cubit he is high, they give a hundred Pardoes, which is, in our Money, about 100*l*. An Elephant of the largest Size, is nine Cubits, or thirteen Feet and a half high; so that the largest Elephant is worth about good, unless he be of the *Ceylon* Breed, for then he will fetch four times that Sum.

The female Elephant goes sixteen or eighteen Months with her Young; which, when brought forth, is as big as

a Calf; They are fifty or sixty Years old before they come to their full Strength, or are fit to have Towers upon their Backs, or Coaches, both as are used in *Cochin China*, where Elephants carry in both Machines twelve Persons, behind him who rules the Elephant, and sits before upon the Shoulders, and a Boy, who belongs to him, and sits upon the Elephant's hinder Part, and who, if the Reader pleases, may be called, the Coachman and Passenger. As to the Age of these Creatures, nothing can be said with Certainty. If we could depend upon what we are told by *Platostratus*, in his Life of *Alexander the Great*, we should believe, that this great Traveller saw the very Elephant upon which *Porus* rode in the Battle he fought against *Alexander the Great*, with two Hoops of Gold on his Teeth, signifying, that *Alexander*, in Election of his Fidelity, had consecrated him to the Sun. At this rate, that Elephant must have been above four hundred Years of Age. That they live but between two and three hundred Years, is not only affirmed by the best Authors of Antiquity, but also by such as are best acquainted with them in the *Indies*; and that they are in full Vigour at much above a hundred, is very certainly known.

They feed, when will, upon Grass, or on the green Boughs of Trees; when they cannot get these, they will eat Roots; if they can get into Corn-fields, they commit terrible Ravages: When time they will eat almost any thing, but are particularly fond of Sugar-canes, or whatever else is sweet; they will likewise drink Wine or Ale; and it is observed, that, when they drink Water, they first stir, and make it thick, with their Feet: The Reason generally assigned for this is, that they hate to see their own Figure in the Water, which is a mere Fancy; and the true Cause, that the Gravel and small Stones which they swallow by this Means, may help to digest their Food; which is likewise practised by Geese, Ducks, and other Water-fowl, but is the more necessary to the Elephant, because this Creature is very much troubled with Indigestion and the Colic.

The famous *Sir Thomas Brown* enforces the Antient, for supposing that the Elephant slept standing; and yet the Fact is really so; and, which is more extraordinary, they shake their Heads continually while they sleep. *Sir Thomas* was, however, thus far right, that this does not proceed from their being unable to lie down, because in Places where they are wild, the Print of them is frequently seen upon the Grass. In all Parts of *India*, but in *China* especially, they make use of almost every Part of this Animal in Medicine. The Broth, made of his Flesh, is excellent for a Looseness; and the Flesh burned, becomes a Specific for the Flux of Urine. The Gall is very good for the Lues; and the Humour of the Elephant's Eye, mixed with Bread-milk, is also held a most excellent Ophthalmic. They likewise use the Gall to take away an offensive Breath. A Powder, made of the Affes of the Skin, burnt, and mixed with Oil, is an excellent Balsam for green Wounds; and the Bone at the Pit of the Stomach, powdered, is a noble Stomachic. I shall speak, in another Place, of the Use and Value of the Elephants Teeth, but it may not be amiss to observe here, that in the *Indies* they reckon three Sorts of Ivory; the best, that which is taken out of the Mouth of the Beast immediately after it is killed; the second sort, when the Teeth are taken out of the Head of an Elephant that has died a natural Death; and the third or worst Sort, what is found in the Woods, where the Elephants have shed or lost their Teeth. The Pace of an Elephant is equal in Speed to that of a Horse on full Trot, and they will travel at this Rate some Hours. The most cautious of our modern Travellers justify to the full what *Pliny* says of this Creature, and what *Cicero* had said before him, that no Animal seems to approach by its Actions, so near to the Reason of Man as this.

The Rhinoceros, next to the Elephant, has been always esteemed the most extraordinary Animal in the *Indies*, both with respect to Size and to Shape. This Creature is com-

Journal de Trévoux, 1705, p. 425. *Ind.*
Platostratus, lib. 1, cap. 21. *Animatum emium* *maxima*
Phil. nat., lib. 8, cap. 21. *Elephantus* *belluorum* *maximorum* *pendentes*. *Deorum* *Natura*, lib. 1.

mon in the Isle of Java, as also in the Kingdoms of *Bengala* and *Patala*. There is scarce any Creature more frequently mentioned by antient Writers than this; and yet there are very few that have been so imperfectly described. I shall pass by the Sentiments of some learned Men, who conceive this to be the Unicorn of the Scriptures: I say, I shall pass them by, because I do not see how the Question can ever be decided; only thus much seems to be certain, that the Unicorn is there mentioned for his Strength, and for his Strength lying in his Horn, which is exactly true of the Rhinoceros. *Pliny*, who is so fond of Wonders, and so copious in his Recital of most of them, is very short in his Description of this Animal, not having vouchsafed us as many Lines upon the Subject, as he has written Chapters upon the Elephant. All he tells us of it amounts to this, that *Pompey*, in his Shews, exhibited, among other strange Beasts, a Rhinoceros, with one Horn, and no more, and that in his Snout. This, continues he, is by Nature a dreadful Enemy to the Elephant; and, by rubbing his Horn against hard Stones, makes it to very sharp, that he is able to pierce with it the Belly of that Creature; at which Part he aims, because it is tenderer than the rest. In point of Description, he tells us, that he is full as long as the Elephant, but that his Legs are shorter, and his Skin of the Colour of Box. *Aelian*, who insists to largely upon other Animals that are very common, did not think it necessary to describe the Rhinoceros, because all the World has seen it at *Rome*, in the Shews given by the Emperors for the Amusement of the People. *Strabo* is as short in this Description as *Pliny*; though he tells us, that he had seen this Creature at *Alexandria*, and cites *Artemidorus* on the same Subject. *Dion Cassius* contents himself with observing, that this Animal had never been seen at *Rome* before the Triumph of *Augustus*, in which he contradicts *Pliny*.

It would be to no Purpose to collect a great Number of Citations, unless we could meet with some that were larger and fuller in the Description of this Animal; and, therefore, it is necessary, in order to give the Reader a tolerable Idea of it, to have recourse to the Moderns. *Boninus* has described it in his excellent Work, and so has *Father Le Conte*; and, as they agree perfectly well, I shall only relate what we are told by the latter. The Rhinoceros, says he, is one of the most extraordinary Animals in the World: He seems to me to resemble, in many Respects, the wild Boar, except, that he is much bigger, has shorter Legs, and a heavier Body. His Skin is entirely covered with large and thick Scales of a dark Colour, and excessively hard. They are divided into little Squares or Buttons, which arise somewhat above the Skin in a manner not much unlike those of the Crocodile. It is by this means that its Legs seem to be inclosed in a kind of Boots, and its Head wrapped up behind in a sort of Hood or Capuchin; for which Reason the *Portuguese* call this Creature the Monk of the *Indies*. Its Head is very large, but its Mouth is not very big; its Snout long, and armed with a large Horn, which renders it extremely terrible even to Tygers, Buffaloes, and Elephants. But what seems to be the most wonderful in this Animal is its Tongue, which Nature has covered with a Membrane so tough and strong, that in Effect it differs nothing from a File, so that he tears his Prey to pieces barely by licking it. As we see some Animals that delight in feeding on Thistles, the little Points of which, by pricking the Extremities of the Nerves in their Tongues, afford them an agreeable Sensation, so the Rhinoceros feeds with the greatest Pleasure on the Branches of such Trees as are thick set with the toughest and strongest Thorns. I have myself often given this Creature Twigs of such Trees as were thick-set with Briars that were exceedingly sharp and strong; and have been amazed to see how greedily, and with what Address, he chewed and fed upon them, without being at all incommoded by their Points. It is true, that sometimes his Mouth is a little bloody, but that serves only to render the Taste of his Food more agreeable; and

has apparently no other Effect on his Tongue, or Taste, than Salt and Pepper on ours. Some other Authors, as to this Description, that he has under his fore Legs a kind of very ugly loose Skin, that hangs down over his Body of a Texture not unlike that of the Wings of a Bat, which all together, must render this Creature equally fugitive and disagreeable.

The ingenious *Mr. Kolben*, in his excellent Account of the Cape of *Good Hope*, has given us a still more accurate Description of the Rhinoceros; and, indeed, by comparing it with all that I have met with on this Subject, I am thoroughly satisfied, that it is more clear, more diligent, and more agreeable to Truth, because the Author seems to have had more Attention, and less Curiosity, than other Writers. Its Skin, says he, is without Hair, or other Covering; but is of itself so thick and hard, that even the most sharp pointed Knife will hardly pierce it. Painters generally represent this Creature with its Skin full of Scratches and Scabs, that, at a Distance, the most very well taken for Scales, especially as they frequently run over and across each other. His Nose, or Snout, is not unlike that of an Hog; on the End of which he has a Horn of a dark-brown Colour, which, without ceasing by the continual Use he makes of it, is bent back towards his Head, so that in some measure resembles a Pig's snout. This Horn is of very different Sizes, according to the Age of the Animal; but, in Length, never exceeds two Feet. It has another Horn a little above the upper one, towards the Front of its Head, which is of a yellow Colour, but small in a young Rhinoceros, and in an old one, does not exceed six Inches at most. In Figure it resembles a Blow cut in half; the Cavity is directed towards the Head: This lesser Horn hinders the larger from doing all the Mischief that it otherwise might do. His Ears are less, and his Limbs shorter than those of the Elephant: His Eyes are exceedingly small, and it seems to strain straight forward; which is the Reason, that when it pursues its Prey, it is always in a straight Line, fore-seeing, and throwing up, whatever it meets with in its Passage, so that neither Bush, Tree, Thicket, or Hedge, can ever oblige it to quit its Path. With the Horn upon its Nose he tears up Trees by the Roots, throws some of them in his Way over his Head to a great Distance, and with a prodigious Noise. When he is angry, he will frequently to obstruct him, and in a Rage, he will kick, trample in the ground, and throw, from time to time, large Quantities of Earth over his Head. His Grunt is very much like that of an Hog, and not very loud; but, if he is in Pursuit of his Prey, he makes a terrible Noise as may be heard at a great Distance; and he is very dreadful to all kinds of Beasts, by the Sound of it in the utmost Fear.

9. The principal Food of the Rhinoceros are Bushes, Shrubs, Boughs of Trees, and other things of that Nature: For though this Creature be a Beast of Prey, yet one of the most terrible in this Part of the World, yet is both able to subsist, and does subsist for a great part together, without feeding on Flesh. What the Antient report, of the Rhinoceros having a natural Antipathy to the Elephant, is strictly true; and they never meet in the Woods but it is fatal to the latter, if it does not find the Rhinoceros time enough to make its Escape; for the Elephant places all its Safety in Flight; and, if once attacked, is scarce able to make any Defence through Fear. It is very seldom that the Rhinoceros attacks a Man, or that ever, unless he happens to be distressed in Rest; a Case, in which he has a mortal Aversion. When he comes upon the Man whom he pursues, he lifts him by the Neck with his Horn, and throws him directly over his Head with such Force, that he never fails of striking him dead. When he comes to devour him, which he does by licking off the Flesh from the Bones with his Tongue, it is the manner that he destroys other Animals. But, however terrible and however swift, this terrible Creature may be, yet it

* Number xxiii. 2. God brought them out of Egypt. He hath, as it were, the Strength of an Unicorn.

Lib. xv. p. 734.

Lib. ii. p. 450.

Museum Ind. lib. xv.

Memories de la Chine.

Cap. de la terre d'Effraim, p. 11. c. 1.

Johnston's Treat. Animal. tom. ii. p. 26.

Museum de France, vol. i. lib. 1. c. 1.

far from being difficult to avoid it, provided a Man has a tolerable Pretence of Mind; for the Rhinoceros seeing only straight forward, and turning being very troublesome, making twice or thrice out of the Road, is sufficient to escape all Danger: For the Creature very rarely turns back, or changes his Path, but destroys, without Mercy, whatever he finds in it.

The general Name of this Creature, in the *Indes*, is *Asala*; and in *Persia*, it is called *Kerkeden*, much esteemed for the Virtues of its Horn: And therefore, notwithstanding the Danger of the Exercise, industriously hunted by the Natives of the Country, who, when they are so lucky as to kill it, suffer nothing to be lost, but apply every Part of it to some Use or other. The Flesh is said to be hard and stringy, but, in other respects, wholesome and well-tasted; so that the *Asiatics* eat it readily, and think it no contemptible Venison.

The Horn is extremely precious, and fills at a great Rate, from the Property it is supposed to have, of discharging Poison: The Fact is universally believed in the *Indes*, and a Man would be as much laughed at there for counting it, as he would be here for believing it: Yet some Writers of unquestionable Credit, have asserted the Truth of this from their own Knowledge, particularly Mr. *Kalher*, who assures us, that, at the Cape of *Good Hope*, they make Cups of this Horn, which are finely acorned with Gold or Silver; and that, upon pouring Wine into them, a great Ebullition follows; but, if there be any Poison mixed with the Wine, the Cup infallibly breaks, as it also does, if the Poison be put in unmixed. The Experiment, we are told, has been made so frequently, and with such constant Success, that Thousands of Persons settled at the Cape of *Good Hope*, might be produced, as Witnesses to the Truth of it.

For my own Part, I must confess, that I think it almost as difficult to believe, that Mr. *Kalher* himself, or any other Writer of Reputation, should endeavour to impose upon Mankind by such a Report, as there was no Truth in it, as to believe the Fact. I therefore incline to think, that the Relation is only delivered in too general Terms; and that, instead of asserting, that this Horn breaks, on the pouring into a Cup made of it any kind of Poison, an Inquiry ought to be made, what sort of Poison really breaks it: For I very much suspect, that if we knew what kind of Poison it is, we should be able to account for it from natural Causes: And I am the rather led to this Opinion, from what the same Author tells us, of the boiling or boiling of Wine, when poured into the same Cup.

To the *Indians* therefore, that, in splitting the Horn, they discern, on each Side, the Figure of a Man, marked out by little white Spots; as also Birds of several Kind; as we see in *Egyptian* Pebbles: But, without doubt, this is the Effect of a very strong Fancy, with regard to both. It is, however, highly probable, that, as it serves to raise the Face of its composure, it also serves to support its Credit; for the more Wonders are reported of any thing, the more readily the common People believe them. In the *Island of Java*, where there are many of these Creatures, they are much valued, and the Virtues of their Horns in the highest Esteem; so that when they are sent to be cured, they always order a Person to hold by, to collect the Savings, that no Part may be lost: For of this sort of Horn, they give a certain Quantity, filled with Water, or in other, for Convulsions, Fainting fits, and other Diseases that proceed from Disorders in the Nerves. The Blood likewise, of this Animal, is held to be extremely medicinal: And therefore, when it can be got fresh, they let it drop into a Cup made of the Rhinoceros's Horn, in the Sun, till it grows so hard, when they press it in a Battle cloth-Bag, for the following Uses: They conceive it to be a Specific for Obstructions, and, at the same time, admirable for making and confirming broken Veins; but, above all, it is held an infallible Cure for the Spitting of Blood. The manner of taking it is, by mixing a few Grains of the Horn with a Dish of Tea or Coffee.

It is also certain, that, on the first coming of the *Eu-*

ropeans into these Countries, they found the People universally persuaded of the Efficacy of these Drugs: And we are told by the famous *John Hugo Linfoboten*, one of the most candid Writers on this Subject, that in *Bengal* the Rhinoceros Horn was sold at a very high Price. He tells us likewise some other Circumstances, that deserve to be mentioned: 'These Horns, says he, are much valued throughout all *India*, as effectual Remedies against Venom and Poison; for which, likewise, the Teeth, Claws, Flesh, Skin, Blood, Urine, and Dung, of this Animal, are likewise much valued: And that this is not an idle Notion, but an Opinion founded in Truth, I can, from my own Experience, attest. There is, however, one thing, which is to be remembered, that all these Horns are not of equal Value and Price, because all of them are not of equal Goodness; for some will sell for 200 or 300 Pardoes, while others of the same Size and Colour will not fetch above three or four Pardoes. The Reason which the Natives assign for this Difference, is their feeding in different Places; for they believe, that the Virtue of the Horn is derived from the Herbs by which the Creature is nourished; and therefore, they have almost an equal Esteem for the Horns of the wild Goats that feed in the same Places.'

I shall conclude this Account with the Relation of *Father Berni*, in his Account of *Cochin-China*, as to the Hunting of the *Asala*, which, however, he describes as covered over with Scales; tho' this might, perhaps, arise, from his seeing him only at a Distance. His Account is curious; and therefore I shall give it in the Author's own Words, the rather because it not only confirms many things before related, but furnishes us also with some Particulars that are new. 'When I was at *Nacozan*, a City in the Province of *Panacmiti*, says he, the Governor went out to hunt a Rhinoceros, that was in a Wood near our Dwelling-place: He had with him above an hundred Men, some on Foot, and some on Horseback; and eight or ten Elephants. The Rhinoceros came out of the Wood; and, seeing so many Enemies, was so far from giving any Tokens of Fear, that it bravely encountered them all, who opened and making a Lane, let the Rhinoceros run through, till it came to the Rear, where the Governor was mounted on his Elephant, waiting to kill it. The Elephant endeavoured to lay hold with his Trunk, but could not, by reason of the Rhinoceros's Swiftnes: And leaping, to wound the Elephant with its Horn, the Governor knowing it could receive no Hurt, by reason of the Scales, unless they struck it on the Side, waited till leaping it laid open the naked Place; and, casting a Dart, dexterously struck it thro', from Side to Side; with great Applause, and Satisfaction of all the Multitude of Spectators, who, without any more to do, laid it upon a great Pile of Wood, and setting Fire to it, leapt and danced about, while the Scales were burning, and Flesh roasting; cutting Pieces as it roasted, and eating them. Of the Entrails, that is, the Heart, Liver, and Brain, they made a more dainty Dish, and gave it to the Governor, who was upon a Riding ground, diverting himself with their Merriment. As I was present at the taking of this Creature, I obtained from the Governor the Hoofs; which I esteemed not inferior to his Horn: And this is thought as effectual in expelling Poison, as that of the Unicorn.' This seems to countenance my Sentiment, that these Horns, as Alacis, may serve as Remedies for a certain kind of Poisons.

The Lion, of which to many extraordinary Stories are told us by the Antients, is also a Native of the *Indies*, and more common there than in any other Part of the World, except *Lilya*. The Lion of the true Kind, of full Size, and with a flowing Mane of yellow Hair, is by all Authors acknowledged to be, at once, the most majestic, and the most dreadful Sight, that is furnished by the Animal Creation. The Lioness has no Mane; her Tails are shorter and wider; and she has more Ferociousness, and less Dignity in her Countenance, than the Lion.



from the life



phant

... at London ... London ... Heredit. Biblioth. Orient. p. 659. ...

It is positively insisted on, both by *Aristotle* and *Pliny*, that the Bones of the Lion are much firmer, and more solid than those of any other Beast; which some Moderns have denied: But such as have had the best Opportunities of inquiring into, and being satisfied as to the Matter of Fact, assure us, that the Antients are in the right; and that the Cavity in the Leg-bones of a Lion is not larger than those of a Tobacco-pipe; so that when they are suffered to lie and dry in the Sun, that Cavity is intirely filled up; and they become so smooth, so strong, and perfectly united, that they will strike Fire like Flints. When he falls upon his Prey, he first brings it to the Ground, and then beats its Breath out with his Paw, before he tears or eats it; and generally accompanies this Death-stroke with a loud Roar.

Their Strength is prodigious, and much beyond their Size; which is the Reason, that other Beasts fly at the Sight of them. We are told by *Pliny*, that they never prey upon Men, till they become very old, and cannot provide themselves with other Food; in which time of Distress, they watch about the Skirts of Villages, and even of great Towns, that they may catch and devour such as come out carelessly in a Morning, or are returning in an Evening.

The Romans thought there was something ominous in the manner in which Lions were introduced into their Amphitheatres. *Sylla* the Dictator exhibited one hundred Lions, which fought all at once. After him *Pompey* exposed six hundred; and his Competitor, *Julius Caesar*, exposed four hundred. All which, the Romans observed, happened in Times when their Liberty was declining. But what contributed to spread this Notion the most of all, was the Contrivance of *Mark Antony*, who, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, caused himself to be drawn through Rome in a Chariot, to which two Lions were yoked, at the same time that there sat with him one *Cyberis* an Actress, his favourite Mistress, before he became acquainted with *Cleopatra*. This, says *Pliny*, seemed to portend, that Men of high Spirit, and noble Courage should be tamed, and brought into Subjection to such as were only remarkable for their Pride and Luxury: And for my Part, continues he, I consider the very Sight of so monstrous a Spectacle, as none of the least of the Calamities of these unhappy Times.

It was not at Rome only, that such Notions prevailed; the Carthaginians seem also to have had the same Sentiments; for when *Hanno*, who was one of their most excellent Citizens, and greatest Generals, had found a Way to tame a Lion, so that he stroked and handled him like a Dog, they took Occasion from thence to drive him into Banishment, believing that the Liberties of a People could not be safe, where that Man had any Power, who had Skill enough to alter the Nature of the fiercest Beast, and make him tame and gentle as a Spaniel.

It is very doubtful, whether there be any Truth in what is reported of the Lions bringing forth but five times in her Life, and having at first five Whelps, then four, and the last time but one: Neither is there much Credit due to what is said, of their living to a great Age; since we know, by Experience, that they are not a very long-lived Animal. But with respect to its Magnanimity, and disdain to eat such as approach in an humble and suppliant manner, it is affirmed as well by modern Travellers, as the Writers of Antiquity: And it is on all hands agreed, that if this Beast does not lash himself with his Tail, or set up his Mane, a Man may safely go by him.

There are a kind of Lions that have no Manes, but are smooth like the Lions: These are said to be a mongrel Breed between the Leopard and the Lions. As to the Antipathy between the Lion and the Cock, and the former's flying, if he hear the latter crow, it is no better than a Fable; of which there are more related of this, than almost any other Animal. And, in Truth, one cannot but wonder how so grave a Writer as *Pliny* could bring himself to set down so many improbable Stories as he did, upon this Subject; which as they could only serve to tire, without instructing the Reader, I think it best to omit. The

Flesh of this Animal is often eaten, is not at all unpleasing, and is not known to prove unwholesome; but, whatever any Part of this Creature be of any Use in Physick, I am not able to say.

12. The Tyger is justly reported by the Antients one of the fiercest, swiftest, and strongest of all wild Beasts. Other Animals, of which we have hitherto spoken, are found in several Countries besides the Indies; but the true Tyger is, in a manner, peculiar to that Part of the World. They differ from the Leopard in Size, and in Shape; for the Tyger is much bigger, having yellow Spots that are very round, with black Hair about them; whereas the Leopard is spotted with black, almost in the Shape of Horse-hoofs. The Female, which is called the Tigress, is even fiercer than the Male, as appears from what *Pliny* tells us of the Manner in which the Huntsmen catch their young ones in those Times. They provided themselves, says he, with a very swift Horse, on which one of the boldest went in Search of the Tyger's Den, while the rest remained with their Boat by the River-side. When he who was on Horseback had an Opportunity, by the absence of their Dam, he carried away the Whelps, and rode as hard as he was able to join his Companions; but the Tygers, mistaking her Young, frequently came up with the Huntsman before he reached the River-side, who, as soon as he found himself in Danger, dropped one of the Whelps, which the Tygers taking up, and carrying back to her Den, gave him Time to escape with the rest to his Companions, who immediately quitted the Place with great Expedition. This Story shews the quick Sense and prodigious Speed, of this Creature; of which, however, *Pliny* does not give us any particular Description.

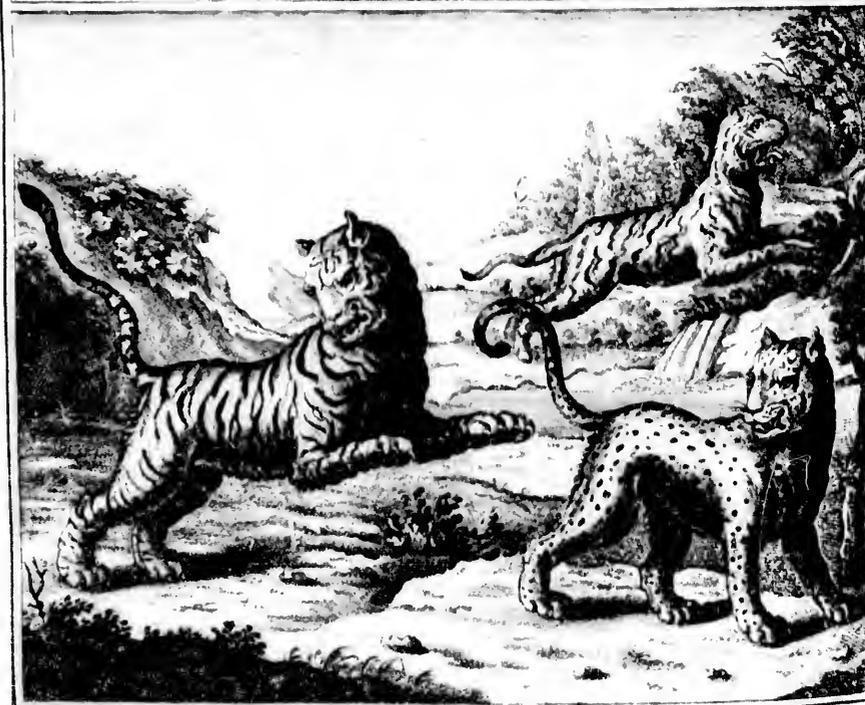
By comparing, however, the several Accounts we have of this Creature in modern Travels, it appears that their Eyes are wonderful bright and shining, their Nostrils and strong, their Teeth and Claws prodigiously long, their tabby Skins of a beautiful Colour, and their hair short and glossy. The Kingdom of Malabar, and others, the most famous for these Animals, I will not distinguish these three Sorts: The first is an animal larger than a wild Cat, makes a frightful Noise, resembling the Lowing of a Cow, and does a great deal of Mischief; the second Sort, which is most common, is of the Size of a small Calf, wonderfully brisk and active, and very cruelly cruel. The third is called the Tiger, and is very near as big as a Horse, for the Skin of one of them will serve for a Coverd for a Bed six Foot long; and for this they are much used in the Indies. The Cubs of all the Species of this Creature are very valuable, and in the Indies, and in Europe. They are used to make Hats for Beds and Palankins; and here for Horse-drawers, and for lining Cloaths in the Winter, especially in the North.

As the Lion never eats any Creature till it is dead, so the Tyger tears his Prey to Pieces, while it is living; and if he meets by chance with a dead Stag, or Horse, he will not touch them: But if, at any time, he comes with a Herd or Flock, where they have a Right of Cattle at their Mercy, they seldom eat them, but content themselves with sucking their Blood; by which it is incredible what Havocs they make. A Lion Tyger, and two of the young ones, have been seen to destroy upwards of an hundred Sheep in a Night, in this manner: They generally lie in hollows, or in Bushes or Hedges, in an inclosed Country, where they leap at once, with almost incredible Force, whatever passes by. Neither are they at all afraid of Man, but, whenever they have an Opportunity, they generally in the Middle, carry them into the Woods, where they tear them to pieces, and devour them. The Flesh of this Creature is remarkably white in the East; some have eat it as if it were as delicate as a Veal, and much better tasted: And the Hebrew Tyger is said to be as tender and sweet as that of Lyons.

The Antients report, that Tygers of a name were wont to carry a certain Number of Bitches with

Pliny lib. 8. cap. 20. lib. 9. cap. 17. *Aristotle* lib. 4. c. 1. *Pliny* lib. 8. cap. 20. lib. 9. cap. 17. *Aristotle* lib. 4. c. 1. *Pliny* lib. 8. cap. 20. lib. 9. cap. 17. *Aristotle* lib. 4. c. 1.

A Lion & Lionsess as describ'd by most accurate Writers on a Natural History - 1687. Pa. 465. 1687.



A Tiger Tigress & Leopard common in most of the Deserts of India.

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Woods, where the Tygers frequented, and there left them
 and Trees. By this Contrivance they obtained a Specie
 of Dogs so fierce and Strong, that they were not afraid
 of attacking even a Lion: And it was of this Breed
 that *Scythia*, an *Indian* King, presented some to *Alexander*
 the Great; of which we have a particular Account in the
 History of *Diadorus Siculus*. *Alexander*, having a mind to
 make an Experiment of their Strength and Courage, let
 loose a large Lion upon two of them, which not being
 able to manage him, he ordered two other Dogs to be let
 go: The Lion, being surrounded by these four, was
 very soon over-powered; upon which the *Indian* King
 sent a Person with a Sword, who cut off the Right Thigh
 of one of the Dogs by little and little; and, in spite of all
 the Pain he endured, the Dog neither howled, nor let go;
 but held the Lion fast, till he fell down dead. The Num-
 ber of these Creatures, given to *Alexander* by this *Indian*
 Prince, was one hundred and fifty, which that Hero
 esteemed a very valuable Present.

A *Dutch* Traveller informs us, that in the Kingdom of
Congo the Tygers seldom or never attack white Men;
 and, as a Proof of it, he tells us, that when he was there,
 a Tyger surprized a white Man and a Black afsleep, and
 immediately tore the Negro to-pieces, but left the White
 untouched: And we have the same thing asserted by other
 Writers, but, I think, without any good Grounds, farther
 than as it may be supposed, that the Tygers are better ac-
 quainted with the Blacks in those Countries; and, therefore,
 may be more apt to attack a Prey they have been used
 to.

In the Voyages of *Walter Scaboten* we have a very cu-
 rious Account of these Creatures; and, as that *Dutch*
 Writer is highly esteemed for his strict Regard to Truth,
 the Reader will not, probably, be displeas'd with the Tran-
 slation of what he has given us upon this Subject. 'It
 is very true, says he, that the Tyger thinks as much af-
 ter human blood, as after that of Beasts. He catches
 a Man exactly as a Cat does a Mouse, and carries him
 off with as much Ease. At the first Leap he Ricks his
 fore Paws into the Shoulders, or, rather, a little below
 them; and, having brought the Man down, he strikes
 his Teeth, on both Sides, through his Ribs. One may
 very well say, that a Man is lost, upon whom a Tyger
 sets his Eyes: The Sight of them, and the being at-
 tacked, are, in a manner, instantaneous; so that the
 Fight, and the being past all Flight, is over in two or
 three Minutes. The Defarts of *Bengal* are somewhat
 less dangerous in the Light than in the Dark; for then
 the Tygers quit their Thickets and Caverns, and come
 even into Houses and Villages, where they seize any
 they find abroad, and tear them to-pieces. They have
 even the Boldness to attack Men on Horseback; as
 also the largest and strongest Buffaloes of that Country,
 which are of an extraordinary Size: They, generally,
 leap upon their Shoulders, and tear them to pieces in an
 instant; some Instances of which happened while we
 were there. It is looked upon as a Thing certain among
 the *Indians*, that the Tyger and Rhinoceros live in great
 Harmony together. There are many of both Sorts of
 these Creatures in the Woods of *Bengal*, and it is never
 known, that they attack each other. The Reason which
 the *Indians* give for this is very singular: They say that
 Tygers, after gorging themselves with the Fleth of
 Men or Beasts, grow extremely sick, and find Relief by
 eating the Dung of the Rhinoceros, which, as it feeds
 chiefly upon green Herbs, that are of great Virtue, they
 are still very wholesome, even when they have passed
 through his Body; of which they appear to be very
 thoroughly persuaded, since they frequently make use
 of the same Medicine themselves.' The same Writer
 tells us, that in this Part of the *Indies* they are forced
 to travel in Company, for fear of these merciless Cre-
 atures; and that their Dogs, when they hear the Cry of
 them in the Woods, tremble, and sweat in a most tur-
 bulent Manner. The People, however, at certain
 Seasons of the Year, assemble in great Numbers to

hunt the Tygers, and carry along with them several of
 their Conjurers, who pretend to enchant them; which
 is, at once, a strong Proof both of their Folly and their
 Fear. There are a smaller Sort of Tygers in *Africa*,
 and, it is said, in *America*; but it is very doubtful whe-
 ther the latter are at all of the same Species: And, as to
 the former, though they are very fierce, and do infinite
 Mischief, especially in the *Dutch* Settlements, near the
Cape of Good Hope, yet they are far below the Size of
 an *Indian* Tyger, and are only equal at most to the second
 Sort. This Difference is occasioned, in all Probability,
 by some Mixture in the Breed; for it appears plainly, by
 comparing the Accounts of antient Writers with those of
 modern Travellers, that it was the large *Indian* Tyger
 was known to the former, and not the smaller Sorts,
 which, if then existing, were called by other Names.

13. The Leopard and Panther are the Male and Fe-
 male of the same Species, which, though not equal in
 Size, is very little inferior in Strength, to the Lion, and
 not at all less malicious. It is not, however, very
 common for them to attack Men, at least if they are not
 under the Necessity of doing it; for, in that Case, there is
 no Creature bolder. The Skins of these Animals were
 much valued by the Antients, on account of the Beauty
 and Regularity of their Spots, which, as I before observed,
 were small, and of a semicircular Figure, not unlike an
 Half moon: But on the Shoulder they were supposed
 to have a larger Mark, which not only resembled, but
 was in a manner governed by the Moon, increasing as the
 disk, and decreasing likewise in the same manner; having
 now blunt Points, now sharp, and sometimes a complete
 Orb, like the Full Moon. One would find it more diffi-
 cult to believe, that such Opinions as these would gain
 Credit with Men of Learning and Sense, if there were
 not Instances, even in our Days, of as ridiculous No-
 tions prevailing with Men who pretend to follow no other
 Lights than those of Reason and Experience.

The Antients tell us, that these Creatures had a very
 singular way of hunting. They derive from Nature a
 kind of musky Smell, which being agreeable to Deer,
 Goats, and other Animals, they were wont to frequent
 the Haunts of the Panthers, till at the Sight of her fierce
 Countenance they were frighted, and fled; which this Cre-
 ature observing, she contrived to hide herself behind the
 Bushes, that, when these Animals were attracted by her
 Smell, she might leap on them at once; by which Meth-
 od she easily surprized them. The *Indians* hunt them
 very audaciously, as well for their Fleth, which they esteem
 very wholesome as well as savoury, as for the sake of taking
 their Young, which they breed up tame, and then present
 them to their Kings, who breed them up for hunting;
 and find them not only superior to any kind of Dogs in
 Swiftness and Strength, but in Fidelity also; for they
 constantly bring back what they take without tearing it:
 And, even to this Day, it is found, that they make use
 of the same Method of enticing their Prey that has been
 before described from the Antients. The *Arabians* call
 this Creature *Beber*; the *Turks*, *Joz*; and the *Tartars*,
Jem: But the general Name of them through the East,
 is *Pars*, which is a *Persian* Word; and it signifies, also,
 the Country of *Persia*, properly so called: And hence it
 is, that the *Persian*, who has the Care of these Creatures
 that are kept for the hunting of the Grand Signor, is cal-
 led *Parfisi*: And so jealous they are in the *Indies* of this
 kind of Sport, that no private Man is permitted to hunt
 with Leopards.

When the Panther has young ones, it is reported, that
 the Leopard, though much stronger, will not defend him-
 self against her, but suffers himself to be very ill treated,
 till the young ones are grown up, and able to shift for
 themselves. It is certain, that, however fierce in their Na-
 ture, the Panthers are extremely tender of their Whelps;
 of which *Pliny* gives us a very singular Instance. A
 Panther, by some Accident or other, had her whole Lit-
 ter tumbled into a deep Pit, out of which she was not able
 to deliver them. In this Distress she went to the next

¹ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ² *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ³ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ⁴ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ⁵ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ⁶ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ⁷ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ⁸ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ⁹ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49. ¹⁰ *Pliny*, lib. vii. cap. 49.

Highway, in hopes of finding some Passenger, that might be kind enough to assist her. The first who came by, was the Father of *Philostratus* the Philosopher; about whom the Panther played and tricked, without offering to hurt him. The Man would willingly have escaped from her Carcases, but found it impossible. At last he lay down at his Feet, and seemed to benoan herself; and then taking hold of his Robe, led him gently to the Place where her Offspring lay: By which discovering the Cause of this Change in the Nature of the Beast, he descended into the Pit, and reached up her young ones. When the Whelps were once in Safety, they fell to leaping and playing with their Dam, who, in Company with her young ones, led their Benefactor safely out of the Wilderness.

There are many strange Things reported by the Antients, as to the Amours between the Leopard and the Lioness. The latter, they say, is exceedingly prone to the Company of the former; and fearing that the Lion should detect her Infidelity by the strong Smell of the Leopard, she keeps, for some time, at a Distance from her Consort; but, when she finds herself pregnant, she deserts him entirely, and retires to the Haunts of the Leopard; because, when the Lion finds her young ones spotted, he tears the spurious Breed to pieces, and chastises the Lioness herself severely. In the Travels of *Apollonius Tyanicus*, we meet with many Instances of the Tenderness of Panthers to their Young, and of their Gentleness and Fidelity. *Philostratus* informs us, that from their natural Wantonness the Panthers were held sacred to, and Symbols of, *Bacchus*; but other Authors ascribe this to their Love of Wine, in which they differ extremely from other Beasts. But, whatever the Cause might be, the Fact is certain, that they were held sacred to that Divinity; and that the Chariot of *Bacchus* is frequently represented as drawn by Leopards: But as it is sometimes neither drawn nor attended by Tygers, I am inclined to think, that both were used for the same Reason, viz. to shew that he was the Conqueror of the *Indies*, where these Creatures naturally reside; if there was not a moral Reason for this Representation, which might be intended to shew, that even the heretofore most intractable Natures were softened and civilized by the Charms of social Mirth.

There was an old Law at *Rome*, which forbid the bringing any of these Species into *Italy*; but for what Reason it was made, or why they were more afraid of those than of other wild Creatures, does not appear. However, when *Cneus Aufidius* was Tribune of the People, he procured a Licence, notwithstanding this Law, to bring over Leopards for the *Greenish Games*. *Scorus* was the first Man, who in his *Fidelity* exhibited one hundred and fifty Leopards. *Pompey the Great* exceeded this very far; for he produced four hundred and ten. But, at the Dedication of the Temple of *Marcellus*, *Augustus* exhibited to the People four hundred and twenty Leopards, and a tame Leopard in a Cage, which was never seen before. But the Emperor *Claudius* produced four tame Leopards at once.

But this is now thought no extraordinary thing; for, in the *Indies*, they tame even those of the largest and fiercest Kind, and keep them in their Fables, where they feed as freely and as quietly as Dogs. As to the Age to which these Creatures attain, we meet with nothing certain, either in old Authors, or in new; but it is probable, that as in other respects they resemble, so in their Age they come near the Lion, which is not observed to enjoy a very long Life. Some report, that the Tygers and Leopards mingle; which may be true in *Africa*, but such Conjunctions are not frequently observed in the *Indies*. It may not be amiss to add, that in hunting with these Beasts, when tame, they fit on the Croup of the Huntsman's Horse, with their Eyes covered; and the Game is roused; and then they are let go.

14. The Camel is, at once, as useful and as remarkable a Creature as any that has been yet mentioned; nor is there one that makes a greater Figure in the Works of the An-

tients, who seem to have considered it with greater Attention; and therefore speak of it more accurately than of almost any other Animal in this Part of the World. The Camel is cloven-footed, hath a large fleshy Bunch on his Back, which is peculiar to the Species, another lesser Bunch on the bending of each Knee, which appears to be of Use in supporting his Body: His Tail is like that of an Ass in Shape, but has four Knots in it, like that of the Cow.

This is the Description of *Aristotle*; but a *Change Water* that I have before cited, gives us, in my Judgment, a much better Picture of a Camel: And, therefore, I will submit it to the Reader's Inspection: "This Creature, first he, is a kind of Ship by Land; for he transports vast Quantities of Goods from one Country to another, in a short Space of Time, at small Cost, since he eats little, and scarce ever drinks in his Passage. His Form is singular, and not so beautiful as his Qualities are valuable; for in the Neck and Fore-part of him he is made most like a Sheep. In his Body he resembles a Horse: His Back and Hind-limbs are peculiar to his Species; for scarce any other Creature has any Resemblance to him therein. Nature has furnished this Animal with a Palate, to which Thistles, and such-like harsh Food, are most agreeable, two Stomachs admirably contrived for Digestion, and so fitted, as to receive a Quantity of Water sufficient to maintain his dry Food for many Days. Besides this, he derives from the same bounteous Hand, two Quantities, that the Sagacity of Man could never reach; or by his Sense distinguishes Springs, how deep soever they be: And whoever digs where a Camel stoops, will never find finding Water, let the Soil seem ever to upspring. Their second Property is, to elude venomous and hurring Winds, which fly twofold, and are most in a Moment: A little while before they come, the Camels run together, cry, and hide their Noses in the Lumps; but as soon as they are past, they lift up their heads, and continue their Journey."

Aristotle asserts, that they go twelve Months, and not bring forth more than one Foal. *Pliny* either copies him, or is of the same Opinion: But *Suetonius* holds, that they go but ten Months complete, and bring forth in the beginning of the eleventh. According to *Aristotle*, they are very private in their Copulation, retiring into unrequited Shades, and remaining there whole Days; at which times they are very furious. At other times they are very gentle and tractable Creature, understand their Disrespectfully, and, instead of a Whip, are quickered in their Pace either by a Pipe, or the Driver's Whistling.

Indeed all Authors agree, that, next to the Elephant, they are of all Animals the most gregarious: They sleep like them, to receive their Burdens, and at such times they have their accustomed Load. But, with respect to their very vindictive; and, if beaten, bear Malice long time; and, whenever they have an Opportunity, are full of taking Revenge. The *Arabians*, who are best acquainted with them, reckon two sorts of Camels; the first is called *Hegen*, which are the larger and the strongest; and will carry a thousand or twelve hundred Weights; and Bicks been almost flat. The second are called *Bedouins*; they are less, and cannot carry above half the Load. There are two Lumps upon their Backs; the lower and the *Perfians* make the same Distinction, though by the use of other Terms, for they call the larger of them Camels, because bred, for the most part, in the Desert of *Tartary*: The lesser they call *Sattum*; Camels.

It is certain, that they will travel four or five Days without Water, and some say much longer; and they are pretty round Pace, and at the Rate of thirty or thirty-five a Day, which they will continue, if Occasion require, for thirty or forty Days together. They are very voracious Animals; so that if at any time they are full, they will devour without making the least Resistance, any Quantity of this Creature, as well as of the Leopard, which theyables the Water before it drinks, and will not touch it

the same Reason singular, which and yet it feeds and, perhaps, of an Advantage to

The Smell of the *Cyrus* gains of *Lidia*; for, Superiority in over-against their Scent, than As in the Age *Aristotle* asserts Years; but *Pliny* often approaches, then Writers later.

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The Camel let, as of the singly well may be depre that there ca-ture of this. They tell us, first, it is ac- place its large ly furnish a We-tan time; and all hand in the late. This, tually, the C- though it re- sion as it feels and will not.

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* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. c. 17.* * *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. c. 17.* * *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. c. 17.*
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the same Reason. In one respect this Creature is very singular, which is in having no Teeth in its upper Jaw, and yet it feeds without any Inconvenience from hence; and, perhaps, the want of Teeth is, in some Cases, rather an Advantage to it.

The Smell of this Animal is so disagreeable to Horses, that they will not endure it; and, by the Knowledge of this *Cyrus* gained a complete Victory over *Craesus*, King of *Lidia*; for, knowing the other trusted much to his Superiority in Cavalry, *Cyrus* posted a Body of Camels over-against them, and the Horses no sooner perceived their Scent, than they fell into Confusion, and ran away*. As to the Age of this Creature Authors are much divided. *Agellie* asserts, that they do not live much above fifty Years; but *Pliny* says, that if they escape Accidents, they often approach, and sometimes reach, an hundred[†]. Modern Writers agree rather with the former than the latter.

There are few Creatures that are in all respects so valuable, for, besides the Services they render by Carriage, their Hair, which they shed every Year, is extremely valuable; for of this Hair, Camblers, and other Manufactures, are wrought; and the very Urine of the Beast yields a considerable Profit, since of that the true Sal Armoniac is made. The Lump on the Back is most of it; which, when melted, becomes an Ointment of excellent Use in dissolving hard Swellings, and in curing all Sorts of Pains in the Limbs, from whatever Cause. The Flesh is well-tailed, and the Broth much used by the *Chinês* in almatic Cafes: The Milk of the Camel is thinner, and therefore esteemed more wholesome, than any other, especially in Consumptions. Of the Dung dried a kind of Snuff is made, which is said to cure Bleeding at the Nose.

The received Opinion amongst the Antients, that the Camel preserved Water in its Stomach, has been ridiculed by some of the Moderns as equally foolish and false; but others assert, that, on Dissection, there appear four Ventricles, capable of holding a considerable Quantity of Water, with Holes into the Stomach, by which it is supposed this Creature forces the Water, contained in them, to mix with the dry Food that is in its Stomach, by holding its Breath. It is, on the other Side, asserted, that, in *Arabia*, there are a Race of Camels that never drink at all, but are supplied with Moisture from the Grass, and Tops of green Trees, on which they feed; but, with respect to this, I cannot pretend to decide, desiring only to report fairly such Facts as I have met with.

The Camel is as much the Theme of Modern Travellers, as of the ancient Naturalists, and they agree exceedingly well in their Descriptions with the former; so that we have all the Reason in the World to believe, that both may be depended on. The modern Travellers observe, that there cannot be any thing better suited than the Nature of this Animal to the Commerce of the *Indies*. They tell us, that from the very time the Camel is brought forth, it is accustomed to Burdens; that they take care to place its Legs in their proper Posture under it, and then lay such a Weight upon it as keeps it in that State for a certain time; and, by repeating this Method, they beget such a Habit in the Beast, as renders it tractable and obedient for Life. This appears to be the more necessary, because, naturally, the Camel has a great Degree of Obstinacy; and, though it readily kneels to receive its usual Load, yet, as soon as it feels that Weight upon its Back, it rises at once, and will not suffer any Augmentation[‡].

The Capacity of this Creature to bear Hunger and Fatigue, is very extraordinary; and the Moderns assert more upon this Head than the Antients. We are particularly told, by a Writer eminent for his Candour, that a Camel, on a Piece of Salt, will go forty two Days without eating; during which time, they are so furious, and so mischievous, that there is no going near them, and therefore they take Care to lead them to Places where they can do no hurt. Some assert, that this Creature is enabled to fast longer

than any other, by a sort of gradual Consumption in his own Body, which supplies, for a certain time, to the Stomach, what should be derived from Food; but then it weakens him exceedingly, insomuch that a strong Camel, after the Fit of Lust is over, is scarce able to sustain a tenth Part of his usual Load[§].

These Animals are at all times very sober Feeders, so that they are able to subsist on a very little Matter, which enables them to perform such prodigious Journeys, as, for the Convenience of Commerce, they are put upon all over the East; so that it is visibly the Wisdom of Providence, that destined this Creature to be the Native of Countries where such a Beast was absolutely necessary for the Service of the Inhabitants; and it may be regarded as an additional Proof of this, that the *African* Camel, which fares harder, and has still greater and more uncouth Journeys to take, is larger, stronger, and capable of carrying heavier Burdens, than the Camels of *Asia*. The Moderns have likewise discovered some medicinal Virtues in the Camel, which do not appear to have been known to the Antients: As for Instance; that the Brain of it, when dried, is in a manner a Specific for the Falling Sickness; that its Urine is an excellent Preservative for the Teeth and Gums; and that its Dung is capable of resolving white Swellings, and is an excellent Cure for green Wounds[¶]. It is no wonder, therefore, that the *Arabs* account their Camels their greatest Wealth; and it is the clearest Proof of their Firmness in their Customs, that they are not, in this respect, at all changed from what they were in the Days of *Arystan*, who affirms, that some of them were possessed of 3000 of these Animals^{**}.

15. The Dromedary is, in the Opinion of all the Naturalists, a Species of the Camel; and, though it be weaker, and less capable of carrying Burdens, yet, in other respects, it is of no less Use. Instead of one large Bunch on its Back, as the Camel has, the Dromedary has two Lumps of Fat, so disposed, that the Vacancy between them is a kind of natural Saddle; and, as they are lighter made than the Camel, and serve only to carry a Passenger, so they go much easier, and at a much greater Rate; for whereas the Camel has a shuffling uneasy Pace, in which it goes at the Rate of ten Leagues a-day, or thereabouts; the Dromedary has a regular, brisk, and not very uneasy Trot, in which it will, without Difficulty, perform a Journey of forty Leagues in a Day. The Feet of this Creature are observed to be as soft as a Sponge, so that they are not hurt either by Stones or Sand, but travel on much at the same Rate, let the Road be what it will; they kneel to receive their Riders, as the Camel does for his Load, and rise as soon as a Man is fixed upon their Back^{††}.

They are likewise capable of fasting hard, and will endure Thrust for four or five Days, but are not able to bear altogether so much Fatigue as the Camel. The *Arabians* call them *Ragualil*, or *Elmahari*; and the strongest and best are bred in the Northern Countries: They make use of them in the *Indies* for going Post, and Expresses frequently perform a Journey of eight hundred Miles upon them in the Space of a Week. There is one thing very singular in these Animals, which is, that they go much better, and have greater Spirits in hot Weather, than if there be any Wind stirring; and it is observed, that the slightest Breeze makes them sluggish and lazy^{‡‡}.

We have in the Memoires of the Royal Academy of Sciences a very curious Paper in relation to this Creature; it consists in the Account given by the *Persian* Ambassador to Mr. *Constance*, who, from being a Servant in an *English* Factory, became first Minister to the King of *Siam*; and who, at the Request of Missionaries, took upon him to inquire of that Ambassador what he knew in relation to the Dromedary, which is hardly known to the *Strangers*. He told him, that they were brought originally from *Tuokshan*, which is the only Part of *Asia* where they are bred in Perfection; that they were very much esteemed in *Persia*, on account of their carrying a

* *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *Pliny*, l. viii. c. 18. *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*
† *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*
‡ *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*
§ *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*
¶ *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*
** *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*
†† *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*
‡‡ *Agellie* Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26. *de Part.*

much easier than the Camel, by their having two Bunches on their Backs. That, however, these Bunches were not made by any Irregularity of the Spine, which was as flat and even under them as in any other Part of the Back; but that they were a kind of glandulous Substances, about six Inches in Height. He added, that, as to the common Report of their having a Supply of fresh Water in their Stomachs, which, in extreme Necessity, Travellers sometimes were forced to have recourse to in the Deserts for the saving of their Lives, it was absolutely a Fable, without the least Foundation.

The famous *Shah Iben*, who governed the *Indian Empire* with so much Reputation, contrived a Method, by which he made the *Dromedaries* extremely useful to him in time of War; which was a thing unthought of by any of his Predecessors, because they are a torpid Animal, and cannot be brought to charge like a Horse: But this Emperour made them useful in another way: A Rebellion broke out near the City of *Agra* in his Absence, on a Supposition, that it was impossible for him to march back again before the Rebels had assembled Forces enough to make themselves Masters of his Capital. He was no sooner informed of this, than he mounted 12,000 of his choicest Troops upon *Dromedaries*, and, in the Space of nine Days, made a March of seven hundred Miles; which so astonished the Rebels, when they heard that the Emperour was within a few Miles of them, that they dispersed without a Blow, and he had the Honour of suppressing, by the Quickness of his Invention, an Insurrection, that, if the Chiefs of it had gained time to have executed their Purposes, might possibly have deprived him of the Government; for it was afterwards known, that some of the Generals of his Army had secret Intigues with the Malecontents; but this sudden Victory, gained by the Swiftness of his *Dromedaries*, disappointed them entirely, and obliged them to lay aside their Design.

16. The *Guaife*, or *Camelopardus*, as it is called by the Antients, was a Creature better known to them than it is to us. According to the Accounts they give us of it, it resembled the Camel only in its Head and Neck, which it carried more upright; and had from thence a bolder and a fiercer Aspect. The Hair was either red mixed with white, or white mixed with red. It was of the Height of a Horse, and shaggy like it in the Chest; but towards the Reins it was so slender, as to be more like the Ape than any other Creature. All that *Pliny* tells us of it is, that the *Ethiopi*ans called it *Nabis*, and that the first time it was seen at *Rome*, was when the *Circenian* Games were exhibited by *Cæsar* the Dictator. Since that time, says he, this Creature comes now and then to *Rome*, more to be gazed on for the Singularity of its Appearance, than for any Savageness in its Nature; of which, says he, it has so little, that I can stile it a wild Sheep.

The celebrated *Panchymerus*, who was at *Constantinople* when one of these was brought thither, in the Reign of the Emperour *Michael Palæologus*, towards the Cloze of the thirteenth Century, gives us a larger Description of it than is any where to be met with, and therefore I shall transcribe it; the rather because this is an Author not frequently cited. The *Guaife*, says he, is an Animal so rare, and so wonderful, that I have thought it not improper to insert a Description of it, to refresh the Memories of such as saw it, and to make it known to such as, perhaps, have not heard of it before. It is of the Bigness of an Ass, its Colour white, spotted like a Panther, but with red. Its Shape resembles that of those Camels which have a Rising in their Back from their Tails to their Shoulders: Its Fore legs are longer than its Hinder ones; its Neck slender like that of a Crane, with a small Head, shaped like that of a Camel; the Belly white; and a broad Streak of Black down its Back, from the Neck to the Tail, its Legs exceedingly thin, and its Hoofs cloven, like those of the Deer. It was so gentle, that it suffered itself to be touched, and even to be guided, by a Child. The Food of this Animal was Herbs, Meal, and Barley. When attacked, it does not defend itself with its Hoofs, as Horses do, nor with

Horns like Oxen; nor with Tusks, like the wild Boar; nor with its Nails, as Cats; but with its Teeth, which, however, are not very sharp, and serve rather to repell an Injury than to revenge it: Nay, even these Teeth have nothing in them venomous, like those of most other Animals. This Creature was brought from *Ethiopia*, and presented to the Emperour, who ordered it to be led thro' the principal Streets of the City, for several Days, for the Diversion of his Subjects. This is a clear and plain Description from an Eye-witness; so that there is not the least Reason to suspect, as some have done, that this is an imaginary Animal, and a Creature that never had Existence in Nature. I do not indeed pretend to deny, that some such imaginary Animals are to be met with in the Writings of the Antients: On the contrary, I shall give some Instances of this kind hereafter. At present, I think it better to present the Reader with another Description, from an Eye-witness likewise: But it will be necessary to premise, in the first Place, that the Author I am now going to quote, was certainly mistaken as to his Fact; for the Creatures he mentions could not be those described by *Pliny*, and by the Author I have before cited; whose Description agrees very well with what *Pliny* says of them.

Belonius describes them thus: I saw, says he, a Couple of them at *Grand Cairo*, each having two little Horns in the Forehead, about five Inches long; between which appeared a Bunch, like a third Horn, about two Inches high: From the Tail to the Crown of the Head, was about eighteen Feet: His Legs were much of a Length before and behind; but the Upper-joint, or Shoulder-bone, was much longer than the Thigh: His Back sloped, like the Ridge of a Houle; his whole Body firm, strong, in Colour, that of a Deer; but sprinkled all over with large square Spots. His Feet were cloven, like those of an Ox; his Upper-lip hanging over the under: His Tail slender, indifferently thin of Hair, and tufted at the End, his Mane like that of a Horse: And he hopped in moving, first on the right Leg, and then on the left: When he eat, drank, or took any thing from the Ground, he stretched out his Fore-foot, for otherwise they would have hindered him. His Tongue, as *Josephus* writes, is two Feet in Length, of a dark red Colour, long and round like an Elm; which he gathers Herbs, Leaves, and Grains into his Mouth, with wonderful Dexterity.

There is, without doubt, a very wide Difference between these Descriptions, inasmuch that I very much doubt whether they belong to the same Animal: But the Question is, which most resembles the *Camelopardus* of the Antients: And I must confess, that, in my Opinion, it is the first; at least it is certain, that this is the Creature which is called a *Guaife* in the *Indies*, and is frequently found in the Woods of *Bengal*: As for the Creature which *Belonius* saw at *Cairo*, it is an Animal common enough in *Ethiopia*, and is described by *Tadler Alphonso Mendez* under the Name of *Strutho-camelus*, that is, the *Gibbered Camel*, because, says he, it resembles, in its Shape, the *Gibbered*: But this Creature is allowed by all who have seen it to be the tallest Animal to the World: For, though much heavier, it is higher than an Elephant. Its fore Legs are commonly twelve Hands high, so that a Man on Horseback can pass under their Belly, as many who have seen them in *Ethiopia*, positively assert. But it can scarce be believed, that if this Creature had been ever seen at *Rome* by such a Writer as *Pliny*, he would have given us so short and dry a Description of it as that above-mentioned, when it must have been infinitely a greater Curiosity than any that had ever been seen there.

On the other hand, it is very clear, that *Panchymerus* saw the very Creature that *Pliny* describes; and, therefore, we have good Reason to believe, that the Creature *Belonius* saw were by him only stiled *Guaife*, as Mr. *Tadler*, in his History of *Ethiopia*, blames *Francis Mendez* very much for calling the Creature he saw *Strutho-camelus*, and not *Camelopardus*, or *Camelopardus*, which is the Word used by *Pliny*. The Amount of all this Reasoning is no

¹ *Hist. de l'Inde*
Tome *Ethiop. Relation*

² *Plin. Hist. lib. 10. c. 8.*
³ *Relation de P. Le Roy, tom. 1. p. 292.*

⁴ *Panchymerus Hist. lib. 10. c. 4.*

⁵ *Belon. Observat. lib. 10.*

⁶ *Ibid.*



1. THE CAMEL.
2. THE DROMEDARY.



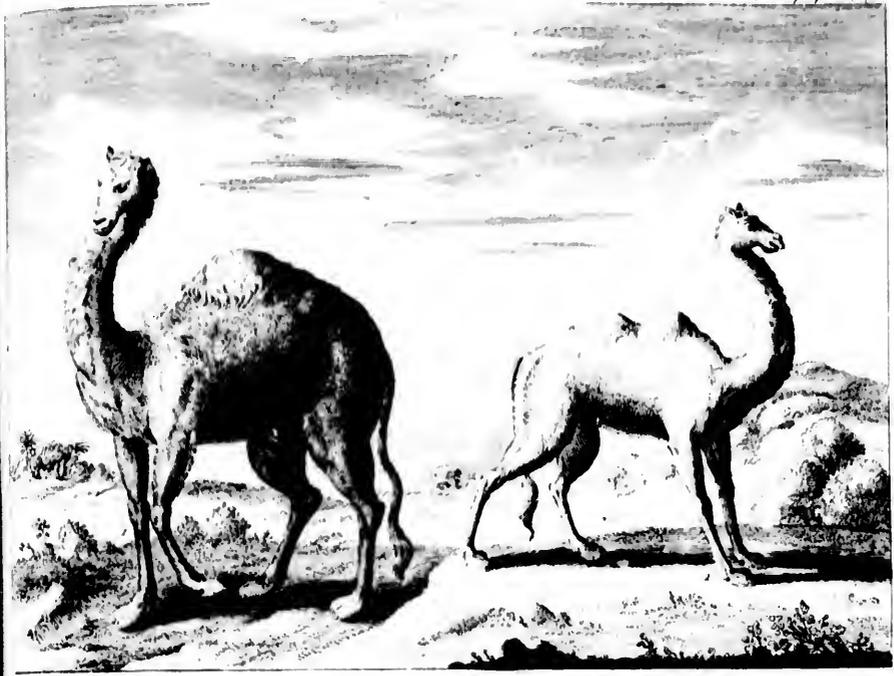
3. THE WILD AS.

Book I.

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1 The CAMEL call'd by the Arabians *HEGEN* used for carrying great Burthens through the *Deserts*.
 2 The DROMEDARY which the Arabs call *BOCHET* used for sending *expresses* because of its swiftness.

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1 The WILD ASS or as some Writers call this Creature the *ZEBRA*; 2 The GIRAFFE or CAMELOPARDUS of *Ancient*
 3 The *MANICORA* of *CTESIAS*.

Chap. II

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Chap. II
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Isaac who, being
 in the Woods, wh

more, than to shew, that we are in much greater Danger of being imposed on by the Criticisms of the Moderns, than by either the Credulity or the Negligence of the Antients; for, before we can accuse *Pliny* of having passed slightly over to extraordinary a Creature as this *Ethiopian Giraffe* is supposed to be, we must first be sure, that this was really the Creature he saw; whereas, I think, I have made it more than probable, that it was not: All, if there be, as it is certain there is, a Creature called a *Giraffe*, or *Giraffa*, in the *Indies*, which agrees exactly with the Description of the Animal seen at *Constantinople* between four and five hundred Years ago, and which was then allowed to be the *Giraffe* of the Antients, I cannot apprehend why we should not admit this to be the Creature mentioned by *Pliny*, which involves us neither in Absurdity nor Contradiction, rather than agree with *Bellonius* and *Ladef*, in supposing this prodigious Animal, which *Father Monard*, and many other Travellers, have seen in *Ethiopia*, to be the *Camelopardus* of the Antients; though it does not, in any respect, agree with the Descriptions they have given of this Creature.

18. The wild *As*, as we find it described by the Antients, is undoubtedly an imaginary Creature; and the very Description of it, is, in a manner, a sufficient Proof. *Cassius* tells us, that it is of the Size of a Horse; that it has a fine white Front, and on it a Horn, of the Length of a Cubit; the Upper part of which is red, and the lower black: The Head of a purple Colour, the Eye of a bright Blue, and the Body white, but streaked with several Colours, and the Coat of a most exquisite Beauty. When first pursued by the Hunters, it does not move at a very great Rate; but increasing its Speed by degrees, it flies, at last, with such prodigious Swiftness, that no Horse can come near it. The only Method of taking it, is by watching when it goes into the Meadows to feed its Young; of which it is so tender, that it will never abandon them, however distressed; it exposes itself, in their Defence, to all Dangers, with a most desperate Courage, combating the Hunters both with its Horn and Heels, till, in the End being stuck full of Darts, it dies through Loss of Blood: The *Indians*, as soon as it falls, cut off its Horn and its Hoofs, which are of the most bright and beautiful Red; and next, seizing the young ones, they carry them home, and breed them up tame. Experience having taught them, that if this Creature once attains its full Strength, which it does in about two Years, it is impossible, by any Art, to conquer the Swiftness of its Nature. As *Cassius* resided at the *Persian* Court, and wrote all his Account of the *Indies* from Hearsay, we need not wonder that he fell into such Mistakes: Neither is it at all improbable, that some of these Vermilion Horns and Hoofs, which were dyed of this Colour by Art, might be carried to the *Persian* Court; and this Story of the wild *As* invented to make them sell at a dear Rate; since many Instances might be given of Frauds of the like Nature, practised with the same View, in regard to other Commodities.

This Story, however improbable, seems to have kept its Ground for a long time, since *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indians* killed only one Horn; and that no other Creature, that did not divide the Hoof, had Pattern Bones. But he gives us no distinct Description of this Animal. The several Histories speak much of the wild *As*s, and acknowledge it to be the swiftest and most beautiful of all four-footed Animals. In the old *Persian* Language, this Creature was called *Cur*, or *Gour*. And *Babar*, one of the ancient Kings of that Country was surnamed *Babar*, *Cur*, though Authors do not well agree as to the Reason. Some report, that it was because he once shot, when he was hunting, a Lion, and a wild *As*, that were fighting, with the same Arrow: But others affirm, that it was be-

cause he delighted much in the hunting of these Animals, and was at last killed by one of them. The Circumstances however, of this Creature's fighting with a Lion, is very singular, and shews the Opinion entertained in the East of the Courage and Strength of the wild *As*s. We may add to this another Proof of the same Nature, viz. that one, indeed the last of the *Khaliffs*, of the *Omniades*, was called *Mervan Hemar*,⁴ or *Mervan* the *As*, (for the *Arabs* used the Word *Hemar* both for a wild and tame *As*) on account of his great Courage and Strength. This singular Animal is not, however, particularly described by any who have travelled in the *Indies*. But it is also a Native of various Countries in *Africa*. And this affords us an Opportunity of obliging the Reader with an exact Description and Print of it, from an Author of unquestionable Credit. He describes it thus:

The wild *As* is one of the loveliest Animals I have ever seen; he is of the Size of an ordinary Saddle-Horse; his Limbs finely turned, and well proportioned; his Coat very soft, and close; from his Mane to his Tail there runs a large black List, from whence proceed abundance of Streaks, which, falling regularly down on both Sides, meet under his Belly; these Streaks are of different Colours, some white, some yellow, others of a Chestnut, which are blended and mixed on their Sides, so as to strike the Eye exceedingly by their beautiful Mixture: The Head and the Ears are in like manner streaked with very beautiful Colours: The Hair of his Mane and Tail, for the most part, either white or of a Chestnut-colour, with a small Intermixture of Yellow. This Creature is so swift, that no Horse can come near him; so that it is with infinite Difficulty he is overtaken; and whenever they are so lucky as to catch one, it is sold at a very extravagant Rate.

*Father Yellex*⁵ informs us, that the Great *Mogul* gave two thousand Ducats for one of them. Abundance of them have been taken at the Cape of *Good Hope* to tame them, but to no purpose; though they have been taken very young: And it is reported, that, of all Creatures in the World, it has the strongest and most ungovernable Passion for Liberty. The Reader, after reading this Description, which agrees exactly with that given us by another Traveller of great Reputation, will ask why it is called an *As*? and the only Answer that can be given is, that, with all its Beauty, it has the long and large Ears of that Animal, from whence it derives its Name. *Mr. Ludolf* complains of this most heavily, and wishes that, to free the Animal from this Disgrace, it might have its Ears cut off. We owe to this Writer another remarkable Proof of the Beauty and Value of this Creature; who informs us, that an *Abissinian* Ambassador at *Batavia* having made a Present of one of them to the *Dutch* Governor-General of the *Indies*; he, by the next Ship, sent it to the Emperor of *Japan*; who was so charmed with it, that he made the Company Returns in Money and in rich Silks, to the Value one hundred and sixty thousand Crowns.

Mr. Thevenot tells us, that he saw one in its Passage through *Egypt*, which was a Present to the Grand Signor; and was so exquisitely beautiful, that he could not help suspecting there was some Art used in colouring its Coat; for which, however, there does not appear to be any just Foundation. Some of our old Travellers to the *Indies* report, that, near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, the Natives shewed them abundance of Horns, which they asserted to be the Horns of wild *As*s: Whence it appears, that the Author first-mentioned did not invent the Story he tells us concerning them. There is a very extraordinary Creature, not only described, but expressed in a wooden *Cur*, by *Purchas*: He tells us, that it is bred in the Kingdom of *Congo*, and is there called *Zebra*. It is, says he, of all Creatures the most comely, resembling an

¹ *Circum Indica*, c. 25. *Asian de Animal. lib. iv. c. 52.* *Josephus*, *Animal. lib. ii. p. 14.*

² *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

³ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

⁴ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

⁵ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

⁶ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

⁷ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

⁸ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

⁹ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

¹⁰ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

¹¹ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

¹² *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

¹³ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

¹⁴ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

¹⁵ *Pliny N. H. lib. viii. c. 21.*

INDIES.

our lower World. They made use of
fables, or rather of Parables, that were
express their Notions about Things that
fall under the Cognizance of the human
will, therefore, appear dark and con-
fused, and by Men of great
with the utmost Care, and by Men of great
Abilities. In Points that more nearly
they were explicit enough. They taught
that as the World had a Beginning,
it must have an End, and that by Fire.
They taught, that all Countries produced
something, and that by Fire, for
making their Inhabitants happy,
Men ought rather to contract their
Wishes, than to augment the Inconveniencies,
than augment the Inconveniencies, to
be content with what Nature, in
Nature is subject, by desiring what is
Lands. As to Spiritual Beings, they
divided them into three Classes, Angels,
Demons, and Devils. They taught
that the first were perfectly good, the
second were perfectly evil, and the
third capable of both, and that by
Death, because they fled from the
the highest Degree of which they to
separation of the Spirit from the Body,
with the Angels.

The Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*
was common with all the Eastern Philosophers,
and it seems to have been this: That
whatever grew, or had any Faculties
with Spirit, from whence they infer
were the Cases of Spirits, or rather
were confined to, they purged or pur-
so purchased their own Redemption,
cycle they built their Doctrine of
because they thought that all An-
discovered, and that in this especially,
serviceable to Men, rendered those Spirits
pure, had yet Principles of Good
a worse Kind being thrust into the Body,
which, therefore, they permitted to
who were not of their Sect or Class:
that in proportion as Men heighten
animal Faculties in this Life, they shed
that is to say, such as gratified their
into Beasts; and such as cultivated
Mind, rose, by degrees, through
Mankind, till, in the End, they mer-
from Body, and were received into
Angels.

Such, as far as I am able to gather
us by the Artians, were the Opinions
who taught Philosophy. Another
were, who had their Studies principally
of Policy, or the Laws and Constitution
it was to them that, in critical Con-
addressed their Lives for their Advice,
were not at Liberty to act in Dis-
Times the Monarch had not the Power
as he desired to consult, but was
Grove where they resided, and when
to comply with their Ceremonies a-
by laying aside all Marks of Grandeur,
Herb, Fruit, and Pots, and listening
Discourses. They did not permit
last above a Day and a Night, and
the Time in which they gave lectures
were a third Sort, that applied their
Ratality, in which they instructed the
visit them, and to hear their Discour-
sible, that they passed through their
Periods of their Lives; so that
Years before they arrived at the
the School of Philosophy, at the
was always the eldest and gravest
try: But this is what I gather from
counts we have of them, and is not
Author; to that, if the Reader
is at Liberty to reject it.



... who have travelled into
... who follow, he had not
... Musk in it on his Back, and
... the Crown of his Head
... the Face contribute
... the Provinces of China and Tibet
... Musk is met with, are com
... as many of these Creatures

... ced by a Number of Instruments, and moves round the
... Place in the midst of his Friends and Relations; during
... which some put upon his Head a Garland of Straw, or dry
... Herbs, which they fill with burning Coals, whereon they
... poor Sandarac, which catches Fire as strongly as Naptha;
... nevertheless, he continues the Procession, although the
... Crown of his Head be all on Fire, and the Stench of his
... burnt Flesh be insupportable, not so much as changing Counte
... nance. They suffer their Hair to grow, for the Men

We have formerly mentioned the Animal which produces Musk, the Manner in which it is prepared, and the Value of that rich Perfume. At present we shall only remark, that the best Writers, ancient and modern, agree perfectly with our Author in Opinion, that the richest Musk is that of *Tibet*, or, as others call it, *Amogara*; and this because of the Aromatic Partures in that Land, which are the most

... which they are
... no King, and the
... the Country
... a small number
... which is the
... there is a Hill, with
... the Country
... which is the
... a part of the
... which is the
... there is a Mountain,
... a part of
... which is the
... which is the

... the *Babara*, King of *Wabar*, is the
... the *Babara* is the most illustrious Prince in all the
... and all the other Kings there, though each is Ma
... and independent in his Kingdom, acknowledge thus
... his Pre-eminence. When he sends Embassadors to them
... they receive them with extraordinary Honour, because
... the Respect they bear him. This King makes magnificent
... Presents after the Manner of the *Arabs*, and has Horles and
... Elephants in great Numbers, and great Treasures in Money.
... He has a more Pieces of Silver called *Tartarian Dracs*,
... which weigh half a Dram more than the *Arabian Dracs*.
... They are coined with the Dye of the Prince, and bear
... the Year of his Reign from the fall of the Reign of his
... Predecessor.

They compute not their Years from the Era of *Mohammed*, as the *Arabs* do, but only by the Years of their Kings. Most of these Princes live a long Time, and many of them have reigned above fifty Years, and those of the Country believe, that the Length of their Lives and of their Reigns is granted them in Recompence for their Kindness to the *Arabs*. In Truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*, and their Subjects prefer the same Friendship for us.

the *Unicorn*, who has but one Horn upon his Forehead, and thereon a round Spot, with the Representation of a Man. The whole Horn is black, except the Spot in the Middle, which is white. The Unicorn is much smaller than the Elephant; from the Neck downwards he pretty much resembles the Buffalo; his strength is very extraordinary, for he excels therein all other Creatures; his Hoof is not cloven, and from his Foot to his Shoulder is all of a Piece. The Elephant fies from the Unicorn, whose Lowing is like that of an Ox, with something of the Cry of the Camel; his Flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great Numbers of this Creature in the Fens of this Kingdom, as also in all the other Provinces of the *Indies*; but the Horns of these are most esteemed; and upon them are generally seen the Figures of Men, Peacocks, Lions, and other Resemblances. The *Chinese* adorn their Gardens with these sorts of Figures, so that some of their Gardens are worth two or three thousand Pieces of Gold in *China*, and sometimes more, the Price augmenting with the Beauty of the Figure: All the Things we have here enumerated are to be purchased in the Kingdom of *Rabni* for Shells, which are the current Money of the Country.

Babara is not a proper Name, but an Appellative common to all these Kings, as was *Cafoes* and some others. The Country under the Dominion of this Prince begins on the Coast of the Province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by Land to the Confines of *China*. He is surrounded by the Dominions of many Kings, who are at War with him, but yet he never marches against them.

After this Kingdom there is another, which is an inland State distant from the Coast, and called *Kasibbin*; the Inhabitants are white, and bore their Ears; they have Camels, and their Country is for the most part desert, and full of Mountains; farther upon the Coast there is a small Kingdom called *Hitrang*, which is very poor; but it has a Bay, where the Sea throws up great Quantities of Ambergris; they have also Elephants Teeth and Pepper; but the Inhabitants eat it green, because of the Smallness of the Quantity they gather. Beyond these Kingdoms here mentioned there are others of Number unknown, and among the rest that of *Mujer*; the Inhabitants are white, and dwell after the *Chinese* Manner; their Country is full of Mountains, with white Tops, and of very great Extent; here are very great

One of those Kings is the King of *Harez*, who has very numerous Forces, and is stronger in Horle than any other Princes of the *Indies*, but is an Enemy to the *Arabs*, though he at the same Time confests their King to be the greatest of Kings, nor is there a Prince in the *Indies* who has a greater Averision to the *Mohammedan*

the *Rhinoceros*, or *Unicorn*, who has but one Horn upon his Forehead, and thereon a round Spot, with the Representation of a Man. The whole Horn is black, except the Spot in the Middle, which is white. The Unicorn is much smaller than the Elephant; from the Neck downwards he pretty much resembles the Buffalo; his strength is very extraordinary, for he excels therein all other Creatures; his Hoof is not cloven, and from his Foot to his Shoulder is all of a Piece. The Elephant fies from the Unicorn, whose Lowing is like that of an Ox, with something of the Cry of the Camel; his Flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great Numbers of this Creature in the Fens of this Kingdom, as also in all the other Provinces of the *Indies*; but the Horns of these are most esteemed; and upon them are generally seen the Figures of Men, Peacocks, Lions, and other Resemblances. The *Chinese* adorn their Gardens with these sorts of Figures, so that some of their Gardens are worth two or three thousand Pieces of Gold in *China*, and sometimes more, the Price augmenting with the Beauty of the Figure: All the Things we have here enumerated are to be purchased in the Kingdom of *Rabni* for Shells, which are the current Money of the Country.

It is very highly probable, that this *Babara*, or Monarch of the Nation which have their Ears bored, which is plainly the *Indians*, was no other than the *Assura*, or Emperor of *Calicut*, who, according to the Reports of the most ancient *Portuguese* Historians, was acknowledged as a King of Emperor in the *Indies*, six hundred Years before they discovered the Passage to them by the *Cape of Good Hope*.

It is another good Reason why the Monarch here mentioned should be taken for the Emperor of *Calicut*, since he likewise was not called by the proper Name, but by such an Appellative as this; and it could obtain an Etymology of these Words that could be depended upon, it is very easy to see that *Babara* and *Babar* would be found to mean the same Thing.

It is already given to large an Account of the *Rhinoceros*, that we shall not trouble the Reader with any thing on that Subject here, but only to observe, with amazement, that it is evident this Writer makes the Unicorn and the *Rhinoceros* the same Creature, agreeable to what we have already observed here.

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But the Musk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two Reasons; first, in *Tibet* this Creature feeds on Aromatic Pastures, while in *China* he has nothing to substitute him but what is common; secondly, the Inhabitants of *Tibet* preserve their Bidders or Cods of Musk in the pure natural State, while the *Chinese* adulterate all that come into their Hands. They dip them also into the Sea, or else expose them to the Dew; and having kept them some time, they take off the outward Membrane, and then close them up; and this Musk passes in the Country of the *Arabs* for Musk of *Tibet*, because of its Excellence.

The most exquisite of all the sorts of Musk is what the *Rohobeks* that yield it leave behind them when they rub themselves against the Rocks on the Mountains; for the Humour whence it is generated, falling down towards the Navel of the Creature, it there gathers into a Quantity of carthy Blood exactly like Biles, and such like Tumours; when this Swelling is ripe, the Creature, sensible of a painful itching, fels out the Swelling, and rubs himself against the same, till he opens his Sore, and the Contents run out. Now, as soon as this Mixture falls from the Creature, it coagulates, the Wound closes, and the same kind of Humour

will not round the Head of a Child when he comes into the World, as the *Arabs* do, for they say it causes a considerable Alteration in the Brain, and that their Senses are very sensibly impaired thereby. They suffer the Head then to be all covered with Hair, which they carefully comb.

As for their Marriages, they observe the Degrees of Consanguinity after this Manner: They are divided among themselves into Families and Tribes, like the *Arabs*, and some other Nations; and they know each other by the Difference of their Descents. No Man ever marries in his own Tribe, just as the Children of *Thummin* among the *Arabs* take not to Wife a Daughter of the same Race of *Thummin*; and a Man of one Family espouses not a Woman of the same. But, for Example, a Man of the Family of *Rebayat* marries into that of *Modzar*, and in like manner a *Modzar* marries with a *Rebayat*; they are of Opinion, that such Alliances add to the Nobility of the Children, by increasing their Alliances, and rendering their Families more powerful.

Here our Author makes, as it were, another Break in his Work, in order to pass once more to the *Indians*,

into the Buzar, or Market-place, as they call a kind of Cangiar they wear, made after a very particular Manner, and seize on the most wealthy Merchant there present, and holding his Kris to his Throat, leading him by the Vest out of the City in the midst of a Throng of People, while not a Soul of them dared attempt his Rescue; for if any Attempt of this kind was made, the *Indian* was sure to kill the Merchant, and make away with himself: When he had got him out of the City, he obliged him to redeem himself with a Sum of Money. This Outrage continuing, the Kings ordained that such *Indians* should be seized; but when they came to execute this Or-

der, they were so terrified by the Sight of the *Indians*, that they were obliged to shake off this evil Habit of Gaming; on the contrary, they sometimes persist in it to obstinately and to long, before they part, they have all their Fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a Wick, and dipping it in Oil, apply it to some Member, set Fire to it, and let it burn, to that the Scent of the burnt Flesh is smelt by those who play with them, while the Parties themselves bear not the least Sense of Pain.

There is much Debauchery in this Country, as well among the Women as among the Men, for they are under no Restraint. It is no high, that some men

They are much Debauchery in this Country, as well among the Women as among the Men, for they are under no Restraint. It is no high, that some men

They coin a great deal of Copper Money, like what the *Arabs* call *Falus*: They have Treasures like other Kings; but they have only this sort of small Money, which is current all over the Country; for though they have Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silk, and rich Stuffs in great Abundance, they consider them only as Moveables and Merchandise, and the Copper-Pieces are the only current Coin; from foreign Parts they have Ivory, Frankincense, Copper in Pigs, Tortoise-shells, and Unicorns Horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their Girls. Of their own Stock, they have Abundance of Beasts of Burden, Horses, Asses, and Dromedaries; but they have no *Arabian* Horses.

17. A Man is not raised to the Dignity of Prince, or Governor of a City, till he has attained to the 40th Year, for then, say they, he hath Experience enough to be his Seat upon a Tribunal, and receives the Ratification or Compliments of the People. Behind this Tribunal there is an Officer called *Lieu*, who keeps Rank, and according to the Order he receives from the Prince, returns his Answer to the Petition, for they never answer otherwise than in Writing, or admit of any Appointments, but what are committed to Paper. Before the Parties present their Petitions to the Prince, they get them examined by an Officer, who, if he discovers any Fault, sends them back again; for no Man may draw up their Writing which are to be presented to the Prince, except a Clerk versed in Business; and at the Bottom of each Writing they put, *Written by such a One, the Son of such a One*. And if in this Case there happen any Blunder or Mistake, the Clerk is bamboozled.

They have an excellent kind of Earth, wherewith they make a Ware of equal Fineness with Glass, and equally transparent. When Merchants arrive here, the *Chinese* seize on their Cargoes, and convey them to Warehouses, where they remain six Months, and till the last Merchant-man has arrived, then they take three in Ten, or thirty per Cent. of each Commodity, and return the Rest to the Merchant. If the Emperor hath a Mind for any particular Thing his Officers have a Right to take it, preferably to any other Persons whatsoever, paying for it to the utmost Value. They dispatch this Business immediately, and without the least Delay; they commonly take Camphire, which they pay for after the Rate of fifty *Falages* per Man, and the *Falage* is worth a thousand *Falus*, or Pieces of Copper. When it happens that the Emperor does not take Camphire, it sells for half as much again.

The Prince never fears himself on his Tribunal till he has eaten and drank, for fear he should be misled in some Thing; and each of these Princes or Governors has his Subsistence from the publick Treasury of the City or Com-mands. The Emperor or *China*, who is above all these Princes or petty Kings, never appears in publick but once in ten Months, saying, that if he showed himself often to the People, they would lose the Veneration they have for him; for he holds it as a Maxim, that Princes cannot subsist but by Force, and that the People know not what Justice is; and that thus Constraint and Violence must be used to maintain amongst them the Majesty of Empire.

16. The *Chinese* do not bury their Dead till the Day Twelvemonth of their Decade. Till the Expiration of this Term they keep them in Coffins, for having previously died them with Quick lime, that they may keep, they place them in some Part of their Houses. The Bodies of their Kings are embalmed with Aloes and Cam-

18. They have no Duty imposed upon their Lands, but are subject to a Poll tax, which is levied upon Men only, and that according to their Condition and Capacity. When any *Arabs*, or other Strangers, are in this Country, the *Chinese* tax them according to their Substance. When any Dearth makes Necessities dear, then the King opens his Store-houses, and sells all Sorts of Provision much

It would be an endless thing to give the Reader with Correctness about these Countries, the Names of which are totally unknown to us; but I have endeavoured to do so far as I could, and I am persuaded that the Names of the Countries, which are mentioned in this Account, correspond to well both with antient and modern Relations, that of the *Chinese* is the same as that of the *Franks* of the East, or of the *Indians*, and that the *Arabs* are the same as the *Arabs* of the West, and that the *Indians* are the same as the *Indians* of the East. I have also endeavoured to give a true and exact Account of the Customs and Manners of these Countries, and I am persuaded that the Reader will find it very interesting and useful. I have also endeavoured to give a true and exact Account of the Customs and Manners of these Countries, and I am persuaded that the Reader will find it very interesting and useful.

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At last he comes to the Pile, throws himself into it, and is soon reduced to Ashes.

Indians perished: The Merchants therefore sought after other Means to secure themselves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

55. A certain Person, to whom we give Intire Credit, says, he beheld one of these *Indians* burn himself, and avers, that when he came near to the Pile, he drew out a Cangiar, and with it ripped down his Breast to the Rim of his Belly; and that this done, he with his left Hand pulled out a Flap of his Liver, and with the Cangiar cut a Piece of it, which he gave to one of his Brothers, talking all the time, and discovering an invincible Contempt of Death, and a wonderful Patience under his Torments, till at last he leaped into the Fire in his Passage to Hell.

58. In the Mountain of *Sarandib* they find precious Stones of various Colours, red, green, and yellow, most of which are at certain Times forced out of Caverns and other recesses by Rains and Torrents. In these Places the King has his Officers to keep an Eye over those who pick them up: Many Times also they are dug out of Mines in the same Manner as Metals; and they sometimes find precious Stones in the Ore, which must be broken to get at them.

56. The Person who affirmed this added, that in the Mountains of this Country there are *Indians*, who in Opinions and Manners differ but little from those we call *Kanishians* and *Jehidians*, and who are addicted to all manner of Superstition and Vice. There is a great Emulation between these Mountaineers and the People on the Coast, the latter continually going up to the Mountains to dare the Inhabitants there to do as they do, and the Mountaineers on their Part as frequently coming down to the Coast with Desafians of the same Nature.

The King of this Island makes Laws, which are the Fundamentals of the Religion and Government of the Country; here are Doctors and Assemblies of learned Men, like those of the *Hindus* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to these Assemblies, and write down what they hear of the Lives of their Prophets, and the various Explications of their Laws. Here is a very great Idol of the finest Gold, but concerning the Weight thereof Travellers are not agreed. Here also are Temples, where great Sums of Money are expended in Incense.

Camels trained up to the Buttns... go in search of it by Moon-light, and purpoe along Shore. These Camels... as soon as they perceive a Piece of Amber their Knees, and their Rider p...

own out and spun, makes the most excellent... of, but they serve well enough in a... of Vinegar, and distilled, it affords a... of Cocca-nut, Cocca Plank, and the Core... of the Indies.

...very great Sin if they should. When they come to Siraf, and are invited by any of the considerable Merchants who are in that City, they must, though they are a hundred in Number, each have a separate Dish, and without the least Communication with the rest. The Kings and Perfumers of high Quality have fresh Tables made for them every Day, together with little Dishes and Plates wove of the Cocca-nut Leaf, in which they eat what is prepared

The Abbé Renaudet, in his Notes upon this Treatise, speaks very lightly of this Story, and seems to think it fabulous. There is however no sort of Doubt in this Opinion; since this sort of Whale is very often found in the Gulf of Persian Seas, and especially on the Coast of Barmader, and still Quarantines are taken out of its Guts. It is also very certain, that the best of this Perfume is found in the Indian Seas, yet Ambergra

...the Indies runs away with a Woman, and they kill both him and the Woman, as it was foretold, then the Man and the Woman consented to the execution, and with Death. It is a way, which the Indies as in China, which is not to be considered, and perhaps some think that has stolen for the Value of a Tunic, or a Tunic of greater Value, and sharp Stakes, which they would thrust it through their throats, and the Chiefs are obliged to take a solemn Oath, that they practice the same custom, as they perform in Honour of their Gods. The Indians are of Wood, with short hair, and a black complexion. The Chinese and Indians are of White, but both Nations marry a great deal, and the common Breed of the two is black, whereas the Chinese are of a blackish Colour. Circumstances is not past in the Chinese. The Chinese women are tall down before them, and depend on the Articles of the Religion. The Indians are of a blackish Colour, and have a beard three Cubits long, they wear a black Chinesse, but the most part have no hair on their heads. The Indians, however, have both Hair and Face. The Indians are called in a Prison they are made to drink for seven Days long, and they never the End of their Days. The Indians are a Confession of the Truth. The Indians are the Governors, who depend on the King and Subject, and the same they have in China and in the Indies there are no

...pying hot Irons or Cauteries. They have also some Smarting of Afrimony, but therein also the Indians surpass the Arabs. I know not that there is to much as one of either Nation that has embraced Mohammedism, or speaks Arabic. The Indians have but few Horses, and there are none in China; but the Chinese have no Elephants, and cannot endure to have them in their Country, for they are not for them. The Indian Dominions furnish a great Number of Soldiers, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvoused for War, take the Pay entirely at their own Expence, and are no Charge to the King; whereas the Chinese allow their Forces much the same Pay as the Arabs. China is a pleasant and fruitful Country; most of the Indian Provinces have no Cities, whereas in China there are many in Number, great in Extent, and well fortified: The Climate of China is more wholesome, and the Country is less fertile. The Air there is also much better, and there is scarce a blind Person to be seen, or any one subject to the Diseases of the Eyes; and the same Advantages are enjoyed by several Provinces of the Indies: The Rivers of those two Countries are large, and furnish great Rivers, much Rain falls in both these Countries. In the Indies are many desert Tracts, but China is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole Extent. The Chinese are handsomer than the Indians, and come near to the Arabs, not only in Countenance but in Dress, in their Way of talking, in their Manners, and in their Ceremonies: They wear long Garments, and Girdles in form of Belts. The Indians wear two short Vests; and the Men, as well as the Women, wear golden Bracelets, adorned with precious Stones.

...injust to condemn it entirely, because, for want of having the Introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his Plan, and consequently cannot say how far he came up to or fell short of it. One Thing I think is manifest, which is, that the Scope of his Undertaking is a Comparison between the Indians and the Chinese; at least he falls into this immediately after he has described the usual Navigation from Siraf to China; and considered in this Light, his Treatise appears regular enough. As to his Style, it is extremely simple and plain, and has nothing of that swelling hyperbolical Eloquence which is generally observed in oriental Writers; upon which, I beg leave to remark, that with regard to the Arabs, as well as other Nations, this was a Vice that prevailed in later Times, after Poetry and Rhetorick had been more cultivated than they were in the first Ages of their Empire, which has been the Case in most other Nations. One cannot possibly do so, that this Piece was extremely well received when it first came abroad, and that it had maintained its Reputation for a considerable Space of Time, appears from the second Treatise, which we are about to give the Reader. It seems, that when the Affairs of China were better known, some Prince, or other Person of Distinction, desired the Author of the following Pages to look over that Discourse, and to inform him, how far the Facts contained therein had been confirmed or contradicted, by succeeding Relations. What Time this happened, we cannot with any Certainty say, from the Comparison of the two Pieces, or from the Lights given us by the learned and accurate Critick who published them. The Manuscript which the Abbé Renaudet made use of, was apparently older than the Year of the Hegira 1169, which answers to the Year of Christ 1773; but the Discourse must certainly have been written long before that Time. In our Notes we have shewn that Elen-Habab travelled into China, A. H. 1285, A. D. 898, and the Author of this last Treatise informs us, that he had conferred with this Man after his Return, and had from him the Facts which he has inserted in his Discourse; so that the Book itself must have been two Centuries older

Of the Decline we have already spoken in our Account of the Philosophy of the Brahmins; and in our Notes upon the subsequent Treatise, we shall be obliged to show when it was first embraced in China, and with what Modifications it is still taught there. We shall take another Opportunity of acquainting the Reader with the History of the ancient Persians, and shall only observe here, that the Notes here mentioned are to be considered as dwelling in their native Persia, before they became famous by their Transport into Persia, which the Country every where meant in this and in the following Treatise by the Name of Ipek, and before they became Mohammedans; which is the more necessary, because from the present State of Things it is very natural to connect the Ideas which we have of the modern Persians with their Accounts of their Ancestors.

Commerce Book I.

Chap II. of the EAST INDIES. 541

...h as it were on the Right of the In-Oman, in the Country of Sibar or Sibar, and grows, and the other Countries of Cedd, Hamyer, Joham, and others in this Country have the Sonra in August Date, but in many Things different the Hands of the Arabs, and containing to us unknown: They have no Villages, and a very miserable Life! they inhabit extends almost as far as the Coast of Yaman or Arabia the Happy; stretches up into the Continent as far as the East ends at Kolcum. The Seas in this Part of Land, which God has fixed as a Line between these two Seas, as it is written in the Koran the Sea stretches along the Coast of the West Coasts, which is opposite to the Coast of Arabia; from the Coast of Arabia the Leopard Skins of Barbary, which are most skilfully dressed; and lastly, of Zeilab, whence you have Amber and

There is another sort, which swim in great Lumps upon the Surface of the Sea, almost like the Body of an Ox, or a little less, and weigh a great deal. When a certain Fish of the Whale-kind, called Tal, sees these floating Lumps, he swallows the same, and is killed thereby: Then they see the Whale floating upon the Surface, and instantly the Men who are accustomed to this kind of Fishery, and know when these Whales have swallowed Amber, go out to him in their Boats, and darting him with Iron Harpoons, they tow him to Shore, where they split him down the Back and take out the Amber; what they find about the Belly of the Creature is commonly spoiled with the Wet, and contracts an unpleasant Scent. You may buy the Bones of this Fish of the Druggists of Bagdad and Bassora. The Amber which has not been infected by the Ordure in the Belly of the Whale, is not inferior: It is usual Thing to make Stools of the Vertebrae of the Back Bone of this Whale, called Tal. They say, that in a Village ten Leagues from Siraf, called Tein, there are old Houles neatly enough built, the Lintels of whose Doors are of the Rib of this Whale. I have heard a Persian say, that formerly one was thrown upon the Coast nor

Oysters are fixed, and move not. When they are loose, the Merchants call them Seed Pearl: God alone knoweth how this Matter is. 68. Now this is the most wonderful Thing we have heard concerning the Subsistence of Oysters. A certain Arab came formerly to Bassora, and brought with him a Pearl worth a great Sum of Money; he shewed it to a Druggist of his Acquaintance, and, ignorant of the Value thereof, asked him what he thought of it? The Merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the Arab asked him what he thought it might be worth? and he valued it at a hundred Pieces of Silver. The Arab much astonished at his Words, asked if any Person would be willing to give him what he had said it was worth: Upon which the Merchant counted him out a hundred Drams, and with this Money the Arab purchased Corn to carry back into his own Country. The Merchant on the other Hand brought the Pearl to Bagdad, and sold it at a very high Rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very considerably. This same Merchant declared that he had examined the Arab touching the Origin of Pearls, and that he delivered himself to the following Discourse: "I was going along the Coast of the

We may add to this Controversy the Accounts given by our Travellers and the best Chinese Historians, which never could have happened, if the former had not been every Respect agreeable to Truth. All this is not only supported by our Knowledge of many of the Customs of these People, which remain to this Day the same with those reported in these Relations, but they are still more plainly verified by such as are now no longer in Use, because many Chinese Writers, and Christian Missionaries from them, take Notice of such obsolete Customs,

Preparation of these Leaves consists in picking, drying them by a small Fire, rolling them up in a little Mattris, and packing them up in Tin-Creels or Boxes for the sake of preserving them, and the Convenience of transporting them. Such is the Account given us by a learned and accurate Writer, whose Work is not creditably esteemed, after so many later Accents of the contrary. But as it is natural to suppose that every Man will be a Judge of what regards his own Profession, I presume myself that my Readers will not be surpris'd that I have

to, and that this Notion was groundless, as well as what is vulgarly said of the idolatrous Nations, that they imagine their Idols speak to them.

He told us also, that since those Days the Affairs of China wear quite another Face; and since much is related to shew the Reason why the Voyages to China are interrupted, and how the Country has been ruined, many Customs abolished, and the Empire divided, I will here declare the Causes I know of this Revolution.

31. The great Troubles which have embroiled the Affairs of this Empire, which have put a Stop to the Justice and Righteousness there formerly practis'd, and which have in line interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*, flowed from this Source: An Officer who was considerable for his Employment, though not of the Royal Family, revolted some time ago; this Man's Name was *Bachu*, and he began with committing Hostilities in the Country, marching his Armies into many Places, to the great Loss of the Inhabitants, till, winning a Party over to him by his Liberalities, he got together a Multitude of Vagabonds and abandoned People, whom he formed into a considerable Body of Troops.

His Army thus strengthened, and himself in a Condition to undertake any thing, he discovered his Design of subverting the Empire, and marched straight to *Cansu*, one of the most noted Cities in *China*, and at that Time the Port for all the *Arabian* Merchants. This City stands upon a great River some Days Distance from the Entrance, so that the Water there is fresh. But the Citizens shutting their Gates against him, he resolv'd to besiege the Place, and the Siege lasted a great while. This was transacted in the Year of the Hegira CCLXIV. and of Christ 877.

thus were Affairs situated, and the Rebel stood uncombed by any Disadvantage that might abate his Authority.

33. At last the Emperor of *China* wrote to the King of *Tagargaz* in *Turkestan*, with whom, besides the Names of his Dominions, he was, in some Degree, allied by Marriage; and, at the same time, sent an Embassy to him, to implore his Assistance for reducing this Rebel. Upon this, the King of *Tagargaz* dispatched his Son, at the Head of a very numerous Army, to fight the Oppressor; and, after many Battles, and almost continual Skirmishes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the Rebel: Some believe he fell in Battle, while others thought he ended his Days in another Manor.

The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Canton*, and although he was extremely weakened, and much depressed because of the Embezzlement of his Treasures, and the Loss of his Captains and best Troops, and because of all the late Calamities, he nevertheless made himself Master of all the Provinces which had been conquered from him. However, he never laid Hands on the Goods of his Subjects, but satisfied himself with what was set in his Coffers, and the small Remains of publick Money, his Condition indispensably oblig'd him to take up with what his Subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but Obedience to his Mandates, for ceasing to squeeze Money from them, because the King's Government had exhaulted them already.

Thus *China* became almost like the Empire of *Avanar* after the Defeat and Death of *Darus*, when he divided the Provinces he took from the *Perfians* amongst so many Chieftains, who erected themselves into so many Kings; but now each of these Chinese Princes joined with some other to

* The Account here given by our Author, very plainly proves, that the Trade to *China* was considered in his Time as very ancient, and of very great Consequence; so much that whatever affected the Peace of that Country, was so held upon as a Thing of common Concern to all the Nations of the East. But till these Travels were published, who could have imagin'd this? Who would have imagin'd that the Affairs of *China* were so well known to the *Arabs*? And therefore when these Things are maturely weigh'd, who can doubt that we had Reason to advance it as a Thing highly probable, that long before this, the Emperors of *China* and the *Arabs* were in the most flourishing Commerce, and in point of foreign Commerce, and of domestic Oeconomy.

† It is a very difficult thing to pretend to settle the Chronology of the Chinese Empire; and the very learned Editor of these Travels, confesses that he is not able to give any satisfactory Account of this Revolution. It is said, however, that *At set us Hade*, in the History of *China*, lately published, has enabled us to set this Matter right, or at least very nearly right. He informs us, that in the Reign of the Emperor *Hian*, who was the eighteenth of the Dynasty of *Tang*, the Affairs of *China* fell into very great Disorder, and in the heavy Load laid upon the People, and a great Famine caused by the Inundation of Rivers, and infinite Numbers of *Arabs* hoppers that deliv'd their Goods, while things were in this Situation, there happened several Revolts in the Provinces, which encouraged a certain Rebel, whose Name was *Wan*, to pretend himself at the Head of the Malcontents, and that with such Success, as to drive the Emperor from the Imperial City, of which he made himself Master, but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor restor'd. It will be owned, that there is about twenty Years Difference between the Time mentioned by our Author, and the Date of this Revolution, assign'd by *Farner de Hald*, I shall not take upon me to decide where the Mistake lies, but I leave it to the Reader will be of the same Opinion with me, in concluding this to be the Rebel upon whom mention is made in the Footnote.

‡ All the Oriental Writers agree in giving a different Account of the Division of the Empire of *Avanar* into so many Kingdoms, from that which is given us by the *Greeks*, and that this Notice of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the Author of the first Book of *Marshall*, who

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for their Subsistence; and their Meal once over, they throw the Table, the Dishes and Plates into the Water, together with the Fragments they have left. Thus at every Meal they have a new Service. To the *Indies* they formerly carried the *Dinars*, called *Sindiat*, or Gold Pieces of the *Sind* and the *Dinar*, which there pass'd for three of ours and even more. Thither also are carried Emeralds from *Egypt*, which are set for Rings.

70. These two authentick Pieces are of very great Use in filling up this Period of *Indian* History, of which, till they appeared, we had no Memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the Account given us by the first Author, that Voyages from *Siraf* to *China* were not very frequent, till about his Time, for otherwise he would not have described that Navigation so particularly. But it appears no less clearly from the second Treatise, that these long Voyages were grown into much greater Use between the Time the first Voyage was made, and this Commentary upon it was drawn up, for otherwise the second Writer would have been but indifferently furnished with Materials, whereas we find that he stood in no sort of Want of them, but was

into Disuse. On the whole therefore we may safely affirm, that these Treatises are free from all just Grounds of Suspicion, and ought to be regarded as the earliest and best Accounts we have of this Empire and its Inhabitants.

They are, considered in this Light, of very great Use in many Respects, but more especially in correcting those Errors that have been introduced by Authors who depended more upon their own Conjectures than on any Light they received from Experience, endeavouring to impose upon their Readers their Notions of Things as being of undoubted Credit, of which it may not be amiss to give a few Instances. Our Author is the oldest, and indeed almost the only *Arabian* Writer that mentions the Chinese Drink, to universally used in our Days all over *Europe*, and known by the Name of *Tea*. He says, that it is an Herb or Sirub, more bushy than the *Pomegranate-tree*, and of a more pleasant Scent, but somewhat bitter to the Taste. That the Chinese boil Water and pour it in scalding hot upon this Leaf, and that this Infusion preserves them from all Distempers. This, to be sure, is an imperfect Description; but it is plain enough

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own Abilities. In Things of this Nature, all abstracted Reasoning ought to be laid aside, and we ought to draw our Conclusions from Facts only. If the *Indians* stopped the Progress of the *Aegyrian, Persian, Greek* and *Parthian* Empires, this is a strong, or, to speak fairly, an invincible Argument to prove, that their Government was then in its full Vigour. If we see the *Indians* now for the most part a broken, dispersed, dejected, and despised People; preserving, however, still, in their Manners and Customs, visible Marks of

all suitable to their Merit. *Hakluyt*, our most ancient Collector, whose Pains can never be too much commended, gave such an account of his Travels in the best manner he could, and was therefore very commendable in that respect. *Purchas*, who followed him, complains, however, with Reason, that these ancient Writings were strangely dishigured, and therefore he thought it necessary to revise and reublish them, for which alone he deserves Praise; and there is no doubt he might have succeeded much better than he has done, if he had not

A Chinese Prostitute riding in Publick with a Man going before, who makes known her Place



A View of a large Street in one of the Trading Cities of China, showing how their Signs are placed & Shops disposed

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I have dwelt the longer upon these Instances, and have taken the more Pains to support and confirm the Truth of them, because I am persuaded that an intire Credit is due to the Matters of Fact asserted by both of our Authors, and that consequently we may absolutely depend upon what they have delivered as to the State of *China* and the *Indies*, within this Period of Time; that is to say, from *A. D.* 833, to 950, or thereabouts. This being clearly established, let us see what will follow from it. In the first place, it is most evident that these Eastern Countries were in a very happy and flourishing Condition, were governed by their own Princes, and knew not, generally speaking, what it was to suffer by such sudden and violent Revolutions as have since happened in those Parts. It must, however, be at the same time observed, that though their State was far better than it is now, yet both our Authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the Dignity of their Princes began to sink, the Severity of their Discipline to relax, and the Manners of their People to become much more corrupt than they had been.

that Policy ascribed to them by the *Greek* and *Roman*, as well as these *Arabian* Writers, we ought to conclude, that this Difference has been owing to mighty Revolutions in these Parts; after the History of which we must enquire, and not pretend to take up with the Assurances given us by fanciful Men, that these People were never in a better Condition.

I do not however pretend by this to establish by any means the Opinions entertained by some very great Men as to the Learning of the *Chinese*; with regard to which our Travellers speak very freely, and I think there is Reason to believe very truly, affirming, that in regard to the Sciences the *Chinese* had very little Knowledge, that is, in comparison of the *Arabs*, who at the time the last of our Authors wrote were very skilful in most Sciences; and though their famous Commander *Muz*, who conquered *Spain*, was the first that delivered it in the Form of a Maxim, yet it is very probable that the *Arabians* had long before his Time those Sentiments of the Progress of Science which he so happily expressed. *Wisdom*, said he, descending from above, settled in the Heads of the *Greeks*, as the Hands of the *Chinele*, and on the Tongues of the *Arabs*. It plainly appears from hence, that what they most admired in *China* was the Industry of its Inhabitants, which was

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ent Collector, while Paris in
ded, gave such as came to
e could, and was therefore very
Puritas, who followed him
ason, that there is not a Word
and therefore he thought
ublish them, for which he
no doubt he might have
he has done, if he had not be

acquainted with Things, and with all the Circumstances
relating to them, we shall read such original Writers with
much greater Pleasure than those Collections which have
appeared in later Times, and which are frequently no way
comparable to them, either for the Importance of Facts,
or the Accuracy with which they are related.
It fell out in the East, as it fell out before in the West;
that in a Day, the northern Nations poured in upon them as
a Deluge, and bore down all before them. It was this
foundation of the Tartars which overturned, and, in a

ney through several Countries, then in a Manner entirely
and even now, but very imperfectly known, is addressed
to that Prince, and written with a Spirit of Humility and
Modesty, and with such plain Evidence of their Author's
Veracity, as very fully justifies the Esteem that has been
always had of his Work. The third is *Marco Polo*, the
Venetian, who travelled as well as *Rubruquis* in the thir-
teenth Century, whose Work has stood the Test of Time
and the severest Critics, and risen by slow Degrees from
the lowest into the highest Credit. There are indeed very



placed; shops dispo

to be to any body to hold him. This Torture dis-
joints the Neck, makes the Joints start out of their Sock-
ets, and dislocates the Thighs; in short, the Patient is
in so miserable a Condition, that were he to continue there-
in but a few Hours, there would be no need of any thing
else to make an End of him: But when they have bound
him as we have said, they give him so many Strokes with
a bamboo, which they always use upon the like Occasions,
and which alone were sufficient to kill the Criminal, and
leave off when he is at the very last Gasp of Life, abandon-
ing the Body to the People, who eat it.

35. There are Women in *China* who refuse to marry,
and chuse rather to live a dissolute Life of perpetual De-
bauchery. The Custom is for these Women to present
themselves in full Audience before the commanding Offi-
cer of the Garrison in the City, and declare their Aversion
to Marriage, and their Desire to enter into the State of pub-
lick Women; they then desire to be registered in the usual
Form amongst these Prostitutes, and the Form is this;
they write down the Name of the Woman, her Family,
the Number of her Jewels, the several Particulars of her
Attire, and the Place of her Abode; thus she is admitted
a publick Woman: After this, they put about her Neck a
String, at which hangs a Copper Ring with the King's
Signet, and deliver to her a Writing which certifies that
she is received into the List of common Prostitutes, and
entitles her to a yearly Pension of so many *Faluts*, to be
paid her out of the publick Treasury, and threatens with
Death the Person who should take her to Wife. They
every Year give publick Notice of what is to be observed
with regard to those Women, and turn out those who
have worn out their Charms. In the Evening these
Women walk abroad in Dresses of different Colours,
without any Veil, and prostitute themselves to all new
Comers that love Debauchery; but the *Chinese* themselves
find for them to their Houses, whence they depart not till
the next Morning.

having related the Conquest of the Persian Empire by *Alexander* the Great, adds the following remarkable Words *1 Maccab. i. 5, 6.* " And
after these Things, he fell sick and perceived that he should die. Wherefore he called his Servants, such as were honourable, and had been
brought up with him from his Youth, and parted his Kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."
or barbarous as this Custom may appear, and as seemingly inconsiderate as it may be with the Politicians of the *Chinese*, yet it is very certain
that our Authors are not the only Writers that have mentioned it, as will appear hereafter, when we come to give the Reader the Travels of
the famous *Marco Polo*, who asserts the very same thing.
The Account of these publick Women is confirmed by a great Number of Writers ancient and modern, so that there appears to be no
Reason for calling the Truth of it in Question. In the History of the *Dutch* Embassy to the Emperor of *China*, there is a Print of one of these
Women, as she is conducted through the City on an Ass, attended by a Person, who cries her Price, as he would that of any other Commodity.
All these Facts are attested by later Writers, so that notwithstanding they seem at first sight very strange and improbable, yet it must be own-
ed that they afford good Evidence for them as for any other Facts in the several Relations we have had of the Customs and Manners of these People.

run upon Wheels, and which in Case of Fire they can
easily draw from Place to Place without any Hindrance
from Stairs, and so save their things presently.

As for the inferior Officers in the Cities, they com-
monly have the Directions of the Customs and the Keys
of the Treasury: Some of these have been taken on the
Frontiers and castrated, others of them have been cut by
their own Fathers, who have sent them as a Present to
the Emperor. These Officers are at the Head of the
principal Affairs of State, of the Emperor's private Affairs,
and of his Treasures; and those particularly who are sent
to *Cansu* are selected from this Body.

37. It is customary for them, as well as the Kings or
Governors of all the Cities, to appear abroad from time
to time, in solemn Procession; at such Times they are
preceded by Men, who carry great Pieces of Wood like
those the *Christians* of the *Levant* used instead of Bells:
The Noise they make is heard a great Way, and as soon
as it is heard no body stands in the Road of the Eunuch,
or Prince: If a Man is at his Door, he goes into his
House, and keeps his Door shut till the Prince or Eunuch
of the City is gone by; so no Soul is to be seen in the
Way; and this is enjoined, that they may be held in the
greater Veneration, and to strike a Dread, that the People
may not see them often, and that they may not grow so
familiar as to speak to them.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant, and the principal Officers,
wear very magnificent Dresses of Silk, to show that none
of this Sort is brought into the Country subject to the
Arabs, the *Chinese* keep it up at so high a Rate. One of
the chief Merchants, whose Words cannot be called in
question, relates, that he waited on an Eunuch, whom the
Emperor had sent to *Cansu*, in order to purchase some
Things he wanted out of the Goods carried thither from
the Country of the *Arabs*; and that upon his Breast he
perceived a short Veil, which was under another Silk Veil,
and which seemed to be under two other Veils of the

fame

Book I.

Chap. II.

of the EAST INDIES.

followed the Humour of the Age in which he wrote, and af-
fected, as he has done, to give a quaint and fanciful Turn
to all that he translated, instead of keeping close to his Au-
thors. This was chiefly owing to a Notion that then pre-
vailed, that there were many Improbabilities and Absur-
dities in their Writings; which, however, the Diligence
of succeeding Times hath, in a great measure, discovered
to have been a groundless and injurious Charge arising
sometimes from their having very bad Copies of the Au-
thors they used, at other Times from the Ignorance of those
who undertook to translate them either in the Languages
in which they were wrote, or as to the Subjects which were
handled in them.

It deserves also to be considered, that the first Voyagers
into any remote Country must lie under great Disadvan-
tages, because they report Things absolutely unknown be-
fore, and which, for that Reason, appear monstrous and
incredible; whereas, in Process of Time, and after vari-
ous Persons have visited the same Place, the Publick be-
gins to grow familiar with their Relations; and having
seen and Touching the same Things, they are not surpris'd

more amazing: To say the Truth, all the great Monarchies
in this Part of the World, large and powerful as they are,
ought, strictly speaking, to be considered as Fragments
only of this enormous Sovereignty, and as the Remains
and Ruins of this prodigious Structure. All the *Tartar*
Principalities in *Europe* and *Asia*, the noble Empire of
China, with so much of *Tartary* as belongs to it, the wide
Dominions of the Great Mogul, some of the Kingdoms
established in the *Indian* Islands, the Kingdom of *Persia*
as it stands at present, together with the best Part of the
Grand Seigneur's Territories, fall under this Description, and
were once but so many Parts of the *Tartar* Empire, and we
may from thence easily discern how much it imports us to
have a competent Knowledge of the Rise, Progress, and
Declension of this over-grown Power.

But that this, however expedient, however necessary,
might not break in too much on the Series of our Voyages,
I have taken Care to select a few out of the many ancient
Travels that may answer both Ends; that is to say, may
preserve the Chain of our Narrations, according to the
natural Order of Time, and at the same time, select such
particulars as are most remarkable, and which may give us
the most exact and complete Idea of the Customs and Manners
of these People.

y the *Greek* and *Roman*, as
we ought to conclude, that
to mighty Revolutions in
of which we must enquire,
the Assurances given us by
were never in a better Con-
by this to establish by any
d by some very great Men
Chinese; with regard to which
y, and I think there is Rem-
aining, that in regard to the
little Knowledge, that is, in
no at the time the last of
ficial in most Sciences; and
nder *Musa*, who conquered
ered it in the Form of a
that the *Arabs* had long
of the Progress of Science
ed. *Wisdom*, said he, de-
the Heads of the *Greeks*, as

THERE are few Authors better known to the learned World than our Benjamin, called from the Place of his Birth Benjamin of Tudela, a very pleasant Town in Navarre, on the Confines of the Kingdom of Castile and Aragon. The Jews, who boast very much of our Author's Works, inform us, that he was the Son of Rabbi Tanai, who was settled at Tudela: but

people, we have had of this Book no less than sixteen different Editions, and some of them by the ablest Critics. The first Version of it that appeared in Latin was in 1576, by Benedet Arias Montanus, a Man of great Learning, and in high Reputation, who in his Preface paid great Compliments to the Spanish Nation on account of the Discoveries made by them in the most distant Parts of the

he had to find with this Piece; to which he answered, " Every body knows that a Bird never settles upon an Ear of Corn but it bends under him, whereas this Painter has represented his Ear bolt upright, though he has perched a Bird upon it: this is the Fault I have to find." The Objection was held just, and the Prince bestowed no Reward upon the Artist. They pretend by this, and such other Means, to excite their Workmen to Perfection, by engaging them to be extremely nice and circumspect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole Genius to what is to go out of their Hands.

38. There was formerly a Man of the Tribe of Karkab, whose Name was Ebn Wabab, descended of Hebar the Son of Al Afud, and he dwelt at Bajra; this Man left Bajra when that City was sacked, and came to Siraf, where he saw a Ship ready to sail for China. The Humour took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to Ceina, where in the Sequel he had the Curiosity to travel to the Emperor's Court; and leaving Casfa, he reached Cundam, after a Journey of two Months; he staid a long Time at the Emperor's Court, and presented several Petitions; wherein he signified that he was of the Family of the Prophet of the Arabs. Having waited a considerable while, the Emperor at last ordered him to be lodged in a House appointed for him, and to be supplied with every Thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of Casfa, commanding him carefully to inform himself among the Merchants concerning the Relation this Man pretended to bear to the Prophet of the Arabs; and the Governor, by his Answers, confirming the Truth of what he had said, touching his Extraction, the Emperor gave him Audience, and made him rich Presents, whereupon he returned to Irak.

This Man, when we saw him, was much advanced in Years, but had his Senses perfectly, and told us, that

of all Kings, nor are Cities to compare with them.

Then said Ebn Wabab, he ordered the Interpreter to ask me, " If I knew my Master and my Lord, meaning the Prophet (Mohammed,) and if I had seen him?" I made Answer, " How should I have seen him who is with God?" He replied, " That is not what I mean, ask you, what sort of a Man he was in his Person?" I replied, " That he was very handsome." Then he called for a great Box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he set before him, and said to the Interpreter, " shew him his Master and his Lord;" and I saw in the Box, the Image of the Prophet; whereat I moved my Lips, praying to myself in Honour of their Memory.

The Emperor did not imagine I should know him again, and said to the Interpreter, " Ask him when he moves his Lips?" I answered, " I was praying in Memory of the Prophets." How do you know them, said the Emperor? I replied, that I knew them by the Representation of their Histories; " There said I, a Noah in the Ark, who was saved with those that were with him at the same Time;" and I made the usual Salute to Noah and his Company. Then the Emperor laughed, and said, " Thou art not mistaken in the Name of Noah, as thou hast named him right; but as for the universal Deluge, it is what we knew not. It is true, indeed, that a Flood covered Part of the Earth, but it reached not our Country, nor even the Indies." I made my Answer to this, and endeavoured to remove his Objections the best I could; and then said again to him, " There is Moses with his Rod, and the Children of Israel." He agreed with me, as to the small Extent of their Country, and the Manner how the ancient Inhabitants were destroyed by Moses. I then said to him; " He there, is Jesus, upon an Ass, and here are his Apostles

* There is nothing very surprising in this Account, for the very same Method had been in Use among the Greeks long before, and has been since practised in Asia, and elsewhere, and without Doubt, it is the true Method of coming at the just Knowledge of the Value of such Performances, and therefore something of this sort is annually practised at Paris.

† It seems a little strange, that the learned Abu Rensar did not endeavour to settle the Time when this Arabian Traveller went to Ceina, especially when there is a Circumstance which seems to fix it, viz. the plundering of Bajra, upon which it is to be taken a Remark, as if going to Siraf. In order to supply this Defect, I have consulted Abu Barajim, who informs us, that A. H. 286, was an answer to A. D. 899, there was one He S. S., who rebelled against the Khalif, and ruined Bajra, which occasioned the sailing and settling that City, which was then fourteen or sixteen Years of Age. The Khalif then reigning was Al Mubarak, in whose Time Abu Rensar informs us, Things were in great Confusion, and he likewise takes notice of this Rebellion. The Date agrees very well with the rest of this History, and particularly with the Account given by the Author, of the Reasons which induced him to quit his Country in his Conference with the Emperor of Ceina.

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lately necessary to the understanding the subsequent Voyages to the East-Indies.

The last of these old Writers taken into our Collection, shall be Sir John Mandeville, our Countryman, who, notwithstanding all the Objections made to his Relation, deserves much better Usage than he has met with. This great Traveller flourished in the fourteenth Century, and spent no less than thirty-three Years in travelling through the Levant, Syria, Tartary, India, Cathay, Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, and other Countries. He composed the History of these Travels in Latin, French, and English, and yet we have never hitherto had his Work set in such a Light as might bear reading with Pleasure; I had almost said, and it would be no more than Truth, with Patience; and at the same time it has been respected and well esteemed abroad. There are indeed Abundance of strange Stories and incredible Passages in his Work, which we do not pretend to justify or impose upon the Reader, but there are others worth knowing, and to be met with no where else. The Trouble which necessarily attends tracing these

Authors from the Rubbish under which they have been buried, and recovering so much of their personal History as is requisite to give Light and Life, Spirit and Intelligence to their several Labours, has been not a little; but when one considers how pious an Act it is to vindicate the Memory of great Men deceased, who thought no Part too great for the Service of Posterity; and how ready the present Age is to encourage all Attempts of this kind, a Man goes through his Task with Pleasure. It is our Happiness to live in Times more enlightened, in which all the Sciences are better understood than when those Authors lived and wrote; but the Contemplation of our Advantages ought to dispose us to a charitable Condescension, and a Disposition to excuse Infirmities, not so properly in them as in the Ages in which they flourished, and from which therefore they could not be exempt, especially when we reflect, that to their Attempts we owe the Splendor that has succeeded, and that without the Struggles made by them we must have been in the same Region of Darkness still.

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are the Disciples of wise Men; and among whom *Abraham the Great*, and *R. Abdias*, and *Aaron Cuspus*, and *Joseph Siarginus*, and *Eliakim the Governor*, have the chief Authority. Amongst these some are Artificers of silken Garments; but there are many Merchants, and those too very rich. No *Jew* is there permitted to be carried on Horse-back, except *Solomon the Egyptian*, the King's Physician, through whose Interest the *Jews* are comforted and ealed in their Captivity, which they feel to be grievous; for all the *Jews* are very much

having neither Markets, Shops, Gardens, nor Orchards. The Sense of their Condition threw them once into an Insurrection, from a Notion that all the Glory and Riches of those on the other Side the River, sprung from no other Cause than their having the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Daniel* on their Side. They demanded therefore that his Tomb should be transferred to their Side; but the others vehemently opposing this, a War began, of which both Sides growing weary, it was agreed, that the Coffin of *Daniel* should

be taken out of the Tomb, and among them the chief City of *Perisa*, within one under the Dominion of the

This pompous Account of it is had out who is of whom about this Time, and therefore it is attributed to the Shah, or Emperor. This Circumstance is not in our Author, and the Reader is not believed before, the *Jewish* Au-

Abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous, that the Towns almost crowd one upon another. A Fable of great Probability relates, that when the Coaks grow at their accustomed Hours, just as with us when at Root, upon Trees, they answer each other a hundred Leagues round, and more, because of the Proximity of the Villages which a mist touch each other; and he adds, that no Part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its Land uncultivated. Those who travel in this Country may stop at every Step, and find Shelter from the Beams of the Noon Day Sun; and if they are tired, they may repose themselves every Day at Noon, go wench Way they will.

45. Yet what follows from the Testimony of several Persians, is the most remarkable Particular we have heard concerning the Island of *Zapage*. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, *Mebage*: His Palace is still to be seen on a River as broad as the *Tigris* at *Bagdad*, or as *passara*. The Sea intercepts the course of its Waters, and drives them back again with the Flood; and during the Flood, it carries out fresh Water a good way into the Sea. This River is let into a small Pond close to the King's Palace; and every Morning the Officer, who has Charge of his Household, brings an Ingot of Gold wrought in a peculiar manner, which is thrown into the Pond in the Presence of the King. The Tide rising, covers it with the reed, and quite covers them from Sight. But low Water discovers them, and they appear plain by the Beams of the Sun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an Apartment of State, which looks upon this Pond. This Custom is very scrupulously observed; and thus they every Day throw an Ingot of Gold into this Pond as long as the King lives, not touching them upon any Account, but regarding this as a sacred Treasure.

When the King dies, his Successor cautes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever missing. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the Sums arising out of this great Quantity of Gold are distributed to those of the Royal Household, Men, Women, and Children, to the superior and inferior Officers, each in pro-

portioned. My Lord, what is your Desire? I could wish, replied the King, to see in a Dish the Head of the *Mebage* of *Zapage*. The Minister, well aware it was Justice that inspired him with this impetuous Fury, rejoined, My Lord, I wish you would not disturb your Mind with such Thoughts, since nothing ever fell out between these People and us, to furnish Matter of Complaint; they never offend us by Word or Deed, or ever did us the least Injury. He and she are divided from us, and have no manner of Communication with our Country, nor do they discover any Inclination of making a Conquest of this Kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to such Discourse, or make a Word of Answer upon this Head. The King was enraged at this Reply, and had not a Word to return; but without any Regard had to the good Advice of his first Minister, he opened the same thing to the principal Officers of State, and to such of his Courtiers as he thought proper.

47. This Matter being rumoured about, a Prince reached the Ears of the *Mebage*. He, who then reigned, was a wise and an active Prince, of consummate Experience, and in the Flower of his Age. He called for his first Minister, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, said to him, it is by no means proper to punish the Behaviour of this giddy Prince, or to be as forward as we esteem him, because of his Youth and tender Experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he said against me; for such Speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the Dignity of a King. Having thus rejoined his Minister to content what had passed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thousand Ships of no extraordinary Size, and to equip them with all Things necessary, Arms and Ammunition, and to man them with as many of his best Forces as they could transport. Then he gave out, that he would make a Voyage through the neighbouring Islands under his Dominion, to divert himself. He wrote also to all the tributary Princes of those Islands, to acquaint them, that he designed them a Visit; and thus being a publick Task, each of those Kings prepared for the Reception of the *Mebage*.

It is not easy to see, from our Author's Way of reasoning, that he had no Notion of any Passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*; for if he had, he would not certainly have taken this Opportunity, of insinuating it. At the same time, however, I leave it to the Reader's Consideration, whether this Voyage, supposing it to have been built on the *Empire*, might not have come this Way into the *Mediterranean*, more probably than by the *North Sea* passage. It is likewise clear from what our Author has delivered, that the *Arabians* knew no more of *Japan*, which they called *Sin*, than they learned from the *Chinese*, since by the Testimony of the oldest of our Authors, no *Arab* had yet set Foot there in the Year of the

ample, for the Instruction of you, that none may exceed the each may be contented with have disturbed may be restored. This said, he ordered them then turning to the Minister he good Master could do; I know to your Master, and that he hear felt who may best succeed this Kingdom, and let him immediately, the *Mebage* departed and neither did he or any of Thing in the Kingdom of *Komora* his own Kingdom, he fat do being in the Palace which look mentioned, he caused the Head to be put into a Basin and set the Chiefs of his Kingdom, he had done, and with the Reason the Expedition we have relat Deal with Acclamations and Then he ordered the Head of washed and embalmed, and put it back to the King of *Komora*, the Room of him he had put Time writing a Letter to this Terms: What inclined us to this desellor, and your Lord, was, wars us; and that we might fe we have been so happy as to treated us. But we think it c back to you, having had no I arrogating any Glory to ourself obtained over him. The Ne

This is a very pleasant Story, and with Certainty, and yet this does not a the Islands which are now called *Philippine* Ponds, but leave the Reader to do Caution and Fidelity. This Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, which I have met with in the *Indians*. It over *Nobon* in *Tartary* in the Province of *Cochin*, the last Time in the Form of a *Metempsychosis*; but *Sin* pass after Death into other Bodies, and *Metempsychosis*, which is the first in this preceding from Man;

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there all Sorts of Men in all manner of Habits of the whole World appear before the King and Queen. Lions also, and Bears, Leopards, and wild Asses, are brought forth into the Place where these Spectacles are to be seen, that they may fight together, and Birds also after the same manner: And my Opinion is that in no Country of the World such princely Sports are to be seen.

But this King *Emanuel*, besides that Palace left him by his Ancestors, hath built him another upon the Sea Shore, which they call *Bilderme*, the Pillars and Walls whereof he hath overlaid with beaten Gold and Silver, whereon he hath engraven all the Wars made by him and his Ancestors; and he hath prepared a Throne there for himself of Gold and precious Stones, and hath adorned it with a golden Crown hanging on high by

by the Tanners, who, while they dress their Skins, pour out the filthy Water into the Streets before their Doors. They are general oppressed with a grievous Yoke, and are insulted and beaten in the Streets, and during from every Hand abundance of Injuries. But among the *Jews* themselves, some are rich, as I have said, and good Men, and merciful, and observe the Commandments, who patiently endure the Misery of Captivity. The Place wherein they dwell is called *Pera*.

5. Our Author continued his Journey from *Constantinople* to the City of *Tyre*, from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from thence through the *Holy Land*, of which he gives a very particular Description, to the City of *Damascus*; and from thence to *Balbeck*, which is in the Neighbourhood of the ancient *Palmyra*, which he calls by its old

Chap. II.

time as *Sanigar Shab*, *Sin* fit, who rules over forty is called in *Arabic* Sulta much as to say, great Emperor, from the Mouth of *Sin* *Samarcani*, and to the *Gisbor*, including the City of *Hapton*, and so to Forests of which Counts produce Milk. His Emperor's Journey in Extent Days Journey in Extent When therefore this *Perisa* came to *Hlam*, and *Daniel* from one Side a great Crowd of *Jews* and demanded what they were doing; and being in

... among them are the Divines of the wife
and the chief City *Omaria*, pertaining to the King-
dom of *Perfia*, within one Day's Journey; but they are
the Dominion of the King of *Perfia*; to whom they
Kingdom of *Perfia* falling thereupon into great Fear of the

This pompous Account of an Emperor commanding over forty-five Kings is very suitable to the Genius of a *Jewish* Traveller; but the Difficulty
is not out who he is of whom all this is said. We read in *Homerus* of a Prince of this Name, who was the Son of a King of *Perfia*, and flourished
in that Time; and therefore it is very probable, that this Decision is to be ascribed to him in the Late time of his Father, though *Benjamin* seems
to attribute it to the Shah, or Empe or Kunkelt.

His Circumstance is not in itself very considerable; but in so large a Collection as this it was necessary to have a Writer so much talked of as
the Author, and the Reader cannot think his Time thrown away in acquiring by this Influence the Power of judging of such a Performance; for, as
we have seen before, the *Jewish* Authors all write alike.

the Instruction of those who shall come after
one may exceed the Bounds of his Power, that
be contented with his own, and that those you
beed may be restored to perfect Security".

4) he ordered them to strike off his Head, and
ing to the Minister he said, You have done all a
ter could do; I know you offered good Advice
after, and that he harkened not unto you. Con-
may best succeed this Fool for the Good of the
and let him immediately upon the Throne. This
Méridage departed for his own Territories,
did he or any of his lay Hands on the least
the Kingdom of *Komar*. When he arrived in
Kingdom, he sat down upon the Throne, and
the Palace which looked upon the Pond before-
he caused the Head of the King of *Komar*
into a Basin and set before him, and calling in
of his Kingdom, he acquainted them with all he
and with the Reasons which had induced him to
ation we have related, and they approved the
Acclamations and Prayers for his Prosperity.

Ordered the Head of the King of *Komar* to be
d embalmed, and put it into a Coffin, and sent
the King of *Komar*, who had been elected in
of him he had put to Death; at the same
ing a Letter to this new Prince in the following
What inclined us to do what we did to your Pre-
and your Lord, was, his known Malevolence to-
and that we might set an Example to his Equals,
been so happy as to treat him as he would have
But we think it convenient to send his Head
you, having had no Design of detaining it, or of
our Glory to ourselves, from the Advantage we
over him. The News of this Action being re-

... natural for him to follow that Author
in what he says of *China* and the *Chinese*, and indeed it
must be allowed, that notwithstanding these small Inter-
ruptions, there are scarce any Books of Travels of so an-
cient a Date, written in a clearer or better Method than these.

4) The *Chinese* were wonderfully regular in all Things
relating to Government, before the last Revolution destroyed
and reduced them to the State they are in at present.
There was a certain Merchant, a Native of *Chorassan*, who
coming into *Irak*, there dealt to a considerable Amount,
and having brought up a Quantity of Goods went to *China*.
This Man was extremely selfish and of incredible Avarice;
it happened that the Emperor of *China* had sent one of his
Eunuchs to *Cansu*, the City of all the *Arabian* Traders,
there to purchase what he wanted, and was to be had on
board of the Ship that was arrived. This Eunuch was
one of those who had the largest Share in his Master's
good Opinion and Confidence, and was Keeper of his
Treasure and of all that he esteemed precious.

A Dispute arose between this Eunuch and the before-
mentioned Merchant, about some Pieces of Ivory and
other Goods, and it ran so high that the Merchant refused
to deal with him. But this Affair making a great Noise,
the Eunuch pushed it to far, that he forced from him the
Choice of his Goods, despising whatever the other could
say to him. The Merchant withdrawing himself, went
privately to *Cumlan* where the Emperor resides, and
which is two Months Journey from *Cansu*, and being ar-
rived he went to the String of the Bell mentioned in the
former Book. The Custom was, that whoever pulled it was
thereupon sent ten Days Journey from thence, into a kind
of Banishment: it was ordered also that he should be com-
mitted to Prison, there to remain for two whole Months;
which expired, the Vice-King or Governor of the Province
released him, and said you have involved yourself in an

very pleasant Story, and well related; but with respect to the Country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to say any Thing
of it, and yet this does not at all lessen the Credibility of the Fact. It is not impossible however, that this History might relate to some of
the Islands in the Straits of *Sonda*, which are now called *Philippina*; or perhaps some of the Islands in the Straits of *Sonda*. I pretend to determine nothing in this doubt-
ful matter, but leave the Reader to decide for himself, according to the Lights given him by the Author, who appears to have written with great
Fidelity.

Doctrine of the Metempsychosis is generally held among the *Chinese*. Their Histories say, that one *Xekia*, or *Sekia*, an *Indian* Philoso-
pher lived about a thousand Years before Christ, was the first that taught this Doctrine of Transmigration; and our Authors add, that the *Chi-
nese* in the Province of *Chikang*. This *Xekia*, according to the *Chinese* Tradition in *Navarrete*, has been born eight thousand Times
in the Form of a white Elephant. It is he that was called *Fiber* after his Apotheosis. The Sect of *Xekia*, as we are told by *Father*
of the Metempsychosis; but this Sect is divided into two Branches, the one believing the exterior Metempsychosis, or that the Souls of
men pass from one Body to another, and these worship Idols, and obtain from every Thing that has Life, while the other Sect has Faith in the
interior Metempsychosis, which is the principal Foundation of their Morality, which consists in suppressing the Passions, which are as so many differ-
ent Enemies protecting from Man; but neither the one nor the other expect Rewards or dread Punishments in the World to come.

ap. II. of BENJAMIN DE TUDELA. 549

... as *Sanigar Shab*, Son to the great *Shab* of *Per-
sia*, who rules over forty-five Princes, cancelled it. He
is called in *Arabic* Sultan *Phars-Al Chabir*, which is as
much as to say, great Emperor of *Perfia*. His Empire
extends from the Mouth of the River *Samouara* to the City
of *Maracand*, and to the River of *Gozan*, the Province of
Hapton, including the Cities of the *Medes*, the Mountains
of *Hapton*, and so to the Province of *Ybibet*; in the
Mountains of which Country are found the Animals that
produce Musk. His Empire is four Months and four
Days Journey in Extent".

When therefore this great Monarch *Sanigar* King of
Perfia came to *Plam*, and saw them transporting the Coffin
of *Daniel* from one Side of the River to the other, with a
great Crowd of *Jews* and *Ismaelites* upon the Bridge, he
demanded what they were doing, and the Reason of their
being there; and being informed of what has been before
related, he decided the Point thus. It is by no means
probable, said he, that the Remains of *Daniel* should be
found in this manner; measure therefore to a Place
which is at an equal Distance from both Sides, and there
suspend the Coffin of *Daniel* by suspended in a Glass Coffin

pay Tribute; and the Tribute appointed in all the King-
doms of the *Ismaelites*, is for Males above fifteen Years old,
one Golden Amir, which is in Value one *Spanish* Mora-
becine Piece of Gold and an half, or half a Crown of our
Money.

7. It is now twelve Years since a certain Man named
David Elrei arose in the City of *Omaria*, who was the
Disciple of *Chabstai*, the Head of the Captivity, and of
Jacob the honourable Head of the Assembly of *Levi*, in the
Metropolitan City of *Bagdat*; he became very learned in
the Law of *Moses*, and in the Books of Doctrine, and also
in all Wisdom; in the Language of the *Ismaelites*, and in
the Books of the Magicians and Enchanters; he therefore
took it in his Head that he would raise Arms against the
King of *Perfia*, would gather together the *Jews* who dwell
in the Mountains of *Hapton*, would war against the whole
World, and go to *Jerusalem* and win it by Assault; and
that he might persuade the *Jews* thereto, he shewed them
lying and deceitful Signs, affirming that he was sent from
God to *Jerusalem*, and to free them from the Yoke of the
Nations, so that with many of the *Jews* he procured Credit
unto himself, and was owned by them for their Messiah.

wasted Limbs, or such as have had their Sinews shrunk. The Tortoise is exceedingly annoyed by the Sea Eagle, which taking the smaller sort in his Talons, carries them a great way up into the Air, and then letting them fall on a Rock, breaks the Shells, and so feeds upon their Flesh, which, but for this Contrivance, would be secure from his Fury².

5. The Crocodile is another amphibious Creature common to *Africa* and the *Indies*; but the *Indian* Crocodiles are by far the largest, and those that frequent the Marshes near the River *Ganges* are believed to be the biggest in the World. *Aristotle* has given us a very large Description of this Animal, which is withal very accurate and just: He informs us, that the Female Crocodile lays sixty Eggs or upwards at a time, each of the Size of a Goose's Egg, and the Animal, when hatched, is of the same Proportion; but as it grows as long as it lives, it reaches in some Countries a larger, and in others a less Size; *Aristotle* mentions fifteen Cubits, which is two-and-twenty Feet and a half, as the largest Size he had heard of; but in the *Indies* there are Crocodiles of twice that Bigness, for which we shall hereafter assign a probable Reason³.

The Crocodile is of the Lizard kind, and therefore we need not enter into a particular Description of it; it has no Tongue, and moves only the upper Jaw. Its Teeth, which are very strong and sharp, shut into each other like the Teeth of two Combs. It is also armed with terrible Claws; and his Back and Legs are covered with Scales so strong, that they are not to be pierced. He passes the Day mostly on Shore, and retires in the Night mostly into the Water, where having gorged himself with Fish, he comes on Shore when the Sun is up, and sleeps upon the Sand. *Pliny* says, that for four Months in the Winter the Crocodile retires to some Cave or Den, where it sleeps for that Time, without receiving any Sustenance⁴.

As this Creature is only bred in hot Countries, so it seems incapable of living in colder Climates. There was one brought into *France* in 1681, and being landed at *Rocheville* was brought from thence by Land to *Verfailles*; but they were frequently obliged to lay it before the Fire, for otherwise it would not have survived the Journey. It would eat nothing after it left the Ship, and died when it had been kept about a Month at *Verfailles*. When they dissected it, they found in its Stomach a considerable Quantity of Sand, and some Snails with their Shells whole. It appears from hence, that the Accounts of this Creature that are given us by the Ancients are justified by Experience⁵.

Thus far of Crocodiles in general, we will now speak particularly of those in the *Indies*, and compare the Accounts given us of them by the Writers of Antiquity, with the Relations of such modern Travellers as are thought to deserve most Credit. *Strabo* informs us, that when *Alexander* found the River *Hydaspes* much infested with Crocodiles, and *Egyptian* Beans growing on its Banks, he made no sort of Question that he had found the Head of the *Nile* in the *Indies*; nay, to such a Degree was he persuaded of the Truth of this Discovery, that he actually directed a Fleet to be prepared in order to have sailed that way into *Egypt*, from whence it seems highly probable, that before *Alexander's* Expedition the Ancients did not know that there were Crocodiles in the *Indies*⁶.

It is from *Strabo* likewise that we learn that these ravenous Creatures have an Aversion to Swine's Flesh, which, however, is a Point that deserves to be enquired into⁷. *Pélobratus*, in the Life of *Apollonius Tyanus*, enters into an express Comparison between the Rivers *Indus* and *Nilus*, which, he observes, have a great Resemblance, especially in these two Particulars, their overflowing annually, and their being full of Crocodiles; but in this as in many other things, that Writer is plainly mistaken, for the River *Nilus* is not the only River in *Africa*, in which Crocodiles are bred, nor are these Creatures peculiar to the *Indus*, but meet generally most of the large Rivers in the *Indies*, and

particularly the *Ganges*, where are the largest Crocodiles perhaps in the World; and it is observed by *St. Amrose*, that it passed for a kind of Miracle among the *Indians*, that at the Season of the Year when the *Brachmans* passed that River to go to their Wives, they were never infested by these terrible Animals.

If we could confide in what the Missionaries have told us of this Subject, we might add some curious Particulars to the natural History of Crocodiles. *Father Francis Colin* asserts positively, that this Creature voids no Excrement, nor has any Passage for it, which I doubt is not agreeable to Truth. It is likewise affirmed both by him and *Barthelemy Navarrete*, that the Female Crocodile destroys her Young, swallowing them as they run from the Sands, where they are hatched, into the Water, which is another wonderful Circumstance that never occurred to the Ancients, or to any thing I know to any other of the Moderns. As to what both these reverend Writers relate of *Machabes* being found in this Animal, it is singular, but not at all improbable, because almost all Writers agree, that the Flesh of the Crocodile has a very musty Scent, and in the *West-Indies* the Mouths of the Rivers where these Creatures haunt have their Waters so strongly tinged with this smell and Taste, that they are not drinkable.

Gasper Balbi, whose Travels through the *Indes* are extremely curious, in his Description of the City of *Pegu*, which he visited in 1576, has the following extraordinary Passage⁸: "The Inhabitants of the City lead, for the most part, a lazy and scandalous Life; they are very idle in their Houses, in which, generally speaking, they keep Hogs. They drink the Water in their Ditches rather from Superstition or Custom, than from any other Reason, which is the more wonderful, since the Crocodiles in those Ditches are not only numerous, but of an extraordinary Size, inasmuch that many of them exceed thirty Feet in Length, and yet the People, who see more or other devoured by them every Day, are so stupid as to reverence them as they do the Apes, and this from a firm, as well as foolish Persuasion, that the Souls of men as are devoured by the Crocodiles find the direct Road to Heaven. The Subtilty of these Creatures is very extraordinary. When the People come with their Packes to take up Water, they conceal themselves under the grass Weed, or under the Reeds, which grow on the Side of the Ditch, and laying hold of the Person by the Head, or by the Foot, pull them to him. Men and Women have been seen in this manner with their Heads and Hands above Water, running out for Help, to such time as they were dragged to the Hole where the Crocodile lay, and who was distinctly heard to devour them. Remonstrances having been once made to the King on this Subject, he ordered the largest Crocodile, and which was known to have done most Mischief, to be taken and killed. This Creature was of an enormous Size, and of a most terrible Appearance. After his Death there were not so many People killed as before; and it seems not a little wonderful, that they did not pursue the Frustration of these Animals for the Preservation of the Inhabitants. It is observed here, that though the Elephant, which is a very hot Creature, not only drinks out of those Ditches, but frequently goes into them to cool and refresh himself; yet the Crocodiles never venture to attack him, which is supposed to be owing to the Bigness of the Creature; for it is observed, that the Crocodile is as cowardly as it is cruel."

Peter Vanden Broek tells us, that on the Coast of *Ceylon* the Crocodiles are very common in all the Rivers, inasmuch that the People are afraid to pass them, or to go by Water; and this with great Reason, since while he was there, there were several, both Men and Women, devoured by them⁹. In the Island of *Java*, when the Dutch first visited it, the Rivers were full of Crocodiles, and People were often devoured by them; yet the *Chinese*, who had

² *H. J. Gen. d. Ind. lib. iv.*

³ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 47.*

⁴ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 25, 26.*

⁵ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 25, 26.*

⁶ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 25, 26.*

⁷ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 25, 26.*

⁸ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 25, 26.*

⁹ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 25, 26.*

¹ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

² *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

³ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

⁴ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

⁵ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

⁶ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

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⁵ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

⁶ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

⁷ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

⁸ *Herodot. lib. ii. Caput. N. 27.*

Book I.

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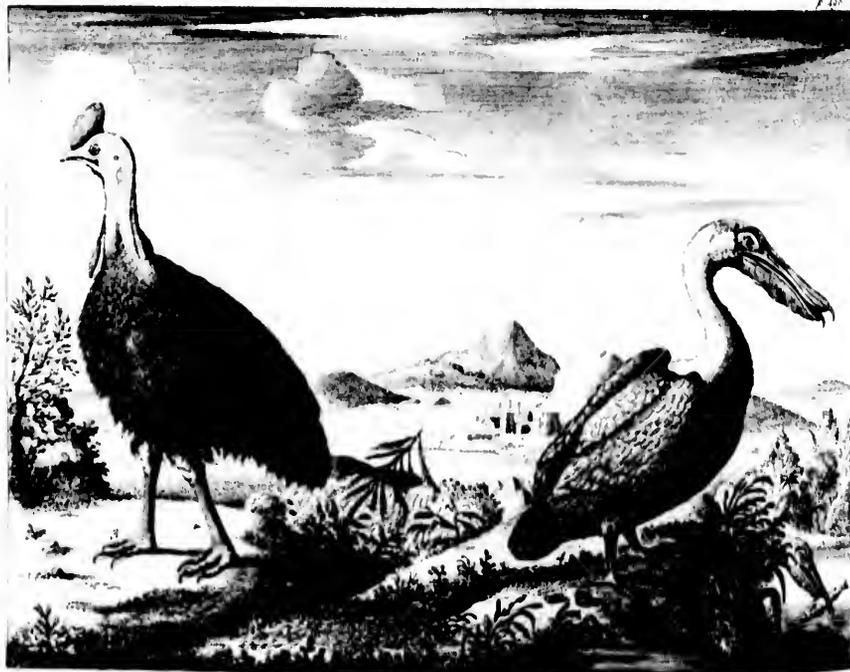
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1. The large Indian Eagle described by Aristotle, and other Writers of Natural History, with the Lips that are found in its beak. 2. The Ostrich in its common posture in running.



3. The Omen or Casuar a Bird of a very singular kind found in America, Canada and the Moluccas. 4. The Water Pelican or Casuarina of Pliny from a Printing taken from the Life.

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in that Island, had the Secret of taming them, fatt'd, and afterwards killed and eat them; which will appear the less strange, when we are told, that *Aristotle* relates the same Thing, as done in his *Time in Egypt*. In the Island of *Ceylon* they are much infested with Crocodiles, which the *Portuguese* call *Lagortas*, they are generally about eighteen feet long, and the Inhabitants of that Country report, that they have a Stone in their Head, which is a Specifick for all gravelly Complaints, and is even capable of dissolving the Stone.

The *Arabians* call this Creature *Temsa*, the *Persians* *Nizenk*, the *Turks* *Lowi*, and the *Chinese* *Telen*; they all agree, that they are as long lived as a Man; and this seems to account for their monstrous Size, since I do not find, that what the Antients relate of their growing as long as they live is disputed by the Moderns; and that in *India* they should be larger than in any other Country, may be accounted for from two Causes, the first is, the Heat of the Climate, which is allowed to have a great Effect on such kind of Animals; the second is, the preposterous Reverence shewn to these destructive Creatures in many Places, by which they are preferred to a greater Age, and consequently arrive at a larger Size than in other Countries, where the People have Willom and Resolution enough to rid themselves of these Monst'rs.

The *Ganges*, and as some antient Writers report, the *River Indus* also nourishes in it a Worm or rather Serpent, of a most singular kind, considering either its Form or its Properties; its Skin is of a dark blue, from whence it receives its Name *Cyoneides*; it is in Length six Cubits; *Pliny* by some Error sure in the transcribing, has sixty Cubits, and is about two Feet round; it has but one Tooth in each Jaw, which is about four Inches long, with which laying hold of whatever Animal comes to drink at the River, whether Horse, Cow, Camel, or Elephant, it pulls them under Water, and there tears to pieces and devours them, the Entrails only excepted.

This dreadful Creature is caught with a Hook hid under the Belly of a Sheep or Goat, and the Ufe made of it when dead, is to the full as singular as what is related of it while living. The Fishermen after it is caught hang it up by the Tail in the open Air, where, by the Heat of the Sun, in the Space of three Weeks it continues into a kind of Oil, which has this singular Quality, that it takes Fire of itself if exposed to the Air, and is absolutely unextinguishable. It was for this Reason, that the Emperors of *Persia*, who were Masters of the Provinces bordering upon the *River Indus*, and the *Indian* Princes, Successors to *Saracens*, who were in Possession of the same Provinces after the Successors of *Alexander* quitted their Claim to them, receiv'd all this Oil for their own Use, and employ'd it in Time of War to set the Gates of any City on Fire, which they intended to take by Storm.

This Serpent appears to have been at least as strong, and at the same time much more fierce, than the Crocodile; which, as we have heard, never ventur'd to attack the Elephant. The original Writer of this strange Story was *Ctesias*, who was sold at the *Persian* Court, where perhaps they had some such Oil brought from the *Indies* with this Fable tack'd to it, to make it esteem'd more valuable; which, from numerous Instances we have shewn, was a common Artifice of these People to fright other Nations from making any Expeditions into their Country. The Reader may perhaps be surpris'd at my supposing it possible, that there should be any such Oil; and therefore I think myself oblig'd to mention my Reason for it: Our Chymists have a Secret of making a black Powder which is called *Pulvis Infernalis*, that will take Fire by being exposed to the open Air; and therefore, I see nothing absurd in admitting, that there might be an oily Composition which had the same Quality. It is also certain, that the *Greeks* had a kind of Wild-fire of the same Nature, which they employ'd in burning the Ships of the *Saracens* when they block'd up the Port of *Constantinople*.

It is certain, that none of our modern Travellers mention any Thing, that has the least Relation to this extraordinary Creature; but in all Probability, the Accounts given us by these antient Writers, took Rise from some of those Water Serpents that are common in the Mouths of most Rivers in the *Indies*, of which we have spoken before under the Head of Dragons, and of these great Numbers are brought down into the Sea on the Coast of *China*, as they are also by the Rivers that run thro' the *Terra Australis*, or the *Southern Continent*, as we observ'd before in the Account given of Captain *Abel Tasman's* Voyage for the Discovery of that Country; and if there be any Probability in the Arguments drawn by *Philostratus*, of the Likeness of *Aethiopia* to the *Indies*, from the Resemblance between the *Nile* and the *Indus*, we might from hence infer, that there is a like Correspondence between the Climates of the *Southern Continent* and the *Indies*.

The same *Philostratus*, differs from other Writers as to this Serpent in several Circumstances; first, he says, it is found in the River *Hyphates*, next he affirms it to be white; and lastly, he says nothing of its Teeth or of its Fierceness. *St. Ambrose* mentions another very singular Worm in the *Ganges*, which he says looks at first like a long Pipe, with the Horns of the Animal appearing at one End; then it changes to a Sort of Worm, rolls itself up soon after in a Ball or Case, like that of the Silk-Worm, and when it comes out from thence, puts on the Appearance of a Butterfly. He adds, that from the Ball they draw a kind of Silk, of which are made the finest Stuffs in the Country; but this too, if any such Creature there be, is not known to the Moderns, which is the more extraordinary, because it is generally believed that we are much better acquainted with the Manufactures of the *Indies* than the Antients; so that upon the whole, I am apt to suspect, that this is no more than a mistaken or erroneous Account of the Silk Worm.

It cannot, however, be amiss, to preserve all these Relations, because however improbable or even incredible they may appear, yet it is not impossible, that there may be something of Truth at the bottom, even of the most extravagant Relations. This at least is certain, that for many Ages the *Indians* concealed not only the Sources of their Riches, but the Secret of their Manufactures, and especially that of Silk, as we shall have Occasion to shew at large; and it is no less certain, that in order to conceal them, they invented a Multitude of Fables, with which for a long Time they impos'd upon the World. One would suspect that something of this Spirit remains still among the *Chinese*, from the improbable Accounts that are given us by the Missionaries of that Country, and every thing in it; but more of this in its proper Place; at present, we have done with the Animals that inhabit the Water, and are next to examine the Volatiles of the *Indies*.

10. The Eagle is generally considered by all Naturalists as the King of Birds, which Title is supposed to have been bestowed on this Creature for its superior Strength, for the natural Terror that it strikes into the whole feather'd Race, and for the Boldness of its Flight, in which it soars higher than any Bird whatever. It was very possibly the Consideration of these Properties, that induced *C. Marius*, when a second Time Consul, in the Year after the Building of *Rome* 650, and the Year before *Christ* 103, to suppress the Figures of the Wolf, the Minotaur, the Horse, and the wild Boar, which hitherto (as well as the Eagle) had been borne on the Roman Ensigns, in order to substitute the Figure of the Eagle, with her Wings half displayed, in their Stead, as an Emblem more significant than any, or than all the former, and more capable of exciting the Ardour, Courage, and Emulation of the Soldiers, than any that could be devised; and this Alteration of his was sufficiently justified by the Event.

Pliny distinguishes six kind of Eagles, among which however he allows only one to be the true Royal Eagle,

¹ D. Hist. Anim. lib. ix. cap. 3. ² Gasp. Balthus's Description of the Island of *Ceylon*, chap. 3. ³ *Floran Lib.* v. c. p. 3. ⁴ *Linn.* ⁵ *Ind. lib. ii. No. 27.* ⁶ *In Vir. Apollon. lib. 3. cap. 1.* ⁷ *Herampon Lib. v. cap. 23.* ⁸ *Aristot. de Hist. Anim. lib. ix. Part.* ⁹ *Ind. lib. x. cap. 2. Plin. de Anim. lib. xi. lib. 3. Notul. Com. Mytholog. lib. 1. p. 84.* ¹⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ²⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ³⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁴⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁵⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁶⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁷⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁸⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹² *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹³ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹⁶ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹⁷ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ⁹⁹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.* ¹⁰⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. p. 4.*

" certain time there, finishes its Days. Out of its Flesh
 " when corrupted, there Springs a kind of a Worm, which
 " feeding for some time on the Remains of this Animal,
 " begins at length to be covered with Feathers; and when
 " it becomes stronger it carries away the Nest, which con-
 " tains the Relicks of its deceased Parent, and passing from
 " Arabia into Egypt, bears them to the City of Heliopolis.
 " There in full Day, and in the Sight of a Multitude of
 " Spectators, it flies to the Altar of the Sun, and having
 " thereon deposited its Burden, immediately retires. The
 " Egyptian Priests having consulted their Annals, and
 " having from them made an exact Computation, find, that
 " this happens precisely at the Close of five hundred
 " Years."

This Fable was not only current in Italy, but in Africa,
 as appears from the Writings of Tertullian⁹, who makes
 use of this Example with the same Intention as St. Clement.
 The Ancients, however, differed much about the Manner
 in which the Phœnix died. According to the former Ac-
 counts, it expired in the ordinary way; but a Multitude of
 Writers affirm, that having raised its funeral Pile, it set
 Fire thereto, and fanning that Fire with its Wings, was
 therein consumed to Ashes, out of which Ashes arose the
 new Phœnix thus consecrated to the Sun. The Date of
 its Life was a Point no less controverted. An Ethiopian
 Prince, in a Letter of his to a Pope, cited by Vossius, lays,
 that it lives three hundred Years. Herodotus, Elian, Phi-
 lophanes, and Arctius Visitor, extend the Term of its Life
 to four hundred and forty, or five hundred Years. Pliny,
 on the Authority of Manilius, as we have seen before, to
 six hundred and sixty. Martial and Lactantius to a thou-
 sand; but the Arabian, Egyptian, and Rabbinical Writers,
 far beyond this, in consequence, as they pretend, of its not
 having tasted the forbidden Fruit.

In the midst, however, of these Contradictions, and
 though several of the ancient Authors freely profess their
 Suspicions of the whole Story, yet Tacitus¹⁰ does not seem
 to question the Fact, but rather to admit, that such a Bird
 had been sometimes seen in Egypt; and another Historian
 says, that its coming to Rome was considered as an ill Omen
 by the Augurs, and thought to portend the Death of the
 Emperor Vespasian. Father Martinus, in his Chinese Atlas¹¹,
 assures us, that it was seen in China in the Beginning of the
 Reign of Kaitan IV. and that it was thought to come from
 the Indies. All the Circumstances of the Story are so ap-
 parently fabulous, that it would be losing time to refute
 them. If the curious Reader has a mind to see this done
 effectually he may consult Sir Thomas Browne¹², who has
 handled this, as he does every other Subject, with great
 Learning and Capacity; but I have chosen rather to insist
 on the Facts reported by ancient Writers, than to enter into
 a Detail of Arguments, which would extend this Article to
 an extravagant Length, and be at the same time quite beside
 the Purpose.

It may not be amiss, however, before we conclude, to
 say something of the Origin of this Fable, which some have
 imagined arose, or was at least strengthened by the same
 Word, signifying in Greek both the Phœnix and the Palm-
 tree. Thus much is certain indeed, that a mistake of this
 kind has brought this Bird into the Scriptures, the Autho-
 rity of which can never be brought to justify such Fables,
 though some, to shew their Learnings, are for finding in
 them whatever Facts or Reasons they have a mind to esta-
 blish. The true Source, however, of this Notion, lay like
 that of the Gryphon in the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks. It
 was from the Egyptians that Plato and the rest of the An-
 cients borrowed their Notion of the great Year which they
 never fully understood; and the Reigns of their several
 Gods, which have given so much Trouble to our most
 learned Chronologers, were in truth no more than the Pe-
 riods of the Planets, that is to say, the Spaces of Time in
 which they finished, according to the Egyptian System,
 their Revolutions; and this is the true Cause why, after all

the Pains that have been taken about them, the Accounts we
 have are almost as perplexed as ever.

The true Story of the Phœnix, though applied by the
 Christian Fathers to the Resurrection, was by the ancient
 Egyptians understood of another sort of Resurrection; for
 they conceived, that when the great Year of all was accom-
 plished, the Universe was to be destroyed by Fire, and a
 new System arise out of the Ruins of the old. Thus I con-
 ceive they borrowed from the Indians; at least thus much
 is certain, that this was, and still is, a Principle of their Phi-
 losophy, which, as the learned Dr. Burnet¹³ of the Charter-
 house well observes, they explained by another Symbol, viz.
 that of a Spider, which after spinning various Webs, re-
 sumes them again all into himself, and re-produces the same
 Matter under other Forms; and thus Philosophical Simi-
 litudes, which imperfectly expressed what Reason could
 scarce comprehend, came by the Mistakes of vulgar Minds
 to corrupt natural Philosophy, by introducing imaginary
 Creatures, which never had, or could have, Existence
 according to the Laws of Nature.

13. After the Fable of the Phœnix had been rejected by
 almost all the Learned, it was again in some measure re-
 sumed by the great Julius Caesar Scaliger¹⁴, a Man, whose
 Eminence in all kind of Learning gave him to high a Re-
 putation in the World, that his Opinions were received as
 a kind of Oracles. He thought that the Accounts given
 of a certain Bird found in the Southern Countries of the
 Indies, called Semenda, or Semendal, had some Relation
 to the Phœnix, and that consequently all that had been ad-
 vanced in relation to this Bird was not absolutely false and
 fictitious.

In order to judge the better of this, it will be requisite to
 enter into the Description of this last mentioned Bird, and see
 how far it accords with that of the Phœnix. The Semendal
 is said to have a triple Bill, or three Bills raised one over
 another, by the Help of which, when she is near her Death,
 she makes a most delightful Harmony. Then forming a
 Pile of odoriferous Wood, she sets fire thereto, and fanning
 it with her Wings, suffers herself to be consumed to
 Ashes, out of which a Worm is produced that afterwards
 changes into the same kind of Fowl.

This is visibly nothing more than the old Fable a little
 varied, and yet it is true enough, that there is in the Island
 of Java, and in the Spice Islands belonging to the Dutch,
 a kind of Bird that has two Bills, and therefore is called by
 the Inhabitants the Double Bill; but as to its singing, I find
 no Evidence to that Point. As it is a Native of the Moluc-
 cas, it is very probable that it may make its Nest of Spices;
 but that it consumes itself therein there is no good Testi-
 mony to prove, notwithstanding what the single Traveller,
 on whose Relation the original Fact is grounded, has ad-
 vanced.

It may indeed be alledged, that some Eastern Writers
 have countenanced this Notion by their Relations¹⁵; but
 then we know that such Accounts as these are liable to great
 Suspicions, and especially to that of giving an Air of Mat-
 ter of Fact to Parables. On the whole therefore, there is
 just as little Reason to credit the modern Story of the Se-
 mendal, as to yield any Belief to what the Ancients have
 related concerning the Phœnix, or to express the thing
 plainly, and in few Words, they are both Fables equally
 destitute of Foundation. It is very hard to discover the
 Motive why even the greatest Men are unwilling to give
 up Authority, when it is directly contrary not only to Reason,
 but the Laws of Nature; and yet that this is frequently
 the Case, many Instances might be brought to prove, but
 this before us is more than sufficient; and therefore I shall
 trouble the Reader no farther upon this Subject.

What has been already said was necessary to shew, that
 no Pains have been spared to examine these Points, and to
 set the Truth in a fair Light, which was thought the more
 requisite, because most Writers of Voyages are so much in-
 clined to report strange and wonderful things, and to call

⁹ De Resurr. Corp. cap. xii. p. 387. ¹⁰ See this Matter largely discussed in Father Harduin's Annotations upon Pliny. ¹¹ Histoire de
 Ind. lib. vi. cap. 99. ¹² Bachelart. Hieroz. p. 11. lib. vi. cap. 57. ¹³ Annot. lib. vi. cap. 28. ¹⁴ Atlas Sinen. p. 284. ¹⁵ Valgar History,
 Book III. Chap. XII. ¹⁶ Bachelart. Hieroz. ubi supra. The Greek Word is φοειξ, it occurs in Job xxx. 18 as also in the Psalm. ¹⁷ Aristotle,
 Phil. p. 31. ¹⁸ Scalig. Exercit. 223. ¹⁹ Cardan. de Jucund. lib. x. ²⁰ Navigat. Nicola Contarini a Poggio carta. ²¹ Sir Thomas Browne's
 Works had himself seen some of the Eggs or Beaks of these wonderful Birds, yet he declares against the Notion of the Phœnix. A vulgar Error,
 Esca. lib. 12.

in to their Assistance the Relations of the Ancients, that without the Aid of such clear and explicit Commentaries as we have given, it is simply impossible to cure the Minds of many People of that sort of superstitious Credulity which these kind of Relations naturally induce. And with the Refutation of which, we should have been forced to interrupt the Thread of subsequent Voyages, if we had not once for all dispatched the Subject in this and the foregoing Chapter.

14. The Pelican is a very singular Bird, concerning which the Ancients have written largely, and yet there have been very great Disputes among the Moderns as to the Bird which they have described, the Reason of which, as well as of the Fables current about this Creature, will quickly appear. *Aristotle* and *Eliau*¹ call it by the same Name, viz. Pelican; but *Pliny* describes it under the Name of *Oncrotalus*², yet their Accounts agree so exactly, that there seems to be no Reason to doubt they meant one and the same Bird. The Author last mentioned tells us there is but one thing remarkable in this Creature, which is, that it has a false Stomach, into which it swallows its Prey when first taken, and throws it out again from thence in order to feed upon it.

There are some of these Birds that live mostly on Land, and others that resort constantly to the Waters; yet the Figure of both is the same. There were several of them kept for many Years in France, and in the Memoires of the Royal Academy of Sciences, we have a very distinct Account of them. According to their Description the Pelican is five Foot high from the Beak to its Feet, the Wings when extended eleven Feet from one Extremity to the other. Their Beak about fourteen Inches in Length, and an Inch and an half broad at the End, its Legs fifteen Inches, the longest of its Claws four Inches and a half, the Length of its Neck about ten Inches³.

There is scarce any Bird except the Eagle of so great Strength as the Pelican, which is also a Bird of Prey, and flies to a great Height. *Culmannus*, in a letter of his to *Geiner* the famous Naturalist⁴, tells us of a tame Pelican that soared to high as to appear in the Air no bigger than a Swallow, and which having for a long time attended the Army of the Emperor *Maximilian*, that Prince ordered it to be maintained, and allowed for that Purpose four Crowns a Day, which bird lived in Germany fourscore Years. This Fact is the more credible, because in the Menagery of *Letovs XIV* there were many Pelicans, and it was observed, that they were the only kind of Birds of which there died not one in the Space of twelve Years. Two of them were by Order of that Prince dissected at *Paris*. The first was intirely covered with white Feathers, except the Wings, in which there were some black, and others brown; and in the Feathers on the Body there was a little Mixture of red. The other was altogether of a Flesh Colour, without any Mixture of black or white Feathers. Some of the rest of the Pelicans in the Menagery were all over grey, except the Extremity of their Wings, which was white. Some had a large Tuft of Feathers behind the Head, and some wanted that Tuft, so that it may be affirmed there are few Birds more differently feathered than this.

But there is one Mark which sufficiently distinguishes this Bird from all others: It has under its Beak a large Bag which is quite naked, and hangs down on its Neck. In this Pouch it keeps its Food till it is properly prepared for Digestion, and then if there be nothing hard or undissolved, it swallows the whole at once; but if there be, it discharges it, and picks out what is easiest for Digestion. *Aristotle*⁵ had observed this long ago; for he tells us, that the Water Pelican was wont to swallow Shell-fish, keeping them in her Stomach till they opened, and then threw them up and picked out the Fish. *Eliau*⁶ says the same thing, which sufficiently proves that we are not mistaken as to this Bird, but that the Pelican known to us is the very same Creature which is described by the Ancients.

The old Fathers of the Christian Church exceeded the Greeks themselves in the Fables they reported upon this Sub-

ject; they had heard that the Pelican fed her young ones out of this Pouch, or false Stomach; and this being told them either imperfectly, or with Addition of some fabulous Circumstances, they from thence framed a Parable or Similitude between this and the most solemn Mystery in the Christian Religion; and to render it the more apt, they devised new Circumstances, and enlarged every Part of the Story to make it answer their Intention the better. The Tale then ran thus; that the Female Pelican killed her young ones by caring them too much with her Beak, and then mourned over them for three Days, till the Male Pelican becoming still more sensible, tore his Breast open with his Beak, and by the Effusion of his own Blood, restored the young Pelicans to Life. This, without Question, is very wild and extravagant, and has nothing to countenance it in the Works of any of the Naturalists; whence the learned *Fessius*⁷ very justly concludes, that these Stories were invented by such as were in Love with Allegations and Hieroglyphics.

We find in the Writings of a very learned German Author, whose Name is *John-George Volkamer*⁸ that he saw at the Fair of *Leyden* a Pelican, which the Man who kept it affirmed to have been in his Custody upwards of fifty Years. It was much larger and stronger than an Eagle, but otherwise very like it both in Size and in the Colour of its Feathers, except that from its Head to its Wings it was grown quite white through Age; he assures us, that of all Birds it lives the longest, that it renews its Feathers like the Eagle, and that it often survives to upwards of an hundred. He adds, that its false Stomach, which hangs upon its Neck, is big enough to admit one's Hand, and that he actually thrust his own into the Pouch of the Pelican, where he felt the Food he had taken half dissolved, and so hot that he was not able to endure it. He tells us likewise, that from thence it feeds its young ones. The Ancients having long ago observed the same thing, viz. as I observed, gave the first Rise to the Stories which have been told of this Bird's feeding its young ones with its Blood: yet in Fact there is nothing extraordinary in this, since the same thing has been observed of very many, and perhaps might be observed of most Birds who fill their Gizzards full of whatever they meet with when their Females are hatching, and disgorge it again for the Support of the Hen and her Brood.

It is therefore through want of Attention to the Animals in our own Country, that we are so much struck with the Singularities reported by Travellers of the Animals in other Countries; for without doubt, if we examined carefully what passes every Day under our Eyes, we should not only be less apt to be surprized at such Relations, but be also better able to judge how far they ought or ought not to be believed. It is in this Respect that the Study of natural History is exceedingly useful, not only by guarding us against Credulity, but enabling us to correct the confused and discordant Accounts given us by such as from a superficial View of Foreign Creatures venture to describe them, and often add such Circumstances from Hearsay as are not to be depended upon, but out of which an intelligent Naturalist will be able notwithstanding to pick the Truth.

15. All who have visited the most Southern Islands of the Indies, particularly *Sumatra*, *Banda*, and the rest of the *Moluccas*, agree in relating some extraordinary Particulars of a very large Bird, common in those Islands, and of which it does not appear that the Ancients had any Knowledge. This Bird the Natives call *Emou*, but the *Dutch* usually distinguish it by the Name of the *Calor*. This Creature is thus described by Mr. *John Newhoff*, a *Dutch Traveller*⁹, very justly esteemed for his Fidelity, and the Exactness of his Relations, and therefore I shall set down his Description in his own Words.

This Bird, says he, carries his Head very upright, and then it is about five Foot from the Ground; the Length of his Body, from the Beak to the Tail, is about three, or perhaps a little more. The Head appears smaller in Proportion than the Body, and is very

¹ De Hist. Animal. lib. 10. c. 20.

² De Animal. lib. 11. cap. 20.

³ Hist. Nat. lib. 8. c. 47.

⁴ Memoires de l'Acad. des Sciences.

⁵ De Hist. Animal. lib. 10. c. 20.

⁶ Hist. Animal. lib. 11. c. 20.

⁷ De Animal. lib. 11. c. 20.

⁸ De Animal. lib. 11. c. 20.

⁹ De Hist. Animal. lib. 10. c. 20.

¹⁰ De Animal. lib. 11. c. 20.

¹¹ De Animal. lib. 11. c. 20.

¹² De Hist. Animal. lib. 10. c. 20.

¹³ De Animal. lib. 11. c. 20.

¹⁴ De Animal. lib. 11. c. 20.

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smooth, and in Colour of a dark Blue; on the Chest there hang two Excrecences like Bags; The Eyes are large and fierce, behind which are the Ear-holes, and almost at the Extremity of the Bill two Nostrils: And from the Midst of the Bill to the Crown of the Head grows a hard yellow Substance like a Cockle-shell, especially in the Males. They have very long and gros Legs, covered with a yellowish Rind; their Feet are thick, knobby, and without Spurs; instead of which they have on the Fore-part three long, horny Claws, in which they differ from the Ostrich, whose Feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with Feathers, or rather Plumcs of a dark Red, mixed with black: These upon the Breast and Thighs grow two and two together; but those on the Tail are of much greater Length, and stronger; underneath the Feathers which grow on both Sides, are hidden certain Pens, which serve them in running; for these Birds are scarce able to raise themselves from the Ground. They are exceedingly greedy, devouring every Thing they meet with, even to Iron and burning Coals, all which they evacuate backwards without any Alteration; nay, they sometimes do not throw out what they have eat till a Year after, without the least Signs of any Digestion; for the rest they live upon Herbage. Their Strength consists in their Legs and Feet, and they run so fast that no Man can overtake them; and when exasperated, kick with their Feet backwards and sideways like a Horse. They lay greenish Eggs upon the Ground among the Shrubs, scarce so big as our Hen-eggs, speckled with dark green Spots, the Yolks whereof are eaten by the Inhabitants. They have not either Tongue or Tail.

This Bird was first seen in Europe in the Year 1597, when the Dutch brought home one in their Return from their first Voyage to the Indies. It had been given them as a great Curiosity by one of the Javanese Princes, as a Mark of their Friendship; and the Description of it having made a great Noise in the World, Lewis XIV. when he formed his Menagery at Versailles had one sent him in the Year 1671, by the Governor of the Island of St. Lawrence or Madagascar, who bought it of some Merchants who touched at that Island in their Return from the Indies. This was the first of its Kind that had been seen in France, and it lived at Versailles about four Years. The King had afterwards several of these Birds sent him, which gave the Members of the Royal Academy an Opportunity of examining and dissecting some of them: The largest was five Foot and a half high, its Legs two Foot and a half, its Head and Neck a Foot and a half, the largest of its Claws five Inches long, and the Nail of its smallest Claw three Inches and a half. The Wing, which was composed only of five bare Quills, was so small that it was entirely covered by the Feathers on its Back. The Head, Neck, and Chest of this Creature were absolutely bare, and the rest of its Body might be more properly said to be covered with Hair than with Feathers: In all other Respects the Description given by them of this Bird agrees exactly with that which we have before given, and therefore it would be tedious to repeat it, only it may not be amiss to observe, that the Head and Neck are said to have resembled a Turkey-cock's, and to have been spotted with blue, violet, and red, a large Comb behind its Head and its Gills, instead of hanging immediately under its Beak, appeared on the Bottom of its Neck, where it joined the Breast. In its Size it came nearest to the Ostrich, and was, in every Respect, as greedy and voracious.

10. There are, besides these, a great many remarkable Birds in the Indies, of which modern Travellers have given us very exact Accounts; and of these we will mention a few. The *Dromæ* is a very singular Creature, and common in all the Southern Parts of the Indies. In Big-ness it is betwixt an Ostrich and a large Turkey, and has some Resemblance to the last, in his Feathers and Tail. His Head large, not unlike that of a Cuckoo, but

covered all over with a Skin. The Eyes are large and black, the Neck crooked and very thick, the Bill very long, thick, and of a pale Blue, except towards the Extremities; the uppermost thereof is blackish, and the undermost yellowish, but both Shape and Bent of his Body is very thick and round, covered with soft grey Feathers, like those of an Ostrich. The Belly and upper Parts are so thick as almost to touch the Ground, which is the Reason he is very easily caught. On both Sides he has certain Pens instead of Wings, of a pale Yellow Colour, and, instead of a Tail, five curled Plumcs of the same Colour. His Legs short and thick, with four large Claws. The Meat, especially that on the Breast, is fat and pleasant enough, and three or four of these Creatures afford a Meal for one hundred Persons. In his Stomach is sometimes found a certain porous hard Stone.

The Cormorant, which is very common in the Island of Java, and indeed in most Parts of the East Indies, seems to me to be the Water-pelican of the Ancients. They resemble our Geese in Shape, but much exceed them in Size, and have underneath their Beaks a large Bag, which they can extend and draw together at Pleasure, and in it keep such Fish as they have swallowed. Their Feet are like those of the Swan, and their Bills are crooked towards the Extremities. They are so greedy after Prey that they rush out from among the Flags with such Violence, that they are easily taken. They swallow Oysters with their Shells, and keep them in their Bags till they open, when they spew them up again, and pick out the Oyster.

If we could depend upon the Accounts given us by the Missionaries of the Bird's found in *China*, we might venture to yield implicit Credit to whatever the Ancients have delivered, their Stories of the Phoenix not excepted; for to say the Truth, the Missionaries affirm of their own Knowledge Things full as strange; and we must either believe these or renounce their Testimony entirely. The Reader shall have an Instance of this from Father *Nauvette*, and in his own Words, that we may not seem to justify the Truth of this Observation, by giving an extravagant Turn to what he relates.

“ On the Sea-coasts, says he, of the *Chinese* Islands, there is a very singular Bird called *Yaben*; now what I, and many besides me admire is, that being no bigger in Body than an ordinary Chicken, though its Legs are very long, it lays an Egg larger than that of a Goose; so that the Egg is really bigger than the Bird itself; and no Man living would judge that the Egg could be contained within it: In order to lay its Eggs, it digs in the Sand above a Yard in Depth; after laying, it fills up the Hole, and makes it even with the rest; there the Eggs hatch with the Heat of the Sun and Sand. When the Chickens are hatched, by natural Instinct, they break through the Sand upwards; and so get out of that Dungeon their Parent put them into; then they walk directly to the Sea in search of Weeds to feed on. Another Thing in it is wonderful, which is, that they are not stifled when they come out of the Shell with the Heat and Weight of the Sand, how they breathe till they get out, and how they have the Strength to break through so great a Weight. They are Prodiges of the Almighty's making. The *Indians*, to find these Eggs, stick sharp Canes into the Ground; when they find the Sand light, they stop and throw it up something above the Length of a Man's Arm, and there they find them. They are of a pleasant Relish; one of them is enough for a Man who has a good Stomach; the stale the Egg the better. One Morning, having lain on shore, and near the Place where these Birds resorted, we repaired thither carefully, and making a Noise, a great Company of them came out of their Holes, in which we found many Eggs, some hot, some cold, some white, some of the Colour, of the Sand, which were stale ones. I had before eaten of the latter, and now eat of those that were fresh and warm; but, in truth, the stale ones were much better. There were

* *Mémoires de J. le Blanc.** *Mémoires de l'Acad. Tom iii p. 391.** *Voyage aux Indes par J. le Blanc.** *Voyages de** *Histoire de China.*

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" among them some which had Chickens, and I observed, that the *Indians* eat them eagerly, and they courted me to eat, but I could not endure to look at them, and it went against my Stomach to see other People eat them. Once they pressed me so much, that at last, not without great Aversion, I resolved to taste one; I did so, and made an End of it, regretting very much that I had not eaten of them before. I must own, that, since I was born, I never eat any thing more pleasant and palatable, and I am convinced, there is nothing in the World to compare to it."

There may be, and doubtless there is, a great deal of Truth in this Relation; that is to say, there is such a Bird, its Eggs are very large, and they are eaten as the Author describes; but then every thing is so much exaggerated, that the whole has the Air of a Fable, which shews plainly to how little Purpose large Collections are made of such kind of Writers, since what they relate cannot either entertain or instruct, because it is impossible to read such Stories without suspecting and disbelieving them. But to return to the remarkable Birds mentioned by the Moderns.

All the Writers that have mentioned *Mascifer* inform us, that no Country in the World produces so many speaking Birds. Amongst these there is none more extraordinary than the *Lory*, which is as big as a Parrot, but infinitely more beautiful in its Plumage; its Breast, which is very large and high, being covered with bright yellow Feathers; the Wings are green, the Head black, and shining with a yellow Bill. The *Indians* give sometimes thirty Crowns for such a Bird, because they will learn and speak several Languages, and are very tame. There is another with large and long Tails, sometimes three quarters of a Yard long; these are blue on the Back, and yellow under the Belly, and commonly called *Kakkataws*, or *Indian Ravens*. Another kind there is which is white all over, except a yellow Tuft on the Head, which they set upright when they are vexed: They have also some Resemblance both in Shape and Bigness to our Magpies, or Black-birds; these imitate a Man's Voice much more distinctly than Parrots, they are of a blueish Colour, mixed with dark purple Spots and Streaks; they have a yellow Tuft on the Head, which is black, and as smooth as Velvet*.

The *Kokoy*, which is common in the *Indies*, is a kind of Heron, but much exceeding ours in Beauty, being yellow before, and green over all the rest of its Body. On the Head he has a delicate Plume spreading all over the Neck; the young ones eat tolerably well, but the old ones eat tough, and taste much of Fish. The *Kohbry* is the least of all Birds, being no bigger than a Horse-Fly, it hath a very sharp Bill, with which it sucks its Sustainance out of the Flowers, though some are of Opinion it feeds upon the Dew; it has all the Colours of the Rainbow, and its Wings are not unlike those of Pigeons or Ducks. It builds a very neat Nest to the South, under the Branches of Orange, Lemon, or Cotton Trees, to defend itself against the Injuries of the North Winds. Its Eggs are no bigger than Pease. There is another which sings exceedingly fine, but

not so beautifully coloured; it weighs no more than 24 Grains*.

17. These Observations plainly discover, that no Part of the World was better stocked with useful, valuable, and beautiful Creatures than the *Indies*. For domestic Service, besides the Horse and the Ass, which are common with us in *Europe*, they had the Elephant, the Camel, and the Dromedary, fitted in every respect for carrying on the inland Commerce of that Country, which was in all Ages very considerable. They had for the Service of Agriculture a very strong Race of black Cattle, and for the Pleasure of Hunting, they had the finest Dogs that we read of in History for Courage, Speed, and Strength. In their Woods were full of wild Beasts, they had it in their Power to lessen the Number of their Enemies; and to turn this to their Profit, as well as to their Diversion, the Sky, Horns, Teeth, or other Animal Productions, sufficiently compensating the Trouble they took, and the Dangers to which they were exposed in the Chase.

The Sea that washed their Coast, and the Rivers that watered their Country, were abundantly provided with Fish, so that no People had either better or greater Plenty, which to the lower sort was a great Relief; they likewise drew a very considerable Profit from their Fisheries, especially those of Purple and Pearl, and from the Sale of Tortoise-Shell, which was highly valued in those Times for its admirable Clearness, and for the Beauty and Variety of its Colours. The Birds and Fowls in the *Indies* were likewise of all sorts, and all of them the largest and finest in their respective kinds. The Birds of Prey, and particularly the Pelican and the Cormorant, were of great Service; for the former feeding naturally upon Snakes, Serpents, and other Vermin, cleared the Country of them in those Months when they were most numerous and most dangerous; and as for the latter, they taught them in *Cchina*, and other Parts of the *Indies*, to catch Fish, and to bring them to such as kept those Creatures, as we shall see hereafter in its proper Place. As for Geese, Ducks, Hens, and other domestic Fowl, they were, and are still as common and as cheap as in any Country in the World; and of the beautiful Feathers of a Multitude of other Birds, they made Hats, Umbrellas, Screens, and other Utensils of exquisite Workmanship, and at the same time of great Price.

There is no great Wonder therefore, that all the ancient Writers, such as *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, and many others, should so highly extol this Country, and speak of every thing found therein with Astonishment. But notwithstanding all this, it must appear somewhat surprising, that the Antients were acquainted with Animals, Trees, Fruits, and precious Stones, of the most distant Parts of the *Indies*, to which without doubt they never penetrated at all, notwithstanding what we find reported in their Writings of the Islands of *Yaprobana*, *Pantasia*, the Country of the *Seres*, and other Places, which renders it necessary for us to give a clear Account of that Point, which shall be done in the two succeeding Sections, which will conclude our Labours with respect to the ancient History of *India*.

* *Histoire de Mascifer*, lib. 3. c. 4.

* *Voyage de P. Vanden Broek*.

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* *Geograph. Antiq. Turc.*
cap. 3. lib. 2. *Afric.*
cap. 17. p. 276.
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SECTION XV.

An Account of the Descriptions left us by the Ancients of the Eastern and Northern Parts of the Indies, the Notions they had of their Riches, together with an Enquiry into the Reasons which hindered the extending their Discoveries on that Side.

1. A brief Description of the Country of the Sinae or Thinae from ancient Authors. 2. Observations on the foregoing Description, proving, that this Country was the Kingdom of Siam. 3. Of the Indian Islands, as described by old Authors; and more particularly of the famous Island of Taprobana, and their Mistakes about it. 4. This Point more particularly inquired into, and the Taprobana of the Ancients shewn to be no other than the Island of Ceylon. 5. Of the Country called Serica, and the Nation of the Seres; from the best Writers of Antiquity. 6. An Objection arising from the Knowledge which the Ancients had of the Chinese fully stated, and clearly refuted. 7. A second Objection taken from the Commerce of the ancient Chinese, stated and examined. 8. A third Objection from the seeming Discordancy of these Accounts, explained and refuted. 9. An Account of the Island of Panchaia, and a full Proof of its being absolutely imaginary. 10. The high Ideas which the Ancients had of the Riches of the undiscovered Indies. 11. Their Errors as to the Possibility of establishing a regular Commerce with those Countries. 12. The Causes which impeded their Discoveries, and occasioned the Decline of that Trade which they actually had to the Indies. 13. The Conclusion of this Part of our Subject, with Observations and Remarks on the principal Passages therein.

IN what has been delivered in the former Sections, we have confined ourselves to such Points as regard the actual Discoveries of the Ancients. But it is no less necessary to give the Reader some Account of another sort of Discoveries, I mean such as were made by their Geographers, who by the Help of such Relations as were, from time to time, published of these distant Countries, and which are long ago lost, compiled a systematical Account of the Regions bordering upon, and even those that lay very far beyond the Ganges. It is however certain, that they were but very indifferently informed as to the Course of this River; and Cellarius^a corrects the Mistake of Arrianus in Strabo, who says that, from the Mountains called Emodi, it runs South as far as the Town of Ganges, and afterwards East, because it is contrary to the Discoveries of our Times.

The first remarkable Town mentioned by Ptolemy beyond the furthest Mouth of the Ganges was Pontopolis, rather this was the Name of a District; next to that lay the Emporium, or Mart of Baracura, beyond the Mouth of the River Tacosanna, then the Country called Argentea, with several Towns; next to that lay the Country of the Bisjageti, who were Man-eaters, their Capital Bejyng, an Emporium. From hence Southward lay the Aurea Chersonesus, or Malacca. On the West Side of it Tacela, an Emporium, and on the East Side the Cape Malei-Colon, with several Towns^b. Many are of Opinion, that this was Solomon's Ophir, which seems to be favoured by Josephus^c, who says, Solomon's Vessels sailed into a Country of India, formerly called Sephira, but then the Golden Land; Strabo says, it was also in India, but calls it an Island.

Bechart^d alleges it was the Island Taprobana, now Ceylon, and founds his Conjecture upon an Etymology. But Cellarius rejects as mere Dreams the modern Disputes about Ophir, and sees no just Cause why the latter Opinions should be better than the former. He says, the Length of the Expedition mentioned in the sacred History shews, that Ophir must have been at a great Distance from Palestine, or the Arabian Gulph; yet he is not displeas'd that Bechart distinguishes betwixt the Indian and Arabian Ophir, because the Gold of Ophir, mentioned in the Book of Job^e, could not, because of the Ignorance of those Times, be easily understood of the Indian Gold. Bechart places the Arabian Ophir near the Country of the Sabaeans, and thinks the Arabs called the Indian Ophir by its Name when they discovered it. Beyond this Chersonesus to the North lay the Country of the Laesse, who were Pirates and Robbers. The River Sobanus runs through it. Next to that lay

Ptolemy's Sinus Magnus, in which were Balonga and Coragaiba, Metropolitan Towns; and here Ptolemy finishes the maritime Coast of India beyond Ganges. The inland Parts were so obscure, that it is needless to insist upon them by the Situation of the Country; these Places last-mentioned seem to have been in that Kingdom which is now called Siam.

2. The next Country described by Ptolemy is that of the Sinae, which he places farthest towards the East of all the Regions mentioned by him, as lying beyond the great Bay or Opening of the Sea, which he styles Sinus Magnus, and says, their Country extended very far to the South. It is well observed by Cellarius, that this Country is not to be confounded with the modern China, although it reaches as far North as Serica^f. Ptolemy calls the Country beyond this to the East and South, Terra Incognita, and bounds it on the West by India beyond the Ganges. He places about the Equator the Ethiopes Ichthyoptagi, or Fish-eating Ethiopians, and beyond the Equator the River Continues and Cattigara, which he calls a Harbour of the Sinae. Martianus Hieracleota^g places the Sinae likewise at the Extremity of the habitable World towards the East, and next to the Terra Incognita, or Country to that time undiscovered.

It must be allowed, that all this is very dark and very perplexed, so that it is extremely difficult to pass any certain Judgment as to the Places mentioned. On the other hand, however, it ought to be considered, that even these dark and obscure Accounts are infinitely better than the Fables that preceded them, and the ridiculous Stories that prevailed of these Countries and their Inhabitants in succeeding Times. If we compare what Ptolemy has written with the confused Accounts that Pliny has collected from ancient Authors, we may easily discern that one contented himself with Fables, and transcribed whatever came to hand, to shew a Variety of Reading, whereas the other examined very carefully such Descriptions as he received from the Merchants that traded in these Countries, and by comparing them with each other, he gathered from them such Lights as enabled him to draw up a short and imperfect Account indeed, but at the same time such an Account as appears very conformable to Truth; and would appear much more so, if the Manuscripts of Ptolemy were not incumbered with so many various Readings, which renders it extremely difficult to come at the true Sense of that learned Writer.

In the following Ages again, when Science once more gave way to Fable, the World was amused with wild and ridiculous Accounts of these Countries, and he who wrote the strangest things was read with the greatest Approbation.

^a Geograph. Antiq. Tom. ii. p. 747. The Passage in Arrianus, which he corrects, is found in Strabo lib. xv. p. 494. ^b Geograph. lib. vii. cap. 3. ^c Job. 22. 24. ^d Geograph. Sacr. ^e Job. xxii. 24. ^f Geograph. Sacr. ^g Martianus Hieracleota. ^h In Periplus Maris Erythraei.

Alexander the Great; and I conceive that the calling of this Island by the Name of *Taprobana*, was the principal Occasion of all the Mistakes and Confusion that have been discovered in subsequent Accounts.

But as for the *Taprobana*, which *Sirabo* mentions very accurately, and as a Writer afraid of offending the Truth, and which *Ptolemy* more largely describes from the Accounts that were current in his Time at *Alexandria*, it is most likely to be the Island of *Ceylon*. I shall not trouble the Reader with a long Account of the Reasons which our Writers have assigned for this Opinion, but content myself with giving him, as succinctly as I can, the Motives which have induced me to believe that the Islands of *Taprobana* and *Ceylon* are the same. In the first Place, the Situation of *Taprobana*, as laid down by *Ptolemy*, agrees very well with that of the Island of *Ceylon*. He mentions four Places in *Taprobana*, and sets down their Latitudes thus. The Mart or Emporium of *Talaceni* 11° 30', *Nagadiba* 8° 30', *Maugrasman*, which was the Metropolis of the Island, 7° 20', the Bay of *Prasodes* 1° 0'. The best modern Maps lay down the Island of *Ceylon* from one to ten Degrees of North Latitude, the Capital of the Island lying very near in the same Position with that which *Ptolemy* has assigned it. In the next Place, the Accounts lay that *Taprobana* was famous for producing the largest Breed of Elephants, which is true of *Ceylon*, where the Elephants are acknowledged to be the largest and strongest in the *Indies*. Thirdly, *Taprobana* was celebrated for its Spices; and in *Ceylon* there are found not only Ginger, Pepper, and Cardamoms, but Cinnamon is the staple Commodity, and is very justly esteemed the richest in the World. Fourthly, there are said to have been an abundance of precious Stones in this Island of *Taprobana*; and, except Diamonds, all Sorts of Jewels are found in *Ceylon*, and particularly Rubies, Topazes, and Sapphires, the best in all the *Indies*. Lastly, *Taprobana* is celebrated for its great Fertility in various Sorts of Corn, and this too may be affirmed of *Ceylon*, where they have not only five Kinds of Rice, which ripen one after another, but also eight other Kinds of Grain, of which they make their Bread or Oil. On the whole, therefore, when we consider that all the Variations in the Accounts given us by the Ancients of the Island of *Taprobana*, may be so easily accounted for; and that this last and clearest Description of *Ptolemy* is so reconcilable to the Accounts we have of *Ceylon*, I see no Reason why we should not acquiesce in the Sentiment of the learned *Vossius*, that the *Taprobana* of the Ancients is the *Ceylon* of the Moderns.

If any indeed be objected, that *Ptolemy* extends the Island of *Taprobana* southward beyond the Line, which does not by any means agree with *Ceylon*; but I answer to this, that *Ptolemy* sometimes uses the plural Number, and mentions the Islands of *Taprobana*; so that it is impossible that he might include some of the *Maldives* under that Name. I do not say that this is certain, but it is possible, and, I might add, probable too; because the Ancients were acquainted with the Sea in which the Island of *Ceylon* lies, and the Coast that is opposite to the Continent, it is not easy to conceive how they could be absolutely ignorant of so considerable an Island, which lay directly in the Way of all the Commerce carried on in this Part of the *Indies*. On the other Hand, the Ancients were really acquainted with *Ceylon*, as it is very improbable that they should not, this furnishes us with a new Argument, and indeed the strongest Argument of all, that their *Taprobana* was our *Ceylon*; for, if

it was not, it is most certain that the Ancients have left us no Account of any Island that resembles it, which is a Piece of Negligence of a Nature directly opposite to their usual Exactness.

5. It is to be observed farther, that, except *Taprobana*, the Ancients do not mention any Islands on the Coast of *India* of any Consequence; and from hence it is plain, that they were not acquainted either with the larger or lesser Islands that lay farther to the East. It is necessary, therefore, that we should return once more to the Continent, in order to mention another eastern Nation, very famous in Antiquity. These were the *Seres*; and their Country is by *Ptolemy* called *Serica*, which he represents as bordering upon *Scythia*; so that, according to his Description, this Country of *Serica* lay thus. On the West it was bounded by *Scythia* beyond Mount *Imaus*. On the North, and on the East, by Countries unknown; on the South by *India* beyond the *Ganges*. *Ptolemy* mentions many Regions into which this Country is divided, and abundance of Cities in them, in all which he has been copied by many succeeding Writers; but it is not easy to say what Part of the higher *Asia* they have described under the Name of *Serica*.

Many of our Critics are of Opinion that *Serica* is the northern Part of *China*, which may possibly be true; but in that Case, it is not very accurately described. But the Accounts they give us of the People are much stronger and better Proofs, that by the *Seres* they meant the *Chinese*, than any that can be drawn from the Description of their Country. The *Seres*, say they, were a People that spoke a Language peculiar to themselves, and very *guttural*, which is exactly true of the *Chinese*. They were very just in their Dealings with Strangers, but had a very odd Way of carrying on Commerce; for they took all the Goods that were brought them, without giving any Thing immediately in Exchange: Yet afterwards they fully satisfied the Strangers for what they had thus taken, in their own Commodities. This, as we shall hereafter see, was likewise the constant Practice of the *Chinese*, as it still is of the *Japanese*. It is also affirmed of the *Seres*, that they were the first Manufacturers of Silk, that they were, generally speaking, clothed in that Manufacture, and that they made their Exchange either in Silk or in Goods made of Silk, which agrees perfectly well with the Practice of the *Chinese*. So that, on the whole, we have no Reason to doubt that the *Seres* and the *Chinese* were the same People; especially as all the ancient Writers agree, that the *Seres* were extremely fond of their own Country, very diffident of Strangers, and not inclined to travel, which are all of them Circumstances very applicable to the Inhabitants of *China*, before their Country was subdued by the *Tartars*.

It must, however, be confessed, that there are some Variations in these ancient Accounts, and that several Writers mention Circumstances that do not so well agree with the *Chinese*; as those that have been related; and yet there seems to be no just Cause from the Consideration of these Mistakes, to reject the Matter of Fact, which, from the foregoing Circumstances, appears to be so well founded; for if we consider the Contradictions met with in modern Writers, and particularly such as have treated of this Country, instead of being surpris'd at the Mistakes of the old Geographers, we may justly wonder, that their Errors were so few, and of so little Consequence; more especially, if we reflect on the prodigious Difference between their Lights and ours.

I have been guided in my Remarks on this Subject, by comparing the Tables of *Ptolemy* with the best modern Maps, and the Particulars proposed of the Island by ancient Writers, with the Remarks made by Mr. Robert Knox, who was many Years on the Island, as well as those of a *Portuguese*, who likewise resided for a great while in *Ceylon*. *Ptolemy's* Catalogue of famous Cities, with their Longitudes and Latitudes, which is very accurately published in the third Volume of Dr. *Bartholinus's* Geographical History, seems to make *Taprobana* the chief of several Islands; and the ancient *Greek* Geographers, *Ptolemy* uses the plural Number, and seems to make *Taprobana* the chief of several Islands; and it is remarkable that our first Voyagers to the *East Indies* assert, that the little Princes of the *Maldives* were subject to the King of *Ceylon*. *Ptolemy* was forced to supply from his own Judgment the Situation of the Regions he mentions, and as all the Maps drawn from his Account are drawn in a great measure on the respective Judgments of those who drew them, the Reader cannot but discern the Reasonableness of what I have asserted in the Text.

As this will be fully justified in our succeeding Collection of Voyages, which, by their being placed in the proper Order of Time, will enable the Reader to understand the Matter perfectly, and to see clearly the Truth of these Observations, which are not intended to lessen the Credit of ancient Authors, but to represent Things as they really are.

The Interest chiefly consists in their Writings from Memoirs picked up by their Merchants, and from the Reports of the *Indians*; whereas our Accounts not only from such as have actually visited these Countries themselves, but from those who have resided there many Years, have had all possible Opportunities of knowing the Facts which they relate.

6. There are, however, some Objections that will naturally occur to the intelligent Reader, and ought not to be pallied over in Silence, because if they cannot be fully answered, they have a direct Tendency to overturn the best Part of what we have delivered, and therefore it is requisite that we should consider them more at large. The first is, that if we suppose the Ancients to have been acquainted with *China* and the *Chinese*, it absolutely contradicts what has been before asserted of their knowing little or nothing of the Countries beyond the *Ganges*, and extends their Knowledge of the East to such a Degree, as is absolutely incompatible with the Sentiments of the most learned Writers upon this Subject, as well as with the foregoing Part of our own Work; so that, instead of clearing this Matter, we should only perplex it the more, and be so far from making it conspicuous to the English Reader, that on the contrary we should entangle him in new Doubts, and leave him upon the whole in at least as great Obscurity as we found him. That this, notwithstanding, is very far from our Intention, appears plainly from the Pains already taken, and from our stating this Objection fully and fairly; and it ought likewise to pass for a strong Testimony of our aiming at Satisfaction in this Point, that we so freely mention the Difficulties that occur in the Execution of this Undertaking.

In order to the clear Solution of this Point, it is necessary to remember, that in this Section we do not handle the actual Discoveries of the Ancients, but the Accounts given by their Geographers, which are very different Things. We suppose, agreeable to the best Lights that Antiquity affords, that the Ancients never actually sailed farther than the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and that they might do by coasting round *Cape Comora*, and following the Coast of *Ceylon*; neither is it very probable that they made many Voyages so far, but rather that the best Part of their Knowledge was derived by Travels made by Land through the Countries that lie between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*.

Upon this Supposition, all that they have written may be very well accounted for, and the seeming Differences between what is related in the foregoing Sections and this very easily reconciled. To make this Matter clearer, we will examine in their natural Order the Seas mentioned by ancient Writers, which will in a great measure enable us to extricate ourselves from these Doubts. In the first place they navigated the *Mare Erythraeum*, which lies between the *Arabian* Gulph, and the opposite Side of *India*; and having in their Commerce often heard of *Taprobana*, they were led into many Mistakes about that Island, till by degrees their Vessels sailing on the Coast of *Malabar* in doubling *Cape Comora*, discovered *Ceylon*, which is the true *Taprobana*. The Gulph of *Bengal* was their *Mare Eoum*, and the upper Part of it towards the Continent *Sinus Gangeticus*, or the Bay of the *Ganges*, because the Mouths of that River fell into this Bay. The Gulph of *Stam* was their *Sinus Magnus*, or *Great Bay*; but this they knew by Hearsay only, their Navigation never extending thither.

But it may be demanded what Proof there is of this? To which I answer, all that the Nature of the Subject will admit affirmative and negative. As to the first, it is plain they never were thoroughly acquainted with the Island of *Taprobana*. *Strabo* makes it of the Size of *Britain*, and writes no Doubt from Information only pretty near the Truth; but *Ptolemy* extends it much beyond its real Bounds, by supposing (at least this is the only way of accounting for it) the *Maldives* belonging thereto, or dependent thereon. Yet the Situation of the principal Places he mentions therein are not repugnant to Truth, so that the West and North Parts of it were to be easily known in his Time, but not the South. The *Maldives* very imperfectly, it at all; and therefore the *Romans* and *Alexandrines* had not pushed their Commerce very far on this Side, much less into the *Sinus Magnus*, or Bay of *Stam*. This appears from the very Name, which undoubtedly was given it from a Notion that it was a very wide spreading Sea, whereas in Fact it is much narrower than the *Sinus Gangeticus*.

As to the negative Proofs, they are stronger and more in Number: For in order to have sailed into the *Sinus Mag-*

nus, they must have passed through the Straights of *Malacca*, which had opened to their View all the *Indies* that are now known, and of which there is not a Word in *Ptolemy*, or even in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and consequently no Cause for believing they had any other Knowledge of that Bay than from the Relation of the *Indians*, with whom they traded. Their actual Discoveries therefore went no farther than we before mentioned; but by the Help of these Discoveries, the Reports of Travellers, and his own Sagacity, *Ptolemy* formed his Tables, which seem to extend the Knowledge of the Ancients so much farther. We might to verify this Matter, mention a Multitude of Errors in those Tables, and in other Accounts of those Times, which could arise from no other Cause than their Authors being down the Names and Situation of Places from very different Memoirs, and yet from the best they had; but that this is unnecessary, since *Ptolemy* himself ingeniously owns, that beyond the Country of the *Seres*, or *Tartars*, which is certainly the Kingdom of *Stam*, they knew nothing to the East of all.

It is most evident from these Observations, that we have done the strictest Justice to the Ancients, in attributing to the Voyages made by them, and the Part they made of the Knowledge derived from thence, a share in our Ignorance, instead of treating their Geographers as if they had attempted, as some have done on *Alexander's* Account, to take in them, we ought rather to be satisfied in making the best Use of the Matter.

and thereby furnishing to such as are their practiced Readers very plausible Arguments for maintaining, that the Ancients knew almost as much of these Countries as ourselves. Indeed, while they speak in general Terms only, they seem to justify this Opinion; for they assure us, that the Eastern Part of the World is inhabited by the *Indians*, the *Scythians*; that is, in the Language of the Moderns, by the *Indians*, the *Chinese*, and the *Tartars*, which is very true; but when they endeavour to delineate the Bounds of the several Countries which those Nations inhabit, they shew us plainly that they do not understand what they themselves said, by their bringing the *Chinese* almost as far as the *Ganges*, and placing beyond them a Race of Man-eaters in *China* properly so called. To rise up all, and answer this Objection in few Words, these accounts left us by the Ancients do not prove that they visited any Part of the *Indies* beyond the *Ganges*, though the Informations they received in their Commerce enabled their Geographers to lay down Tables of a few other Countries, about which, however, they were much mistaken in their Conjectures.

7. It may very possibly happen, as it very often does in the calculating such perplexed Subjects, that by removing one Objection the Means is afforded of raising another; and that perhaps no less specious than the former. It may in short be said, that from the Account we give of the Knowledge the Ancients had of the *Seres*, which we ascribe to be the *Chinese*, we admit that they had extended their Dominions very much beyond what they possess at this Day; and, as great Conquests are evident Proofs of extraordinary Power, it follows, that the *Seres* could not have been such a dispersed People as they are represented, but must have possessed a very large and flourishing Empire, which, if they had done, it must have been famous through the East, as the other Empires raised in that Part of the World were. The Force of this Objection, therefore, consists in making the Description given us by the Ancients inconsistent with itself, and by overturning that our Answer to the former Objection will be overturned also.

Now to this I answer, that the Matter of Fact, which is that the *Chinese* were known to the Ancients by the Name of the *Seres*, has been clearly made out; and therefore there is no receding from that, let its Consequences be what they will. But it so falls out, that we have not only the Authority of the ancient Writers before cited, to prove that the *Seres* or *Chinese* extended their Lives very far on this Side, but also the Accounts of the *Chinese* themselves, which assert, that they were Masters of *Cocchin China*, and

* The Reader will naturally call to mind on this Occasion what we have already said of *Magellanus* and other Persons, whose Voyages with the *Indian* Fleet gave the Ancients not only the real, but the best Lights they had into the Situation of those Countries, and the Nature of the Inhabitants.

Pigea; that is, in all Proportion and tributary to that that they were Masters of it will follow, that which the Mouth of the river is some such dark and intricate those are which the Ancients Occasion I shall not forget to mention the Imperfection, of Fallhood, ought in being true; for it pliances, which we have not only the *Chinese*, but inclined to let Strangers, or into the Secret, fore it was very natural Enquiries into these Matters imperfectly. We may consider, that it appears published by the extremely populous, a great Number of Seres given amongst themselves, that, however barbarous Strangers, yet within perfectly well governed Word thoroughly civil.

What serves chiefly the *Indians* of those are represented to us we ought not to do; that Light we have in argument, that the Acc Wires burning them; the *Brachy* State, and the whole true, because in a great among the *Indians* as in every respect the floors. On the contrary, we have from flourishing Ages of were absolutely true. *Pigea* was pure and full their full Vigour, the roughly executed, the pulled to the Regulation of imminent Danger Foot Armies to pursue sufficient to teach the as was the Case of *China*. The *Indians*, therefore, People than the *Indians* may still retain in form in private Life, yet furnish us with no Worlds, though the flames, they have lo

It is the same thing no longer what they don of their pre- Exactness with which ought to conceive tion of their Power Accuracy and Regularity are no more than which took place with more glorious than received from the *Chinese* History being complete in only general and have happened in the of its former Proofs not better acquainted yet, as I hinted prove that the *Chinese* Countries that may *Arabian* Traders;

Piza; that is, in all Probability, those Countries were subject and tributary to them. It is likewise very probable, that they were Masters of *Tibet*, or *Tibet*, from whence it will follow, that whoever traded in the Countries near the Mouth of the river *Ganges*, might very well obtain some such dark and imperfect Relations of the *Seres* as those are which the Ancients have left us; and upon this Occasion I shall not scruple to advance, that their Darkness and Imperfection, instead of being considered as Marks of Falshood, ought in reality to pass for Proofs of their being true; for it plainly appears from a Multitude of instances, which we have already given in this Work, that not only the *Chinese*, but the *Indians* also, were very little inclined to let Strangers into the Histories of their Countries, or into the Secrets of their Governments; and therefore it was very natural for such as endeavoured to make Enquiries into these Matters, to report Things slightly and imperfectly. We may be the better satisfied of this, if we consider, that it appears from all the Accounts of the *Indians* published by the Ancients, that these Countries were extremely populous, full of large Cities well fortified, and a great Number of Sea-ports, in which a great Trade was driven amongst themselves; these Particulars plainly prove, that, however barbarous their Customs might appear to Strangers, yet within themselves these Eastern Nations were perfectly well governed, and in the strict Sense of the Word thoroughly civilized.

What serves chiefly to confound us is our considering the *Indians* of those Times in the same View that they are represented to us by modern Travellers, which is what we ought not to do; for though it be reasonable, and in that Light we have made use of it often as a probable Argument, that the Accounts given us by ancient Writers of Wives burning themselves with the dead Bodies of their Husbands, the *Brachmans* living in a kind of Collegiate State, and the whole People being divided into Tribes, are true, because in a great measure we observe the same things amongst the *Indians* at present, yet it does not follow that in every respect the modern *Indians* resemble their Ancestors. On the contrary, we ought to reflect, that the Accounts we have from the Ancients refer to the first and flourishing Ages of the *Indian* Principalities, when they were absolutely free and independent, when their Philosophy was pure and sublime, their political Constitutions in their full Vigour, their Laws well supported, and thoroughly executed, their military Establishments so well adjusted to the Regulation of their civil Affairs, that in Times of imminent Danger they were able suddenly to set on Foot Armies so puissant, that their very Countenance was sufficient to teach the most ambitious Princes Moderation; as was the Case of *Alexander*, and some of his Successors. The *Indians*, therefore, in those Days, were another sort of People than the *Indians* known to us, and though the latter may still retain in some measure the Manners of the former in private Life, yet in their publick Conduct they can furnish us with no Idea of their Progenitors. In few Words, though they have preserved some of their Customs, they have lost all their Spirit.

It is the same thing with respect to the *Chinese*, they are no longer what they have been; and if we admire the Wisdom of their present Government, and the wonderful Exactness with which their Affairs are administered, we ought to conceive much higher and more magnificent Notions of their Power and Splendor in former Times. That Accuracy and Regularity which strikes us so much at present are no more than the Remains of those Institutions which took place when their Empire was much greater and more glorious than at this Day. It is true, that we have received from the Missionaries great Lights with regard to the *Chinese* History; but we are very far from having any thing complete in this kind, even at this Day. We have only general and short Accounts of the Revolutions that have happened in that Country, and of the Conquests made of its frontier Provinces; so wonder therefore that we are not better acquainted with the Conquests made by them, and yet, as I hinted above, we do not want Authority to prove that the *Chinese* actually extended their Power into Countries that might make their Fame known to the *Alexandrian* Traders; and perhaps in its proper Place we shall

be able to account for their relinquishing those Conquests.

Here, however, it is sufficient to observe, that it appears very clearly from what we know of the *Chinese* History, that there was a constant Fluctuation in their Politics, and that sometimes a Spirit of Dominion, and at others a pacifick Disposition, took Place; and there are extant, even in the modern Languages, Discourses addressed to the *Chinese* Emperors by their Ministers, exhorting them to be content with their hereditary Countries, and rather contract their Power than extend it, that they might govern with greater Ease to themselves, and with Effects more beneficial to their Subjects. After these Reflections, it will be easy to understand how the Ancients came to know so much, and, at the same Time, so little of these People. It was their penetrating Southward and Westward, that gave the Ancients an Opportunity of knowing any thing of them at all, since it is very certain, that if they had been always restrained within the Bounds of *China*, strictly so called, they would never have been heard of; and therefore these Accounts, instead of discrediting the Facts before-mentioned, when thoroughly looked into, and coolly considered, carry in them the highest Probability, and the most evident Marks of Truth. That, upon Enquiry, the Ancients being informed that the Country, which is now called *Tibet*, was under the Power of the *Seres*, should from thence conclude it the native Soil of those People, and their Geographers be induced from thence to give it the Name of *Serica*, has nothing in it strange at all, any more than that they should imagine that the Metropolis of this Country was the Capital of the *Seres*, and the chief Seat of their Empire. Thus it is hoped this Difficulty is entirely taken away, the Credibility of the Testimonies before alledged fully established, and the Difference between the ancient and modern Geography of these Countries rationally accounted for, without offering any Injury either to the old Writers or the new, and consequently what is laid down in this Section, perfectly reconciled to all that has been asserted in the former.

8. There is a third Point in reference to this Subject which requires some Attention, and then I think we may safely proceed. As the last Objection respected the Country of the *Seres*, so it is very possible that some Doubts may arise as to the People who are described by *Pliny* and other old Writers, equally removed in their Manners from the rest of Mankind, as separated from them by the great Distance of their Country. It may, I say, be suggested, that the Customs of the *Seres*, as they stand recorded in ancient Writers, have no sort of Resemblance to those of the *Chinese*, if the Accounts I have just now given of them be well founded; for whereas I make them a potent, wise, and polite People, they paint them as a kind of Savages, differing in their Dialect from the rest of Mankind, and shunning, as much as might be, all Conversation with Strangers.

Now, to reconcile these Contradictions, we are to consider, first that the Ancients themselves speak very differently of the *Seres*, sometimes commending them for their strict Justice and Probity, for the Purity of their Manners, and for their having no Desire to injure their Neighbours; and at others, as a Race of intractable People, absolutely bent to conceal themselves in Woods and Fortresses, and trading no other Way than by Exchange, and that too by leaving and taking of Goods without any Intercourse between the Merchants who sold them, and those who purchased. Secondly, it appears from the Diversity of these Accounts, that the Ancients were entirely led in this Matter by Hear-say, and by the Hear-say of a People who were not much inclined to let them into all they knew. Thirdly, it is necessary to remember that the *Indians*, from whom the Ancients had every Title of what they report concerning the *Seres*, might give them such Informations as were grounded on Truth, but were so unintelligible to the *Greeks*, that they were not able to report them without Misrepresentation.

As for Instance, the *Indians* might tell them that the *Seres* made use of a Language very different from that of other Men, and in this they would have told them no

more than has been justified by Experience; but in repeating this, the Ancients have represented the Tongue of the *Chinese* as it had nothing in common with human Speech, which is a manifest Exaggeration. That the ancient *Seres* had a great Aversion to Strangers, and an invincible Reluctance of continuing in their own Country, is another Fact true in itself, but strangely misrepresented. All the *Chinese* Histories agree, that this Nation had, as indeed they still have, a great Jealousy of Foreigners, and by their Laws forbade their settling amongst them; yet the same Histories shew, that notwithstanding this Jealousy and these Laws, they have always had a great many Foreigners in their Country; and these not only *Scythians* or *Tartars*, *Indians*, *Persians*, and *Turks*, who were in some sort their Neighbours, but *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans*; and that for such a Length of Time, that it is almost impossible to account for their coming into and settling in *China*, as is evident from the learned Dissertations that have been wrote expressly upon these Subjects. The Amount of all this, therefore, can be stretched to nothing more than our not having very distinct Relations of what passed a long Time ago in a very distant Country, which is not very wonderful. But however obscure, however contradictory, these Accounts may be in other Respects, yet in this they agree perfectly well, that such a Jealousy always subsisted in this Nation, though for particular Reasons, and under particular Circumstances, they were content to dispense with their Laws, which from this Spirit of Jealousy they had enacted.

To make this Matter still plainer, let us consider the *Chinese* in their present Situation, and in regard to the different manner in which they carry on Commerce at home and abroad. Their Junks sail annually to almost all the different Ports in the *Indes*, but particularly to *Batavia*, where they trade as other People do, and comply with all the Regulations that are thought necessary in those Places for the Security and right Management of Commerce, from whence they have acquired very justly the Character of being as active, as industrious, and as general Traders, as any in that Part of the World. This, one would think, might effectually purge them from the Imputation of having a Dislike to Strangers, and an Unwillingness to correspond with other Nations, and, in short, of all Intractability on the Head of Commerce. Yet when we look into their Management at home, we shall find many things that may very well justify such a Charge even at this Day. For there are but one, or at most but two, of their Ports open to Strangers, *viz.* *Canton* and *Amoy*; they do not suffer any *European* Nations to make Settlements in their Dominions, if we except the *Portuguese*, and even they are not only Subjects, but in a manner Slaves to the *Chinese*; their Port Duties are not high only, but very extravagant; the Precautions they take against, and the Hardships they put upon Foreigners, are so many and so inconvenient, that it is plain they only tolerate Trade instead of encouraging it. It is therefore be, as most certainly it is, the Case, why should we accuse the ancient Accounts of Absurdity and Contradiction?

It would be needless and unnecessary to enter into a Digression about the Navigation of the ancient *Seres*, how far it extended, and what the Consequences were that attended it. I say, it would be needless and unnecessary; because, after all the Pains that could be taken, we should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to give a tolerable Account of it; but in general, however, we know, that in very ancient Times they traded to most of the *Indian* Islands, settled Colonies in many of them, and, as there are good Grounds to believe, were the Ancestors of the *Chingaleys*, which are the most powerful Nation in the Island of *Ceylon*. These Circumstances seem absolutely to contradict another Part of their general Character, which is, that they have no Inclination to leave their own Country on any Terms. In all Probability, their Settlements abroad were created by domestic Confusions, when Numbers chose rather to seek new Habitations, than to be exposed to certain Death or Destruction from the Rage of their Adversaries, which, nevertheless, implies no Alteration in the Nature of these People; for it is one thing to be of a roving Disposition, and another to prefer Banishment to Death.

Upon the whole, if there be any thing certain in the *Chinese* History, it is this; that both the People themselves have the most sincere Love for their Country, and desire to remain in it; and that this is nourish'd in them by their Laws, and the Propagation of this Spirit makes a capital Point of their Politicks. On scanning thro' this Matter as strictly as it is possible, we see that, taking all Things together, the oldest Accounts of the *Chinese* are not liable to more Objections, or incumbered with greater Difficulties than the modern; and therefore, if the Ancients have represented the *Seres* as a People of an odd Humour, and their Practice and Principles considered somewhat inconsistent with themselves, we have the more Reason to be positive, that the *Seres* and the *Chinese* are the very same Nation, because from the Knowledge we have of them at present, it is impossible to conceive that any Character given of them in past Ages, should come nearer the Truth than that which from a superficial View seems incompatible therewith. In Cases of this Nature, Nations are to be described as they really are, and of such Temper and Disposition their Actions speak them; other Accounts may be more plausible, and, to such as take up with the first Appearance of Things, more credible; but unquestionably the best way is to write the Truth, because in the end, and after the strictest Examination, it will be found, that Truth will always justify itself.

9. There still remains an Island mentioned in ancient Writers as lying in the *Indian* Ocean, though never discovered by any of the Moderns, of which we promised, and of which it is necessary that we should give a clear Account, the rather, because though surrounded with a Mid of Fables, there is at the Bottom something which deserves our Notice, and which may enable us to detect such kind of Relations when we meet with them elsewhere. The Name of this Island is *Panchana*, and it is supposed to lie between the *Arabian* Gulph and the opposite Coast of *India*. There was but one ample and distinct Relation of this Country, which is still preserved almost entire in the Works of the learned *Diodorus Siculus*, which the Reader shall fairly transcribe for several Reasons. First, that the Nature of such kind of Relations may plainly appear, and the Reader be able to judge for himself of the Difficulty in distinguishing between Facts faithfully related, and Fictions so elegantly dressed out. Secondly, that he may the better understand the Detection of this fabulous History. And, thirdly, that he may be satisfied we do not impose upon him our own Notions and Sense of Things, but admit him freely and fairly to the Sight of our Author's.

There are, says our Author, many Things observable in *Panchana*, or *Panchana*, that deserve to be taken notice of. The natural Inhabitants are those they call *Panchanians*; the Strangers that dwell among them are People of the Western Parts, together with *Indians*, *Cretans*, and *Scythians*. In this Island there is a famous City call'd *Panara*, not far from to any Tor Wealth and Grandeur. The Citizens are call'd the *Suppliants of Jupiter Triphobus*, and are the only People of *Panchana* that live under a Democracy, without a Monarch. They chuse every Year the Presidents or Governors that have all Matters under their Cognizance; but what concerns Life and Death, and the most weighty Matters, they refer to the College of their Priests. The Temple of *Jupiter Triphobus* is about fifty Furlongs distant from the City, in a fair, open Plain. It is in great Veneration for its Antiquity, and the Stairlines of the Structure and Fertility of the Soil. The Fields round about the Temple are planted with all sorts of Trees, not only for Fruit, but for Pleasure and Delight; for they abound with tall Cypress, Plane-Trees, Laurels, and Myrtles. The Place is well furnished with running Water; for near the Temple there is a mighty Spring of sweet Water rushes out of the Earth, so that it very soon becomes a navigable River. The current divides itself into several Currents, and waters all the Fields thereabouts. It produces thick Groves of tall and sturdy Trees, amongst which, in Summer, abundance of People spend their Time, and a Multitude of Birds of all sorts build their Nests, which creates great Delight, both by affecting the Eye with the Variety of their Colours, and charming the Ear with the Sweetness of their Notes. Here are many Gardens, sweet and pleasant Meadows, *Jeke!*

with all sorts of Herbs Profect, that it seems that of the Gods the a Multitude of Vines so curiously interwove exceeding pleasant to Delights of the Place.

The Temple was jointed and cemented, many in Breadth, and curiously adorned with placed huge Statues of ship, and amazing Bulwarks for the Priests by whom every thing All along from the T four Furlongs in Breadth; on either Side Statues, with four-furlong Courte breaks forth mentioned; from Water, the drinking of the Body. This The whole Fountain is the Bottom with Stone both Sides for the Sp for any but the Pri Fountain.

All the Land about is consecrated to the maintaining the public beyond these consecrated dedicated likewise to the of *Celus* and *Tryphobus* *Uranus*, when he diverted himself in served the Motion of was call'd *Tryphobus* composed of three feet and *Dioms*, who were it is said, that he not terly destroyed all eleven with the Ground a sacred Festival in Behind this Mount, there are abundance of Lions, Leopards, De turs, both for Strength there are three chief the whole Country in dation of all sorts of

The Men are w the ancient Manner. three Tribes; the f whom are joined the Husbandmen; and The Priests govern a reverses, and have of State. The Hul is brought into the the most skilful in of the Fruits for a second and the rest ments in the Judg ner the Shepherds a public Stock the Ve ber and Weight, as a not lawful for any except a House and tic, and other Thin by the Priests, and their Necessity requ Proportion.

They wear soft finer here than any knowe deck them lices of Gold, and

with all sorts of Herbs and Flowers, and so glorious is the Prospect, that it seems to be a Paradise worthy the Habitation of the Gods themselves. Besides all these, there are a Multitude of Vines of all sorts springing up on high, and so curiously interwoven one among another, that they are exceeding pleasant to the View, and greatly augment the Delights of the Place.

The Temple was built of white Marble, most artfully jointed and cemented, two hundred Yards in Length, and as much in Breadth, supported with great and thick Pillars, curiously adorned with carved Work. In this Temple were placed huge Statues of the Gods of admirable Workmanship, and amazing Bulk; round the Temple are built Apartments for the Priests that attend the Service of the Gods, by whom every thing in that sacred Place is performed. All along from the Temple is an even Course of Ground, four Furlongs in Length, and one hundred Yards in Breadth; on either Side of which are erected vast brazen Statues, with four-square Pedestals; at the End of the Course breaks forth the River from the Fountain before-mentioned; from whence flows most clear and sweet Water, the drinking of which conduces much to the Health of the Body. This River is called the Water of the Sun. The whole Fountain is lined on both Sides, and lugged at the Bottom with Stone at vast Expence, and runs out on both Sides for the Space of four Furlongs: It is not lawful for any but the Priests to approach the Brink of the Fountain.

All the Land about for two hundred Furlongs round, is consecrated to the Gods, and the Revenues bestowed in maintaining the public Sacrifices and Service of those Gods beyond these consecrated Lands, is an high Mountain dedicated likewise to the Gods, which they call the Throne of *Celus* and *Tryptolius Olympus*; for they report, that *Uranus*, when he governed the whole World, pleasantly directed himself in this Place; and from the Mount observed the Motions of the Heavens and Stars; and that he was called *Tryptolius Olympus*, because the Inhabitants were composed of three several Nations, *Pantheans*, *Oceanites*, and *Deians*, who were afterwards expelled by *Ammon*; for it is said, that he not only rooted out this Nation, but utterly destroyed all the Cities, and laid *Deia* and *Afferusa* even with the Ground. The Priests every Year solemnize a sacred Festival in this Mountain with great Devotion. Behind this Mount, in other Parts of *Panbaia*, they say there are abundance of wild Beasts of all kinds, as Elephants, Lions, Leopards, Deer, and many other wonderful Creatures, both for Strength and Proportion. In this Island there are three chief Cities, *Hipacia*, *Dalis*, and *Oceanis*; the whole Country is very fertile, and especially in the Production of all sorts of Wine in great Plenty.

The Men are warlike, and use Chariots in Battle after the ancient Manner. The whole Nation is divided into three Tribes; the first is composed of the Priests, with whom are joined the Artificers; the second consists of the Husbandmen; and the third of Militia and Shepherds. The Priests govern all, for they give Judgment in all Controversies, and have Authority in all publick Transactions of State. The Husbandmen till the Land; but the Fruit is brought into the common Treasury, and he who is judged the most skilful in Husbandry, receives the largest Share of the Fruits for a Reward in the first Place, and to the second and the rest according to that Rule, as every one merits in the Judgment of the Priests. In the same manner the Shepherds and Herdsmen carefully bring in to the publick Stock the Victims and other Things both by Number and Weight, as the Nature of the Things are; for it is not lawful for any to appropriate any thing to themselves, except a House and Garden for all the young Breed of Cattle, and other Things; and all the Revenues are received by the Priests, and they justly distributed to every one as their Necessity requires, only the Priests have a double Portion.

They wear soft Garments, for their Wool is much finer than any where else; both Men and Women likewise deck themselves with golden Ornaments, Necklaces of Gold, and Bracelets about their Arms, and

like the *Persians*, have Rings hanging at their Ears; their Shoes are such as others wear, and of different Colours. Their Soldiers, who are hired for Pay, defend the Country, and have their proper Posts, and in proper Parts of the Island Fortresses, the Hills being infested with Thieves and Robbers, who often surprize the Husbandmen. To conclude, these Priests, for Delicacy, State, and Purity of Life, far exceed all the rest of the Inhabitants. Their Robes are of white Linen, and sometimes of pure soft Wool. They wear likewise Mitres embroidered with Gold. Their Shoes are Sandals, curiously wrought with exquisite Workmanship; and in their Ears hang golden Ear-rings, like Womens. They attend chiefly upon the Service of the Gods, singing harmonious Songs in their Praise, setting forth their glorious Acts and Benefits bestowed upon Men. The Priests, say they, came originally from *Crete*, and were brought over into *Panbaia* by *Jupiter*, when he was upon Earth, and governed all the World, and alledge their Language for a Confirmation of this Assertion, inasmuch as they retain many Words of the *Cretan* Tongue among them; and moreover say, that they derived from their Ancestors that Civility and Kindness wherewith they entertain the *Cretans*, the Fame and Report of their ancient Conspicuity descending continually in a perpetual Succession to their Posterity; they shew likewise a Record, written, as they say, by *Jupiter's* own Hand, at the Time when he was on Earth, and laid the Foundation of the Temple.

There are in this Island likewise Mines of Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron, but not lawful for any to export them. Nay, it is not permitted to any of the Priests to go out of the Verge of the consecrated Ground; and if any do, it is lawful for any Person who finds them to kill them. They have, under their Charge, innumerable Vessels, and other consecrated Things, both of Gold and Silver, which have been laid up there in Honour of the Gods for many Ages. The Gates of the Temple are of admirable Workmanship, beautified with Gold, Silver, and Ivory, and Thyme-wood. The Bed of the God is six Cubits long, and four broad, of massy Gold, most curiously wrought in every Part; and near adjoining stands the Table, as large, and of the like Materials and Workmanship with the other in every Respect. In the Middle of the Bed is placed a great golden Pillar, whercon are Letters inscribed in that called by the *Egyptians* sacred Writings, expressing the famous Actions of *Uranus*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*, written, as they say, by *Mercury* himself: But this may suffice concerning the Islands lying in the Ocean over-against *Arabia*.

Such is the Account delivered to us of this Island by *Diodorus Siculus*, who had this Account from a more ancient Writer, one *Euemerus*, a *Messenian*; so that he is not to be charged with inventing the Fable, but with giving it a Stamp of Authority, by taking it into his History. But if the Reader should enquire what induced the original Author of the Story to frame so circumstantial a Relation out of his own Head, and attempt therewith to cheat and impose upon Posterity, it falls out very luckily, that we are able to resolve this Question, and to set the Truth in the clearest Light possible; from whence it will appear, that these Fictions of the Ancients were not devised with a malicious Intention of imposing Fables for Matters of Fact upon credulous Readers, tho' undoubtedly they very often had this Effect; but they were contrived chiefly for another and better Purpose, as appears plainly from the Case before us.

Plutarch not only knew that the whole of this Relation was an absolute Fiction, but he likewise knew, and fairly informs his Reader of the End for which it was framed. He says, that the Author of it was an irreligious Man, or an Atheist, who, in delivering this Story of the Island *Panbaia*, aimed chiefly at inculcating his own Opinions, without running the Hazard of being punished by Law. Now those Opinions of *Euemerus* the *Messenian*, which *Plutarch* very prominently tiles atheistical, were no other than these, that most of the Deities worshipp'd

^c *Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. p. 225.*

^a *Plutarch. de Jide & Or.*

the Northern *Indies* on the Frontiers of *Scythia*, and of Diamonds and Precious Stones found there, whereas in all probability, the Gold which the Ancients met with in *India* came from the Peninsula of *Malacca*; the Diamonds were found near Cape *Comorin*, and the Rubies and other colour'd Stones were brought from *Taprobana* or *Ceylon*. We will conclude these Remarks on the Riches of the *Indies* with a few Lines from the Poem of the famous Geographer *Dionysius*, whom some Critics place as high as the Reign of *Alexander*, and which *Prifcoran* has thus rendered into *Latin*. They occur towards the End of the Poem, and contain a most lively and elegant Picture of the Riches of the *Indies*, with as much Accuracy and Correctness as any Prose Writer what ever, and may serve as a Specimen both of the Manner and of this Manner of Writing.

Respicit nunc reliquis Africæ sub finibus oras.
Positas ad pontum Carmani, solis ab ortu;
Littora pars habitant, mediæ pars limina terre.
Gurgis post hos tendunt orientis ad ignes,
Oceanum iuxta: radiis propriis inde
Est Scythiæ Tellus australis, flumen ad Indum,
Qui ports raptius rubro contrarius exit:
Gurgite nam celeri rectus decurrit ad Austrum,
Caucasus orienti primum de montibus altis:
Draconis cujus Patalene cingitur unda.
Serapim muneris & scalo gurgite gentes.
Ad partes rapidi que vergunt lumina Scelis,
Ortus, Arabasque simul, linique Aethiopiis
Ventis lenis, & Sarridas simul omnes.
Parparci Montis sub celsis rupe, Arivos
Namque communi, qui terras ubere nullo
Florantes habitant, squallent nam fontibus aspris;
Caralis lupulem qui rubrum litore carpunt,
Sapphique decus nigri siveque coloris
Decorum cadunt ventis, hæc merce beati.
Indum Terris hæc Teltyos æquora cleulant,
Quo primo Titon adiacens lumine cerunt.
Una color populos niger & flagrantibus ortu,
Alpe genant similes hyacintho fronte Capillos.
Ubi sunt alii teras aurique metallum:
At illa tessent tenuissima tegmina lani:
Uvarum strigunt elephantis ab ore revulsos,
Serapim ripes alii terrentibus mirri
Et stigmam glauci, mirilumque adamanta,
Atque ara viridi legitur que splendet lapidis,
Caralis que decus liquidi, græstique Topazi
Perque amethystos in st. jussusa colore.
Pectus magna sic tellus illi ministrat.
Afflu que rigant hæc telum fontibus amnes:
Abiæque vagat variis, in loque frequenti,
Et sic rubre possidet arundinis illi.
Hæc aut superant proceræ corpore tantum,
Infant equum faciles ut mare Elephantos:
Ipso præstant s. pientis pectore matæ
Laminibusque cedent rectis, mirabile, sclem:
At raves oculis, et sicra mente retentant,
Quæque concipiunt arcana luce futuri.
Ubi sunt hic carnis decetatus torque rubenti
Naxos, lumina simulat qui verbera lingue.

The principal Hindrance that the Commerce of the Ancients met with was owing to the following Causes; first, the over-valuing their own Knowledge, and supposing all Nations at a Distance from them *Barbarians*, and therefore less in proportion to that Distance; the next was their adhering to their old Notions in Cosmography, notwithstanding the Arguments their own Experience furnished to the contrary; and thirdly, their discontinuing long Voyages to distant Countries during domestic Contentions, by which those Routes were lost which were known in former Times, and their Discoveries so confounded, that it was not possible to affirm any thing about them with Certainty.

The two former were voluntary Errors, the last was either a Misfortune or their Fault. We have an Instance in *Strabo* of a very singular Navigation to the *Indies* performed in the Reign of *Ptolemy Ptolemy*, which, if they were persued, might have opened to them a much

shorter and easier Passage to the *Indies* than they had been hitherto acquainted with. The Guards that were appointed to patrol on the Shore of the *Arabian Gulf* found an *Indian* half-dead upon that Shore, and brought him to the King; all they could tell of him was, that he alone had escaped a Shipwreck; but as they understood not his Language, they were not able to say whence he came. The King caused him to be well taken care of, and to be instructed in the *Greek* Language, in which, when he had attained a sufficient Knowledge to discourse, he acquainted him, that in a Voyage from the *Indies*, being driven out of the usual Course, he lost all his Companions by Hunger; and the Ship being stranded, he escaped alone on Shore, where the Guards found him.

This Man offered to pilot a Ship to his own Country, which he did, and carried one *Eudoxus* with him. The Voyage was very happily performed, and they found in the Country to which this *Indian* carried them Aromaticks, and several sorts of Precious Stones, some of which the *Indians* found in their Rivers, and others they dug out of the Earth in the same manner that Chrysolite is found. *Eudoxus* conceiving that he had acquired Experience enough by this Voyage, set up for a great Navigator, and undertook several Voyages to very little Purpose, because he followed his own Notions instead of endeavouring to acquire proper Lights from the *Indians*, notwithstanding it clearly appears from the Accident that lettel this Man, that the *Indians* were much bolder and better Seamen than the *Greeks*.

But these last were so persuaded of their own Skill, and had such a Contempt for the Nations they held *Barbarians*, that nothing could induce them to change their Sentiments, or prevail on them to think of obtaining Lights from those they so much despised. *Bishop Huet*, speaking of this Passage, seems to be of Opinion, that from the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* the *Egyptians* had neglected their *Indian* Commerce, and recovered it by this Accident. I must confess this does not appear at all probable to me, and I am rather inclinable to believe, that this *Indian* carried the Ship he navigated to a Part of the *Indies* with which till then they had never been acquainted; and this by the perfect Knowledge he had of the *Monsoons*, or constant Trade-Winds; for I cannot believe that the *Indians*, in their early Ages, had any other Secret which enabled them to make long Voyages in less Time than other People. This is an Instance of the first Error.

As to the second, one might collect many; but that I may not dwell too long upon this Subject, I will take notice only of one. They had a Notion that the Eastern and unknown Part of the *Indies* was bounded by the Ocean, and that this Ocean communicated with the *Hyrcanian* or *Caspian* Sea; and upon this they grounded the hopes of discovering the most distant Part of the *Indies* by the Navigation of the latter. *Strabo* declares plainly, however, that he believes this Navigation never had been performed; but at the same time admits that it was practicable. This he did on the Credit of *Patrocles*, who was sent to make Discoveries on this Side by the *Seleucide*; and this he labours very earnestly to prove by that kind of Reasoning, which will always affect the Vulgar among the Learned, and which no great Man ever wants, to establish what he thinks probable.

Ptolemy also mentions the Voyages of *Patrocles*, and seems to insinuate that he actually discover'd some such Passage; but what he says is very dark and perplexed; so that after all, one can affirm nothing positively from his Writings. The Opinion however grew common, and passed for current, even upon such obscure Testimonies; and this drew after it, as a necessary Consequence, a Notion that only an inconsiderable Part of the World remained undiscovered; and this, together with the whimsical Apprehension that one Zone was intolerably hot, and two as intolerably cold, damp'd the Spirit of Inquiring, and confined Men to the Spots where they happened to be born, or, at most, to those which their Ancestors had discovered by Accident or good Fortune, rather than Industry. Indeed, this circumcising Scheme is so strong in the Ancients, and even in those Works, which, at first Sight, appear calculated for a different Purpose, as for Instance, the Story of the Blind *Atlantis*, related by *Plato*, and the famous

Expedition of *Hanno*, that they contain much more to affright and terrify, than to allure and invite Men to undertake long Voyages, and endeavour great Discoveries; which had this bad Effect, that it quite dardardized common Minds, and rendered them incapable of being wrought into a Temper fit to go through the Hardships that must be met with in such Undertakings.

The third Disadvantage they laboured under was, the frequent Revolutions their own Countries were exposed to; for this laid them under many and great Difficulties. They had this Method or that prescribed to them by a superior Power, and they were to pursue such Plans only as were agreeable to the Government under which they lived, and those too no longer than they were agreeable. Another Inconvenience was, the Interposition of the State on any Discovery, or furnished Discovery. It was to be cultivated or neglected at the Will of the Government, and not of the Adventurers, for the Spirit of Negotiation was not so free as it is now; but any Attempts out of the ordinary Mode of Commerce gave Jealousies to such as ought to have been best pleased with them.

These Discouragements, at particular Times, and under particular Circumstances, interrupted several kinds of Commerce, and kept the Whole in such a Condition as hindered private Men from turning their Thoughts this Way; for, otherwise, no doubt, they would have thought of settling Colonies, and securing some Footing in the *Indies*, in order to have examined the Whole of it, and putting the Navigation of it into a certain and irreversible Order; so that nothing which happened at home might have affected those Colonies: But after the Time of *Alexander*, or at least of his immediate Successors, we find nothing of this sort thought of, but every thing abandoned to Chance and the Humour of the Times.

12. There were many Impediments besides these already mentioned, which hindered the Progress of Discoveries among the Ancients, and some of them of such a Nature as to be almost invincible. Their Ships were built in such a Manner, as did not, by any means, render them fit for long Voyages; for their Continuance was such, that they could not bear a high Sea, or go safely before the Wind at any great Rate. In the next place, their Ships wanted Room; and though this seems to be contradicted by the Accounts we have of Vessels which carried several hundred Men, yet, when these come to be closely examined, they appear to be no other than a sort of Burges, or rather Gallies, fit for transporting Men across an Arm of the Sea, or for fighting, where this could be done in a few Hours after they were on board; and this will be the more evident, if we reflect on the Scenes of naval Combats mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories. The Labour of working their Ships was likewise intolerable in a long Voyage; and these Inconveniences, taken together, appeared in the Eyes of their Seamen so dreadful, that they were more apt to mutiny, especially when employed in Discoveries, than can well be imagined; so that if it had not been for some Accidents, and their being encouraged by the Examples of the *Arabians* and *Indians*, it is scarce credible that they would have made such long Voyages as they really did.

If it should be inquired how the *Arabians* and *Indians* made such frequent Voyages in spite of these Inconveniences, the Answer is easy, they made use of another sort of Vessels, which, though less fit in Appearance, were much better Sailed; nor would it be difficult to prove, even from the Account of *Strabo* and other ancient Writers, that the *Indians* actually made use in those Days of the *Parasol* or *Pree*, which before a Wind are allowed to be the best sailing Vessels in the World. The Ancients wanted likewise the Assistance of Charts, which are so essentially necessary to Navigation, for it appears plainly from the Voyages already mentioned, and from the Accounts we have in *Pliny*, and in other Authors, that they were guided solely by a kind of Table, containing the Names of Places on the Coast, and their Distances from each other; neither had they any Ideas of finding a different manner, because they knew not how to regulate their Course in an open Sea, which forced them upon the Choice of that sort of Navigation which is now with Reason held to be the most

dangerous, and in which they could make use of such Vessels only as had a small Draught of Water; and this was particularly inconvenient in the Navigation of which we are speaking, because the *Indian* Coasts are very low, and by sailing near them, they lost the Advantage of the Trade Winds, which, before the Invention of the Compass, afforded the only means of making long Voyages with Safety.

It must be owned that many of these Facts have been disputed, and that too by very learned Men, who have endeavoured to persuade us, that the Ancients wanted very few of the Conveniences possessed by modern Navigators, as will be largely shewn in another Place; but at present it may be sufficient to observe, that in all of these Arguments are drawn from their own Explanations of proposed and obscure Passages in *Historians* or *Poets*, whereas ours are grounded on the Scope of their general Histories, and on Declarations in our Favour, as expressly as can be desired. For instance, *Vegesius* assures us, that the Seas were shut from *November* to *March*, and that it was not thought proper to undertake any Voyage of Consequence before the Month of *May*. This very plainly proves the Difficulties of that Navigation, and that they lost a great Part of the Year's want of those Helps and Advantages, which, purely from the Spirit of Contradiction, these learned Men would present us they enjoyed.

It may not be amiss to remark, that supposing their Opinion to be true, it is so far from adding to the Credit of the Ancients, that it really does a greater Injury to their Reputation, than the contrary Assertion taken in its strongest Sense; for if the Ancients had the Use of the Compass, and of Sea-Charts, as these learned Men maintain, their not making a better Use of them is altogether inexcusable, and shews such a Want of Spirit, and such a Defect of Genius, as is absolutely irreconcilable to their Performances in other Arts; but what seems to settle the Matter beyond all Question is this, that the *Indians*, becoming Masters of the *Greek* Learning as well as of the Empire, and translating into their own Language the *Greek* Books that were written on these Subjects, did something that at all corroborates this Notion of the great Knowledge of the Ancients, with respect to the Instruments of Navigation necessary in long Voyages.

Sir *John Chardin*, who was a Man of much Reading, as well as of a good Understanding, and withal a great Traveller, has delivered his Sentiments upon this Subject in the following Terms, which I shall cite in this Place, because I shall not hereafter have any Opportunity of returning again on such Reflections in the Course of this Enquiry. "I cannot tell, says he, whether the *Chinese* found out the Art of Navigation and the Compass, as they did the Art of Printing and Artillery; we then dispute whether Men amongst them to be assured of it. But, in other *Asiatics*, I boldly assert, they are behind us for this wonderful Instrument, which they had not in *Europe* by the Hands of the *Arabs*, a long time before the *Portuguese* Conquests: For, first, their Compasses are exactly like ours, and they buy them upon the *Indies* as *repeans* as much as they can, scarce distinguishing them with their Needles themselves. Secondly, it is evident that the *Indians* only coasted it, when I suppose that the Want of this Instrument to guide them, and to assist them in the wide Ocean. We cannot possibly think that they were afraid of venturing far from home, for the *Arabs*, the first Navigators in the World, many of whom at least for the Eastern Seas, have, since out of the East sailed from the Bottom of the *Red Sea*, along the Coast of *Africa*, down to the Tropick of *Cape Horn*, within a Space of fifty Degrees, and the *Chinese* have traded with the Inhabitants of the Islands of *Samatra*, which is also a very considerable Voyage, to many Islands unthought of, and at the same time positive, to many Lands unknown to the People of *Europe*; these are a Proof that the old Navigators had not the least falling on the wide Sea. I have nothing but Arguments and Conjecture to offer touching this Matter, but never met with any body in *Persia*, or the *Indies*, who inform me when the Compass was first known to them, though I made Enquiry of the most learned Men

Men in each Country
Persia in Indian
Board but myself
used the Foremast
These Instruments
ours, not in the last
Characters are
the Arabs are the
Asiatic and African
make use of Charts
them; some they
for they are quite

13. After the progress of the Commerce conclude this Section upon their Endeavour and Labours in the first place then we have in the small flourishing Discoveries did not reach of *Malacca*; for know nothing of it but all the rest of the *Indies*, which were then known on that Side.

know very little with *French* Mountains near both Writers, of the Nations inhabiting. For we have discovered *China*, and all the Coast of *Torkin*, the *Sea of the South*, the *Mediterranean*, and the Country of *North* Light, our Discoveries long since. Towards been discovered by proceeded as high as the East of *Japan*, so that made known to us by all the rest of *Asia* that not therefore at all their much exceeded their Distance.

In the next place, Trade to the *Indies* by *Agassians*, *Thysons*, and made the Subject. *Agassians* for example, of *Indians* in the *Indies* were not our Discoveries two Centuries before the *Case of Good Hope*. A *Chinese* is very

The *Turks* Officers difference how on a *Chinese* how many *Indians* and *Portuguese* found the Part, a Commerce the *Chinese* Successors, *Indians*, after they were Masters of a great part of the *Company* of *Portuguese*, or rather the Power of the *Indies* to the Balance with the *Indians* especially were respect to the Maritime Power is of the most extensive. The *Romans* had the Advantage of the very Mouth of the *Indies* by large Towns of their Nations, and to the *Indians* of the *Indies*, and

Men in each Country, I have sailed from the *Indies* to *Persia* in *Indian Ships* when no *European* has been on Board but myself: The Pilots were all *Indians*, and they used the Foremast and Quadrant for their Observations. These Instruments they have from us, and made by ours, not in the least varying therefrom, except that the Characters are Arabic; and by the way I observed, that the *Arabs* are the most skillful Navigators of all the *Asiatics* and *Africans*; but neither they nor the *Indians* make use of Charts, and indeed they do not much want them; some they have, but they are copied from ours, for they are quite ignorant of Perspective."

13. After the copious Detail we have given of the Progress of the Commerce of the Ancients in the East, we shall conclude this Section with a very succinct Comparison between their Endeavours and Successes in this respect, and the Labours in the same way of the Moderns. In the first place then we have made it highly probable, that even in the most flourishing State of their Trade, their actual Discoveries did not reach farther to the East than the Peninsula of *Malacca*; for as to the *Sinus Magnus*, they could know nothing of it but by I fear say, unless they had known all the rest of the *Indies*. On the Continent again the *Seres*, which were the *Siamese*, were the last People they knew on that Side. In regard to the Northern *Indies*, they knew very little with any sort of Certainty beyond the *Emilian Mountains*; and most evident it is, even from their best Writers, that they had not so much as Reports of the Nations inhabiting beyond the Mountains of *Imaus*. But we have discovered Eastward the Country of *Cochin-China*, and all the Countries dependant upon it, the Kingdom of *Tanquin*, the vast Empire of *China*, all the Islands of the *Sund*, the *Moluccas*, the *Old* and *New Philippines*, and the Country of *New Guinea*, so that considered in this Light, our Discoveries exceed theirs by twenty Degrees of Longitude. Towards the North again, besides what has been discovered by Land, the *Dutch* have most certainly proceeded as high as forty-five Degrees failing to the North-east of *Ypon*, so that without exaggerating, the Part of *Asia* made known to us by our *East-India Voyages* is equal to all the rest of *Asia* that was known to the Ancients. It is not therefore at all strange, that our *India Trade* should so much exceed theirs, though carried on at so much greater Expence.

As the next place, it may be observed, that though the Trade to the *Indies* was never carried to Perfection by the *Egyptians*, *Phoenicians*, or *Romans*, yet it was known to them, and was the subject of their Books for a long Course of Ages. In the first Kingdom of *Tyre* to the Reign of *Antiochus the Great* includes above eight hundred Years, whereas all our Discoveries of the *East Indies* were made within two Centuries after a Passage was found thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*, so that in this respect the Industry of the Ancients is very far surpassed by that of the Moderns.

The last Observation I shall make is with regard to the Difference between a Land Force and a Naval Power. We have seen how many fruitless Attempts were made by the *Grecian* and *Persian* Monarchs to extend their Conquests towards the East; and we have likewise seen of how short Continuance the Conquests were of *Alexander the Great*, and his Successors, together with the Attempt made by the *Siamese*, after they had reduced *Egypt* to a Province, and were Masters of a great Part of *Asia*, which, all of them, are proving in Conjunction of the Empire established by the *Portuguese*, or rather the Comparison fails as far short as the Power of the little Kingdom of *Portugal*, when thrown into the Balance with that of the Empire of *Rome*; and the Discoverments of the *English* and *Dutch* in those Parts, but more especially of the latter, plainly demonstrate, that with respect to the Advantages derived from Conquests, a Maritime Power is infinitely superior to the Strength even of the most extended Empires.

The *Romans* had in this respect in all Appearance the highest Advantages; they were Masters of the Country to the very Mouth of the *Arabian Gulph* on one Side, and possessed a large Tract of Country on the other. The Trade of that Name was so great, that they had hardly any Opportunity to fear by Land or Sea; and if one Expedition failed, they might very soon have repaired the

Loss sustained in it, and have been in a Condition to have undertaken another. Yet we see nothing of this happened; and it was not above twice or thrice thought of, and then to no great Purpose. *Augustus* had formed a Design of reducing the Peninsula of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by many Reasons; such as that the Inhabitants of the Coast between the *Arabian* and *Persian Gulphs* were in Possession of the whole Trade of the East; there were some of the Nations on the Coast opposite to *Egypt* that were extremely addicted to Piracy, and greatly disturbed the Navigation of the *Romans*, which probably happened from their having lighter Vessels, and such as sailed better; so that if at any time they met with Ships of greater Force, they were able to leave them, and make their Escapes; the Situation of the Country also might probably be a strong Inducement to the attempting this Conquest, because it seemed to promise the entire Possession of the Oriental Commerce without Interruption. But we have seen how that Expedition, undertaken with so great Precaution, and with such a Force as was never employed in the East by any modern Potentate, was entirely defeated. The Emperors *Flavian* and *Titus Vespasian* had also some Thoughts of pushing their Conquests on this Side; but History does not inform us, that they ever took any effectual Steps towards putting those Designs in Execution. *Trajan* made the last Attempt upon *Arabia* from the *Persian Side*, with a potent and victorious Army, and this with no other View, than to have made himself Master of the Wealth which the *Arabians* had amassed by their extensive Commerce; but he likewise failed, and from a too quick Sense of his Disappointment broke his Heart.

Let us now consider what Prospect the *Portuguese* had of reaching and making Conquests in the *Indies*. Instead of crossing from the Mouth of the *Arabian Gulph* to the Coast of *Malabar*, which is a Voyage only of a few Days they were to sail round the whole Continent of *Africa*, then a Coast in a great measure unknown; and at the same time the adjacent Seas were remarkable for their being almost constantly subject to Storms and Tempests, in such, that when the utmost Cape was first discovered, the Discoverer called it the *Tempestuous Cape*; but the King of *Portugal* conceiving the Advantages that would result from this Navigation, changed that Name for *The Cape of Good Hope*, and with a few Ships, and a very small Force, attempted and settled not only a Commerce with the *Indies*, but raised a very considerable Empire there in spite of all the Opposition that could be given him. This manifestly shews not only the Superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients in Point of Navigation, but likewise that the most distant Voyages are best suited to the raising a Maritime Power, that is to say, a Power by Sea that is permanent, and not raised and overthrown suddenly, as the Maritime Powers among the Ancients frequently were. It also effectually demonstrates, that it is not a mighty but a well-conducted Force that is proper for establishing distant Conquests; and that when a Nation is once possessed of a considerable Fleet, there is no Country at such a Distance as to be out of her Reach, neither are her Settlements in any Danger of being destroyed, while they are worth keeping, and while the Government at home is sufficiently attentive to their Preservation; so that the Circumstances which seem at first Sight the most discouraging in regard to the attaining Foreign Power and Maritime Force, are, in reality, those which most contribute to the Establishment of it; and to the preserving it when established, by securing a constant Supply of all that is necessary for that Purpose.

It is by long Voyages only, made with Danger and Uncertainty, that People acquire the Means of making long Voyages with Ease and Safety; the Perils they escape once they know how to avoid again; they become acquainted by degrees, and by Experience, with the Nature of Things, which never could have been reached by the Penetration even of the sharpest Understanding; and by thus becoming acquainted with the Laws, or rather with the Course of Nature, they gain intently a kind of Superiority over Nature; so that in some Sense the very Winds and Seas may be said to obey them. When the *Portuguese* first undertook their *Indian Expedition*, they neither had good Ships, nor knew how to build them. It was not

not therefore in Virtue of their great naval Force, that they became Masters of these Countries, but it was their Desire of becoming Masters of them, that put them upon raising one capable of achieving it.

It is very remarkable, that the first Place in the *Indies* at which they arrived, was *Malabar*, a Country which, as we have shewn, was known to the Ancients, and that too for a long Tract of Time, but so imperfectly that they were not so much as able to give us a tolerable Description of it. Whereas in the Space of fifty Years, or less, the *Portuguese* were Lords not only of that, but of all the adjacent Countries, raised and deposed Princes as they thought fit, and disposed of Kingdoms at their Pleasure. The great Island of *Ceylon*, which, as we have proved, was the *Tapebana* of the Ancients, of which, after to many Voyages to the *Indies*, they have given us such lame Accounts, was not only perfectly discovered within the Space of Time before mentioned, but in the Hands of the *Portuguese*, who imposed a Tribute upon the Inhabitants, though all the Force they had then in the *Indies* was not equal to a thousandth Part of their Number.

These Reflections will lead the intelligent Reader into many more upon this Subject, and enable him to comprehend perfectly the Difference between the Attempts made by the Ancients, and the Exploits of the Moderns in this Part of the World, which, at present, is all our Business; and having thus travelled through the darkest and most perplexed Part of our Subject, on which we were obliged to enlarge ourselves, in order to be perfectly understood, and to satisfy the Reader, that though every Thing within this Period of Time was contested and embarras'd enough; yet it was far from being so utterly unintelligible, as it has been hitherto represented; we may have Leave to be more concise for the future, in respect to those Things that are better known, and with regard to which therefore long Digressions are unnecessary.

In order to connect the ancient and modern History of the Commerce between *Europe* and the *East-Indies*, it is requisite that we should give a short Account of the Inter-

course between the Subjects of the *Greek Empire* and the People of the *Indies*; for the Reader must naturally apprehend that after the imperial Seat was transferred from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, *Egypt*, remaining still a Province so useful to the latter than the former, was Commerce which had hitherto been in a manner neglected, the Possession of *Egypt*, must have been not only preserved, but encouraged and extended.

He will likewise, no doubt, be glad to see the Changes that happened in it, the new Routs that were opened, and from the *Indies*, by which the Commodities of those Countries came by so many different Channels into *Europe*, and which by the Riches they derived to the several Nations that intermeddled with this Commerce, excited the Spirit of Discovery which has since laid open the Trade directly to all the modern maritime Powers, and made their Establishments in the *Indies* the most solid Part of their having a just Right to that Title. Thus, God willing, we shall dispatch within the Compass of two short Sections, and then we shall enter on the History of the *Indies*, which first acquainted the northern and western Parts of the World, with the Interior of those Countries, the Nature of their Inhabitants, the Constitutions of their Governments, and the History of the most remarkable Events which had fallen out in them.

A Sort of Travels that, as they appeared strange and surprising in the Times in which they were first published, so when exhibited simply and plainly as their Authors wrote them, and without the whimsical Adornments which they were disfigured in our old Translations, cannot fail of being thought equally curious and instructive even at this Day, the rather because we want many Things to their Beginnings, and to see what Impressions the Sight of Countries, People, and Manners different from their own, made upon the Minds of those who first visited those remote Regions, and that in an Age not altogether so free from Superstition and Prejudice as this in which we live.

SECTION XVI.

A concise History of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Constantinopolitan Empire, together with the Commerce of its Subjects in the East; as also a brief Detail of the Rise of the Arabian Empire, the Recovery of the Indian Commerce in Egypt, and the receiving the Trade of Alexandria.

1. A Description of the City of Constantinople, and a short View of the many Advantages deriv'd from its commodious Situation.
2. The great Care taken by the Successors of Constantine, for the Support of maritime Power.
3. The great naval Strength of that Empire, and the Disposition of its Fleets.
4. The Ruin of the Silk-Trade under the Emperor Julliman.
5. Silks-woolms not brought into Europe, and a confounding History of that Manufacture to the present Times.
6. A large Account of the several Indian Commodities that were brought to Constantinople.
7. A concise View of the State of the Empire, from the Reign of Julliman to that of Heraclius.
8. The Victories of Heraclius over the Persians, and the Expulsion of them from the Indies.
9. The Rise and Progress of the Arabian Empire to the Time of the Conquest of Egypt.
10. The Foundation of Grand Cairo, and the Revival of the East-Trade in Egypt.
11. The History of the Arabian Commerce continued, with the Revival of Trade at Alexandria.
12. The State of Constantinople, to the Time of its being taken by the Turks.
13. Chronology and Remarks upon the foregoing History.

THE best Writers of Antiquity differ very much as to the Reasons which induced Constantine the Great to remove the Seat of Empire from *Rome* to the new City, which he called by his own Name. Some ascribe it to his Care of the Eastern Provinces, and others to his being sensible that the *Romans* hated him. Whatever his Reasons were, most certainly the Majesty of *Old Rome* could not have been translated to a City but rated by Empire than this, which the Emperor Constantine called *New Rome*. Its old Name was *Byzantium*, and it had run through a great Variety of Accidents before Constantine, who first thought of re-

building *Troy*, call his Eyes upon it, and upon this subject, that no Place was so fit to become the Metropolis of the *Roman Empire*, and Mistress of the World. It stands on a Point of Land on the ancient *Bosphorus of Thrace*, where there is a narrow Strait which serves to divide *Europe* and *Asia*, and, at the same time, forms a Communication between the *Baltic* and the *Mediterranean*.

The City stretches itself out in the Manner of an Amphitheatre, having on its Right-hand the *Archipelago*, and all the *Mediterranean*; and on the Left, the *Bosporus* up to the *Palus Meotides*, so that it has all the Advan-

Front, and all *Europe* Situation that this City of the Mediterranean Founder, took all its magnificent Place in Churches, Palaces, a provide for its Security practis'd in those Days Situation seems to be it populous, and is from thinking either choosing any other Plans taken by *Congress* commodious.

The spacious Field behind it, furnish'd of *Asia* which was one of the best peopled and most fertile in the World. The *Indies* and Fowl, at the cheast has still a greater Advantage, inasmuch as with one Net. The Winds of the North that in ancient Times continually at the *Bosporus* lie under the *Indies* being restrain'd to this Vice, though As to Timber, collected from the Woods of *Cilicia*, in a Tract of in the Space of so far has never felt the want of it, as he has supplied all the requisite for *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *India* from her Stores.

But the greatest and distinguishing Port, by Nature the six Miles in Compass so deep that Ships run without Danger. This Harbour is more convenient; for N. W. so that no danger, they bring when they were about to S. E. they bring danger; so that it seems designed by Nature for *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*.

It was very proper for these prodigious Advantages, for a long Series of Endeavours to the latter. The Emperors emptied them from the other Subjects of the Empire in a Manner could affect them. between Merchants and Dates and Impositions extending their Privileges of this was, because of this Commerce to the Manners alone frequent Occasion to and as the Manning of it to Commerce did this Inconvenience that it deserves to be mentioned.

There were certain for this Service; together with the express Condition, they should furnish a certain Number of Men required then

Front, and all Europe behind. It is in Virtue of this Situation that this City is very justly stiled the Key both of the Mediterranean and Black Sea. The Emperor, its Founder, took all imaginable Care to render it the most magnificent Place in all the World, to adorn it with Churches, Palaces, and other publick Buildings; and to provide for its Security, by all the Arts of Fortification practised in those Days. But still the Convenience of its Situation seems to have had a greater Share in rendering it populous, and in preventing succeeding Emperors from thinking either of going back to Rome, or of choosing any other Place of Residence, than all the Plans taken by Constantine to render it equally stately and commodious.

The spacious Fields of Thrace that lay immediately behind it, furnished Corn in Abundance, and that Part of Asia which was over-against it, was, for many Ages, the best peopled and the best cultivated Country in the World. The Markets were always full of Flesh and Fowl, at the cheapest Rates; and for Fish it had, and has still a greater Abundance than any other City in the Universe, inasmuch that twenty Boats have been laden with one Net. The Inhabitants were supplied with Wines of the richest Growth, in the greatest Plenty, so that in ancient Times they were reproached with being continually at the Bottle; and, even to this Day, the Greeks lie under the same Imputation; though the Jews being restrained by their Religion, are less addicted to this Vice, though not wholly exempt from it neither. As to Timber, Constantinople is so plentifully supplied from the Woods which extended from Propontis quite to Colchis, in a Tract of more than forty Days Journey, that in the Space of so many Ages as she has already stood, she has never felt the least Inconvenience, notwithstanding she has supplied all the neighbouring Parts with what was requisite for building Ships and Houses, and even Egypt, Arabia, and Africa, have likewise received Materials from her Stores.

But the greatest Beauty, the greatest Advantage, the most distinguishing Felicity of this imperial City, is her Port, by Nature the most lovely in the World, being six Miles in Compass, a full Mile over, and every where so deep that Ships may lie with their Heads aloft, without Danger. This Harbour is not more safe and spacious than convenient; for when the Winds are N. N. E. or N. W. so that no Ships can come in from the Mediterranean, they bring in those from the black Sea; and when they were about the opposite Points of S. S. W. or S. E. they bring up the Vessels from the Mediterranean; so that considered in this Light, Constantinople seems designed by Nature to be the Centre of Commerce for Europe, Asia, and Africa.

It was very probably the Sense which they had of these prodigious Advantages that induced the Emperors, for a long Series of Time, to bend a great Part of their Endeavours to the Encouragement of Merchants and Mariners. The Emperor Constantius, for Example, exempted them from all Charges and Contributions to which the other Subjects of the Empire were liable; and this in a simple Manner, that no pretended Cases of Necessity could affect them. Succeeding Emperors distinguished between Merchants and Mariners, subjecting the former to Taxes and Impositions, but exempting the latter, and extending their Privileges to a very great Degree. The Reason of this was, because that Merchants reap'd all the Profits of Commerce to all the Hazards and Dangers of which the Mariners alone were exposed. As the Emperors had frequent Occasion to fit out Fleets for the publick Service, and as the Manning of these might have been very prejudicial to Commerce, a Law was provided which remedied this Inconvenience, and that in so singular a Manner, that it deserves to be particularly taken Notice of.

There were certain Lands, in the Nature of Fiefs, granted for this Service; that is to say, the Owners possessed them, together with the Privileges incident to Mariners, upon express Condition, that in Consideration of these Fiefes they should furnish, according to their respective Values, a certain Number of Seamen, whenever the publick Service required them. Thus the Burthen was laid upon

Lands, and not upon Persons; and as the Circumstances of People might change, and this Duty of providing Seamen, become inconvenient, or even impracticable; for the original Possessors of such Fiefes, the Law provided that they might be at Liberty to dispose of them to such as might be more capable of complying with the Terms upon which they were held.

By this Method the Greek Emperors were able to fit out very great Fleets in case of Necessity, as appears by that of the Emperor Leo, in the Middle of the fifth Century, which was intended against the Vandals and consisted of eleven hundred Sail, which, however, were all destroyed on the Coast of Africa by the Treason of him who commanded them. This alone is a strong Proof of the great maritime Power of the Constantinopolitan Empire, while it flourished; but we have a much more signal Proof in the Establishments made by these Emperors for the several Fleets appointed for the Defence and Support of their Empire, which Establishments appear very clearly from the several Bodies of their Laws still remaining, and which prove, beyond all Contradiction, that so long as this Empire continued in a flourishing Condition, the utmost Care was taken for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce, by a right Application of that maritime Force we have before described.

The Province of Egypt was of no less Importance to the Greek, than to the Roman Empire; and the utmost Care was taken to regulate the annual Fleets from that Province, so that the City of Constantinople might be regularly supplied with whatever Provisions she had Occasion for from thence, and have likewise the most valuable Returns that were made from the Indian Commerce by the way of the Red-Sea. It was by this means that immense Riches were regularly drawn from thence, and the best Part of the Profits of that advantageous Trade constantly conveyed to the Imperial Residence, as appears by a Multitude of Laws yet extant in relation to the Fleet of Alexandria, on board of which these Treasures were carried to Constantinople. The next stationed Fleet was that of Africa, which was chiefly designed for the Benefit of Old Rome; for all the Commerce of Alexandria being diverted to Constantinople, that Supply of Provisions, for which hitherto Rome had depended upon the Fleet of Egypt, was now to be received by this of Africa; and for a long Course of Years this Expedient answered the End very well.

The Third Fleet was that of the East, the principal Station of which at Seleucia, a City of Syria, seated on the River Orontes; and this Fleet seems to have been divided into several Squadrons, and from the many Laws made about it, appears to have been of very great Importance. It was chiefly by the help of this Fleet that the Commerce of Persia and the Siber Asia was carried on, which was very rich, and included some Branches of that of the Indies. Great Care was taken in the regulating this Trade, to prevent the Empire from suffering by the sending of Persian Spies, in the Garb of Merchants, into the Roman Provinces. The Places therefore to which the Persian Merchants might repair, were pointed out, and settled by Law; as also the Seasons at which Fairs were to be held, and the Time they were to last, by which Contrivance a Door was opened for conveying all the Trade of Asia into this Channel, for when the Goods purchased at different Places were brought by the respective Fleets attending the Provinces in which those Fairs were held to Seleucia, they were there embarked on Board the Grand Fleet for Constantinople.

Besides these there was another Fleet in the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, which brought annually vast Quantities of Corn to Constantinople, together with abundance of rich Commodities, and amongst them some from the Indies, which were brought thither by a Rout that will be explained in the next Section. This Fleet served likewise to awe the several barbarous Nations inhabiting the Coasts of that Sea, and thereby contributed exceedingly to the Tranquillity of the Empire. It is very probable from the Laws that we find in the Code of the Emperor Julian, that besides these great Fleets, every maritime Province of the Empire had its peculiar Squadron stationed at a certain Port, which every Year carried the Revenues of the Province to Constantinople. There were likewise vast Numbers of lar-

bottomed Vessels maintained at the publick Expence on all the great Rivers that passed through the Empire for the transporting Troops, and other requisite Services, as Occasion required.

Whoever considers this Distribution of Things attentively, will easily discern that there never was a Government in the World, the Peace and Prosperity of which depended more immediately on the right Management of Manu- facturing Affairs, than that of this Empire. But as it was very extensive, and as an equal Care was necessary for the preserving Order in every Part of it, we need not wonder, that in Pro- ceeds of Time many Errors crept in, and a Multitude of Laws were made necessary for remedying the Inconveniencies they produced, till by degrees the new Regulations (clashing with the old ones) occasioned greater Mischiefs than all the rest, and led to a Depravity of Manners among their Governours, and the Evasions from barbarous Nations, to which they were continually exposed, brought on the Ruin of an Empire, which was grown too bulky to be well managed.

4. It is very certain, and we shall quickly have an Opportunity of making it evident, that so long as the *Greek* Empire was in a late and flourishing Condition, the Subjects thereof had a general Correspondence in the East, and carried on a considerable Commerce to the *Indies* by different Canals. It would take up too much Room to relate a Multitude of Facts from the *Historians* who might establish this Assertion; but that we may not leave this Part of our History less perfect than the rest, it seems reasonable to report some few Instances which may answer this Purpose, and that too in a narrow Compass. The learned *Historian Ptolemy*, who has preserved a Multitude of curious Passages in respect to the History of the *Empire Justinian*, is worth consulting in this respect, as among the rest two very singular Facts that take place in the *Empire*.

The first of these is, that in the Year of our Lord's Birth A. D. 531. the Emperor Justinian, who was then reigning, took the following Method of getting that dye which is called *Tyre*. It seems, this Manufacture was carried on in several Parts of the Cities of *Beirut* and *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, and Silks were of a red- den gow to a most extraordinary Price, which was laid to arise from the Covetousness of the *Persian* Monarch, who had imposed a heavy Duty upon Silks, so that the *Indian* Merchants were obliged to pay for all they purchased in his Dominions, the Empire of the East considered as a great Hardship, published an Edict, by which he pretended to settle the Price of Silk at eight Crowns of Gold for a Pound, and threatened with Confiscation of their Goods such as should presume to sell it dearer.

This enraged the Merchants who dealt in that Commodity, who found the Lives of some by this Law to sell Silk for less than it cost them, and therefore they quitted Trade, and retired privately to sell their Silks in the City of *Persepolis* for they could not sell there. The Emperor *Justinian*, having Intelligence of this, caused all their Goods to be confiscated, and imposed a heavy Fine on the Merchants. By this Contrivance all the Silk in the *Empire* fell into her Hands, and by the Assistance of one *Justinus*, who was her first Minister, he sold it out privately at the Rate of six Crowns an Ounce for that of a ordinary Dye, and the uppermost Colours were had at it not less than up to twenty-four Crowns an Ounce, all the Manufacturers working for them. By this means he raised the Empire and Emperors to immense Wealth, and *Justinian* their Agent much more; but in the mean time the Merchants of *Constantinople* were ruined and undone, the Manufacturers at *Beirut* and *Tyre* reduced to a solitary Beggary, and Numbers of industrious Persons forced to leave their Wives and Families in order to seek Employment in *Persepolis*.

This is a very curious Passage, inasmuch as it shews us the State of the Silk Trade at that Time, the Places in which Silk was wrought up, and the Value of that Commodity. But the second Article we find in our History that *Justinian* is still more curious, because it shews how the Price of Silk was reduced, not only throughout the *Greek* Empire, but throughout all *Europe*. Before we come to this, however, it is requisite to observe, that even in the midst of this Extortion there had been a Time when Silk was much dearer. For under the Reign of the Emperor

Aurelian Silk had been sold for its Weight in Gold; that is to say, a Pound of one was weighed against a Pound of the other; but as these Gold Crowns, or Aurei, as they are called in old *Historians*, were made by dividing a Pound of Gold into one hundred Parts, it is plain, that the Emperor's Agent sold Silk of common Colours for seventy-two Aurei, and Silk undyed perhaps cheaper. We may conceive from hence the Hardships that the Merchants were laid under by their being obliged to sell their twelve Aurei, which considering that they imported it from *Persepolis*, and the *Persons* at that time probably from *India*, it must have come to them at a much dearer Rate.

5. This excessive Price of Silk, whatever temporary Mischiefs it might produce, had a very good Effect in the main; for the Emperor perceiving that his Subjects were chiefly tied to a continual Trade with *Persepolis*, for want of this Commodity, discovered a great Hell to be found freed from this Inconvenience; upon which two *Indian* Monks, or rather two Monks that had travelled to the *Indies*, went to the Emperor, and told him, that they could very easily settle that Manufacture among his Subjects, so as that they might never be under the Necessity of dealing with any Strangers, much less with the *Indians* for that Commodity. This Silk, said they, which is so precious here, is in *Serinda*, the most populous and most civilized Country in the *Indies*, where we have spent many Years, spun by certain little Worms, which I will not receive from Nature. As for these Worms, it is impossible to transport them; but their Eggs may be brought from thence without any Difficulty, and hatched here, giving them a certain Degree of Heat.

Such were the Proposals made by the Monks to *Justinian*, who readily consented with them, making them great Rewards, in case they were able to bring this Manufacture, which without much Difficulty they did; for returning in the *Indies*, they brought from thence a considerable Quantity of the Eggs, nourishing the Worms with a mixture cut with the Leaves of Mulberries; and thus, says our Author *Ptolemy*, was the Art of making Silk introduced into the *Greek* Empire.

This Transaction fell out A. D. 551, but it was long time before it spread itself much beyond the Bounds of the *Greek* Empire; for we find, that A. D. 1172, *Alphonsus* King of *Spain*, having conquered a Part of *Crete*, brought some from his own Country, the Art of managing Silks which was quickly transferred thence to *Constantinople*, and other Parts of *Italy*, where it flourished for many Years before it was transferred to the Southern Parts of *France*, when the great *Historian Mezeray* tells us, happened in the Reign of *Francis* the First, in which, however, it is ascribed to *Lewis* XI. A. D. 1483, introduced into his Dominions, and first for *Persons* that lived in the *North* among Silks, not only from *Constantinople*, and other Parts, but also from *Crete*; and by his Letters introduced into the Year 1480, granted them a great Privilege. But the Price of this Commodity was still kept up at a high Rate.

Our King *Henry VIII.* who was a very magnificent Prince, wore commonly Woollen Hoop, and by Letters he had a Pair of Silk from *Spain*. His Son *Edward VI.* had a Pair of Silk Stockings presented him by *William* *Grey*, which Present of his was the first taken Notice of. Queen *Elizabeth*, in the third Year of her Majesty's first Part of black knit Silk Stockings given her by *Michael* *Tague*, and she never wore Worsted afterwards. In the Year 1600, Mr. *William Lee*, a Native of *Northampton*, and educated in *St. John's College Cambridge*, invented the Art of frame work Knitting, which has since been much improved. Having thus traced the Silk Manufacture from the *Indies* hither, we will now return to the proper Subject of this Section, and endeavour to discover what we have before asserted, that the *Indians* themselves did not suffer by this Change of the Seat of Empire.

6. It appears clearly from hence, that under the *Indian* Empire, Voyages to the *Indies* were become more common than in former times; but we could scarce have expected that so many different Kinds of *Indian* Commodities should almost from every Part of *India*, were common at *Persepolis*, it were not winted to us by the *Historians*.

Empire, collected into from whence it appears sold upon a Multitude such as Spices of dille which came from the Quantity; for it was *Persepolis* was no other Tree, on which there appear of what Use it perhaps it was used in Woods, in Decoctions, great Antiquity, from sort of milder Cinnamon and *Ceylon*. We hear and who are well acquainted in the *Indies*, noting more than the Tree, which has very curious is the Spice known by the Modern Call a greater Flavour.

Pepper of several Peppers, and black Pepper is very angry to the Sight, the Smell, as a Pepper agreeable to us, what grows wild, with us sold by *Wey* *Ream*, adds her, but Time the long Pepper is a Pound of our *Persepolis*, and black at *Persepolis* to have been a *Persepolis* tells us, that or the Pepper vulgar *Mulberry*, for this Herb, which *Persepolis*, and in the *Persepolis* is likewise described with *Persepolis*. But at the *Persepolis*, or in the *Persepolis*, a kind of Lill was green. It grows *Persepolis*, and over a been transported into of our King: from much especially as a deal of it to *Batavia* to and *Digell* on, among the *Persepolis* above three Shilling is worth so much, in those Days they as from whence it is evidently they in considerable Quantities.

Persepolis Stones of *Persepolis* and *Ceylon*; *Persepolis* to *Orient*: to about the *Persepolis* to be a *Persepolis*, how this Stone, called *Persepolis* in Places where it is and in *Persepolis* is a *Persepolis* Stone he means, it receives Light from the Fire in which it is burned, this Way from that Part of *Persepolis* mention Women, and assistance as if there had been, that either kind of *Persepolis*; for many respect agree

Empire, collected into a Body by the Emperor Justinian, from whence it appears, that there were several Duties imposed upon a Multitude of Goods brought from the Indies, such as Spices of different kinds; for instance, Cinnamon, which came from the Island of *Ceylon*, but not in any great Quantity; for it was always very dear, the *Xilo Cinnamomum* was no other than the Wood of the Cinnamon Tree, on which there was also a Duty; but it does not appear of what Use it was, or whence it grew into Elixirs; perhaps it was used in the same manner that we do other Woods, in Decoctions. *Cassia*, described at large by several ancient Authors, from whom it appears to have been a sort of milder Cinnamon; this likewise comes from *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. We learn from some very judicious Writers, and who are well acquainted with the Manner of collecting Spices in the Indies, that the *Cassia Lignea* is, in truth, nothing more than the thick Bark of the true Cinnamon Tree, which has very little Flavour, by which they mean that this is the Spice known to the Antients by that Name; but the Modern *Cassia* is another thing, and somewhat of a stronger Flavour.

Pepper of several kinds, such as long Pepper, white Pepper, and black Pepper, all of them from the Indies. *Pliny* is very angry that this Spice should be so much admired, for, as he observes, other things are either pleasant to the Sight, the Smell, or the Taste, whereas there is nothing in Pepper agreeable to any of these Senses; and yet, says he, what grows wild, and is of no Value in the Indies, is with us sold by Weight, like Gold or Silver, for no other Reason, adds he, but because it comes from *India*. In his Time the long Pepper was worth about nine or ten Shillings a Pound of our Money, white Pepper was of half that Value, and black about half a Crown a Pound; and it seems to have been as dear at *Constantinople*. *Ginger*, of which *Pliny* tells us, that many in his Time thought it the Root of the Pepper Tree; but he assures us, that was a vulgar Mistake, for that in Reality it was the Root of a little Herb, which grew commonly in the Meadows of *Archa*, and in the Country of the *Trogodites*. This Spice is likewise described by *Dioscorides*, who agrees very well with *Pliny*. But after all, *Ginger* does not grow either in the Manner, or in the Countries they mention. It is, indeed, a kind of Lilly, the Flower of which is red mixed with green. It grows in the most remote Parts of the Indies, and over a great Part of *China*; but since it has been transported into the *West Indies*, we have the best Part of our *Ginger* from thence. The *Chinese* esteem it very much, especially as a wet Sweet-meat, and transport a great deal of it to *Batavia*, where it is generally eat after Meals to assist Digestion. It did not bear a very high Price among the Antients; for in the Time of *Pliny* it was not above three Shillings a Pound; and at *Constantinople* it was not worth so much. It may not be amiss to observe, that before Days they adulterated their Spices very dexterously; from whence it is evident, that they were much in Use, and consequently they must have been brought from the Indies in considerable Quantities.

Precious Stones of all Sorts, such as Diamonds from different Parts of the Indies; Pearls from the Coast of *Persia* and *Ceylon*; Emeralds, which were always held by the Antients for Oriental Stones, though there is great Reason to doubt the Truth of that Fact; but, however, they had good Cause to believe it, because they were brought to them from the East, however they came thither. Another precious Stone, called *Ceraunium*, because it was supposed to be found in Places where Thunder had fallen. *Pliny* mentions it, and indeed gives us a long Account of it, but *Pliny* as does not help us at all in finding out what Stone he means. He says, it is white, like Chrytal, that it conveys Light from the Sun and Moon, and has a sort of Fire in it which seems to change its Place as the Stone is turned this Way or that, and that this Jewel comes from that Part of the Indies which borders upon *Persia*. *Tacitus* mentions it among the Ornaments worn by Women, and assures us, that it had a glittering Appearance as if there had been Fire in it. We may venture to assert, that either this Stone is not known to us, or is a kind of Opal; for, except that, I know of no Stone that in any respect agrees with this Description.

The *Jacinth* or *Jacynth*, which was brought from *Cambala*, or *Cambala*; it received its Name from its Resemblance to the Flower so called, and must therefore have been of a purple Colour, inclining to a blue. The *Jacynth* is known to us under of different Colours, but none of them resemble the Stone known to the Antients; for ours are either of a Flame-Colour, or an amber Colour, almost white, or of a pale Red. It is therefore probable, that the *Jacynth* of the Antients was a kind of Sapphire. They were very much valued for gemming, and was held to have many Virtues, which in reality were never yet to be found in any Stone.

Beryls, which *Pliny* says approach nearly to the Colour of an Emerald, and which owe most of their Beauty to their being cut hexangularly, and he distinguishes many kinds of them; some that had a yellow Call, others of a blueish Colour, and some mixed with white. He assures us, that the *Indians* valued these more than any other Stones, especially when they were long, for that they bored and wore them without setting; and had also a Method of putting a gold Wire through them, which made them appear extremely beautiful at a Distance. One might write a large Dissertation upon this single Stone, since there are many very learned Naturalists that believe what we call the Beryl was the Diamond of the Antients. Certain it is, the Beryls we have from the Indies, do not at all resemble the foregoing Description, except that they are sometimes found very long and large, but rather of a greenish Colour than a blue. They are mostly to be met with in *Cambala*, *Malabar*, or *Pegu*; but the finest and largest, of which sometimes Cups and other small Vessels are made, come from the Island of *Ceylon*. There is, indeed, a Stone which some take to be a kind of Beryl, but which is better known by the Name of *Aqua Marina*, or *Aigue Marine*, from its Resemblance in Colour to the Water of the Sea. Of these some are very hard, and of such Beauty, that many Jewelers have been imposed upon by them, and have taken them for Diamonds.

Sapphires, about which we are more at a Loss than about any other Stone whatever; but this seems to be certain, that whatever the Sapphire of the Antients was, it had no Sort of Resemblance to that Stone known to us by the same Name; for it appears that the Sapphires of the Antients were not transparent, so that possibly they might be a kind of *Lapis Lazuli*. It is not, however, impossible that the Antients might be acquainted with the true Sapphire; tho', if they were, they mentioned it by some other Name, and my Reason for supposing they might know it, is, that our Sapphire comes from *Calicut*, *Cananor*, and the Island of *Ceylon*, from whence they had most of their precious Stones, and especially such as were coloured. We might add to these, many other kinds of precious Stones, of which, at this Day, we no know more than the Names; but that we are afraid of fatiguing the Reader, and therefore we shall only mention one Remark on this Subject, and that is, with regard to the Doubts and Difficulties that attend it. It seems to be a very strange Thing, that we should be more at a Loss about the Jewels mentioned in old Authors than almost about any other Thing; but when we consider what *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indians* were very dextrous in making false Jewels of all Colours; and when we observe that he mentions some true Stones, which, losing their Lustre, recovered it again by being put into Vinegar, in which Salt of Nitre had been dissolved; I say, when we consider, and lay these Circumstances together, with the Addition of their Descriptions, it may very well beget a Doubt in us, whether many of the precious Stones mentioned by the Antients, might not be Compositions; but whatever they were, they came from the Indies, and this is another Proof, that even in the most early Times, the *Indians* were much better skilled in these Matters than any other Nation.

We likewise find amongst the rest of the *Indian* Commodities charged with Duties, all Sorts of Silk and Cotton Manufactures, which they brought as we do from those Countries, and probably for the same Reason, because they found that Method cheaper than bringing the Commodity

dity and working it up at home. Ivory was also brought from thence as well as from *Africa*, and great Quantity of Skins and Furs which are distinguished under the two Heads of *Babylonian* and *Parthian*; and they likewise brought many wild Beasts, such as Lions, Bears, Leopards, Panthers, and some Birds. As to Metals, we find none mentioned except Iron or Steel, under the Title of *Ferrium Indicum*; and this, we are told by *Pliny*, came from the Country of the *Seres*, and was esteemed the very best in the World; and next to it was the *Parthian* Iron, but whether it came wrought or unwrought does not very clearly appear, but the former is the most probable. That they might, under the Reigns of the *Greek* Emperors, have this fine Iron or Steel from *China*, where that Commodity is still met with in the greatest Perfection, I will not deny; but that it came from thence in the Time of *Pliny*, is not easy to comprehend; and therefore I am apt to believe that they received it from the *Siamese*, who might inform them that they had it from the *Seres*.

We find Cotton also, and a Sort of Mohair amongst the Commodities that were brought from the *Indies*, and though the true Purple was to be had in *Egypte*, yet it seems that the *Indies* was most admired, and in the greatest Esteem, otherwise it cannot be imagined that they would have taken the Pains to have brought it from Countries at so great a Distance. It would take up too much Time, should we endeavour to trace out the different Ways by which all these *Indian* Commodities were brought to *Constantinople*. It is sufficient for our Purpose that they were brought thither, since this clearly shows that the Subjects of the *Greek* Empire had a considerable Trade to the *Indies*.

We might allege, to prove this still more largely, the Testimony of *Amianus Marcellinus*, and several of the *Byzantine* Historians, which however would lead us into abundance of critical Disputes, and therefore we shall wave their Authorities, especially since the Account already given of the *Indian* Monk or Monks, who had travelled to the *Indies*, for with respect to our Subject it is much the same Thing which they were, is as clear a Testimony on this Head as we could wish. It is also very certain, and the Reader will meet with the clearest Proof of it in a succeeding Section, that by this Time, or very soon after, the *Syrans* had not only reached *China*, but were even established there, and formed a Christian Church, the Members of which were very numerous in all the Provinces of that extensive Empire; neither can it be imagined that, upon this Establishment, they should immediately relinquish all Correspondence with their Countrymen; though this might, and indeed really did happen in Provinces of Time, and for Reasons that will appear hereafter.

7. We have very different Characters given us of the Emperor *Justinian* by different Writers, according as their Humours led them; but upon the whole, it is very certain that he was one of the best Princes this Empire ever had, took the greatest Pains to settle and support the Government, to regulate the Laws, and to leave every thing in such a Condition that succeeding Princes might be able to govern without Trouble, by adhering to the Rules which he had laid down.

He deceased in the eighty-third Year of his Age, *A. D.* 527, and was succeeded by his Nephew *Justin II.* in whose Time the Empire was to shaken by Domestic Confusions, and towards the latter End of his Reign invaded by the *Persians* on the one Side, and by the *Avars* on the other, that the Weight of Government became absolutely insupportable, inasmuch that he fell distracted. *Tiberius* had thereupon the Administration of the Empire committed to his Care, with the Title of *Cæsar*; and after the Death of *Justin*, he succeeded him in the Empire, which he governed with great Magnanimity, and had such Success against the *Persians*, as reduced their Power very low.

He was succeeded, *A. D.* 527, by *Mauritius*, who married his Daughter *Augusta*, and in the Beginning of his Reign was very prosperous, repelled the Invasion of the *Persians*, and when that Kingdom fell into Confusion, and their King *Chosroes* expelled, he received that Mo-

narch into his Dominions, and treated him with great Generosity and Kindness; he likewise raised a great Army to restore him, which he also performed very happily; and by this Means the Commerce between the *Greeks* and the *Persians* was renewed, to the great Advantage of both Empires. The Close of this Emperor's Reign was not at all unwelcome to his Beginning; for the *Avars*, under the Command of their King *Chosroes*, invaded the Empire, and notwithstanding all the Precautions the Emperor could take to prevent the Progress of their Arms, ravaged all *Thrace*, and were on the Point of besieging *Constantinople*; but in this however they were prevented by a Plague, which swept off most of their Army, upon which their King, who had twelve thousand of *Mauritius's* Subjects Prisoners, offered to ransom them for Half a Crown a piece, which not being granted, he put them all to Death. This too much incited the People of *Constantinople*, that they rebelled, and called the Emperor a cruel, and greedy Tyrant. He, on the other hand, was so afflicted with this unhappy Accident, that he begged the Prayers of all religious People, that this Offence might be pardoned, or that he might receive his Punishment without this World. In this he soon had his Wish, for *Phocas*, who from a common Soldier came to be General of the Army, rebelled against him, was proclaimed Emperor by the Army, and pursued *Mauritius* to *Chalcedon*, where he put him with his Wife and Children to Death, which *Mauritius* suffered with great Patience, uttering these Words, *I bear all just, O Lord, and thy Judgment is righteous*. These Events fell out in the Year 602.

This *Phocas*, as he attained the Empire by Treason and Murder, so he governed with all the Circumstances of Cruelty and Barbarity that could render a Tyrant odious; for being sensible at first that his Title was bad, he endeavoured to secure himself in the Possession of the Empire, by destroying, without Mercy, all who were any way related to the Imperial Family, or who were to distinguished by their Virtues, or their Employments, as to give him any Umbrage; and this leading him to shed the Blood of a Multitude of the Nobility, raised a general Abhorrence of his Government over all the Empire. But besides these domestick Troubles, *Phocas*, almost from the Beginning of his Reign, was pressed by a formidable Foreign Enemy. This was *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, who, in Gratitude for the Kindness shewn him by the Emperor *Mauritius*, was no sooner informed of his Murder, than he invaded the Provinces of the *Greek* Empire bordering upon his Dominions; and this War, as it grievously distressed a great Part of the Empire, served to increase the Hatred of the People against the Monster who had occasioned it. As Matters of this kind seldom come alone, and as it is natural for ambitious Neighbourhoods to take all Advantages over a declining Government, to while the Affairs of *Phocas* were in this Condition, the *Avars*, *Slavians*, and other Barbarous Nations, broke into and ravaged his Dominions. He, in the mean time, instead of reforming, continued his Cruelty and Lewdness, till he was tormented in his Palace by *Heraclius*, whose Wife he had ravished, and delivered to the Soldiers of *Heraclius*, one of his Generals, who had taken Arms against him. *Heraclius*, after upbraiding *Phocas* with his Crimes, cut off his Feet, Hands, and Privities, and at last beheaded him. Such was the End of this barbarous and blood-thirsty Tyrant, who, notwithstanding, was named by the Churchmen of his Time; crowned by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* while the Emperor *Mauritius* was still living, and owned by the *Roman* Pontiff, on whom he bestowed the Title of Universal Bishop.

8. The general Corruption of the People, and a Succession either of Tyrants or weak Princes, had distressed the *Greek* Empire, that when *Heraclius* ascended the Throne, which was *A. D.* 610, he found it necessary to make the necessary Provisions for the Security of the State; and therefore, when he was attacked by *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, he did not behave with that Constancy that might have been expected from a Man of his great Courage; for, instead of arming to oppose them, he endeavoured to purchase Peace; but when this was found impracticable, he compromised Matters with the *Arabs*, who were Enemies no less formidable than the *Persians*.

and addressed himself was so exhausted, that Plate. While he was broke the Peace, and *Constantinople*, which *Heraclius* soon after co Honour to himself, at

It was one of the most in History; for the Consequences proved to the *Persians* were victorious, plundered the People, Commerce, and destroyed *Greece* in their Turn; he revenged their Wrongs, the Forts and Spirits of a greater Misfortune to themselves; for in the Condition, the *Saracens* have over-run their Country, which afterwards, during the most violent

It is very remarkable *Victories* which *Heraclius* the principal Monarch, him upon that Occasion, a considerable Quantity of some Years afterwards, Emperor's Satisfaction, and shews that a Correspondence between the last Influences of *Persia*; for before the Provinces from which he was the *Indies*, we find a Circumstance which is requisite, for the should enter into a more Event.

Mohammed, the new Empire, let up to *Heraclius* began to reign *Meca*, which is the *Temple* when *Mohammed* as being to the best *Mohammed* survived, the reigning the Sovereign; yet before his *Mohammed* was a very powerful Monarch in law *Abdallah* Name only he is mentioned of it in *Arabia* he was called, because *Mohammed's* Wife.

This *Mohammed* was a *Prophet* Word that *figured*, and the *Keble* to *Mohammed*. In the *Prophet*, and in the *Arab* all Commanders, who were the *Greek* Empire, and defeated a great Army.

Omar succeeded *Abdallah* in the first Year of his reign, and in the second *Heraclius*, who came to *Constantinople*. The next *Arab*, and all the *Constantinople* entirely *Constantinople* sent Kingdom the last of their Prince.

After this Conquest, *Omar* demanded *Tribute* from *Constantinople*, knowing that and tearing the *Arab* annual Tribute Years the *Saracens* would have been to fo

and addressed himself to the War, though his Treasury was so exhausted, that he was forced to coin the Church Plate. While he was engaged in this War, the *Avars* broke the Peace, and advanced even to the Gates of Constantinople, which they besieged, but without Success. *Heraclius* soon after concluded the *Persian* War with much Honour to himself, alter it had lasted six Years.

It was one of the most fatal of which we find any mention in History; for it exhausted the Strength, and in its Consequences proved the Ruin of both Empires; for while the *Persians* were victorious at first, they over-ran all *Egypt*, plundered the People without Mercy, interrupted their Commerce, and destroyed their Magazines. When the *Greeks* in their Turn had the better of the *Persians*, they revenged their Wrongs so effectually, that they intirely broke the Force and Spirits of the *Persians*, which scarce proved a greater Misfortune to that Nation than to the *Romans* themselves; for if the *Persians* had not been in so weak a Condition, the *Saracens* would never have been able to have over-run their Country in the manner they did, and which afterwards afforded them an Opportunity of reducing the most valuable Provinces of the *Greek* Empire.

It is very remarkable, that upon the first News of the Victories which *Heraclius* gained over the *Persians*, one of the principal Monarchs of the *Indies* sent to compliment him upon that Occasion, and made him a Present of a considerable Quantity of fine Pearl, and precious Stones, and some Years afterwards repeated his Civility much to the Emperor's Satisfaction. This is a very singular Circumstance, and shews that there must have been some previous Correspondence between these Princes; but it was one of the last Instances of Friendship which passed between these States; for before the Decree of this Emperor, all the Provinces from which any Correspondence could be carried on with the *Indies*, were torn from the *Greeks*; and as this is a Circumstance which very nearly concerns our Subject, it is requisite, for the better understanding it, that we should enter into a more particular Account of this remarkable Event.

Mohammed, the Author of a new Religion, and of a new Empire, set up for a Prophet about two Years before *Heracius* began to reign; but the *Hegira*, or Flight from *Meca*, which is the *Æra* of the *Mohammedans*, and which happens when *Mohammed* was fifty-four Years old, is fixed, according to the best Histories, to July 6. A. D. 622. *Mohammed* survived this ten Years, and though at his first assuming the sovereignty, he had no more than thirty Subjects, yet before his Death he had laid the Foundation of a very powerful Monarchy. He was succeeded by his Son in law *Abdallah*, turnamed *Abubekre*, by which Name only he is mentioned in most Histories. The Meaning of it in *Arabic* is, *The Father of the Virgin*; and he was so called, because his Daughter *Aysha* was the only concubine *Mohammed's* Wives whom he married while a Virgin.

This *Abubekre* was the first *Khaliff*, which is another *Arabic* Word that signifies a *Vicar* or *Substitute*, and a *Successor*, and the *Khaliffs* were esteemed both, with respect to *Mohammed*. In the second Year of his Reign he invaded *India*; and in the third and last he sent *Khaled*, one of his best Commanders, with an Army of 30,000 Men to invade the *Greek* Empire, which he performed with Success, and defeated a great Army which *Heracius* sent against him.

Omar succeeded *Abubekre* in the thirteenth of the *Hegira*, in the first Year of his Reign he became Master of *Damascus*; and in the second he reduced all *Syria*, having forced *Heracius*, who came in Person to its Relief, to retire precipitately. The next Year he made himself Master of *Jerusalem*, and all the Country of *Palestine*, while one of his Successors intirely subdued *Persia*, and put an End to that ancient Kingdom in the Person of *Jezdegerd*, who was the last of their Princes.

After this Conquest the *Saracens*, as they were then called, demanded Tribute of *Egypt*; and *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, knowing the distressed Condition of the Empire, and fearing the Consequences of a War, consented to pay an annual Tribute of 200,000 Aurei, with which for two Years the *Saracens* were contented, and very probably would have been to for a long Space of Time, if the Em-

peror *Heracius* had not taken this in ill Part, and treated it as a fleecing of his Subjects to enrich the Infidels. He bestowed therefore the Government of *Egypt* on an *Armenian*, whose Name was *Manuel*, with the Title of *Præfessus Augustalis*, who, when the Tribute was demanded next, answered, that they had formerly a Priest, but now a Soldier to deal with. *Omar* thereupon sent *Amrou* his General with a potent Army into that Country, where, when it was too late, *Heracius* would have renewed the Treaty made by *Cyrus*, and would willingly have paid the former Tribute. But *Amrou*, in the Space of two Years, conquered the best Part of the Country, and laid Siege to *Alexandria*. While he lay before the Place, which held out fourteen Months, the Emperor *Heracius* died, and being succeeded by his Son, who was a Minor, the *Saracens* at their Leisure prosecuted the Conquest of *Egypt*, and soon after annexed thereto all the adjacent Countries.

Omar the second *Khaliff* reigned but ten Years and a half, and in that Space of Time subdued *Syria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, and Part of *Africa*; that is to say, as far as *Tripoli* in *barbary*. By this Blow the *Romans*, as they styled themselves, or *Greeks*, as they were styled by others, lost all their Eastern Provinces, and the Trade to the *Indies* intirely, which for the present suffered an absolute Interruption, the *Arabs* being at that time intirely addicted to War; and though they were avaricious enough, had no great Notion of Commerce. It is scarce to be conceived how great an Alteration the Rise of this new Empire made in the Face or Affairs, and what prodigious Desolation ensued before these Conquerors came to be softened to such a Degree, as to cultivate the Arts of Peace, and to endeavour, by the Rules of Policy, to establish and maintain the mighty Empire they had acquired, the greatest indeed and most extensive that the World had ever seen, reaching Westward as far as *Spain*, and Eastward to the very Frontiers of the *Indies*. Our Subject obliges us to examine the Progress of their Power in *Egypt*, because it not only opened once again the Trade through the *Red-Sea*, but also that of *Europe*, by the same Canal, to the *East-Indies*.

10. That Impetuosity and Violence which enabled the *Saracens* to make themselves Masters in so short a time of such vast Dominions, was not like to suffer them to continue long under one Head, which, however, was undoubtedly the Design of *Mohammed* their Founder. We have not room to enter here into all the Reasons of that Division which happened among the *Arab* Princes, and therefore shall content ourselves with one, which was the great Distance of their Provinces, that naturally gave an Opportunity to such as were intrusted with the Government of them to set up for themselves.

We have already shewn how all that Part of *Africa*, which had been under the Dominion of the *Romans*, fell into their Hands; and we shall next observe, that *Abulcassim* *Mohammed Ben Abdallah*, being in Possession of Part of *Africa*, set up for himself in the Year of the *Hegira* 206, and took the Title not of *Khaliff*, but of *Mohabdi*, which signifies Director, or Chief Priest. He fixed the Seat of his Government at *Cairo*, which is a Name the *Arabs* bestowed on the ancient City of *Cyrene*, or rather a new City built on the Ruins of the old one. He left the Government to his Son *Casim*, who removed the Seat of Empire to *Makade*, a new City which his Father had erected; and his Grandson *Abou Temim Maad*, better known by his Surname *Moez Ledinillab*, who succeeded in the Year of the *Hegira* 241, prosecuted the Design which his Ancestors had entertained of making himself Master of *Egypt*.

With this View he sent his General *Giaubar*, who was a *Greek* by Birth, to invade that Country, of which he made himself intirely Master; and in the Year of the *Hegira* 258, laid the Foundation of a new City, which *Moez Ledinillab* resolved should be the Capital of his Dominions. As the *Arabs* were exceedingly addicted to Astrology, particular Care was taken that the first Stone of this City should be laid, when the Planet *Mars* was in the Ascendant; and as this Planet is by them called *Cakar*, the new City was called *Cakerab*, or *Al Cakerab*, that is, the Victorious; and is the same which the *Europeans* call *Cairo*, or *Grand Cairo*. I have been the more careful in marking the Date of this City's Foundation, which agrees with the Year of our

our Lord 968, because many, otherwise accurate Writers, have been led into Mistakes about it; particularly the learned Bishop *Huet*, who in the forty eighth Chapter of his History of the Commerce of the Ancients, says, it was built *A. D.* 705; and in the fifty sixth Chapter of the same Work, tells us, it was built *A. D.* 984.

As soon as *Muez Ictinilloh* was informed that this City was finished, he removed, with all his Treasure, from his old Capital, and made his Entry into *Cairo* in the Year of the *Hegira* 362, and there took the Title of *Khaliff*. His Successors were styled *Khaliffs of Egypt*, to distinguish them from the *Khaliffs of Bagdad*, who were esteemed the true Successors of *Mohammed*. This City was very conveniently situated on the *Nile*, and became in Time no less considerable for its Commerce, than for its being the Seat of Empire: and it was by this Means that the old Trade, by the Way of the *Red Sea*, was once more restored to *Egypt*, which flourished exceedingly under this new Race of Princes, as appears by the Revenue which it produced to its *Khaliff*, and which, as *Elmacinus* tells us, amounted to no less than Three hundred Millions of Crowns of Gold.

The *Khaliffs of Egypt* were nine in Number, and the last of them was *Abdaz*, who was deposed by *Saladin* General of *Nouredin*, Sultan of *Damascus*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 567, *A. D.* 1171. *Saladin* entering the Palace of the *Khaliff*, who died immediately after he was deposed, found there prodigious Riches, and amongst the rest a noble Proof of the Commerce of the *Indies*, which was the finest Ruby in the World, perfectly fine and bright, and weighing very near an Ounce and a half. This prodigious Wealth, and the having a great Army absolutely at his Devotion, tempted him to set up for himself; and having made himself Master of *Egypt*, he soon after extended his Dominions over all the Countries of *Damascus*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*. He left, at his Decease, his Kingdom of *Egypt* to his second Son *Othman*, who died in the Year of the *Hegira* 597, and was succeeded by his Brother, who was soon deposed by his Uncle *Malick al Adal*, whose Grandson *Malick Al Salek* succeeded, in the Year of the *Hegira* 647. He enlarged the City of *Cairo*, and fortified it with a strong Wall, and was victorious over *St. Lewis of France*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 698. But this Prince was however the last of his House; for not long after, the *Mamlouks*, or *Mameluks*, as they are generally called, who were a kind of mercenary Soldiers, revolted from him, and forced him to take shelter in a wooden Tower, which hung over the *Nile*. To this Tower the Mutineers set Fire, and thereby compelled the unfortunate Monarch to jump into the *Nile*, where he was drowned.

By this Accident *Egypt* once again changed its Masters; for these *Mameluks* became Sovereigns of the Country, and chose their General, whose Name was *Ibek*, Sultan, who thereupon took the Name of *Almalek Al Azis*. He was the first Prince of the Dynasty of these *Mameluks*, which were distinguished by the Name of *Babaristes*, or *Mamlouks*; but these People were, generally speaking, either young *Slaves of Tartars*, sold into *Egypt* by the Merchants, from whom again they were bought by the Sultan, educated at his Expence, and employed to defend the maritime Places in the Kingdom. The plain Reason of this Institution was, because the native *Egyptians* were found to weak and effeminate, from a long Course of Slavery, that they were unfit for Arms; and perhaps this is the Case of all Nations, when in the State of the *Egyptians*, that is to say, when they have no Property to fight for, are neither so desirous of Victory, nor can be worth by any Defeat. These Foundlings made excellent Soldiers; for, having no Relations or Friends, but amongst their own Corps, they turned all their Thoughts to the excelling in their Profession, as they placed all their Hopes in acquiring the principal Posts in their Militia. This extraordinary Event fell out in the Year of the *Hegira* 648, *A. D.* 1250. They elected, on the Death of a Prince, another out of their own Body, and held the Kingdom without Interruption till the Year of the *Hegira* 784, when they were deposed of it exactly in the same Manner in which they had acquired it.

For, as they found it necessary to keep up a numerous standing Army, because, though they made but a Part of the Sultan's Troops, yet it was impossible for them to trust either the *Arabs* or the *Egyptians*; they therefore had Recourse to the purchasing all the Children they could meet with, but particularly the *Greco-Scythians*, which inhabit a Part of the Coast of the *Black Sea*; and have, in all Ages, had a barbarous Custom of making Merchandise of their Children; and for the better procuring of these Children, the *Mameluks* entered into a Treaty with the *Greek Emperors*, for sending an annual Fleet into the *Black Sea*. These Children they trained up in their own Discipline; but by an unaccountable Blunder in Politicks, never incorporated them into their own Corps, but disposed of them in Garrisons in the Parts of their Country, in a sort of Fortresses, which were called *Berges*; and from thence this new Corps of *Mameluks* took the Name of *Bergites*; and growing more numerous than the old Corps, deprived *Kelann*, who was the last Sultan of the first Dynasty of the Empire, and transferred it to themselves.

It is of this second Dynasty of the *Mameluks*, of which most Authors are to be understood when they speak of the *Mameluks* as the Children of *Abulthans*, for such the *Scythians* were. These *Bergites* remained Masters of *Egypt* to the Year of the *Hegira* 923, *A. D.* 1517, when the last Prince *Tobman Bey* was deposed by *Selim*, the first Emperor of the *Turks*, who caused him to be strangled over one of the Gates of *Grand Cairo*; and to the Year of the *Hegira* 1099, *Egypt* has been a Province ever since. It was under these *Mameluks* that the *East India Trade* was a great measure, restored to its old Channel, but by all sorts of *Indian Commodities* were conveyed by the *Red Sea* to the Coasts of *Egypt*; from thence to *Grand Cairo*, and to by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, where a great Part of them was purchased by the *Europeans*; and was by this Commerce that *Egypt* was so rich in their Time, that the Predecessors of *Tobman Bey* gave, at his Accession to the Throne, by way of Presents to his Soldiers, ten Millions of Ducats at once. Having thus, as truly as possible, run through the History of *Egypt*, it will be requisite to enter more particularly into the Commerce of the *Arabians* in the East, without which, the largest Part of the Work could not be properly understood; and this likewise we shall do with all imaginable Brevity, in order to preserve a due Proportion between this Section and the rest, as well as that necessary Connection between the several Parts of this History; so that the different Parts which this Trade to the *Indies* hath taken, may the more evidently appear. A Task difficult to accomplish so narrow a Compass, and the more so, because we travel through an unbeaten Road, and are obliged to describe Circles almost at every Stage.

11. One would naturally imagine, from the long Accounts of the *Arabians* and *Mohammedans* in general, that they were not the People in the World best fitted for cultivating Trade, and settling themselves in distant Parts of the World with a View to Commerce; and it will appear plainly in the Course of this Work, that they were actually dispersed into the most distant Countries in the *Indies*, *May*, and through *Ceana* itself, without the Assistance of Force, and where they could not have been led by the Spirit of Ambition, for which we may esteem them hitherto distinguished. It is therefore necessary that we should give the Reader a fair Account of this Matter, and make him acquainted with the Means by which they spread themselves in so extraordinary a Manner, beyond the sole Limits of the *Indian Commerce*, even to establish themselves, and thereby drew it into such Countries as were under their Dominions; from whence it was carried out into other Parts of the World, but still in such a Manner, that the best Part of the prodigious Profit arising from that Trade centered in them. In order to this, and that the whole may be brought into as little Room as possible, we shall, upon this Head observe, that in their own Histories it is clear, the *Arabs* found out several Settlers in four several Ways; by Conquest, by Discovery, by Trade, and by Mission: By the first they possessed themselves of all the Provinces, which made the

vast Empire; by the down to *Cape Corrientes* who had it not in their mind on what Parts of *Mogadono*, *Brava*, &c. Nature of ours in the to maintain, because whence the *Arabs* by two other, they treated more especially by Co

Their Voyages were frequent, and therefore necessity of making a where they took Wives. These new Families being sensible it was the Trade of *Persia*, *Egypt* and *Europe* by these Merchants might they could well imagine in their old Settlement Differences in reality; to they therefore *Mohammedans*, because of the Hope from the Sultan remote Parts of the made Profection of *M* that the *Moors* might they were to multiply, or at least a Part of Religion, which did, by little and little, length received an Assistance being raised *Cambray*, and *Guzerat* those *Islamic Turks* called *Polis*; as *Malic Azim* ment *Dia*, from *Paraguay*.

By Trade and Religion Parts of *Malabar*; and very considerable first as Merchants, a *Aboc*, gained many *ijm*. From *Malacca* and having prevailed together with several *ijm*, they raised great Concerns of Trade give them room to Accord to the *Portuguese* settled in the *Arabs*. Thus, in a out the Assistance of *Arabs* did more than to many Ages; a have pulled Matter been hindered in the Part of the World Progress.

They found, however, their good Fortune, *ijm* with respect to to such a manner navigating those Seas, and some other *ijm*, and some other *ijm*, and the *Arabs* were brought to by *Cadix*, &c. Quarters of the *Arabs*, and by the *Arabs* Trade was carried of the same Places the from the *Arabs* of *ijm*, who traded with them from to *Portuguese* the *Arabs*, th

Empire; by the second, they got footing in *Africa*, down to *Cape Corientes*, among the poor unarmed *Cafes*, who had it not in their Power to prevent them from seizing on what Parts they saw good. Their Colonies of *Mogadono*, *Brava*, and *Quilba*, were somewhat in the Nature of ours in these latter Times, but not so difficult to maintain, because of the Proximity of the *Red Sea*, whence the *Arabs* had all Sorts of Affiance. By the two other, they teared themselves in all other Parts, but more especially by Commerce.

These Voyages were not in those Days so frequent, and therefore the Merchants were under a Necessity of making a long Stay at the principal Ports, where they took Wives, their Religion allowing Plurality. These new Families brought on others, and the Princes being sensible it was greatly for their Advantage to draw the Trade of *Persia*, *Arabia*, and at the same Time of *Egypt* and *Europe* by the *Red Sea*, into their own Ports, these Merchants met every where with the kindest Usage they could wish. The Idolatrous Princes, confirmed in their old Superstitions, were not at all scrupulous about Differences in Religion, but admitted all indifferently: so they readily allowed their Subjects to embrace *Mohammedism*, which they preferred to the rest, because of the Hopes these *Arabs* gave them of Protection from the Sultans, whose Power was known in the remotest Parts of the East. Even Princes themselves made Profession of *Mohammedism* in troublesome Times, that the *Moors* might join them; for, in latter Days, they were so multiplied, that they peopled whole Cities, or at least a Part of the most considerable. Thus this Religion, which has nothing very inconvenient in it, did, by little and little, obtain in many Parts; and at length received an Accession of Power, when some of its Professors being raised to the first Posts in the Courts of *Cambay* and *Guzzarat*, invited a greater Number of *Mohammedan* *Turks* called *Rumis*, and even seized on some Posts, as *Male Aziz*, who raised a considerable Settlement near *Diu*, from whence he a long Time infested the *Portuguese*.

By Trade and Religion, the *Arabs* got footing in some Parts of *Malabar*; and by the same Means they came to be very considerable upon *Malacca*. They first went thither as Merchants, and some of them there fixing their Abode, gained many of the Idolaters over to *Mohammedism*. From *Malacca* they sailed round to the *Moluccas*; and having prevailed on the Kings of *Tidore* and *Ternate*, together with several others to join with them in Religion, they reaped great Benefits from these Princes, whom the Concerns of Trade, and the Protection these *Moors* gave them room to hope, confirmed in *Mohammedism*. According to the *Portuguese* Writers, they had not been discovered in the *Moluccas*, before this Discovery of the *East*. Thus, in a very short Space of Time, and without the Assistance of any considerable maritime Force, the *Arabs* did more than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the Course of many Ages; and it is highly probable, they would have pushed Matters still farther on this Side, if they had not been hindered by the sailing of the *Portuguese* into that Part of the World, which put an immediate Stop to their Progress.

They found, however, Means to make the most of their good Fortune, and to become the Carriers of *Europe* with respect to the Commerce of the East; and this in such a manner, that they shut out all others from ranging those Seas, and thereby drew an immense Profit to themselves. For the *Indians* brought by Land to *Cambay* and some other Places, and by Sea to *Bassora* and *Suez*, and the Commodities of the *Indies* and *China*. They were brought into *Suez* by the Provinces of *Acherbe*, *Syria*, *Candian*, and other Parts more northerly; great Quantities of the same they also had from the *Barbary* Coast, and by the Way of the *Red Sea*, from whence a Trade was carried on with them all over *Europe*. From the same Places they had Gold-dust; Gold also they had from the Mines of *Syria*, brought to them by the *Nubians*, who traded with *Egypt* by the Way of the *Desart*, or from Port to Port quite to the *Red Sea*; from *Ceylon* and the *Indies*, they by the Trade with the *Chinese* and

Indian Merchants, had Silks, rich Stuff, and many other Manufactures, Drugs, and Spices.

With this Stock of Goods they drove a very considerable Commerce by the Way of *Cakerah*, or *Caire*, with the *Venetians*, the *Genese*, the *Catalans*, and the *Greeks*, which was easily done by reviving the old Mart of *Alexandria*; which Port, though it was far from recovering its former Magnificence, became once more famous in the World, by becoming what it formerly was, the Centre of Commerce between the Eastern Parts of the World and the West. This shews the great Consequence of a right Situation, and is a new Proof of the Wisdom and Penetration of *Alexander the Great*, who foresaw, that whatever became of his Empire, the new City which he erected, and which he honored with his Name, would continue to make a considerable Figure, as long as Trade was capable of giving Credit to any Place. It is true, that the Revolutions which happened in the Government of *Egypt*, after it fell under the Dominion of the *Mohammedans*, and of which we have already given a succinct Account, frequently affected this City to a very great Degree; but still the Excellence of her Port, and the many Conveniences that resulted from the Commerce carried on thereby to the Masters of *Egypt*, whoever they were, preserved her from total Destruction, though in the Hands of the most barbarous Nations; for the Desire of Wealth is so natural to Mankind, that it softens the most rugged Natures, and directs them for the sake of Interest to a kind of counterfeit Humanity.

But it was the *Portuguese*, who by the Discovery of the Passage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, that gave the last Blow to this Commerce, and inally extinguished the Glory of *Alexandria*; which, as we have shewn, depended upon their Sovereigns preserving the Monopoly of the *Indian* Trade.

It was for this Reason that the *Venetians* assisted privately the *Mohammedans* in their Endeavours to prevent the *Portuguese* from settling in the *Indies*; from whence we may discern, that Interest operates more strongly than Religion, Neighbourhood, or indeed any other Principle whatever. The *Portuguese* were *Christians*, *Europeans*, and good Allies to the State of *Venice*; the *Mohammedans* were none of these, but their Interest and Trade was the same; and whatever affected the Commerce of the one, must necessarily be detrimental to that of the other. In short, the Dispute was, whether the Possessors of *Egypt*, and the *Venetians*, should divide between them the Profits of the *Indian* Commerce, or whether it should remain intirely to the *Portuguese*; and there is no Reason to wonder, that when this was the Question, a State depending so much upon Commerce as that of *Venice* did, should let all Considerations aside, in order to attend more closely to her Interest.

It is not, however, to be understood from hence, that the *Indian* Commerce, by the Way of *Egypt*, is even at this Day entirely destroyed, or that the *Venetians* have no farther Concern therein; neither of which is, strictly speaking, true; but that this Commerce is nothing now to what it was, either with respect to the *Egyptians*, or the *Venetians*, is daily declining, and must decline more and more, the Passage by the *Red Sea*, the Country of *Egypt*, and the Commerce of the Port of *Alexandria*, having now lost those distinguishing Advantages which for so many Ages they possessed, and which enabled them to recover as they did, after such intolerable Devastations as they were exposed to.

We may easily satisfy ourselves as to the Truth of this, by comparing the Revenues of *Egypt*, when in the Hands of the *Arabians*, with what they now produce, to the *Turks*: The former amounted to three hundred Millions of Crowns, and the People were not at all oppressed; the latter are fixed at three Millions, and the People are beggared by the raising that Sum. We may add to this, that formerly there were in *Egypt*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, three thousand Cities, whereas now there are not above three hundred considerable Towns, and none of these can boast any thing of their ancient Splendor. It is now time for us to return to the *Greek* Empire, and to shew in as few Words as possible how it sunk into Ruin.

12. *Constantine* the son of *Heraclius* succeeded his Father; but in the fourth Month of his Reign he was poisoned by his Mother in law *Martina*, a Woman of great

inclined to wonder how, under such Circumstances, this Empire could subsist so long.

On the whole, there is no room to doubt, that the Ruin of the Greek Power was not owing to much of the Force of its barbarous Enemies, as to the Weakness of its Government, and the dissolute Manners of the People. The excellent Situation of its Provinces, and their happy Communication with the Capital of the Empire, rendered the Greeks, in Times of Peace, incredibly rich, as appears from what the Historian Zonaras informs us, with respect to the Treasures of the Emperor Basilus, who reigned in the Middle of the Ninth Century; and who, besides vast Heaps of Silver, was possessed of two Hundred thousand Talents in Gold, which at the lowest Estimation amount to upwards of thirty eight Millions of our Money.

As the Empire diminished, its Trade and Riches must sink of course; but even long after this, they were so considerable, that a Traveller, who will be hereafter mentioned, writes in the thirteenth Century, that the Customs and Taxes of Constantinople amounted to twenty thousand Cases a Day at the very time that it was destroyed; and when the People refused to furnish the Emperor with Money to govern the City and their Lives, they were so immensely rich, that the Fleet, which was fitted with the Flagship, was scarce able to keep the Sea, the Ships being so overburdened with their Riches.

It is not sufficiently shewn what prodigious Wealth had accrued to them by their Commerce. To say the Truth, it is what the Abundance that proved the Ruin of the Greeks; for what Abundance the vast Riches that flowed in upon them from all Parts of the World (for to the very last their City was the Centre of the Trade of Europe), and the fertile Plenty they had of all sorts of Provisions and rich Mines in their own Neighbourhood, they grew so insolent and unwieldy, that the ill Use of their Property rendered the Preservation of it impossible.

The Venetians and the Genoese aggrandized themselves by the Fall of the Greeks, and prevailed for a long time the Principals of that Empire of which they made themselves Masters. By this means likewise the Europeans became better acquainted with the Eastern Nations, and found less Difficulty in visiting their Countries; so that by degrees a Desire of penetrating by Land into the most remote Parts of the East, and which had scarce been thought on in former Ages, came to diffuse itself through all Europe; the Power of the Turks likewise excited great Jealousies in the Christian Princes, who were their Neighbours, and the Wars that their Occasion afforded new Opportunities of looking into the State of these distant Countries; by those who returned long Prisoners amongst them, so that though at first sight may seem a Paradox, yet we may with Reason affirm that the Ruin of the Eastern Empire by the Mohammedans, contributed not a little to the Establishment of that Empire which the several Nations of Europe now possess in the East.

The Observation is of greater Consequence than may at first Sight appear; for whoever looks into almost all the great Events that have fallen out in the several Ages of the World, will very plainly perceive that they have been brought about by the most unlikely Means. The sudden Rise of the Saracen Empire threatened all Europe with an Invasion of barbarous Tyranny; but the Humour of undertaking the Holy War, as it was called, for the Recovery of the City of Jerusalem from the Infidels, proved the most effectual Means of preventing that Misfortune, by compelling the Mohammedans in the Defence of the Countries which they had already acquired, at the same time that it excited such a martial Spirit in almost all the Nations of Europe, as rendered them capable of sustaining that Shock by which otherwise they must have been overpowered.

One may carry this Reflection still farther, if we advert to that maritime Power which has been raised in Europe, by the Discovery of the East and West Indies, and which has visibly set bounds to the Ambition of all the Mohammedan Princes, who, notwithstanding the vast Dominions they possess, and the prodigious Armies they are able to raise, are, notwithstanding, very apprehensive of the Power of the Christians by Sea, who are indeed able to make them extremely uneasy upon any Quarrel, notwithstanding their

seeming Superiority. This sufficiently shews the Solidity of that Maxim, that whoever is Master at Sea, must be likewise Master on Land, or, which is the same thing, have the Power of controlling such as esteem themselves Masters. These Remarks arise naturally from the Subject, and therefore claim the Attention of every Reader, especially in a Country like ours, which has always affected the Dominion of the Sea, and never can be deprived of it but by want of Attention.

13. We have now run through the History of the Commerce between the Western Parts of the World and the East Indies from the earliest Accounts, and this without ever losing the Connection, or leaving the Subject untraced through any Period of Time. The Discussion of this Point has indeed taken up a great deal of Time, and of Room; but in return, it has furnished us with a great deal of useful Knowledge; for the Reader will easily perceive, that in pursuing this Topic, we have been led into a kind of Universal History of Commerce, a thing of far greater Consequence, and infinitely more instructive than the tacking together an incoherent Collection of Voyages, which, however, has been the Scheme of almost all former Writers, who perceiving their Error too late, have endeavoured to mend it by Prefaces, Dissertations, and Extracts from ancient Writers; whereas by pursuing a right Method, and being content to take the Pains of bringing what is scattered, through a Diversity of Authors, into its proper Order, we have furnished the Reader with the Means of understanding this Subject perfectly, and of being able to pronounce, with Certainty, how and by whom this advantageous Commerce was managed at any Time given.

We have indeed insisted somewhat largely on the History of the several Empires, which we were obliged to mention in the Course of this Work; but besides that in doing this we have relieved the Reader from the Fatigue of reading a dry Narration of Facts, unenlivened by Circumstances, it will be found that we have mentioned nothing that does not contribute to the better apprehending the principal Subject, and to the rendering the following Voyages and Travels perfectly intelligible, which never could have been done any other way. A particular Writer who sits down to give the World an Account of what he has seen abroad in a certain Number of Years, never proposes, and indeed it cannot be expected he should propose delivering a general History of the Countries and Kingdoms through which he passed; and yet without a competent Knowledge of these, his Accounts can never be thoroughly understood. But when we undertook to give not only a Series of the best and most authentic Pieces of this kind, but also to furnish the World with a History of the Discovery and Settlement of the East-Indies, it was requisite to provide against all these Inconveniences, which induced us to be more copious in these Sections than otherwise we should have been, that the Reader may come prepared in such a manner for the Perusal of the rest of this Work, as not to be interrupted at every Turn with critical Remarks, which always distract and confound the Narrations with which they are intermixed.

It is with the same View, that after so large a Detail of the Progress of this Commerce in the Hands of its principal Possessors, we have added yet another Section to explain the several Routes by which, when the principal Channel of this Trade was interrupted, it was still in some measure preserved and carried on.

This will be found extremely useful for two very important Purposes; for in the first place, it will explain the Means by which so many different Nations came one way or other to have a Share in the Commerce of the Indies, and by what Accidents they have been deprived of that Share; how far it is, and how far it is not, possible to retrieve the Methods of carrying on this Trade, which have been formerly in Use, or to supply them by striking out new Routes. Secondly, in giving us great Light into the Means by which so many Strangers found their Way into, and settled themselves in the Indies, as were met with there by the most ancient Travellers, whose Writings have reached our Times, and whose Accounts might have been suspected, if from the Knowledge of these Routes the Probability of all that they relate did not manifestly appear.

We may likewise add, that in the Description of these several Routes to and from the *Indies*, we shall have frequent Occasion to examine and compare the Industry of the Antients and Moderns; from whence it will fully appear, that the latter owe their Superiority over the former, rather to their Discoveries in Sciences, and the lucky Improvement of Lights derived by various Accidents, than to any Elevation of Genius, or extraordinary Degree of Virtue or Application. It is true, we might have found means to have inserted many, or indeed, most of these Accounts in the foregoing Part of our Work; but then it would have led us into long and frequent Digressions, which would have obscured the principal Subjects of our several Sections, and

at the same time would have rendered the Account of these Routes much more perplexed; whereas by their following one another in a certain Order, the Reader will be more easily apprehend them, and by comparing of them with each other, will form a better Notion of their Conveniences and Inconveniences, will enter more easily into the Circumstances attending the Rise, and bringing on the Use of them; and in a word, will, with Facility and Pleasure, conquer, in a short Space of Time, those Difficulties, which, if they had occurred to him in the Pursuit of Voyages or Travels, would either have hindered his Progress, or have cost him much Time and Pain to have got over them.

SECTION XVII.

An Account of the several Passages to the Indies both by Sea and Land, that have been attempted, discovered, or practised by the Antients.

1. Of the North-East and North-West Passages, and the Improbability of their being at all known to the Antients, *never landing what some Authors have asserted on this Subject.*
2. Of the Passage by Land from Russia to China, and the Probability of its being antiently practised.
3. Of the Route by Samarcand and the Caspian Sea, and of Pompey's Project for securing the Commerce of the Indies by that Route to the Romans.
4. Of the old Route by Bogar, and of the Alterations that have happened to some of the great Rivers in Tartary.
5. Of the Passage through the Country of the Arians, as described by Ammianus Marcellinus.
6. Of another Route from the Indies through the Country of the Saca, or Saces, described by the same Author.
7. Of the Route by Cabul, and of the great Commerce antiently carried on there between Persia and the Indies.
8. Of the great Route by Candahar, how far it was known to the Antients, and how much it has been improved since.
9. Of the Passage to the Indies, through the Country of Thine, and of the Mistakes of the Antients on that Subject.
10. Of some other Routes to the Indies, and particularly that by Palmyra.
11. Of the several Passages discovered or practised since the Mohammedans became Masters of Egypt.
12. Of the Commerce carried on by the Generals at Caffa to Chin Yama.
13. Remarks and Observations tending to the farther Explanation of this Subject.

THE first Route to the *Indies* which we shall mention is that by the North-East, through those that are styled the Straits of *Wagatz*; a Passage often attempted for Reasons that will be hereafter shewn in their proper Place, but never hitherto performed; though, doubtless, of all others the shortest Passage to that Country, at least from this Part of the World. This Route is supposed to lie through that which is generally called the *Ice-Sea*, steering North-East, along the Coasts of *Laplant*, *Muzoy*, and *Grand Tartary*, till you enter the *Indian Ocean* by the Straits of *Uries*, and so fall on the Coast of *Japan* and *Cilva*. That the Antients never had any Notion of such a Passage is very certain, because they were not at all acquainted with the Navigation of the Northern Seas till the Time of *Augustus*; and even then, the utmost Limits of their Discoveries was the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, which is the Country now called *Jutland*; and indeed, considering their maritime Skill, this was a very considerable Discovery. The Reason that we take Notice of this Passage, in the first Place is, on Account of a Matter of Fact which has never been disputed, and which some modern Writers consider as an infallible Proof that such a Passage is not only possible, but practicable.

The Fact is this: About the Year before Christ 57, a small Vessel, having several *Indian* Merchants on board, was shipwrecked on the Coast of *Germany*, and all the Persons who escaped that Misfortune were entertained by the King of the *Saxi*, who presented them to *Metellius Celer*, then the *Roman* Proconsul in *Gaul*. The Writers before-mentioned are very positive that these *Indians* came from *Japan*, or the Land of *Jedso*, through the Straits of *Wagatz*, and to into the Northern Ocean, from whence they infer, that, with due Industry and Application, we might be able to discover a Passage the same Way.

But in answer to this it has been said, that these *Indians* might have fallen upon the Coast of *Germany* by another Way, which, like the former, hath never yet been prac-

tised, but differs from it in this, that it is beyond all Possibility practicable; and if ever it should be discovered, might divert a great Part of the *Indian* Commerce from the Southern and Western Parts of *Europe* into those which lie most towards the North. This Passage is most talked down: These *Indians* are supposed to have embarked on the River *Osus*, and so to have passed through the *Caspian-Sea*; thence up the River *Volga*, and to the *Dnieva*, which, falling into the *Black*, might well enough have brought them to the Coast on which they are supposed to have been shipwrecked. It is however very improbable that such a Thing should have happened, because it supposes these *Indians* to have been perfectly acquainted with the Navigation of Rivers, which is a much more likely they never heard of, and it is very possible are unacquainted with so much as their Names to this very Day.

It is one Thing to describe a Passage to a distant Country and to recommend it to Trial, and quite another Thing to insist that such a Trial has been actually made: If therefore any Writer shall insist on the Possibility of carrying on a Commerce to *India*, by the Canal mentioned, it ought to be granted him, that the Thing is feasible, and might turn much to the Advantage of the *Russian* Empire, especially at this Juncture, when it is almost entirely in the Power of the *Arab* Nation to establish such a Commerce, as being possessed of the greatest Part of the Country between the *Caspian-Sea* and the Frontiers of *India*. But whoever would endeavour to persuade us that in those early Ages, when Geography was so little understood as then in the East or in the North, and Men were so timorous in navigating even known Seas, that the Inhabitants of the remotest *Indies* should attempt, not only to sail through the *Caspian-Sea*, for that is not so improbable, but to enter the *Volga*, and pretend to seek a Passage that Way into the *Black*, is to bid us lay aside common Sense and Experience, in order to take up with Improbabilities and Fictions.

* *Plov. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 67.* He there affirms them positively to be *Indians*, and to have passed from *India* thither.

But it may be said You own that it is were thrown upon by the King of the then should you de when it do's not them to come, at by Sea cannot be shipwrecked? and other learned M People were *Indians* tents very frequen on very remote Na remote. It is true People, who were many, were *Norwegians* fine People that w they were *Indians* nes, as to suppose th Liv, is manifestly and directly and pr probable, appears tr Nature have happen to say, some of the their little fishing-bo Sort happened in the Part of the World test, it is no great town for *Indians*.

While we are upon Conjecture of my own be *Indians*, it is m *Indians*, and that th for's Bay. Yet I do probable, but merit to modern Discover coming from the E ited, I am firmly c and that for thie and they were on Bantam; whereas t to make use of any can manage.

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* There have been *Indians* to *Europe* to prove that found in the *Indies* Sea. He was first visible. It is thought the gene

But it may be said, you have already admitted the Fact. You own that it is not to be disputed, that these *Indians* were thrown upon the Coast of *Germany*, and presented by the King of the *Saxi* to the Proconitil of *Gaul*; why then should you deny their coming either of these Ways, when it does not appear there was any other Way for them to come, at least by Sea (and that they did come by Sea cannot be contested) because you admit they were shipwrecked? All this is true; but with Bishop *Huet*, and other learned Men, I very much doubt whether these People were *Indians*; because it is very certain the Antients very frequently bestowed that Appellation upon very remote Nations, merely because they were very remote. It is therefore much more probable that these People, who were thus cast on shore on the Coast of *Germany*, were *Norwegians*, or *Scythians*, which are the same People that we now stile *Laplanders*; or, it may be, they were *Scythians*: it is to far credit the Northern Histories, as to suppose that Island was so early inhabited. This, they, is infinitely more credible than that they were *Indians* strictly and properly speaking; and that this is more credible, appears from hence, that Accidents of the like Nature have happened in *Scotland*, and elsewhere; that is to say, some of these People have been driven on shore in their little fishing-boats; and when an Accident of this Sort happened in those early Times, before the Northern Parts of the World were so well known as they are at present, it is no great Wonder that such People should be taken for *Indians*.

While we are upon this Subject, I cannot help hinting a Conjecture of my own, which is, that if they must needs be *Indians*, it is much more likely that they were *Highlanders*, and that they came into the *Baltick* through *Hudson's Bay*. Yet I do not lay this down as either certain or probable, but mention it only as a Thing more agreeable to modern Discoveries, than the former Notion of their coming from the *East-Indies*; but with regard to the Fact itself, I am firmly of Opinion that they were *Norwegians*; and that for these Reasons, there were many of them, and they were on board a kind of Bark or Vessel of some Burden; whereas the *Finn* and *Laplanders* are not known to make use of any other than small Boats, which one Man can manage.

The same Reasons may be applied to another Fact of the same Nature, since it is affirmed, that under the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, A. D. 1160, certain *Indians* were again cast upon the Coast of *Germany*; but there is no more Proof that these were really *Indians* than the former; for in both Cases it is acknowledged, that they were a strange People, whose Language was not understood, which might be true if they were *Norwegians*, but most certainly is no kind of Evidence, that they came either from the *East* or from the *West-Indies*, or through the North-East or North-West Passage.

I must not however omit, that according to *Pliny*, they had some Suspicion that the first mentioned *Indians*, and the same has been hinted with respect to the last, came to the Coast of *Germany* by surrounding the Continent of *Asia*; that is to say, by the Route of the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is however a Thing absolutely incredible, since it cannot be imagined the *Indians* ever victualled their Ships for a Voyage of such a Length; neither is it to be believed, that if so much as one of their Vessels had reached *Essepe*, and returned, we should have had some Account of this from them, as well as of other Points of their History, which are well enough preserved in some Places. But it is Time to quit a Subject on which we can say little that is either useful or entertaining, and therefore we shall pass on to another Route to the *Indies*.

2. This was by Land, from *Russia* to *China*, a Thing now commonly known, since the History of the Embassy sent by the *Czar* in the Year 1659, when his Minister failed to the North of the Kingdom of *Beulan*, and

through the Defarts of *Great Tartary*. There is no Reason to believe that there is any Thing new in this Passage, or that it had not been as much frequented of old as in the present Times; for as we have heretofore shewn, it was in the most early Ages of the World that the *Chinese* and *Indian* Empires were in their most flourishing Condition, and carried on the most extensive Commerce; whence I conceive it highly probable, that they made use of Caravans on this Side, in the same Manner as they do now; and it is not impossible that, by the Passage of these Caravans through the *Northern Indies*, the Antients came to hear of the *Seres*, since it is very certain that the Country in which they placed them, is not very far distant from the Route these Caravans must have taken*.

That there must have been some Passages on the North appears also from hence, that the Antients were so fully persuaded that the *Indian* Ocean communicated with the *Caspian Sea*, a Thing that could never have come into their Heads if they had not been informed that there was some kind of Commerce carried on between the northern Parts of *Europe* and the *Indies*; and it is not easy to conceive how any Commerce of that Kind should be carried on, unless by the Route which we have mentioned, which was always practicable, and which therefore there is no Improbability in supposing it was formerly practised. The only formidable Objection that can be made to this is, the Fierceness and Barbarity of the Nations inhabiting between *China* and *Russia*; and therefore this Objection deserves some Consideration.

In the first Place then, I observe, that the Antients had no distinct Account of these People at all, and therefore wherever they have advanced ought to make no Impression to the Disadvantage of these Nations. In the next Place, I must put the Reader in mind, that what they have told us of the *Seres* does not appear to agree with the *Chinese* History; and though I am very far from asserting that we ought to give an implicit Credit to all that is advanced in that History, yet I think there is nothing absurd in supposing that the *Indians* or the *Chinese* might be as knowing and as industrious in Commerce, as we know with Certainty, that the *Chaldeans* and the *Ishmaelites* were, in Times much earlier than those in which we conceive this Commerce to have been in use.

Human Nature is every where the same; and it appears even from the Reports of the *Greek* Historians, that the *Indians*, from the earliest Accounts they had of them, were as civilized and as well governed a People as any in the World, which certainly adds some Credit to the *Chinese* History, whether we believe that the *Indians* derived any Part of their Knowledge from the *Chinese*, or which is a Notion more probable in itself, and much better supported by Authority, that the *Chinese* were indebted for the best Part of their Improvements to the Lights they received from the *Indians*. The first Account we had of the *Tartars* represented them as a Race of stupid and ignorant Barbarians; but their own Histories shew quite the contrary, and carry in them this intrinsic Evidence of their own Veracity, that they must have been such a People as their Histories represent them; because, had it been otherwise, those Histories could not have been written†.

To speak my own Opinion freely and fairly, we are but too apt to treat People that have lived at a great Distance of Time, as we do those that live at a great Distance in Point of Place; that is to say, we measure their Wisdom and Civility by their Remoteness from our own Country, and even our own Time, which is particularly hard upon the Eastern Nations, since both Reason and Experience teach us, that as they were first settled, their Governments first formed, and Laws first introduced among them, it is the highest Probability that Knowledge of every kind came earlier to Maturity amongst them than amongst other Nations, though afterwards their Countries might be over-run, their Governments subverted, and

* There have been several *Greenlanders*, in their little Boats, taken up on the Coasts of the *O-Aneva* and *Cathinea's*. † *Espe* *Gomara* in *Hist. Indica* l. 2. c. 10. He too asserts that the People were *Indians*. ‡ It is very plain, that *Pliny* meant this Passage, for he tells us in this Chapter to prove that the Continent of *Asia* had been often surrounded; and asserts in Proof of it, that the Wrecks of *Spanish* Vessels had been found in the *Indian* Seas; which, tho' it proves nothing as to the Matter of Fact, yet it flows clearly that the Antients had a Notion that such a Passage was practicable. § We have considered the Subject of large in the fifteenth Section. ¶ The Reader will find this verified in the genealogical History of the *Tartars*, written by a *Tartar* Prince, and of which we have a very good Translation in *Page* 515.

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...part; first between the *Arabs* and the *Tartars*, and
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Yet still the old Rout is, in some measure, preserved
by the Caravans that pass from *Persia* to *Aleppo*; which
shows of how great Consequence it is, to have the Rout of
so advantageous Commerce once laid down through any
Country: For though through the Alterations, and Revo-
lutions to which all Places are, in some measure, liable,
it may be for some Time interrupted or difused, yet sooner
or later it is again revived, tho' perhaps not exactly in the
old Manner, yet so near it, that the Inhabitants are seldom
entirely deprived of the Benefits resulting from it.

It has been of late apprehended, that the present Mon-
arch of *Persia*, *Kouli Khan*, has it in View to ruin this
Commerce entirely, as prejudicial to his Subjects, or rather
detrimental to his Plan of Power, which is to draw
the Commerce Northward, and make himself sole Master
of the Trade to the *Indies* through his Dominions. But
there is good Reason to doubt, whether this be not a
Scheme too large for him to execute in his Life-time;
and whether his Successors may not be brought to alter it,
and to put things again upon their old Foot: Yet thus
much is certain, that if this Monarch and his Successors
should ever compass this Design, and divert the whole
Trade of their Dominions to the *Caspian-Sea*, it will have
great Effects with respect to *Aleppo* and the other Towns on
that Coast, and that in the same Manner, and to as high
a Degree, as the Discovery of the Passage to the *Indies*
has had on the Port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

11. As the *Arabian* Empire took Rise in the Peninsula
of *Arabia*, so as soon as the Princes of that new Power
had any Leisure to form a Scheme of Politics, they be-
gan to frame a Design of attracting the *Indian* Trade from
the Country of *Persia* where it then centered, as near as
possible to the Place of their own Residence. It was with
this View, that *Omar* the Second *Khaliff*, in the 15th
Year of the *Hegira*. A. D. 636, caused the City of *Baf-
sora*, or *Balsora*, to be built a little above the Entrance into
the *Persian* Gulph.

There never was perhaps a City more happily erected,
or which sooner came to answer the End for which it was
erected than this. The *Khaliff* did not indeed make it
the Place of their Residence, and if they had, it is highly
probable it would have been rather disadvantageous than
serviceable to it. But they always sent thither a Person
of Dignity as Governor, and made it the grand Port
of their Dominions. It became by this Means, and by
the Privileges allowed to all Merchants that settled there,
exceedingly rich and very populous; and that too in a sur-
prising short Space of Time.

It was for several Ages a Place of the greatest Com-
merce, and of the greatest Trade in the known World.
The richest Commodities in the East, but more especially
Spices, precious Stones, Drugs, Silk and Cotton Manu-
factures were brought hither, and dispersed from hence
by Caravans, till such Times as the *Portuguese* became
Masters of the City and Island of *Ormuz* on the Coast
of *Persia*; which for a long Time sunk the Commerce
of *Balsora*. But after the *Shah Abbas*, with the Assistance
of the *English*, made himself Master of that Island, and
erected the famous Emporium of *Bander Abassi*, or *Gan-
dawan*, on the opposite Coast of *Persia*, the Trade of *Baf-
sora* began to revive, and has been ever since considered as,
beyond Comparison, the greatest Mart of this Part of the
World, as ingrossing all the Trade of the *Persian* Gulph.

It was, as we have already shewn, originally in the
Hands of the *Arabs*; the *Persians* became afterwards its
Masters: But since the Year 1668 it has belonged to the
Turks.

At the same Time that the *Khaliff*s secured to their
Subjects all the Trade on this Side, by opening so conven-
ient a Port as that of *Balsora*, they took no less Care of
the *Arabian* Gulph, and of the Trade carried on thereby;
for they directed a Canal to be cut from *Cairo* to *Suez*,
which is still visible, though at present choaked up with
Sand, and partly by Shipping, partly by Caravans, esta-

blished such a Trade there, as very near equalled that car-
ried on in the Days of the *Romans*. Thus the Reader sees
that, for a long Tract of Time, the whole Trade of the
Indies was in the Hands of the *Mohammedans*, and carried
on by them with all the Caution and Success imaginable.

It is true, that this is now in a great measure in the
Hands of the *Europeans*, who are established in all the
Ports of this Part of the World, and carry on a prodigious
Trade in their own Bottoms. But notwithstanding this,
perhaps we yet owe the Trade of the *Indies* more to the
Weakness of the *Turkish* Policy, than to any other Cause
whatever; for, notwithstanding our Superiority in Mari-
time Skill and Maritime Force, if the *Turks* were a People
in any degree addicted to Trade, they might still drive a
great Part of that to the *Indies* by the old Rout through
the *Red-Sea*, in spite of all our Power and of all our Set-
tlements.

This will appear clearly to the Reader, if he considers
that *Surat* is to well situated, that it might be very easily
made the Centre of all the Commerce of the *Indies*. From
Surat to *Suez* is not above a Month or five Weeks Sail;
and from *Suez* to *Cairo* is a Journey of no more than three
Days; from *Cairo* to *Alexandria* Goods may be conveyed in
the same Space of Time; and from *Alexandria* to *Mar-
sailles* is a Voyage only of a Fortnight or three Weeks. So
that taking this altogether, it appears far from being an
Impossibility for a Person to go from *Marsailles* to *Surat* in
the Space of two Months, or ten Weeks. It may indeed
be objected, that the Voyage from *Suez* to *Surat*, and con-
sequently that from *Surat* to *Suez*, depends on the *Mon-
soons*; but, notwithstanding this, if proper Magazines were
erected at both Ports, and Fleets went regularly between
them at Spring and Fall, an immense Quantity of *Indian*
Goods might be this Way brought into *Europe* much
fresher, and in much better Condition, than they are at
present.

This is a Project the *French* have often had in their
Heads; and if ever they should prevail with the *Ottoman*
Port to concur with them in carrying it into Execution,
there is no answering for its Consequences. It must be
owned, that an Attempt of this sort might in the Begin-
ning meet with many Obstacles; but if once the *Turks* tasted
the Sweets of this Commerce, or were tempted by the Of-
fer of a large Sum of Money to be paid annuallly at *Con-
stantinople*, as an Equivalent for the Duties with which
Goods coming this Way into *Europe* might be charged, it
is not easy to say how far this might operate; for how in-
dolent and negligent soever they may be with regard to
Trade and Navigation, yet there is no Nation in the World
more avaricious than they, or more ready to do any thing
to which they are prompted for Money.

12. The last Rout we shall mention, is one not very
ancient, and which nevertheless is now, in a manner, abso-
lutely forgot. The *Genoese* had it formerly in their
Hauls, and it is no other than the Port of *Cassa*, in
Crim Tartary. This Country was anciently called the
Cheersonesus Taurica; and this City is very often mentioned
by old Writers under the name of *Tbedostia*. It was taken
from the *Genoese*, who, while they possessed it, were
Masters of the Trade of the *Black-Sea*, by *Mohammed* the
Great, A. D. 1475. It was then in a very flourishing
Condition, and was one of the best-built and richest
Places of its Size in *Europe*.

It stands at the Foot of a small Hill upon the Sea-Shore,
North and South, with long Walls stretching on both
Sides down to the Sea; so that from the Port, which is very
large, very safe, and very commodious, it makes a very
agreeable Appearance: There is a Cattle on the South
Side, in which the *Turkish* *Bashaw* resides, with his Gar-
rison. The Number of Houses in the Place is about
4000; of which 800 belong to Christians, the rest to
Turks and *Tartars*, but the former are Masters here, and
it is the only Place the Grand Signor has in *Tartary*.

After the *Genoese* were driven from hence, they carried
on for a long time a very advantageous Trade with the
Inhabitants, who, by the Way of the *Caspian-Sea*, found means

See the Article *Baltic* in *Hobbes*. All this Commerce has been carried one Way, though not constantly in the Hands of one People.
I take most of these Particulars from the Description of *Egypt*, compiled from the Papers of *M. Belin*, the
French Consul. *Com. Geograph. Ant. v. 1. p. 499.*

means to enter into a considerable Trade in Spices, Drugs, Cotton, Silks, and other *Indian* Commodities. At last the *Turks* grew jealous of the Intercourse of the *Genoese* in these Parts, and absolutely excluded them, as well as all other Nations, from trading to, or even entering into the *Black-Sea*. Yet this did not immediately put an End to the Commerce between this Place and *Genoa*; for the *Tartars* preferred so strong a Sense of the Advantages derived from this Commerce, that for some time they prosecuted it in their own Vessels, and carried the Spices and other *Indian* Goods which they received by Caravans from *Africana*, and which had been brought thither from the opposite Side of the *Caspian-Sea* to *Genoa*; but the *Turks*, equally jealous of this, as they had been of the former Correspondence, soon put an End to this Commerce likewise, and thereby secured themselves from the Fears of seeing a Christian Fleet in those Seas.

Yet *Caffa* still remains a Place of very great Trade, and the Staple of the *Black-Sea*, inasmuch that Sir *John Chardin* tells us, he saw in the Space of forty Day no less than four hundred Ships sail in and out of this Port. The *Venetians*, in hopes perhaps of reviving, in some measure, the old Trade, procured, at a great Expence, in the Year 1672, Leave from the *Porte* to send annually a Cargo of their Manufactures on board a small Squadron of their own into the *Black-Sea*; but this Trade did not last long, for the *Jews* insinuated so many Dangers would arise from permitting this Commerce, that in a Year's time the Licence was retracted; and thus ended all Attempts for retrieving the Commerce of the *Indies* by this Rout. In Propects of Time, however, it is not at all incredible that it may be restored; for since the *Russians* are Masters of *Azoff*, and have a considerable Number of trading Vessels in those Seas, it is not impossible that some such Revolution may happen, as will set the Navigation of the *Black-Sea* entirely open, and thereby restore to the *Europeans* in general, but more especially to the *Italian* States, a Commerce highly profitable in itself, and capable of great Improvements.

13. We have now entirely done with the ancient History of this Commerce, and shall add only a very few Observations on this, as on the former Sections, and those with no other View, than to convince the Reader of the Importance of this History, and to shew what an Effect it has had, and is ever like to have, in favour of those who are possessed of it.

Every one of the four great Empires, which, in past Ages, have had the supreme Dominion, and the History of which still makes to great a Part of that Learning which is most valued, had each of them a large Share, and many of them the entire Monopoly of the Trade to the *Indies*.

The Accounts we have of the *Assyrian* Empire are very short, as well as very obscure; and yet the Attempt made by *Semiramis* to conquer the *Indies*, is the most considerable Event of which, with respect to that Monarchy, we have any Account. The *Persians*, as we have shewn at large, owed a great Part of their Wealth to this Commerce, as it was carried on by Land, while their constant Allies, the *Tyrrians*, derived from it much of their Maritime Power, which was almost all the *Persians* had to depend upon by Sea. The Prospect of ingrossing it was the principal Object which *Alexander the Great* had in View, which afterwards occupied the Thoughts of his principal Commanders, and which was, at length, in a great measure, accomplished by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*. The *Romans* acquired it, together with the Dominions of those Princes, and held it as long as they retained any Power answerable to their ancient Reputation. The *Arabians* became Masters of it in consequence of their rapid Victories, and it has since proved the great Source of Maritime Power in the *West*.

This seems to be a very full and convincing Answer to the Objection that has been made, as if the Trade to the

Indies was in itself prejudicial to the *European*. For how is it possible to conceive there can be any Truth in this, when we plainly see that Riches and Empire constantly attended it, and have been as constantly left together with this Trade. This too will the more strongly appear, when we reflect on the Rise and on the Decline of the *Italian* Republicks, which, as they owed their Fame and their Riches, the flourishing State of their Affairs at home, and their great Power by Sea, to the Share they had in this Commerce, so together with that they lost both, and have made a Figure since by Dart chiefly of the Remains of that Wealth and Strength which this Commerce procured them.

It is a Point also extremely worthy of Notice, that all the Routs known to, and practised by, the Ancients, are still in some measure preserved; so that almost all the different Nations in *Europe*, have still, some Way or other, Views upon this Trade. In the North, *Sweden* and *Denmark* carry it on by Sea, with some Pains and Difficulty indeed, but, at the same time, with considerable Profit. The *Russians* have three Ways at coming at the *Indies*, the first is, by sailing North-about from *Archangel* to *Japan*, which though never hitherto accomplished, yet still believed practicable; and if ever that Rout should be brought into Practice, it will be by them; which however could not be done without changing, in a great measure, the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, since the Wealth of the *Indies*, joined to the Force of the *Muscovite* Empire, will raise such a Power in the North, as could not but produce extraordinary Consequences. The second, of Caravans from *Moscow* to *China* directly; and the third, by the *Caspian-Sea*, joined to the Caravans that are continually passing through the *Greater* and *Lesser* *Baltians*. Such of the *German* Hanse Towns as still preserve any Power by Sea, such as *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburg*, keep up a constant Correspondence with *Vence* and *Andania*. *Great Britain*, *Holland*, and *France*, have Settlements in the *East-Indies*, and trade thither by the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The *Spaniards* supply their Empire in the *West-Indies* with the Commodities of the *East-Indies*, from the *Philippines*; but it does not appear that they bring much of the Merchandize of those Parts into *Europe*. The *Portuguese* have yet in their Hands the Remains of those vast Dominions which they once possessed, and consequently have still a Share in this Commerce. The *Venetians* drive yet a very considerable Trade at *Alexandria*, in Spices, Drugs, Perfumes, Cotton, and Silk Manufactures from the *Indies*.

It is easy to discern from this general Account of the past and present State of this important Commerce, that it still ingrosses the Attention of all the Mercantile World, that Projects are continually forming to enlarge it in Countries where it is already settled, and to transfer it into those where at present it is not exercised: And how far any of these Projects are, or may be practicable, the Reader will best judge from what has been said above concerning the several Routs thither in this Section, which we shall conclude with this Remark, That the Oriental Nations have, generally speaking, adhered closely to their own Maxims, and have never once been tempted, by the many Visits made them by the different Nations of *Europe*, to fit out any Fleet, or even to send so much as a single Ship beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope*; though with respect to their Commerce by Land, as the *Indian* Merchants formerly travelled to great Distances in Caravans, they do the same at present; for though Custom be every where a Law, yet among the Eastern Nations it remains most inviolate; and, as the Reader will observe from the subsequent Travels, what was practised Ages ago, is still the Usage in those Parts, or at least Variations have been introduced by Force, and cannot therefore be imputed in any degree to the Genius of the People.

† Sir *John Chardin's* Travels to *Perfu*.

SECTION XVIII.

*An Account of the Travels of Two Mohammedans through India and China, in the Ninth Century.*Translated from the *Arabick* by the Abbé RENAUDOT.

1. *A concise Account of the original Editor of these Voyages, and of the Works which render him famous.* 2. *The Antiquity of these Relations, and of the Manuscript from which they were translated.* 3. *Of the Sea of Merkend, and of the Islands therein.* 4. *Of the Island of Serandib, or Ceylon; the Riches it contains, and the Manners of its Inhabitants.* 5. *Of several other Islands, particularly those of Andaman, the Inhabitants of which eat human Flesh.* 6. *Of an Island in which are Silver Mines, and other extraordinary Things in these Seas.* 7. *Of the Trade of China, and of the Respect shewn there to the Mohammedans.* 8. *A very clear and distinct Account of the Navigation of China, which is probably the first Account of it that was ever published.* 9. *Of an Island in which there are no Women seen.* 10. *Of the Port of Cai fi in China, and of the Irregularity of the Tides there.* 11. *Of many remarkable Things observed in the Countries touch'd at in this Voyage to China.* 12. *The Customs and Manner of the Chinese in Civil and Religious Affairs.* 13. *An Account of the four great Kings, viz. the Khaliff, the Emperor of China, the Emperor of the Greeks, and the Balhara of the Indies.* 14. *A succinct Account of several other Kingdoms in the Indies.* 15. *The Account of China resum'd, the Number of the Cities in that Empire, and the extraordinary Discipline maintained in them.* 16. *Of the Burials of the Chinese, and of their domestic Affairs.* 17. *Of the Power of the Vice-Roy, and of the Emperor of China.* 18. *Of the publick Revenues of the Chinese Empire.* 19. *Of the Punishments requisite for travelling through that Country.* 20. *Of the Administration of Justice in China.* 21. *Their Laws with regard to Bankrupts.* 22. *Other wise Regulations practis'd in that Country.* 23. *Miscellaneous Customs among the Chinese.* 24. *Of the Methods practis'd for discovering Truth in Trials in the Indies.* 25. *Some other extraordinary Customs among the Indians.* 26. *The Vices of the Chinese, and the Punishment of bad Governors among them.* 27. *Several Laws in India and China.* 28. *Strange Customs that prevail among the Inhabitants of both Countries.* 29. *A Comparison between India and China.* 30. *Of other Countries bordering upon China.* 31. *The Preface of the second Author in Confirmation of what the former had deliver'd.* 32. *The History of a great Revolution in China, by the Rebellion of one Baichu.* 33. *The Emperor of China restored, and the Division of that Empire.* 34. *Of various Punishments in use among the Chinese.* 35. *A curious Account of the Maintenance of publick Women in China.* 36. *Of various Regulations in the Chinese Empire.* 37. *Of the Excellence of the Chinese Painters.* 38. *The History of Ibn Wahab, an Arab, who made a Voyage into Persia.* 39. *His Conference with the Emperor.* 40. *Some very singular Passages in relation to the Knowledge of the Emperor, with regard to the Religion in other Countries.* 41. *Conclusion of the Arab's Conference with the Emperor of China.* 42. *Other Circumstances from that Traveller's Relation.* 43. *Of the Communication between the Ocean and the Mediterranean.* 44. *Of the Province of Zapage, and of the Commodities it produces.* 45. *A remarkable Story of an ancient Prince of this Country.* 46. *The War between the King of Komur and the King of Zapage.* 47. *The Conclusion of that War.* 48. *Of the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls, with a remarkable Story on that Subject.* 49. *A most singular Act of Justice done by the Emperor of China, on behalf of an Arabian Merchant, against his Pursuivante.* 50. *The great Care taken with respect to the Administration of Justice in China.* 51. *Of the Situation of the Province of Chottan.* 52. *Of the Animal that produces Musk; the Reason why the Musk of Thibet is better than that of China, and of the several Sorts of that Perfume.* 53. *Of certain Customs in China that resemble those of the Arabs.* 54. *The Custom of the Indians to burn themselves on particular Occasions, and of their great Constancy in Acts of this Nature.* 55. *An incredible Story of the desperate Courage of a certain Indian.* 56. *Other Instances of the same Nature.* 57. *Of the immense Riches of Serandib, or Ceylon, and of the Laws of that Country.* 58. *Of the flagrant Vices, and excessive Drunkenness of those People.* 59. *Of the rainy Season in the Indies.* 60. *Of the Indian Brahmans and Penitents.* 61. *Monstrous Errors proceeding from religious Mistakes.* 62. *Ships built, rigg'd, and laden from a Plantation of Cocoa Trees.* 63. *Of the Country of the Zanges, or Negroes, with an Account of their People.* 64. *Of the Island of Socotra, and its Productions.* 65. *Of the different Seas omitted in the former Relation.* 66. *Of the Riches of the Indian Ocean.* 67. *Of the Formation of Pearl, according to the Notion of the Arabs.* 68. *A very singular Story on the foregoing Subject.* 69. *Some farther Particulars as to the Customs of the Indians.* 70. *The Use of this Section with regard to the History of the Indies in the Ninth Century.* 71. *Additional Remarks and Observations.*

THE most natural, easy, and certain Method of attaining a perfect Knowledge of the Discoveries made in the *East-Indies*, is unquestionably that of reading the best Voyages and Travels into those Parts in the Order of Time in which they were made; by which means they illustrate each other, and serve as a Basis of Comparisons, deliver the History of Places and Persons with the least possible Confusion, and show us at once the different State of the Countries mentioned in two different Periods of Time, and the Advances that

were made in perfecting the Knowledge of those Countries by such as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had seen and heard, for the Information of others and of Posterity. Of all the Travellers into these Parts of the World, whose Writings are still preserved, those which are contained in this Section are beyond all doubt the most ancient, and in that respect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render these as clear and as intelligible as is possible to our Readers, we shall first give some Memoirs of that eminent French Critick

Men throw Branches of the Coconut Tree into the Sea, and the Shells stick to them. They call them *Kaptaje* in their Language.

Beyond these Islands, in the Sea of *Herkend*, is *Serendib*, or *Ceylon*, the chief of all those Islands, which are called *Delajat*. It is all compassed by the Sea, and on the Coast they fish for Pearl. In this Country there is a Mountain called *Ralam*, to the Top of which it is thought *Adam* ascended, and there left the Print of his Foot in a Rock, which is seventy Cubits in Length; and they say that *Moa* at the same time flood with his other Foot in the Sea. About this Mountain are Mines of Rubies, Opals, and Amethysts. This Island, which is of great Extent, has two Kingdoms; and here are found Lignum Vitæ, Gold, precious Stones, and Pearls, which are not so common on the Coast; as also a Kind of Large Shells, which they use instead of Trumpets, and are much valued. In the same Sea, towards the *Serendib*, there are other Islands, but not so many in Number, though of vast Extent, and unknown. One of these Islands, called *Rum*, is the richest Prince, in which there is great Plenty of Gold. The Inhabitants here have Coconut Trees, which they use them with Food, and therewith also they paint their Bodies, and oil themselves.

The Custom of the Country is, that no one may marry till he has slain an Enemy in Battle, and brought off his Head. If he has killed two, he claims two Wives; and if he has slain fifty, he may marry fifty Wives. This Custom proceeds from the Number of Enemies which surround them; so that he amongst them who kills the greatest Number, is the most considered. These Islands are also abound with Elephants, Red wood, and Trees called *Carbazan*, and the Inhabitants eat human Flesh.

These Islands separate the Sea of *Herkend* from the Sea of *Malabar*, and beyond them are others called *Najab*, which are pretty well peopled; both the Men and the Women there go naked, except that the Women conceal their private Parts with the Leaves of Trees. When Shipping is among these Islands, the Inhabitants consist in Embarkations, and bring with them Ambergris and Coconut-nuts, which they truck for Iron; for they want no Cloathing, being free from the Inconveniences either of Heat or Cold. Beyond these two Islands lies the Sea of *Andaman*: The People on this Coast eat human Flesh quite raw; their Complexion is black, their Hair curled, their Countenance and Eyes frightful, their Feet are very large, and almost a Cubit in Length, and they go quite naked. They have no Sorts of Barks or other Vessels; if they had, they would seize and devour the Passengers they could lay Hands on. When Ships have been kept back by contrary Winds, they are often in that Sea obliged to drop Anchor on this barbarous Coast for the sake of Water, when they have expended their Stocks; and upon these Occasions they commonly lose the Lives of their Men.

Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited Island, where, it is said, there are Mines of Silver; but as Rocks do not lie in the usual Track of Shipping, many have sought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty Mountain, which is called *Kapbenai*. It once so happened, that a Ship sailing in this Latitude had Sight of the Mountain, and shap'd her Course for it, and falling in with the Land, sent a Boat on shore, with Hands to cut Wood; The Men kindled a Fire, and saw Silver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a Mine of this Metal in that Place; they ship'd therefore as much of the Earth or

Ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their Voyage they met with such a Storm, that to lighten their Ship, they were under a Necessity of throwing all their Ore over-board.

Since that Time the Mountain has been carefully sought, but it has never since been seen. To conclude, there are many such Islands in the Sea, more in Number than can be set down, some inaccessible by Seamen, and some unknown to them. In these Seas it often happens, that a whitish Cloud at once spreads over a Ship, and lets down a long thin Tongue or Spout, quite to the Surface of the Water, which then is turned round as by a Whirlwind; and if a Vessel happens to be in the Way, she is immediately swallowed up thereby. But at length this Cloud mounts up again, and discharges itself in a prodigious Rain. It is not known whether this Water is sucked up by the Clouds, or how this comes to pass. All these Seas are subject to great Storms, which makes them boil up like Water over a Fire. In it is that the Surt ditches Ships against the Planis, and breaks them to Pieces with unparallelable Violence; and then also it is that Fish of all Sorts are thrown dead ashore upon the Rocks. The Wind, which commonly blows upon the Sea of *Herkend*, is from another Quarter, viz. from the N. W. but the Sea is as to being so to as violent Agitations as those just mentioned, and then Ambergris is torn up from the Bottom, and particularly where it is very deep, and the deeper it is, the more valuable the Ambergris.

It is likewise observed, with respect to that Sea, that when it is thus tossed by the tempestuous Winds, it sparkles like Fire, and that it is infected by a certain Kind of Fish called *Lockham*, which frequently preys upon Men. This is probably no other than the Shark, which is common enough on all the Coasts of the *Indies*. If there is a Part of the Manuscript lost, wherein the Author treated of the Trade to *China*, as it stood in his Time, and of the Causes which had brought it into a declining Condition. He then proceeds thus:

7. Amongst others, the Firs that frequently happen at *Cansu* are not the least. *Cansu* is the Port of all the Ships of the *Arabs*, who trade in *China*, and Firs are there very frequent, because the Houses are built with nothing but Wood, or else with split Cane; besides, Ships are often lost in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a Stay in Harbours, or to sell their Goods out of the Country subject to the *Arabs*, and there make up their Cargo. In short, Ships are under a Necessity of waiting a considerable Time in retitting, not to speak of any other Causes of Delay.

Solman, the Merchant, relates, that at *Cansu*, which is the principal Resort of Merchants, there is a *Sickammedan* appointed Judge over those of his Religion, by the Authority of the Emperor of *China*; and that he is Judge of all the *Mohammedans* who resort to those Parts. Upon festival Days he performs the publick Service with the *Mohammedans*, and pronounces the Sermon or *Kotbat*, which he concludes in the usual Form, with Prayers for the Sultan of *Mollems* or *Mullemen*. The Merchants of *Irak*, i. e. *Persia*, who trade thither, are no way dissatisfied with his Conduct or Administration in this Post, because his Decisions are just and equitable, and conformable to the *Koran*.

8. As for the Places whence Ships depart, and those they touch at, many Petitions affirm, that the Navigation is performed in the following Order; most of the *Chinese* Ships take in their Cargo at *Siraff*, where also they ship

As we have shewn elsewhere, is the *Tapejans* of the Ancients; and I think scarce any Island has been called by more Names than which have been bestowed on this; but the case in the ancient Work of *Cosmas I. Scythicus*, it is very easy to conjecture that he shew'd that it is only a *Greek* Permutation given to the true Name; for his is often put for *u*, and consequently *Serendib* is the same as *Serendib*, that is, *Serendib*; whence the modern Name as we usually write it, viz. the Island of *Ceylon*.

Some of the *Arabian* Geographers, there are called the Islands of *Rama*; we shall give the Reader for Account of them in a subsequent Chapter.

I cannot but be surpris'd, that upon a strict Enquiry, most of those Stories of *Mansutors* have been found to be Fables void of all Foundation; but I have followed, in regard to our Author's Account, that what he says has never yet been disprov'd; for the very latest Accounts we have of these People do give them the same Character that he does. I have also followed the Merchant, it is very probable that some Account was given of him in the Page that is lost; but as to the *Mansutors*, I have a very extraordinary Particular Notice, because it plainly shews, that the *Mohammedans* had on some Time a Commerce with the East of *India*; and that, as we have seen in what other Accounts we could never have suspected.

I have also followed the same Tradition, at this Instance of Time, the Route laid down by our Author, chiefly by reason of the Change of the Name of the Port; which we have particular Reason to think, that it is not to be met with in any of our Maps, of which however we have many; but other *Arabs* who have been in the *Indies* have shewn us, that it stood in the Time of the *Arabs*, and that it was the Trade, there it was a part of the Island of *Ceylon*.

they have no Store of Palms, they have only a few about some private Houses.

Their Drink is a kind of Wine made of Rice; they have no other Wine in the Country, nor is there any brought to them: They know not what it is, nor do they drink of it. They have Vinegar also, and a kind of Comfit like what the Arabs call *Nates*, and some others.

They are not very nice in point of Cleanliness, and wash not with Water when they ease Nature, but only wipe themselves with Paper; they eat of dead Animals, and practise many other Things like the *Magians*; and in Truth, the Religion of the one and the other is much the same. The *Chinese* Women appear uncovered, and adorn their Heads with small Ivory Combs, of which they wear sometimes a Score together; the Men are covered with Caps of a particular Make. The Law they observe with regard to Thieves is to put them to Death as soon as they are caught.

Our Author seems here to interrupt his Narration, and to take occasion from what he has before reported (and which, in the main, is confirmed by later Writers), to compare the Customs of the *Indians* and *Chinese*, intermixing his Discourse also with other Matters.

13. The *Indians* and *Chinese* agree, that there are four great or principal Kings in the World; they all allow the King of the *Arabs* to be the first, and to be, beyond Dispute, the most powerful of Kings, the most wealthy and the most excellent every way; because he is the Prince and Head of a great Religion, and because no other surpasses him.

The Emperor of *China* reckons himself next after the King of the *Arabs*, and after him the King of the *Greeks*, and lastly the *Barbara*, King of *Mobarmi al Adon*, or of *Eden* who have their Ears bored?

This *Barbara* is the most illustrious Prince in all the *Indies* and all the other Kings there, though each is Master and independent in his Kingdom, acknowledge thus far his Pre-eminence. When he sends Embassadors to them they receive them with extraordinary Honour, because of the Respect they bear him. This King makes magnificent Presents after the Manner of the *Arabs*, and has Horles and Elephants in great Numbers, and great Treasures in Money. He has also two Pieces of Silver called *Barbarian Drams*, which weigh half a Dram more than the *Arabian Dram*. They are coined with the Dye of the Prince, and bear the Year of his Reign from the last of the Reign of his Predecessor.

They compute not their Years from the *Aera of Mohammed*, as the *Arabs* do, but only by the Years of their Kings. Most of these Princes live a long Time, and many of them have reigned above fifty Years, and those of the Country believe, that the Length of their Lives and of their Reigns is granted them in Recompence for their Kindness to the *Arabs*. In Truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*, and their Subjects prize as the same Friendship for us.

Barbara is not a proper Name, but an Appellative common to all these Kings, as was *Ceibes* and some others. The Country under the Dominion of this Prince begins on the Coast of the Province called *Kambam*, and reaches by Land to the Confines of *China*. He is surrounded by the Dominions of many Kings, who are at War with him, and yet he never marches against them.

14. One of those Kings is the King of *Harez*, who has very numerous Forces, and is stronger in Horle than all other Princes of the *Indies*, but is an Enemy to the *Arabs*, though he at the same Time confides their King to be the greatest of Kings, nor is there a Prince in the *Indies* who has a greater Aversion to the *Mohammedan*

Faith. His Dominions are on a Promontory, where are much Riches, many Camels and other Cattle. The Inhabitants here traffick for Silver, which they watch for, and they lay there are Mines of the same on the Continent. There is no Talk of Robbers in this Country any more than in the Rest of the *Indies*.

On one Side of this Kingdom lies that of *Tafek*, which is not of very great Extent. This King has the finest white Women in all the *Indies*; but he is awed by the Kings about him, his Army being but small. He has a great Affection for the *Arabs*, as well as the *Barbara*.

These Kingdoms border upon the Lands of a King called *Rami*, who is at War with the King of *Harez*, and with the *Barbara* also. This Prince is not much considered either for his Birth, or the Antiquity of his Kingdom; but his Forces are more numerous than those of the *Barbara*, and even than those of the Kings of *Harez* and *Tafek*. They say, that when he takes the Field, he appears at the Head of fifty thousand Elephants, and that he commonly marches in the Winter Season; he aunts the Elephants, not being able to bear Thirst, he can move at another Time. They add likewise, that in his Army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand Tents. In this same Country they make Cotton Garments in such extraordinary Perfection, that no where else are the like to be seen: Their Garments are for the most Part round, and wove to that degree of Fineness, that they may be drawn through a Ring of a moderate Size. Shells are current in this Country, and serve for small Money, notwithstanding that they have Gold and Silver, Wood Axes, and Sable skins, of which they make the Furniture for Saddles and Houfings.

In this same Country is the famous *Kirkandani*, that is, the *Rhinoceros*, or Unicorn, who has but one Horn upon his Forehead, and thereon a round Spot, with the Representation of a Man. The whole Horn is black, except the Spot in the Middle, which is white. The Unicorn is much smaller than the Elephant; from the Neck downwards he pretty much resembles the Buffalo; his strength is very extraordinary, for he excels therein all other Creatures; his Hoof is not cloven, and from his Foot to his Shoulder is all of a Piece. The Elephant fliest from the Unicorn, whose Lowing is like that of an Ox, with something of the Cry of the Camel; his Flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great Numbers of this Creature in the Fens of this Kingdom, as also in all the other Provinces of the *Indies*; but the Horns of these are most esteemed, and upon them are generally seen the Figures of Men, Peacocks, Lilies, and other Resemblances. The *Chinese* adorn their Gardens with these sorts of Figures, so that some of their Gardens are worth two or three thousand Pieces of Gold in *China*, and sometimes more, the Price augmenting with the Beauty of the Figure: All the Things we have here enumerated are to be purchased in the Kingdom of *Rabni* for Shells, which are the current Money of the Country.

After this Kingdom there is another, which is an inland State distant from the Coast, and called *Kaschbin*; the Inhabitants are white, and bore their Ears; they have Camels, and their Country is for the most part desert, and full of Mountains; farther upon the Coast there is a small Kingdom called *Hirange*, which is very poor; but it has a Bay, where the Sea throws up great Quantities of Ambergris; they have also Elephants Teeth and Pepper; but the Inhabitants eat it green, because of the Smallness of the Quantity they gather. Beyond these Kingdoms here mentioned there are others of Number unknown, and among the rest that of *Alajer*; the Inhabitants are white, and dress after the *Chinese* Mode; their Country is full of Mountains, with white Tops, and of very great Extent; here are very great

It is very highly probable, that this *Barbara*, or Monarch of the Nation which have their Ears bored, which is plainly the *Indians*, was no other than the *Samovar*, or Emperor of *Cambat*, who, according to the Reports of the most ancient *Portuguese* Hillitians, was acknowledged as a King of *India* in the *Indies*, six hundred Years before they discovered the Passage to them by the *Cape of Good Hope*.

It is in another good Reason why the Monarch here mentioned should be taken for the Emperor of *Cambat*, since he likewise was not called by his proper Name, but by such an Appellative as this; and if we could obtain an Etymology of these Words that could be depended upon, it is very likely that *Barbar* and *Samovar* would be found to mean the same Thing.

It is also freely given in large an Account of the *Rhinoceros*, that we shall not trouble the Reader with any thing on that Subject here, but shall content ourselves with observing, that it is evident this Writer makes the Unicorn and the *Rhinoceros* the same Creature, agreeable to what we have observed elsewhere.

cheaper than they are to be had at Market: And hence the Death is of any long Continuance among the *Chinese*. The Sums that are gathered from this Capitation-tax, are laid up in the publick Treasury; and I believe, that from this Tax fifty thousand Dinars are paid every Day into the Treasury of *Chefu* alone, although this City is not one of the largest in *China*.

The Emperor reserves likewise to himself the Revenues which arise from the Salt-mines, and from a certain Herb which they drink with hot Water, and of which great Quantities are sold in all the Cities of *China*, to the Amount of great Sums; they call it *Techa*, that is Tea, and it is a Shrub, more bushy than the Pomegranate-tree, and it is a more pleasant Smell, but has a kind of Bitterness with it. Their Way is to boil Water, which they pour upon this Leaf; and this Drink cures all sorts of Diucales. Whatever Sums come into the Treasury, arise from the Poll-tax, the Duties upon Salt, and the Tax upon this Leaf.

In each City there is a small Bell hung to the Wall above the Prince's or Governor's Head; and this Bell may be rung by a String, which reaches about three Miles, and crosses the Highway, to the End that People may get at it; when the String is pulled, the Bell strikes over the Governor's Head, and straight he commands that the Person who thus demands Justice, be brought before him; and accordingly the Complainant sets forth his Case in Person; and the same Practice is in use throughout all other Provinces.

If a Man has a Mind to travel from one Place to another, he must take two Passes with him, the one from the Governor, the other from the Eunuch or Lieutenant. The Governor's Pass permits him to set out on his Journey, and takes Notice of the Name of the Traveller, and of those also of his Company, the Age and Family of the one and the other; for ever Body in *China*, whether a Native, or an *Arab*, or any other Foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himself, nor can he possibly be otherwise.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant's Pass, specifies the Quantities of Goods or Money which the Traveller and those who go along with them; and this is done for the Examination of the frontier Places, where these two Passes are examined; for whenever a Traveller arrives at any of them it is registered, That such a one, the Son of such a one, of such a Family, passed through this Place on such a Day, in such a Month, in such a Year, and in such Company; and by this Means they prevent any one from carrying off the Money or Effects of other Persons, or their being lost: So that if any Thing has been carried off usually, or the Traveller dies on the Road, they immediately know what is become of the Thing, and they are either restored to the Claimant or to his Heirs.

The *Chinese* administer Justice with great Strictness in all their Tribunals. When any Person commences a Suit against another, he sets down his Claim in Writing, and the Defendant writes down his Defence, which he signs, and holds between his Fingers. These two Writings are delivered in together; and being examined, Sentence is delivered in Writing, and each Party has his Papers returned them; but first they give back to the Defendant his Writing, that he may acknowledge it.

When one Party denies what the other affirms, he is obliged to return his Writing; and if the Defendant thinks himself to be in the wrong, he immediately delivers his Papers a second time, they also call for that of the Plaintiff, and then they try to him who denies what the other affirms, Making appear that your Antagonist has no Right to demand of you what is in Debate; but take Notice, if he makes out what you deny, you shall undergo twenty Strokes of the Bamboo upon the Backside, and pay a Fine

of twenty *Packages*, which make about two hundred *Dinars*. Now this Punishment is such, as the Criminal could not survive; it is so grievous, that no Person in all *China* may, of his own Authority, inflict it upon another, upon pain of Death, and Confiscation of his Goods, and no body is ever so hardy as to expose himself to so certain a Danger; wherefore Justice is well administered to every one. They require no Witnesses, nor do they put the Parties upon Oath.

21. When any Man becomes a Bankrupt in this Country, they throw him into Prison in the Governor's Palace, and he is immediately put upon the Declaration of his Effects. After he has been a Month in Prison, he is released by a Governor's Order, and Proclamation is made, That such a one, the Son of such a one, has consumed the Substance of such a one; and that if he has any Effects in the Hands of any Person, in any Shape whatsoever, it must be made known in the Term of a Month. In the mean time the Bankrupt is bamboosed on the Backside if Discovery is made of any Effects of his; and at the same time is upbraided with having been a Month in Prison eating and drinking, though he had wherewithal to satisfy his Creditors. He is chastised in the same manner, whether he makes any Declaration of his Effects or not. They reproach him, that he has made it his study to get by Fraud the Substance of private Persons into his Hands, and embuzzle it; and that he ought not to defraud those he had Dealings with, by stripping them of their Property. But after all, if they cannot discover him to have been guilty of any Fraud, and it is proved to the Magistrate, that the Man has nothing in the World, the Creditors are called in, and receive a Part of their Debt out of the Treasury of the *Baghun*. This is the ordinary Title of the Emperors of *China*, and signifies the Son of Heaven; but we commonly pronounce it after a different Manner, and call him *Maghun*. Then it is publicly forbidden to buy of or sell to this Man, upon pain of Death, that he may not defraud any of his Creditors by concealing their Money. If Discovery be made that he hath any Sums in the Hands of another, and if the Person he intrusts makes no Declaration within the Time limited, he is bamboosed to Death, and nothing is said to the Proprietor or Bankrupt. The Sums that they discover are divided among the Creditors, and the Debtor or Bankrupt must never more concern himself with Trade.

22. The *Chinese* have a Stone which is ten Cubits high, erected in the publick Squares of their Cities, and on this Stone are engraved the Names of all Sorts of Medicines, with the exact Price of each; and when the Poor stand in need of any Relief from Physick, they go to the Treasury, where they receive the Price each Medicine is rated at. There is in *China* no Tax upon Land; they only levy to much *per* Head, according to the Wealth and Possessions of the Subject. When a Male Child is born his Name is immediately entered in the King's Books; and when this Child has attained his eighteenth Year, he begins to pay for his Head; but they demand it not of the Man who has seen his eightieth Year on the contrary, he receives a Gratification by way of Pension from the publick Treasury; and in doing this, the *Chinese* say, That they make this Provision for him in his old Days, in Acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

23. There are Schools in every Town for teaching the poor Children to write and read, and the Masters are maintained at the publick Charge. The Women wear nothing on their Heads but their Hair, whereas the Men are covered. In *China* there is certain Town called *Taya*, which has a Castle advantageously seated on a Hill, and all the Fortresses in the Kingdom are called by the same Name. The *Chinese* are generally handsome, of

It appears from hence, that the custom of drinking Tea in *China*, is much more ancient then we have generally imagined it, for it must have been so long before our Traveller went into this Country, otherwise a Tax upon it would have been ineffectual. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the Remarks of the Author are equally natural and judicious; for he mentions chiefly on those Things in which the *Chinese* differed most from the *Europeans*, as that they did in circumstances, were not very exact in waiting, and made no Conscience of eating Blood.

The Reader will remember that this was a settled Regulation among the ancient *Indians*, so that it is very probable that the *Chinese* derived a Part of their Policy from the *Indians*.

The Passes likewise consumed by later Travellers; and though there seems to be a great deal of Severity in it, yet it is well adapted to the manners of *China*, who would not fail to become Bankrupts frequently, if they were allowed to trade afterwards; and perhaps the strictness of the Law in other Countries, in case of a second or third Bankruptcy, might be found very effectual.

parts and Wolves, but no Lions. Highway Robbers are punished with Death.

29. Both the Chinese and the Indians imagine the Idols they worship speak to them and give them Answers. Neither the one nor the other kill their Meat by cutting the Throat, as the Mohammedans, but by beating them on the Mouth till they die. They wash not with Well-water; the Chinese wipe themselves with Paper, whereas the Indians wash every Day before they eat.

The Indians touch not their Wives while their Disease is upon them; but turn them out of their Houses, and avoid them; the Chinese behave in a quite contrary Manner. The Indians wash not only the Mouth, but the whole Body also before they eat, which the Chinese observe not. The Country of the Indies is larger in Extent than that of China, and exceeds it by one half; the Number of Kingdoms is greater in the Indies than in China, but China is the more populous of the two.

It is not usual to see Palm-trees either in the Indies or in China, but they have also other Sorts of Fruits and Trees, which they have not. The Indians have no Grapes, and the Chinese have not many, but both abound in other Fruits; though the Pomgranate thrives more plentifully in Java than in China.

The Chinese have no Sciences, and their Religion and most of their Laws are derived from the Indians; nay, they are of Opinion that the Indians taught them the Worship of Idols, and consider them as a very religious Nation; both the one and the other believe the Metempsychosis; but they differ in many Points touching the Precepts of their Religions. Physick and Philosophy are cultivated among the Indians, and the Chinese have some Skill in Medicine; but it almost wholly consists in the Art of applying hot Irons or Cauteries. They have also some Smattering of Astronomy, but therein also the Indians surpass the Chinese. I know not that there is so much as one of either Nation that has embraced Mohanmedichim, or speaks Arabic. The Indians have but few Horses, and there are none in China; but the Chinese have no Elephants, and cannot endure to have them in their Country, for they abhor them. The Indian Dominions furnish a great Number of Soldiers, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvoused for War, take the Field entirely at their own Expence, and are no Charge to the King; whereas the Chinese allow their Forces much the same Pay as the Arabs.

China is a pleasant and fruitful Country; most of the Indian Provinces have no Cities, whereas in China there are many in Number, great in Extent, and well fortified: The Climate of China is more wholesome, and the Country itself less fenny. The Air there is also much better, and there is scarce a blind Person to be seen, or any one subject to the Diseases of the Eyes; and the same Advantages are enjoyed by several Provinces of the Indies: The Rivers of those two Countries are large, and surpass the European Rivers; much Rain falls in both their Countries. In the Indies are many desert Tracks, but China is cultivated and peopled throughout its whole Extent. The Language are handiomer than the Indians, and come near to the Arabs, not only in Countenance but in Dress, in their Way of riding, in their Manners, and in their Ceremonies: They wear long Garmens, and Girdles in form of Belts. The Indians wear two short Vests; and the Men, as well as the Women, wear golden Bracelets, adorned with precious Stones.

Beyond the Continent of China, there is a Country called Tagaragat, from the Name of a Nation of the Turks, who there inhabit, and also the Country of Kalkin, or Ket, which is bordering on the Country of the Turks. The Islands of Sida are inhabited by white People, who send Presents to the Emperor of China, and who are judged, that if they did not send him Presents, the Rain of Heaven would not fall upon their Country. None

of our People have been there to inform us concerning them: They have white Falcons.

As we are now arrived to the End of this Work, it may not be amiss to offer here some Remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing Discourse, and prepare us at the same time for that which is to come. We are informed that the Date of this Narration was of the Hegira 237. A. D. 851. which Circumstance, though preferred to us in the ensuing Discourse, was very probably contained in the first Leaf of this, which is wanting in the Manuscript. But though it was written then, yet it seems highly probable, that our Author's first Journey to the Indies was, at least, twenty Years before; because he observes, that he made a second Journey there sixteen Years afterwards; and we may very well allow four Years for the Time spent in the first Journey, and the Space that might intervene between his Return and his composing this Treatise. According to this Calculation, his first Voyage to the Indies was in the Year of the Hegira 217. A. D. 833; and his second *An Heg.* 235. A. D. 849.

As to the Occasion of his Voyages, there is nothing occurs in this Account that can give us the least Light into it; however, it seems most probable that he underwent these Fatigues on the score of Commerce; for it can hardly be supposed, that a Man would have made so long a Journey a second Time purely out of Curiosity, and to satisfy the Desire of being better acquainted with these People, which had been excited by his former Intercourse with them. There is not much to be observed with respect to the Form of this Treatise, or the Style in which it is written; and yet something there is worth mentioning with respect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boast much of the Regularity of his Method; and yet it would be unjust to condemn it entirely, because, for want of having the Introduction to it, we can not determine exactly what was his Plan, and consequently cannot say how far he came up to or fell short of it. One Thing I think is manifest, which is, that the Scope of his Undertaking is a Comparison between the Indians and the Chinese; at least he falls into this immediately after he has described the usual Navigation from Sraf to China; and considered in this Light, his Treatise appears regular enough. As to his Style, it is extremely simple and plain, and has nothing of that swelling hyperbolical Eloquence which is generally observed in oriental Writers; upon which, I beg leave to remark, that with regard to the Arabs, as well as other Nations, this was a Vice that prevailed in later Times, after Poetry and Rhetorick had been more cultivated than they were in the first Ages of their Empire, which has been the Case in most other Nations.

One cannot possibly doubt, that this Piece was extremely well received when it first came abroad, and that it had maintained its Reputation for a considerable Space of Time, appears from the second Treatise, which we are about to give the Reader. It seems, that when the Affairs of China were better known, some Prince, or other Person of Distinction, desired the Author of the following Pages to look over that Discourse, and to inform him, how far the Facts contained therein had been confirmed or contradicted, by succeeding Relations. What Time this happened, we cannot with any Certainty say, from the Comparison of the two Pieces, or from the Lights given us by the learned and accurate Critick who published them. The Manuscript which the Abbe Renaudot made use of, was apparently older than the Year of the Hegira 819, which answers to the Year of Christ 1173; but the Discourse must certainly have been written long before that Time. In our Notes we have shewn that Elen-Habab travelled into China, A. H. 885. A. D. 898; and the Author of this last Treatise informs us, that he had conversed with this Man after his Return, and had from him the Facts which he has inserted in his Discourse; so that the Book itself must have been two Centuries older

1. In this Distinction we have already given in our Account of the Philosophy of the Mohammedans; and in our Notes upon the subsequent Treatise we shall see Cause to shew when it was first introduced into China, and with what Modifications it is there taught there.

2. We shall take another Opportunity of acquainting the Reader with the History of the ancient Turks, and shall only observe here, that the Mohammedans are entreated to be considered as dwelling in their native Region, before they became famous by their Inroads into Persia, when the Country every where meant in this and in the subsequent Discourse by the Name of Saka, and before they became Mohammedans; for the more necessary, because from the present State of Things it is very natural to connect the Ideas which we have of the modern Turks, with their Accounts of their Ancestors.

than the Manuscript from which the Abbé *Renaudot* published it, and might probably be written sixty or seventy Years after the foregoing Treatise. These are all the Lights which, from an assiduous Study of these valuable Fragments of Antiquity, we have been able to give the Reader, and therefore we shall detain him no longer from the Piece itself, which in the Original bears the following Title.

The Discourse of Abu Zeid at Hasan of Siraf, concerning the Voyage to the Indies and China.

31. Having very carefully examined the Book I was directed to peruse, that I might confirm what the Author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the Affairs of the Sea, the Kingdoms on the Coast, and the State of the Countries; and that I might add upon this Head, what I have elsewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this Book, I find it was written in the Year of the Hegira CCXXVII. and that the Accounts the Author gives in regard to Things at Sea, were in his Time very true, and agreeable to what I have understood from Merchants, who from *Irak* sailed through those Seas. I find also, that all the Author writes is agreeable to Truth except some few Passages.

Speaking of the Custom of setting Meat before the Dead, which he attributes to the *Chinese*, he says, when they have served up the Meat over Night, and find nothing in the Morning, they cry, The Deceased hath eaten. We had been told the same, and believed it, till we met with a Man of undoubted Credit, who being asked concerning this Custom, he answered, that the Fact was not so, and that this Notion was groundless, as well as what is vulgarly said of the idolatrous Nations, that they imagine their Idols speak to them.

He told us also, that since those Days the Affairs of *China* wear quite another Face; and since much is related to shew the Reason why the Voyages to *China* are interrupted, and how the Country has been ruined, many Customs abolished, and the Empire divided, I will here declare the Causes I know of this Revolution.

32. The great Troubles which have embroiled the Affairs of this Empire, which have put a Stop to the Justice and Righteousness there formerly practised, and which have in fine interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*, flowed from this Source: An Officer who was considerable for his Employment, though not of the Royal Family, revolted some time ago; his Man's Name was *Bachu*, and he began with committing Hostilities in the Country, marching his Armies into many Places, to the great Loss of the Inhabitants, till, winning a Party over to him by his Liberalities, he got together a Multitude of Vagabonds and abandoned People, whom he formed into a considerable Body of Troops.

His Army thus strengthened, and himself in a Condition to undertake any thing, he discovered his Design of subduing the Empire, and marched straight to *Cansu*, one of the most noted Cities in *China*, and at that Time the Port for all the *Arabian* Merchants. This City stands upon a great River some Days Distance from the Entrance, so that the Water there is fresh. But the Citizens shutting their Gates against him, he resolved to besiege the Place, and the Siege lasted a great while. This was transacted in the Year of the Hegira CCLXIV. and of Christ 1777.

At last he became Master of the City, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. There are Persons fully acquainted with the Affairs of *China*, who assure us, that besides the *Chinese* who were massacred upon this Occasion, there perished one hundred and twenty thousand *Arabians*, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Parsees*, who were there on account of Traffick. The Number of the Professors of these four Religions, who thus perished, is exactly known, because the *Chinese* are exceedingly nice in the Accounts they keep of them.

He also cut down the Mulberry trees, and almost all the Trees of other Kinds: But we speak of the Mulberry in particular, because the *Chinese* cultivate it carefully, for the sake of its Leaf, on which their Silkworms subsist. This Devastation is the Cause why Silk has failed, and that the Trade which used to be driven thence through all the Countries under the *Arabs*, is quite at a Stand. Having sacked and destroyed *Cansu*, he possessed himself of many other Cities, which he attacked one after another, the Emperor of *China* not having it in his Power to stop his Progress. He advanced then to the capital City, called *Cumlan*; and the Emperor left this, his royal Seat, making a precipitate Retreat to the City of *Handa*, on the Frontiers, towards the Province of *Tibet*.

The Rebel, pulled up by these great Successes, and perceiving himself Master of the Countries, fell upon the other Cities, which he demolished, having first slain most of the Inhabitants, with a View, in this general Fury, to involve all the several Branches of the Royal Blood, the none might survive to dispute the Empire with him. We had the News of these Revolutions, and of the total Ruin of *China*, which still continues.

Thus were Affairs situated, and the Rebel stood unconcerned by any Disadvantage that might abate his Authority.

33. At last the Emperor of *China* wrote to the King of *Tagaragaz* in *Turkeyan*, with whom, besides the Neices of his Dominions, he was, in some Degree, allied by Marriage; and, at the same time, sent an Embassy to him, to implore his Assistance for reducing this Rebel. Upon this, the King of *Tagaragaz* dispatched his Son, at the Head of a very numerous Army, to fight the Oppressor; and, after many Battles, and almost continual Skirmishes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the Rebel: Some believe he fell in Battle, while others thought he ended his Days in another Maner.

The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Cumlan*, and although he was extremely weakened, and much distressed because of the Embezzlement of his Treasures, and the Loss of his Captains and best Troops, and because of all the late Calamities, he nevertheless made himself Master of all the Provinces which had been conquered from him. However, he never laid Hands on the Goods of his Subjects, but finished himself with what was yet left in his Coffers, and the small Remainers of publick Money, his Condition indispensably obliged him to take up with what his Subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but Obedience to his Mandates, for fear to squeeze Money from them, because the King's Covetousness had exhausted them already.

Thus *China* became almost like the Empire of *Alexander* after the Defeat and Death of *Darius*, when he divided the Provinces he took from the *Perrians* amongst to many Kings, who erected themselves into many Kingdoms; but now each of these *Chinese* Princes joined with some other to wage

* The Account here given by our Author, very plainly proves, that the Trade to *China* was considered in his Time as very ancient, and of very great Consequence; inasmuch that whatever affected the Peace of that Country, was looked upon as a Thing of common Concern to all the Nations of the East: but till these Travels were published, who could have imagined this? Who would have suspected that the Affairs of *China* were to well known to the *Arabs*? And therefore when these Things are maturely weighed, who can dispute that we had Reason to advance it as a Thing highly probable, that long before this, the Emperors of *China* and the *Arabs* were in the most flourishing Commerce, and point of foreign Commerce, and domestic Oeconomy.

† It is a very difficult thing to pretend to settle the Chronology of the *Chinese* Empire; and the very learned Editor of these Travels, certainly that he is not able to give any satisfactory Account of this Revolution. It is laid out however, that *Father de Halde*, in his *Etat de la Chine*, lately published, has erred us to set this Matter right, or at least very nearly right. He informs us, that in the Reign of the Emperor *Thang*, who was the eighteenth of the Dynasty of *Tang*, the Affairs of *China* fell into very great Disorder; and the heavy Tax laid upon the People, and a great Famine caused by the Inundation of Rivers, and infinite Numbers of *Arabs* looters that destroyed their caravels. While *Tang* was in this Situation, there happened several Revolts in the Provinces, which encouraged a certain Rebel, whose Name was *Sa Han*, to step himself at the Head of the Malcontents, and that with such Success, as to drive the Emperor from the Imperial City, of which he made himself Master; but he was afterwards defeated, and the Emperor restored. It is not observed, that there is about twenty Years Difference between the Time mentioned by our Author, and the Date of this Revolution, alleged by *Father de Halde*. I did not take upon me to decide where the Mistake lies, but I conceive that the Reader will be of the same Opinion with me, in concluding this to be the Revolution mentioned in the Text.

‡ All the Oriental Writers agree in saying a great Account of the Division of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, from that which is given us by the *Greeks*, and that this Notion of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the Author of the first Book of *Macchabees*.

Book I.

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A Chinese Prostitute, riding in Publick, with a Man going before, who makes known her Profession.



A View of a large Street in one of the Trading Cities of China, showing how their Signs are placed, & Shops disposed.

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was War against a third, without consulting the Emperor; and when the strongest had subdued the weakest, and was become Master of his Province, all was allowed and unmercifully plundered, and the Subjects of the vanquished, since were unnaturally devoured, a Cruelty allowed by the Laws of their Religion, which even permit human Flesh to be exposed to Sale in the publick Markets.

Then arose, as was natural from these Confusions, many unjust Dealings with the Merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the Force of a Precedent, there was no Grievance, no Treatment so bad, but they exerted upon the *Arabs*, and the Masters of Ships; they extorted from the Merchants what was uncustomary, they seized upon their Effects, and behaved towards them in a Manner directly opposite to ancient Usages, and for these Things has God punished them, by withdrawing his Blessing from them in every Respect; and particularly by causing the Navigation to be forsaken, and the Merchants to return in Crouds to *Siraf* and *Oman*; agreeable to the all-ruling Will of the Almighty Master, whose Name be blessed!

34. The Author in his Book notes some Customs and Laws of the *Chinese*, but mentions not the Punishments inflicted on married Persons, when convicted of Adultery; this Crime as well as Homicide and Theft is punished with Death, and they execute the Criminal in this Manner; they bind both the Hands together, and then force them backwards over the Head, till they rest upon the Neck; they then fall on the Right-Foot to the Right-Hand, and the Left-Foot to the Left-Hand, so that both Hands and Feet are strongly bound behind the Back; and thus bundled up, it is impossible for the Criminal to stir, no way to be any Body to hold him. This Torture disjoins the Neck, makes the Joints start out of their Sockets, and dislocates the Thighs; in short, the Patient is in a miserable Condition, that were he to continue therein but a few Hours, there would be no need of any thing else to make an End of him: But when they have bound him as we have said, they give him so many Strokes with a Bamboo, which they always use upon the like Occasions, and which alone were sufficient to kill the Criminal, and leave off when he is at the very last Gasp of Life, abandoning the Body to the People, who eat it.

35. There are Women in *China* who refuse to marry, and chuse rather to live a dissolute Life of perpetual Debauchery. The Custom is for these Women to present themselves in full Audience before the commanding Officer of the Garrison in the City, and declare their Aversion to Marriage, and their Desire to enter into the State of publick Women; they then desire to be registered in the usual Form amongst these Prostitutes, and the Form is this; they write down the Name of the Woman, her Family, the Number of her Jewels, the several Particulars of her Attire, and the Place of her Abode; thus she is admitted a publick Woman: After this, they put about her Neck a String, at which hangs a Copper Ring with the King's Signet, and deliver to her a Writing which certifies that she is received into the List of common Prostitutes, and entitles her to a yearly Pension of so many *Falus*, to be paid her out of the publick Treasury, and threatens with Death the Person who should take her to Wife. They every Year give publick Notice of what is to be observed with regard to those Women, and turn out those who have worn out their Charms. In the Evening these Women walk abroad in Dresses of different Colours, without any Veil, and prostitute themselves to all new Comers that love Debauchery; but the *Chinese* themselves find for them to their Houses, whence they depart not till the next Morning.

Having related the Conquest of the *Peruvian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, adds the following remarkable Words: *1 Maccab. i. 5, 6.* "And when these Things, he felt sick and perceived that he should die. Wherefore he called his Servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his Youth, and parted his Kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."

"It is curious as this Custom may appear, and as seemingly inconsistent as it may be with the Politeness of the *Chinese*, yet it is very certain that our Authors are not the only Writers that have mentioned it, as will appear hereafter, when we come to give the Reader the Travels of the famous *Marcus Polo*, who asserts the very same thing.

"The Account of their publick Women is confirmed by a great Number of Writers ancient and modern, so that there appears to be no Reason for calling the Truth of it in Question. In the History of the *Dutch* Embassy to the Emperor of *China*, there is a Print of one of these Women, while it is conducted through the City on an Ass, attended by a Person, who cries her Price, as he would that of any other Commodity. All these Particulars are attested by later Writers, so that notwithstanding they seem at first sight very strange and improbable, yet it may be owned that there is a good Evidence for them as for any other Part in the several Relations we have had of the Customs and Manners of these People.

JAME

36. The *Chinese* coin no Money, besides the little Pieces of Copper, like those we call *Falus*, nor will they allow Gold or Silver to be coined into Specie, like the *Dinars* and *Drams* that are current with us; for, say they, if a Thief goes, with an evil Intent, into the House of an *Arab*, where is Gold and Silver Coin, he may carry off ten thousand Pieces of Gold, and almost as many Pieces of Silver, and not be much burtened therewith, and so be the Ruin of the Man who should suffer this Loss: Whereas, if a Thief has the same Design on the House of a *Chinese* Artificer, he cannot at most take away above ten thousand *Falus*, or Pieces of Copper, which do not make above ten Meticals or *Dinars* of Gold. These Pieces of Copper are alloyed with something of a different kind, and are of the Size of a Dram, or Piece of Silver called *Baht*; in the Middle they have a pretty large Hole to string them by: A thousand of them are worth a Metical of Gold, or a *Dinar*, and they string them by thousands, with a Knot between every hundred. All their Payments in general are made with this Money, whether they buy or sell Lands, Furniture, Merchandize, or any thing else. There are some of these Pieces at *Siraf* with *Chinese* Characters upon them.

I need say nothing as to the frequent Fires which happen in *China*, or the *Chinese* Manner of Building. The City of *Cansu* is built in the manner he describes, that is, of Wood with Canes interwoven, just like our Works of Split-cane; they wash the whole over with a kind of Varnish, which they make of Hemp-seed, and this becomes as white as Milk; so that when the Walls are covered therewith they have a wonderful Gloss. They have no Stairs in their Houses, nor do they build with different Stories, but put every thing they have into Chests, which run upon Wheels, and which in Case of Fire they can easily draw from Place to Place without any Hindrance from Stairs, and so save their things presently.

As for the inferior Officers in the Cities, they commonly have the Directions of the Customs and the Keys of the Treasury: Some of these have been taken on the Frontiers and castrated, others of them have been cut by their own Fathers, who have sent them as a Present to the Emperor. These Officers are at the Head of the principal Affairs of State, of the Emperor's private Affairs, and of his Treasures; and those particularly who are sent to *Cansu* are selected from this Body.

37. It is customary for them, as well as the Kings or Governors of all the Cities, to appear abroad from time to time, in solemn Procession; at such Times they are preceded by Men, who carry great Pieces of Wood like those the *Christians* of the *Levant* used instead of Bells: The Noise they make is heard a great Way, and as soon as it is heard no body stands in the Road of the Eunuch, or Prince: If a Man is at his Door, he goes into his House, and keeps his Door shut till the Prince or Eunuch of the City is gone by; so no Soul is to be seen in the Way; and this is enjoined, that they may be held in the greater Veneration, and to strike a Dread, that the People may not see them often, and that they may not grow too familiar as to speak to them.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant, and the principal Officers, wear very magnificent Dresses of Silk, to fine that none of this Sort is brought into the Country subject to the *Arabs*, the *Chinese* keep it up at so high a Rate. One of the chief Merchants, whose Words cannot be called in question, relates, that he waited on an Eunuch, whom the Emperor had sent to *Cansu*, in order to purchase some Things he wanted out of the Goods carried thither from the Country of the *Arabs*; and that upon his Breast he perceived a short Veil, which was under another Silk Veil, and which seemed to be under two other Veils of the

same kind; that the Eunuch observing him to look steadfastly upon his Breath, said, "I see you keep your Eyes fixed upon my Stomach, what may be the Meaning of it?" The Merchant immediately cried out, *I am surpris'd at the Beauty of that little Vest, which appears under your other Garments.* The Eunuch laughed, and held out his Shirt-sleeve to him; Count, says he, how many Vests I have above it: He did so, and counted five, one on another; and the Waitcoat, or short Vest was underneath. These Garments are wove with raw Silk, which has never been washed or tuled; and what is worn by the Princes or Governors, is still more rich, and more exquisitely wrought.

The Chinese surpass all Nations in all Arts, and particularly in Painting; and they perform such perfect Work as others can but faintly imitate. When an Artificer has finished a fine Piece, he carries it to the Prince's Palace to demand the Reward he thinks he deserves for the Beauty of his Performance; and the Custom is, for the Prince to order him to leave his Work at the Palace gate, where it stands a whole Year; it, during that Time, no Person finds a Fault therein, the Artificer is rewarded, and admitted into the Body of Artists; but if the least Fault be found, it is rejected, and the Workman sent away empty.

It happened once, as the Story goes, that one of these Painters drew an Ear of Corn, with a Bird perched on it, upon a Piece of Silk; and his Performance was so admirable, that all who beheld it were astonish'd. This Piece stood expos'd to publick View, till one Day a crooked Fellow passing by the Palace, found fault with the Picture, and was immediately conducted to the Prince or Governor of the City, who at the same Time sent for the Painter. Then he asked this crooked Fellow, what Fault he had to find with this Piece; to which he answered, "Every body knows that a Bird never settles upon an Ear of Corn but it bends under him, whereas this Painter has represented his Ear bolt upright, though he has perched a Bird upon it; this is the Fault I have to find." The Objection was held just, and the Prince bestowed no Reward upon the Artist. They pretend by this, and such other Means, to excite their Workmen to Perfection, by engaging them to be extremely nice and circumspect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole Genius to what is to go out of their Hands.

38. There was formerly a Man of the Tribe of *Korkiz*, whose Name was *Ebn Wabab*, descended of *Hebar* the Son of *Al Ajud*, and he dwelt at *Bajsa*; this Man left *Bajsa* when that City was sacked, and came to *Siraf*, where he saw a Ship ready to sail for *China*. The Humour took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to *Cena*, where in the Sequel he had the Curiosity to travel to the Emperor's Court; and leaving *Cansu*, he reached *Cumdam*, after a Journey of two Months; he staid a long Time at the Emperor's Court, and presented several Petitions; wherein he signified that he was of the Family of the Prophet of the *Arabs*. Having waited a considerable while, the Emperor at last ordered him to be lodged in a House appointed for him, and to be supplied with every Thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of *Cansu*, commanding him carefully to inform himself among the Merchants concerning the Relation this Man pretended to bear to the Prophet of the *Arabs*; and the Governor, by his Answers, confirming the Truth of what he had said, touching his Extraction, the Emperor gave him Audience, and made him receive Presents, whereupon he returned to *Irak*.

This Man, when we saw him, was much advanced in Years, but had his Senses perfectly, and told us, that

* There is nothing very surpris'ing in this Account, for the very same Method had been in Use among the *Greeks* long before, and has been since practis'd in *Italy* and elsewhere, and without doubt, it is the true Method of coming at the just Knowledge of the Value of such Performances; and therefore something of this sort is annually practis'd at *Paris*.

† It seems a little strange, that the learned *Abu Renanot* did not endeavour to settle the Time when the *Arabians* Traveller went to *China*, especially when there is a Circumstance which seems to fix it, viz. the plundering of *Bajfara*, upon which it is said he took a Reward, and going to *Siraf*. In order to supply this Defect, I have consulted *Abu Pharanj*, who informs us, that *A. H. 23*; which answers to *A. D. 845*; there was one *Abu Saif*, who revolted against the *Khalifa*, and rans'd *Bajfara*, which occasioned the sailing and Landing of that Traveller, which cost fourteen thousand Pieces of Gold. The *Khalif* then reigning was *Al Mahadi*, in whose Time *Ebn Wabab* sail'd into us, being a man of great Confidence; and in the same Year he was at the Head of the Army, and particip'd in the Conquest of *China*. The Date agrees very well with the rest of this History, and particularly with the Account given by the *Arabs*, of the Reasons which induced him to quit his Country in his Conference with the Emperor of *China*.

when he had his Audience, the Emperor asked him many Questions about the *Arabs*, and particularly how they had destroyed the Kingdom of the *Perfians*. *Ebn Wabab* made Answer, that they did it by the Assistance of God; and because the *Perfians* were immerse'd in Idolatry, adoring the Stars, the Sun and Moon, instead of worshipping the true God.

To this the Emperor replied, that the *Arabs* had conquered the most illustrious Kingdom of the whole Earth, the best cultivated, the most opulent, the most pregnant of fine Wits, and of the most extensive Fame. Then said he, *What Account do the People in your Parts make of the other Kings of the Earth?* To which the *Arab* replied, that he knew them not. Then said the Emperor to the Interpreter, "Tell him we esteem but five Kings; that he whole Kingdom is of widest Extent, is the Master of *Irak*, for he is in the midst of the World, and surrounded by the Territories of other Kings; and we find he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon our Emperor here present, and we find that he is stiled the King of Mankind, for no King is invest'd with a more absolute Authority over his Subjects, nor is there a People under the Sun more dutiful and submissive to their Sovereign, than the People of this Country. We therefore, in this respect, are the Kings of the human Race; after us the King of the *Turks*, whole Kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the King of *Laos*. Next is the King of the Elephants, who is the King of the *Indies*, whom we also call the King of *Widdom*, because he derives his Origin from the *Indians*. And last of all the King of *Greece*, whom we stile the King of Men; for upon the Face of the Earth, there are no Men of better Manners, nor of comelier Presence, than his Subjects. These, added he, are the most illustrious of all Kings, nor are others to compare with them."

Then said *Ebn Wabab*, he ordered the Interpreter to ask me, "If I knew my Master and my Lord, meaning the Prophet (*Mohammed*), and if I had seen him?" I made Answer, "How should I have seen him who is with God?" He replied, "That is not what I mean, ask you, what sort of a Man he was in his Person?" I replied, "that he was very handsome." Then he called for a great Box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he set before him, and said to the Interpreter, "shew him his Master and his Lord;" and I saw in the Box, the Image of the Prophet; where I moved my Lips, praying to myself in Honour of their Memory.

The Emperor did not imagine I should know them again, and said to the Interpreter, "Ask him why he moves his Lips?" I answer'd, "I was praying in Memory of the Prophet;" *How do you know them*, said the Emperor? I replied, that I knew them by the Representation of their Histories; "There said I, is *Noah* in the Ark, who was saved with those that were with him at the same Time;" and I made the usual Salute to *Noah* and his Company. Then the Emperor laughed, and said, "Thou art not mistaken in the Name of *Noah*, an I thou hast named him right; but as for the universal Deluge, it is what we knew not. It is true, indeed, that a Flood covered Part of the Earth; but it reach'd not our Country, nor even the *Indies*." I made my Answer to this, and endeavour'd to remove his Objections the best I could; and then said again to him, "There is *Moses* with his Rod, and the Chaldeans of *Babel*." He agreed with me, as to the small Extent of their Country, and the Manner how the ancient Idolatrous were destroyed by *Moses*. I then said to him; "Here there, is *Jesus*, upon an Ass, and here are his Apostles

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"Earth, seeing that,"
"Space of *Jonewab*."

After this the same other Prophets presently declared; and great Characters; among the Prophets, and Subjects of their P. *Wabab*, I saw the Image, and his Companion, with Shoes of the *Arabs*. Gardles about their I. Person commanded the I. answered, *There is also my Cousin*. He and his People had but that he had not questions, though his S.

I afterwards saw some of them stre with their three Fin and the Fore-finger, to make Oath; other Heavens with their Pictures. The Interpreter's Prophets, and then asked me many their usual Dress, and functions of the M. him the best I could.

21. After this, he concerning the Age of Opinions varied upon thousand Years, and that others reckoned was, at least, as old as the Emperor and his first out into Laughter, and then to what I had "Does your Prophet say as you do?" him that he did.

Hereupon I observed pleasure appeared plentifully the Interpreter's Terms: "Take heed but to be would know. We prior to understand Opinions concerning you, are also has said at the Nations are to be add mounced, all which ble; take heed more."

To this he subjoin Length of Time, but he asked me; "King, to whom of thy Abode, by In Return to which which had happened where I saw a Ship r head of the Glory all Necessaries, Cur into his Country, t

† This plainly shews that their Records must be of this Nature in the

‡ This is one of the with the *Greeks*, or, to Judgment, the *Indian* given from the *Indian* at the Bottom of their Page, yet it is not imp of *China*, we under

§ I very much doubt it is very possible that *Phis* is not a very ex the prie d, however, and had I been

"with him. He," said the Emperor, "was not long upon Earth, seeing that all he did was transfacted within the Space of somewhat better than thirty Months."

After this the same Ebn Wabab saw the Histories of the other Prophets presented in the same Manner we have already declared; and he fancied that what was written in great Characters, under each Figure, might be the Names of the Prophets, the Countries whence they were, and the Subjects of their Prophecies. Then said the same Ebn Wabab, I saw the Image of Molammed riding upon a Camel, and his Companions about him on their Camels, with Shoes of the Arabian Mode on their Feet, and leathern Girdles about their Loins. At this I wept, and the Emperor commanded the Interpreter to ask me, why I wept? I answered, There is our Prophet and our Lord, who is also my Cousin. He said I was right, and added, that he and his People had subdued the finest of all Kingdoms; but that he had not the Satisfaction of enjoying his Conquests, though his Successors had.

I afterwards saw a great Number of other Prophets, some of them stretching forth their Right-hand, and with their three Fingers bent down between the Thumb and the Fore-finger, just like those who hold up the Hand to make Oath; others were standing, and pointed to the Heavens with their Finger, and others were in different Postures. The Interpreter took them to be the Figures of their Prophets, and those of the Indians. The Emperor then asked me many Questions concerning the Khalifis, their usual Drefs, and concerning many Precepts and Injunctions of the Mohammedan Religion, and I answered him the best I could.

41. After this, he said, "What is your Opinion concerning the Age of the World?" I made Answer, that Opinions varied upon that Head; that some were for six thousand Years, and others would not allow so many; and that others reckoned it at a still higher Rate; but that it was, at least, as old as I had said. At this the Emperor and his first Minister, who was near him, broke out into Laughter, and the Emperor made many Objections to what I had advanced. At last, said he, "What does your Prophet teach upon this Subject; does he say as you do?" My Memory failed me, and I assured him that he did.

Hereupon I observed I had displeased him, and his Displeasure appeared plainly in his Countenance. Then he ordered the Interpreter to speak to me in the following Terms: "Take heed of what you say, for Kings never speak but to be informed of the Truth of what they would know. What did you mean by giving the Emperor to understand, that there are among you various Opinions concerning the Age of the World? If so it be, you are also divided upon the Things your Prophet has said at the same time, that no Diversity of Opinions are to be admitted on what the Prophets have pronounced, all which must be revered as sure and infallible; take heed then how you talk at such a Rate any more."

To this he subjoined many other Things, which, through Length of Time, have escaped my Remembrance. At last he asked me; "How is it that thou hast forsaken thy King, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the Place of thy Abode, but by Blood also, than thou art to us?" In Return to which, I informed him of the Revolutions which had happened at Bassora, and how I came to Siraf, where I saw a Ship ready to sail for China; and that having heard of the Glory of his Empire, and its Abundance in all Necessaries, Curiosity excited me to a Desire of coming into his Country, that I might behold it with mine own

Eyes; that I should soon depart for my own Country, and the Kingdom of my Cousin, and that I would make a faithful Report of what I had seen of the Magnificence of the Empire of China, and the vast Extent of the Provinces it contains, and that I would make a grateful Acknowledgment of the kind Usage I there met with, which seemed to please him very much. He then made me rich Presents, and ordered that I should be conducted to Canfu upon Post-horses. He also wrote to the Governor of the City, commanding him to treat me with much Honour, and to furnish me with the like Recommendations to the other Governors of the Provinces, that they might entertain me till the Time of my Departure. I was thus treated every-where during my Stay, plentifully supplied with all Necessaries of Life, and honoured with many Presents till the Time of my Departure from China.

42. We asked Ebn Wabab many Questions concerning the City of Camdan, where the Emperor keeps his Court; he told us that the City was very large and extremely populous, that it was divided into two Parts by a very long and very broad Street; that the Emperor, his chief Ministers, the Soldiery, the supreme Judge, the Eunuchs, and all belonging to the Imperial Household, lived in that Part of the City which is on the Right-hand eastward, that the People had no manner of Communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the Places watered by Canals from different Rivers, the Borders of which were planted with Trees, and adorned with magnificent Palaces. The Part on the Left-hand westward, is inhabited by the ordinary People and the Merchants, where are all the great Squares, and Markets for all the Necessaries of Life. At Break of Day, the Officers of the King's Household, with the inferior Servants, the Purveyors, and the Domesticks of the Grandees of the Court, come some on Foot, others on Horseback, into that Division of the City, where are the publick Markets, and the Habitations of such as deal in all Sorts of Goods, where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same Place till their Occasions call them thither next Morning. It is by the same Traveller related, that this City has a very pleasant Situation in the Midst of a moist fertile Soil, watered by several Rivers, and hardly deficient in any thing except Palm-trees, which grow not there.

43. In our Times Discovery has been made of a Thing quite new and unknown to those who lived before us. No body imagined that the great Sea, which extends from the Indies to China, had any Communication with the Sea of Syria, nor could any one apprehend the Possibility of any such Thing. Now behold what has come to pass in our Days, according to what we have heard. In the Sea of Rum, or the Mediterranean, they found the Wreck of an Arabian Ship which had been shattered by Tempests; for all her Men perishing, and the being dashed to Pieces by the Waves, the Remains of her were driven by Wind and Weather into the Sea of Chozars, and from thence to the Canal of the Mediterranean Sea, and at last were thrown on the Shore of Syria.

This renders it evident, that the Sea surrounds all the Country of China and Cila, or Sila, the uttermost Parts of Turkestan, and the Country of the Chozars; and that then it enters at the Straights till it washes the Shore of Syria. The Proof of this is deduced from the Construction of the Ship we are speaking of; for none but the Ships of Siraf are so put together, that the Planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were sewn. Whereas the Planking of all Ships of the Mediterranean Sea, and of the Coast of Syria, are nailed, and not joined together in that Way.

This plainly shews, that the Chinese were formerly well acquainted with the History of other Nations, and affords us good Grounds to believe that their Records must have been destroyed in some subsequent Revolution; for, otherwise, it is impossible to account for their Ignorance in Matters of this Nature in succeeding Times.

This is one of the most curious Passages in this Treatise, inasmuch as it plainly proves, that the Arabians had the same Notions in Geography with the Greeks, or, to speak with greater Propriety, had their Notions of Geography from them. Our Author says plainly, that, according to his Judgment, the Indian Ocean washed the Coast of Great Tartary, and to fell into the Caspian Sea, by which Passage he supposes that this Ship was driven from the Indian Sea into the Mediterranean. The Conjecture was wrong; but there is still something in it very bold, and well imagined, and at the Bottom something of Truth too; for though it was impossible that this Ship should come into the Mediterranean in the Manner our Author imagines, yet it is not impossible but it might have come through the North-East Passage, agreeable to the first Part of his supposition; and if by the Sea of Chozars, we understand that of Alcock, he would be quite right.

I very much doubt, whether the Construction of this Vessel, as our Author describes it, be sufficient Evidence of its coming from the Indies. It is very possible that it might have been a Boat belonging to the Inhabitants of Greenland, or of some other Country bordering upon Hudson's Bay: there is very certain that there are such Vessels in these Parts, and it is not at all impossible that this might have come from thence. I do not dispute, however, absolutely to contradict him, but only to shew that the Argument he uses is not conclusive, though I think, as Things then stood, we had sufficient Grounds to believe it was conclusive.

We have also heard it reported, that Ambergris has been found in the Sea of Syria, which seems hard to believe, and was unknown to former Times. If this be as is said, it is impossible that Amber should have been thrown up in the Sea of Syria, but by the Sea of *Aden*, and of *Kotzum*, which has Communication with the Seas where Amber is found: And because God has put a Separation Between these Seas, if this Story be true, it must necessarily have been, that this Amber was driven first from the *Indian* Sea into the others, and so from the one to the other, till it at last came into the Sea of Syria.

44. We will now begin to speak of the Province of *Zapage*, which is opposite to *China*, and distant from thence a full Month's Sail by Sea, or less, if the Wind be fair. The King of this Country is titled *Mébrage*, and they say his Dominions are nine hundred Leagues in Circumference, and that this King is Master of many Islands which he round about. Thus altogether this Kingdom is above a thousand Leagues in Extent; among those Islands there is one called *Sereza*, which is said to be four hundred Leagues in Circuit; and another called *Rakmi*, which is eight hundred Leagues in Compass, and produces Redwood, Camphire, and many other Commodities. In this same Kingdom is the Island of *Gala*, which is the mid Passage between *China* and the Country of the *Arabs*.

This Island, they say, is fourscore Leagues in Circumference; and thither they bring all sorts of Merchant-Live, Wood-Aloes of several sorts, Camphire, Sandal-Wood, Ivory, the Wood called *Cabishi*, Ebony, Redwood, all sorts of Spice, and many other Things too tedious to enumerate. At present the Commerce is carried on between this Island and that of *Oman*. The *Mébrage* is the Sovereign over all these Islands; and that in which he makes his Abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous, that the Towns almost crowd one upon another. A Person of great Probity relates, that when the Cocks crow at their accustomed Hours, just as with us when at Root, upon Trees, they answer each other a hundred Leagues round, and more, because of the Proximity of the Villages which almost touch each other; and he adds, that no Part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its Land uncultivated. Those who travel in this Country may stop at every Step, and find Shelter from the Beams of the Noon Day Sun; and if they are tired, they may repose themselves every Day at Noon, go which Way they will.

45. Yet what follows from the Testimony of several Persons, is the most remarkable Particular we have heard concerning the Island of *Zapage*. There was formerly a Kingdom, as he is there called, *Mébrage*: His Palace is built to be seen on a River as broad as the *Tygris* at *Bagdad*, or at *Basora*. The Sea intercepts the Course of its Waters, and drives them back again with the Flood; and during the Tide, it brings out fresh Water a good way into the Sea. This River is let into a small Pond close to the King's Palace; and every Morning the Officer, who has Charge of his Household, brings an Ingot of Gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the Pond in the Presence of the King. The Tide rising, covers it with the salt, and quite conceals them from Sight. But low Water uncovers them, and they appear plain by the Beams of the Sun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an Apartment of State, which looks upon this Pond. This Custom is very scrupulously observed; and thus they every Day throw an Ingot of Gold into this Pond as long as the King lives, not touching them upon any Account, but regarding this as a sacred Treasure.

When the King dies, his Successor causes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever missing. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the Sum arising out of this great Quantity of Gold are distributed to those of the Royal Household, Men, Women, and Children, to the superior and inferior Officers, each in pro-

portion to the Rank he bears; and the Surplus is given away to the Poor and Infirm. Then they reckon up the Number of Ingots, and what they weigh, and lay, so the *Mébrage* reigned for many Years; for he left to many Ingots of Gold in the Pond of the Kings, and they were distributed after his Death to the People. It is accounted a Felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the Number of these Ingots given away at their Death.

46. Their ancient History relates, that one of the Kings of *Komar* would have waged War with him in this Island. This Country of *Komar* is the same from whence they bring the Wood Aloes called *Hud al Komar*, nor is there any Kingdom more populous in proportion than that of *Komar*. The Inhabitants are all very courageous, and the bounds of Commerce with Women, and the Use of Wine, are too hidden among them; nor have they any Wine in their Country. This Kingdom was at Peace with that of *Zapage*, where reigned the *Mébrage*. They are divided from each other by a Passage of ten or twenty Days Sail, with a very easy Gale. They say, that in former Days there was a very young and high-spirited Prince in this Island of *Komar*. This King was one Day in his Palace, which looks upon a River much like the *Euphrates* at the Entrance, and but a Day's Journey from the Sea; his prime Ministers were with him, and in the Discourse they had together, Notice was taken of the Kingdom of the *Mébrage*, and its Glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the Crowd of Islands which depended thereupon.

Then said the King of *Komar* to his Minister, I am seized with a Desire which I earnestly wish to see accomplished. The Minister, who was a wise and a prudent Man, and no Stranger to the Levity of his Master, answered, My Lord, what is your Desire? I could wish, replied the King, to see in a Dish the Head of the *Mébrage* of *Zapage*. The Minister, well aware it was Jealousy that impugned him with this impetuous Fury, rejoined, My Lord, I wish you would not disturb your Mind with such Thoughts, since nothing ever fell out between those People as to furnish Matter of Complaint; they never offended any Word or Deed, or ever did us the least Injury; besides, they are divided from us, and have no manner of Communication with our Country, nor do they discover any Inclination of making a Conquest of this Kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to such Discourse, or make a Word of Answer upon this Head. The King was enraged at this Reply, and said not a Word more; but without any Regard had to the good Advice of his first Minister, he opened the same thing to the principal Officer of State, and to such of his Courtiers as he thought proper.

47. This Matter being rumoured about, at length reached the Ears of the *Mébrage*. He, who then reigned, was a wise and an active Prince, of consummate Experience, and in the Flower of his Age. He called for his first Minister, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, said to him, it is by no means proper to punish the Behaviour of this giddy Prince, or to betay how we esteem him, because of his Youth and slender Experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he said against me; for such Speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the Dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his Minister to conceal what had passed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thousand Ships of no extraordinary Size, and to equip them with all Things necessary, Arms and Ammunition, and to man them with as many of his best Forces as they could transport. Then he gave out, that he would make a Voyage through the neighbouring Islands under his Dominion, to divert himself. He wrote also to all the tributary Princes of those Islands, to acquaint them, that he designed them a Visit; and this being a publick Task, each of those Kings prepared for the Reception of the *Mébrage*.

* It is not to be doubted, from our Author's Way of reasoning, that he had no Notion of any Passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, for if he had, he would not have taken this Opportunity of animating it. At the same time, however, I leave it to the Reader's Consideration, whether this Voyage, supposing it to have been built in the *East Indies*, might not have come this Way into the *Mediterranean*, more probably than by the *Strait of Gibraltar*. It is likewise clear from what our Author has delivered, that the *Antients* knew no more of *Jupiter*, which they called *Jove*, than they did of the *Phoenix*, since by the Testimony of the oldest of our Authors, no *Phoenix* had yet set Foot there in the Year of the

When every he went on bear failed over to the belonging to his all the Day long their Teeth, with or if they moved So the King of *Komar* Purpose, till he which stood the *P* had landed his *T* giral, and there Palace, and all the

Then the *Mébrage* that he granted e the Inhabitants of the Throne of the dered him to be h his first Minister. of *Komar*, he fair Project unequal to or you to compa had gained your F lay for himself, m *Mébrage*, if you h being my Head spoiled my Kingd omitted all sorts of Regard to you, b wished concerning Kingdom, without ions, and without or small, desirous ample, for the In you, that none ma each may be conte have disturbed may

This said, he or then turning to the good Minister coul to your Master, and sider who may be Kingdom, and let done, the *Mébrage* and neither did he Thing in the Kin his own Kingdom, being in the Palac mentioned, he ca to be put into a B the Chiefs of his K had done, and wi the Expedition w Deal with Accelar washed and embas back to the Kin the Room of hi Time writing a L Terms: What in decellor, and you wants us; and th we have been fo treated us. But v back to you, hav arrogating any G obtained over his

* This is a very ple with Certainty, and yo the Islands which are ed Points, but leave Caution and Fidelity.

* This Doctrine of pher, who lived abou very hard it from the *A* *Koman* *Tributary* c ere, the last Time in *Mébrage* hold the *Mébrage* pay after Death *Mébrage* *Mébrage* che *Mébrage* *Mébrage* che

When every thing was in readines as he had ordered, he went on board his Ships, and with a powerful Army sailed over to the Kingdom of *Komar*. The King and those belonging to his Court were effeminate Creatures, who all the Day long did nothing but view their Faces and rub their Teeth, with Mirrors and Toothpicks in their Hands, or if they moved, had them carried after them by Slaves. So the King of *Komar* discovered nothing of the *Mebrage's* Purpose, till he appeared in the Mouth of the River, on which stood the Palace of the King of *Komar*, and till he had landed his Troops, who immediately invested the Capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his Palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

Then the *Mebrage* caused Proclamation to be made, that he granted entire Security of Life and Effects to all the Inhabitants of the Country, and seating himself on the Throne of the King of *Komar*, now a Captive, he ordered him to be brought into his Presence, together with his first Minister. Then addressing himself to the King of *Komar*, he said, Who was it filled your Head with a Project unequal to your Strength, and absolutely impossible for you to compass? What would you have done if you had gured your Post? This Prince, who had nothing to say for himself, made no Answer. Then, continued the *Mebrage*, if you had enjoyed the Pleasure you wished, of seeing my Head in a Dish before you, you would have spoiled my Kingdom, and retained it after you had committed all sorts of Violence. I will not so behave with Regard to you, but yet I will execute upon you what you wished concerning me, and then will I return into my Kingdom, without touching any Thing in your Dominions, and without carrying away ought of great Value or small, desirous only that you may be recorded an Example, for the Instruction of those who shall come after you, that none may exceed the Bounds of his Power, that each may be contented with his own, and that those you have disturbed may be restored to perfect Security.

This said, he ordered them to strike off his Head, and then turning to the Minister he said, You have done all a good Minister could do; I know you offered good Advice to your Master, and that he hearkened not unto you. Consider who may best succeed this Fool for the Good of the Kingdom, and let him immediately upon the Throne. This done, the *Mebrage* departed for his own Territories, and neither did he or any of his lay Hands on the least Thing in the Kingdom of *Komar*. When he arrived in his own Kingdom, he sat down upon the Throne, and being in the Palace which looked upon the Pond before-mentioned, he caused the Head of the King of *Komar* to be put into a Balon and set before him, and calling in the Chiefs of his Kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the Reasons which had induced him to the Expedition we have related, and they approved the Deal with Acclamations and Prayers for his Prosperity. Then he ordered the Head of the King of *Komar* to be washed and embalmed, and put it into a Coffin, and sent it back to the King of *Komar*, who had been elected in the Room of him he had put to Death; at the same Time writing a Letter to this new Prince in the following Terms: What inclined us to do what we did to your Predecessor, and your Lord, was, his known Malevolence towards us; and that we might set an Example to his Equals, we have been so happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to send his Head back to you, having had no Design of detaining it, or of arrogating any Glory to ourselves, from the Advantage we obtained over him. The News of this Action being re-

ported to the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China*, it added to the Respect they before had for the *Mebrage*, and from that Time it has been a Custom with the Kings of *Komar*, every Morning they rise, to turn towards the Country of *Zapage*, to prostrate themselves on the Ground, and to make the most profound Inclinations in Honour of the *Mebrage*.

48. All the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China* believe the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, and make it an Article of their Religion. A Person of Credit relates, That one of these Princes being newly recovered of the Small-Pox, and beholding himself in a Glass, was deeply troubled to see how badly his Face was disfigured, and that turning himself towards one of the five Sons of his Brother, he said to him, sure it never happened to any Man as to me, to remain in his Body after such a Change? But this Body is only a Vessel puffed up with Wind, and when the Soul leaves it, she passes instantly into another. Go mount you upon the Throne, for I am about to separate my Body from my Soul, until I return into another Body: At the same Time he called for a sharp and keen *Cangiar*, with which he commanded his Nephew to cut off his Head, which the other did, and he was afterwards burnt, as is the Custom of the Country. Our Author here quits his Subject somewhat abruptly, in order to return again to the Country of *China* and the Manners of its Inhabitants. The Reason of this is not at first Sight very evident, but if we consider that he follows the former Writer, we shall very easily discern that this was the true Cause of his making so sudden a Transition. What he had before said was in Consequence of the Facts delivered by the first Author in Regard to the *Indies*, and having discussed these, it was natural for him to follow that Author in what he says of *China* and the *Chinese*, and indeed it must be allowed, that notwithstanding these small Interruptions, there are scarce any Books of Travels of so ancient a Date, written in a clearer, or better Method than these.

49. The *Chinese* were wonderfully regular in all Things relating to Government, before the last Revolution destroyed and reduced them to the State they are in at present. There was a certain Merchant, a Native of *Chorassan*, who coming into *Irak*, there dealt to a considerable Amount, and having brought up a Quantity of Goods went to *China*. This Man was extremely selfish and of incredible Avarice; it happened that the Emperor of *China* had sent one of his Eunuchs to *Cansu*, the City of all the *Arabian* Traders, there to purchase what he wanted, and was to be had on board of the Ship that was arrived. This Eunuch was one of those who had the largest Share in his Master's good Opinion and Confidence, and was Keeper of his Treasure and of all that he esteemed precious.

A Dispute arose between this Eunuch and the before-mentioned Merchant, about some Pieces of Ivory and other Goods, and it ran so high that the Merchant refused to deal with him. But this Affair making a great Noise, the Eunuch pushed it to far, that he forced from him the Choice of his Goods, despising whatever the other could say to him. The Merchant withdrawing himself, went privately to *Cumdan* where the Emperor resides, and which is two Months Journey from *Cansu*, and being arrived he went to the String of the Bell mentioned in the former Book. The Custom was, that whoever pulled it was thereupon sent ten Days Journey from thence, into a kind of Banishment: it was ordered also that he should be committed to Prison, there to remain for two whole Months; which expired, the Vice-King or Governor of the Province released him, and said you have involved yourself in an

* This is a very pleasant Story, and well related; but with respect to the Country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to say any Thing with Certainty, and yet this does not at all lessen the Credibility of the Fact. It is not impossible however, that this History might relate to some of the Islands which are now called *Philippinas*; or perhaps some of the Islands in the Straits of *Sonda*. I pretend to determine nothing in such doubtful Points, but leave the Reader to decide for himself, according to the Lights given him by the Author, who appears to have written with great Caution and Fidelity.

† The Doctrine of the Metempsychosis is generally held among the *Chinese*. Their Histories say, that one *Xekia*, or *Shokia*, an *Indian* Philosopher, who lived about a thousand Years before Christ, was the first that taught this Doctrine of Transmigration; and our Authors add, that the *Chinese* received it from the *Indians*. It over-ran *China* in the Year of Christ 65, and the Chiefs of this Sect have to this Day their Abode on or near the *Kouma-n-Tsunan* in the Province of *Chek-ang*. This *Xekia*, according to the *Chinese* Tradition in *Navarrette*, has been born eight thousand Times ever, the last Time in the Form of a white Elephant. It is he that was called *Fobes* after his Apotheosis. The Sect of *Xekia*, as we are told by Father *Marsden*, hold the Metempsychosis; but this Sect is divided into two Branches, the one believing the exterior Metempsychosis, or that the Souls of Men pass after Death into other Bodies, and these worship Idols, and obtain from every Thing that has Life, while the other Sect has Faith in an interior Metempsychosis, which is the principal Foundation of their Morality, which consists in suppressing the Passions, which are as so many different and male proceeding from Man; but neither the one nor the other expect Rewards or dread Punishments in the World to come.

But the Musk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two Reasons; first, in *Tibet* this Creature feeds on Aromatic Pastures, while in *China* he has nothing to substitute him but what is common; secondly, the Inhabitants of *Tibet* preserve their Bladders or Coats of Musk in the pure natural State, while the *Chinese* adulterate all that come into their Hands. They dip them also into the Sea, or else expose them to the Dew; and having kept them some time, they take off the outward Membrane, and then close them up; and this Musk passes in the Country of the *Arabs* for Musk of *Tibet*, because of its Excellence.

The most exquisite of all the sorts of Musk is what the *Roebucks* that yield it leave behind them when they rub themselves against the Rocks on the Mountains; for the Humour whence it is generated, falling down towards the Navel of the Creature, it there gathers into a Quantity of tart Blood exactly like Biles, and such like Tumours; when this Swelling is ripe, the Creature, tormented of a painful Itching, feels out the Sores, and rubs himself against the same, till he opens his Sores, and the Contents run out. Now, as soon as this Matter falls from the Creature, it coagulates, the Wound closes, and the same kind of Humour gathers to a Head again as before.

In *Tibet* there are Men who make it their Business to collect this Musk, and are very ready in knowing it; and having found it, they carefully collect it, and put it up in Baskets, and it is carried to their Kings. This Musk is most exquisite, when it has ripened in the Bladder of the Creature which bears it. It surpasses all others in Goodness, just as Fruit is better when it is gathered ripe from the Tree, than when it is pulled green.

There is still another way of getting Musk; they inflame the Creature in Toils, and shoot him with Arrows; but it often happens, that the Hunters cut the Tumours of the Creature before the Musk is elaborated; and in this Case it has at first an ill Scent, that prevails till the Matter is thickened, which sometimes does not happen in a great while; but so soon as it coagulates, it turns to Musk. This Musk is a Creature like our *Roebuck*, his Skin and Colour the same, with slender Legs, a split Horn, smooth, but somewhat bending wishal; on each Side he has two small white Teeth, which are strait, and rise above his Muzzle, each half a Finger, or somewhat less in Length, and in their Form not unlike the Teeth of the Elephant; and this is the Mark which distinguishes this Creature from other *Roebucks*.

The Emperors of *China* write to the Kings or Governors of Cities, to the Eunuchs, or Lieutenants, and their Letters are conveyed by Post-horses, with a Cut Tail, disposed almost like the Poils among the *Arabs*, in such Order as every body knows.

Besides what we have here related concerning the *Chinese* Customs, it is usual for the Princes, and even the People, to make water standing. Persons of Dignity, as the Vice Kings, and the principal Officers, have gilded Canes, a Cubit long, which are bored through; and these they hold as often as they make Water, standing upright all the time, and by this means the Tube carries the Water to a good Distance from them. They are of Opinion, that all Pains in the Kidneys, the Strangury, and even the Stone, are caused by making Water in a sitting Posture; and that the Rens cannot free themselves absolutely of these Humours, but by standing to evacuate, and that thus this Posture contributes exceedingly to the Preservation of Health. They suffer their Hair to grow, for the Men

will not round the Head of a Child when he comes into the World, as the *Arabs* do, for they say it causes a considerable Alteration in the Brain, and that their Senses are very sensibly impaired thereby. They suffer the Head then to be all covered with Hair, which they carefully comb.

As for their Marriages, they observe the Degrees of Consanguinity after this Manner: They are divided among themselves into Families and Tribes, like the *Arabs*, and some other Nations; and they know each other by the Difference of their Descents. No Man ever marries in his own Tribe, just as the Children of *Thummin* among the *Arabs* take not a Wife a Daughter of the same Race of *Thummin*; and a Man of one Family espouses not a Woman of the same. But, for Example, a Man of the Family of *Robayat* marries into that of *Medzar*; and in like manner a *Medzar* marries with a *Robayat*; they are of Opinion, that such Alliances add to the Nobility of the Children, by increasing their Alliances, and rendering their Families more powerful.

Here our Author makes, as it were, another Break in his Work, in order to pass once more to the *Indians*, and their Customs. In speaking of the Method pursued by the first Author, we observed, that the main Design of his Work was, by comparing the Manners of the *Indians* with those of the *Chinese*, to render them both better known to and more fully understood by his Countrymen. His Commentator therefore, with great Propriety, follows the same Track; and as he had consulted both Books and Travellers to illustrate what had been said of *China*, we shall find him as diligent in what regards *India*.

54. In the Kingdom of the *Balkara*, and in all the other Kingdoms of the *Indies*, there are certain Persons who burn themselves. This Custom proceeds from their Notion of a Metempsychosis or Transmigration, which they firmly believe as a Truth never to be disputed. There are Kings, who upon their Accellion, observe the following Ceremony: They dress a great Quantity of Rice, and pour it upon Leaves of the Mousa in Sight of the King; then three or four hundred Persons come of their own Accord without the least Constraint on the Part of the King, and present themselves before him; after he has eaten some of this Rice, he gives a little of it to some of them as fast as they come up to him one after another, and they eat it in his Presence. By eating of this Rice, they all engage to burn themselves on the Day the King dies, or is slain; and they punctually fulfil their Promise, throwing themselves into the Fire from the first to the last, so that not one of them is left behind.

When a Man is determined to burn himself, he first goes to the King's Palace to ask Leave so to do, and having obtained it, he goes round the public Squares of the City, and proceeding afterwards to the Place where the Pile is heaped up with dry Wood, while round about it stand many Persons who feed the Fire, so that it is very violent, and blazes prodigiously. At last the Person comes preceded by a Number of Instruments, and moves round the Place in the midst of his Friends and Relations; during which some put upon his Head a Garland of Straw, or dry Herbs, which they fill with burning Coals, whereon they pour Sandarac, which catches Fire as strongly as Naphtha; nevertheless, he continues the Procession, although the Crown of his Head be all on Fire, and the Stench of his burnt Flesh be smelt, not so much as changing Countenance in the least, or betraying the smallest Sense of Pain:

We have formerly mentioned the Animal which produces Musk, the Manner in which it is prepared, and the Value of that rich Perfume. At present we shall only remark, that the best Writers, ancient and modern, agree perfectly with our Author in Opinion, that the richest and best sort of Musk is that of *Tibet*, or, as others call it, *Sungazer*; and the Scent of the Aromatic Pastures in that Land, such as rose, and other flowers, is so sweet, that the *Indian* Musk comes next in degree of Fineness, or to we may term it, with what was brought to *Cadiz*, and sold there in the name of *India*; by Merchants, who carried it from *China* by Land, and disposed of it there about the Year 1600. The true *Chinese* Musk is not so good, because the *Chinese* adulterate it several ways, but also because what is produced naturally in that Kingdom is not so good as that of *Tibet*. All this is confirmed by the Testimony of the learned *Gualter*, and *Father Martini*; *Devisis* says, the Musk of *Tibet* is not so good as that of *China* is always the best; and that the Reason is, because the *Chinese* cannot find in the Heart to be that or any other thing, but through their Hands escape unadulterated. At present the Kingdom of *Batavia* is the greatest Mart for Musk; and the *Chinese* Merchants fetch the best sort of this Perfume, whether in the Cod, or out of it.

There is also a very old Custom in other Parts of the World, as appears from what *Orzar* tells us of the *Amboyna* among the *Indians*. In the Year 1600, a general Plague prevailed; for in the Island of *Ceylon* the King had always about him certain N. who were bound to attend upon him in the World, and in the next, who whose custom it was to burn themselves when he died. *Post* observes, that the *Indians* were wont to burn a great Number of *Indian* Soldiers, who always perished with their Chief. In the Kingdom of *Java*, we are told, that the King is wont to be buried with him. In a Word, all the *Portuguese* Writers confirm this, and give us many Instances of it, but not that the *Indians* were wont to burn themselves in their Mourning, to express this Act of devoting themselves to a God, in a manner to a God, in a manner to a God.

At last he comes to the Pile, throws himself into it, and is soon reduced to Ashes.

55. A certain Person, to whom we give intire Credit, says, he beheld one of these *Indians* burn himself, and avers, that when he came near to the Pile, he drew out a Cangiar, and with it ripped down his Breast to the Rim of his Belly; and that this done, he with his left Hand pulled out a Flap of his Liver, and with the Cangiar cut a Piece of it, which he gave to one of his Brothers, talking all the time, and discovering an invincible Contempt of Death, and a wonderful Patience under his Torments, till at last he leaped into the Fire in his Passage to Hell.

56. The Person who affirmed this added, that in the Mountains of this Country there are *Indians*, who in Opinions and Manners differ but little from those we call *Kanibians* and *Jehidians*, and who are addicted to all manner of Superstition and Vice. There is a great Emulation between these Mountaineers and the People on the Coast, the latter continually going up to the Mountains to dare the Inhabitants there to do as they do, and the Mountaineers on their Part as frequently coming down to the Coast with Defiances of the same Nature.

Among others, there once came down a Man on this Errand, and having gathered a Number of the Inhabitants of the Coast about him, who came as well out of Curiosity to see the Sight, as with Intent to imitate him, he told them to do what he was about to perform, or if they despaired of doing it, to acknowledge themselves overcome. He sat himself down then in a Place planted with Canes, and directed them to bend one of them down to the Ground. These Canes are like our Sugar Canes, bend like them, and have a very large Stem; when they are pulled down they lie along, but when let go they rise again with prodigious Violence. One of the largest of these he caused to be bowed down to his Height, and fastened his Hair strongly thereto, when taking in his Hand his Cangiar, which sparkled like Fire, he said to those about him, I am going to cut off my Head with this Cangiar. As soon as it is levered from my Body, let go the Cane, and when it flies up with my Head, I will laugh, and you shall hear me. The People of the Coast had not Courage enough to imitate him. The Person who related these Things to us did it without Emotion or Wonder; and in our Times these Facts are very generally known, for this Part of the *Indies* is in the Neighbourhood of the Country of the *Arabs*, and we hear from thence every Day.

57. It is a customary Thing also for Men and Women of the *Indian* Blood, to desire those of their Family to throw them into the Fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themselves sink under the Weight of their Years, firmly believing that they are to return in other Bodies. They burn their Dead. It has often times happened in the Isle of *Sarandib*, where there is a Mine of precious Stones in a Mountain, a Pearl Fishery, and other rare and extraordinary Things, that an *Indian* would come into the Bazar, or Market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of Cangiar they wear, made after a very particular Manner, and seize on the most wealthy Merchant there present, and holding his Kris to his Throat, leading him by the Vest out of the City in the midst of a Throng of People, while not a Soul of them dared attempt his Rescue; for if any Attempt of this kind was made, the *Indian* was sure to kill the Merchant, and make away with himself: When he had got him out of the City, he obliged him to redeem himself with a Sum of Money. This Outrage continuing, the Kings ordained that such *Indians* should be seized; but when they came to execute this Order, the *Indian* killed the Merchant first, and then himself: The same Mistortune befel many other Merchants; and after this Manner a Number both of *Arabs* and *In-*

dians perished: The Merchants therefore sought for other Means to secure themselves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

58. In the Mountain of *Sarandib* they find precious Stones of various Colours, red, green, and yellow, most of which are at certain Times forced out of Caverns and other Recefles by Rains and Torrents. In these Places the King has his Officers to keep an Eye over those who pick them up: Many Times also they are dug out of Mines in the same Manner as Metals; and they sometimes find precious Stones in the Ore, which must be broken to get at them.

The King of this Island makes Laws, which are the Fundamentals of the Religion and Government of the Country; here are Doctours and Assemblies of learned Men, like those of the *Habitiss* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to these Assemblies, and write down what they hear of the Lives of their Prophets, and the various Explications of their Laws. Here is a very great Idol of the finest Gold, but concerning the Weight thereof Travellers are not agreed. Here also are Temples, where great Sums of Money are expended in Idleness.

In this same Island there is a very great Multitude of *Jews*, as well as of many other Sects, even *Manichees*, the King permitting the free Exercise of every Religion. At the End of this Island are Valleys of great Length and Breadth, which extend quite to the Sea; here Travellers stay two Months and more in that called *Sarandib*, allured by the Beauty of the Country, chequered with Groves and Plains, Water and Meads, and filled with a wholesome Air. This Valley opens upon the bay called *Harkand*, and is transcendentally pleasant. You may buy a Sheep for half a Dram, and for the same you may purchase as much of their Drink as may suffice many Persons. This Drink is made of Palm-honey, boiled and prepared with *Tari* (*Toddie*) or Juice, which runs from the Tree.

59. Gaming is the usual Diversion of the Inhabitants here; they play at Draughts, and their other principal Pastime is fighting of Cocks, which are very large in this Country, and better provided with Spurs than Cocks commonly are; and, besides this, the *Indians* amuse them with Blades of Iron in the Form of Cangiar. Upon these Combats they bet Gold, Silver, Lands, and Farms, which are won by the Owner of the Cock that beats. They play also at Draughts, and venture great Sums upon this Game, but with such Fury, that those who have no wherewithal, Debauchees and desperate People, often pry away the Ends of their Fingers.

While they are at play, they have a Fire by them, and thereon a Pot of Walnut or Sealame-oil (they have no Oil of Olives) and they place a little, but very sharp Hatchet between them; when one of them has won the Game, the other lays his Hand upon a Stone, and the Winner cuts off the End of the Loser's Finger with the Hatchet, and the Patient dips the injured Part into the boiling Oil to cauterise the Wound, and yet they shake off this evil Habit of Gaming; on the contrary, they sometimes persist in it so obstinately and so long, that before they part, they have all their Fingers thus mutilated. Some of them will take a Wick, and soaking it in Oil, apply it to some Member, set Fire to it, and let it burn, so that the Scent of the burnt Flesh is smelt by those who play with them, while the Parties themselves betray not the least Sense of Pain.

There is much Debauchery in this Country, as well among the Women as among the Men, for they relate under no Restraint. It was to high, that some times a foreign Merchant, just returned from Sea, than he had the Daughter of a King of the Country, and the King came to him to the fishing Grounds, with her Father.

There are many modern Authors who attest every Circumstance mentioned in this Account; but it must be acknowledged, few of them burn themselves; and that the *Bromians*, who were wont to behave with so much Continancy on such Occasions, are now become the same way with other Men; and even the Women, generally speaking, are far enough from that Spirit of Heroism to burn themselves in former Ages. They burn themselves, indeed, with the dead Bodies of their Husbands, as in Times past, but now they would they do it at all, but that the Custom of their Country, and the Power their Relations have over them, obliges them to do so. It appears, that this Island, which is that of *Ceylon*, has been in all Ages famous for its immense Wealth and Riches. The Author mentions, it is not impossible that the Priests of this Country might practise the same Art, which has been used to give a new Dress of Clay and Bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many Ages supposed to be pure Gold, though now that there are few Countries where such a golden Image might be looked for, with greater Probability, than in this Island, it is a way equally remarkable for their Wealth and Superstition.

Consent and Privilege of *Sir* strictly wa

60. In the *Indies* the People of the Count Months during Summer does the Work of their Ab Rays some Time come on, than the male of Wood an Leaves; they stir Soul is seen abroad do their Work may are subject to their Feet, caused Life of the *Indians* Rice, are watered thereby; for if grounds, they need Art; but when the Rice flourishes abundantly in kind. It

61. The *Indians* by the Name of *L* compose Verses, Kings. They have others who pretend to be Kings, as *Kanuga* and *Gear*.

In the *Indies* they go all their Life-time till it hides the Body. They suffer become pointed, and cut them, but leavens; and this they them has a String earthen Porringer, they stop at the D within immediate out Rice to them, ing, while they ea never returning to there to by down.

62. The *Indians* creep, by which they do not admit of any long more assiduous long luxuriously, which the Reader has seen the promising of of some ancient Univer Cities of the River City, the King of which Univer City was re

* This is very agreeable they were to did not admit of any long more assiduous long luxuriously, which the Reader has seen the promising of of some ancient Univer Cities of the River City, the King of which Univer City was re

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* There are many of the *Indies* for sick An

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* The Dinar is of very fine Shillings; from which to one Dinar; for this Passage is very old rigging tech Ship

Consent and Privacy; wherefore the *Mohammedan* Doctors of *Siraf* strictly warn young People not to go that Way.

60. In the *Indies* there are heavy Rains, which the People of the Country call *Jafara*; they last three whole Months during Summer, incessantly, Night and Day, and scarce does the Winter stop them. The *Indians*, to the best of their Abilities, prepare themselves against these Rains some Time before they fall; and no sooner do they come on, than they shut themselves up in their Houses, made of Wood and Cane, interwoven, and thatched with Leaves; they stir not out during all this Time, and no Soul is seen abroad, no, not even the Artificers, who now do their Work at home; and during this Season, they are subject to several Sorts of Ulcers in the Soles of their Feet, caused by the Damps. The Rains are the Life of the *Indians*; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmost Want, for their Fields, sown with Rice, are watered only by Rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby; for if great Store of Water lie upon the Rice-grounds, they need no other Help either from Industry or Art; but when the Rains are plentifully poured down, the Rice flourishes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never Rains in this Country in the Winter.

61. The *Indians* have devout Men, or Doctors, known by the Name of *Bramins*. They have Poets also, who compose Verses, stuffed with Flattery, in Praise of their Kings. They have also Astrologers, Philosophers, Soothsayers, and Men who observe the Flight of Birds; and others who pretend to the Calculation of Nativities, particularly at *Kanuge*, a great City in the Kingdom of *Gezar*.

In the *Indies* there are certain Men called *Bicar*, who go all their Life-time naked, and suffer their Hair to grow till it hides their hinder Parts, and the rest of their Body. They suffer also their Nails to grow so that they become pointed, and sharp as Swords; nor do they ever cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens; and this they observe as a religious Duty: Each of them has a String about his Neck, to which hangs an earthen Porringer, and when they are pressed by Hunger, they stop at the Door of some *Indian* House, and those within immediately, and with much Satisfaction bring out Rice to them, believing there is great Merit in so doing, while they eat out of the Porringer and withdraw, never returning to make the same Request, if not urged thereto by downright Want.

62. The *Indians* have many Laws and religious Precepts, by which they imagine they please God; of such as these it is written in the Koran, *The Wicked are mighty in Kind*. One Part of their Devotion consists in building of *Kuis*, or Inns upon the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers, where also they set up a sort of Pedlars, of whom the Passengers may purchase whatever they may happen to want.

They there also settle publick Women, such as are in the *Indies*, who expose themselves to Travellers; all which the *Indians* number among their meritorious Deeds. But they have besides these in the *Indies*, publick Women called *Women of the Idol*, the Origin of whose Institution is this; when a Woman has laid herself under a Vow, that she may have Children, if it happens that she brings forth a handsome Daughter, she carries the Child to the *Idol* (so they call the Idol they worship) and there leaves her. When the Girl has attained a proper Age, she takes an Apartment in this publick Place, and spreads a Curtain before the Door, and waits the Arrival of Strangers, as well *Indians*, or Men of other Sects, to whom this Debauchery is made lawful; she prostitutes herself at a certain Rate, and delivers her Gains into the Hands of the *Idol's* Priest, to be by him disposed of for the Use and Support of the Temple. We praise the almighty and glorious God, who hath chosen us to be free of the Sins which defile the Man involved in Infidelity!

Not very far from *Almansin*, there is a famous Idol called *Multan*, whither they resort in Pilgrimage from the remotest Parts, even from Distances of several Months Journey: Some of the Pilgrims bring with them some of the odoriferous Wood *Hud al Camruni*, so called from the City of *Camrun*; where they have an excellent Wood-Aloe, which they offer to this Idol, delivering it to the Priest of the Temple that he may burn it before his God. Some of this Wood is worth Two hundred *Dinars* the *Man*, and is commonly marked with a Seal to distinguish it from another Sort of the same Wood, but of less Value: It is usual for Merchants to buy it of the Idolatrous Priests.

63. There are likewise among the *Indians* certain Men who make Profession of Piety, and whose Devotion consists in seeking after unknown Islands, or such as are newly discovered, there to plant Cocoa-nut-trees, and to sink Wells of Water for the Use of Ships that sail to those Parts. There are People at *Oman*, who cross over to the Islands that produce Cocoa-nuts, carrying with them Carpenter's Tools, and having felled as much Wood as they want, they let it dry, and then strip off the Leaves, and with the Bark of the Tree they spin a Yarn, wherewith they sew the Planks together, and so build a Ship; of the same Wood they cut and round away a Mast; of the Leaves they weave their Sails, and the Bark they work into Cordage: Having thus completed their Vessel, they load her with Cocoa-nuts, which they bring and sell at *Oman*. Thus it is, that from this Tree alone so many Articles are derived, as suffice not only to build and rig out the Vessel, but to load her also when she is completed, and in a Trim fit to sail.

64. The Country of the *Zinges* or *Negroes* is of vast Extent; they there commonly sow Millet, which is the chief Food of the *Negroes*. Sugar Canes also they have, and other Sorts of Trees, but their Sugar is very black. These

* This is very agreeable to that Severity of Manners, for which the *Mohammedans* were remarkable in these early Ages; and it shews how careful they were to preserve the Morals of the younger sort of People uncorrupted. It was upon the same Principle that the old *Spartans* did not admit of any Commerce at all, as desiring rather to be known to Posterity by the Fame of their Virtues than of their Wealth; and being more assiduous to transmit to their Descendants Freedom, and the Power of maintaining it, than fine Palaces; and that Ability of living laboriously, which ends sooner or later in abject Poverty.

The Reader has been so fully informed of the State of the *Bramins* among the ancient *Indians*, and of the Communities formed by them for the promoting of Science, that there is no Need of insinuating long upon this Settlement of the *Bramins*, which, without doubt, was a Remnant of some ancient University in the same Place. Some of the *Arabian* Geographers assure us, that this City of the *Kanuge* lies between two Branches of the River *Ganger* in the Latitude of 27°, and in the Longitude of 131°. Other Eastern Writers inform us, that *Kanuge* is also a Royal City, the King of which is titled the *Kanuge*, according to the common Custom of the *Indies*. It is very difficult to say when or how this Kingdom and University was ruined; but at present it is very clear, that there is no such Establishment as in the Text is mentioned.

There are no other than the associated *Bramins*, or *Indian* Pilgrims, or Penitents, mentioned by most Travellers, who relate very extraordinary Things with respect to the Austerity of their Manners, and the Severity of their Penances, as the Reader will see in the subsequent Part of this Work.

There are many Foundations of this sort in the *Indies*, as well as in *Turky*, *Perzia*, and *Mogulistan*; not to mention the many Hospitals in the *Isles* for sick Animals. *Abovernot* observes, that the Charity of the *Indians* of *Cabal* consists in digging of Pits, or sinking of Wells, and in erecting a Number of small Receptacles on the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers.

This infamous Practice is of old standing in the East. *Herodotus* has a Story of this kind of the Women, who prostituted themselves in Honour of *Mithra*, who, by the Analogy of the *Chalites*, must be *Venus*; and the Tents or Tabernacles of these Women were much like those described by our Author. In *Mores Polo* we read, that the People of the Province of *Caranda* did the same Thing, exposing their Women in Honour of their Idol. *Tavernier* speaks of a *Paged* near *Combaye*, whither most of the Courtizans of the *Indies* repair to make their Offerings, and add, that old Women, who have scraped together a Sum of Money, buy young female Slaves, whom they train up to wanton Songs and Dances, and all the Allurements of their infamous Calling; and that when the Girls have attained their eleventh or twelfth Year, their Mistres conducts them to the *Paged*, under a Notion that it is a Happiness for them to be offered and delivered up to the Idol.

As this kind of Money is very often mentioned, both in the former Treatise and in this, it may not be amiss to say something of its Value: The *Dinar* is of very fine Gold, and according to the Proportion which that Metal bears now to Silver, that Coin ought to be reckoned at about five Shillings; from whence we conceive at once the Value of the Copper Money of *China*, since a thousand of these Copper Pieces were equal to one *Dinar*; from whence it follows, that since these Pieces of Copper Money, called by the *Arabs* *Falus*, were worth about One Penny,

This Passage is very singular, but the Facts contained therein are incontestably true; the Cocoa-Tree furnishes every thing necessary for building and rigging such Ships as are used in the *Indies*, and for a Cargo of considerable Value when built. The Body of the Tree furnishes Plank, Masts, Anchors,

There is another fort, which swim in great Lumps upon the Surface of the Sea, almost like the Body of an Ox, or a little less, and weigh a great deal. When a certain Fish of the Whale-kind, called *Tal*, sees these floating Lumps, he swallows the same, and is killed thereby: Then they see the Whale floating upon the Surface, and instantly the Men who are accustomed to this kind of Fishery, and know when these Whales have swallowed Amber, go out to him in their Boats, and darting him with Iron Harpoons; they tow him to Shore, where they split him down the Back and take out the Amber; what they find about the Belly of the Creature is commonly spoiled with the Wet, and contracts an unpleasant Scent.

You may buy the Bones of this Fish of the Druggists of *Bagdat* and *Hassora*. The Amber which has not been infected by the Ordure in the Belly of the Whale, is perfectly good: It is a usual Thing to make Stools of the *Vertebrae* of the Back Bone of this Whale, called *Tal*. They say, that in a Village ten Leagues from *Siraf*, called *Teyn*, there are old Houses neatly enough built, the Lintels of whose Doors are of the Rib of this Whale. I have heard a Persian say, that formerly one was thrown upon the Coast not very far from *Siraf*, and that going to view him, he saw People getting upon the Back of this Creature with Ladders, and that the Fishermen exposed him to the Sun, and took away his Flesh, and having digged a Pit, gathered up the Grease which was melted by the Sun, and that having drained off all the Oil, they sold it to the Masters of Ships. This Oil mixed up with another kind of Stuff, in use with Seamen, serves for caulking of Ships to secure the Seams of the Planking, and to stop up Leaks. This Whale Oil is a valuable Commodity, and produces great Sums of Money.

Our Author proposing next to speak of Pearls, breaks out first, according to the Custom of the *Arabs*, into the following pious Soliloquy, which I would not omit, because it is a kind of Characteristick in their Manner of Writing, and may enable the Reader to account for such Apophthegms in other Pieces of this Nature. Let us, before we speak of PEARLS, and the Manner of their Formation, magnify the Great GOD, who in Wisdom has created all Things out of Earth, and so fashioned living Creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore these Things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all Glory be unto the Almighty, and all Reverence paid unto his most holy and tremendous Name.

Pearls begin to formed of a Substance at first somewhat like the Plant called *Anjedana*, being in Size the same, in Colour and Figure pretty much alike, small, thin, and tender, just like the Leaves of this Plant; at first it swims freely on the Surface and sticks to the Sides of Ships under Water, where in Time it hardens, grows and gets covered with a Shell. When these Oysters become heavy, they fall down to the Bottom of the Sea, where they subsist almost a Year to us unknown. They appear no other than a Piece of red Flesh, like the Tongue towards the Root, without Bones, Sinews, or Veins.

But there are various Opinions touching the Production of Pearls, for some say when it rains the Oysters rise up to the Surface, and that gaping, the Drops of Water they catch turn to Pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the Oysters themselves, which is most likely, and is confirmed by Experience; for most that are found in

Oysters are fixed, and move not. When they are loose, the Merchants call them Seed Pearl: God alone knoweth how this Matter is.

68. Now this is the most wonderful Thing we have heard concerning the Subsistence of Oysters. A certain *Arab* came formerly to *Bassora*, and brought with him a Pearl worth a great Sum of Money; he shewed it to a Druggist of his Acquaintance, and ignorant of the Value thereof, asked him what he thought of it? The Merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the *Arab* asked him what he thought it might be worth? and he valued it at a hundred Pieces of Silver. The *Arab* much astonished at his Words, asked if any Person would be willing to give him what he had said it was worth: Upon which the Merchant counted him out a hundred Drams, and with this Money the *Arab* purchased Corn to carry back into his own Country. The Merchant on the other Hand brought the Pearl to *Bagdat*, and sold it at a very high Rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very considerably. This same Merchant declared that he had examined the *Arab* touching the Origin of Pearls, and that he delivered himself to the following Effect: "I was going along, said he, by *Saman* in the District of *Babrein*, not very far distant from the Sea, and upon the Sand I saw a dead Fox, with something at his Muzzle that held him fast. I drew near, and saw a white glittering Shell, in which I found the Pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the Oyster was upon the Shore, driven thither by Tempest, which very often happens. The Fox passing by and leaning at the Meat of the Oyster, as the Shell stood open, jumped thereon, and thrust in his Snout to seize the Fish, which in its Defence closing, locked him fast, as has been said; for it is a Property of theirs never to let go that hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an Iron Instrument at their Edges."

This is the Oyster that breeds Pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a Mother her Child; when therefore it was sensible of the Fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an Enemy, and the Fox feeling himself squeezed, beat the Ground on each Hand till it was filled, and so died. The *Arab* found the Pearl, and God would have it that he should apply himself to the Merchant; a very happy Thing for him.

69. The Kings of the *Indies* wear Ear-rings of Stones set in precious Gold. They wear also Collars, of great Price, adorned with precious Stones of different Colours, but especially Green and Red; yet Pearls are what they most esteem, and their Value surpasses that of all other Jewels; they at present hoard them up in their Treasures with their most precious Things. The Grandees of their Court, the great Officers and Captains wear the like Jewels in their Collars; they dress in a half Veil, and carry an Umbrella of Peacocks Feathers to shade them from the Sun, and are surrounded by those of their Train.

There are certain *Indians* who never eat two out of the same Dish, or upon the same Table, and would esteem it a very great Sin if they should. When they come to *Siraf*, and are invited by any of the considerable Merchants who are in that City, they must, though they are a hundred in Number, each have a separate Dish, and without the least Communication with the rest. The Kings and Persons of high Quality have fresh Tables made for them every Day, together with little Dishes and Plates wove of the *Cocoo-nut* Leaf, in which they eat what is prepared

The *Abb. Berosus*, in his Notes upon this Treatise, speaks very slightly of this Story, and seems to think it fabulous. There is however no sort of Contradiction in this; since the most of Whales is very often found in the *West-Indian* Seas, and especially on the Coast of *Bermuda*, and vast Quantities of Ambergris are taken out of its Guts. It is also very certain, that the best of this Perfume is found in the *Indian-Sea*, yet Ambergris is frequently found on the Shore even of our own Islands, as well as in some other Parts of *Europe*, and in *America* it is very common. I shall confess this Story seems to me by far the most excellent Passage in the whole Work, and all the Remarks upon Pearls are very low and trifling; but for the same time it must be allowed, that we know very little more about them than either the Ancients or the *Arabs*. What seems most probable, that Pearls are not the natural Produce of any Oysters; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental Production, occasioned by some Intensity or Disease in the Fish. I am led to this Notion from two Reasons: The first is, that when animal Substances begin to corrupt, they commonly stink, which perhaps may be the Effect of some tartare Motion; the other, that Pearl Oysters are not eatable, but tough, indigestible, and very unwholesome. The Prices and the chief Inhabitants of these Countries were by this Time better acquainted with the Nature and Value of all sorts of precious Stones than formerly they had been, and of these they had of all kinds from the Mines of *Ceylon*. It is remarkable that the *Arabs* have but one Word to signify coloured Stones, which is *Yasak*, or *Yasak*, which strictly speaking signifies a Gem, but to vary this, and to render it expressive of Rubies, Emeralds, and Saphires, they add the Name of the Colour to the Stone. It will be proper to make two Remarks upon this before we leave it: The first is, that our Author is perfectly in the right in his Observation, that Pearls are more esteemed in *India* than any other Parts of the World, and that they are more valued there in Proportion than any other kind of Jewels. Our second Observation is, that the best Emeralds thither from *Egypt*, which is a very plain Proof of the Truth of what we have often asserted, viz. that these Stones are not brought from *India*, though they may, and indeed do, very often come to us from the East.

for their Subsistence; and their Meal once over, they throw the Table, the Dishes and Plates into the Water, together with the Fragments they have left. Thus at every Meal they have a new Service. To the Indies they formerly carried the Dinars, called *Sindiat*, or Gold Pieces of the *Sind* and the *Dinar*, which there passed for three of ours and even more. Thither also are carried Emeralds from *Egypt*, which are set for Rings.

70. These two authentick Pieces are of very great Use in filling up this Period of *Indian* History, of which, till they appeared, we had no Memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the Account given us by the first Author, that Voyages from *Siraf* to *China* were not very frequent, till about his Time, for otherwise he would not have described that Navigation so particularly. But it appears no less clearly from the second Treatise, that these long Voyages were grown into much greater Use between the Time the first Voyage was made, and this Commentary upon it was drawn up, for otherwise the second Writer would have been but indifferently furnished with Materials, whereas we find that he stood in no sort of Want of them, but was able to mention the Voyages and Travels of four or five different Persons into *China* and the *Indies*, exclusive of the Author, whose Voyage gave Occasion to this Discourse.

The most remarkable of these was *Eben Wabab*, whose Adventures are equally singular and instructive, since from them it is very evident that the *Chinese* Emperor, to whose Prefence he was admitted, had, as we observed, very perfect Intelligence as to the *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Mohammedan* Religions, and as to the History of their Founders and Propagators. We might indeed suspect the Truth of this, if there were not some other Circumstances in this Discourse which render them not only probable but certain. I mean the Destruction of the Capital of *China* at that Time, which our Author calls the City of *Cumdan*, and which without Doubt was no other than *Nankin*, and *Cansu* or *Canton*, in which so many Thousand *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans* were slain; a clear Demonstration that Multitudes of all these Religions had been long before settled in that Empire, and consequently the *Chinese* Monarch had it fully in his Power to be well acquainted with all the Particulars beforementioned.

Neither does this Fact stand entirely upon the Credit of this Treatise, since an ancient Monument has been discovered in *China*, which plainly proves that Christians from *Syria* were settled there in ancient Times, though none were to be found when the first Travellers from *Europe* went thither, which is as strong a Confirmation of the Truth of what our Author relates, as in the Nature of Things can possibly be expected. The Missionaries also that were first sent to *China* found there visible Marks of Christianity, though they found no Christians. The *Jews* have been settled in that Empire for Time immemorial, and many of them for the Sake of Riches and Preferment have abused their own Religion, and embraced the Opinions of the *Chinese*, which is also an unquestionable Argument of the Truth of these Relations.

We may add to this the Conformity between the Accounts given by our Travellers and the best *Chinese* Histories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been in every Respect agreeable to Truth. All this is not only supported by our Knowledge of many of the Customs of these People, which remain to this Day the same with those reported in these Relations, but they are still more plainly verified by such as are now no longer in Use, because many *Chinese* Writers, and Christian Missionaries from them, take Notice of such obsolete Customs, and inform us when they were laid aside or began to grow

into Disuse. On the whole therefore we may safely affirm, that these Treatises are free from all just Grounds of Suspicion, and ought to be regarded as the earliest and best Accounts we have of this Empire and its Inhabitants.

They are, considered in this Light, of very great Use in many Respects, but more especially in correcting those Errors that have been introduced by Authors who depended more upon their own Conjectures than on any Light they received from Experience, endeavouring to impose upon their Readers their Notions of Things as Facts of undoubted Credit, of which it may not be amiss to give a few Instances. Our Author is the oldest, and indeed almost the only *Arabian* Writer that mentions the *Chinese* Drink, so universally used in our Days all over *Europe*, and known by the Name of *Tea*. He says, that it is an Herb or Shrub, more bushy than the *Pomegranate-tree*, and of a more pleasant Scent, but somewhat bitter to the Taste. That the *Chinese* boil Water and pour it in scalding hot upon this Leaf, and that this Infusion preserves them from all Distempers. This, to be sure, is an imperfect Description; but it is plain enough to evince, that nothing can be meant but the Plant we know by the Name of *Tea*; the same with the *Tis Cytai*, or *Sim* of the Orientals.

The Tree which bears this Leaf is but small, and ought to be reckoned among Shrubs. It has a pleasant kind of violet Scent, is bitter to the Taste, and is common for them who are fond of it to imagine it contains good, and preserveth their Health. It is certain too, that Father *Trigault* is mistaken, when he imagines it a but of late Date among the *Chinese*, because there is not, as he says, any Character in their Tongue to signify a Drink; for by the Testimony of the oldest of our Authors (who does not speak of it as any new Thing, but as an Herb very much in Vogue with them;) nay, some Degree, that the Emperor thought fit to lay a Duty upon it) it appears, that the *Chinese* have been addicted to it above eight hundred Years. Nor is it possible to believe with *Pisot*, that it grew a long Time wild and uncultivated, or that the *Chinese*, or *Japanese*, have been lately acquainted with its Virtues and the Manner of preparing it; which, he says, he was told by some Dutch Commander, who had been a long Time in *China*.

Father *Martini*, who has written more accurately of *China* than almost any other Person, says no less Thing. He assures us, that it grows particularly in the Province of *Kiangnan*, or *Nankin*, where the best of it is. It is, says he, a small Leaf, perfectly like that of the *Kiss-Corarius*, or *Sumac* of the Curriers. It grows not wild, but is domestic, and cultivated; nor is it a Tree, but a shrub, which grows out in little Branches, with a Blossom very much like that of the *Sumac*, except that the former declines more to a Yellow than the latter. It blossoms in Summer, when it emits no great Scent; then it puts out a Berry, which is first green, and afterwards black. In the Spring it is when they gather the Leaf to make their *Tea*, for then it is most succulent and tender. The Preparation of these Leaves consists in gathering them, drying them by a small Fire, rolling them upon a sort of Mattres, and packing them up in Tin-Creels or Boxes for the sake of preserving them, and the Conveyance of transporting them. Such is the Account given us by a learned and accurate Writer, whose Work is not only generally esteemed, after so many later Accounts of *China*.

But as it is natural to suppose that every Man is naturally Judge of what regards his own Profession, I permit myself that my Readers will not be displeas'd at my interttering here a very curious Passage from the *Writings*

* This ancient Monument was first mentioned by the famous Jesuit *Kircher*, who made many Mistakes about it, and from thence has been the Cause of many Questions as to the Matter of Fact, which however upon Enquiry has been since clearly made out, and from thence it is evident that the Religion was settled in *China* in A. D. 636. that is, upwards of two hundred Years before the Massacre at *Chin*, mentioned by *Trigault*. We have no certain Accounts of the Christians in *China* beyond the Tenth Century, and when the *Portuguese* came into the East, *Peter d'Andrada*, which was A. D. 1517, there was no sort of Remembrance of Christian any preserved in that Empire, so that we may discover how this Religion was exterminated there, otherwise than for Want of Patrons.

† *Lib. 1. p. 16.* It is conceivable how differently Writers have represented the Shrub that bears this Herb; for some say it is a Tree, and some like a Currant-bush.

‡ *Hist. de Ind. Malles. Part 1. c. 6.* Of the Credit, perhaps, is another Report current among the *Dutch*, and they say that the *Japanese* set as high a Price as they gave for the *Tea*, and which has been received as an undoubted Truth, that the *Voyage* of *Trigault* to *China*, was a short general History and Consular, one who did not lose to contradict his own, or to contradict the Things upon the Reader's Judgment. This *Chinese* is a valuable Part, once, in which he has explained the *Chinese* Language, and Father *Kircher*, and a formal Catalogue of the printing to the History of *China*, which, and the Publication of the *Chinese* Language.

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the celebrated Doctor *Kempfer*, wherein he gives us a very entertaining Account of the Manner in which the Virtues of Tea were first discovered; neither is this at all foreign to my Subject, since it is an additional Proof of the Veracity of our Author, and clearly points out the Time when this Plant came first into Use among the *Chinese*, and, at the same Time, fully refutes the Objection that had been raised from this Herb's not having a proper Character assigned it by the Learned.

" This Herb, *says he*, which the *Japanese* call *Tsjaa*, has as yet no Character assigned it by the *Literati*, but there are several in Use, some expressing only the Sound of the Word, and others alluding to its Virtues. Among the latter, that is to be accounted which gives it the Likeness of the Eyeballs of *Darma*, a holy Man, much famed among them. There is something very witty in this Allusion, and the Exaltation of it deserves the greater Notice, because it very plainly points out the Time when this Herb first came into Use. Thus then the Story is told.

" This *Darma* was the third Son of an *Indian King*, whose Name was *Kogyazo*, and was the Head of a religious Order instituted by a famous *Indian Saint*, called *Sjaka*, who flourished in the Year before Christ 1028, and to whom this *Darma* was the twenty eighth Successor in a regular Order. It so fell out, that in *A. D.* 519, he was driven into *China*, where he applied himself entirely to the teaching of Mankind the Knowledge of God, and, as he called it, of the only true Religion, and the sole Means of acquiring Happiness. He was not content to enlighten the World only by his Doctrines, but studied to do it still more by his Example, striving by the Purity of his Life, the afflicting his Body, and the bringing all his Passions under perfect Subjection, to secure the Assistance of the Divine Grace. He eat nothing but the wild Herbs of the Field, and, which is esteemed the very Perfection of Holiness in Man, spent his Nights without Sleep in the Contemplation of the Supreme Being; for he considered it as the highest Degree of Piety to forego Ease and Rest, that his Thoughts might be wholly employed in meditating upon God.

" It fell out, that after many Years watching, he was so overcome as to fall fast asleep: His Vow thus violated, he was so afflicted when he awaked, that partly to expiate his Crime, and partly to secure himself from falling again into what he esteemed to great Weakness, he cut off his Eyeballs, as the Instruments of his Offence, and threw them in a Fit of holy Zeal upon the Ground. The next Day coming to the Place where he had inflicted this Punishment upon himself, he saw, with Amazement, a most wonderful Transformation, and beheld each of his Eyeballs had taken Root, and had sprung up into the Shrub called *Tja*, which hitherto the World had never seen, or at least Mankind were unacquainted with its Virtues.

" By taking the Leaves of this Herb, but whether by chewing them, or prepared by Infusion, I cannot say, he found a wonderful Clearness of Mind, and a Disposition perfectly suited to his divine Meditations. As he recommended the Use of this Herb to his Disciples, and as the Benefits derived therefrom were every where published, the Custom of drinking Tea grew quickly into Use among all sorts of People; and the

" mighty Virtues of this wonderful Herb became universally known and admired. Hence it is, that as hitherto no certain Character has been assigned for expressing the Herb *Tea*, and its Virtues, the Custom of distinguishing it by the Figure of *Darma's Eyeballs* has grown into Practice." So much says my Author for the Name of this Plant. The Story is plainly fabulous and extravagant; but, like the Extravagancies of the East, full of Fire, and of that sort of enthuasiastick Eloquence which conveys Ideas with such Force as prevents their Impressions from ever wearing out of the Mind.

We learn likewise from the first of our Travellers, that at the Time he visited their Country the *Chinese* were perfectly well versed in the Art of Pottery, and made a kind of Porcelain, as fine, as beautiful, and almost as transparent as Glass. It is certain, that for many Ages after this we had very dark and confused Accounts of this Matter; and the Stories we are told in almost all the Accounts we have of *China* upon this Subject have apparently the Air of Fable; and look as if they were imposed upon their Authors by the *Chinese*, on purpose to conceal from them the Truth. It is a Point now universally agreed, that the Porcelain formerly made in this Country was infinitely better than what has come from thence of late Years; but the *Chinese* themselves carry this much farther, and maintain, that the old *China* we so much admire is very far inferior to what was made in these early Ages.

Doctor *Kempfer* tells us from the *Chinese* Historians, that this most excellent Porcelain was made in a certain Island not far from *Formosa*, or at least of the Earth found in that Island, which, for the same Crimes in its Inhabitants, has long ago shared the Fate of *Sodom*, and lies now buried in the Sea. Yet it seems it is not sunk so deep, but that their Fishermen and Divers frequently bring up Vessels of this old Porcelain, which are sold at a most extravagant Price in *China* and *Japan*, from a Persuasion that they not only keep Tea better, but even heighten its Qualities, and restore its Flavour when lost by long keeping in other Vessels.

I do not pretend to make myself answerable for the Truth of these Facts; but I mention them only to show, that in the Opinion of these People, who are undoubtedly the best Judges of their own Manufactures, the Porcelain made at the Time our Author speaks of was really superior in Quality to any that has been made since. But if it should be demanded, whether any Proof can be had of the Truth of this Fact, exclusive of what our Author delivers, I answer, there is. For in a Manuscript preserved in the *French King's Library*, the Credit of which cannot be doubted among the Articles of a noble Present sent *Nawrelan* by *Saladin*, soon after he became Master of *Egypt*, Mention is made of a Service of *China-ware*, consisting of forty Pieces of several kinds. It is very true, that this Present was not sent till the Year of the *Hegira* 507, which answers to the Year of our Lord 1171, which is some Ages after the Time in which our Author wrote; but then it is to be considered, that this *China-ware* had been long before brought to *Egypt*; and if it had not been much superior in Beauty to what was brought from the same Country, even at that Time when the Trade to *Bassora* was in a flourishing Condition, it would not have been thought worthy the Acceptance of so great a Prince; and therefore when thoroughly considered, this Objection proves, at least in its necessary Consequences, a Confirmation of the Fact.

Amusat. Essai. p. 68. We shall have an Opportunity of inserting this learned Writer's Travels to *Japan* in the second Volume of this Work; but the Passage here cited is from another Work of his, which is excellent in its Kind, notwithstanding what some *French Critics* have said to the contrary.

Enter *Chauvot*, in his History of *Japan*, blames Doctor *Kempfer* for inserting this Story, which he calls a ridiculous Fable; but I beg Leave to say, that he had not well considered the Intention of the Fable, the Use of the Eastern Nation, or the Eastern Language; for if instead, he would probably have been of another Opinion. There is a wide Difference between Fables in foreign and Fables in Native Languages, especially when they are known to be such, and introduced with no other View than to convey useful Knowledge in an easy, familiar, and pleasant Manner, all which were visibly consulted in the framing of this Story or Parable, which declares the Virtues of this Herb, by whom it is used, and when brought into Use.

Amusat. Essai. p. 21. Our learned Author tells us, that the *Japanese* Name of this fine Porcelain is *Matsubo*, and that the Island in which it was made was *Matsubo Sama*. He assures us, that these Vessels are of different Sizes, and consequently of different Prices; the smallest being worth from twenty to one hundred *Thels*; but the large and best, which are generally bought for the Use of the Emperor of *Japan*, cost five, four, or five thousand *Thels* or *Thaels*, of which there are about three in a Pound Sterling. For a very curious Account of these Vessels, we are told by *Mandels*, in his Travels, p. 176, where he says, that the *Japanese* have Tea-pots that are the size of a hand, and contain only two *Thels*. There seem to be two Mistakes in this; the first is as to the Vessel, which was not a Tea-pot, but a Tea-cup, the second, as to the Price, which was not *Thels*, but *Thaels*.

The first of our *Asian* Mandarins is *Makizoo*, which was probably the Surname of his Author; but as to the second, the *Chinese* and *Japanese* both call the Balling I have mentioned from it being related by the *Chinese* *Benard*, in his Notes on the *Chinese* p. 176.

lowed the Honour of the Age in which he wrote, and affected, as he has done, to give a quaint and fanciful Turn to all that he translated, instead of keeping close to his Authors. This was chiefly owing to a Notion that then prevailed, that there were many Improbabilities and Absurdities in their Writings; which, however, the Diligence of succeeding Times hath, in a great measure, discovered to have been a groundless and injurious Charge arising sometimes from their having very bad Copies of the Authors they used, at other Times from the Ignorance of those who undertook to translate them either in the Languages in which they were wrote, or as to the Subjects which were handled in them.

It deserves also to be considered, that the first Voyagers into any remote Country must lie under great Disadvantages, because they report Things absolutely unknown before, and which, for that Reason, appear monstrous and incredible; whereas, in Process of Time, and after various Persons have visited the same Place, the Publick begins to grow familiar with their Relations; and having received repeated Testimonies as to the Truth of strange Facts, renounce the Prejudices that were conceived against them at the Beginning. It is for this Reason that many learned Men abroad, but particularly *Ramusio* in *Italy*, and *Bergeron* in *France*, have taken so much Pains to examine, correct, and set forth in a most perfect Manner, many of these old Writers; which after the Care they have taken about them, appear to us of great Advantage, that they scarce seem to be the same that were known to us formerly in so wretched a Condition.

But if such Treatises are liable to a bad Reception at their first Appearance, their Credit increases with Posterity, and there is very good Reason for recurring to the first Voyagers, as we do to the first Editions of Books, to see how Things stood at the Beginning. Such Writers are, generally speaking, the most curious and the most exact; for being extremely struck with every thing they see and hear, they are more vigilant in their Searches, and more particular in their Relations, than those that follow them, such taking it for granted, that what is common in remote Countries has been already reported by others, and will not give themselves the Trouble of setting down any thing that is not marvellous or extraordinary. We ought not, likewise, to forget that such Travellers as are sent to visit distant Countries, or who go thither purely out of Curiosity, and from a Desire of seeing what others have not seen before, are much more likely to record exactly whatever they meet with, than such as go afterwards into these Countries purely on the Score of Trade; and on their Return, perhaps, are persuaded to oblige the World with an Account of what they have met with, compiled at a considerable Distance of Time, and consequently very liable to Mistakes and other Imperfections.

We may add to all this, that the first Sort of Authors are, generally speaking, Men of better Capacities, and more capable of setting forth their Discoveries, than the latter; so that on the Whole, if we mean to be thoroughly acquainted with Things, and with all the Circumstances relating to them, we shall read such original Writers with much greater Pleasure than those Collections which have appeared in later Times, and which are frequently no way comparable to them, either for the Importance of Facts, or the Accuracy with which they are related.

It fell out in the East, as it fell out before in the West; that is to say, the northern Nations poured in upon them as a Deluge, and bore down all before them. It was this foundation of the *Tartars* which overturned, and, in a great measure, effaced the whole Policy of the East; so that in the thirteenth Century, the Empire established by the Great *Tartar* Monarch *Jenghiz-Khan*, extended as far as *China* on the one Side, and into *Europe* on the other. His Successors augmented his Dominions, and that in such a Manner as to reach as far as the *Nile* one Way, and to the *Danube* and *Vistula* on the other. Such an Extent of Dominion must appear to a considerate Reader a more formidable Empire than any yet spoken of; and the short Space of Time in which it was raised, must render it still

more amazing: To say the Truth, all the great Monarchies in this Part of the World, large and powerful as they are, ought, strictly speaking, to be considered as Fragments only of this enormous Sovereignty, and as the Remains and Ruins of this prodigious Structure. All the *Tartar* Principalities in *Europe* and *Asia*, the noble Empire of *China*, with so much of *Tartary* as belongs to it, the wide Dominions of the Great Mogul, some of the Kingdoms established in the *Indian* Islands, the Kingdom of *Persia* as it stands at present, together with the best Part of the Grand Seigneur's Territories, fall under this Description, and were once but so many Parts of the *Tartar* Empire, and we may from thence easily discern how much it imports us to have a competent Knowledge of the Rise, Progress, and Declension of this over-grown Power.

But that this, however expedient, however necessary, might not break in too much on the Series of our Voyages, I have taken Care to select a few out of the many ancient Travels that may answer both Ends; that is to say, may preserve the Chain of our Narrations, according to the natural Order of Time, and also fulfil what is requisite with respect to explaining the History of these People, so as to bring the Whole into a reasonable Compass, without depriving the Reader of any thing that is necessary for his Information, or curtailing the Authors that are given him, so as to put it out of his Power to judge of the Value of each, or to know what the Writer himself relates, and what has been inserted by his Editors.

The first of these shall be the earliest Traveller next to our *Arabs*; I mean the famous *Jewish* Writer *Benjamin of Tudela*, in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, who travelled through a great Part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, in the twelfth Century, in which we have not one Voyage besides; and though his chief Design, as plainly enough appears, was to aggrandize his own Nation, however dispersed over the Face of the Earth, and to keep up the Hopes of his Brethren, by representing them as a numerous, wealthy, and flourishing People, notwithstanding their Dispersion; yet, in doing this, he has collected so many curious Circumstances with regard to the Eastern Nations, and interspersed his Travels with such a Variety of historical Passages, to be met with no where else, that whatever Faults may be found with him, he will be always thought an Author worthy of Notice; though, to avoid Prolixity, we have inserted only so much of his Work in the next Section, as has relation to the Subject of which we are treating. It will from thence however appear, that what is suggested by *Purchas*, the only Author that has attempted to publish him in our Language, as to the Impossibility of making his Treatise clear and intelligible, is not over-well founded, but that with due Care and diligent Attention, his Travels might be published entire in such a Manner as to satisfy the most critical and inquisitive Reader.

The next of these ancient Travellers shall be *William de Rubruquis*, a Monk sent by the *French* King *St. Lewis*, to the then *Khan* of the *Tartars*, whose History of his Journey through several Countries, then in a Manner entire, and even now, but very imperfectly known, is addressed to that Prince, and written with a Spirit of Humility and Modesty, and with such plain Evidence of their Author's Veracity, as very fully justifies the Esteem that has been always had of his Work. The third is *Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, who travelled as well as *Rubruquis* in the thirteenth Century, whose Work has stood the Test of Time and the severest Criticks, and risen by slow Degrees from the lowest into the highest Credit. There are indeed very few Books that have borne so many Editions, or have had so much Pains taken about them; and indeed hardly any have deserved it better, since purged from the Errors that had crept into the old Copies, and into the several Translations made into different Languages, it appears to be as well disposed, as well written, as curious, as entertaining, and as correct a Performance as any of its kind: And yet, to avoid the Trouble of comparing so many Copies and Translations, it has been wholly omitted in our modern Collections, though the perusing it is in a Manner abso-

¹ The Quotation in the preceding Note from *Purchas*, will fully prove the Truth of this to the intelligent Reader.

lately necessary to the understanding the subsequent Voyages to the *East-Indies*.

The last of these old Writers taken into our Collection, shall be Sir *John Mandeville*, our Countryman, who, notwithstanding all the Objections made to his Relation, deserves much better Usage than he has met with. This great Traveller flourished in the fourteenth Century, and spent no less than thirty-three Years in travelling through the *Levant, Syria, Tartary, India, Cathay, Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia*, and other Countries. He composed the History of these Travels in *Latin, French, and English*, and yet we have never hitherto had his Work set in such a Light as might bear reading with Pleasure; I had almost said, and it would be no more than Truth, with Patience; and at the same time it has been respected and well esteemed abroad. There are indeed Abundance of strange Stories and incredible Passages in his Work, which we do not pretend to justify or impose upon the Reader, but there are others worth knowing, and to be met with no where else.

The Trouble which necessarily attends freeing these

Authors from the Rubbish under which they have been buried, and recovering so much of their personal History as is requisite to give Light and Life, Spirit and Intelligence to their several Labours, has been not a little; but when one considers how pious an Act it is to vindicate the Memory of great Men deceased, who thought no Place too great for the Service of Posterity; and how ready the present Age is to encourage all Attempts of this kind, a Man goes through his Task with Pleasure. It is our Happiness to live in Times more enlightened, in which all the Sciences are better understood than when those Authors lived and wrote; but the Contemplation of our Advantages ought to dispose us to a charitable Consideration, and a Disposition to excuse Infirmities, not properly in them as in the Ages in which they flourished, and from which therefore they could not be exempt, especially when we reflect, that to their Attempts we owe the Splendor that has succeeded, and that without the Struggles made by them we must have been in the same Region of Darkness still.

SECTION XIX.

The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, the Son of Jonas of Tudela, through Europe, Asia, and Africa, from Spain to China, from the Year of our Lord 1160 to 1173.

From the Latin Versions of Benedict Arias Montanus, and Constantine l'Empereur, compared with other Translations into different Languages.

1. A succinct Account of Benjamin of Tudela, the several Editions and Translations of his Work, and the Reputation it has acquired.
2. The Objections that have been made to the Credit of our Author, and the true State of that Question.
3. The Manner in which we propose to give the Substance of these Travels to the Reader.
4. The Description of the City of Constantinople, the Court of the Greek Emperor, and other Things remarkable there, in the Words of Benjamin of Tudela.
5. A succinct Account of his Travels from Constantinople to Baffora or Bassora.
6. His Journey from thence to the Frontiers of Persia, to the City of Aria; and his Account of the Tomb of the Prophet Daniel.
7. The History of the celebrated David El Reï, a Native of Aria, who set up for the Messiah, induced the Jews to revolt from the King of Persia; of the Miracles said to be performed by him, and of his deplorable End.
8. The Route from Aria, and the Mountains of Haphton to the Mountains of Nilbon and the River Oxus, by Hamadan and Ispahan.
9. Description of the Mountains of Nilbon, or Nilbor, inhabited by the Tribes of Dan, Zebulon, Aihur, and Naphtali.
10. The History of the War between the Coptical Turks and the Persians, together with an Account of Rabbi Moïse.
11. Return to Chuzestan, Description of the Island of Nekrokis, of the Pearl Fishery, of several Countries in the Indies, of the diabolical Practices of the Natives, and finally of the Frozen Sea, or the Sea of China.
12. Route from Gingala into Ethiopia, and from thence to Grand Cairo.
13. A large Description of the City of Mizraim, or Grand Cairo, the State of the Jews in that Country, of the overflowing of the Nile, of the famous Column for measuring the Rise of that River, the Fertility of the Country of Egypt, the Mouth of the River Nile, and the Situation of the ancient City of Memphis.
14. An Account of many other Cities in Egypt, a large Description of Alexandria, and the principal Things therein, with the State of its Commerce at the Time of our Author's being there.
15. A concise Account of his Return into Europe, and going back into his native Country of Spain.
16. Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Travels.

THERE are few Authors better known to the learned World than our Benjamin, called from the Place of his Birth Benjamin of Tudela, a very pleasant Town in *Navarre*, on the Confines of the Kingdom of *Castile and Arragon*. The Jews, who boast very much of our Author's Work, inform us, that he was the Son of Rabbi *Jonas*, who was settled at *Tudela*; but they do not acquaint us with the Year in which our Author was born, or what Profession he was, or what induced him to travel. In short, all that at this Distance of Time can be discovered on the Subject, amounts to no more than this, that he began his Travels, *A. D.* 1160, and that he ended them in 1173, which was the very Year in which he died.

These Travels of his have been always in great Credit amongst his own Countrymen, who never cite them but with the greatest Applause; neither have there been wanting several very learned Christians, who have been of the same Opinion, to which probably it might be owing, that from *A. D.* 1543, when it was first printed at *Constanti-*

ople, we have had of this Book no less than sixteen different Editions, and some of them by the ablest Critics.

The first Version of it that appeared in *Latin* was in 1575, by *Benedict Arias Montanus*, a Man of great Learning, and in high Reputation, who in his Preface paid great Compliments to the *Spanish* Nation on account of the Discoveries made by them in the most distant Parts of the World.

This, however, did not hinder *Constantine l'Empereur* from making another Translation in 1633, with the *Hebrew* Text in the Margin, and the Addition of very learned Notes; notwithstanding which, many great Critics have testified an earnest Desire to see another and still corrected Version, since, to say the Truth, there are some apparent Errors in this as well as in the former Translation, occasioned, as I conceive, chiefly by the Mistakes that have been made by Transcribers in the Text, where we have many Names of Countries, Cities, and Princes, that never were heard of in any other Author, and therefore are with great

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* *Nir ad Liguera* and *Wald* alleged; see *Engl. Ed. Sect.*

* *Isaac ad Hist.*

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Reason believed to have come by some such Mistake into this; the rather, because on comparing several Editions, some of these Errors have been detected and amended, which afforded us room to hope that some time or other so judicious a Critick may arise, as will be able to correct them all, and give us this Author in his genuine Purity.

2. But, notwithstanding the great Reputation of our Author, some very considerable Writers, and those too extremely well versed in Hebrew Learning, have attacked this Work of his with much Vivacity. M. *Wagenfeil* for instance, who wrote a very learned Defence of the Christian Religion against the Cavils and Aspersions of the *Jews*, is pleased to lay of this Writer, that whenever he meets with any thing that makes for the Honour of his Nation, he is not only careful to report it in its full Extent, but even ventures sometimes to exceed the Truth.

The famous *Hottinger* deals as freely, or rather more so, with *Benjamin*; his Voyage, says he, is puff'd up with Jewish Fables, and the sole Aim of it is to deceive and mislead the Ignorant into an Opinion, that obscure and unknown Places are full of the Glory of the *Jews*. He adds farther, that there are many Fables and Contradictions in the book, and still more Stories that are reported upon very slender Grounds: Yet after all, he concludes, that our Author has many things in him that are not to be found elsewhere.

The very learned *Spanheim* gives the true Character of the Work in a few Words: It is, says he, pretty highly loaded with Fables; but there are many good Things in it as well as that. This is precisely the Case; the *Jews*, and Men as fond Admirers of Rabbinic Learning, have credit up much beyond its real Merit; and others again have for a particular Reason, run it down beyond all Measure; nay, they have questioned whether our Author ever travelled at all, and would persuade us that he made this Book without stirring out of Spain; but they would have done well to have shewn us how he came by the Materials, when I think a much harder Talk than to answer all their Objections.

His Countrymen, it seems, frequently quote this Book of *Benjamin*'s, to shew, that the *Jews* are not yet totally deprived of Power, but that there is still a kind of Sovereignty exercised by some of their Nation over their Brethren in certain Countries of the East; which being supposed to contradict the famous Prophecy relating to the coming of Christ, these Criticks will have to be a Fable. But if *Benjamin* had never wrote, the *Jews* would be able to prove the Truth of this in stronger Terms than it is asserted by him, and yet without overthrowing the Application of that Prophecy to *Jesus Christ*; and therefore this is no Reason to me for depreciating the Work at all. He has certainly exaggerated some Things, and mistaken many more. What then? we find in him many Things curious and entertaining, which we can find no where else.

3. Our Author in his first Chapter gives us an Account of his Travels by Land from *Saragossa* to *Marseilles*. In his second Chapter, he tells us that he embarked for *Genoa*, and proceeded from thence to *Rome*, of which he gives us a Description. He went from that City through the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Otranto*, and sailed from thence to the Island of *Corfu*, and then passed by Land through

Greece to *Constantinople*, and in his Passage traversed the Country of *Walachia*. This takes up his fourth Chapter, but as there is nothing very extraordinary in this Part of his Work, and as we have no Room to spare, I thought it better to omit these Chapters than to abridge them, because I must have given the Sense of the Author in my own Words, which would not have put it in the Reader's Power to form any Judgment of the Writer's Style or Manner of Writing. In his fifth Chapter he gives a long Account of the City of *Constantinople*, of the Court of the Greek Emperor, and of the State that Things were in at the Time of his being there, with many other curious Particulars, and therefore I have given this Chapter at large, accompanied with such explanatory Notes as were requisite, that I might afford the Reader a proper Specimen of this Performance, without trespassing too much on his Time or my own.

4. From thence we travelled three Days Journey to *Abiro*, seated upon the Sea-Shore; and travelling five Days Journey more among the Mountains, one comes to *Constantinople*, an exceeding great City, and the Head of the Kingdom of *Javanites*, or those called *Greeks*. This is the principal Seat of the Emperor *Emanuel*, whose whole Command twelve Kings obey; for every one whereof there are several Palaces at *Constantinople*, and they have also Fortresses and Governments, and unto these the whole Land is subject. The Principal and Chiefest is called *Aprisus*, the second *Mega Domestick*, the third *Domnos*, the fourth *Mackducus*, the fifth *Ikonomus Megli*, and the rest have Names like unto these. The Compass of the City of *Constantinople* containeth eighteen Miles, one half of it standeth upon the Sea, but the other half on the Continent, and it is seated upon two Arms of the Sea, into one of which the Sea flows out of *Russia*, but into the other from *Spain*, and it is frequented by many Traders from the Provinces and Counties of *Babylon*, *Senaar*, *Media*, *Persia*, and all the Kingdom of *Egypt* and Land of *Canaan*, and the Kingdoms of *Russia*, *Hungary*, and *Pfianki*, *Buria*, *Lombardy*, and *Spain*.

The City itself is excessively populous, unto which Merchants resort out of all Countries, travelling thither both by Sea and Land. It hath none to compare with it in the World, except *Bagdat*, that mighty City of the *Ismaelites*. Here is the most famous Temple of *St. Sophia*, and the Patriarch of the *Grecians* dwelleth here, nor do they agree in Doctrine with the Pope of *Rome*. There are in it also as many Altars in Number as Days in the Year; but it hath an exceeding great Treasure, almost beyond all Estimation, by the Offerings and Riches, yearly brought from divers Countries, Islands, Castles, Forts, and Palaces, so that the Wealth of no Temple in the whole World can be compared with the Riches thereof; and in the Midst of the Temple there are Pillars of Gold and Silver, huge Candlesticks, Lanthorns, Lamps, and other Ornaments of these precious Metals, more than any Man is able to reckon. Next adjoining to the Walls of the Temple, there is a Place built for the Emperor's Diversion, called *Hippodromus*, where yearly, upon the Birth-day of *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, great Spectacles are publickly presented, and

* Not ad *Lysimach* *Carmen Nazareth* in *Trilign. Sat.* pag. 374. This Writer is induced to censure our Author, for the Reasons I have afterwards alleg'd; but he, because he thinks what *Benjamin* has advanced derogatory from the famous Prophecy in the 49th Chapter of *Genes.*

* *Aug. Ed. Sat.* XII. p. 241.

* *Interd. ed. Hist. Ed. Part II. Secl. XII. Secl. XIV. p. 370.*

It appears evidently from the *Koran*, that there were Principalities of the *Jews* in *Arabia* at the Time that *Mohammed* set up for a Prophet, which is certainly as strong as any thing advanced by our Author, and is, notwithstanding, a Fact that cannot be disputed.

The Manner and Style of this Voyage is a proper Specimen of all the *Jewish* Writers, who use exactly the same Terms in their Narration, and by affecting to keep close to the Names of Nations and Cities mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, render their own Writings very perplexed and obscure.

This Term is made use of by the *Jews* to signify the *Greeks*, because they conceive them to be the Descendants of *Javan*; it is their common Writing, and we must be contented with it. It is true we might have given all this a modern Dress, but then it would have been no longer the Travels of *Benjamin* of *Tudela*, which was what we promised.

The Emperor *Emanuel* is *Mmanuel Comnenus*, who ascended the Imperial Throne *A. D.* 1143, and died in 1180. He was famous for his Treachery to the Christian Princes engaged in the Holy War, but it is very certain that the Time of his Reign agrees exactly with the Time of our Author's visiting the City of *Constantinople*.

There cannot well be any thing more confused than this Passage of our Author is at first Sight, and yet it is not impossible to make to it a good Sense of it. *Benjamin* thought that as *Mmanuel* was an Emperor, his Ministers and Governors of Provinces ought to be considered as such in State and Dignity to Kings. There is no doubt great Difficulty in transferring *Greek* Words by *Hebrew* Characters, especially where a Person is not fully Master of both Languages, which was certainly the Case of our Author; and perhaps the Errors of the Work have been heightened as well as multiplied by such as have copied it. *Aprisus* in the Text very probably means *Protoprius*, or Prime Minister. *Mega Domestick* is plainly the Corruption of *Mezozos*, or Great Chamberlain. *Domnos* stands for *Domnos*, *Mackducus* is put for *Mezozos*, or Great Duke, and the last is intended for *Oisozos*, or Lord High Steward.

"there all Sorts of Men in all manner of Habits of the whole World appear before the King and Queen. Lions also, and Bears, Leopards, and wild Asses, are brought forth into the Place where these Spectacles are to be seen, that they may fight together, and Birds also after the same manner: And my Opinion is that in no Country of the World such princely Spots are to be seen.

"But this King *Emannel*, besides that Palace left him by his Ancestors, hath built him another upon the Sea Shore, which they call *Bilberme*, the Pillars and Walls whereof he hath overlaid with beaten Gold and Silver, whereon he hath engraven all the Wars made by him and his Ancestors; and he hath prepared a Throne there for himself of Gold and precious Stones, and hath adorned it with a golden Crown hanging on high by Gold Chains; the Composure whereof is equal with the Throne itself, so enriched with precious Stones and Pearls, that the Price thereof no Man is able to value; of so great a Lustre, that without the Assistance of Light they shine, and may be seen in the Night.

"Moreover there are such valuable Things in the same Place, as were incredible if told; and Tributes are yearly brought into that Palace, wherewith the Towers are filled with scarlet and purple Garments, and Gold; so that the like Example of Building and Riches can no where else be found in the World. And it is affirmed, that the Revenue only of this City itself, gathered from the Markets, Haven, and Tribute of Merchants, amounted to twenty thousand Crowns a Day. Furthermore, the *Grecians* themselves, Inhabitants of the Country, are exceeding rich in Gold, and have Abundance of precious Stones, and are dressed in most sumptuous Apparel, their Garments being made of Crimson intermingled with Gold, or embroidered with Needle-work, and are all carried upon Horses, as if they were the Children of Kings. The Country itself being very large, abounds with all Sorts of Fruits, and hath great Plenty of Corn, Flesh, and Wine; nor is there a finer Spot in the whole World to be found. They are also learned, and skilful in the Discipline of the *Grecians*; but giving themselves wholly to Pleasure, they eat and drink every one under his own Vine and under his own Fig-tree. Of all the Nations which they call *Barbarians*, they have Soldiers to fight with the *Soldan*, King of the Children of *Thegarna*, who are commonly called *Turks*, because they themselves, through Idleness and Luxury, are become quite unfit for the Wars, and seem unto me more like Women than Men, through their excessive Love of Pleasure.

"But no *Jews* dwell within the City, for they are excluded from thence by an Arm of the Sea of *Soppia*; they are not so much as permitted to come into the City but by Boats, and that for the sake of Commerce; and here are about two thousand *Jews Rabbantes*, besides five hundred *Karates* on the other Side. There is a Wall to separate them from the *Rabbantes*, that are the Disciples of wise Men; and among whom *Abulalon* the Great, and *R. Abdias*, and *Aaron Cuspus*, and *Joseph Starginus*, and *Elsakim* the Governor, have the chief Authority. Amongst these some are Artificers of silken Garments; but there are many Merchants, and those too very rich. No *Jew* is there permitted to be carried on Horse-back, except *Solomon the Egyptian*, the King's Physician, through whose Interest the *Jews* are comforted and eased in their Captivity, which they feel to be grievous; for all the *Jews* are very much hated by the *Grecians*, without making any Difference between the good and evil: But they are worst used

"by the Tanners, who, while they dress their Skin, pour out the filthy Water into the Streets before their Doors. They are general oppressed with a grievous Yoke, and are insulted and beaten in the Streets, and during from every Hand abundance of Injuries. But among the *Jews* themselves, some are rich, as I have said, and good Men, and merciful, and observe the Commandments, who patiently endure the Misery of Captivity. The Place wherein they dwell is called *Pera*."

5. Our Author continued his Journey from *Constantinople* to the City of *Tyre*, from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from thence through the *Holy Land*, of which he gives a very particular Description, to the City of *Damascus*, and from thence to *Balbeck*, which is in the Neighbourhood of the ancient *Palmyra*, which he calls by its old Name of *Tadmor*, and assures us, that there were in it, when he passed through, two thousand *Jews*. He gives us next a copious Account of the City of *Bagdat*, of the Court of the *Khaliff*, and of the Condition of the *Jews* in that City. Then he carries us into the Country of *Thema*, where he places a whole Nation of *Jews*, about which there have been great Disputes; and some would have us believe, that the Whole is a Forgerie. However the Matter be, as it no way relates to my Subject, I did not think it requisite to trouble the Reader therewith, especially as there are Stories enough of the same kind in the rest of the Book. In his fiftieth Chapter, he acquaints us, that he proceeded to *Batzra* on the River *Tigris*, which is plainly *Balsora*, or *Bassora*, a Place frequently mentioned in the preceding Part of this Work; and from thence he continued his Journey through *Perfia*, as I shall acquaint the Reader in his own Words.

6. "The River *Samoura* is esteemed the Limits of the Kingdom of *Perfia*, and near it stands a City of the same Name, wherein dwell fifteen hundred *Jews*. There is the Sepulchre of *Esdra* the Scribe and Prophet, who died at this Place in his Return from *Jerusalem* to the Court of *Artaxerxes*. Our People have built before this Sepulchre a great Synagogue; and on the other Side the *Ishmaelites*, i. e. the *Arabians*, or *Mohammedans*, have built a Mosque; so great is their Esteem for *Esdra*, and their Respect for the *Israelites*. It is on this Score also that the *Ishmaelites* resort thither to pray.

"It is four Miles from hence to *Chuzestan*, which is the same with *Elam*, that great City of old; but it is now in some measure ruined and uninhabited. At one End, but in the midst of Ruins, is *Susa*, a Castle, and formerly the Palace of *Abasuerus*; some Remains of which are yet standing. There are here seven thousand *Jews* and fourteen Synagogues, before one of which stands the Tomb of *Daniel*. The River *Tigris* runs through the City, over which there is a Bridge. All the *Jews* that live on one Side are very rich, have Shops extremely well filled, and carry on a great Commerce. Those on the other Side the River are all poor, having neither Markets, Shops, Gardens, nor Orchards. The Sense of their Condition threw them once into an Insurrection, from a Notion that all the Glory and Riches of those on the other Side the River, sprung from no other Cause than their having the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Daniel* on their Side.

"They demanded therefore that his Tomb should be transferred to their Side; but the others vehemently opposing this, a War began, of which both Sides growing weary, it was agreed, that the Coffin of *Daniel* should remain one Year on one Side the River, and the next Year on the other. This Treaty was observed till such

¹ However sharp or severe this Character of the People at *Constantinople* may seem, yet it is beyond all Question very just and well founded, fully imports what we have delivered upon this Subject in the sixteenth Section, and is as once a Mark of Veracity in their Travels, and of the Author's Capacity in judging of what he saw.

² Our Author's Travels, with the Remarks necessary to explain them, would, if delivered entire, take up a great many Sheets; and for this Reason it is, and that we may keep the Subject as much within Bounds as possible, that we take this Method of acquainting the Reader with the Contents of his Work.

³ Our Author is a little out here in his Geography, for the River *Tigris* does not come near this City; the River he means was anciently called *Eubates*, and in the modern Maps we find it described under the Name of *Caron*. It is, in all Probability, the same as before mentioned, which some Critics will have to be a River of our Author's making; but the Truth of the Matter is, that the River *Caron* takes its Rise near a Town called *Samira*, from whence he ought to have called the River of *Samira*, and such an Error, considering the Times in which he lived, is not very considerable.

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give as *Sanigar Shab*, Son to the great *Shab* of *Persia*, who rules over forty-five Princes, cancelled it. He is called in *Arabic* Sultan *Pbars-Al Chabir*, which is as much as to say, great Emperor of *Persia*. His Empire extends from the Mouth of the River *Samouara* to the City of *Samarcaud*, and to the River of *Gozan*, the Province of *Gilbor*, including the Cities of the *Medes*, the Mountains of *Haphton*, and so to the Province of *Tibet*, in the Forests of which Country are found the Animals that produce Mulk. His Empire is four Months and four Days Journey in Extent.

When therefore this great Monarch *Sanigar* King of *Persia* came to *Blam*, and law them transporting the Coffin of *Daniel* from one Side of the River to the other, with a great Croud of *Jews* and *Ishmaelites* upon the Bridge, he demanded what they were doing, and the Reason of their doing it; and being informed of what has been before related, he decided the Point thus. It is by no means decent, said he, that the Remains of *Daniel* should be treated in this manner; measure therefore to a Place that is at an equal Distance from both Sides, and there let the Coffin of *Daniel* be suspended in a Glass Case, fastened to the Middle of the Bridge by Chains of Iron, and let there be a spacious Edifice built in the same Place in the Form of a Synagogue, open to all People, whether *Jews*, or of other Nations that incline to come thither to say their Prayers. As a still stronger Mark of his Esteem, that Emperor likewise forbade, by an express Edict, that any Man should take Fish out of the River for one Mile below, and another above, for the Reverence and Honour of *Daniel*.

From hence to *Robid bar* are three Days Journey, where dwell twenty thousand *Ishmaelites*, among whom there are very many Disciples of the wise Men, and also some of them very rich; but they live under the Power and Authority of a strange Prince. In two Days Journey from thence you come to the River *Vantch*, where are four thousand *Jews*, or thereabouts; but four Days Journey from the River to the Country *Molbat*, the Inhabitants whereof believe not the Doctrine of the *Ishmaelites*, but they dwell in very strong Mountains, and they obey an Elder, whose Status in the County is *Ischiffin*; and among these there are four Colleges of the *Ishmaelites*, and they go forth to the Wars with them; nor are they subject to the Dominion of the King of *Persia*, but live in high Mountains, from whence descending they invade the bordering Countries, and drive away Booties, and return again, fearing no Man; but the *Jews*, who dwell among them, are the Disciples of the wise Men, and obey the Head of the Captivity of *Babylon*.

You travel five Days Journey from hence to *Omoria*, where are five and twenty thousand *Ishmaelites*; and it is the Beginning of the Synagogues of the Inhabitants of the Mountains of *Haphton*, which are known to be more than an hundred in Number; and in these Places the Country of *Altha* beginneth; and these are of the first Captivity carried away by King *Salmansar*; but they speak the *Chaldee* Language, and among them are the Disciples of the wise Men, and the chief City *Omoria*, pertaining to the Kingdom of *Persia*, within one Day's Journey; but they are under the Dominion of the King of *Persia*, to whom they

pay Tribute; and the Tribute appointed in all the Kingdoms of the *Ishmaelites*, is for Males above fifteen Years old, one Golden Amir, which is in Value one *Spanish* Morabentine Piece of Gold and an half, or half a Crown of our Money.

7. It is now twelve Years since a certain Man named *David Elroi* arose in the City of *Omoria*, who was the Disciple of *Chafai*, the Head of the Captivity, and of *Jacob* the honourable Head of the Assembly of *Levi*, in the Metropolitan City of *Bagdat*; he became very learned in the Law of *Moses*, and in the Books of Doctrine, and also in all Wisdom; in the Language of the *Ishmaelites*, and in the Books of the Magicians and Inchanters; he therefore took it in his Head that he would raise Arms against the King of *Persia*, would gather together the *Jews* who dwelt in the Mountains of *Haphton*, would war against the whole World, and go to *Jerusalem* and win it by Assault; and that he might persuade the *Jews* thereto, he shewed them lying and deceitful Signs, affirming that he was sent from God to *Jerusalem*, and to free them from the Yoke of the Nations, so that with many of the *Jews* he procured Credit unto himself, and was owned by them for their Messiah.

The King of *Persia* hearing the Report of this Insurrection, sent for him to talk with him, to whom he went without any Fear; and it being demanded whether he was the King of the *Jews*, he boldly answered, that he was; and he was thereupon apprehended and cast into the Gaol in which State Prisoners are kept all their Lives. This Prison is in the City *Dabastan*, nigh the great River *Gozan*. After three Days a Council of the Princes and Ministers being called by the King, in which they consulted as to this Insurrection of the *Jews*, *David* was present there, being escaped out of Prison, no Man knowing thereof. When the King saw him, he demanded, *Who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of Prison?* Mine own Wisdom, answered he, for I am not afraid of thee, or thy Servants. Then the King cried out to those about him, *Seize him! lay Hands on him!* To whom the Princes and Servants answered, that his Voice was heard by all, but he was seen by none.

The King wondering at his Wisdom, was astonished. *David* then cried out aloud, *Lo, I take my Way*; and he began to go before, the King following him, and all the Nobility and their Servants followed the King. When they came to the Bank of the River, *David* spreading abroad his Handkerchief upon the Waters, passed over dry, and at that time was seen of all. They endeavoured to pursue and take him with little Boats, which they attempted in vain; and thence concluded, that no Inchanter in the World might be compared to him. As for *David* he travelled that Day ten Days Journey, coming to *Omoria*; through the Virtue of the ineffable Name, he declared what had befallen unto him to their great Amazement.

But the King of the *Persians* sending Messengers unto *Bagdat*, informed the great Khaliff of the *Ishmaelites* of this Matter, and requested that he would cause *David Elroi* to be restrained from such Enterprizes, by the Head of the Captivity, and the chief Rulers of the Assemblies, otherwise he threatened total Destruction to all the *Jews* living in the Kingdom of *Persia*. All the Synagogues of the Kingdom of *Persia* falling thereupon into great Fear of the

* This pompous Account of an Emperor commanding over forty-five Kings is very suitable to the Genius of a Jewish Traveller; but the Difficulty is to find out who he is of whom all this is said. We read in *Himerius* of a Prince of this Name, who was the Son of a King of *Persia*, and flourished about this Time; and therefore it is very probable, that this Decision is to be ascribed to him in the Late time of his Father, though *Benjamin* seems to attribute it to the Shah, or Empe or himself.

This Circumstance is not in itself very considerable; but in so large a Collection as this it was necessary to have a Writer so much talked of as our Author, and the Reader cannot think his Time thrown away in acquiring by this Injustice the Power of judging of such a Performance; so, as I believed before, the Jewish Authors all write alike.

This Story, as extravagant as it seems, is really a Matter of Fact, and as such is recorded by two Jewish Historians, viz. *R. Salomo Ben Virga*, and *R. David Gora*, who place it in *A. D.* 1135, which, as some Critics have observed, does not agree with the Date assigned by our Author, who says it happened twelve Years before he was there. This, however, is no great Mistake, even if we should admit that it is our Author's Mistake, though my part I should suppose it as easy for the other Writers to err in this particular. The whole, however, may perhaps be solved, by supposing that *Benjamin* copied the Account that he has given us from some History of this Impolur written twelve Years after this Insurrection. However it be, the Thing is of no great Moment, any more than the Difference between the Name mentioned by our Author, and that of *David El David*, which is mentioned in the other Histories.

There are some little Variations in the Manner in which these Facts are told by the other Historians; but they are of no great Consequence, and therefore I shall not trouble the Reader with them neither should I have mentioned these Writers at all, but to convince the Reader, that this is not a Tale invented by *Benjamin*, as he might otherwise very readily imagine.

Both the Latin Translators have mistak the Sense as to this Name, which the *Jews* call ineffable, because they are persuaded that the true Pronunciation of the Name of God is lost, or unknown; and they pretend, that whoever has the Secret of pronouncing it right, is able thereby to work Miracles. They likewise assert, that by this Means our Saviour wrought his; and though this be a very idle Conceit, yet it is worth the knowing, because it shews plainly, that the *Jews* do not pretend to deny the Matters of Fact, but are forced to have Recourse to this Evision, in order to justify their Incredulity.

what Nation it was that had settled in these Mountains, and directed them for this Purpose to pass the River either by Piers, if they found any, or if not, by swimming.

These Men had not proceeded far in their Journey before they met with a Bridge that was very well built, and had a good Barrier; and on the other Side of the Bridge they saw a very large City: They immediately called out, and the Town's People coming to the Gate, demanded who they were, and to whom they belonged; but as they did not understand each other's Language, they were forced to wait till an Interpreter was called, who understood the *Indian* Tongue; he having put the same Question, they answered, We are Servants to the King of *Persia*, and we come to know who you are, and who is your Lord. The Townsmen replied, We are *Jews*, and did not subject to any King or Prince of the *Gentiles*, but we have a Prince of our own. The *Persians* then informed themselves as to the *Captal* *Turks*, and the *Jews* told them, that they were their Allies, and that whoever were their Enemies, they must regard as Enemies to themselves. These two Men returning to the Camp, and having reported to the King what they had discovered, he was very much at a Loss how to proceed. The *Jews* on the next Day collected their Forces, and the Day following offered them Battle.

The King declined fighting, and address'd himself to the *Jewish* Chiefs in the following Words; I do not come to make War against you, but only against the *Captal* *Turks* my Enemies: But if you proceed to commit Hostilities against me, I will revenge myself by putting to death all the *Jews* in my Kingdom; for I know that, as Things stand here, you will be too hard for me: But let me advise you to prefer Peace to War: Suffer me to proceed in my Expedition against the *Captal* *Turks* my Enemies, and supply me and my Army, for ready Money, with what we want. The *Jews* having considered this Proposal among themselves, resolv'd, out of regard to their Brethren, to yield to the King of *Persia's* Proposal. The King therefore being admitt'd with all his Army into that Country, spent fifteen Days there, being honourably entertained among them.

But in the mean time the *Jews* declared the whole Matter by Messengers, and Letters, to their Confederates. The *Turks* thereupon gathering their Forces together, crossed the Enemy at the Passage of the Mountains, and having conven'd Peace for that Purpose they attacked and gave the *Persians* so mighty an Overthrow, that the King's Army being ruin'd, they compell'd him to return into his own Country with a very small Number.

But it happened that a *Jew* of this Province, named *Musa*, being seduced by a certain *Persian* Horseman, followed the King of *Persia*, and when they came into *Persia*, he was made a Slave by the same Horseman. But when a Time of publick Diverfion they executed their Bows in the Presence of the King, this *Musa* appear'd the most excellent Archer in *Persia*; he was thereupon examin'd by an Interpreter, and openly declared to the King the manner of his being seduced, and his Condition, wherein he was presently intrench'd, clothed with purple and Gold Garments, and enrich'd with Royal Gifts; and was pleas'd like a King, if he would embrace their Religion, give a Kingdom, and the Government of the King's House; which when he stoutly deny'd to do, he was plac'd by the King with *R. Mallem*, the Prince of the Synagogue of *Urbaham*, whose Daughter he was married by Consent of the Father. This very *Musa* it was who told me all that I have related.

When I departed out of these Countries I returned by *Cherzhan*, through which the River *Tigris* runs, falling from thence into *Holla*, or the *Indian* Sea; and in

its Passage thither encompasses the Island *Nekrokis*, near the Mouth thereof, which Island is in Extent six Days Journey. There is in it only one Canal of fresh Water; and they drink no other than what is gathered from the Showers, which is the Reason that Land is neither sowed nor till'd; and yet it is very famous through the Commerce of the *Indians* and Islands seated in the *Indian* Sea, and Merchants of the Country of *Senacr*, *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Persia*, bringing thither all sorts of Silk and purple Manufactures, Hemp, Cotton, Flax, and *Indian* Cloth; Wheat, Barley, Miller, and Rice in great Plenty, which they barter and sell among themselves: But the *Indian* Merchants bring also exceeding great Plenty of Spices thither, and the Natives act as Factors and Interpreters; and by this they live: But in that Place there are not above five hundred *Jews*. Sailing thence with a prosperous Wind in ten Days, I was brought to *Katibpha*, where are five thousand *Jews*.

In these Places Pearls are found, made by the wonderful Artifice of Nature; for on the four-and-twentieth Day of the Month *Nisan*, a certain Dew falleth into the Waters, which being sucked in by the Oysters, they immediately sink to the Bottom of the Sea: Afterwards, about the Middle of the Month of *Tisri*, Men descend to the Bottom of the Sea, and by the Help of Cords these Men bringing up the Oysters in great Quantities from thence, open and take out of them the Pearls.

In seven Days Journey from thence I came to *Oudam*, which is the Entrance of their Kingdom, who worship the Sun, and are prone to the Study of Astrology, being the Children of *Chus*. They are Men of a dark Complexion, sincere Tempers, and of very great Fidelity in all Respects. They have among them this Custom, that such as come to them from remote Countries, when received into the Haven, have their Names set down in Writing by three Secretaries, who carry their Lists to the King, and afterwards bring the Merchants themselves, whose Merchandise being received into his Protection, the King direct's them to be landed, and left on the Shore, where they remain without any Watch to keep them. There is also a Magistrate unto whom all Things that are lost, or casually remov'd, are constantly brought, and of him they are easily received by the Owner, so that certain Tokens be cast whereby the lost Thing may be made known; and this strict Fidelity and honest Dealing is common through all the Kingdom.

In this Country, from *Eagler* to the Beginning of the succeeding Year, the Sun shines with outrageous Heat; and therefore, from the third Hour of the Day until the Evening, all Men remain shut up in their Houses. But about that Time Lamps being lighted, and set in Order throughout all the Streets and Markets, they work and execute their respective Arts and Callings all the Night; for, as I said, they cannot do it in the Day-time by reason of the exceeding Heat. It is in this Country that Pepper grows upon Trees planted by the Inhabitants in the Fields belonging to every City, and their proper Gardens are particularly assigned and known. The Shrub itself is small, and brings forth a white Seed, which being gathered, is put into Basons steeped in hot Water, and is set forth in the Sun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black Colour. Cinnamon and Ginger are likewise found there, as well as many other kind of Spices.

The Inhabitants of this Country do not bury their Dead, but having embalmed their Bodies with divers sorts of Drugs and Spices, they place them in Niches, and cover them with Nets set in Order according to their several Families; but their Flesh drieth with the Bones, and when grown stiff, they seem as if they were alive, and every one knows their

There is no Passage in the Travels of *Benjamin* more perplexed than this Description of the Island of *Nekrokis*, about which all his Commentaries are divided in their Sentiments. That which most of us has been thought most probable is, that it means the Island of *Osway*, which, with *Cherzhan*, was once a Place of great Trade, and was always destitute of Water. It is however more credible that he meant the City and Country of *Bagdad*, because he places it at the Mouth of the River *Tigris*, makes it the Centre of the *Eastern* Commerce, and mentions precisely the Commodities of which that City was the Staple.

This Description has also given Rise to many of the Commentaries. The Word used in the *Hebrew* is *Balkis*; and in the Description there is no mention of what our Author meant by *Persia*. The Author of the *Relation*, now and then says, that it may appear, to have been that which is understood by the most learned of his Commentaries. Their Opinion, in few Words, is this, they hold, that at a certain Season of the Year the current of the *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, being in the surface of the Sea, which being swallowed by the Oysters, or rather sucked up, and then expires out, turns afterwards to a Pearl. This is without doubt, if I have Truth on their Side, that such a substance is sometimes to be found on this and other Seas, the Drops of which, at that Sign, resemble liquid Pearl.

the like of Plunder, and what they can carry away; they constantly take with them Bread, Rice, dried Raisins, and Eggs. These they throw in large Quantities among the ill-familied Blacks, whom, while they scramble for them, the Dogs, they seize and carry away Prisoners, and sell them in Egypt and other Countries. These are the Negroes, or black Slaves, the Posterity of Ham. It is twelve Days Journey from *Afsan* to *Cheban*, in which there are about three hundred Jews.

From *Cheban* they go in Caravans fifty Days Journey through the Desert called *Al Tschabra*, or *Zara*, to the Province called *Zula*, which is *Havilah*, in the Land of *Araby*, i. e. *Guiney*. In these Deserts there are vast Mountains of Sand, which, being carried by the Force of violent Tempests, sometimes overwhelm whole Caravans, and bury under them all the Passengers. Such of the Merchants as escape this perilous Journey bring with them from that Country, Iron, Copper, Salt, and all sorts of Fruits and Spices; and they likewise bring Gold and precious Stones. This Country is Part of the Land of *Ceus*, and lies to the West of *Abyssinia*. It is thirteen Days Journey from *Cheban* to the City of *Kous*, which is the first in the Land of Egypt, where there are settled about thirty thousand Jews. The Distance of five Days Journey is *Phim*, anciently called *Phison*. In the Neighbourhood of this City are still to be seen the Ruins of those ancient Structures that were built by our Ancestors during their Captivity in Egypt.

Four Days Journey from thence leads to the great City of *Misraim*, or *Cairo*, situated on the Banks of the River Nile, in which there are settled about two thousand Jews, who have in this City two fair Synagogues, one belonging to the Jews of *Palestine* and *Syria*, the other to those of the Country of *Babylon*. These two Sorts of Jews differ only in the Division of the Law into Sections; for the *Babylonians* every Week read one Parafcha after the Manner which is common throughout all *Spain*; and the *Syrians* once every Year they finish the Law: But the *Syrians* of *Syria* divide every Parafcha into three Sections, or smaller Sections, and so they read over the Law once in Three Years; and both these after a solemn Manner twice in the Year join in their Prayers together, viz. upon the Day of the rejoining of the Law, and on the Festival Day of the Law given. Over all these Matters hath the chief Authority, being the greatest of the Country, and Head of the Assembly, who rules all the Synagogues in Egypt, and appoints Masters and Teachers.

He is also the Minister of the great King, who resides in the Palace of *Zoin* (which is a City of Egypt, wherein the son of *Abstaleo* was once Commander of the *Israhelites*, whose Subjects are still called *Rebels* by the other *Arabs*, because they refuse Obedience to the *Abissinian* Khaliff, whose Seat is *Bagdat*. There is an irreconcilable Enmity between these Princes. This Monarch appears in publick twice in the Year, viz. at the Time of their Feast of *Laster*, when the River Nile overflows.

The Royal City itself is encompassed and fortified with Walls, but *Misraim* is without Walls, surrounded by the River Nile on the one Side. This is a very large City, furnished with many Market-places and publick Buildings; and there are many rich Jews. The Country itself is never troubled with Rain, Ice, or Snow, but is often afflicted with outrageous Heat. It is watered by the Nile, which once every Year swelling in the Month *Chal* covers and refreshes all the Land for fifteen Days Journey, the Waters continuing to rise in the Months of *Ebal* and *Tisri*, and

making the Earth fruitful: And the Policy and Diligence of the old Egyptians was such, that in an Island which the River makes here, a Pillar was by them erected of fine Marble and excellent Workmanship, raised twelve Cubits above the Surface of the River. When therefore the Waters overflow and cover that Column, the Inhabitants are fully satisfied that the whole Extent of their Country for fifteen Days Journey is entirely overpread. If the Water rise but half the Height of the Pillar, they gather from thence that their Country is but half watered. There is a Man stands by the Pillar, and every Day at Noon proclaims in all Parts of the City the Height of the Water in this Form, *Be thankful to God, the River is risen so many Cubits.*

If the Water rises to the Top of the Column, it is a Sign that the Year will be fertile throughout all Egypt. At this Season whoever has any Land, hires Workmen to cut a Trench through his Ground, into which as the Water rises, the Fish are carried, and are left therein; when the River sinks, then the Owners of the Lands take them out, and either spend them in their Families, or sell them to such as salt and export them. These Fish are exceedingly large and fat, and the very best People in the Country make use of the Oil drawn from them to burn in their Lamps. If it falls out, as it frequently does, that People eat too much of these Fish, they have nothing more to do than to drink largely of the Water of the Nile, which immediately removes that Inconvenience. It has been an old Question, and a great Diversity of Opinions there has been concerning the Overflowing of the Nile, but the Egyptians suppose, that at the time when this River overflows, heavy Rains fall in the higher Countries, that is in the Land of *Nabab*, which we call *Havilah*; at the Time the River does not overflow, nothing is sown in Egypt, and hereupon Sterility and Famine follow.

But usually the Fields are sowed in the Month of *September*, the Nile being then retired into its Channel; but Barley is reaped in the Month of *February*, and Wheat the next Month after; and in the same Month Cherries are ripe, as are also Almonds and Cucumbers. Gourds, Pease-cods and Beans, Lentils, &c. and divers kinds of Pot-herbs, as Purslain, Asparagus, and Lettice, Corianders, Succory, Coleworts, and Grapes; but the Gardens and Orchards throughout Egypt are watered, and Trenches filled with the Waters of the River.

This great River, after passing through the City *Misraim* or *Cairo*, is divided into four Heads, one whereof runneth by *Damietta*, sometime called *Captor*, nigh unto which it falleth into the Sea. The second runneth down into the City *Rafis*, not far from *Alexandria*, and there discharging itself into the Sea. The third passeth by *Apnon*, a very great City on the Borders of Egypt, nigh which Heads of the River many Cities, Castles, and Towns, are seated on either Side, and People may travel to them all either by Boat or Land. No Country in the whole World can be compared to this for the Multitude of Inhabitants, and all the Country of Egypt is plain, fruitful, and well stored with good Things. *Old Misraim* is two Leagues distant from the *New Misraim*, but it is walled and desolate; Yet there are many Ruins of the Walls and Houses, and not a few Monuments there of the Treasuries and Storehouses of *Jeseph* yet to be seen. In the same Place there is an artificial Pillar built by *Ait Magic*, like which there is none in all the Land. Without the Compass of the City stands a Synagogue, which bears the Name of *Moses* our Teacher, of ancient Date; to preserve the Ruins that yet remain, a certain

There is not a Passage in all our Author's Work which has been more contested than this with regard to the Khaliff then reigning in Egypt: Some say it was *Abd-el-Kader*, as to produce it as a direct Proof of his never having travelled at all. But I cannot help saying, that tho' the Critics might be said what is said in the Copies of any Author which they publish, yet I cannot conceive they have any Authority to alter or suppress any Part of our Author's Passage, and then produce it to the Prejudice of the Author, whose Credit they would destroy. We had now before us in the present Case there is no Ground for such a suggestion; but that what our Author has delivered may be well reconciled to the History of Egypt, without any Alteration whatever.

In the subsequent Part of the Work, we shall have more than once Occasion to mention most of the Circumstances that our Author hath here to mention; the Reports of later Travellers with his. The Reason of this Note is, to take Notice of a Particular which our Author mentions, and which however the Reader may be glad to know. It is this, The Nile is of so great Consequence to the Egyptians, that they always had a very diligent regard to it, in such that they fancied the Rise and Fall of this River not only portended the Prosperity or Decline of the succeeding Year, but likewise great Revolutions of State. It is certain that it did not overflow in the tenth Year of the Reign of *Salomon*, which might seem to predict the Compass of that Country by the *Roman*, that soon after followed; but then the same Accident happened in the Time of *Isaac*, when nothing remarkable followed it. Besides, we read of no scarcity in *Isaac* before the coming of it by the Debarment of the Khaliff of the Family of *Abu*, which was brought about by *Sindbad*; so that this ought to be considered as a remarkable Circumstance, as well of those Nations as of the

old Minister, a Disciple of the wise Men, is there maintained, who from his Office is styled *Sabeb Albounetzar*, or *The Father of the Watch*. The Ruins of Old Misraim take up a Space of about three Miles.

13. The Land of *Goshen* is no more than eight Leagues from hence, and therein stands *Bosfir Salbis*, a great City, in which there are three thousand *Jews*. From hence you travel half a Day's Journey to *Iksal Lein Al Sames*, which was anciently called *Rameses*, where now are only the Ruins of a City, in which many Works are seen built by our Fathers, and among these certain huge Edifices like Towers made of Brick. From thence you make one whole Day's Journey to *Al-Bayg*, where are two hundred *Jews*; and from hence in half a Day's Journey you come to *Manzifiba*, where are two hundred *Jews*, from which City *Ramira* is four Leagues distant, and in it there are seven hundred *Jews*, from whence it is five Days Journey to *Lambala*, where are 7 hundred *Israelites*.

Two Days Journey more bring you to *Alexandria*, a City called after the Name of *Alexander the Macedonian*, at whose Command we read it was built and strongly fortified, and adorned with Walls admirably finished, Houses uniformly built, and stately Palaces: Without the City a great and beautiful Building is yet to be seen, which is reported to have been the College of *Aristotle*, the Master of *Alexander*, wherein there are almost twenty Schools, which were frequented in former Times by the learned Men of the whole World, who assembled there to learn the Philosophy of *Aristotle*; and his Academy of stately Pottices of Marble Pillars*. The City itself is excellently built, as well from the Pavement of the Ground, as with Vaults and Arches under Ground, through the hidden Passages whereof Men may come into the Market-places and not be seen; of which some are a whole Mile in Length, as from the Gate *Kesid* unto the Gate leading to the Sea, from which Gate a Way was made and paved unto the very Haven of the City of *Alexandria*, which is extended one Mile within the Sea.

In this Place a very high Tower was built, which the Inhabitants call *Hemegarah*, but the *Arabians* *Mogar Alexandria*, that is, the *Pharos of Alexandria*; on the Top of which Tower it is reported that *Alexander* set a curious Mirror, in which all warlike Ships sailing either out of *Greece* or from the West unto *Egypt*, might be seen above the Space of five hundred Leagues off. This continued for a long Time after the Death of *Alexander*. It fell out however that a Ship coming thither under the command of a certain *Greek* Captain, who had a great Knowledge in the Sciences, came and cast Anchor in that Port; and having made Presents to the King of Gold, Silver, and very rich Silks, he thereby obtained his Favour. While he lay in the Port, he took abundance of Pains to ingratiate himself with the Officer, who had the Charge of this Watch-tower and Mirror; and having frequently entertained him on board his Ship, contracted with him at last such an Intimacy, that he was permitted to go into and stay in the Tower as long as he thought fit. One Day having treated the Captain and his Men very magnificently, he doted them at last to plentifully with strong Wine, that they all fell fast asleep. Having thus carried his Point, the Captain and his Crew first broke the Mirror to Pieces, and then weighed Anchor and sailed away in the Night.

Since that time the *Edomites*, i. e. the Christians, have infested the Coasts of *Egypt* with their Ships of War and Privateers, and have deprived the Sovereigns of this Country of the two great Islands of *Crete* and *Cyprus*, which remain at this Day under the Power of the *Greeks*,

from whom the present Possessors of *Egypt* have not been able to recover them. This Watch tower is still used as a Beacon for the Service of such Ships as are bound to *Alexandria*; for they are able to discern it at the Distance of one hundred Miles by Day or Night, in consequence of a vast Fire which is kept continually burning there for that Purpose.

This Country enjoys a large Share of Trade, and is frequented by almost all Nations for the sake of Commerce. The Port of *Alexandria* twarms with Vessels from all Parts of *Idumea*, i. e. *Christendom*; viz. from *Poland*, *Tuscany*, *Lombardy*, *Apulia*, *Malta*, and *Sicily*; others come from the most Northern and some Inland Parts of *Europe*, as from *Cracoe*, *Cordova*, *Spain*, *Russia*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Normandy*, *France*, *Petion*, *Angers*, *Gascony*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*. There come also from the Western Empire of the *Ismaelites*, viz. from *Andalusia*, *Agare*, *Africa*, and even *Arabia*, besides what come by the *Indian Ocean* from *Havilah* and *Abyssinia*, and the rest of *Libyæ*, omitting the *Greeks* and *Turks*. Further are brought the richest Merchandizes of the *Indes*, and all sorts of Perfumes and Spices, which are bought by Christian Merchants.

The City is extremely populous on account of its extensive Trade; and for the greater Convenience in negotiating on their Dealings, every Nation has its Factory built. There is near the Sea-side a Marble Tomb, in which are engraven the Figures of all sorts of Beasts and of Beasts, with an Inscription in Characters to which none now are able to read them; whence it is believed with some Colour of Truth, that it belongs to an old King who governed that Country before the Deluge. The Length of this Sepulchre is fifteen, and the breadth six Spans. To conclude, there are in *Alexandria* about three thousand *Jews*.

14. It is not necessary to give at large the Rumour of our *Jew's* Travels, and therefore I shall repeat the Reader in few Words, that having made a Journey to *Damietta* in *Egypt* to Mount *Sinat*, he returned back to the first-mentioned Place, and thence sailed to Sicily, the Island of *Sicily*, from whence he went to *Palermo*, and crossing the Sea to *Italy*, continued his Journey to *Rome* and *Tuscan*.

He afterwards crossed the *Alps*, and passed through that great Part of *Germany*, from whence he takes Occasion to mention what Multitudes of *Jews* were settled in several great Cities of that extensive Empire. He insinuates on their Wealth, their Civility, and, above all, their Hospitality to their distressed Brethren, and gives a very particular Detail of the Manner in which they receive them. He assures us, that at their Feasts they encourage each other to persist in hoping for the Messiah's Advent, and that when the Times of *Israel* shall be restored, they, and under his Conduct, be led back to their native Land. Until this long-expected Time shall come, he says, he holds it their Duty to persevere in their Obedience to the Law of *Moses*, to lament with *Jerome* the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and *Sion*, to beseech the Almighty to pity them in their Affliction, and to restore them to their appointed Time.

He asserts, that his Countrymen are not only settled in all the Provinces of the Empire, but also through all the Northern Countries to the very Extremity of *Russia*, which he describes as a Country so excellently cold in Winter, that the Inhabitants are not able to stir out of Doors. He tells us next, that the Kingdom of *France*, which, he says, is called by their Rabbins the Land of *Tzorbat*, is likewise

* Our Author had this Notion of the School of *Aristotle* from the *Mohammedans*, so that whether it be wrong or right, he is not answerable for it. But with regard to the fact, it is certain, that it was not *Alexander* but *Ptolemy* that erected this famous School, in which however it is certain that the Philosophy of *Aristotle* was taught, and in which the most famous of his Commentators flourished.

† It must be confessed that this Legend is absolutely false, since, as the Reader has been before informed, the *Pharos of Alexandria* was built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and not by *Alexander the Great*. As to this Mirror, it is mentioned by some other Writers as well as our *Perseus*, but is certainly a Fable, and a Fable ridiculous in itself.

‡ It is very clear from hence, as well as from a Multitude of other Circumstances, that our Author chiefly intended in this Work to recover his own Nation, to preserve an Account of the different Places in which they were settled, and to do all in his Power to keep up their Spirit and their Captivity, by putting them in Mind of the Coming of the *Messiah*. I must confess, I consider this in a different Light from what our Critics, for I do not conceive that a Man loving his Countrymen ought to prejudice him in the Opinion of his Readers, and who is undoubtedly to beget some Doubts as to the Fidelity of his Relations with regard to the *Jews*, yet I do not see how this can with Justice be objected to the other Parts of his Book.

full of the Disciples of *Doctors*, who study extremely kind and He concludes with his Promise to the assemble them from he has dispersed them.

In the several Parts whole 394887 *Jews* Caravans, 1000 *Sans* there will remain 3 *Israelites*, whom he *Cochin*, they will met with in his T considered, will not we have brought to *de Tulela*, which give them in the

15. We have in the 6 page an Account the Reason of our said here. That many Mistakes in can we help confess a Man, and a ruler bestowed upon a Person (whose performance of his is moment these Pramonor the Lights is from him, as from the true state of the pils of this Period) Inhabitants, and the whole half.

His Travels from the Communication been impossible to through the whole did. Some Objections the *Jews* settled in the Relation appears the King (son of *Abraham*) Traveller settled in the Empire member that the them out of all thons to think this true, that *R. M* magnifying the of *Jews* more considerable regard the unjust Grounds, not say it, that he relates of *China*, Country, which is merce carried on but I dark Account.

We are indebted which for any where, I mean the old *Perfians* or *V East Indies*, of w Place. The Account *Jewish* Colonies ancient and modern the best Reason as to the Passage is evident from large Commerce *Egypt*, in Slaves

full of the Disciples of the wise Men, that is, of the *Jewish* Doctors, who study the Law Day and Night, and are extremely kind and charitable to their distressed Brethren. He concludes with an earnest Prayer to God, to remember his Promise to the Children of *Israel*, and to return and assemble them from all Nations, through which in his Wrath he has dispersed them.

In the several Places he mentions, he reckons up in the whole 394087 *Jews*, from which if we subtract 740 *Caraites*, 1000 *Samaritans*, and 2000 other Schismatics, there will remain 390947, to which, if we add 350000 free *Israelites*, whom he found in the Kingdoms of *Thema* and *Cisbar*, they will swell the Account of the *Rabbanites* he met with in his Travels to 740947, which, when duly considered, will not, perhaps, appear very improbable. Thus we have brought to a Conclusion the Travels of *Benjamin de Tudela*, which had never appeared so fully as we have given them in the *English* Language.

15 We have in the Introduction to this Section given a large Account of our Author, of his Performance, and the Reason of our inserting it, that we have not much to add here. That there may be, and indeed that there are, many Mistakes in these Travels, is not to be denied, neither can we help confessing, that the Author was a very credulous Man, and far enough from deserving the high Character bestowed upon him by the *Jews*, who represent him as a Person skilled in all Sciences, and refer us to this Performance of his as a Proof of it. But granting that he did not merit these Praises, yet there is something surely due to him for the Lights he has communicated to the World. It is upon him, as from an impartial Person, that we learn the true State of Affairs at *Constantinople* within the Compas of this Period, the immense Wealth and Luxury of its Inhabitants, and their extensive Commerce throughout the whole East.

His Travels from that City to *Bassora* shew plainly, that the Communication was open, since otherwise it would have been impossible for a private Traveller to have proceeded through the whole Kingdom of *Persia* in the Manner he did. Some Objections have been made to his Account of the *Jews* settled in the Mountains of *Nisbor*, which from his Relation appear to have been upon the Borders of the Kingdom of *Tibet*; yet if we reflect upon what our *Arabian* Travellers have told us of the Number of *Jews* settled in the Empire of *China* before this Time, and remember that the Emperor *Heracius* had long before driven them out of all the *Greek* Empire, we shall see many Reasons to think this Account of his probable enough. It is true, that *R. Moses* and our Author may be suspected of magnifying these Settlements, and of making this Colony of *Jews* more considerable than it really was; but as we should regard the Whole as a Fiction, I must confess I see no solid Grounds. It is very likely, though *Benjamin* does not say it, that he received from the same Person what he relates of *China*, and of the icy Sea to the North of that Country, which shews there had been a considerable Commerce carried on that Way, though *Benjamin* could give but a dark Account of it.

We are indebted to him likewise for a Piece of History, which for any thing I know is not to be met with elsewhere, I mean the Settlement of the *Persees*, who were the old *Perthians* or Worshipers of Fire, in several Islands of the *East Indies*, of which we shall make some Use in another Place. The Account he has given us of *Ethiopia*, and of the *Jewish* Colonies in that Country, is so consistent with the ancient and modern History of that Empire, that there is not the least Reason to doubt the Truth of it, or of what he says as to the Passage of the Caravans through the Deserts. It is evident from thence, that there was by this Means a large Commerce carried on between this Country and *Egypt*, in Slaves, Gold, Ivory, and perhaps also in some

Indian Commodities; and it is likewise clear, that there was a great Trade between that Country and the opposite Coast of *Arabia*. If our Author had travelled as a Merchant, he might very possibly have given us many more curious Particulars on this Subject; but as he did not, we must be content with those he has delivered occasionally, and as they struck him in his Passage.

There are great Exceptions taken at his short Account of the Government of *Egypt*, when he was in it; and some of his Translators have inclined to give him up in this Particular, though without any great Reason. It is plain enough from the rest of his Work, that he did not set up for a great Politician, or pretend to describe the Constitutions of the States through which he passed, but only to mention in general what he understood of such Matters. It is also certain, that without changing his Words, we may give a clear and satisfactory Account of this Matter, which amounts to no more than this: That the then Masters of *Egypt*, though they were *Mohammedans*, were yet treated as Heretics, or Rebels, on account of their disowning the Khaliff at *Bagdat*, and that on this Account there was an inveterate Hatred between the Subjects of the Khaliff of *Babylon*, and the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, as to which there can be no doubt at all.

The single Difficulty in this Case is our Author's calling the Commander of the Faithful in *Egypt* *Ali* the Son of *Abitalab*; from whence it is inferred, that he makes him the Monarch then reigning, which would have been a most notorious Absurdity. But the Truth of the Matter is, our Author says no such thing: He only mentions *Ali* the Son of *Abitalab* as having been once Commander of the Faithful in *Egypt*; and the Reason of his mentioning it is very plain, *viz.* in order to account for the Difference between the *Mohammedans* in *Asia* and *Egypt*, and the latter being styled Rebels by the former on account of their taking the Part of this *Ali*.

But the greatest Difficulties that occur in our Author's Work, some of which, it must be owned, are not to be got over, arise from his using scriptural Names for the Countries and Places through which he passed; and these, according to the Notions of the Rabbins, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with which, it is impossible for any Traveller to be perfectly sure as to his Meaning. But if we should be somewhat mistaken in the Names of the several Countries from which Ships came to *Alexandria*, yet we must be right in the main; and the Reader may rest satisfied from thence, that at the Time of our Author's being there, the Port of *Alexandria* was the Centre of Commerce between *Christendom* and the *Indies*. All the Fables that he relates about the magical Mirror there cannot prejudice this Truth; for though our Author might be, as to be sure he was, a very indifferent Historian, a bad Mathematician, and a credulous Writer, yet he could not be mistaken about Things he saw, or be induced to set down the Names of Nations never heard of at *Alexandria*. Besides, he is remarkably accurate in this Account; and the List he has given us is more methodical than any other Passage in his Book, which seems to have been owing to his making an Enquiry at *Alexandria*, as to the several Foreign Lodges or Factories established there.

On the Whole, as these Travels plainly demonstrate that it was both possible and practicable for a Person to travel in the mid of the twelfth Century from *Spain* through *Italy* and *Greece* into the remote Parts of *Asia*, and to return from thence through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* into *Europe*, it was requisite, that in a Collection of this kind, such a Performance should not be omitted; and if not omitted, it ought surely to appear in the best Dress we could possibly give it, which must be an Apology to the Reader for our having taken so much Pains therewith, and having dwelt upon it so long.

they retained the old Simplicity of living much longer than any other People, and were therefore celebrated by *Homer* and *Hippocrates*, as the justest and most innocent of Mankind. but, in Process of Time, even these vast Countreies became over-peopled; and then being pressed by each other, these barbarous Nations, as they were stiled by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, broke out like an Inundation, and kept all before them.

At present our Concern is with those who broke out first; I mean the *Tartars*, who are generally said to have derived their Name from a River so called; but that is a Mistake. The original Name of this numerous Nation was *Turks*, which they derived from *Turk*, the eldest Son of *Japhet*. But *Alanza Khan*, one of their ancient Princes, leaving his Dominions to his Sons, which were *Tatars*, the one called *Tatars*, and the other *Mogul*, this gave rise to the Distinction of those two Nations, which hath ever since prevailed.

The great Conqueror *Jengbiz Khan*, who in our old Writers is generally called *Zengis*, united both under his Dominion. He was born *A. D.* 1162, and was raised to the Command of his own small Tribe at the Age of thirteen. He by degrees first established his Power in his own Country, then attacked and conquered the northern Parts of *China*, but was never heard of in *Europe* till about the Year 1218, when he entered the *Caucasus*; he extended his Conquests afterwards over a great Part of *Asia*, and died in the Year 1227, at the Age of sixty five, and after having held the Dignity of Khan twenty-five Years. His eldest Son *Zuzi* died six Months after him, and was succeeded by his eldest Son *Batu* or *Batu*, as our Author calls him, who had a great Part of *Tartary* for his Share. *Zagatai*, Son to *Jengbiz Khan*, had that Country which the Ancients call *Transoxiana*, which has been since called *Turkestan*, or the Country of the *Uzbeks*; but by the *Tartars* to this Day *Zagatai*. *Tai*, another Son of this Conqueror, had for his Share *Georgia*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*; and *Ozai* all the rest, which Title of *Khan*. This Prince began his Reign in 1218, and died in 1241. So much as to the State of *Tartary*.

The Christian Princes had been very often put upon the Recovery of the *Holy Land* by the Popes; and *Louis IX* King of *France*, called from thence *St. Louis*, took the Cross, and engaged himself by a Vow to endeavour the Recovery of the City and Kingdom of *Jerusalem* from the *Infidels*. It was with this View that he embarked at *Marseilles*, August 23d. 1248, accompanied by his Queen and two Brothers. He sailed from thence to the Island of *Cyprus*, where he spent the Winter in preparing for the War. There he received Ambassadors from the Khan of the *Tartars*, with an Account that he had embraced Christianity, and was disposed to attack the *Infidels* on one Side, while his Majesty carried on the War on the other. This was an Affair of very great Importance to the King of *France*, who treated the Ambassadors with great Respect, and promised to send an Ambassador to conclude an Alliance with the Emperor their Master.

He was hindered however in the Prosecution of this Design by the unlucky Accidents of the War; for having invaded *Egypt* at first with great Success, he was afterwards, in the Year 1250, taken Prisoner in the Battle of *Majra*, and remained for a long Time in the Hands of the *Infidels*, who treated him very ill, but at last let him at Liberty, upon his surrendering the City of *Damietta*, and paying them a Ransom of 400,000 Livres. This cruel Reverse of Fortune did not hinder the King from pursuing his Design: He passed immediately over into *Syria*, where he put the Affairs of the Christians into as good a Condition, as it was possible, and would very probably have accomplished all that he proposed, if the Death of his Mother, whom he had left Regent of *France*, had not obliged him to return home, which he did in the Year 1254, and reigned very gloriously for many Years, and then undertook a second Expedition in the same Cause, of which we shall hereafter give some Account.

At present our Business is to observe, that while this March was in *Syria*, and these concerted Measures for recovering the Power of the *Mohammadians*, he made Choice

of our Author *Friar William Rubruquis* for his Ambassador to the Khan of the *Tartars*, and that for these three Reasons; first, because he had engaged himself, while in *Cyprus*, to send such an Embassy. Secondly, because the Assistance of so powerful a Prince was a Matter of great Consequence to all *Christendom*. And, thirdly, that he might obtain a distinct and authentick Account of the Policy, Strength, and Interest of a Nation which, in the Space of fifty Years, had obtained an Empire of such an Extent as hitherto the World had never seen.

The Reasons which induced him to make Choice of our Author were many; but we shall content ourselves with mentioning only a few. His Condition, as a religious Man, made him a fit Minister to a Prince lately converted to the Christian Faith: It dispensed likewise with his having any Train of Attendance, with which such an Embassy could not be incumbered; and it put it more into his Power to enquire into all Things that his Master desired to know, than if he had gone with all that Pomp which is usually annexed to a publick Character. But, above all, he depended on the Abilities of the Man, who was looked upon as a Person of admirable Parts, and great Diligence, and whose unaffected Piety and Probity were not to be disputed. After his Return from this Embassy, he compiled this Account, which we now present to the Reader, and sent it to the King. It has been always esteemed the fullest and clearest, as well as the most faithful and exact Description of the *Tartars* that ever was published, and therefore we have given it entire, and in the Author's own Words, together with his Dedication, which follows.

4. To the most excellent and most Christian Lord Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France; Brother William de Rubruquis, of the Order of Friars Minors, wishes Health, and that he may ever triumph in Jesus CHRIST.

"It is written in the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, that the wise Man shall pass through Countries inhabited by foreign Nations, and that he shall have his Share in all Things good and evil. I have done all this, Sire, and God grant that I have done it as a wise Man, and not as a Fool; for many there are which do those Things which wise Men do, but not wisely, and much I fear that I am of that Number. However that Matter may be, you were pleased to command me, at the Time of my Departure, that I should write to you all I saw, and whatever I could discover among the *Tartars*. You were likewise pleased to add, that I should not be afraid of writing long Letters. I am now about to perform what your Majesty then gave me in Charge; yet not without great Fear and Apprehension that the Simplicities of my Thoughts, and the Homeliness of my Style, may seem unworthy of being addressed unto your Sovereign Majesty."

5. May it please you then, Sire, to understand, that departing from *Constantinople*, on the seventh of *May*, *A. D.* 1253, we entered into the Sea of *Pontus*, now the *Black-Sea*, which the *Bulgarians* call the *Great-Sea*, and which, as I was informed by Merchants who have long traded there, extends in Length from East to West one thousand Miles, and is, as it were, divided into two Parts. About the Middle there are two Provinces, the one on the South, which is called *Sinople*, from a Fortrefs and Port of the same Name, which belongs to the Sultan of the *Turks*: The other towards the North, which the western Christians call *Gazaria*, now *Crimea*, or *Crim-Tartary*; but the *Greeks* who dwell therein *Cassaria*, which I take to be the same as *Cæsaria*. In this Province there are two Promontories, or Capes, which run into the Sea towards the South, and the Country of *Sinople*; the Distance may be about three hundred Miles between *Sinople* and *Cassaria*; so that these Points may be about seven hundred Miles from *Constantinople*, as well towards the South as towards the East, in which Quarter lies *Iberia*, which is a Province of the Country of *Georgia* or *Georgiana*.

We came then into the Country of *Gazaria*, which is in the Shape of a Triangle, having on the most Western Point a City called *Kerjova*, where St. *Clement* Bishop of *Asyria* suffered Martyrdom; and passing in View of this City, we had sight of an Island in which there is a Church said to have been built by Angels. In the Middle, which is also the most Southern Part, stands the City of *Sollata*, which is directly over-against *Sinople*, to which all the Merchants coming from *Turky* resort in their Passage to Northern Countries, as do likewise such as come from *Russia* with Intent to go to *Syrky*.

These last being Famine and other rich Furs; the former deal in Cotton, Cloth, Silks of all sorts, and Spices. Towards the East Part of this Country stands a City called *Mairiga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanus*, or the great River *Don*, where it falls into the Sea of *Pontus*, being there about two we Miles over. This River, before it falls into the Sea, makes of itself a kind of Sea, which is near seven hundred Miles in Extent, but so shallow, that no Ships of Burthen can sail therein. The Merchants of *Constantinople* however, when they arrive at the City of *Mairiga*, send their Barks up the River *Tanus* to purchase dried Fish, such as Sturgeons, Theoles, Barbels, and many other sorts of Fish. The Province of *Gazaria* before-mentioned has the Sea on three Sides, viz. On the West, where lies the City of *Kerjova*; on the South, where lies the City of *Sollata*, or *Cassa*, where we landed; and on the East, where is the City of *Mairiga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanus*.

Beyond this Country lies *Zakia*, that is the Country about *Azoph*, which is not subject to the *Tartars*; to the East of which lie the Countries of the *Suetians* and *Derians*, which likewise do not pay Obedience to the *Tartars*. Towards the South again stands the City of *Trebizond*, which belongs to its own Prince, whose Name is *Guido*, and he is descended of the Race of the Emperors of *Constantinople*, but is for all that subject to the *Tartars*. The City of *Smyrne* lies next belonging to the Sultan of *Turky*, who is at present their Vassal likewise.

Beyond his Dominion lies the Country of *Vassacijs*, the Son of whose King is called *Azur*, after his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and he is not under their Subjection. All the Country from the Mouth of the *Tanus* Westward as far as the *Danube*, is at present under their Dominion, and even beyond the *Danube* towards *Constantinople*, as *Walachia*, which is also called the Country of *Agha*, and the *Legy* *Bugaria*, as far as *Sylvania*, pay Tribute to them: And besides this Tribute, they have of late Years imposed a new Burthen on the *Walachians*; that is by exact from every Family an Axe and a certain Quantity of Corn.

This Introduction of our Author's is in itself very clear, and by adding the modern Names of Places, it is hoped it will be perfectly intelligible to every Reader.

The Author intended to explain the Situation and Commerce of these Countries at the Time he wrote, which was the more necessary, because great Alterations had been made in the Situation of the *Tartars*. It remains therefore to the Situation of Commerce at this Time, as well as the present comprehending his Route to the Camps of the *Tartar* Princes, this explanatory Discourse was very expedient; and as this Writer begins very industriously, to his whole Work is conducted with such Order and Expedition, as is not usual in the Writings of that Time. The Situation is all reducible to his Matter, plain and expressive, without any Flowing, or the least Display of the greatest Wonder which he relates: On the contrary, he every where endeavours to avoid heightening Things beyond Credit, and delivers himself with facility and Simplicity, as gives an immense Value to his Work, that no Fault of Time can ever take away. This in the Particularity was in some measure owing to his Attention to the Instructions given him by his Master, who was a Prince of great Ability, had himself travelled into the East, and was consequently a better Judge of the Particulars than most of our Authors, either of that or any other Age. It was for the same Reason, probably, that our Author thought proper, as the Reader will see, to insert his Account of the *Tartars*, their Habitations, Cul-

toms, Manners, Laws, Government, and whatever else was necessary to give a just Idea of these People, before he proceeds to his Negotiations with them; which is a clear Proof that this Treatise was not composed in a Hurry, or written as Occasion offered while he was actually on his Travels, but after his Return out of *Tartary*, when he had Time to recollect himself, to compare and digest the Notes he had taken during his Stay in that Country, and to bring every Thing into its proper Place. So that we have no Occasion to interrupt his Discourse with Remarks or Corrections, but are able to leave his Work as it lies to the Perusal of the ingenious Reader, who will find therein abundant Proofs of what we have here advanced.

So we arrived, continuing by *Sollata* the twenty fifth of *May*, and several Merchants of *Constantinople* who arrived before us, reported that Ambassadors were coming thither from the Holy Land, who were to travel to *Sartak*. This however I publicly given out on *Friday*, in the Church of St. *Sophia*, That I was not your Ambassador, or the Ambassador of any other Prince, but that I travelled thither only to preach the Gospel to them according to the Rule of our Order; and being arrived, the said Merchants admonished me to be very cautious in what I spoke, because they having reported me to be an Ambassador, it might say the contrary. I could not have free Passage granted unto me. Then I spoke to the Lieutenants of the City, because the Governors themselves were gone to pay Tribute unto *Basak*, and were not as yet returned. "We heard of your Lord *Sartak* in the Holy Land, that he was become a Christian, of which the Christians were exceedingly glad, and especially the most Christian King of *France*, who is there now in Person, to fight against the *Saracens* to redeem the Holy Land out of their Hands. I am determined therefore to go to *Sartak*, and to deliver unto him the Letters of my Lord the King of *France*, wherein he is manifestly concerning the Welfare of all *Christians*."

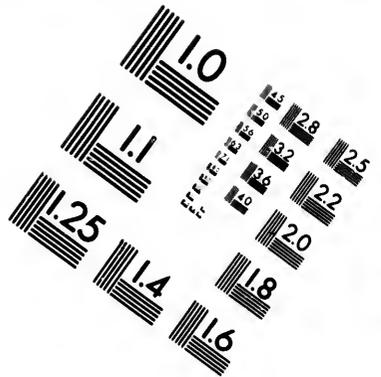
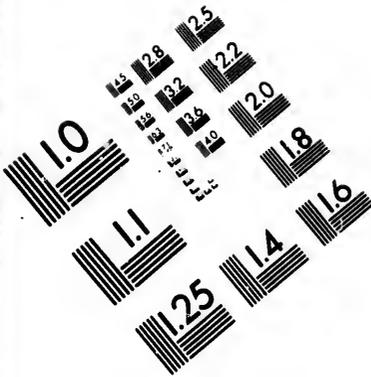
On this they received us with Joy, and gave us Entertainment in the Cathedral Church, the Bishop of which Church had been with *Sartak*, who told me several Things concerning him, which are now to be seen. They then gave us our Choice what we would have Oxen and Oxen, or a Number of Horses, or some other Goods, and the Merchants of *Constantinople* advised me not to take Carts of the Carcases of *Saracens*, but to buy some Carts of my own, such as the *Rossians* carry by Sea, and to put all our Baggage therein, because if I should use Horses, I might be compelled to buy them, and to take down my Things and to lift them up; that is, that I should use a more goodly Place in the City. Wherefore yielding unto their civil Council, I departed travelling to *Sartak* two Months, which I had done in one, if I had gone on Horses back. I went with me from *Constantinople* pleasant Fruits, good Wine, and delicate Bread, to please the Governors of *Sollata*, that I might obtain the Pass, because they look favourably upon no Man who goes with an empty Hand.

All these Things I carried in one of my Carts, the Governors being absent when we came, I left them on; for they told me, I could not go thither, saying that they would be much obliged to me, if I took our Journey therefore about the Beginning of *July*, and that they would cover Carts of our own, and with the Oxen which we borrowed of them, when we were at Bedding to rest on in the Night, as if you would have Horses to ride upon, they would give them to your Company, I from *Bartholomew* of *Constantinople*, the Bearer of their Presents, the Interpreter, and my Servant, whom I brought with me, and with me of the *Alms* bestowed upon me, I carried with me besides two Men, which were of the Company, and our Oxen and Horses, and our Carts, and our Bedding, the Sea Shore, from *Constantinople* to *Mairiga*, and thence to *Sartak*, there are forty Caravans, it is said, which are every one of which at all times are full of Caravans, amongst whom there were many *Arabs* who speak the *Dutch* Tongue.

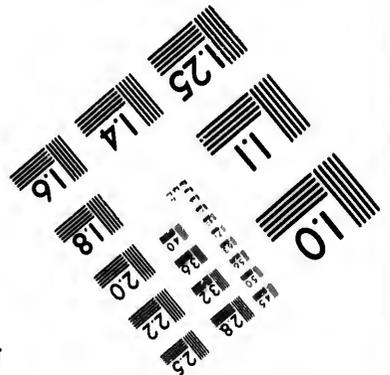
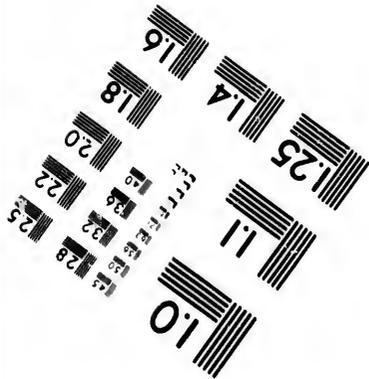
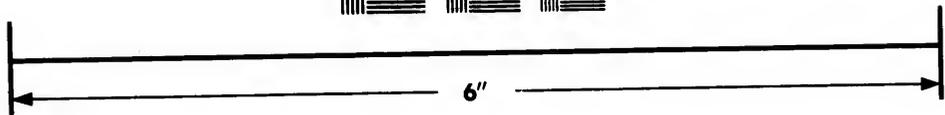
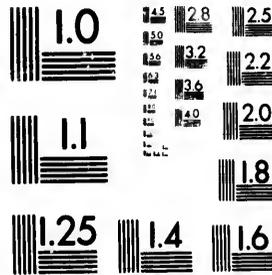
Week I.

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Wine; they have also Wine brought to them from other Countries. In the Summer Time they care not for any Drink but *Cosmos*. This Liquor stands always at the Entrance of the Door, and next to it a Fidler. I saw there no such Violins as ours; but many other musical Instruments which are not used with us. When the Master of the House begins to drink, one of his Servants crieth out with a loud Voice, Ha! and the Musician plays upon his Fiddle.

When they make a solemn Feast, they all of them clap their Hands and dance to the Noise of Musick, the Men before their Master, and the Women before their Mistress; and when the Master has drunk, then his Servants cry, Ha! as before, and the Fidler stops; then they drink all round both Men and Women, and sometimes they carouse, especially for Victory, till they are drunk. When they invite a Man to drink, they pull him by the Ears to the Vessel, and to lag and draw him strongly to stretch out his Throat, clapping their Hands, and dancing before him.

When they would do Honour to any Person at their solemn Feasting and Rejoicing, one of the Company takes a full Cup, and two others stand, one on his right Hand, and the other on his left, and to they three come singing to the Man, who is to have the Cup presented to him, still singing and dancing before him; and when he stretches his Hand to receive the Cup, they leap suddenly back, returning again as they did before; and so having deluded him three or four Times by drawing back the Cup, until he is eager and very desirous to drink, then they give him the Cup, singing and dancing, and stamping with their Feet, until he hath done drinking.

10. In respect to their Food, give me leave to inform your Highness, that without Difference or Distinction they eat all their Beasts that die of Age or Sickness; and amongst so many Drovers, there must some Cattle die in Summer. However, so long as their *Cosmos*, that is, their Mares Milk lasts, they care not much for any Food; and if they chance to have an Ox or an Horse die, they dry the Flesh, cutting it into thin Slices, and hanging it up against the Sun and the Wind, it is presently dried without Salt, and without ill Savour or Corruption. They make better Puddings of their Horses than their Hogs, which they eat as soon as made, the rest of their Flesh they reserve till Winter. They make of their Ox Skins great Bags, which they dry in the Smoak; of the hinder Part of their Horse Hides they make very fine Sandals. They give fifty or an hundred Men the Flesh of one Ram to eat; for they mince it in a Bowl with Salt and Water, having no other Sauce, and then with the Point of a Knife, or little Fork, which resembles such as we use to take roasted Pears or Apples out of Wine, they reach unto every one of the Company a Mortel or two, according to the Number of Guests. The Master of the House, before the Ram's Flesh is distributed, first takes of it what he pleases; if he giveth unto any of the Company a particular Service, the Receiver thereof must eat it alone, and not impart unto any other; or if he is not able to eat it up all, he carries it with him, and delivers it to his Boy, if he be present, to keep it; if not, he puts it up into his Saptarget, that is to say, his Satchel, or Kraplack, which they carry about with them for such Purposes, and wherein they lay up their Bones, when they have not Time to pick them thoroughly, that they may scrape them at Leisure, and so nothing be lost.

11. Their common Drink *Cosmos*, which is Mares Milk, is prepared after this Manner; they fallen a long Lane to two Potts, standing in the Ground, and to the same Lane they tie the young Foals of those Mares which they intend to milk; then come the Mares to stand by the Foals, suffering themselves to be milked; and if any of them be rude, then one takes her Foal and puts it under her, letting it suck a little while, and presently carrying it away again, there comes another Man to milk the Mare. When they have got a good Quantity of this Milk together, while it is new, they pour it into a great Bag, and they beat the Bag with a piece of Wood made for that Purpose, having a Knot at the lower End like a Man's Head, which is hollow within; and so soon as they beat it, it begins to boil like new Wine, and to be sour, and of a sharp Taste; and they beat it in that manner till Butter comes; then they

caste it, and being indifferently sharp, they drink it, for it bites ones Tongue like the Raspberry Wine. After a Man hath taken a Draught, it leaves a Taste behind it like that of Almond Milk, going down very pleasantly, and intoxicating weak Brains, for it is very heady and powerful.

As for their *Caracosmos*, that is to say, Black *Cosmos*, which is for great Lords to drink, they make it thus; first, they beat the Milk so long that the thickest Part thereof descends down to the Bottom like the Lees of White Wine, and that which is thin and pure remains above like Whey, or White Must; the Lees and Dregs, being very white, are given to Servants, and will make them sleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear their Masters drink; and indeed it is a wonderful sweet and wholesome Liquor. *Bazra* hath thirty Farms within a Day's Journey of his abiding Place, every one of which serves him daily with *Caracosmos* of an hundred Mares Milk, and so all of them together every Day with the Milk of three thousand Mares, besides white Milk, which the rest of his Subjects bring: For, as the Husbandmen of *Syria* pay the third Part of their Fruits, and carry it unto the Courts of their Lords, so do they their Mares Milk every third Day.

Out of their Cow's Milk they first churn Butter; boiling which Butter unto a perfect Decoction, they put it into Rams Skins, which they reserve for that Purpose; neither do they salt their Butter; and yet by this boiling it never putrefies, and they keep it for Winter; the Churn Milk, which remains of the Butter, they let alone till it be as sour as possible; then they boil it, and in boiling it is turned all into Curds, which Curds they dry in the Sun, making them as hard as the Drofs of Iron; and this kind of Food also they preserve in Satchels against Winter. In that Season when Milk fails them, they put the Curds before-mentioned, which they call *Gra-ut*, into a Bawler, and pouring hot Water upon them, they beat it with a mallet, have dissolved them, and it is thereby made exceedingly good; and this they drink instead of Milk; for it seems a Race with them never to drink fair Water by itself.

12. The great Lords of this Nation have all of them Farms in the South Part of their Country, from whence their Tenants bring them Miller and Meal against Winter. The poorer Sort provide themselves with such Necessaries, by the Exchange of Rams, and other Beasts Sizes. As for their Slaves, they are forced to be content with Water, and that thick and bad enough. The only sort of Animals from which I have known them abstain, are Mice and Rats. There is, however, a little Animal which they call *Sogur*, which in the Winter Time are and sleep twenty or thirty of them together in Caves for six Months, where the *Tartars* find them out, and esteem them excellent Eating; and indeed they are very tender and fat. They have likewise great Plenty of a sort of Rabbits with long Tails, the outside Hair of which is black and white; other small Creatures they have, on which they freely feed. I saw no Deer there, and but a few Hares; but a great Number of Roes.

I saw wild Affes in great Abundance, which are like Mules; I saw also another kind of Beast called *Artak*, resembling in its Body a Ram, with crooked Horns, and are of such Bigness, that I could scarce lift up a Part of them with one Hand; and of these Horns they make drinking Cups. They have Falcons, and other Hawks in great Numbers, which they carry upon their right Hands, and they put always about their Falcons Necks a String of Leather, which hangs down to the mouth of their Gorges; by which String, when they call them off the Hill at the Game with the left Hand, they bow the Head and Breasts of the Hawks to prevent their being tossed up and down in the Wind, or their soaring too high. Being expert in this Art, they gain a great Part of their Provision by Hunting and Hawking. In regard to their Attire, it may please your Majesty to know, that out of *Catava*, and other Regions of the East, out of *Perfia* also, and other Countries to the South, are brought to them Manufactures of silks, Cloth of Gold, and Cotton Cloth, which they wear in the middle of Summer; but out of *Russia*, *Mosell*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungaria*, and out of *Kessis*, all which are Northern Regions, and full of Woods, and also out of many other Countreies of the North, which are subject unto them, the Inhabitants bring

then many rich and costly Skins of divers sorts, such as I never saw, where with they are clothed in Winter, and against which Season they make themselves two Gowns, one with the Fur inward to their Skin, and another with the Fur outward, to defend them from Wind and Snow, which for the most part are made of Wolves Skins, or Foxes Skins.

When they sit in the House they have a finer Gown to wear: The poorer sort make their Gowns of Dogs or of Cats Skins. When they go to hunt wild Beasts they meet in a great Company, and surrounding the Place where they are sure to find Game, by little and little they approach on all Sides, till they have got all the wild Beasts into the midst in a Circle, and then they discharge their Arrows at them. They make themselves Breeches of Skins. The rich *Tartars* sometimes fur their Gowns with Silk Shag, which is exceeding soft, light, and warm: The poorer sort line their Cloaths with Cotton, or Cloth, which is made of the finest Wool they can pick out; and of the coarser Part of the Wool they make Felt to cover their Houses, and their Cloaks, and for their Bedding, also of the same Wool, being mixed with one-third Part of Horse-Hair, they make all their Cordage. They make of this Felt likewise Covering for their Stools, and Caps to defend their Heads from the Weather; for all which they spend a great Quantity of their Wool.

13. The Men shave a four-square Spot upon the Crowns of their Heads, and from the two Corners, they shave, as it were, two Seams down to their Temples. They shave also their Temples, and the hinder Part of their Head, to the Nape of the Neck. They likewise shave the Forepart down to their Fore heads, and upon their Foreheads they have a Lock of Hair, reaching down to their Eyebrows; on the two hinder Corners of their Heads they have two Locks also, which they twine and braid into Knots, and so bind and knit them one under each Ear. The Garments of their Women differ not from the Mens, except they be somewhat longer. But the Day after a Woman is married she shaves from the midst of her Head down to her Forehead, and wears a wide Garment like the Veil of a Nun, but larger and longer in all Parts than a Nun's Veil, being open before, and they girt them under their Side. The *Tartars* differ from the *Turks*, because the *Turks* fasten their Garments to their Bodies on the left Side, but the *Tartars* always on the right Side.

They have always an Ornament for their Heads, which they call *Betta*, which is made of the Bark of a Tree, or of some such Substance as they can find, which by the Thickness and Remanence thereof, cannot be held but in both Hands together; and it hath a square sharp Spire rising from the Top thereof, being almost two Feet in Length, and shaped like a Pinacle. This *Betta* they cover their with a Piece of rich Silk, and it is hollow within; and upon the midst of this same Spire they place a Bunch of Quills, or of other Canes, a Foot and a half long, or more, and the Bunch on the Top thereof they beautify with Peacocks Feathers; and round about the Spire they place a Mass of Gold and Silver, and adorn it with Precious Stones. All the great Ladies wear this kind of Ornament upon their Heads, binding it thongly to a kind of Hat, or Coif, which hath a Piece in the Crown, fit for the Spire to come through; and under this Ornament they comb the Hair of their Heads, which they gather up round together, from the hinder Part thereof to the Crown, and so lap them up in a Knot or Bundle within the *Betta*, which afterwards they bind strongly under their Throats.

As on this Account, that when a great Company of Ladies ride together, and are seen at a Distance, they look like Soldiers with Helmets on their Heads, carrying a Banner upright, for the *Betta* appears like an Helmet with a Lance over it. All their Women sit on Horse back like Men, and they bind their Veils or Gowns about their Waists with a sly-coloured or Silk Scarf, and with another Scarf they gird it about their Breasts; and they also have a Piece of white Silk like a Muller, or Mark, under their Eyes, reaching down to their Breasts. These Ladies are generally speaking, exceeding fat, and the less their Noses, the handsomer they are esteemed. They daub over their Face with Grease too most frightfully, and they

never keep their Beds on account of their bringing forth Children.

14. As to the Employments of their Women, they drive Carts, lay their Houses upon Carts, and take them down again, milk Cattle, make Butter and Griat, dress Skins, and sew them, which they usually do with Thread made of Sinews; for they divide Sinews into slender Threads, and then twine them into one large one. They make Sandals and Socks, and other kind of Apparel; but they never wash any Cloaths, for they say that God is then angry, and that dreadful Thunder will ensue, if washed Garments be hung out to dry. Nay, they beat such as wash, and take their Garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of Thunder; for in the Time of Thunder they force all Strangers out of their Houses, and then wrapping themselves in black Felt, lie hid therein till the Thunder be over. They never wash their Dishes, or Bowls; yet when the Flesh is boiled they wash their Platter, wherein it must be put, with scalding hot Broth out of the Pot, and then pour the Broth into the Pot again. They make Felt also, and cover the Houses therewith.

The Men are employed to make Bows and Arrows, Stirrups, Bridles and Saddles, to build Houses and Carts, to keep Horses, to milk Mares, to churn Cosinos and Mares Milk, and to make Bags to put it in; they keep Camels also, and lay Burdens upon them. As for Sheep and Goats, they mind and milk them, both Men and Women. With Sheeps Milk thickened and salted they dress and tan their Hides. When they wash their Hands and their Heads they fill their Mouths full of Water, and spouting it into their Hands by little and little, they sprinkle their Hair, and wash their Heads therewith. As to their Marriages, your Highness is to understand, that no Man can have a Wife among them till he hath bought her; therefore sometimes their Maids are very stale before they are married, for their Parents always keep them till they can sell them. They obtain from the first and second Degrees of Consanguinity inviolably as we do; but they have no Regard to the Degrees of Affinity, for they will marry together, or by Succession, two Sisters; their Widows never marry a second time, for this Reason, because they believe that all who have served them in this Life, shall do them Service also in the Life to come. Whereupon they are persuaded, that every Widow after Death shall return to her own Husband; and hence arises an abominable and filthy Custom amongst them, namely, that the Son marrieth sometimes all his Father's Wives, except his own Mother; for the Court, or House of the Father or Mother, falleth by Inheritance always to the youngest Son, whereupon he is to provide for all his Father's Wives, because they are Part of his Inheritance, as well as his Father's Possessions; and then, if he will, he useth them for his own Wives, for he thinks it no Injury or Disparagement to himself, tho' they return unto his Father after Death. Therefore when any Man hath bargained with another for a Maid, the Father of the Maid makes him a Feast; in the mean time she flies away to some of her Kinsfolk to hide herself. Then her Father says to the Bridegroom, my Daughter is yours, take her whereforever you can find her. Then he and his Friends seek her till they find her, and having found her, he takes her by Force, and carries her to his own House.

15. In regard to their Laws, or their Execution of Justice, your Majesty is to be adverted, that when two Men fight, no third Man dare intrude himself to part them: The Father dare not help his own Son; but he that happens to have the worst, must appeal to the Court of his Lord, and whoever else offereth him any Violence after Appeal, is put to death; but he must be taken presently without Delay. They punish no Man with Death, unless he be taken in the Commission of the Fact, or else confess the same: But being accused, they put him to extreme Torture to make him confess the Truth. They punish Murder with Death, and even Fornication with any other besides his own Women. By his own, I mean his Wife or his Maid-Servant; for every Man may use his Slave as he pleases. Heinous Theft also, or Felony, they punish with Death. For a light Theft, as for stealing of a Ram, the Criminal not apprehended in the Fact, but otherwise detected,

Present to be received, and immediately distributed the same amongst his Men, who were met together for that Purpose, to drink and make merry. I delivered also to him the Emperor of *Constantinople's* Letters, eight Days after the Feast of Ascension, and he sent them to *Soldai* to have them interpreted there; for they were written in *Greek*, and he had none about him that was skilled in the *Greek* Tongue.

He asked us if we would drink any *Cosmos*, that is to say Mans Milk, for those that are Christians among them as the *Russians*, *Greeks*, and *Arabs*, who keep their own Law very strictly, will not drink thereof, for they account themselves no Christians after they have once drank of it, and their Priests reconcile them unto the Church as if they had renounced the Christian Faith. I answered, that we had as yet sufficient of our own to drink, and that when it failed us we must be constrained to drink such as should be given us: He enquired also what was contained in the Letters which your Majesty sent to *Sartach*. I answered, that they were sealed up, and that there was nothing contained in them but friendly Words. And he asked what Words we would deliver unto *Sartach*? I answered, the Words of Christian Faith. He asked again what those Words were? For he was very desirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my Interpreter, who was a very sorry one, the Apostles Creed, which after he had heard he shook his Head. Then he assigned us two Men to attend upon us, and our Hubs and our Oxen, and he caused us to ride in his Company, till the Messenger he had sent for the Translation of the Emperor's Letters arrived; so we travelled in his Company till the Day after *Wednesday*.

19. There came to us on *Wednesday*, some of the People called *Arabs*, who are the Christians of the *Greek* Church, using *Greek* Books, and were Priests, but they are not so strict as the *Greeks* are, since without Exception or Penalties they honour all Christians; and they brought us some dried Flesh, requesting us to eat of their Meat, and to give for one of their Company who was dead. I answered, because it was the five of the great Feast, we would not eat any Flesh; and I expounded to them the Summary of the Faith, for they were ignorant of all Things relating to the Christian Religion, except the Name of Christ.

They and many other Christians, both *Russians* and *Arabs*, demanded of us whether they might be forced or no, because they were constrained to drink *Cosmos*, and to eat the dead Carcasses of Things slain by the Idols, which even the *Greeks* and *Russian* Priests also esteemed as Things strangled or offered to Idols, because they were ignorant of the Times of Prolonging, neither could they have observed them if they had known them. I instructed them as well as I could, and I strengthened them in their Faith; as for the Flesh which they had brought, we turned it all the Feast-day, for there is nothing sold among the *Tartars* for Gold and Silver, but for Cloth and Garments, of which we had none. When our Servants offered them any of their Coin, called by them *Yper*, they rubbed it with their Fingers and put it to their Noses, to try by the Smell whether it were Copper or no. They do not allow for our Food any Substance but Cows Milk only, which was very four; One Thing most necessary was greatly wanting to us, for the Water was so scarce, mainly by reason of their Horses, that it was not to be drunk; to that had it not been for some Bitcuit which by the Goodness of God was still left us, we had have starved.

On the Feast of *Pentecost* there came to us a *Moslem*, to whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Christian Faith, who (being informed of God's Goodness in the Incarnation of our Saviour Christ, and the Resurrection of the Dead and the Judgment to come, and the Baptism was a washing away of Sins) said that he would be baptized; but when we prepared to baptize him, he had many mounted on Horseback, saying, that he would come and confute with his Wife: And the next Day he desired us that he durst not receive Baptism, because then he should drink no more *Cosmos*; for the Christians of that Place affirm, that no true Christians ought to drink

it, and that without it he could not live in that Desert; from which Opinion I could not for my Life remove him. It is scarce credible, how many are restrained from becoming Christians from this Opinion, I touched and confuted among them by the *Russians*, of whom there are a great many settled here. The same Day *Zagatai* gave us one Man to conduct us to *Sartach*, and to guide us to the next Stage, which was five Days Journey for Oxen to travel. They gave us also a Goat for Victuals, and a great many Bladders of Cows Milk, and but a little *Cosmos*, because they love it so much themselves; and to taking our Journey directly towards the North, I thought we had passed through one of Hell-Gates.

The Servants who conducted us began to play the bold Thieves, seeing us take little heed to ourselves; at length having lost much by their Thievery, Suffering taught us Wisdom. When we came to the Extremity of that Province, which is fortified with a Ditch from one Sea unto another, without which was their Place of Lodging, into which to soon as we had entered, it appeared to us as if all the Inhabitants were infected with Leprosy, for certain late Fellows were placed there to receive Tribute of Fish as took Salt out of the Salt-Pits. From that Place they told us we must travel fifteen Days Journey before we should find any other Place; with them we drank *Cosmos*, and gave to them a Basket full of Fruits and of *Biscuit*, and they gave unto us eight Oxen and one Goat to maintain us in such a Journey, and I know not how many Bladders of Milk, and to changing our Oxen we proceeded for ten Days, arriving then at another Stage, neither found we any Water all that Way, but only in some Ditches made in the Vallies and in two Rivers. From the Time also that we departed out of the Province of *Gassania*, we travelled directly Eastward, having the Sea on the South-side of us, and a vast Desert on the North, which Desert in some Places reaches twenty Days Journey in Breadth, without Tree, Mountain, or so much as a Stone therein, and is a most excellent Pasture. Here the *Comanians*, which were called *Cepibai*, were wont to feed their Cattle, and were the same the *Tartars* called *Uchani*, and the Province itself *Uchania*. But *Isidore* calleth all the Tract of Land stretching from the River of *Tanais* to the Lake of *Motis*, and so far as the *Danube*, the Country of the *Arabs*. And the same Country extends in Length from the *Danube* to *Tanais* (which divides *Asia* from *Europe*) for the Space of two Months Journey, and it was all inhabited by the *Comanians*, called *Cepibai*, and beyond *Tanais* as far as the River of *Edil* or *Volga*, the Space between which two Rivers is a long Journey to be travelled in ten Days. To the North of the same Province lieth *Russia*, which is full of Wood in all Places, and stretcheth from *Poland* and *Hungary* to the River of *Tanais*, and it likewise hath been walled by the *Tartars*, and is still walled by them.

20. The *Tartars* have more Esteem for the *Saracens* than the *Russians*, because the latter are Christians, and when they are able to give them no more, they drive them and their Children, like Flocks of Sheep, into the Wilderness, constraining them to keep their Cattle there. Beyond *Russia* lieth the Country of *Prussia*, which the *Tartar* Knights of the Order of *St. Mary's* Hospital of *Jerusalem* have of late wholly subdued, and indeed they might easily win *Russia* if they would attempt it vigorously; for if the *Tartars* should once know that the great Priest, for that is the Name they give to the Pope, had caused the Ensign of the Cross to be displayed against them, they would fly into the Deserts. But to proceed.

We went towards the Eastward, seeing nothing but the Sky and the Earth, and sometimes the Sea on our right Hand, called the Sea of *Tanais*, and the Spectacles of the *Comanians*, which appeared unto us two Leagues off, in which their Custom was to buy their Prey another. While we were travelling through the Desert we were continually well with us, but I cannot further expound the Inconveniences of their Place of Abode, for our Guide would have us go to every Captain with a Present, which was an Expence our Circumstances would not bear; for we were eight Persons founding our own Provision, for the *Tartar* Servants would all of them eat of our Victuals.

The Flesh which they gave us was not sufficient for us, neither could we find any thing to be bought for our Money: And as we sat under our Carts in the cool Shadow, on account of the extreme Heat, they would inopportunately and shamefully intrude themselves into our Company, so that they would even tread upon us to see what we had; such Slovens they were, that they would lay their Tails in our Presence while they were yet talking with us: Many other Things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome unto us.

But above all, it grieved me to the very Heart, that, when I would have spoken what might tend to their Edification, my foolish Interpreter would say, You should not make me become a Preacher now; I tell you I cannot, I will not rehearse any such Words: And true it was which he said, for I perceived afterwards, when I began to have a little Knowledge in the Language, that when I spoke one Thing he would say quite another; that is, whatsoever came next to his witless Tongue's End. Then seeing the Danger I might incur in speaking by such an Interpreter, I resolved rather to hold my Peace; and thus we travelled with great Fatigue from Place to Place, till a few Days before the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, we arrived at the Banks of the mighty River *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, even as the River *Nile* of *Egypt* separates *Asia* from *Africa*. At the Place where we arrived, *Baatu* and *Sartach* had caused Cottages to be built upon the Eastern Bank of the River, for a Company of *Russian* to dwell in, that they might transport Ambassadors and Merchants in Ferry boats over that Part of the River; where first they ferried us over, and then our Carts, putting one Wheel into one, and the other into the other Lighter, first binding both the Lighters together, and so they rowed them over.

In this Place our Guide played the fool bravely; for he imagining that the *Russians* dwelling in the Cottage should have provided us Horses, sent home the Beasts we brought with us, in another Cart, that they might return to their own Masters. But when we demanded some Beasts of them, they answered, that they had a Privilege from *Baatu*, whereby they were bound to no other Service but to ferry Goats and Comers; and that they received great Sums from Merchants even for that. We stayed there by the River-side three Days. The first Day they gave us a great fresh Torbot: The second Day they bestowed Rye-bread and a little Flesh upon us, which the Purveyor of the Village had taken up at every House for us: And the third Day dried Fish, which they have there in abundance. The River was as broad in that Place as the River *Seine* is at *Paris*; and before we came there, we passed over many fine Waters all full of Fish, and yet the barbarous and rude *Tartars* know not how to take them; neither do they make any Reckoning of any Fish, except it be so great that they may eat the Flesh of it as they do the Flesh of a Ram.

This River is the Limit of the East Part of *Russia*; it riseth out of the Fens of *Mæotis*, which Fens extend quite to the northern Ocean. It runs southward, and forms a Sea of seven hundred Miles in Extent before it falls into the *Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Black Sea*; and all the Rivers we passed over ran into the same. This River has also great store of Wood growing on the West Side thereof. The *Tartars* remove no farther towards the North: For about the first of *August* they begin to return back to the South; and therefore there is another Cottage somewhat lower, where Passengers are ferried over in Winter-time. And in this Place we were driven to great Extremity, because we could get neither Horses nor Oxen for Money; at length, after I had declared unto them, that my coming was for the common Good of all Christians, they sent us Oxen and Men, but we ourselves were forced to travel on Foot. At this time they were reaping their Rye; as for Wheat, it grows not well in that Soil: They have Millet in great abundance.

The *Russian* Women dress their Heads like our Women: They embroider their Gowns on the outside, from their Feet unto the Knees, with party-coloured or grey Stuff. The *Russian* Men wear Caps like the *Dutchmen*; who they wear upon their Heads certain sharp and high-crowned Hats made of Felt, much like a Sugar-loaf.

We travelled thence three Days together without finding any People; and when ourselves and our Oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far it would be to any *Tartars*, on a sudden there came two Horses running towards us, which we caught with great Joy: Our Guide and our Interpreter mounted upon their Backs, to see how far off they could delect any People; and upon the fourth Day of our Journey, having found some Inhabitants, we rejoiced like Seamen who had escaped out of a dangerous Tempest, and had newly recovered the Haven. Then having taken fresh Horses and Oxen, we passed on from Stage to Stage, till at last, the second of *August*, we arrived at the Habitation of *Sartach*, the *Tartar* Prince.

21. All the Country lying beyond *Tanais* is a very beautiful and pleasant Region, abounding with Rivers and Woods. Towards the North Part thereof there are large Forests inhabited by two sorts of People, one of them called *Moxel*, being mere *Pagans*, and without Law; they have neither Towns nor Cities, but only Cottages in the Woods. Their Lord, and a great Part of themselves, were put to the Sword in *Germany*; whereupon they highly commend the brave Courage of the *Alansians*, hoping to be delivered out of the Bondage of the *Tartars* by their Means. If any Merchant come among them, he may provide Things necessary for him with whom he is first entertained all the time of his Abode among them. If applied with another Man's Wife, her Husband, unless he be an Eye-witness thereof, doth not regard it, for they are so jealous of their Wives. They have abundance of Honey and great Store of Honey and Wax, and various sorts of rich and costly Skins, and Plenty of Falcons.

The other People are called *Mereles*, which the *Lans* call *Maridui*, and they are *Mohammedans*. Beyond them is the River of *Etilia*, or *Ielga*, which is the greatest River that ever I saw, and it issues from the North Part of *Elgia* the Greater; and so trending along Southward, discharges itself into a certain Lake, containing in Circumference of four Months' Travel, of which I shall speak hereafter. The two Rivers above-mentioned, *Tanais* and *Elgia*, otherwise called *Volga*, in the North receive, though which we travelled, are not distant above ten Days Journey; but Southward they are divided a great Space one from the other, for *Tanais* descendeth into the Sea of *Persia*. *Elgia* maketh the foresaid Sea or Lake, with the Help of many other Rivers which fall into it out of *Persia*, and we had to the South of us very high Mountains; upon the Sides thereof towards the said Desert, the People called *Gargies*, and the *Alani* or *Arcais* inhabit, who are as yet Christian, and make War against the *Tartars*. Beyond them, next unto the Sea or Lake of *Etilia*, there are certain *Mohammedans* called *Leigh*, who are in Subjection to the *Tartars*. Beyond this is *Porta Ferrea*, or the Iron Gate, concerning the Situation of which your Majesty shall be further informed towards the End of this Treatise, for I travelled in my Return by the very Place between these two Rivers, in the Regions through which we passed the *Comanians* formerly inhabited before they were over run by the *Tartars*.

22. We found *Sartach* lying within three Days Journey of the River *Etilia*, whose Court seemed to us to be very great, for he himself had six Wives, and his eldest Son had three Wives, every one of which Women had a great House, and each of them above two hundred Camels. Our Guide went unto a certain *Nyborian* named *Coiat*, who was a Man of great Authority in *Sartach* Court; he made us go a long way to one *Janna*, for so they call her, who has the Office of entertaining Ambassadors. In the by *Coiat* commanded us to come to him. Then our Guide began to enquire what we would present him with; he was exceedingly offended when he saw we had nothing to present. We stood before him, and he sat making us to have Musick and Dancing in his Presence. The *Prince* came unto him in the Words before recited, telling him our Purpose I was come unto his Lord, and requesting his Favour at his Hands as to bring our Letters unto the Lord of his Lord. I excused myself also, that I was a Merchant, not having, nor receiving nor using, any Gold or Silver, or other precious Thing, save our Books, and the Letters in which, as Priests, we served God.

Cause why I brought no Present to him, or to his Lord; for having abandoned my own Goods, it could not be expected I should become a Carrier for other Men. To all which he answered very courteously, that being a Monk, in so doing I did well, for so I should observe my Vow; neither stood he in need of ought we had, but rather was ready to bestow on us such Things as we stood in need of; and having so said, he caused us to sit down, and to drink of his Milk, and presently after he requested us to say our Devotions for him, and we did so.

He enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the Franks, i. e. the Western Christians? and I said the Emperor, if he could enjoy his own Dominions in Quiet. No, replied he, but the King of France, for he had heard of your Highness by Lord *Baldwin of Hennin*. I found there also one of the Knights Templars, who had been in Cyprus, and had made Report of all Things which he saw there. Then we returned to our Lodging and the next Morning we sent him a Flaggon of Muscadell Wine (which had kept very well in so long a Journey) and a Box full of Biscuit, which was most acceptable unto him, and he detained our Servants for that Evening, and they were well entertained at his Tents. The next Morning he commanded me to come to Court, and to bring the King's Letters, and my Vestments and Books with me, because his Lord was desirous to see them. which we did accordingly, lading one Cart with our Books and Vestments, and another with Biscuit, Wine, and Fruits; then he caused all our Books and Vestments to be spread abroad, and there stood round about us many *Tartars*, *Christians*, and *Saracens*, on Horseback; at the Sight of which he demanded, whether I would bestow all those Things upon his Lord or no? Which saying made me tremble, and threw me into an excessive Fright. Dismembering our Grief as well as we could, we gave him the following Answer: Sir, your humble Request is, that our Lord, your Master, would vouchsafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Present, because it is too mean, but as a Benediction, lest we should come with an empty Hand before him, and he shall see the Letters of my Sovereign Lord the King, and by them he shall understand for what Cause we are come unto him, and then both ourselves and all that we have are at his Pleasure, but for our Vestments they are holy, and it is unlawful for any but Priests to touch them.

Then he commanded us to dress ourselves in the Garments, that we might go before his Lord, and we did so. Then putting on our most precious Ornaments, I took in my Arms a very fair Cushion, and the Bible which your Majesty gave me, and a most beautiful Plalter, which the Queen was pleased to bestow upon me, wherein there were very fine Pictures. My Associate took a Missal and a Cross, and the Clerk having put on his Surplice, took a Censor in his Hand, and so we came to the Presence of his Lord, and they lit d up the Felt hanging before his Door, that he might behold us.

Then they caused the Clerk and the Interpreter three to bow the Knee; but of us they required no such Submission, and they diligently admonished to take care that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the Threshold of the House, and requested us to sing a Benediction for him. At length we entered singing *Salve Regina*; and in the Entrance of the Door stood a Bench with Cushions, and Drinking-cups thereon, and all his Wives were there assembled; also the Moguls, or, as they pronounce, *Mouals*, or rich *Tartars*, thrust in, and pressed hard upon us. Then *Coiat* carried to his Lord the Censor, with Incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his Hand; afterwards he carried the Plalter onto him, which he looked earnestly upon, and his Wife also that sat by him; after that he carried the Bible; then *Sartaab* asked, if the Gospel were contained therein? Yes, said I, and all the Holy Scriptures besides.

He took the Cross also in his Hand, and asked, as to the Image, whether it were the Image of Christ or no? I said it was. The *Neslorians* and the *Armenians* never make the Figure of Christ upon their Crosses. Wherefore, either they seem not to think well of this Passion, or else they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about us to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our Ornaments.

Afterwards I delivered unto him your Majesty's Letters, with the Translation thereof in the *Arabick* and *Syriack* Languages, for I caused them to be translated at *Acon* into the Character and Dialect of both the said Tongues. There were certain *Armenian* Priests, who were versed in the *Turkish* and *Arabian* Languages, and the Knight before mentioned also of the Order of the Temple had Knowledge in the *Syriac*, *Turkish*, and *Arabian* Tongues. Then we departed, and put off our Vestments, and there came unto us some Secretaries of the Court, together with the *Coiat*, and caused our Letters to be interpreted, which Letters being heard, he caused our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, to be received; and he permitted us also to carry our Vestments and Books unto our own Lodging.

27. We had the next Morning betimes a Visit from a certain Priest, who was Brother to *Coiat*, requesting to have our Box of Chrifin, because *Sartaab*, as he said, was desirous to see it, and so we gave it him. In the Evening *Coiat* sent for us, saying, my Lord, your King, wrote Kind Words unto my Lord and Master *Sartaab*. There are; however, certain Matters of Difficulty in them, concerning which he dare not determine without the Advice of his Father, and therefore you must depart unto him, leaving behind you the two Carts which you brought hither Yesterday with Vestments and Books in my Custody, because my Lord is desirous to take a more diligent View of them. I presently suspecting what Mischief might ensue from his Covetousness, made him Answer; Sir, We will not only leave those with you, but the two other Carts also, which we have in your Possession. You shall not, said he, leave those behind you; but for the two Carts first named, we will satisfy your Request: I said, that this could not conveniently be done, but we must leave all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to remain in the Land? I answered, if you have read, and understand the Letters of my Lord the King, you know that we are so determined; then he replied, that he ought to be patient, and so we departed from him that Evening.

The next Morning he sent a *Neslorian* Priest for the Carts, and we caused all the four Carts to be delivered; then came the beforementioned Brother of *Coiat* to meet us, and separated those things, which we had brought the Day before to the Court from the rest, viz. the Books and Vestments, and took them away with him. *Coiat* had, however, commanded, that we should carry these Vestments with us, which we wore in the Presence of *Sartaab*, that we might put them on before *Baatu*, if he should require it; but the Priest took them from us by Violence, using these Words: You brought them to *Sartaab*, and would you carry them to *Baatu*? And when I would have shewn him the Reason, he answered, Come, don't be too talkative, but go your way. Then I saw there was no Remedy but Patience, for we could have no Access unto *Sartaab* himself, neither was there any that would do us Justice. I was afraid also of the Interpreter, that he had spoken other things than I directed him; for his Will was good, that we should have given away all that we had. There was yet one Comfort left to me, for when I once perceived their covetous Intent, I conveyed from among our Books the Bible, and the Sentences, and other Books, which I valued most. I durst not, however, take away the Plalter of my sovereign Lady the Queen, because it was too well known, on account of the golden Pictures therein: So we returned with the two other Carts to our Lodging; then came he that was appointed to be our Guide to the Court of *Baatu*, bidding us provide for our Journey in all haste; to whom I said, that I would in no case have the Carts go with me, which he declared unto *Coiat*.

Then *Coiat* commanded that we should leave them and our Servant with him, and we did as he directed, and so travelled directly Eastwards towards *Baatu*; the third Day we came to *Estilia*, or *Volga*, the Stream of which when I beheld I wondered from what Region of the North such huge and mighty Waters should descend. Before we were departed from *Sartaab*, *Coiat*, with many other Scribes of the Court, said unto us, Do not make Report that our Lord is a Christian, but a *Moual*, because the Name of a Christian seemeth to them to be the Name of some Nation; and so great is their Pride, that though they believe, perhaps,

some things concerning Christ, yet they will not be called Christians, being desirous that their own Name, that is to say, *Mogul Moal*, should be exalted above all other Names: Neither will they be called by the Name of *Tartars*, for the *Tartars* were another Nation, as I was informed by them.

24. At the Time that the *Franks* made themselves Masters of the City of *Antioch*, which was about the Year 1097, there reigned in these Northern Parts a Prince whose Name was *Kon-Khan*, or *Ken Khan*. *Kon* or *Ken* was his proper Name, and *Khan* his Stile of Power or Dignity; for it is to be unde stood, that the Word *Khan* strictly taken, signifies a Diviner, a Man skilled in sublime Sciences, or one who can foretel future Events; and from thence it is transferred to their Princes, as if they held them to be endowed with all these great Qualities. The *Turks*, at the Time of that Siege, demanded Succours of *Kon-Khan* against the Christians, as coming themselves originally out of these Countries. This *Kon-Khan* was siled likewise *Khan*, or Prince of *Cara-Catbay*, which is as much as to say, the *Black Catbay*; for *Cara* in their Language signifies black, and *Catbay* is the Name of a certain Country, which, however, is to be distinguished from that *Catbay* which lies farther towards the East, and is a maritime Country, of which I shall speak hereafter.

As for this *Cara-Catbay*, it lies behind certain Mountains, over which I passed, was also through a plain Country, in which dwelt formerly a certain great *Nestorian* Priest, who was the Sovereign of a Nation called *Naymans*, and who were all Christians of the *Nestorian* Sect. This *Kon-Khan* being dead, the *Nestorian* Priest before mentioned took upon him the Stile and Office of a King, and thence the *Nestorians* called him the King *Presbre Jobn*, i. e. *Jobn* the Priest, and published mighty Things concerning him, and much beyond the Truth; for it is the Custom of the *Nestorians* coming from this Country to magnify every little thing into a great Matter, just as they spread a Report that *Sartaeb* was become a Christian, and that *Mangu-Khan*, and *Ken-Khan*, had also embraced our Religion, only because they were indulgent to those of our Profession, tho' nothing is more certain than that none of them are Christians. So likewise there went abroad a great Report concerning this King and Priest *Jobn*; notwithstanding which, when I travelled through his Territories, there was no body that knew any thing of him, but a few *Nestorians*. In his Pastures or Territories dwelt *Ken-Khan*, at whose Court *Enar Andrew* was, and I myself passed by at my Return. This *Jobn* had a Brother who was powerful also, and a Shepherd like himself called *Unc*, and he inhabited beyond the Mountains of *Cara-Catbay*, distant from his Brother *Jobn* the Space of three Weeks Journey. He was Lord of a certain Village called *Cara-Carum*, having People also for his Subjects named *Prit*, or *Mektit*, who were Christians of the Sect of *Nestorius*; but their Lord abandoning the Worship of Christ, embraced Idolatry, retaining with him Priests of the said Idols, who all of them are Worshipers of Devils, and are Sorcerers themselves.

Beyond his Pastures, about ten or fifteen Days Journey, are the Pastures of *Moal*, who were a poor and beggarly Nation, without Governor and without Law, except their Sorceries and their Divinations, unto which detestable Superstitions all in those Parts apply their Minds. Near unto *Moal* were other poor People called *Tartars*. The aforesaid King *Jobn* died without Issue Male, his Brother *Unc* thereby was greatly enriched, and took himself the Stile of *Khan*, and his Cattle and Herds ranged to the Borders of *Moal*. About the same Time there was one *Zingis* a Farmer among the People of *Moal*; this *Zingis* stole as many Cattle from the *Khan* as he could possibly, so that the Shepherds of *Unc* complained unto their Lord; upon which he raised an Army, and marched up into the Country of *Moal* to seek for *Zingis*: But *Zingis* fled amongst the *Tartars*, and hid himself among them; and *Unc* having taken some Spoils both from *Moal*, and also from the *Tartars*, returned home; then *Zingis* addressed himself to the *Tartars*, and to the People of *Moal*. "Behold Brethren, said he, because we are destitute of a Governor and a Captain, you see how our Neighbour oppresses us;" on which the *Tartars* and *Moals* appointed him to be their Captain.

Then having secretly gathered together an Army, he broke in suddenly upon *Unc*, and overcame him, and *Unc* fled into *Catbaya*. At the same Time his Daughter was taken, which *Zingis* married unto one of his Sons, by whom she conceived and brought forth the *Great Khan*, which now reigneth, called *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Zingis* sent the *Tartars* before him in all Places where he came; and thereupon was their Name published and spread abroad; for in all Places the People call out, *The Tartars come, the Tartars come*. Yet through continual Wars, they are now all of them in a manner consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the *Moals* endeavour what they can to extinguish the Name of the *Tartars*, that they may exalt their own. The Country wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of *Zingis-Khan* yet remaineth, is called *Manchenule*. But because *Tartaria* is the Region out of which they have obtained their Conquests, they esteem that the Seat of their Kingdom; and there also, for the most part, do they elect their *Great Khan*.

25. In respect to this *Sartaeb*, whether he believes in Christ or no, I know not; this I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian: On the contrary, he seems to me to deride and scoff at Christians. His Country is in the Way of the *Christians*, viz. of the *Russians*, the *Wallachians*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Sclavians* the *Kerchians*, and the *Alans*, who all of them pass by him as they are going to the Court of his Father *Baatu* to carry Gifts; and therefore he is more in Friendship with them. If the *Saracens* however come and bring greater Gifts than they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certain *Nestorian* Priests, who tell their Heads and sing their Devotions. There is also another under *Baatu*, called *Beria*, who feeds his Cattle towards the Iron-gate or *Derbent*, where hath the Passage of all the *Saracens* which come out of *Persia* and out of *Turky*, to go unto *Baatu*, and passing by they make him Presents, and he professeth himself to be a *Saracen*, and will not permit Swines Flesh to be eaten in his Dominions. At the Time of our Return, *Baatu* commanded him to remove himself from that Place, and to inhabit upon the East Side of *Volga*, for he was not willing that the *Saracens* Embassadors should pass by the said *Beria*, because he saw it was not for his Profit.

For the Space of four Days, while we remained in the Court of *Sartaeb*, we had not any Victuals allowed us, except once a little Cosmos; and in our Journey between him and his Father, we travelled in great Fear; for certain *Russians*, *Hungarians*, and *Alans*, being Servants to the *Tartars* (of whom they have great Multitudes among them) assembled themselves twenty or thirty in a Company; and secretly in the Night conveying them selves from Home, they take Bows and Arrows with them, and whatsoever they find in the Night Season they put him to Death, hiding themselves in the Day-time; and having tired their Horses, they go in the Night to a Company of other Horses feeding in some Pasture, and change them for new, taking with them also one or two Horses besides to eat them when they stand in need. Our Guide therefore was much afraid, lest we should have met with such Companions.

In this Journey we had perished through Famine, had we not carried some of our Biscuit with us: At length we came to the vast River *Etila*, or the *Volga*, which is four Times greater than the River of *Sein*, and of a wonderful Depth, falling into that which of late they call the *Hircanian-Sea*, according to the name of a certain Country in *Persia*, lying on the Shore thereof. *Isidore* calleth it however the *Caspian-Sea*, for it hath the *Caspian-Mountains* and the Land of *Persia* situate on the South Side thereof, and the Mountains of *Mylbet*; that is to say, of the People called *Assassini*, towards the East, which Mountains are joined unto the *Caspian-Mountains*; but on the North Side thereof, hath the same Defart, wherein the *Tartars* now inhabit; in which heretofore there dwelt a Nation called *Changle*; and on that Side it receives the *Etila*, which River rises in Summer-time like the River *Nile* in *Egypt*. On the West Part thereof it hath the Mountains of *Alan*, and *Lesgi*, and *Derbent*, or the Iron-gate, and the Mountains of *Georgia*. This

Sea therefore is encompassed on three Sides, with Mountains; but on the North Side hath a fine flat Country. Friar *Andrew*, in his Journey, travelled round about two Sides thereof, namely the South and the East Sides, and I myself about the other two; that is to say, the North Side, in going from *Baatu* to *Mangu-Khan*, and in returning likewise; and on the West Side, in coming home from *Baatu* into *Syria*. A Man may travel round about it in four Months; and it is not true which *Isidore* reports, that this Sea is a Bay or Gulph coming out of the Ocean, for in no Part it communicates with the Ocean, but is environed on all Sides with the Land.

26. All the Regions extending from the West Shore of this Sea, where *Alexander's* Iron gate, otherwise called the City of *Derbent*, is situate, and from the Mountains *Alan*, all along by the Fences of *Mæotis*, into which the River of *Scythia* falls, and so to the North Ocean, was of old called *Abania*, of which Country *Isidore* reporteth, that there are in it Dogs of such huge Stature, and so fierce, that they are able, in Fight, to macth Bulls, and to macth Lions, which is true, as I was assured by several, who told me, that towards the North Ocean they make their Dogs draw in Carts like Oxen, on account of their Bigness and Strength. On that Part of *Etília* where we arrived, there is a new Station built, wherein they have placed *Tartars* and *Russians* together to ferry over and transport Messengers going and coming to and from the Court of *Baatu*, for *Baatu* keeps his Court upon the farther Side towards the East; neither ascendeth he in the Summer-time more northward than the Place where we arrived, but was even then descending to the South. From *January* to *August*, he, and all other *Tartars* ascend by the Banks of Rivers towards cold and northerly Regions, and in *August* they begin to return back again.

We passed down the Stream therefore in a Bark from the above-mentioned Station unto his Court, from the same Place unto a Village of *Bulgaria the Greater*, standing towards the North; it is five days Journey. I wonder how the Devil carried the Religion of *Mobammed* thither; for, from *Derbent*, which is upon the extreme Borders of *Persia*, it is above thirty Days Journey to pass over the Desert, and so ascend to the Bank of *Etília* into the Country of *Bulgaria*, in all which Way there is no City, only certain Cottages near unto that Place where *Etília* falleth into the Sea. These *Bulgarians* are more wicked *Mobammedans* than any other Nations whatever. When I beheld the Court of *Baatu*, I was astonish'd at the first sight thereof, for his Houses or Tents are as though they had been some mighty City stretching out a great Way in Length, the People ranging up and down about it for the Space of some three or four Leagues; and even as the People of *Israel* knew every Man on one Side the Tabernacle to pitch his Tent, so every one of them knoweth very well toward which Side of the Court he ought to place his House when he takes it from off the Cart. The Court is called therefore in their Language *Horda*, which signifies the Middl, because the Governor, or chief Captain among them, dwells always in the Middl of his People, except only that directly towards the South no inferior Person places himself, because, towards that Region the Court-gates are set open; but to the Right-hand and the Left-hand they place themselves as far as they will, according to the Conveniency of Places, so that they erect not their Houses directly opposite against the Court. At our Arrival we were conducted to a *Mobammedan*, who provided us Victuals for us at all. The Day following, we were brought to the Court, and *Baatu* caused a large Tent to be erected, because his House or Tent could not contain so many Men and Women as were assembled. Our Guide admonish'd us not to speak till *Baatu* had given us Commandment so to do, and that then we should speak our Minds briefly.

Then *Baatu* demanded whether your Majesty had sent Embassadors unto him or no? I answered, that your Majesty had sent Messengers to *Ken-Khan*, and that you would not have sent Messengers or Letters to *Sartach*, had not your Highness been persuaded that they were become Christians, because you sent not unto them out of any Fear, but only for Congratulation and Courtesy-fake, in

regard that you heard they were converted to Christianity. Then led he us unto his Pavilion, and we were charged not to touch the Cords of the Tent, about which they are as suspicious as about the Threshold of the House. There we stood in our Habits bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange Spectacle in their Eyes. Indeed Friar *John Du Plano* (*Carpini*) had been there before my Coming; but because he was the Pope's Embassador, he changed his Habit, that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the Middl of the Tent, neither required they of us to do any Reverence, by bowing our Knees as they used to do of other Messengers; we stood therefore before him for the Space wherein a Man might have rehearsed the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, and there was a great Silence kept by all.

Baatu himself sat upon a Seat long and broad, like a Bed gilt all over, with three Stairs to ascend, and one of his Ladies sat beside him. The Men there assembled sat down scattering, some on the Right-hand of the said Lady, and some on the Left. These Places on the one Side, which the Women filled not up (for there were only the Wives of *Baatu*) were supplied by the Men. Also at the very Entrance of the Tent stood a Bench furnished with Cosmos, and with stately Cups of Silver and Gold, richly set with precious Stones. *Baatu* beheld us earnestly, and we him, and he seemed to resemble in Personage Monsieur *John de Beaumont*, whose Soul resteth in Peace; for, like him, he had a fresh ruddy Countenance.

At length, he commanded us to speak. Then our Guide gave us Direction that we should bow our Knees and speak; on which I bowed one Knee, then he signified that I should kneel upon both my knees; I did so, being loth to contend about such Circumstances; and again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of a Prayer unto GOD, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray in these Words; "Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good Things do proceed, and who hath given you these earthly Benefits, that it would please him hereafter to make you Partaker of his heavenly Blessings, because the former, without these, are but vain and unprofitable: And, indeed, further be it known unto you of a certain, that you shall not obtain the Joys of Heaven, unless you become a Christian; for God saith, *Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth shall be condemned.*"

At this he modestly smiled, but the other *Möals* began to clap their Hands and to deride us, and my silly Interpreter, of whom especially I should have received Comfort in Time of Need, was himself abashed, and utterly out of Countenance. Then after Silence made, I said to him; "I came to your Son, because we heard that he was become a Christian, and I brought to him Letters on the Behalf of my Sovereign Lord the King of France, and your Son sent me hither unto you; the Cause of my coming therefore is best known unto yourself." Then he caused me to rise up, and he enquired your Majesty's Name, my Name, and the Name of my Associate and Interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in Writing. He demanded also (because he had been informed that you was departed out of your own Countries with an Army) against whom you waged War? I answered against the *Saracens*, who had defiled the House of GOD at *Jerusalem*. He asked also whether your Highness had ever before that Time sent any Embassador unto him or no? To you, Sir, said I, never.

Then he caused us to sit down, and gave us of his Milk to drink, which they account to be a great Favour, especially when any Man is admitted to drink Cosmos with him in his own House; and as I sat looking down on the Ground, he commanded me to lift up my Countenance, being desirous yet to take a more diligent View of us, or else perhaps of a kind of superstitious Observation; for they esteem it a Sign of ill Luck, or a Prognostication of Evil unto them, when any Man sits in their Presence holding down his Head as if he were sad, especially when he leans his Cheek or Chin upon his Hand. Then we departed, and immediately after came our Guide to us, and conducting us to our Lodging, said unto me; "Your Ma-
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“ For the King, requesteth that you may remain in this Kingdom, which Request *Baatu* cannot grant, without the Knowledge and Consent of *Mangu Khan*; wherefore you and your Interpreter must, of Necessity, go to *Mangu Khan*; but, nevertheless, your Associate and the other Man, shall return unto the Court of *Sartach*, and stay there for you till you come back.” Then began my Interpreter to lament, esteeming himself but a dead Man; my Associate also protested he would sooner lose his Head than withdraw out of my Company: I myself said, that without my Associate I could not go, and that we stood in Need of two Servants at least, because if one should chance to fall sick we would not be without another.

Upon this, returning unto the Court, he told this to *Baatu*, and *Baatu* answered, let the two Priests and the Interpreter go together, but let the Clerk return to *Sartach*; and coming again unto us, he told us so; and when I would have spoken for the Clerk to have had him with us, he said, no more Words, for *Baatu* is resolved that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not go to the Court any more. *Gesli*, the Clerk, had the Remainder of the Almshouse Money bestowed upon him, twenty-six *Drapers*, and no more, ten whereof he kept for himself, and the Lad, and sixteen he gave unto the Interpreter for us; and thus were we parted with Tears, he returning unto the Court of *Sartach*, and ourselves remaining still in the same Place.

27. On the Eve of the Feast of *Assumption* our Clerk arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, and the next Day after the *Nestorian* Priests were adorned with our Vestments, in the Presence of the said *Sartach*. Then we ourselves were conducted unto another Host, who was appointed to provide us House-room, Victuals, and Horses, but because we had not any thing to bestow upon him, he did all things unwardly for us: Then we rode on toward with *Baatu*, descending along by the Bank of *Enlia*, or *Volga*, for the Space of five Weeks together. Sometimes my Associate was so extremely hungry, that he would tell me in a manner weeping, that it bared with him as though he had never eaten any thing in all his Life before. There is a Fair or Market following the Court of *Baatu* at all times; but it was so far distant from us, that we could not have Recourse thereto, for we were constrained to walk on Foot for want of Horses. At length certain *Hungarians*, a sort of Clergymen, found us out, and one of them could as yet sing many Songs without Book, and was accounted of other *Hungarians* as Priest, and was sent for unto the Funerals of his deceased Countrymen.

There was another of them also pretty well instructed in his Grammar, for he could understand the Meaning of any thing that we spoke, but could not answer us. These *Hungarians* were a great Help to us, giving us Cofins to drink and sometimes Fish to eat also, who when they requested to have some Books of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeed we had none except a Bible and a Breviary) it grieved me exceedingly, and I said to them bring me some Ink and Paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remain here; and they did so, and I copied out for them the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, and the Office of the Dead. One Day there was a *Comarian* that accompanied us, that saluted us, saying *Salve Domine*; wondering thereat, and talking him again, I demanded of him who had taught him that kind of Salutation? He said, that he was baptized in *Hungary* by our Priests, and that of them he learned it: He said moreover, that *Baatu* had enquired many things of him concerning us, and that he told him the State of our Order. Afterwards I saw *Baatu* riding with his Company, and all his Subjects that were Masters of Families riding with him, and in my Estimation there were more than five hundred Persons in all.

At length, about the End of *Hely rood*, there came a certain rich *Moul* unto us, whose Father was a Millitary, which is a great Office among them, and told us, I am the Man that must conduct you to *Mangu Khan*, and we have thither a Journey of four Months to travel, and there is such extreme Cold in those Parts, that Stones and Trees burst asunder: Therefore I wish you would advise with yourselves whether you be able to endure it or no? I answered, by God's Help I hope we shall be able to go thro'

that which other Men can endure. Then he said, if you cannot endure it, I will forsake you by the way, and answered, it were not just Dealings for you so to do, for we go not thither upon any Business of our own, but by reason that we are sent thither by our Lord; wherefore since we are committed to your Charge, you ought in no wise to forsake us. Then he said, all shall be well. He caused us to shew him our Garments, and whatsoever he deemed to be less needful for us, he bid us leave behind in the Custody of our Host. On the Morrow they brought unto each of us a turred Gown made all of Ram's Skins, with the Wool still upon them, and Breeches of the same, Boots a-cording to their Fashion, Shoes made of Felt, and Hoods also made of Skins after their Manner. The second Day after *Hely rood* we began to set forward on our Journey, having three Guides to direct us, and we rode continually Eastward till the Feast of *All Saints* throughout all that Region, and beyond also, were the People *Changle* Inhabitants, who were descended from the *Romans*. On the North Side of us we had *Bugaria the Greater*, and on the South the *Cyprian Sea*.

28. When we had travelled twelve Days Journey from *Enlia* we found a mighty River called *Jagac*, which Runneth out of the North from the Land of *Pasfator*, or of the *Hungarians*, which all is one, and they are all of them Shepherd, not having any Cities, and their Country bordereth upon *Bugaria the Greater* on the West Front; from the North East Part of the Country there is no City at all. Out of the said Region of *Pasfator* proceeded the Issues of oil, who after wards were called *Hungarians*. Now unto it is *Bugaria the Greater*. *Isidore* reports concerning the People of this Nation that with few Horses they traversed the impregnable Walls and Bounds of *Aenon*, which together with the Rocks of *Chanaan* were to them made barbarous and blood-thirsty, except from invading the Regions of the South, into which as they had Intention to enter them as far as *Egypt*, and that they walked at Cartrius, even unto *Iranee*: it is to say were more mighty than the *Tartars* as yet are, and unto them the *Arabs* and the *Bugarians*, and the *Turkals* bound themselves; for out of *Bugaria the Greater* came out the *Hungarians*. As for them who inhabit beyond *Constantinople*, and not far from *Pasfator*, are called *Tag*, which having the Pronunciation is all one with us, for the *Tartars* cannot pronounce it. Letter *B*: From whom also descend the People which inhabit the Land of *Tag*, for they are called *Hac* (both these and Letter *B* in the Language of the *Russians*, and *P* in mine, and the *Sclavonians*).

The *Sclavonians* spoke one Language with the *Franks*, all which confederate with the *Hungars*, and now, like most part, they unite themselves to the *Tartars*, whom GOD hath raised up from the utmost Parts of the Earth, according to that which the Lord saith; *Ecce procedo in Eury by a People which is no People, and by a large Nation will I anger them*. This Prophecy is fulfilled, according to the literal Sense thereof, upon all Nations which observe not the Law of GOD. All this which I have written concerning the Land of *Pasfator*, was told me by certain Priests, who travelled thither before ever the *Tartars* came; and from that Time, they were subdued unto their Neighbours the *Bugarians*, being *Saracens*; for which Reason many of them proved *Saracens* also.

Other Matters concerning these People may be known out of History; for it is manifest, that those Provinces beyond *Constantinople*, which are now called *Bugaria*, *Valachi*, and *Sclavonia*, were of old Provinces belonging to the *Greeks*; also *Hungary* was heretofore called *Pannia*, and we were riding over the Land of *Changle* from the Feast of *Hely rood*, until the Feast of *All Saints*, travelling almost every Day, according to my Account, as far as it is from *Paris* to *Orleans*, and sometimes farther, according as we were provided with Post-Horses; for some Days we had Change of Horses twice or thrice in a Day, sometimes we were two or three Days together, not finding any People, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of twenty or thirty Horses we had always the worst, because we were Strangers, for every one took their Choice of the best Horses before us. They provided me always a strong Horse, because

as copulent and heavy; but whether he went a gentle
 or no, I durst not make any Question, neither durst I
 complain, although he trotted very hard; for every Man
 there be contented with his Lot as it falls. We were
 exceedingly troubled, because our Horses tired before
 could come at any People, and then we were constrained
 whip our Horses, and to lay our Garments on other
 Horses, and sometimes two of us to ride upon one Horse.
 Of Hunger and Thirst, Cold and Weariness, there
 no End, for they gave us no Flesh-meat, but in the
 Morning they used to give us a little Drink,
 some boiled Millet; in the Evening they bestowed Flesh
 as a Shoulder and Breast of Ram's Mutton, and
 a Quantity of Broth to drink. When we had
 of the Flesh Broth we were well refreshed, and it
 to me most pleasant, and most nourishing Drink.
 Saturday I remained fasting until Night, without
 of drinking; and when Night came I was constrained,
 great Grief and Sorrow, to eat Flesh: Sometimes
 were compelled to eat Flesh half sodden, or almost raw,
 want of Fuel to boil it, especially when we lay in the
 or were benighted before we came to our Journey's
 because we then could not conveniently gather toge-
 the Dung of Horses and Oxen, for other Fuel we
 did not find, except, perhaps, a few Thorns in some
 places. Upon the Banks of some Rivers there are Woods
 being here and there, but they are very rare: In the
 morning our Guide highly disdained us, and it was testi-
 fied to him to conduct such base Fellows. Afterwards,
 when he began to know us somewhat better, he directed us
 our Way by the Courts of rich *Moabs*, and we were re-
 luctant to pray for them: Wherefore had I carried a good
 interpreter with me, I should have had Opportunities to
 be done much Good.

The before-mentioned *Zingis*, who was the first great Khan
 Emperor of the *Tartars*, had four Sons, of whom prob-
 ably by natural Descent many Children, every one of which
 at this Day enjoy great Possessions, and they are daily
 multiplied and dispersed over that huge and vast Desert,
 which is in Dimensions like the Ocean. Our Guide there-
 fore directed us, as we were going on our Journey, to many
 their Habitations; and they marvelled exceedingly, that
 we should not receive either Gold or Silver, or precious and
 fine Garments at their Hands. They enquired also concern-
 ing the Great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an
 age as they had heard; for there had gone a Report among
 them, that he was five hundred Years old. They enquired
 to enter our Countries, whether there was abundance of
 Sheep, Oxen, and Horses, or no? Concerning the Ocean,
 they could not conceive of it, because it was without Limits
 or Banks. Upon the Eve of the Feast of *All Saints* we
 turned our Course, which hitherto pointed East, because
 the People were now descended very much South, and we
 began our Journey by certain Mountains directly South-
 ward for the Space of eight Days together. In the Desert
 I saw many Asses, which they call *Colan*, being rather
 wild; these did our Guide and his Companions chase
 eagerly, though they did but lose their Labour, for
 the beasts were too swift for them.

Upon the seventh Day there appeared to the South of us
 a high Mountain; and we entered into a Place which
 was well watered, and fresh as a Garden, and found Land
 well manured. The eighth Day after the Feast of *All
 Saints* we arrived at a Town of the *Saracens* named *Kenbat*,
 the Governor whereof met our Guide at the Town's End,
 and Ale and Cups; for it is their Custom, at all Towns
 and Villages subject to them, to meet the Messengers of
Batu and *Mangu Khan*, with Meat and Drink; at this
 time of the Year they went upon the Ice in that Country,
 before the Feast of *Saint Michael* they had Frost in the
 Desert. I enquired the Name of this Province, but being
 in a strange Territory, they could not tell me the
 Name thereof, but only the Name of a small City in the
 same Province; and that there descended a great River
 down from the Mountains, which watered the whole Re-
 gion, according as the Inhabitants would give it Passage,
 by making divers Channels and Sluices; neither did the River
 discharge itself into any Sea, but was swallowed up by a
 chasm into the Bowels of the Earth, and it caused many

Fens or Lakes: Also I saw many Vines, and drank of the
 Wine made from them.

30. The Day following we came unto another Cottage
 near the Mountains, and I enquired what Mountains they
 were, which I understood to be the Mountains of *Caucasus*,
 which are stretched forth and continued on both Sides to
 the Sea from the West unto the East; and on the West
 they are bordering to the *Caspian* Sea, into which the River
Volga discharges its Streams. I enquired also of the City
 of *Talas*, wherein were certain *Germans*, Servants unto
 one *Buri*, of whom Friar *Andrew* makes mention, concern-
 ing whom also I enquired very diligently in the Courts of
Sartaeb and *Baatu*. I could get no Intelligence of them,
 but only that their Lord and Master *Bau* was put to Death
 upon the Occasion following. This *Bau* was not settled in
 good and fertile Pastures; and upon a certain Day being
 drunk, he spoke thus to his Men: *Am not I of the Stock
 and Kindred of Zingis Khan as well as Baatu?* (for indeed
 he was very nearly related to *Baatu*) *Why then do I not
 pass and repass upon the Bank of Etiha, to feed my Cattle
 there as freely as Baatu himself doth?* which Speech of his
 was reported unto *Baatu*; whereupon *Baatu* wrote to his
 Servants to bring their Lord bound unto him, and they
 did so.

Then *Baatu* demanded of him whether he had spoken
 any such Words? and he confessed that he had. But be-
 cause it is the Manner of the *Tartars* to pardon drunken
 Men, he excused himself by saying, *that he was drunk at
 the Time*. How durst you, said *Baatu*, once name me in
 thy Drunkenness; and having said this, he caused his Head
 to be chopped off.

Concerning the aforefaid *Germans*, I could not learn any
 thing till I was come to the Court of *Mangu Khan*, and
 there I was informed that *Mangu Khan* had removed them
 out of the Jurisdiction of *Baatu* for the Space of a Month's
 Journey from *Talas* Eastward to a certain Village called
Bolac, where they are set to dig Gold, and to make Ar-
 mour, so that I could neither go nor come by them. I
 passed very near the said City in going, that is, within
 three Days Journey; but I was ignorant that I did so,
 neither could I have turned out of my Way, if I had known
 so much. From the aforefaid Cottage, we went directly
 Eastward by the Mountains, and from that time we trav-
 elled among the People of *Mangu Khan*, who in all Places
 sang and danced before our Guide, because he was the
 Messenger of *Baatu*; for this Courtey they do to each
 other, namely, the People of *Mangu Khan* receiving the
 Messengers of *Baatu*, and so likewise the People of *Baatu*
 entertaining the People of *Mangu Khan*, notwithstanding
 the People of *Baatu* are more surly, and show not so much
 Courtey to the Subjects of *Mangu Khan*, as in their Turn
 they do to them.

A few Days after we entered upon those Mountains
 where the *Caru Cathayans* were wont to inhabit, and there
 we found a mighty River, inasmuch that we were con-
 strained to embark ourselves, and to sail over it. After-
 wards we came into a Valley, where I saw a Castle de-
 stroyed, the Walls whereof were only of Mud, and in that
 Place the Ground was tilled also; and there we found a cer-
 tain Village named *Equias*, wherein were *Mohammedans*
 speaking the *Persian* Language; but they dwelt a great
 Way off *Persia*. The Day following, having passed over
 the great Mountains Southward, we entered into a most
 beautiful Plain, having high Mountains on our right Hand,
 and on the left Hand of us a certain Sea or Lake, fifteen
 Days Journey in Circuit. All the Plain is most commodi-
 ously watered by Trenches distilling from the said Moun-
 tains; all which fall into the Lake in Summer Time. We
 returned by the North Side of the Lake, and there were
 great Mountains on that Side also. Upon this Plain there
 used to be formerly many Villages; but for the most Part
 they were all wasted in regard of the fertile Pastures, that the
Tartars might feed their Cattle there.

We found one great City there named *Cailac*, which was
 a Market, and great Numbers of Merchants frequented it.
 In this City we remained fifteen Days, staying for a cer-
 tain Scribe or Secretary of *Baatu*, who ought to have ac-
 companied our Guide for the dispatching of certain Affairs
 in the Court of *Mangu*. All this Country was wont to be
 called

called *Organum*, and the People thereof had their proper Language, and their peculiar kind of Writing: But it was now inhabited by the People called *Contemans*. The *Nestorians* likewise in those Parts use the very same kind of Language and Writing; they are called *Organa*, because they were wont to be most skilful in playing upon Organs, as was reported unto me. Here did I first see Worshippers of Idols; concerning whom, let me observe to your Majesty, that there be many Sects of them in these Eastern Countries.

31. The first sort of these Idolaters are called *Jugures*, whose Country borders upon the Land of *Organum*, within the said Mountains Eastward; and in all their Cities *Nestorians* inhabit, and they are dispersed likewise towards *Persia* in the Cities of the *Saracens*. The Citizens of the aforesaid City of *Caslae* had three Idol Temples, and I entered into two of them, and beheld their foolish Superstitions. In the first I found a Man, having a Cross painted with Ink upon his Hand; whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian, for he answered like a Christian unto all Questions which I demanded of him; and I asked him, Why therefore have you not the Cross with the Image of Jesus Christ thereupon? and he answered, We have no such Custom.

I thereupon conjectured, that they were indeed Christians, but that for lack of Instruction they omitted the aforesaid Ceremony; for I saw there behind a certain Chest, which was unto them instead of an Altar, whereon they set Candles and Oblations, an Image having Wings like unto the Image of St. *Michael*, and other Images also, holding their Fingers as if they would bless somebody. That Evening I could not find any thing else, for the *Saracens* only invite Men thither, but will not have them speak of their Religion, and therefore when I required of the *Saracens* concerning such Ceremonies, they were offended thereat.

On the next Day after was the New Moon, and the *Saracens* Feast of Passover, and changing my Inn or Lodging the same Day, I took my Abode near another Idol Temple; for the Citizens of the said City of *Caslae* courteously invite, and lovingly entertain, all Messengers, every Man of them according to his Ability and Station; and entering into the Temple, I found the Priests of the said Idols there, for always at the New Moons they set open their Temples, and the Priests adorn themselves, and offer up the People's Oblations of Bread and Fruits. First, therefore, I will describe to you those Rites and Ceremonies which are common unto all their Idol Temples, and then the Superstitions of the aforesaid *Jugures*, which are, as it were, a Sect distinguished from the rest. They all of them worship towards the North, clapping their Hands together, and prostrating themselves on their Knees on the Earth, holding also their Foreheads in their Hands: Whereupon the *Nestorians* in those Parts will in no case join their Hands together in the Time of Prayer, but they pray, displaying their Hands before their Breasts.

They extend their Temples in Length East and West, and on the North Side they build a Chamber in the Manner of a Vestibule, for themselves to go into, or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a four-square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North Side thereof, they take in one Chamber in the Place where the Choir should stand, and in the last Chamber they place a Chest long and broad like a Table, and behind the said Chest towards the South, stand their principal Idol, which I saw at *Caracorum*, and it was as big as the Idol of Saint *Corythober*; also a certain *Nestorian* Priest, which had been in *Casbay*, said, that in that Country there is an Idol of such Bignets, that it may be seen two Days journey before a Man came at it; and to they place other Idols round about the principal Idol, being all of them finely gilt over with pure Gold, and upon the Chest, which is in a manner a Table, they set Candles and Oblations. The Doors of their Temple are always open towards the South, contrary to the Custom of *Saracens*: They have also great Bells like us, and that is the Cause, as I think, why the Christians of the East will in no case use great Bells, notwithstanding they are common among the *Russians* and *Greeks* of *Casaria*.

32. All their Priests had their Heads and Beards shaven

quite over, and they are clad in siffron-coloured Garments; and being once shaven, they lead an unmarried Life from that Time forward, and they live an hundred or two hundred of them together in one Cloister. Upon these Days, when they enter into their Temples, they place two long Forms therein, and so sitting upon the Forms, like Singing-men in a Choir, one half of them directly over-against the other, they have certain Books in their Hand, which sometimes they lay down by them upon the Forms, and their Heads are bare so long as they remain in the Temple, and there they rest softly to themselves, not uttering any Voice at all. On my coming among them at the Time of their superstitious Devotions, and finding them all sitting mute in a manner, I attempted several Ways to provoke them unto Speech, and prevailed not by any Means possibly. They have with them also whithersoever they go, a certain string with an hundred or two hundred Nut-shells thereupon, much like to our Beads which we carry about with us; and they do always utter these Words, *Ou mam kallavi; God, thou knowest*, and one of them expounded it unto me. And to often do they expect a Reward at God's Hands as they pronounce these Words in Remembrance of God.

Round about their Temple they always make a fair Court like a Church-yard, which they environ with a good Wall; and upon the South Part thereof, they build a great Portico, wherein they sit and confer together: And upon the Top of the said Portico, they pitch a long pole upright, exalting it if they can, above all the Buildings of the Town; and by the View of the same Pole, *Portians* know that there stands a Temple of the Idols. These Rites and Ceremonies are common to all Idolaters in these Parts. Once I made a Visit to this Idol temple, and found certain Priests sitting in the outward Portico, and those which I saw seemed, by their shaven Beards, as if they had been our Countrymen. They wore certain Ornaments upon their Heads like Mitres, made of Paper. The Priests of the *Jugures* above-mentioned use these Ornaments where-ever they go. They go always in their siffron-coloured Jackets, which are very straight lined or patterned from the Bosom downwards, after the *Irish* Fashion; and they have a Cloak upon their Left-shoulder descending under their Right-arm, like a Deacon carrying the Collector's Box in time of Lent. Their Letters of Writing, the *Tartars* use as well as they. They begin to write at the Top of their Paper, drawing their Lines right down, and so they read and multiply their Lines from the Left-hand to the Right. They use certain little Papers and various Characters in their magicians Charms, and their Temples are full of such short Sermons, which come about them.

Mangu-Klan hath sent me into your Majesty, written in the Language of the *Meads* or *Tartars*; but in the Characters these *Jugures* use, but the Deceit, according to the ancient Custom, and lay up their Advers on the Top of a Pyramid. After I had sat a while with these Priests, and entered into their Temple, and seen many of our Images both great and small, I demanded of them, *What they believed concerning God?* They answered, *We believe that there is only one God; Which do you believe that he is a Spirit or some bodily Substance?* They said, *We believe that he is a Spirit.* Then said I, *do you believe that God ever took Man's Nature upon him?* They answered, *No.* Again, I said, *since you believe that he is a Spirit, to what end do you make so many bodily Images to represent him, since also you believe that he was not made Man? Why do you rather represent him by the Image of a Man than of any other Creature?* Then they answered, *We frame not these Images to represent God; but when any rich Man amongst us, or his Son, or his Wife, or any of his Friends die, he causeth the Image of the dead Person to be made, and to be placed here, and we, in Remembrance of him, do Reverence thereunto.* I replied then, *Do you think Things only for Friendship and out of Flattery to Men?* *No,* said they, *but out of regard to their Memories.*

Then they demanded of me, in *Scour* and *Millans*, where is God? To whom I answered, *Where is your Soul?* They laid in our Bodies: Then said I, *is it not in every Part of our Body, ruling and guiding the whole Body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is not perceived?*

Even so God is every-where, and rules all Things, and yet he is invisible, being Understanding and Wisdom itself. I was very desirous to have had some farther Conference with them, but on account that my Interpreter was weary and not able to express my Meaning, I was constrained to keep Silence. The *Moals*, or *Tartars*, are in this regard of their Sect, that is to say, they believe there is but one God, yet they make Images of Felt, in Remembrance of their deceased Friends, covering them with five most rich and costly Garments, and putting them into one or two Carts, which Caris no Man dare touch; and these are in the Custody of their Soothsayers, who are their Priests, concerning whom I will give your Highness an Account more at large hereafter.

These Soothsayers, or Diviners, always attend upon the Court of *Mangu*, and of other great Personages; as for the poorer, or meaner Sort, they have them not, except such only as are of the Kindred of *Zingis*; and when they are to remove, or take any Journey, the said Diviners go before them, as the cloudy Pillar went before the Children of *Israel*, and they appoint Ground where the Tents must be pitched; and, first of all, they take down their own Houses, and after them the whole Court does the like. Also on their festival Days, or new Moons, they take out these Images, and place them in Order circle-wise within the House; then come the *Moals* or *Tartars* into the same House, bowing themselves before the Images, and worship them. It is not lawful for any Stranger to enter the House. And, on a certain Time, I myself would have gone in, but was very rudely turned out, and obliged to remove, so that I never after attempted to pry any further into this Matter.

3. But it is my Opinion, that these *Jugures*, who live among the Christians and *Saracens*, by frequent Disputes with them, have been brought to believe that there is but one God; and they dwell in certain Cities, which were brought into Subjection to *Zingis-Khan*, and he gave his Daughter in Marriage unto their King; Also the City of *Caracorum* itself is in a manner within their Territories; and the whole Country of King or Presbyter *Jehn*, and of his Brother *Ung*, lieth near to their Dominions, except that they inhabit in certain Pastures Northward, and the said *Jugures* between the Mountains towards the South.

The *Moals* received their Letters or Characters from them; and they are the *Tartars* principal Scribes, and all the *Nestorians* almost can read their Letters. Next unto them, are the aforesaid Mountains Eastward, inhabiteth the Nation *Tanguts*, who are most valiant People, and took *Zingis* in Battle; but after the Conclusion of a Peace it was left at Liberty by them, and afterwards subdued them. These People of *Tangut* have Oxen of great Strength, with Tails like Horses, and with long, sharp Hair upon their Backs and Belles. Their Legs are larger than those of other Oxen, and they are exceeding fierce; these Oxen draw the Houses of the *Moals*; and their Horns are kinder, long, straight, and very sharp-pointed, inasmuch that the Owners are obliged to cut off the Ends of them. A Cow will not suffer herself to be coupled to one of them, unless they whistle or sing unto her. They have also the Qualities of a Buffalo, for if they see a Person clothed in Red, they run upon him immediately to kill him.

Next to this Nation are the People of *Tibet*; Men, who had formerly a Custom to eat the Bodies of their deceased Parents, that they might make no other Sepulchre for them than their own Bowels. But of late they have left off this Custom, because thereby they became odious to all other Nations; notwithstanding which, at this Day, they make fine Cups of the Skulls of their Parents, to this end that when they drink out of them, they may, in the Mouth of all their Jollities and Delights, call their dead Parents to Remembrance: This was told me by one that he saw. The said People of *Tibet* have vast Plenty of Gold in their Land; whosoever therefore wants Gold digs there hath found some, and then taking so much thereof as will serve his Turn, he lays up the Remainder in the Earth, because, if he should put it into his Chest, or Store-house, he is of Opinion that God would withhold from him all other Gold.

I saw some of these People, being very deformed Creatures. In *Tangut* I saw lusty, tall Men, but brown and swarthy in Colour. The *Jugures* are of a middle Stature, like *Frenchmen*. The Language of the *Jugures* is the Original and Root of the *Turkish* and *Comanian* Languages. Next to *Tibet* are the People of *Langa* and *Solanga*, whose Ambassadors I saw in the *Tartars* Court; and they brought ten great Carts with them, every one of which was drawn by six Oxen. They are little brown Men, like *Spaniards*. These People wear Jackets, like the upper Vestment of a Deacon, saving that the Sleeves are somewhat straighter, and they have Mitres upon their Heads like Bishops; but the Fore-part of their Mitre is not so hollow within as the hinder Part, neither is it sharp-pointed, nor cornered at the Top; but there hang down certain square Laps, compacted of a kind of Straw, which is made rough through extreme Heat, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the Sun-beams like a Glass, or an Helmet well burnished. On their Brows they have long Bands of the same Manufacture fastened to their Mitres, which hover in the Wind as if two long Horns grew out of their Heads; and when the Wind tosses them up and down too much, they tie them over the Middle of their Mitre, from one Temple to another, and so they lie across their Heads. Their principal Ambassador to the *Tartars* Court, had a Table of Elephants Teeth about him, of a Cubit in Length, and a Handful in Breadth, very smooth; and whensoever he spoke to the Emperor himself, or to any other great Personage, he always looked on that Table, as if he had found therein those Things which he spake; neither did he cast his Eyes to the Right-hand or to the Left of those with whom he talked.

Beyond them, as I was certainly informed, there are other People called *Muc*, having Villages, but no one Man of them appropriates any Cattle to himself, notwithstanding there are many Flocks and Drovers of Cattle in their Country, and nobody appointed to keep them; but when any of them want a Beast, he goes up upon a Hill, and there makes a Shout, and all the Cattle which are within hearing of the Noise, come flocking about him, and suffer themselves to be taken as if they were tame. And when any Messenger, or Stranger, cometh into their Country, they shut him up in a House, allowing him Things necessary, till his Business be dispatched; for if any Stranger should travel through that Country, the Cattle would fly away at the very Scent of him, and so become wild. Beyond *Muc* is the grand *Cathaya*, the Inhabitants of which, as I suppose, were of old called *Seres*, for from them are brought most excellent Stuffs and Silks; and this People are called *Seres* of a certain Town in the same Country. I was credibly informed, that in the said Country there is a Town having Walls of Silver, and Bulwarks of Gold. There are many Provinces in that Land, the greater Part of which are not as yet subdued by the *Tartars*, and the Sea lieth between them and *India*. These *Cathayans* are Men of little Stature, speaking much through the Nose.

This is a general Remark, that all the People of the East have small Eyes. They are excellent Workmen in every Art, and their Physicians are well skilled in the Virtue of Herbs, and judge very exactly of the Pulse, but know not any thing concerning Urine. Some of them I saw, for there are many at *Caracorum*, and they always bring up their Children in the same Trade of their Father, and therefore they pay so much Tribute; for they give the *Moals*, or *Moguls*, every Day, one thousand five hundred Cassino's, or Jascots (Jascot is a Piece of Silver weighing ten Marks) that is to say, every Day, fifty thousand Marks, besides Silks, and a certain Quantity of Victuals, and other Services which they do them. All these Nations are between the Mountains of *Caucasus*; on the North Side of those Mountains to the East Sea, on the South Part of *Scythia*, which the Shepherds of *Moad* inhabit, all are tributary unto them, and all given to Idolatry, and report many Fables of a Multitude of Gods, and certain deified Men, and make a Pedigree of the Gods, as our Poets do.

The *Nestorians* are intermixed with them as Strangers, so are the *Saracens* as far as *Cathay*. The *Nestorians* inhabit fifteen Cities of *Cathay*, and have a Bishop there in a very

a City called *Segin*; but if you proceed further, they are mere Idolaters: The Priests of those Nations have all broad yellow Hoods. There are also among them certain Hermits, living in the Woods and Mountains, of an austere and strange Life. The *Nestorians* there know nothing, for they say their Service, and have holy Books in the *Syrian* Tongue, which they know not; so that they sing as our Monks do, who are ignorant of Grammar; and hence it cometh that they are wholly corrupted. They are great Uterers and Drunkards, and some of them also, who live among the *Tartars*, have many Wives in the same manner as the *Tartars* have.

When they enter into the Church, they wash their lower Parts, as the *Saracens* do; they eat no Flesh on *Friday*, and hold their Feasts on that Day, after the manner of the *Saracens*. The Bishops come seldom into the Countries, perhaps once in fifty Years; then they cause all their little Children to be made Priests, even in the Cradle, so that all their Men almost are Priests, and, after this, they marry Wives, which is directly against the Decrees of the Fathers. They are also Bigamits, for their Priests themselves, when their Wife is dead, marry another. They are all *Simonists*, for they give no holy Thing freely. They are very careful of their Wives and Children, wherefore they apply themselves to Gam, and not to the spreading of the Faith; whence it comes to pass, while some of them bring up the Nobility's Children of *Meal*, although they teach them the Gospel, and the Articles of the Faith, yet by their evil Life and Covetousness, they drive them further from Christianity, because the Life of the *Meals*, or *Moguls*, and *Tuinans*, who are downright Idolaters, is more just and upright than theirs.

34. We departed from the City *Cailac* on *Saint Andrew's* Day, and within three Leagues found a Village of *Nestorians*. Entering into the Church, we sang *Salve Regina*, &c. with Joy, because it was long since we had seen a Church. Departing thence, in three Days we came to the Entrance of that Province, not far from the Sea before-mentioned, which seemed to us as tempestuous as the Ocean, and therein we saw a great Island. My Companions drew near the Shore, and wet a linen Cloth therein, to taste the Water, which was somewhat salt, but however might be drunk. There was a Valley over-against it, between the great Mountains South and East, and between the Hills was another salt Lake or Sea; and there ran a River through that Valley from the other Sea into this, and there came such a continual Wind through the Valley, that Men pass along the Road with great Danger, fearing the Wind should carry them into the Sea.

Therefore we left the Valley, and went towards the North, to the hilly Countries, covered with deep Snow, which then lay upon the Earth, so that upon *Saint Nicholas's* Day we began to hasten our Journey, and because we found no People but the *Jani*, or Men appointed from Day's Journey to Day's Journey, to conduct the Messengers; for in many Places in the hilly Countries the Way is narrow, and there are but few Fields; so that between Day and Night we met with two *Jani*, and therefore of two Days Journey we made one, and travelled more by Night than by Day: It was extremely cold there, so that they lent us their Goat Skins, turning the Hair outward. On the seventh of *December* in the Evening, we passed by a certain Place, between very terrible Rocks, and our Counsel went unto me, intrusting me to pray to God, which I did. Then we sang with loud Voice, *Credo in Deum*, &c. and by the Grace of God, we passed through unhurt.

After that, they began to intreat me that I would write them Papers, and I told them I would teach them Words which they should carry in their Hearts, whereby their Souls and Bodies should be saved; but when I thought to teach them, I wanted an Interpreter, yet I wrote them the Credo and Lord's-Prayer, saying, "Here is written what-ever a Man ought to believe concerning God; here also is that Prayer wherein we beg of God what-ever is needful for a Man; now therefore believe firmly what is written here, although you cannot understand it, and ask God to do that for you which is contained in this written Prayer, to cause with his own Mouth he taught it his Friends, and I hope he will save you." I could

not do any thing else, because it was dangerous to speak by such an Interpreter, nay, almost impossible, because he was ignorant.

35. After this, we entered into the Country where the Court of *Kon Khan* was, which was formerly called the Country of *Naymans*, who were the peculiar Subjects of *Prejire*, that is, *Prebyster John*, but I saw not that Court till my Return; yet here I shall briefly mention what befell his Son and Wives. *Kon Khan* being dead, *Baata* desired that *Mangu* should be *Khan*, but I could not well understand in what manner happened the Death of *Khan*. *Friar Andrew* said, that he died by a certain Medicine given him, and it was suspected that *Baata* caused it to be administered. Yet I heard it otherwise, for he summoned *Baata* to come and do him Homage, and *Baata* took his Journey with great Pomp and Splendor, but he and his Servants were much afraid, and he sent one of his Brothers before called *Stikin*, who, when he came to *Kon*, and ought to have presented him with his Copp, high Words arose between them, insomuch that they flew one another. The Widow of *Stikin* kept us a whole Day, that we might go to her House, and bless her, or pray for her.

Kon being dead, *Mangu* was chosen by the Counsel of *Baata*, and was then chosen while *Friar Andrew* was there. *Kon* had among others a Brother called *Sirenen*, who by the Council of *Kon's* Wife, and her Vassals, went with great Train towards *Mangu*, as if he went to do him homage, and yet in reality he purposed to kill him, and destroy his whole Court; and when he was near *Mangu*, and within one or two Days Journey, one of his Waggoners happened to break in the Way; where the Waggoner endeavoured to mend it, came one of the Servants of *Mangu* who helped him; he was impatientive of their Journey, that the Waggoner revealed unto him what was purposed to do. Then turning out of the Way, and not lightly regarded it, he went unto the Herd of Horses, and took the best Horse he could, and passing Night and Day, came speedily to the Court of *Mangu*, reporting what he had heard.

The Plot being thus discovered, *Mangu* quickly assembled all his Forces, caused four Lines of armed Men to compass his Court, that none might go in or out, and set the rest against *Sirenen*, who took him, and brought him to the Court, with all his Followers, who were all laid to his Charge, so that it was his death. Then he and his eldest Son *Kon Khan* were taken, and five hundred of the Nobility of the *Tartars* were slain. The noble Women also were sent for, who were all taken with burning Firebrands, to make them confess, and confessed, were put to Death. His youngest Son *Mangu* who was not capable of entering in to the Company, was left alive, and his Father's Palace was burnt, and was hanging unto it, and we passed by it in our Return, but could my Gentleman in it, either going or coming. For, the Lady of the Nation, sat in it, and there was none to comfort her.

36. We now went up again into the hilly Countries, steering always towards the North. At *Leignin*, on *Saint Stephen's* Day, we entered into a great Plain, where there was not to much as a Mole-hill, and the next Day, out of the Plain of *Saint John* the Evangelist, we came unto the Plains that great Lord: But when we were near it, we lay, within five Days Journey, our Host where we should have travelled more than fifteen Days, so that we were Reason, as I understood, that we might go by *Daun* the rule, their proper Country where the Court of *Khan* was. Others said, that he did it for this Purpose, that he might make the Way longer, and might draw their Power the more, for they are wont to deal with Men coming from Countries not subject to them; and our Guide obtained with great Difficulty, that we might go the right Way, for they held us debating thus from the Morning till Three o'Clock.

By the Way also the Secret ty told me, that it was contained in the Letters which *Baata* sent to *Mangu*, that we required an Army and Aid of *Saracens*, and that the *Saracens*. Then I began to wonder much, and was greatly troubled, for I knew the Contents of the Letters

ed that no mention of any Army was made therein, on-
you advised him to be a Friend to all Christians, and
that he should exalt the Cross; and bear Enmity to all the
Enemies of the Cross; and because also the Interpreters
were *Armenians*, of the greater *Armenia*, who greatly
hated the *Saracens*, lest perhaps they had interpreted any
thing in evil Part, to make the *Saracens* more odious and
hateful at their Pleasure. I therefore held my Peace, not
speaking a Word for them, or against them; for I feared to
speak the Words of *Baatu*, lest I should incur some
ill Accusation, and without reasonable Cause.

We came therefore the Day after into the said Court,
our Guide had a great Houfe appointed him, and we three
in a little Cottage, wherein we could scarce lay our Baggage,
make our Beds, and have a little Fire. Many came to
visit our Guide and brought him drink made of Rice, in
long straight-mouthed Bottles, in which I could discern no Dif-
ference from the best Wine, except that it had not the
Scent of Wine. We were called soon after, and most
curiously examined upon what Business we came; "I an-
swered, that we having heard *Sariacsb* was a Christian,
we came therefore unto him. The King our Master
sent him a Packet by us, he sent us to *Baatu* his Fa-
ther, and his Father sent us hither, he should have writ-
ten the Cause." Whereupon they demanded, whether
we would make Peace with them? I answered, "He had
sent Letters unto *Sariacsb* as a Christian, and if he had
known he were not a Christian, he would never have
sent him Letters. That as to a Treaty of Peace, there
was no Ground for it, since he has done you no wrong;
If he had not done any, why should you war upon him
or his People? He willingly (as a just Man) would re-
form himself and desire Peace. If ye without Cause
will make War with him or his Nation, we hope that
God (who is just) will help them." At this they
pondered, always repeating, *why came ye not to make Peace*.
For they are now so puffed-up with Pride, that they think
the whole World should desire to make Peace with them;
whereas, if I might be suffered, I would preach War a-
gainst them to the utmost of my Power. But I would not
voluntarily deliver the Cause of my Coming, lest I should
speak any thing against that which *Baatu* commanded; I
told them therefore the sole Cause of my coming thither
was, because he sent me.

The Day following we were brought to the Court, and
I thought I could go barefoot, as I did in our Country,
and therefore I laid aside my Shoes; but such as come to
the Court, alight far from the Houfe, where the great
Stalls, as it were a Bow-shot off, where the Horses re-
main, and a Boy to keep them. When we alighted there,
and our Guide went with us to the Houfe, a *Hungarian*
Boy was present there, who knew our Order; and when
the Men came about us, and stared at us as Monsters, es-
pecially because we were barefooted, and demanded whe-
ther we did not need our Feet, because they supposed we
should by Cold have lost them, that *Hungarian* told them
the Reason, shewing them the Rules and Practice of our
Order. Then the chief Secretary, who was a *Nestorian*, and a
Christian, by whose Council and Advice almost all is done,
came to us to see us, looked earnestly upon us, and called
the *Hungarian*, of whom he asked many Questions.
Then we were directed to return to our Lodging.

37. When we returned, at the End of the Court, to-
wards the East, as far from the Court as a Cross-bow could
shoot at twice, I saw a Houfe, upon which there was a
little Cross, at which I rejoiced much, supposing there was
some Christian there, and I went in boldly, and found an
Altar there, very well furnished; for there, in a golden
Cloth, were the Images of *Christ*, the Blessed *Virgin*, and
Saint *John Baptist*, and two Angels; the Lineaments of
their Bodies and Garments distinguished with Pearl, and a
great silver Cross with precious Stones in the Corners, and
the Middle thereof, and many other Embroiderings, and
a Lamp burning with Oil before the Altar, having eight
Lights; and there sat an *Armenian* Monk, somewhat
black and lean, clad with a rough hairy Coat to the
Mid-leg having upon it a Black Cloak of Bristles, furred
with spotted Skins, girt with Iron under his Hair-cloth.

Presently after we entered in; before we saluted the
Monk, falling flat upon the Ground, we sang *Ave Regina*
Cælorum, &c. and he rising, prayed with us; then salut-
ing him, we sat by him, having a little Fire before him
in a Pan; therefore we told him the Cause of our com-
ing, and he began to comfort us, saying, that we should
boldly speak, because we were the Messengers of God,
who is greater than all Men. Afterwards he told us of his
Coming, saying, he came thither a Month before us, and
that he was a Hermit of the Territories of *Jerusalem*, and
that the Lord appeared unto him three Times, command-
ing him to go to the Prince of the *Tartars*; and when he
deferred to go the third Time, God threatened him, and
over-threw him upon the Ground, saying, he should die,
unless he went; and that he told *Mangu-Khan*, that if he
would become a Christian, the whole World should be o-
bedient to him. Then I answered, "Brother, I will wil-
lingly persuade him to become a Christian; I will pro-
mise him also that the *French* and the Pope will much
rejoice thereat, and account him a Brother and a Friend;
but I will never promise that they shall become his Ser-
vants, and pay him Tribute, as these other Nations,
because in so doing, I should speak against my Consci-
ence." On which he held his Peace. We afterwards
went together to our Lodging, which I found a cold Ha-
bitation.

We had eaten nothing that Day; so we boiled a little
Flesh and Miller, of which we made Broth for our Sup-
pers. Our Guide and his Companions were drunk at the
Court, and little Care was had of us. At that Time the
Messengers of *Vesace* were there, hard by us, which we
knew not, and the Men of the Court made us rise in great
Haite at the Dawning of the Day. I went barefoot with
them a little way unto the Houfe of the said Messengers,
and they demanded of them whether they knew us. Then
that *Grecian* Soldier calling our Order, and my Comp-
panion to remembrance, because he had seen him in the
Court of *Vesace*, with *Friar Thomas*, our Minister, and all
his Fellows, gave great Testimony of us. Then they de-
manded whether we had Peace or War with *Vesace*? We
have, said I, neither War nor Peace; and they demanded
how that might be? Because, said I, their Countries are
far from each other, and meddle not together. Then the
Ambassador of *Vesace* said, we had Peace, giving me a
Caution; so I held my Tongue. That Morning my Toes
Ends were so frozen, that I could no longer go barefoot;
for in these Countries the Cold is extreme sharp, and from
the Time when it beginneth to freeze, it never ceases till
May: Nay, in the Month of *May* it froze every Morn-
ing, but in the Day-time it thawed, through the Heat of the
Sun; but in Winter it never thaws, but the Ice continues
with every Wind. And if there were any Wind there
in Winter, as there is with us, nothing could live there;
but it is always mild Weather till *April*, and then the
Winds rise; and at that Time when we were there (about
Easter) the Cold rising with the Wind, killed Multitudes
of living Creatures.

In the Winter little Snow fell there; but about *Easter*,
which was in the latter End of *April*, there fell so great
a Snow, that all the Streets of *Caracorum* were full;
to that they were forced to carry it out with their Carts.
Then they first brought us (from the Court) Ram-skin Coats,
and Breeches of the same, and Shoes, which my Companion
and Interpreter received; but I thought I had no need of
them, because I supposed my furred Garment, which I
brought from *Baatu*, was sufficient for me. On the 5th
of *January* we were brought to the Court, and there came
Nestorian Priests to me, whom I knew not to be Christi-
ans, demanding which Way we worshipped? I said, to
the East; and this they demanded, because we had shaven
our Beards, by the Advice of our Guide, that we might
appear before the *Khan* according to the Fashion of our
Country, whereupon they thought we had been *Tunians*,
or Idolaters: They made us also expound out of the Bible.
Then they demanded what Reverence we would pay to
the *Khan*, whether after our own Fashion or theirs? To
whom I made Answer, "We are Priests dedicated to the
Service of God; Noblemen in our Country will not ful-
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“fer Priests to bow their Knees before them for the Honour of GOD: Nevertheless we will humble ourselves to all Men for the Lord’s sake. We came from a far Country, if ye please we will first sing Praises unto GOD, who hath brought us safe hither from afar, and afterwards we will do whatsoever pleaseth this Lord, with this Exception, that he command us nothing which may be against the Worship and Honour of GOD.” Then they entering into the House, delivered what we had said; so their Lord was contented, and they set us before the Entrance of the House, hitting up the Felt which hung before the Gate, and because it was Christmas we began to sing. *A Solis ortus carline*, &c.

38. When we had sung this Hymn, they searched our Bolsoms to see we had no Knives about us. They made our Interpreter ungird himself, and leave his Girdle and his Knife without, in the Custody of a Door-keeper. When we came in, there stood in the Entrance a Bench with Cushions, by which they made our Interpreter stand, and caused us to sit upon a Form before the Ladies; the whole House was hung with Cloth of Gold, and on a Hearth, in the Middle of the House, there was a Fire made of Thorns and Wormwood Roots (which grow there very big) and Ox Dung. The Khan sat upon a Bed covered with a spotted Skin, or Fur, bright and shining like a Seal’s Skin: He was a flat nosed Man, of a middle Stature, about the Age of five and forty, and a little pretty young Woman his Wife sat by him, and one of his Daughters, whose Name was *Cerina*, a hard-favoured young Woman, with other Children that were younger, sat next us to them upon a Bed; for that was the House of a certain Christian Lady he loved, by whom he had this Daughter, and he married the young Wife afterwards; yet the Daughter was Mistress of all that Court which was her Mother’s.

Then he made them ask us what we would drink, whether Wine, or Caracina, that is, Drink made of Rice, or Caracofinus, that is, clear Cow’s Milk, or Bull, that is, Mead made of Honey; for they use these four kinds of Liquor in the Winter? Then I answered, Sir, we are not Men who take Pleasure in Drink, what pleaseth you shall content us. Then he commanded Drink of Rice to be given us, clear and good as White-wine; whereof I talked a little for Reverence of him, and our Interpreter, to our Misfortune, stood by the Butlers who gave him much Drink, so that he was quickly drunk; then the Khan caused Falcons and other Birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his Bill, and looked upon them, and after a long time he commanded us to speak. We were then to bow the Knee; and he had his Interpreter, a certain *Neyterian*, whom I knew not to be a Christian; and we had our Interpreter, such a one as he was, who by this Time was drunk. Then I said, “We first give Thanks and Praise to GOD, who hath brought us from so remote Parts of the World to see *Mangu-Khan*, to whom GOD hath given so great Power upon Earth; and we beseech our Lord, by whose Command we live and die, that he would grant him a long and a prosperous Life.” For this they desire, that Men pay for their Lives, then I told him, “Sir, We have heard of *Sartach*, that he was a Christian, and the Christians who heard it, but especially the *French King*, rejoiced; wherefore we come unto him, and our Lord and King hath sent him Letters by us, wherein were Words of Peace, and amongst other things he testified of us who’re Servants we are, and entreated him to suffer us to abide in his Country; for it is our Office to teach Men to live according to the Law of GOD, and he sent us to *Baatu* his Father, and *Baatu* hath sent us hither unto you; you are they to whom GOD hath given great Donations upon Earth, we therefore intreat your Highness to give us Leave to continue in your Country to do the Service of GOD for you, your Wives, and Children. We have neither Gold, nor Silver, nor Precious Stones, to present unto you, but ourselves, whom we present to serve and pray unto GOD for you: At least give us leave to continue while the Cold be past. My Companion is too weak, that he cannot by any means travel on Horseback without Hazard of his Life,” for my Companion begged me and adjured me to crave leave to stay. Then he began to answer, I was as the sun spread

his Beams every where, so our Power and *Baatu*’s shows itself every where, so that we have no need of your Silver and Gold.

Hitherto I understood my Interpreter, but farther I could not perceive any perfect Sentence, whereby I easily found he was drunk, and *Mangu-Khan* himself was drunk too, at least I thought so; yet he was displeas’d that we came first to *Sartach*, before we came to him. Then seeing the Defect of my Interpreter, I held my Peace, this only excepted; I entreated his Highness not to be displeas’d for that which I spoke of Gold and Silver, because I spoke it, not that he had need of such things, or desired them, but because we would willingly honour him with spiritual things. Then he made us rise, and sit down again, and after some few Words, and paying our Duty to him, we went on, and his Secretaries, and that Interpreter of his (who had been bringing up of one of his Daughters) went with us. They began to be very inquisitive concerning the Kingdom of *France*, whether there were many Rams, Oxen, and Horses there, as it presently they should enter and take all. And oftentimes I was fain to bridle myself much in displeasing Anger and Indignation. I answered, however, there are many good things there which ye shall see if you happen to come thither. Then they appointed us one who should have Care of us, and we went to the Monks; and when we came out again ready to go to our Lodging, the Interpreter came to us, saying, *Mangu-Khan* hath Compassion on you, and gives you two Months Time to stay, then the extrem Cold will be past; and he offers to lend you ten Days Journey, where is a good City called *Cacaram*; if you will go thither he will cause necessary Things to be given you, but if ye will stay here ye may have Necessaries; yet it will be a troublesome thing for you to follow the Court.

I said the Lord preserve *Mangu-Khan*, and grant him a good and long Life. We have found this Monk here, who we think to be a holy Man, and that by the good Pleasure of GOD he came into these Parts; wherefore we would willingly stay with him, and we will pray together for the Life of *Khan*. Then he held his Peace, and departed, and we went to our House, which we found very cold, and without any Fuel, as yet falling, thought it a Night. Then he to whom we were recommended, provided us Fuel, and a little Meat. Our Guide was now to return to *Baatu*, who desired a Carpet of us, which we set in the Court of *Baatu*, which we gave him, and he peaceably departed; so kissing our right Hand, and confessing his Fault, if he suffered us to endure Hunger and Thirst upon the Way, we pardoned him, craving Pardon of him and his whole Family, if we had given them any evil Example.

39. A certain Woman of *Metz* in *Lorraine*, called *Paule*, found us, who made us good Cheer, according to her Power, who belonged to the Court of that Lady who was Christian, of whom I spoke before, who told us of that strange Poverty which she endured before she came into the Court; but now she was well to live, for she had a young Husband, a *Rutenian* (by whom she had three very fat Children) who was skillful in Building, which amongst them is an excellent Art. She told us further, that at *Caracorum* there was a certain Goldsmith call’d *William*, born at *Paris*, whose Surname was *Bouebier*, and his Father’s Name *Lorraine Bouebier*, and she believed he hath a Brother yet living upon the Great Bridge, called *Roger Bouebier*; and she told me that he hath a certain young Man which he thought, whom he accounted as his Son, who was an excellent Interpreter; but *Mangu-Khan* delivered to the fore said Goldsmith three hundred Jafots, that is, three thousand Marks and fifty Workmen, to make a Piece of Wall, towards the East he could not find his Son to me; for the last time I lay in that Court, the Men which came from your Country are good Men, and *Mangu-Khan* well loving your Countrymen, but their Interpreter is good for nothing, therefore she was careful for an Interpreter.

Then I wrote unto the Goldsmith, certifying him of my coming hither, and requesting him, that if he could he would find me his Son, and he wrote me Answer, that he could not that Moon; but the next his Work should be published, and then he would send him unto me. We

played therefore with other Embassadors, and it is otherwise with Embassadors in *Baatu's* Court than in the Court of *Mangu-Khan*: for in the Court of *Baatu* there is one *Jan* on the East Side, who receiveth all such as come from the West, and so of other Countries of the World; but in the Court of *Mangu* they are all together under one *Jani*, and they may see and visit one another. In *Baatu's* Court they know not one another, or whether a Man be a Messenger or no, because they know not one another's Lodgings, nor see one another, but in the Court; and when one is called by Accident, another is not, for they go not to Court unless they be sent for. We found there a certain Christian in *Damascus*, who said he came in the Behalf of the Sultan of *Mons Regalis*, and of *Crax*, who desired to become Friend and Tributary to the *Tartars*.

The Year before I came thither there was a certain Monk of *Antioch* or *Ptolemais*, in *Syria*, who called himself *Theodolus*, but his true Name was *Theodolus*, and he took his Journey from *Cyprus* with Friar *Andrew*, and went with him into *Perfu*, and procured certain Instruments of *Andrew*, then in *Perfu*, who remained after Friar *Andrew* returning, he went forward with his Instruments, and came to *Mangu-Khan*, and being demanded upon what Account he came, said, "That he was with a certain holy Bishop, to whom the Lord sent Letters from Heaven, written in Golden Characters, and commanded him to send them to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, because he should be Lord of the whole Earth, and that he should persuade Men to make Peace with him." Then *Mangu* said unto him, If thou hadst brought these Letters which came from Heaven, and the Letters of thy Lord, thou hadst been welcome. He answered, that he brought Letters, but they were with other Things of his on a wild and unperceived Geding, which escaping, fled from him through the Woods and Mountains, so that he had lost all.

Then *Mangu* demanded the Name of the Bishop; he said he was called *Odo* of *Damascus*, and informed him also Master *William*, who was Clerk of the Lord Legat. The Khan commanded, in whose Kingdom it was? To whom he gave Answer, that it was under a certain King of the *Franks*, called *Males*; for he had heard of that that happened at *Majjora*, and he would have said, that they were your Servants. He also told the Khan, that the *Saracens* were between the *Franks* and him, who hindered his Way; that the Way had been open, he would have sent Embassadors, and willingly have made Peace with him. Then *Mangu-Khan* asked him, if he would bring his Messengers to that King, and that Bishop? He told him he would, and also to the Pope.

Then *Mangu* caused an exceeding strong Bow to be made, which two Men could scarce bend, and two Arrows of Silver, whose Heads were full of Holes, which rings, when they are shot, like a Whistle; and he chose a Maid, whom he should send with the said *Theodolus*, and to whom he said, "Thou shalt go to the King of the *Franks*, to whom this Man shall bring thee, and present him with these on my Behalf; and if he will have Peace with us, we will win the Country from the *Saracens*, even home to him, and will grant him the rest of the Country unto the West; if otherwise, bring back the Bow and Arrows unto us, and tell him we shoot far and strongly with such Bows." Then he caused *Theodolus* to go forth, whose Interpreter Master *William's* Son was, and in his Hearing, he said unto the *Maal*, "Thou shalt go with this Man, mark well the Ways, the Countries, and their Castles, Men and Mountains." For this Reason the young Man blamed *Theodolus*, saying, he had done all in conducting the Messengers of the *Tartars* with him, for they went for no other Cause but to spy.

He answered, that he would let them on the Sea, that they should not know which Way to return. *Mangu* gave him a golden Bull or Tablet, to wit, a Plate of Gold of an Hand breadth and half a Cubit long, wherein his Orders are engraven: Who so carrieth that, may command what he will and it is done without Delay. So then *Theodolus* came to *Veslacijs*, determining to pass over to the Pope, that he might deceive the Pope, as he had deceived *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Veslacijs* demanded of him, whether he had Letters to the Pope, because he was a

Messenger, and should conduct the Messengers of the *Tartars*; but not being able to shew the Letters, he took him and spoiled him of all that he had got, and cast him in Prison, and the *Maal* fell sick and died there.

But *Veslacijs* sent back the golden Tablet to *Mangu-Khan* by the Servants of the *Maal*, whom I met at *Affron* in the Entrance into *Turky*, who told me what had happened to *Theodolus*. Such Sharpers run through the World, whom the *Tartars* kill when they can take them. Now the Epiphany was at hand; and that *Armenian* Monk, *Sergius* by Name, told me that he should baptize *Mangu-Khan* upon that holy Day. I entreated him to labour, by all means, that I might be present, that I might bear Witness that I saw it; and he promised me he would.

41. When this festival Day came, the Monk called me not, but at six of the Clock I was sent for to Court, and I saw the Monk with the Priests returning from the Court with his Cross, and the Priests with the Censor, and the Gospel for that Day. *Mangu-Khan* made a Feast, and his Custom is, that on such Days as his Soothsayers appoint him, or the *Nestorian* Priests make holy Days, he held his Court; and on these Days the Christians come first, with their Furniture, and pray for him and bless his Cup; then they departing, the *Saracen* Priests come and do the like: Next after them come the idolatrous Priests, and do the same. The Monk told me, that he only believes the Christians, yet will have all to pray for him; but in this he lied, for he believes none; yet all follow his Court as Flies do Honey. He giveth to all, and all Men think they are his Familiars, and all prophesy Prosperity to him. Then we sat before the Court a long Space, and they brought us Flesh to eat; to whom I made Answer, that we would not eat there, but if they would provide us Meat, they should provide it for us at our House; to which they answered, Get home to your House, you were invited here for nothing else but to eat: Therefore we returned to the Monk, who blushed at the Lye he had told me, and therefore would not speak a Word of the Matter; yet some of the *Nestorians* affirmed, that he was baptized; to whom I said, that I would never believe it, nor report it to others, seeing I saw it not.

We came at last to our old and empty House, where they provided us Bedding and Coverlids; they brought us also Fuel, and gave us three the Carcass of one little lean Ram, as Meat for six Days, and every Day a little Platterfull of Millet, and lent us a Caldron, and a Trivet to boil our Flesh, which being boiled, we boiled our Millet in the Broth of the Flesh. This was our Meat, and it had well sufficed us, if they had suffered us to eat in Peace; but there were so many starved Fellows, who were not provided with Meat, that as soon as they saw us dress ours, they thrust in upon us, and would eat with us. The Cold began then to prevail, and *Mangu-Khan* sent us three Fur-coats with the Hair outwards, which we thankfully received: They demanded also how we were provided with necessary Food; to whom I answered, that little Meat sufficed us, but we have not an House wherein to pray for *Mangu-Khan*; for our Cottage was so little, that we could scarce stand upright in it, nor open our Books for Smoak after the Fire was lighted. Of this they gave him an Account, and he sent to the Monk, to know if he would be pleased with our Company, who gladly answered that he would. From that Time we were provided with a better House, and we went down with the Monk before the Court, where none lodged but we and their Soothsayers; but they lodged nearer before the Palace of the greatest Lady, and we at the farthest End towards the East, before the Palace of the last Lady; and that was on the Thirtieth of *January*.

On the next Morning, all the *Nestorian* Priests came together before Day at the Chapel, and smote upon a Board instead of ringing a Bell, and sang Matins solemnly, and put on their Ornaments, preparing the Censor and the Incense; and while they were waiting thus, behold, in the Morning the principal Wife, *Cotata-Cuten* by Name (*Cuten* is of the same Import as Lady, and *Cotata* is her proper Name) came into the Chapel with many other Ladies, and with her her eldest Son called *Baltu*, and other Children, and they cast themselves down upon the Earth, the King

alter

after the Manner of the *Nestorians*; and after this, they touched all the Images with their Right-hands, always kissing their Hands after they had touched; and after that they gave their Right-hands to all that stood by them in the Church, for this is the Custom of the *Nestorians* when they come into the Church; then the Priests sang many Things, giving the Lady Incense in her Hand, and she put it upon the Fire; then they perfumed her: After this, when the Day was clear, she began to put off the Ornament from her Head, which is called *Bacca*, and I saw her bare Head; then she commanded us to go forth, and as I went out I saw a Silver Basin brought, whether they baptized her or no, I know not; but I know they celebrate not *Mas* in a Tent, but in a standing Church; and at the Feast of *Easter* I saw them baptize and consecrate a Font with great Solemnity, which now they did not.

While we went into our House, *Mangu-Khan* himself came and went into the Church or Oratory, and a golden Bed was brought, on which he sat by his Queen, over-against the Altar; then we were sent for, who knew not then that *Mangu* was come, and the Door-keeper searched us, lest we should have Knives about us; but coming into the Oratory, having a Bible and a Breviary in my Bosom, I first bowed down to the Altar, and after to *Mangu-Khan*, and so passing by we stood between the Monk and the Altar; then they made us sing a Psalm after our Manner, and chant it; but we sang *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, &c. and *Khan* caused our Books to be brought unto him, the Bible and the Breviary, and diligently enquired concerning the Images, what they signified; the *Nestorians* answered him at their Pleasure, because our Interpreter came not in with us; and when I was first before him, I had the Bible in my Bosom, which he commanded to be brought unto him, and he looked earnestly on it; then he departed, and his Lady remained there, and distributed Gifts to all the Christians there; she gave the Monk a Jaseot, and to the Arch-Deacon of the Priests another; she caused a Nassic to be spread before us, that is, a Piece of Cloth as broad as a Coverlid of a Bed, very large, and a Buckram, which, when I would not receive, they sent them to my Interpreter, who had them to himself. He brought the Nassic to *Cyprus*, which he sold for eighteen Sultanines of *Cyprus*, but it was much the worse for the Carriage. Then Drink was brought us, viz. Drink made of Rice and Red-wine, like a Wine of *Roebelle*, and *Cosmos*; then the Lady holding the Cup full in her Hand, desired a Blessing upon her Knees, and all the Priests sung with a loud Voice, and she drank it up, and I and my Companion were obliged to sing.

Another Time, when all of them were almost drunk, there was brought the Carcass of one Ram, which was presently devoured, and after that great Fishes, which are like our Carp, without Salt or Bread, whereof I eat a little, so they passed the Day till the Evening; and when the Lady herself was drunk, she took her Chariot, the Priests singing, and went her Way. The next Sunday, which was the Twenty-third of *January*, the *Khan's* Son came (whose Mother was a Christian) and did the like, but not with so great Solemnity, for he gave no Gifts, but made the Priests drink, and gave them parched Millet to eat. Before the first Sunday in *Lent*, the *Nestorians* fast three Days, which they call the Fast of *Jonas*, when he preached to the *Ninevites*. And the *Armenians* fast five Days, which they call the Fast of *St. Lorkis*, who is the greatest Saint among them. The *Nestorians* begin their Fast on *Tuesday*, and end it on *Thursday*; so that on *Friday* they eat Flesh: And all that Time I saw the Chancellor, who is there called *Bulgai*, give them small Pieces of Flesh upon the *Friday*, and they blessed the Flesh with great Solemnity, as the *Paschal Lamb* is blessed, but he eat none with them; and thus I learned of the *French Goldsmith*, who was his very familiar Friend.

The Monk lent to *Mangu* to fast that Week, which he did; so that on the *Easter* of the *Armenians* we went in Procession to the House of the *Mangu*, and the Monk and we too went in with the Priests before him; and while we went in, one of the Servants went out, carrying on the Shoulder Bones of Rams burnt as black as Coals. I wondered at this greatly, as not knowing what it should mean; but after I

had enquired, I understood, that the *Khan* never does any thing before he has consulted these Bones, which kind of Divination is thus performed: When the *Khan* undertakes any thing, or rather before he undertakes it, he causes three of these Bones to be brought to him unburnt, and holding them, he considers in his Mind the thing he consults about, and whether he shall do it or not, and then delivers the Bones to be burnt; and there are always two little Rooms by the House where he lies, where these Bones are burnt, which are diligently sought for every Day; and all the *Leshkar* or Camp of the *Tartars*. When they are burnt black, they bring them to him; then he looks upon them, whether the Bones, by the Heat of the Fire, be clef Lengthways, for then he may do it; but if the Bones are cracked athwart, or round Pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not; for the Bones are always clef in the Fire or the thin Skin which covers the Bone; and if one be clef downright, he proceeds in his Design, be it what it will.

When therefore we went in before him, having a Caution to avoid touching the Threshold, the *Nestorian* Priests brought him Incense, and he put it upon the Censur, and they perfumed him; then they sung, blessing his Cups, after the Monk pronounced his Blessing, and we blessed last: And when he saw us holding up the Bible towards our Breasts, he caused it to be brought to him that he might see it, which he earnestly looked upon; then after he had drunk, and the chief Priest had waited on his Cup, they gave the Priests Drink, but we went out; but my Companion staying last, when we were gone, turned his Face to the *Khan*, bowing himself to him, and then hastily following us, he stumbled at the Threshold of the House, while we went in Haste towards the House of *Baltu*, the *Khan's* eldest Son. They that observed the Threshold seized my Companion and made him star, calling one, and commanding him to be carried to the *bagai*, who is the Chancellor, or Secretary of the Court, who judgeth those that are arraigned of Life and Death, but I knew it not; yet, when I looked back, and did not see him coming, I thought they kept him to give him some lighter Garments, for he was weak, and so laden with Felt Garments that he could scarce go.

Then they called our Interpreter, and made him sit with him, but we went to the *Khan's* eldest Son's House, who had two Wives, and was lodged at the right Side of his Father's Court; who, as soon as he saw us coming, leaping from his Bed whereon he sat, cast himself upon the Earth, smiting his Forehead against the Ground, where kissing the Cross, and then arising, caused it to be laid upon a new Cloth, in an high Place by him, very honourably: He hath a Schoolmaster, a *Nestorian* Priest called *David*, a Drunkard, who instructs him. Then he made us sit, and gave the Priests Drink, and he also drank, receiving the blessing from them; then we went to the Court of the second Lady, which was called *Ceta*, who followed Idolaters, whom we found lying sick a-bed; then the Monk made her rise out of her Bed, and worship the Cross, bowing her Knees thrice, and bowing towards the Ground, he standing with the Cross at the West Side of the House, and she on the East; this being done, they changed Places, and the Monk went with the Cross unto the East, and she unto the West, and he boldly commanded her, that she was so weak that she could scarce stand upon her feet, that she should cast herself down thrice, and worship the Cross, towards the East, after the Manner of the Christians, which she did, and he taught her to make the Sign of the Cross upon her Forehead, after she laid down upon her Bed; and praying for her, we went into the third House, where a Christian Lady used to be, who being dead, a young Woman succeeded her, who, together with the Daughter of her Lord, joyfully received us; and all that whole House reverently worshipped the Cross, and he let it upon a Velvet Cloth, in an high Place, and the ordered Meat to be brought, which being set before the Lady, she caused it to be distributed to the Priests; but I and the Monk were very weary of the Meat and Drink, for the Meat being eaten, and much Drink drunk, we were to go to the young Lady *Cerina*, who lodged behind the great House, which was her Mother's, who, at the command of the Cross, cast herself down upon the Earth, and wor-

shipped it very devoutly, because she had been taught so to do, and she set it in a high Place, upon a Piece of Silk, and all those Cloths whereon the Crofs was set, were given to the Monks.

A certain *Armenian* brought his Crofs, who came with the Monk as he said, from *Jerusalem*, and it was of Silver, weighing about some four marks, and it had four precious Stones in the Corners, and one in the Middle. It had not the Image of our Saviour, and he had presented it to *Mangu-Khan*, and *Mangu* demanded of him what he desired? To whom he answered, that he was the Son of an *Armenian* Priest, whose Church the *Saracens* had destroyed, and craved his Help for the Building again that Church. Then he asked him for how much it might be bought again? He answered, for two hundred Jaſcots, that is, for two thousand Marks; and he commanded Letters to be given him, to him who received the Tribute in *Peſia* and *Armenia* the Greater, that they should pay him the said Sum in Silver. This Crofs the Monk carried with him every where, and the Priests seeing the Gain he made thereof, began to envy him. We were therefore in the House of the young Lady, and she gave the Priests much Drink; from hence we went up into the fourth House, which was the last, for he used not to come often unto that Lady, and her Houe was very old, and herself not so gracious; but after *Easter*, the *Khan* made her a new House, and new Chariots. She likewise, as well as the Second, knew little or nothing of Christianity, but followed Sooth-sayers and Idolaters; yet at our coming in, she worshipped the Crofs as the Monk and the Priest taught her. There also the Priests drank again, and from this Place we returned to our Oratory, which was not far from thence, the Priests accompanying us with great howling and Outcries in their Drunkenness, which is not considered there as blameable, either in Man or Woman. A little after, my Companion was brought home, and the Monk sharply rebuked him, because he touched the Threshold. The next Day *Balgai* came (who was a Justice) and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take Heed or touching the Threshold; and I answered, Sir, We had not our Interpreter with us, and if they did, how could we understand? Then he pardoned him, but would never after suffer him to come into any of the Houses of *Mangu-Khan*.

43. Sometime afterwards, it happened that the Lady was sick, almost to Death, and the Divination by Lots or the Idolaters did her no good at all; then *Mangu* sent unto the Monk, demanding of him what might be done for her, and the Monk modestly answered, that if she were not cured, he should cut off his Head. Having made that answer, the Monk called us, declaring the Matter unto us with Tears, intreating us to watch with him that Night in Prayer, which we did; and he had a certain Root, which is called *Rhubarb*, and he beat it almost to Powder, and put it in Water, with a little Crucifix which he had, whereon the Image of our Saviour was advanced, whereof he reported, that by it he knew whether the Sick would recover or die; for if they should escape, it stuck to the Beak of the Sick, as if it were glued; if otherwise, it stuck not at all; and I still thought that *Rhubarb* had been some holy Relic, which he had brought from the Holy Land of *Jerusalem*. And he gave all Beck Persons of that Water to drink, so that it could not be. But the Devils should be grieved with so bitter a Potion; with Alteration in their Bosells they aounted a Miracle. Then I told him, he should prepare some of that Holy Water which is made in the Church of *Rome*, which had great Virtue to expel Devils, because I understood she was vexed of a Devil; and at his Request, we made him some Holy Water, and he mingled *Rhubarb*, and put his Crucifix all the Night long in the Water to temper it. Had, moreover, that if he were a Priest, that the Order of Priesthood had great Power to expel Devils; and he said, it was very true, and yet he had, because he had no Order, nor knew any one Letter; but was a Weaver, as I understood after, in his Country, when I returned.

The next Morning then fore, I and the Monk, and two *Nestorian* Priests, went unto the Lady, and she was in a high House, behind her greater Houe. When we came to the Chamber, she lay in her Bed, and worshipped the Crofs, and set

it honourably by her, upon a Cloth of Silk, and drank of the Blessed Water with *Rhubarb*, and washed her Breast, and the Monk requested me to read a Gospel over her; so I read the Passion of our Lord according to *Jehus*; at length she was cheered, and felt herself better, and she caused four Jaſcots to be brought, which she first laid at the Feet of the Crofs, and after gave them to the Monk, and reached me one, which I would not receive; then the Monk stretched forth his Hand, took it, and gave each of the Priests one; so that at that Time she gave forty Marks. Then she caused Wine to be brought, and gave it to the Priests to drink, and I was forced to drink thrice from her Hand, in Honour of the Trinity: She began also to teach me the Language, jelling with me, because I was silent, as not having any Interpreter.

The next Day again *Mangu-Khan*, hearing that we came that Way, made us come in to him, because he understood, that the Lady was somewhat better; and we found him with a few Servants, taking a sort of Meat made of Paste, for comforting the Head, and the burnt Shoulder blades of a Ram lay before him, and he took the Crofs in his Hand, but that he worshipped it, I saw not; he looked upon it indeed, and asked some Questions, but I know not what. Then the Monk craved Leave to carry the Crofs aloft, upon a Lance, because I had spoken to the Monk before concerning this, and *Mangu* answered, carry it as you think best; then paying our Duty to him, we went unto the Lady, and we found her strong and cheerful, and she still drank of the Holy Water, and we read the Passion over her, and those miserable Priests never taught her the Faith, nor advised her to be baptized; but I sat there mute, not able to speak any thing, yet she still taught me the Language, the Priests found no fault with any kind of Sorcery; for there I saw four Swords half drawn out of the Sheath, one at the Head of the Lady's Bed, another at the Feet, and two other, on either Side of the Door one. I saw also there one Silver Chalice, of our Chalices, which very probably was taken out of some Church in *Hungary*, and it hung against the Walls full of Ashes, and upon those Ashes there was a black Stone, and concerning such things, the Priests never teach them that they are evil; nay, they themselves do teach such things. We visited her three Days, so that she was restored to perfect Health; after that, the Monk made a Banner full of Crofses, and got a Cane as long as a Lance, and we carried the Crofs aloft.

I honoured him as my Bishop, because he could speak the Language, yet he did many things that did not please me; for he caused a Chair, which may be tolked, to be made for him, such as Bishops used to have, and Gloves, and a Cap of Peacocks Feathers, and upon it a little Crofs of Gold; I was well pleased with the Crofs. He had scabbed Feet, which he endeavoured to palliate with Ornaments, and was very presumptuous in Speech; the *Nestorians* also repeated certain Verses of the Psalter upon two Rods, which were joined together, being held by two Men. The Monk was present at such Things, and many other Vanities appeared in him, which displeased me, yet we joined ourselves to his Society for the Honour of the Crofs, for we carried the Crofs advanced through all the Tents, singing, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, &c. Whereupon the *Mohammedans* were much dejected.

44. From the Time we came to the Court of *Mangu-Khan* he made but two Journeys towards the South, and from that time he began to return towards the North which was towards *Caracorum*; whereon I noted all the Way a thing of which *Matthæus Balkhim* of *Hawonia* had spoken to me at *Constantinople*, that he had seen this only wonderful, that he always attended in going, and never descended; for all Rivers came from the East to the West, either directly or indirectly, bending towards the South, or the North, and I enquired of the Priests which came from *Cathaya*, who testified the same. From the Place where I found *Mangu Khan* to *Cathaya* were twenty Days Journey; going towards the South and East to *Oman Kerula*, which is the proper Country of *Atzall*, where the Court of *Zingit* is, were ten Days Journey right East; and in those Parts of the East there was no City, yet there were People which are called *Sa-Azall*, that is to say, *Azall* of the Waters,

for *Su* is Water. These People live upon Fish and Hunting, having neither Flocks or Herds. Towards the North likewise there is no City, but a poor People feeding Cattle, who are called *Kerkis*; the *Orangin* are also there, who bind smooth filed Bones under their Feet, and thrust themselves forward upon the congealed Snow and Ice with such Swiftness, that they take Birds and Beasts; and many other poor People there are on the North-side, so far as they may spread themselves for the Cold; and they join on the West with the Country of *Pactar*, which is *Hungary the Greater*, whereof I have spoken before. The Bound or Summit of the North Corner is not known for the Extremity of the Cold; for in that Place there are continual Mountains of Snow.

I was inquisitive of the Monsters, or monstrous Men, whereof *Igidorus* and *Salmus* make report; they told me they never saw any such, and I therefore doubt whether it be true or no. All these Nations are poor, yet they must serve in some Trade, for it was the Commandment of *Zongis*, that none should be free from Service, till he were so old, that he could labour no longer by any means. Once I remember a certain Priest of *Cathaya* sat with me clothed in a red coloured Cloth, and I demanded of him whence he had such a Colour, and he told me, that in the East Parts of *Cathaya* there were high craggy Rocks, wherein certain Creatures dwell, having in all Parts the Shape of Men; but that they bow not the Knees, but leap instead of walking, which are not above one Cubit long, and their whole Body is covered with Hair, who have their Abode in Caves, which no Man can come unto, and they who hunt them, go to them, and carry strong Drink with them, and make Pits in the Rocks like Wells, which they fill with that strong Drink; for *Cathaya* hitherto has had no Wine, tho' now they begin to plant Vineyards; but the strong Liquor before-mentioned is made of Rice. The Hunters hide themselves, and then these Creatures come out of their Holes and taste the Drink, and cry, Chin-Chin; on this they come together in great Multitudes, and drink till they are made drunk, so that they sleep there. Then the Hunters come and bind them Hand and Feet, while they are sleeping, and afterwards open the Veins in their Neck, and draw forth three or four Drops of Blood from every one, and let them go free, and that Blood, as he told me, is the most precious Purple.

He told us also as a Truth (which, however, I do not believe) that there is a Province beyond *Cathaya*, into which, at whatever Age a Man enters, he continueth in the same Age wherein he entered. *Cathaya* is on the Ocean, and the Goldsmith to often mentioned told me, that there arrived Messengers from a certain People which are called *Zante* and *Manse*, who inhabit Islands, the Sea of which is frozen in the Winter, so that the *Tartars* may invade them, who offered two thousand Turmen or Jalouts yearly, so they would let them live in Peace. Turmen is a Piece of Money containing ten Marks. The common Money of *Cathaya* is Paper made like Pattenboard, the Breadth and Length of an Hand, upon which they imprint Lines like the Seal of *Mangu*; they write with a Pencil, like that with which Painters paint, and in one Figure they make many Letters comprehending one Word. The People of *Tibet* write as we do, and they have Characters very like ours. They of *Tangut* write from the right Hand to the left, as the *Arabians* do, and multiply the Line ascending upwards; the *Jugures*, as I said before, from above to the Bottom of the Line. The common Money of the *Rutenians* are little spotted and grided Skins. When we came with the Monk, he charitably admonished us to abstain from Flesh, and that our Servants should eat Flesh with his Servants; but he would promise us Meal, and Oil, or Butter, which we did, though it much grieved my Companion by reason of his Weakness; wherefore our Food was Millet and Butter, or Pulse boiled in Water, with Butter, or four Milk, and unleavened Bread baked on Ox dung, or Horse dung.

45. When our *Quinquagesima* came, which is the Lent Time of all the People of the East, the great Lady *Cisa*, with all her Company, fasted that Week, who came every Day to our Oratory, and gave Meat to the Priests, and other Christians, of whom a great Multitude flocked thither the first Week to hear their Duty, and she gave me and

my Companion each a Coat and Breeches of grey Semy, furred with coarse Hair, because my Companion complained much of the Weight of his Skins, which I received for his sake, excusing myself nevertheles, that I would not wear such Cloaths; I gave to my Interpreter what belonged to me. Then the Porters of the Court seeing that such a Multitude came daily to the Church, which was within the Bounds of the Keepers of the Court, they sent one of their Attendants to the Monk, to let him know, that they would not have such a Multitude come within the Precincts of the Court; to this the Monk roughly answered, that he would know whether they commanded this from *Mangu-Khan*, and he added certain Speeches, as if he would accuse them to *Mangu-Khan*; but they preventing him, accused him before *Mangu*, that he was too full of Words, and that he gathered together too great a Multitude to hear him speak.

Afterwards being called to the Court, we came in before the *Khan* himself, who having the burnt Shoulder blade of a Ram in his Hand, looked upon it, as it were reading; he began to reprove the Monk severely, telling him, that seeing he was a holy Man, he should pray unto God, and asked why he spoke so much with Men? but I stood behind with my Head bare. Then the *Khan* said to him, Why dost thou not put off thy Cap when thou comest before me, as that *Frank's* did; and commanded me to be called nearer; then the Monk being much abased, put off his Cap contrary to the Custom of the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, and when *Khan* himself had spoken sharply to him, we went out; the Monk then delivered the Cross to bear to the Oratory, because he could not carry it for Shame. After a few Days he was reconciled to him, promising that he would go to the Pope, and that he would bring all the Nations of the West to his Obedience. Whereupon he returning to the Oratory, after that Conference had with the *Khan*, began to enquire of me concerning the Pope, if I believed he would see him, if he came unto him in the B. half of *Mangu*, and if he would furnish him with Horses unto *Saint James in Galia*. He commanded also of your Majesty, if I thought you would send your Son unto *Mangu*? Then I counsell'd him, that he should take heed that he did not promise foolishly to *Mangu*, because the last Error would be worse than the first, and that God needsleth not our Lies, or that we should speak deceitfully for him.

At that time there arose a certain Question between the Monk and a Priest, a learned Man, whose Father was an Archdeacon, and the other Priests accounted him an Archdeacon. For the Monk said, that Man was created before Paradise, and that the Scripture said so; then was I called to be an Arbitrator of the Question, but I being ignorant that they contended about this, answered, that Paradise was made upon *Tuesday*, when the other Trees were made, and that Man was made the sixth Day. Then the Monk began to say, did not the Devil bring Earth the first Day from the four Parts of the World, and making Clay, make the Body of Man therewith, and God inspired his Soul? Then hearing this Heresy of the Monk, and that he had publicly and shamefully recited it, I reprov'd him sharply, saying, he should put his Finger upon his Mouth, because he knew not the Scriptures, and that he should take heed what he said; and he began to scorn me, because I was ignorant of the Language.

I departed therefore from him, going to our House; he fell out afterwards, that he and the Priests went in Protestation to the Court without calling me, because the Monk would no longer speak to me as he was wont; when therefore they came before *Mangu*, he earnestly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The Priests being afraid, excused themselves, but, returning they told me the Words of *Mangu*, and murmured at the Monk. After this, the Monk was reconciled to us, and I to him, intreating him, that he would help me with his Language, and I would help him in the Holy Scripture. For a Brother that is helper of a Brother, is as a strong City. After the first Week of Fasting, the Lady desired to come unto the Oratory, and to give Meat and Drink, which we were wont to have; for the Monk suffered it not to be brought, saying, that Mutton fat, or Suet, was put in the Sauce, and she gave no Oil, but very little to

that we had nothing but brown Bread and Paste, boiled in Water, though we had no Water but of dissolved Snow, or Ice, which was exceeding bad. My Companion began to be much grieved; so I acquainted *David*, the Schoolmaster of the Khan's eldest Son, with our Necessity, who made Report thereof to the Khan, and he commanded to give us Wine, Flour, and Oil.

With the *Nestorians* or *Armenians* eat Fish by any means in *Lent*; but the Monk had a Chest by him under the Altar, with Almonds and Raisins, and dried Prunes, and many other Fruits, which he eat all the Day, whenever he was alone. We eat once a Day, and that in great Abstinence; for as soon as they knew that *Mangu* had given us Wine, most impudently they came in upon us like Dogs, both the *Nestorian* Priests, who were drunk all the Day in the Courts, and the *Moals* also, and the Servants of the Monk. The Monk also, when any came unto him to whom he would give Drink, he sent to us for Wine; so that the Wine caused us more Trouble than Comfort, because we could not deny it without Offence. If we gave, we wanted ourselves; nor durst we, that being spent, desire any more from the Court.

After the Middle of *Lent* the *French* Goldsmith's Son came, bringing with him a Silver Cross made after the *French* Fashion, having the Image of Christ all of Silver fastened upon it at the Top, which the Monks and Priests esteem, put it away. This Cross he was to present in the Chapel of his Master to *Bulgai*, who was the chief Secretary of the Court, which when I heard I was offended. The same young Man also declared to *Mangu Khan*, that he had the Work, which he had commanded to be made, was finished, which Work I described unto you. *Mangu* hath in *Caracorum* a great Court hard by the Walls of the City, enclosed with a Brick Wall, as the Priors of Monks are enclosed with us. In that Court there is a great Palace, wherein he held his Feasts twice a Year, once in *Easter*, when he passeth that Way, and once in Summer, when he returneth; but the latter is the greater, because then all the Nobles meet together at his Court, and then he gives unto them Garments, and shews all his Magnificence. There are many other Houses there as large as our Farms, wherein his Victuals and Treasures are stored. In the Entrance of that great Place, because it was indecent to have Stragglers going about, as in a Tavern, *William* the Goldsmith made him a great Silver Tree, at the Root whereof were four Silver Lions, having one Pipe sending forth pure Cows Milk; and the four Pipes were conveyed within the Tree unto the Top thereof, whose Top spread back again downward, and upon every one of them was a Golden Serpent, whose Tail's twined about the Tree; and one of these Pipes run with Wine; another with Caracofmos, that is, clarified Whey; another with Ball, that is, Drink made of Honey; another with Drink made of Rice, called *Yerama*; and every Drink had a Vessel prepared of Silver at the Foot of the Tree to receive it. Between these four Pipes, at the Top, he made an Angel holding a Trumpet; and under the Tree he made an hollow Vault, wherein a Man might be hid, and a Pipe ascending up the Heart of the Tree unto the Angel. He first made Bellows, but they gave not Wind enough. Without the Palace there is a Chamber, wherein the Liquors were laid, and there were Servants ready to pour it out when they heard the Angel sounding the Trumpet; and the Boughs of the Tree are of Silver, and so are the Leaves and Pears that are on it; when therefore they want Drink, the Butler commands the Angel to sound the Trumpet; he who is hid in the Vault, bearing, blows the Pipe strongly, which ascending to the Angel, he sets his Trumpet to his Mouth, and the Trumpet soundeth very shrill; then the Servants hearing, which are in the Chamber, pour Liquor into the proper Pipe, and the Pipes pour it from above, and they are received below into Vessels prepared for that Purpose. Then the Butlers draw them, and carry them through the Palace to Men and Women.

The Palace is like a Church, having the middle Isle and the two Sides beyond two Rows of Pillars, and three Gates on the South; before the middle Gate stands the Tree, and the *Khan* himself sits in the North Front on an high Place, that he may be seen of all; and there are two

Flights of Steps ascending to him; by one he that carries the Cup goes unto him; and by the other he comes down. The Space which is in the Middle, between the Tree and the Steps by which they ascend, is void; for there stands he that waits on his Cup, and the Messengers which bring Presents, the *Khan* sitting there above like a God. On the right Side, towards the West, are the Men; on the left, Women; for the Palace stretched out in Length from North to South: On the right Side are Places full of Seats, on which his Sons and Brethren sit; on the left Side are the like, where his Wives and Daughters sit, one Woman only sits above by him, but not so high as he. When therefore he had heard that the Work was finished, he commanded the chief Workman to set it up in its Place, and make it fit.

About *Passion Sunday*, he went before with his small Houses, leaving his greater Houses behind; and the Monk and we followed him; and he sent us another Bottle of Wine. The *Khan*, in his March, passed between the hilly Countries, where there was great Wind, and extreme Cold, and there fell a great Snow; whereupon he sent about Midnight to the Monk and us, entreating us to pray unto God, that he would mitigate the Wind and Cold, because all the Beasts which were in the Train were in Jeopardy; especially because all that Time they were with Young, and ready to bring forth. Then the Monk sent him Incense, requiring him to put it upon the Coals, and offer it to God; which whether he did, I know not; but the Tempest ceased, which had continued two Days.

On *Palm Sunday* we were near *Caracorum* in the Dawning of the Day we blessed the Willow-boughs, whereon as yet there appeared no Bud; and about Nine we entered the City, carrying the Cross aloft, with the Banner, passing through the Middle of the Street of the *Saracens*, between the Market and Fair are, to the Church, and the *Nestorians* met us in Procession; and, entering into the Church, we found them prepared to celebrate the Mass; which being celebrated, they all communicated; and they asked me whether I would communicate? I answered, that I had drank before, and the Sacrament should not be received but fasting. Mass being said, it was Evening, and Master *William* the Goldsmith brought us with Joy to his Inn to sup with him. He had a Wife who was the Daughter of *Mobammedan* Parents, though born in *Hungary* herself, who could speak *French*, and the Language of *Comania*. We found also there one other Man, called *Bassius*, the Son of an *Englishman*, born in *Hungary*, who also was skilful in the same Languages. Supper being ended, they brought us to our Cottage, which the *Tartars* had appointed in a certain Plat of Ground near the Church, with the Oratory of the Monk.

On the next Morning the *Khan* himself entered into his Palace, and the Monk and I and the Priests went to him; they suffered not my Companion to go, because he stumbled on the Threshold. I much deliberated with myself what I should do, whether I should go or no; and, fearing Offence, if I should depart from other Christians, and because it pleased him, and fearing lest that Good might be hindered, which I hoped to obtain, I chose rather to go, though I saw their Actions full of Idolatry and Sorcery; nor did I any other Thing there but pray for the whole Church with a loud Voice, and also for the *Khan* himself, that GOD would direct him to the Way of eternal Salvation. We therefore went into the Court, which was very neat, for in the Summer Rivers are conveyed into every Place, whereby it is watered. After this we entered into the Palace full of Men and Women, and stood before the *Khan*, having the aforesaid Tree at our Backs, which, with the Vessels thereof, took up a great Part of the Palace. The Priests brought two little Loaves and Fruit in an earthen Dish, which they presented unto him, blessing them; and the Butler brought them to him, sitting above on a very high Place, and he presently began to eat one of the Loaves, and sent the other to his Son and a younger Brother of his, who was brought up by a *Nestorian*, and knew the Gospel, who also sent for my Bible, that he might see it. After the Priests, the Monk said his Prayer, and I after the Monk; then he promised that the next Day he would come unto the Church, which is great enough

enough and fair, and all the Ceiling above was covered with Silk wrought with Gold: The next Day he departed, desiring the Priests to excuse him, that he durst not come to the Church, because he understood the Dead were carried thither: But we and the Monk remained at *Caracorum* with the other Priests of the Court, that we might celebrate *Easter* there.

47. The Feast of *Easter* was now drawing near, and we had not our Vestments; and I likewise considered the Manner how the *Nestorians* made the Sacramental Bread, and was much troubled what I should do, whether I should receive the Sacrament from them, or should celebrate in their Vestments and Chalice, and upon their Altar, or should altogether abstain from the Sacrament. There was a great Multitude of *Christians*, *Hungarians*, *Alans*, *Rutenians*, *Georgians*, and *Armenians*, all which had not seen the Sacrament since they were taken Prisoners, because the *Nestorians* would not admit them into their Church, unless they were baptized by them, as they said; yet they made no Mention of that to us, and they offered their Sacrament freely to us, and made me stand in the Door of the Choir, that I might see their Manner of Consecration. On the Vigil of *Easter* I stood by the Fount, that I might see their Manner of baptizing. They say they have of the Ointment wherewith *Mary Magdalen* anointed the Feet of our Lord; and they pour in as much as they think fit of that Oil, with which they knead their Bread; for all the People of the East put Fat in their Bread instead of Leaven, which Fat is Butter, or Suet out of a Sheep's Tail, or Oil.

They say also, they have of the Flour of which the Bread was made which the Lord consecrated, and always add as much fresh as the Quantity of the Flour they lay aside; and they have a Chamber, hard by their Choir, and an Oven, where they bake their Bread, which they next consecrate with great Reverence. They therefore make one Loaf of an Hand's-breadth, with the before-mentioned Oil, which they first break into twelve Pieces, according to the Number of the Apostles, and after divide those Pieces according to the Multitude of the People, and the Priests give the Body of CHRIST to every one in his Hand; and then every one taketh it out of the Palm of his Hand with Reverence, and stretcheth his Hand to the Top of his Head. The *Christians* I mentioned before, and the Monks, very earnestly entreated us, for God's Sake, that we would celebrate. Then I made them be confessed by an Interpreter as I could, reckoning the ten Commandments, and the seven deadly Sins, and other Things, for which every Man ought to be penitent and confessed; all of them publicly excused themselves, concerning Theft, saying, that without Theft they could not live, because their Masters provided them neither Food nor Raiment. Then considering that they had taken away their Penitents and their Substance without just Cause, I said unto them, that they might lawfully take Necessaries of the Goods of their Masters, and I was ready to maintain it to the Face of *Mangu-Khan*.

Some of them also were Soldiers, who excused themselves, that they must go to the Wars, or else they should be slain: I forbid them to go against the *Christians*, and that they should not hurt them, and that they should rather suffer themselves to be slain, for so they should become Martyrs. And I said, that if any would accuse me of this Doctrine before *Mangu-Khan*, I would be ready to preach the same in his Hearing; for the *Nestorians* themselves of the Court were present when I taught this, of whom I was suspicious they might report ill of us. Then *Master William*, the Goldsmith, caused a Iron to be made for us to make Hosts; and he had certain Vestments which he had made for himself, for he had some Knowledge in Learning, and officiated as a Clerk. He caused the Image of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* to be graven after the *French* Fashion, and engraved the History of the Gospel very fair; and made a silver Box to lay up the Body of CHRIST, and the Relicks in certain little Holes curiously wrought in the Side of the Box.

He made also a certain Oratory upon a Clariot, very fairly painted with Scripture Histories; I therefore took his Vestments and blessed them, and we made Hosts after

our Manner, very fair: And the *Nestorians* assigned me their Fount for Baptism. And their Patriarch sent them from *Baldach* a square Hiele like a portable Altar, made with Chiselm, which they use instead of consecrated Stones; therefore I celebrated on the Day of the Lord's Supper, in their silver Chalice and Dish, which were very great Vessels. I did the like also on *Easter-day*, and we communicated the People with the Blessing of God, as I have; but they baptized in the Vigil of *Easter* more than threescore Persons very orderly. There was great joy for this generally among all *Christians*.

48. After this, it happened that *Master William* the Goldsmith was grievously sick, and when he was upon recovery, the Monk visiting him, gave him *Rhubarb* to drink, so that he had almost killed him. Then visiting him when I found him so ill, I asked him what he had eat or drank? And he told me the Monk had given him the Potion, and he drunk two little Dishes full, thinking it had been Holy Water. Then I went to the Monk, and said to him, either go as an Apostle, doing Miracles indeed by Virtue of Prayer and the Holy Ghost, or as a Physician, according to the Art of Medicine; you give a strong Potion of Physick to drink to Men not prepared, as it were an innocent Thing; for which you will incur a loud Scandal, if it come to the Knowledge of Men. From that Time he began to fear and to be weary of him.

It happened at that Time, that the Priest too was sick, who was as it were the Archdeacon of the rest, and his Friends sent for a certain *Saracen*, who was a Soothsayer, who said unto them, a certain lean Man, who neither eateth or drinketh, nor sleep in a Bed, is angry with him; if he can obtain his Blessing, he may recover; then they understood it was the Monk, and soon Mornight the Priest's Wife, his Sister, and his Son came, uttering that he would come and bless him; they also raised up to intercede with the Monk, who answered us upon this Occasion, Let him alone, because he, with three others, who likewise took evil Courtes, consulted to go to the Court, to procure *Mangu-Khan*, that I and you should be expelled from these Parts; for there arose a Contention among them, because *Mangu* and his Wife sent for jackets, and Pieces of Silk, upon *Easter* Eve, to the Monk and Priests, to distribute among them; and the Monk had kept unto himself one Jacket for his Part, and of the other three one was counterfeit, for it was Copper. The Priests thought therefore that the Monk had kept too great a Share to himself, whence (it might be) that they had some Words among themselves, which were reported to the Monk.

When Day came, I went to the Priest, who had extreme Pain in his Side, and spit Blood, whence I thought it was an Impostume; then I advised him, that if he had any thing that was another's, to restore it; he said he had nothing. I spoke unto him also of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction; who answered, we have no such Custom, neither do our Priests know how to do it. I beseech you, that you would do it for me, as you know best. I advised him also, concerning Confession, which they frequent not; and he shake a little in the Ear of a young Priest, one of his Companions. After this, he grew better, and intreated me to go for the Monk; so I went, but the Monk would not come at first; but when he heard he was somewhat better, he went with his Cross, and I also went, and carried the Body of Christ, which I had reserved upon *Easter* Day, at the Intreaty of *Master William*; then the Monk began to kick him with his Feet, and he most humbly embraced his Feet; then I said unto him, it is the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, that the Sick should receive the Body of Christ, as it is the best Provision for their Journey, and a Defence against all the Benefits of the Enemy, turning next to the sick Man, I said, Behold the Body of Christ, which I consecrated on *Easter* Day, you must be confessed, and desire it. Then said he, with a great Faith, I desire it with all my Heart, which when I had offered to him, he with great Affection said, I believe that this is my Creator, and my Saviour, who gave me Life, and will restore it again unto me after Death in the general Resurrection; and so took the Body of Christ (from my Hand) made after the Manner of the

Church of Rome; the Monk then staid with him, and gave him, in my Absence, I know not what Portions.

The next Day he began to have the Pangs of Death upon him; then taking their Oil which they said was holy, anointed him according to the Manner of the Church of Rome, as they entreated me. I had none of our Oil, because the Priests of *Sartaeb* kept it all. When we should have sung a Dirge, and I would have been present at his End, the Monk sent to me, bidding me depart, because, if I were present, I could not come into the House of *Mangu-Khan* for one whole Year; which, when I had told his Friends, they said it was true, and desired me to depart, lest I might be hindered in that Good which I might promote. As soon as he was dead, the Monk said unto me, *Never mind it, I have killed him with my Prayers; this Man only was learned, and opposed himself against us, and he hath known nothing: Henceforth Mangu-Khan himself, and they all will bow at our Feet.* Then he declared unto me the before-mentioned Answer of the Soothsayer; which, not believing it, I enquired of the Priests who were Friends of the Deceased, whether it were true or no, who said it was; but whether he was pre-instructed or not, they knew not.

Afterwards I found that the Monk called the Soothsayer and his Wife into his Chapel, and caused Dust to be sifted for him to divine to him, for he had a certain Saracene Deacon who divined to him; which, when I understood, I was amazed at his Foolishness, and said to him, Brother, a Man full of the Holy Ghost, which teacheth all Things, should not demand Answers or Counsels from Soothsayers, seeing all such Things are forbidden, and they are excommunicated who follow such Things. When he began to excuse himself, that it was not true that he sought after such Things; but I would not depart from him, because I was placed there by the Commandment of the Khan himself, nor could I remove without his special Command.

As to the City of *Caracorum*, your Highness may be pleased to know this; that, excluding the Palace of the Khan himself, it is not so good as the Castle of *St. Dennis*, and the Monastery of *St. Dennis* is worth ten Times that Palace, and more too. There are two Streets there, one of the *Saracens* or *Mohammedans*, where the Fairs are kept, and many Merchants resort thither, by reason of the Court which is always near, and for the Number of Embassadors. There is another of the *Carakayans*, who are all *Christians*. Without those Streets there are great Palaces, which are the Courts of the *Secretaries*; there are three several Kinds of Idolaters of divers Nations, two Mosques, where the Law of *Mohammed* is proclaimed, and one Church of the *Christians* at the End of the Town. The Town is inclosed with a Mud Wall, and hath four Gates; on the East Part Millet and other Grain is sold, which, as yet, is seldom brought thither; on the West Sheep and Goats, on the South Oxen and Waggon are sold; and on the North Horses.

Following the Court, we came thither on the Sunday before the *Ascension*; the next Day after we were called before *Balgai*, who is their Justice and chief Secretary; both the Monk and all his Family, and we and all the Messengers and Strangers likewise who frequented the House of the Monk, and were called before *Balgai* severally, first the Monk, and after us, and they began diligently to enquire whence we were, and for what Purpose we came, and what our Errand was? and this Enquiry was made because it was told *Mangu-Khan*, that four hundred Assassins or secret Murderers were gone forth in divers Habits to kill him. About that Time the Khan's Lady was restored to Health, and she sent for the Monk, and he not willing to go, answered, She hath sent for Idolaters about her, let them cure her if they can, I will go no more.

Upon *Ascension* Eve, we were all in the House of *Mangu-Khan*: And I saw as often as he was to drink, they cast Coins to their Idols of Velt; then I said to the Monk, *What Fellowship hath Christ with Belial? What Part hath our Cross with those Idols?* *Mangu-Khan* hath eight Brothers, three by the Mother, and five by the Father. One of them, of his Mother's Side, he sent into the Country of *Assaffines*, who are called by them *Mulhet*,

and he commanded him to kill them all. Another went to *Perfia*, and is now entered therein to go, as is thought, into *Turky*, from thence to send Armies to *Baldaeb* and *Vasfacius*. One of the others he sent into *Cathaya* against some that rebelled: His youngest Brother of the same Venter, he kept himself, whose Name was *Arabucha*, who holds his Mother's Court, who was a *Christian*, whose Servant Master *William* is; for one of the Brothers on the Father's Side took him in a certain City called *Belgrade*, where there was a *Norman* Bishop, of *Belle Ville* near *Roan*, with a Nephew of the Bishop's, whom I saw there at *Caracorum*, and he gave Master *William* to *Mangu's* Mother, because she was desirous to have him. But when she was dead, Master *William* came back again to *Arabucha*, with all Things else pertaining to the Court of his Mother; and from him he came to the Knowledge of *Mangu-Khan*, who, on finishing of the aforesaid Work, gave unto Master *William* one hundred *Jakots*, that is, a thousand Marks.

On the Eve of the *Ascension*, *Mangu-Khan* said, he would go to his Mother's Court and visit her, and the Monk said he would go with him, and give his Blessing to his Mother, with which *Khan* was well contented. In the Evening of the Day of the *Ascension*, the aforesaid Lady was very ill, and the Chief of the Soothsayers sent to the Monk, commanding him that the Table should not be smitten. On the Morrow, when the whole Court removed, the Court of the Lady remained still: and when we came to the Place where the Court should stay, the Monk was commanded to depart farther from the Court than he was wont, which he did; then *Arabucha* met his Brother the *Khan*: So the Monk and we, seeing that he was to pass by us, met him with the Cross; and he calling us to Mind, because sometimes he had been at our Oratory, stretching forth his Hand made a Cross unto us like a Bishop; then the Monk taking Horse followed him, bearing certain Fruits; but he alighted before his Brother's Court, waiting while he came from hunting: The Monk alighted there also, and offered him the Fruit, which he received; and hard by him sat two *Saracens* of the Nobility of the Court of *Khan*; but *Arabucha* understanding of the Contention between the *Christians* and the *Saracens*, enquired of the Monk if he knew these *Saracens*, and he answered, *I know they are Dogs, why have you them so near you?* But they replied, *Why, say they, do you Wrong to us, when we do none to you?* To whom the Monk said, I speak the Truth, and ye and your *Mohammed* are vile Dogs: Then they began to blaspheme *CHRIST*, but *Arabucha* forbid them, saying, *Speak not so blasphemously, for we know that the MESSIAH is GOD.* That very Hour there arose a great Wind over all the Street, and after a while there came a Rumour that the Lady was dead.

The next Morning the *Khan* returned towards the Court another Way; for this is a Rule amongst them, that they never return the same Way they come. While the Court remained here, none dare pass that Way (neither Horse-man nor Foot-man) where the Court staid, so long as any Shew of the Fire made there remaineth. That Day certain *Saracens* kept Company with the Monk, upon the Way, provoking him, and disputing with him; and when he could not defend himself with Argument, and they made light of him, he would have lashed them with the Whip which he held in his Hand, and he went so far that his Words were reported at the Court, and we were commanded to depart to the same Place with other Messengers, and not to abide before the Court as we were wont. I hitherto always hoped the King of *Armenia* would come. There came some about *Easter* from *Bolac*, where those *Germans* are, for whose Sake chiefly I went thither, who told me, that the *Dutch* Priest should come to Court; therefore I moved no Questions to *Mangu* concerning our Stay or Departure; for at the Beginning he gave us Leave to stay two Months, and now five Months were past. This was done about the End of *May*, and we had continued there all *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May*; but hearing no News of the King or the said Priest, and fearing lest we should return in the Winter, the Sharpness of which we had experienced, I caused it to be demanded of *Mangu-Khan*, what his Pleasure was concerning us, because we

would stay there, if so he pleased, or if we must return, it were easier for us to return in Summer, than in the Winter.

He presently sent to me, commanding that I should not go far off, because his Pleasure was to speak with me the next Day: To which I answered, if he would speak with me, he should send for Master William's Son, for my Interpreter was not sufficient, and he that brought this Message to me was a *Saracen*, who had been a Messenger to *Falacious*, and, blinded with Rewards, counsell'd *Falacious* to send Embassadors to *Mangu-Khan*, and the mean while the Time passed, for *Falacious* thought he would presently enter their Country, so he sent, and after he knew them, he little regarded them, nor made a Peace with them; neither did they yet enter his Country, nor will they be able to long as they dare defend themselves; nor did they ever take any Country by Force, but by Deceit; and because Men make Peace with them, under Colour of that Peace they circumvent them, and overthrow them. Then he began to be very inquisitive of the Pope, and of the King of the *Franks*, and of the Way to go to them; but the Monks hearing this, advis'd me secretly not to answer him, because he would procure that an Embassador should be sent. I therefore held my Peace, not willing to answer him; and he spake to me I know not what injurious Words, for which the *Nestorian* Priests would have accus'd him, to that he had either been slain or beaten, but I would not agree to it.

50. The very next Day they brought me to the Court, and the chief Secretaries of the Court came to me, one of them a *Mosul*, who watch'd upon the *Khan's* Cup, and the rest *Saracens*, enquiring on the Behalf of the *Khan*, wherefore I came? Then I told him in the very same Words I said before, how I came to *Sartach*, and from *Sartach* to *Baatu*, and how *Baatu* sent me thither. Whereupon I said unto him, I have nothing to speak on the Behalf of any Man, unless I should speak the Words of God unto him, if he would hear them, for the *Khan* should best know what *Baatu* hath written unto him. They flock'd upon this, demanding what Words of God I would speak unto him; thinking I would prophesy unto him some prosperous Thing, as many use to do.

To whom I answered, if ye will that I speak the Words of God unto him, get me an Interpreter, who said we have sent for him, yet speak by this Interpreter as you may, we shall understand you well, and they urg'd me much to speak. Then I said, "This is the Word of God. To whom more is committed, more is required at his Hands. Another also, to whom more is forgiven, he ought to love more. Out of these true Words of God, I said to the *Mangu* himself, this God hath given him much: For the Power and Riches which he hath, the Idols of the *Tuimans* hath not given him, but the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heaven and Earth, in whose Hands all Kingdoms are, and he translate them from Nation to Nation for the Sins of Men, wherefore if he love him, it shall go well with him; if otherwise, let him know that God will require all these things at his Hands, even to the uttermost Parting." Then said one of the *Saracens*, Is there any Man that loveth not God? I answered, "God hath, if any Man love me, he will keep my Commandments, therefore he that keepeth not the Commandments of God, loveth not God." Then said he, have ye been in Heaven, that ye might know the Commandments of God? "No," said I, but he hath given them from Heaven to holy Men, and at the last himself descended from Heaven, teaching us, and we have these Things in the Scriptures, and we see by the Works of Men whether they keep them or no."

Whereupon he replied, Will ye then say that *Mangu-Khan* keeps not the Commandments of God? To whom I said your Interpreter will come as ye say. Then before *Mangu-Khan*, if it please him, I will recite the Commandments of God, and he shall be his own Judge, whether he keep them or not; so they departed and told him, that I said he was an Idolater, or a *Tuiman*, and kept not the Commandments of God. The next Day he sent his Secretaries unto me, saying, our Lord sends us unto you, saying, ye are here, *Christians*, *Saracens*, and *Tuimans*, and every of you saith his Law is better, and his Books are true:

Wherefore he would that ye all come together, and make Comparison that every one write his Words, that he may know the Truth. Then I said, "Blessed be God, that hath put this in the Heart of *Khan*; but our Scripture saith, the Servant of God must not be contentious, but meek unto all. Wherefore I am ready without Strife and Contention to render an Account of the Faith, and Hope of Christians to every one that shall require it." Then they wrote my Words, and brought them unto him.

Then the *Nestorians* were commanded to provide themselves, and write what they would speak, and the *Saracens* likewise, and the *Tuimans* also. On the next Morning he sent the Secretaries again, saying, *Mangu-Khan* would know wherefore ye came to their Parts? To whom I said, he may know by the Letters of *Baatu*: To that they answered, *Baatu's* Letters are lost, and he hath forgotten what *Baatu* hath wrote to him. Wherefore he would know of you.

At this somewhat embolden'd, I said, "The Doctrine of our Religion is to preach the Gospel unto all. Whereupon when I had a d of the Name of the People of *Mosul*, I had a Desire to come unto them, and to be long thus muddled we heard of *Sartach* that he was a *Christian*; then I directed my Journey unto him, and my Sovereign Lord the King of the *Franks* sent him Letters containing good Words, and other Words besides which resty'd unto him what Men we are, when he made Request that he would suffer us to remain with the People of *Mosul*; then he sent us to *Baatu*, and *Baatu* to *Mangu-Khan*; whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to suffer us to stay." They wrote all, and made Relation thereof unto him. On the Morrow he sent to me again, saying, the *Khan* knows well enough that ye have no Malice against him, but ye came to pray for him as many other Princes do; but he demandeth whether ever any of your Embassadors were with him, or ours with you. Then I shew'd all unto them concerning *David* and *Friar Andrew*, to say putting all in Writing, reported the same to him.

Then he sent again unto me, saying, our Lord Jesus saith ye have staid long here; his Pleasure is, that ye return unto your own Country, and he farther demandeth, wherefore ye would conduct his Embassadors with you? To whom I made Answer, that I durst not carry his Embassadors beyond his own Country, because there is a worldly Nation between us and you, and the Sea and Mountains, and I am a poor Monk, and therefore dare not take upon me to be their Guide; so they having set down all in Writing, returned, and reported it to the *Khan*. When *Blasius* the *Nestorian* wrote Chronicles from the Creation of the World to the Passion of Christ, and, passing over the Passion, did speak of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of the Assumption of the Coming of Judgment, wherein many Heresies were to be reprehended, which I told them; and we likewise wrote the Symbol or Creed, *Credo unum Deum*. They then demanded of them how they would proceed? They said they would first dispute with the *Saracens*; I shew'd them this was not the proper Method, for the *Saracen* in this agree with us, that they affirm there is but one God, and therefore you may have them to help you against the *Tuimans*, so they were contented. Then I asked them, if they knew how Idolatry had its first Original in the World, and they could not tell? I told them, and they said you shall clear these things to them, and then let us speak; but it is hard to speak by an Interpreter; to whom I said, how you can behave yourselves against them, I will take the *Tuimans* Part, and you the *Christians*.

Suppose I am of that Sect that say there is no God, prove ye there is a God; for there is a Sect there which saith, that every Virtue, in what thing loveth, is the God thereof, and that otherwise there is no God. Then the *Nestorians* knew not how to prove any thing, but only that which their Writing declareth: I said they believe not the Scriptures, if ye shew one, they will shew another. Then I directed them to let me first talk with them, because I should be overcome, they might still have Liberty of Speech; whereas if they should be overcome, I should have no hearing: They agreed unto it.

Wet herefore gathered together at our Oratory, and *Mangu-Khan* sent three Writers to be Judges, one *Christian*, one *Saracen*, and one *Tuinian*, and it was first proclaimed, This is the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan*, and none dare say that the Commandment of God is otherwise. He commandeth that none speak contentious or injurious Words to another, or make any Tumult, whereby this Business may be hindered, upon Pain of his Head." Then all were silent, and there was a great Assembly there, and every Party invited the wisest of their Nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Christians set me in the Middle of them, willing the *Tuinians* to speak with me. Then they began to murmur against *Mangu-Khan*, because never any Khan attempted thus to search into their secrets. Then they opposed one to me, who came from *Catbaya*, having his Interpreter, and I had Master *William's* Son. And he first said to me, Friend, if thou be brought to a Nuptus, who must seek a wiser than yourself? But I told my Peace.

Then he demanded whereof I would dispute, either how the World was made, or what becomes of the Soul after Death? To whom I answered, "Friend, this should not be the beginning of our Speech. All things are of God, and he is the Fountain and Head of all, and therefore we ought to speak first of God, of whom ye think otherwise than ye ought to do, and *Mangu* desires to know who believes better?" Then the Arbitrators allowed this to be reasonable, they would willingly have begun with the following Questions; because they hold them for the strongest, for they are all of the Heresy of the *Manichees*, believing two Principles, the one bad, and the other good; and concerning Souls they all think they pass from Body to Body, insomuch that one of the wisest of the *Nestorian* Priests demanded of me concerning the Souls of brute Beasts, whether they could fly to any Place where they should not be compelled to labour after Death? For Consecration also thereof, as the Goldsmith told me a certain Child was brought from *Catbaya*, who by the Size of his Body appeared to be three Years old, yet was capable of any Reason, who affirmed of himself, that he had been three times several Bodies, and knew Letters, and how to write.

I said to the aforesaid *Tuinian*, we firmly believe with the *Hearts*, and confess with the Mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect Unity, what believe you? He said, Fools say there is but one God, but wise Men say there are many. Are not there great Lords in your Country, and here is a greater Lord, *Mangu-Khan*? It is of the Gods, because in divers Countries there are Gods. To whom I said, you make a bad Comparison of Men with God; for to every mighty Man in his own Country may be called a God. And when I would have dissolved the Similitude, he prevented me, enquiring what Manner of God is yours, whereof you speak? that he is but one, I answered, "Our God, beside whom there is no other, is Omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the Help of another. Nay, all we have need of his Help, it is not so with Men; no Man can do all things, and therefore there must be many Lords in the Earth, because no one can support all. Again, he knows all things, therefore he needs not a Counsellor: Nay, all Wisdom is from him; moreover he is perfectly good, and needeth not our Good. Nay, in him we live, move, and have our Being: Such is our God, and therefore you must not hold that there is any other." It is not so, said he. Nay, there is one highest in the Heavens, whose Generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one inferior, and in the Earth there are infinite. Then he would have added other Fables: So I asked him of that highest God, whether he thought him Omnipotent? or of any other God? and fearing to answer, he demanded, if your God be such as you say, why made he the half of things evil? It is false, said I, who maketh any Evil is no God, and all things whatsoever are good. At this Word all the *Tuinians* marvelled, and set it down in Writings, as false, or impossible. Then he began to ask, Whence therefore cometh Evil? You ask amiss, said I; for first you should demand what Evil is before you ask whence it is. But to return unto the first Question, whether do you believe that any God is omnipotent? and after I will

answer you to whatsoever you demand. Then he sat a long time and would not answer, insomuch that the Writers on the Behalf of the Khan were forced to command him to answer. At length he answered, that no God was Omnipotent. Then all the *Saracens* broke out into a great Laughter. Silence being made, I said therefore none of your Gods can save you in all Dangers, because such a Chance may happen wherein he hath no Power. Again, no man can serve two Masters. How then can you serve so many Lords in Heaven and in Earth? The Auditory decreed him to answer, but he held his Peace.

Then when I was about to alledge Reasons to prove the Truth of Divine Essence, and the Trinity, in every Man's Hearing, the *Nestorians* of the Country said, that it was enough, because they meant to speak; so I gave them place; and when they would have disputed with the *Saracens*, they answered, we grant that your Law is true, and whatsoever is in the Gospel is Truth, wherefore we will not dispute with you in any thing, and they confessed, that they beg at the Hands of God in their Prayers, that they may die the Death of the Christians. There was there a certain old Priest of the Sect of *Jugures*, who confesses One God, yet they make Idols, with whom they talked much, shewing all till the Coming of Christ to Judgment, declaring the Trinity to him, and the *Saracens* by Similitudes; all of them hearkened without any Contradiction, yet none of them said, I believe, and will become a Christian: The Conference ended, the *Nestorians* and *Saracens* sang together with a loud Voice, the *Tuinians* holding their Peace, and after that, they all drank most plentifully.

51. On *Wednesday*, *Mangu-Khan* called me before him, and the *Tuinian*, with whom I disputed; and before I went in, Master *William's* Son, my Interpreter, said to me, that we must return to our Country, and that I should speak nothing against it, because he understood it for a thing determined. When I came before him, I knelt, and the *Tuinian* by me, with his Interpreter. Then he said unto me, tell me the Truth, whether you said, when I sent my Writers unto you, that I was a *Tuinian*? Then I answered, My Lord, I said not so; but if it please Your Highness, I will tell you the Words I spake; then I recited what I had spoken, and he answered, I thought well you said not so, for it was a Word which you should not speak, but your Interpreter hath ill interpreted it. So he reached forth his Staff towards me whereon he leaned, saying, fear not. I smiling, said softly, if I had feared, I had not come hither; then he demanded of the Interpreter what I said? So he repeated my Words unto him: Afterwards he began to confess his Faith unto me.

"We, *Moabians*, said he, believe that there is but One God, through whom we live and die, and we have an upright Heart towards him;" then said I, God grant you this, for without his Gift it cannot be, and he demanded what I said, so the Interpreter told him; then he added further, that God who hath given to the Hand diverse Fingers, so he hath given many Ways to Men: God hath given the Scriptures to you, and the Christians keep them not: ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you shall dispraise another: Do you find it, said he? No, said I; but I signified unto you from the Beginning, that I would not contend with any; I speak it not, said he, touching you. In like manner ye find it not that for Money a Man ought to decline from Justice. No, Sir, said I, and truly neither came I into these Parts to get Money, nay, I refused that which was given me; and there was a Scribe present there, who gave Testimony that I had refused a Jaseot, and certain Pieces of Silk. I speak it not, said he, for that, God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not; but he hath given us Soothsayers, and we do that which they bid us, and we live in Peace. He drank four times, as I think, before he disclosed these things; and while I hearkened attentively, whether he would confess any thing else concerning this Faith, he began to speak of my Return, saying, you have staid a long time here, my Pleasure is therefore that you return: You said, you durst not carry my Ambassadors with you, will you carry my Messenger, or my Letters? And from that time I could neither have Place nor Time to shew him the Catholic Faith;

Faith; for a Man cannot speak before him, save what he pleaseth, unless he were an Ambassador, but an Ambassador may speak what he will, and they always demand, whether he have any thing else to say.

But he suffered me to speak no more; but I must hear him, and answer as to Interrogatories. Then I answered, that if he would make me understand his Words, and that they were set down in Writing, I would willingly carry them to my Power. Then he asked me, if I would have Gold or Silver, or costly Garments? I answered, we receive no such things; but we have, of wherewith to bear our Expences, and without your Help, we cannot get out of your Country. Then said he, I will provide you all Necessaries throughout my Country, will you have any thing more? I answered, it sufficeth me. Then he demanded how far will you be brought? I said let our País bring me to the *Armenian* Country; if I were there, it were enough. He answered, I will cause you to be conveyed thither, and after look to yourself; and he added, there are two Eyes in one Head, and though they be two, yet there is one Object to both; and whither the one directeth the Sight, the other doth: You came from *Basta*, and therefore you must return by him. When he had thus said, I craved Leave to speak; speak on, said he; then said I, "Sir, we are not Men of War; we desire that they have Dominion of the World, who would most justly govern it according to the Will of God; our Office is to teach Men to live according to the Will of God, for this Purpose came we into these Parts, and would willingly have remained here, if it had pleased you; but seeing it is your Pleasure that we return, it must be so; I will return, and I carry your Letters according to my Power, as ye have commanded. I would request your Magnificence, that when I have carried your Letters, it may be lawful for me to return to you, with your good Liking, chiefly because you have poor Servants of yours at *Balac*, who are of our Language, and they want a Priest to teach them and their Children their Law, and I would willingly stay with them." To this he answered, Know you whether your Lords would send you back to me? I answered, "Sir, I know not the Purpose of my Lords; but I have Licence from them to go whether I will, where it is needful to preach the Word of God; and it seems to me, as if it were very necessary in those Parts: Whereupon, whether they send Ambassadors or no, if it please you, I will return." Then he held his Peace, and sat a long Space, as it were in a Mule, and my Interpreter desired me to speak no more, and I carefully expected what he would answer.

At length, he said, you have a long Way to go, make yourself strong with Food, that you may come lully to your Country, and he caused them to give me Drink; then I departed from his Presence, and returned not again. If I had been endowed with Power to do Wonders, as *Mozs* did, peradventure he had humbled himself.

The Soothsayers therefore, as he confessed, are their Priests, and whatsoever they command to be done, is performed without Delay; whose Office I shall describe unto you, as I could learn of Master *William*, and others, who report it unto me. Things like to be true. They are many, and they lay always one Head, or chief Priest, who always preaches as Hoode before the great House of *Manga Khan*, who is a sort of Court; in his Study are the Counts who sit in the City, the others are behind the Court, in Places appointed for them, and they who have any Confidence in that Art, come unto them from divers Parts of the World. Some of them are skilful in Astronomy, and especially the Chace of them, and they foretell the Rise of the Planets of the Sun and Moon. And when they are to come to pass, all the People prepare their Houses, so that they need not go out of the Door of their Houses, and when there is an Eclipse, they play upon their *Flutes* and *Organs*, and make a great Noise, and set up loud Shouts. When the Eclipse is past, they give themselves to Feasting and Drinkings, and make great Cheer. They foretell fortunate and unlucky Days for all Business, therefore they never levy an Army, or undertake War, without their Direction; and they had long since returned into *Thongra*; but that their Soothsayers will not

suffer them: They make all things that are sent to the Court pass between Fires, and have a due Portion of them.

They also purify the household Stuff of the Dead, drawing them between these Fires; for when any one dieth, all things whatsoever which appertain to him are separated, and not mingled with other things of the Court, all shall be purged by the Fire; so did I see it done to the Court of the Lady who died while we were there; whereupon there was a double Reason why Friar *Andrew* and his Followers should go between the Fires, both because they brought Presents, and also for that they belonged to him who was dead, to wit, *Khen Khan*; no such thing was required of me, because I brought nothing. If any living Creature, or any thing else, fall to the Ground while they thus make them pass between the Fires, that is theirs; they also on the ninth Day of the Month of *May*, gather together all the Mares of the Herd and consecrate them. The Christian Priests also must come together with their Censors; and they call new Cosmos upon the Ground, and make a great Feast that Day, because then they think they drink Cosmos first, as it is the Fashion, in some Places with us, for Wine, on the Feast of Saint *Basiliskoney*, or *John*, and for Fruits, on the Feast of St. *James* and *Christopher*.

They also are invited when any Child is born, to know his Destiny. They are sent for also when any is sick, to use their Charms, and they tell whether it be a natural firmity, or by Sorcery; in regard to which, that good Woman of *Mitz* I mentioned before, told me a wonderful thing. On a certain time, very costly Furs were presented, which were laid down at the Court of her Lady, who was a Christian, as I had before, and the Soothsayers carried them through between the Fires, and took more of them than was their Due, and a certain Woman under whose Custody the Treasure of her Lady was, accused them that they had taken of unto her Lady, whereupon the Lady herself reproved them. It fell out after this, that this Lady herself began to be sick, and to suffer certain sudden Pains in divers Parts of her Body; the Soothsayers were called, and they sitting far off, commanded one of those Maidens to put her Hand upon the Place where the Griet was, and if she found any thing, she should snatch it away; then she sitting, did so, and she found a Piece of Fet in her Hand, or of some other thing: Then they comma'd her to put it upon the Ground, which she had done, it began to creep, as if it had been some living Creature; then they put it into the Water, and it was turned as it were into a Horse leech; and they said some Witch had been with her Sorceries, and they accused her that had accused them of the Furs, who was brought without the Tent into the Fields, and received the Ballinado seven Days together there, and was afterwards tormented with other Punishments to make her confess; and in the meantime her Lady died, which the understanding, said unto them, know my Lady is dead, kill me, that I may go after her for I never did her hurt; and when the confessions were made, *Mangu Khan* commanded she should live.

Then the Sorcerers accused the Lady's Daughter's Name of whom I spake before, who was a Christian, and her Husband was the chief among all the *Nobles* Priests, so she was brought to Punishment, with a Maid of her to make her confess, and the Maid confessed, that the Mistress sent her to speak with a certain Horse to demand Answers. The Woman also herself confessed, touching the child, to be beloved by her Lady, that the might be her Good, but she did no thing that might hurt her. She was demanded also whether her Husband were privy to it, she excused him, for that he had burnt the Characters and Letters which she had made. Then she was put to Death, and *Mangu Khan* sent the Priest her Husband, the Bishop, who was in *Cathaya*, to be judged, although he was not found culpable.

In the mean time it fell out, that the principal Wife of *Mangu Khan* brought forth a Son, and the Soothsayers were called to foretell the Destiny of the Child, who prophesied Prosperity, and said, he should live long, and be a great Lord. After a few Days it happened that the Child died, then the Mother enrag'd, called the Soothsayers, saying, you said my Son should live, and he is dead. Then they said, Madam, behold, we see that so

the Nurse of *Cobrinis*, who the other Day was put to Death, she hath killed your Son, and behold we see he carries him away. Now there remained one Son and Daughter of that Woman, grown to full Age, in the Tents; and the Lady sent presently for them to a Rige, and caused the young Man to be slain by a Man, and the Maid by a Woman, in Revenge of her Son, whom the Souldoyers affirmed to be killed by their Mother. Not long after, *Mangu-Khan* dreamed of these Children, and in the Morning what was become of them? His Servant was afraid to tell him, and he being troubled, the more demanded where they were, because they appeared to him in a Vision by Night: then they told him; after which he, presently sending for his Wife, demanded whence she learned that a Woman should give sentence of Death, without the Privy of her Husband? And he caused her to be shut up seven Days, commanding to give her no Meat; but the Men (who slew the young Man) be caused to be beheaded, and the Head to be put about the Woman's Neck, who had killed the Maid, and ordered her to be cudgelled with burning Firebrands through all the Tents, and after to be put to Death: He also put his Wife to Death, but for the Children he kept by her; and he went out of his Court, and returned at last after one Month.

The Sorcerers also trouble the Air with their Charms; and the Cold is so great naturally, that they cannot apply any Remedy, then they search out some in the Camp, whom they accuse that the Cold comes through their Means; so they are put to Death without inquiry or Delay. After he was departed from thence, one of the Concubines was sick, and languished long, and they mumbled their Charms over a certain *German* Slave of hers, who lay three Days, who, when she came to herself, they demanded what she had seen, and she had seen many Persons of all which she judged they should shortly die; and because she saw not her Mistress there, they judged she should not die of that Sicknels. I saw the Maid, while her Head was yet aching, by reason of that Sleep. Some of them also call upon Devils, and gather them together (who will have Answers from the Devil) in the Night, into their Houses; and they put bald Flesh in the Milk, and that *Khan* who invokes it, beginneth to say his Charms, and having a Tambrel, lautes it strongly against the Ground; at length he begins to rave, and cauleth himself to be bound; then the Devil comes in the Dark, and gives him Flesh to eat, and makes him Answer. Once at such a time, (as *Maller Buzan* told me) a certain *Haggaran* had himself with them, and the Devil being upon the House, cried, that he could not come in, because a certain Christian was with them; he hearing this, fled with Haste, because they began to search for him. These things, and many other they do, which are too long for me to repeat.

After the Feast of Pentecost, they began to prepare our Letters, which they intended to send unto your Majesty, in the mean time, the *Khan* returned to *Caracorum*, and held a great Feast about the fifteenth of *June*, and he desired that all the Ambassadors should be present. The first Day he sent for us, but I went to Church to baptize three Children of a certain poor *German*, who we found there. *Maller William* was chief Butler at that Feast, because he made the Wine which pointed the Drink, and all the Poor and Rich sang and danced, and clapped their Hands before the *Khan*. Then he began to make an Oration unto them, saying, "I have sent my Builders to off, and have put them into Dangers, into foreign Nations; how it shall appear what you will do, when I shall send you that our Commonwealth may be enlarged." Every Day, in those four Days, he changed garments, which he gave them, all of one Colour, every Day, from the Purple to the Ornament of the Head. At that time I saw the Ambassador of the *Khans* of *Beggedai*, who caused him to be taken up upon a Horse-litter, between two Mules, to the Court, of whom some said that he made Peace with them, on Condition that they should give him ten thousand Horses for his Army; others said, that *Sengou* thought he would not make Peace with them, unless they should deliver all their Ammunition; and the *French* Re-

tor answered, when you will pluck off your Horse's Hoofs, we will destroy our Ammunition.

I saw also there the Ambassadors of a *Soldan* of *India*, who brought with him eight Leopards, and ten Harlehounds, taught to sit upon the Horse's Backs, as Leopards do. When I enquired of *India*, which Way it lay from that Place, they showed me towards the West, and these Ambassadors travelled with me almost three Weeks together, always Westward. I saw also the Ambassador of the *Soldan* of *Turky*, who brought him rich Presents; and he answered, as I heard, he needed neither Gold nor Silver, but Men, wherefore he required of him an Army. On the Feast of *St. John*, he held a great Feast, and I caused one hundred and five Caris, and ninety Horses to be numbered, all laden with Cows-milk; and on the Feasts of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, in like manner. At length, the Letters being dispatched which he sent to you, they called me, and interrupted them, the Substance whereof I wrote, as I could understand them by my Interpreter, which is this: "The Commandment of the Eternal GOD is this: There is but one Eternal GOD in Heaven, or on Earth, let there be but one Lord, *Zengis-Khan*, Son of GOD and *Mangu-Tingis*, that is to say, the Sound of Iron. This is the Word which is spoken to you; whatsoever *Mosses* weare, whatsoever *Nuans*, whatsoever *Marhete*, whatsoever *Muffleme*, wherefore Ears may hear, wherefore Ears may go, cause it to be heard and understood; that such as have heard my Commandment, and would not believe it, and would levy an Army against us, shall be as having Eyes and not seeing; and when they would hold any thing they shall be without Hands; and when they would walk they shall be without Feet. This is the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, by the Virtue of the Eternal GOD, by the great Monarch of the *Mosses*, the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan* is given to the *French* King, King *Ledowick*, and all other Lords and Priests, and to the great World of the *Franks*, that they understand my Words, and the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, made to *Zengis-Khan*; neither but from *Zengis-Khan*, ever came this Commandment unto you. A certain Man called *David* came unto you as an Ambassador of the *Mosses*, he was a *Liar*; and with him you sent your Ambassador to *Khan-Khan*. After *Khan-Khan* was dead, your Ambassador came to his Court; *Charnis*, his Wife, sent you a Cloth, called *Nalick*. But to know Matters appertaining to War and Peace, and to settle the great World in Quiet, and to see to do good, that wicked Woman, more vile than a Dog, how could she know how to do it? Those two Monks which came from you unto *Sartach*, *Sartach* sent them to *Banza*; but *Banza*, because *Mangu-Khan* is the greatest over the World of the *Mosses*, let them unto us. But now, that the great World, and the Priests, and the Monks, might live in Peace and enjoy their Goods, that the Commandment of GOD might be heard among you, we would have sent our Ambassadors of *Mosses* with your Priests; but they answered, that betwixt us and you there was a warlike Nation, and many bad Men and troublesome Ways, so as they were afraid, they could not bring our Ambassadors unto you. But if we would deliver unto them our Letters, containing our Commandments to their King *Ledowick*, they would carry them. For this Cause we sent not our Ambassadors with them; but we have sent the Commandment of the Eternal GOD by your Priest. It is the Commandment of the Eternal GOD which we have given you to understand; and when you shall hear and believe it, if you will, obey us; send your Ambassadors unto us, so shall we be satisfied whether you will have Peace with us or War. When by the Power of the Eternal GOD, the whole World shall be in Unity, Joy, and Peace, from the rising of the Sun unto the going down of the same, then shall it appear what we will do. But if ye shall see and hear the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, and will not hearken to it, or believe it, saying, our Country is far off, our Hills are steep, our Sea is great; and in this Condition we shall lead an Army against us to know what

" we can do; he that made that which was hard easy, and that which was far off near, the Eternal GOD himself knows that alone." And as they called us your Embassadors in the Letters, I said unto them, call us not Embassadors, for I said to the *Khan* that we were not the Embassadors of the King *Leus*: Then they went unto him and told him; but when they returned, they said unto me that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I should direct them: Then I told them they should leave out the Name of Embassadors, and call us Monks and Priests. In the mean time, while those Things were doing, my Companion hearing that we must return by the Wilderness to *Bactra*, and that a Man of *Mea* should be our Guide, he ran, without my Knowledge, to *Buiga*, the chief Scribe, signifying to him by Signs, that he should enquire he went that Way; and when the Day came wherein we should have our Pass, viz. a Fortnight after the Death of *St. Yeha*, when we were called to the Court, the Scribe said unto my Companion, *Mangu's* Pleasure is, that your Companion return by *Bactra*; and you say you are sick, and it appeareth so: *Mangu* therefore grants, if you will go with your Companion, go; but let it be your own Fault, because, it is possible, you may remain with some *Jani* that will not provide for you, and it will be a Hindrance to your Companion; but if you will stay here, we will provide Necessaries for you, till some Embassadors come, with whom you may return more easily, and by a Way where there are Villages.

The Friar answered, GOD grant the *Khan* a prosperous Life; I will stay: Then I said to my Companion, Brother, be advised what you do, I will not leave you, You have not me, said he, but I have you, because, if I go with you, I see the Death of my Body and Soul, because I have no Patience under intolerable Labour. Then they brought us three Garments, or Coats, and said unto us, ye will not receive Gold or Silver, and yet ye have stayed long here, and prayed for the *Khan*; he entreats you, that, at the least, every one of you will receive a single Garment, that ye depart not empty from him. Then we were forced to receive them for Reverence of him, for they account it a very evil Thing when their Gifts are contemned. But he caused us to be asked what we would have? and we always answered the same thing; so that the Christians initiated over the Idolaters, who seek nothing but Gifts; and they answered that we were Fools, because, if he would give them his whole Court, they would willingly take it, and would do wily too; receiving therefore the Garments, they entreated us to make our Prayers for the *Khan*, which we did, and afterwards we went to *Caracorum*.

But it happened, while we were with the Monks, far from the Court with other Embassadors, that the Monk caused the Table to be stuck so hard, that *Mangu-Khan* heard it, and demanded what it was; then they told him, Upon which he asked why he was removed so far from the Court; they told him, because it was troublesome to bring him Horses and Oxen every Day to the Court; and said further, that it were better that he should stay at *Caracorum*. Then the *Khan* sent unto him, saying, if he would go to *Caracorum*, and stay there near about the Church, he would give him all Things necessary: But the Monk answered, I came from the Holy Land of *Jerusalem* hither by the Command of GOD, and left that City, wherein are a thousand better Churches than that of *Caracorum*; if he please that I stay here, and pray for him as GOD commanded me, I will stay; if not I will return to the Place from whence I came. So that every Evening Oxen were brought him yoked to the Carts, and in the Morning he was brought to the Place where he used to be before the Court; and a little before we departed thence, a certain *Nestorian* came, who seemed to be a wise Man; *Buiga*, the chief Secretary, placed him before the Court, to whom the *Khan* let his Children that he should bless them.

54. We came therefore to *Caracorum*, and while we were in *Master William* the Goldsmith's Houle, my Guide came to me and brought me ten Jackets, five of which he left in *Master William's* Hands, commanding him to spend

them on the Behalf of the *Khan*, for the *Filial's* Benefit; he remained there; he also left the other five in the Houle of my Interpreter, commanding him to spend them in the Way, for my Subsistence; for *Master William* had given them such Instructions without our Knowledge. I therefore changed one into small Money, and distributed it to the poor Christians which were there, for all their Lives were fixed upon us. We spent another in buying all necessary for us, as Garments and other things, which we wanted. With the third my Interpreter had left bought some things, by which he gained somewhat. We spent the rest, because after we came into *Fajia* sufficient Provisions were no where given us, nor yet among the *Tartars*, amongst whom we seldom found any thing to be sold.

Master William, your Majesty's Ancient Scribe, sends you a certain Griddle set with a precious Stone, which they used to wear against Thunder and Lightning, and most humble salutes you, always commending you to God in his Prayers. We baptized there in all six Souls. When we departed from each other, it was with Tears, my Companion remaining with *Master William*, and returning with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one Servant, who had Directions to take one Mutton in four Days for us here. We came therefore in two Months and ten Days from *Caracorum* to *Bactra*, and never saw a Town, nor the Appearance of any House, but Graves, except one Village, wherein we did not so much as eat Bread, nor did we ever rest in the two Months and ten Days, because we could not get Horses. We returned for the most part by the same kind of People, and yet through other Countries, for we went in the Winter, and returned in the Summer, and by the higher Parts of the North, except that fifteen Days Journey we were obliged to go a Journey by a certain River between the Mountains, wherein there is no Lodging but by the River side. We went two Days, and sometimes three, without taking any other Food, but *Cosmos*. Once we were in great Danger, not because to find any People, our Provision failing us, and our Horses tired.

When I had travelled twenty Days, I heard that the King of *Armenia* had passed by. In the End of August I met with *Sartach*, who went to *Mangu-Khan* with his Wife and Herds, and with his Wives and Children, and the Bulk of his Families remained between *Tanais* and *Erva*. That my Duty to him, saying, I would willingly stay in his Country, but *Mangu-Khan* would have me stand at my Letters. He answered, that I must perform the Will of *Mangu-Khan*. Then I asked *Cosmos* for the Charge? He answered, they were in the Court of *Bactra*, carefully provided for. I also asked him for our Cloaths and Beds again? He answered, did ye not bring them with you? I said I brought them unto *Sartach*, but I did not give them to him, as you know; and I put him in mind what Answer I made when he demanded whether I would give them to *Sartach*? Then he answered, you say that no one can resist Truth. Heit your Goods a little more, who remaineth near *Sartach*, which is a new Town, hath made upon *Etina* on the East Shore; but perhaps have some of the Vestments. If any thing please you, I, keep it, so my Books be referred.

Then he told me he would request my Words to stand. I must have Letters, said I, to your Father, to tell me all. But he was ready to be gone, and said unto me, the Train of the Ladies followeth us, near at Hand, ye had alight there, and I will send you *Sartach's* Answer by the Man. I was very careful he should not deceive me, and dare not contend with him. Late in the Evening the Man came unto me, and brought two Coats with him, which I thought had been all of Silk, and he said unto me, send two Garments, the one *Sartach* hath sent up to you, and the other, if so it please you, you shall prefer to the King on his Behalf; to whom I answered, I wear no such Vestments; I will present them both to my King, a hundred times your Lord. Then said he, do with them what you please; now it pleased me to send them both unto you, and I sent them to you by the Brother of the *Prince*. He desired me Letters also to the Father of *Cosmos* to redress me, which appertained unto me, because he had no need of any thing which was mine, so we came to the Court of *Bactra*.

Some Day I departed thence a Year before, viz. the second Day after the Exaltation of the blessed Crois, and I found our young Men in Health, yet much afflicted with Poverty, as *Gajet* told me; and if the King of *Armenia* had not comforted them, and recommended them to *Sartaeb*, they had perished, for they thought I had been dead. The *Sartars* also demanded of them, if they could keep Oxen, or milk Mares; for if I had not returned, they had been brought into Servitude by those People.

After this *Baatu* ordered me to come to him, and made the Letters which *Mangu Khan* sends unto you to be interpreted unto me; for *to Mangu* wrote unto him, that if it pleased him to add any thing, or leave out, or change, he should do it. Then said he, ye shall carry these Letters, and cause them to be understood. He demanded also what way I would go, whether by Sea or Land? I said, the Sea was more, because it was Winter, and I must go by Land, for I thought you had been still in *Syria*, so I directed my Journey towards *Perfia*, for if I had thought you had passed *France*, I would have gone into *Hungary*; for I should have come into *France*, and by a more easy Way than passing *Syria*; then we travelled a Month with him before we could obtain a Guide; at length they appointed me a certain *Jugure*, who understanding I would give him nothing, and that I would go forthwith into *Armenia*, caused Letters to be made to conduct me to the Soldan of *Turky*, saying he should receive Gifts of the Soldan, and that he should gain more that Way; then we took our Journey about fifteen Days before the Feast of *All Saints* towards *Turky*, going directly Southward, descending near to *Euphrates*, which is there divided into Three Arms, every one of which is almost twice as big as the Branch of the River of *Nile* at *Dometa*.

It divides afterwards into four lesser Arms, so that we crossed the River in seven Places by Boats. Upon the middle Branch is the Village called *Sumerkaut*, without a Wall; but upon the River overflows, it is compassed with Water. The *Tatars* were eight Years about it before they could take it, and the *Alani* and the *Saracens* were nine. There we found the *Germans* with his Wife, a very good Man, with whom I stayed in the Winter; for *Sartaeb* sent him thither to receive a Court. About these Parts was *Baatu* on the one Side of the River, and *Sartaeb* on the other about *Cerjyt*, and they go no farther down; and when it happens that the River is frozen, they pass over. Here is great Store of Grats; and there among the Caves, Thieves hide themselves till the Ice melt. *Coat's* Father receiving *Sartaeb's* Letters, restored my Vestments unto me, except my Aose, and an Almie trimmed with fine Silk, a Stone, a Turke, and a Tuaha, adorned with Golden Embroidery, and a Surplice. He restored also to me all the Silver Plate, except the Censer, and the little Box where the Chirmas, at which the Priest win his with *Sartaeb* had. He returned my Books, except our Lady's Psalter, which he kept with my Leave, because I could not deny it him; for *Sartaeb* took much Delight in it. He also requested me, that if it happen that I return unto those Parts again, I would bring them a Man that knew how to make Parchment, for he had built a great Church by the Command of *Sartaeb* upon the West Side of the River, as he said, and a new Town; yet I knew that *Sartaeb* meant no such Matter. *Sarav* and the Palace of *Baatu* are upon the East Side of the River, and the Valley through which the Arms of the River are spread abroad containeth more than even Leagues in Breadth. There is great Store of Fish there, a Hole also in Verte, and a certain Book in the *Araban* Language worth thirty Sultaines, and many other Things I never recovered.

After our Departure from him on the Feast of *All Saints*, going towards the South until the Feast of *Saint Martin*, we came to the Mountains of the *Alani*, between *Bazra* and *Sarav*. In fifteen Days, we found no People but one of his Sons, who went before him with Falcons and his Falconers, who were many, at one little Village; from the Feast of *All Saints* for five Days we met not with so much as a Man, and we were in great Danger by reason of Thirst, one whole Day and a Night, finding no Water, till about Three of the Clock the next Day. The *Alani* in those Mountains yet hold out, to that of ten of the Subjects

of *Sartaeb* two must come and guard the narrow Passage of the Hills, lest they come forth of the Mountains, and carry away the Cattle in the Plain. Between the *Alani* and *Porta Ferrea*, which is two Days Journey from thence, where the Plain of the *Alani* beginneth, between the *Caspian* Sea and the Mountains, there are certain *Saracens*, called *Legi*, inhabiting the Mountains, who likewise are free; so that those *Tartars* who dwell at the Foot of the Mountains of the *Alani* were obliged to give us twenty Men to bring us beyond the Iron Gate, or *Porta Ferrea*; and I was glad, because I hoped to see them armed, for I could never see their Armour, though I had been very desirous of seeing it; and when we came to this dangerous Passage of the whole twenty, there were but two who had *Hirbergiens*, and I demanded of whom they had them? They said, they had them of the *Alani*, who are able Workmen in such Things, and excellent Smiths. I think they have small Store of Armour, but Quivers and Bows, and Leather Jackets; I saw them presented with Iron Plates, and Iron Skul-caps out of *Perfia*, and saw two also who presented themselves to *Mangu*, armed with Coats made of Horses skins, bent inward, of rough Leather, which were very clammy and unweildy.

Before we came to *Porta Ferrea*, we found one Castle of the *Alans*, which was *Mangu Khan's*, for he had subdued that Country. There we first found Vineyards and drunk Wine; the Day following we came to *Porta Ferrea*, or the Iron-Gate, which *Alexander* the *Macedonian* King made, and it is a City whose East End is upon the Sea Shore: And there is a little Plain between the Sea and the Mountains, through which the City extends in Length to the Top of the Mountain, which bordereth upon it on the West, so that there is no Way above for the Ruggedness of the Mountains, nor below for the Sea, but immediately through the Midst of the City, where there is an Iron-Gate, from whence the City hath its Name. This City is more than a Mile long, and on the Top of a Hill is a strong Cattle; and it is as much in Breadth as a Stone's Call. It hath very strong Walls, without Trenches and Turrets, of large polished Stones. But the *Tartars* have destroyed the Tops of the Turrets and the Bulwarks of the Wall, laying the Turrets even with the Wall. Below that City, the Country was formerly like a Paradise. Two Days Journey from hence we found another City called *Samaron*, wherein there were many *Jews*, and when we passed it we saw Walls descending from the Mountains to the Sea; and leaving the Way by the Sea by thole Walls, because it turns towards the East, we went up into the high Countries towards the South.

The next Day we passed through a certain Valley, wherein the Foundations of Walls appeared from one Mountain to another, and there was no Way through the Tops of the Mountains. These were in times past the Inclosures, or Walls erected by *Alexander* for restraining the fierce Nations, the Shepherds of the Wildernets, that they could not invade the inhabited Countries and Cities. There are also other Walls and Inclosures where *Jews* are. The next Day we came to a certain great City called *Samarob*, and after this we entered into a great Plain called *Moar*, through which the River *Cur* or *Cyrus* runs, from which the *Curgis* or *Cordi* have their Names, whom we call *Georgians*; and it runneth through the Middle of *Teffis*, which is the Metropolis of the *Curgines*, and comes directly from the West, running to the East into the *Caspian* Sea, and in it are excellent Salmon. In that Plain we found *Tartars* again. Also by that Plain runs the River *Araxes*, which cometh from the *Greater Armenia*, from betwixt the South and West, from which it is called the Land of *Ararat*. Whereupon in the Book of the Kings it is said of the Sons of *Sennacherib*, that having slain their Father, they fled into the Land of the *Armenians*. And in *Isaiah* it is said, that they fled into the Land of *Ararat*. To the West then of that most beautiful Plain is *Curgia*. In that Plain the *Cresimiri* were settled formerly. And there is a great City in the Entrance of the Mountains called *Ganger*, which was their Metropolis, stopping the *Georgians*, that they could not come down into the Plain. Then we came to the Bridge of Boats, which was fastened together with a great Iron Chain, stretched forth cross the River, wherein *Cur* and the *Araxes* met together, but the *Cur* loseth its Name there.

56. We proceeded thence, till travelling up the *Araxes*, of which it is said, *Pontem indignatus Araxes*, *Araxes* disdains a Bridge, leaving *Perfia* and the *Caspian* Mountains on the left Hand towards the South, having on the right Hand *Curgia* and the Great Sea towards the West; going all the Way Southward, we pass'd through the Meadows of *Bacchu*, who is General of that Army which is there within the River *Araxes*; he has likewise made the *Curgi*, and *Turks*, and *Perfians*, subject to him. There is likewise another Governor in *Perfia*, at *Tauris*, over the Tribute called *Argon*, both which *Mangu-Khan* hath called home to give Place to his Brother, who is going into those Countries. The Country which I have described to you is not properly *Perfia*, but was sometimes called *Hyrcania*. I was in *Ea-Ceu's* House, and he gave us Wine to drink, and he himself drank *Cofinos*, which I would willingly have drank if he had given it me; yet it was the best new Wine, but *Cofinos* is more wholesome for a half-starved Man as I was. We went up therefore by the River *Araxes* from the Eve of *St. Clement* until the second *Sunday* in *Lent*, till we came to the Head of the River, and beyond the Mountains where it riseth there is a good City called *Arjanon*, which I belong to the *Soldan* of *Turky*, and near theabouts *Euphrates* rises towards the North, at the Foot of the Mountains of *Curgia*, to whose Spring I had gone, but the Snow was so great that no Man could go out of the common Path, and on the other Side of the Mountains of *Caucasus* towards the South riseth the *Tigris*.

When we departed from *Bacchu* my Guide went to *Tauris* to speak with *Argon*, carrying my Interpreter with him; but *Bacchu* came to me to be brought to a certain City called *Naxuam*, which heretofore was the Head or Capital of a great Kingdom, and the greatest and fairest City in those Parts, but the *Tartars* have made it a Wilderness; and there were anciently eight hundred Churches of the *Armenians* there; now there are but two little ones, for the *Saracens* have destroyed them; in one of which I held the Feast of *Christinas* as I could with our Clerk, and the next Day following the Priest of the Church died, to whose Bural came a certain Bishop with twelve Monks from the high Countries, for all the Bishops of the *Armenians* are Monks, and of the *Greeks* likewise for the most part. The Bishop told me that there was a Church near this Place where *St. Barbelemew*, and likewise *St. Juas* *Ybaddeus* were martyred, but there was no Way open for Snow. He told me also that they had two Propheets, the first or chief *Metodus* the Martyr, who was of their Country, and plainly prophesied of the *Umalites*, which Prophecy is fulfilled in the *Saracens*. The other Propheet is called *Macron*, who, when he died, prophesied of a Nation of Archers that should come from the North, saying, "That they should conquer all the Countries of the East, and should spare the Kingdoms of the East, to assist them in obtaining the Kingdoms of the West; and they shall possess the Countries from North to South, and shall come to *Constantinople*, and shall take the Gate of *Constantinople*, and one of them who shall be called a wife Man, shall enter the City, and seeing the Churches and Rites of the *Franks*, shall cause himself to be baptized, and shall counsel the *Franks* how they may kill the Emperor of the *Tartars*, and there they shall be confounded. Hearing this, the *Franks* which shall be in the Middle of the Land, viz. at *Jerusalem*, shall set upon the *Tartars* who shall border upon them, and with the Help of our Nation, that is, the *Armenians*, shall pursue them, so that the *French* King shall place his royal Throne at *Taurinum* in *Perfia*, and then all the East Countries and all the unbelieving Nations shall be converted to the Faith of *Christ*; and there shall be no great Peace in the World, that the Living shall say to the Dead, Wo be unto you Wretches! that lived not until these Times." And I read this Prophecy brought to *Constantinople* by the *Armenians* which remain there, but I made light of it. Yet when I spake with the Bishop, calling it to Mind, I regarded it somewhat the more. But throughout all *Armenia* they as firmly Believe this Prophecy as they do the Gospel.

He said to us also, even as the Souls in *Lumbo* expect

the Coming of *Christ* for their Delivery, so do we look for your Coming, that we may be freed from the Slavery wherein we have so long lived. Near the City *Naxuam* there are Mountains on which they say the Ark of *Moses* rested; and there are two, one greater than the other, and *Araxes* running at the Foot of them; and there is a little Town there called *Comanum*, which is in the Language Eight; for they say it was so called of the Persons which came forth of the Ark, and the first that have attempted to climb the great Hills, and could not, and the Bishop told me that a certain Monk here was much troubled therewith, an Angel appeared to him, and brought him a Piece of the Wood of the Ark, bidding him to trouble himself no more. That Piece of Wood they had in their Church as he told me, but it is thought to high in Appearance but the Monk is well content. A certain old Man gave me however this word, Remember why no one should climb it. They call the Mountain *Abhis*; and as this Word is of the *Perfian* Language, so their Tongue, no Man, but they, shall climb up thence, because it is the Mother of the World.

In the City of *Naxuam*, *Friar Bernard*, a *Catholic* of the Order of the Preaching Friars, came to me, who was in *Georgia*, with a certain *Friar* of the *Sepulchre*, who professeth great Lands there, and he had learned somewhat of the *Tartar* Language; he formerly went with a certain *Hungarian* *Isaac*, who returned with me to *Tiflis*, whence *Servast*; but *Friar Bernard* remained at *Tauris*, with a certain Lay *Friar*, whose Language he understood not. We went out of the City of *Naxuam*, about the *Epiphany*, for we had stayed long there, by reason of the Snow; we came therefore in four Days to the Country of *Cardis*; *Cardis* Prince, heretofore mighty, but now master of the *Tartars*, who destroyed all his Ammunition, was his Father *Zacharias* possessed himself of the Country of the *Armenians*, having delivered them from the hands of the *Saracens*; and there are many fair Villages of the *Armenians*, having Churches like the *Franks*; and *Cardis* hath in his House, in an honorable Place, a Cross in Hand, holding a Cross, and sets a burning Lamp before it; and that which we do with holy Water, spreading it to drive away wicked Spirits, they do with *Cardis* for every Evening, they burn Incense, carrying it through all the Corns of the House, to drive out of the Land of Evillities. I eat with *Salvata*, and he did me great Reverence, both he and his Wife, and his Son *Isidore*, a very comely and wise young Man, who desired of me, whether if he should come to you, you would entertain him; for he is in a way under the Power of the *Tartars*, that though he hath a Plenty of Money, he had rather travel into a strange Country, and cause his violent Exiles. They had orders, that they were true Sons of the Church of *Rome*, and if the Pope would send them any Aid, they would bring all the young Nations unto the Subjection of the Church of *Rome*.

From that Town of his, in fifteen Days, we came to the Country of the *Armenians*, on the first of the *Lent*; and the first Cattle we found is called *Armenians*, all in the Cattle were *Christians*, *Armenians*, *Armenians*, *Greeks*; The *Saracens* only have the Dominion. The Captain of the Cattle said, he had received Commandment, that his Victuals should be given to any *Armenian*, or to the Ambassador of the King of *Armenia*, or of the *Armenians*; so that from the Place where we were the next *Sunday* in *Lent*, quite to *Cyprus*, wading *Armenians* five Days before the Feast of *Saint John* the Baptist, we were forced to buy our own Provision. There was a *Armenian* procured me a Horse, and took Money for the same, and put it in his Purse. When he came into the Country, seeing a Flock, away he went, and without notice took the Sheep, and gave it to his Family to eat; and wondered I would not be the Part of his Reward, and his Provision, I was in a certain City of *Armenia*, called *Cabena*, whose Situation is *Armenians*, and there are many dead *Armenian* Churches, and two Monks of the *Armenians*; The *Tartars* place an Office there.

At this Place five *Preaching* Friars came to me, whose four came from *Provence* in *France*, and the fifth was himself to them in *Syria*. They had but one Book

who could speak the *Turkish* Language, and a little *Levitic*; and they had the Pope's Letters to *Sartach*, and to *Mangu-Khan*, and to *Buri*, such as your Highness gave me Letters of Request, that they would suffer them to continue in their Country, and preach the Word of God, &c. But when I told them what I had seen, and how they sent me back again, they directed their Journey to *Tiflis*, where there are Friars of their Order, to consult what they should do; I answered them, they might well pass by those Letters if they would; but they should be well assured, to endure much Labour, and render an Account of their Coming; for seeing they had no other Message but the Office of Preaching, they would care but little for them, and chiefly because they had no Interpreter: What they did utter, I know not, and cannot therefore report.

58. On the second Sunday in Lent we came to the Head of *Araxes*, and passing beyond the Top of the Mountain, we came to *Euphrates*, by which we descended eight Days going to the West a certain Castle called *Camit*; where *Euphrates* bends to the South towards *Halapia*. But we passing the River went through very high mountainous Countries, and through the deepest Snow to the West. There was to great an Earthquake there that Year, that in one City called *Arsengan*, ten thousand Persons, according to their Register, perished, beside poor Men, of whom there was no Notice taken. Riding three Days together, we saw the gaping of the Earth, as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and the Heaps of Earth that came from the Mountain, and filled the Vallies, so that if but a little more of the Earth had been move'd, that which *Isaiab* speaketh had been literally fulfilled, *Every Valley shall be filled, and every Mountain and little Hill shall be humbled*. We passed through the Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turky* was vanquished by the *Tartars*. It were too long to write how he was overcome; but a certain Servant of my Guide's who was with the *Tartars* said, that the *Tartars* were not above ten thousand in the whole; and a certain Card of the *Soldan's*, said that there were two hundred thousand with the *Soldan's* all Horse-men. In that Plain where the Battle was, there broke out a great Lake at the Time of the Earthquake; and it came into my Mind, that all the Earth opened her Mouth to receive yet more Blood of the *Saracens*. We were in *Sebasta* a Town of the *Lesser Armenia* in Easter Week; here we visited the Tombs of forty Martyrs; there the Church of *St. Blas* standeth, but I could not go thither, because it was above in the Cattle.

On the succeeding Sunday we came to *Cesaria* of *Capadocia*, where there is a Church of *St. Basil the Great*. About fifteen Days after, we came to *Iconium*, making small Journeys, and resting in many Places, because we could not readily procure Horses, and my Guide did this on purpose, taking upon him to solicit his own Business three Days in every Town, at which I was much dissatisfied, but durst not speak, because he might have sold or slain me and our Servants, and there was none to hinder it. I found many *Franks* at *Iconium*, and a certain Merchant called *Nicholas de Sancto Syria*, who with a Companion of his, a *Venetian*, called *Boniface de Melandino*, carried all the Allum out of *Turky*, so that the *Soldan* could not sell any but to those two; and they made it so dear, that what was worth but fifteen *Bizantines*, is now sold for forty. My Guide presented me to *Soldan*; the *Soldan* said he would willingly cause me to be conveyed to the Sea of *Armenia*, or *Cilicia*, though the above-mentioned Merchant, knowing that the *Saracens* made little account of me, and that I was much burthened with the Company of my Guide, caused me to be conveyed to *Carruna*, a Fort belonging to the King of *Armenia*. I came thither before the *Ascension*, and stayed till the Day after *Pentecost*; then I heard that Embassadors came from the King to his Father; then I went privately to the King's Father to demand whether he had heard any News from his Son, and I found him set with all his Sons, one excepted, called *Banan Ufin*, who resided in a certain Castle, and he received News from his Son that he was returned, and that *Mangu-Khan* had much eated his Tribute, and has given him a Privilege that no Embassador should

come into his County; whereupon the old Man himself, with all his Sons, made a Banquet, and he caused me to be conveyed to the Sea, to the Heaven called *Ajax*; and thence I passed over into *Cyprus*; and at *Nicosia* I found our Provincial, who the same Day carried me with him to *Antiochia*, which is in a very weak State. We were there on the Feast of *St. Peter and Paul*, and from thence we came to *Tripolis*, where our Chapter was held on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

59. Our Provincial being determined that I should have my Residence in our Convent at *Acou*, would not suffer me to come to you; but commanding me to write unto you what I would by the Bearer of these Presents, and not daring to resist contrary to my Obedience, I did, according to my Power and Understanding, craving Pardon of your Clemency for my Superfluities or Wants, or for any thing that shall be indiscreetly or foolishly spoken, as for a Man of little Understanding, not accustomed to write long Histories. The Peace of God which passeth all Understanding preserve your Heart and fortify your Mind. I would willingly see your Highness, and certain spiritual Friends, which I have in your Kingdom. Wherefore if it should not be contrary to your Majesty's liking, I would beseech you to write to our Provincial, that he would let me come unto you and return shortly again into the Holy Land. Concerning *Turky*, your Majesty shall understand, that the tenth Man there is not a *Mohammedan*, nay, they are all *Armenians* and *Greeks*, and Children rule over them; for the *Soldan*, who was conquered by the *Tartars*, had a lawful Wife of *Iberia*, by whom he had one feeble Son, concerning whom he charged that he should be the *Soldan*. He had another of a *Greek* Concubine, whom he committed to a certain great Admiral. The third he had by a *Turk*, to whom many *Turks* and *Turcomans* being gathered together, they purposed to have slain all the Sons of the Christians. They had determined also, as I understood, that after they had got the Victory, they would destroy all the Churches, and kill as many as would not become *Mohammedans*; but he was overcome in Battle, and many of his Men slain. He recruited his Army however, a second Time, and then was taken, and is still in Prison. *Pacester* the Son of the *Greek* Concubine, procured soon after that he might be *Soldan*, because the other was weak whom they sent to the *Tartars*; whereupon his Kindred on the Mother's Side, such as the *Iberians* and the *Cards*, were angry; so that, at present, a Child ruleth in *Turky*, having no Treasure, few Soldiers, and many Enemies. The Son of *Vasacius* is weak, and at War with the Son of *Affau*, who likewise was a Child, and worn out with the Servitude of the *Tartars*. If therefore an Army of the Church should come to the Holy Land, it were a very easy Thing to subdue all these Countries, or to pass through them.

The King of *Hungary* hath not above thirty thousand Soldiers. From *Cologne* to *Constantinople*, are not above threescore Days Journey by Waggon; from *Constantinople* are not so many Days Journey to the Country of the King of *Armenia*. In old Time, valiant Men passed through those Countries and prospered; yet they had most valiant Opponents, whom God hath now destroyed out of the Earth, and we need not be in Danger of the Sea, or the Mercy of Sailors; and the Price which we should give for Freight were sufficient for Expences by Land. I speak it confidently, if our Countrymen would go as the King of the *Tartars* go, and be contented with such Victuals, they might win the whole World. It seemeth not expedient, as I think, that any Friar should go to the *Tartars* any more, as I did, or as the preaching Friars do; but if our Lord the Pope would send a Bishop in an honourable Manner, and answer their Folies, about which they have thrice writ to the *Franks*, once to Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, of Sacred Memory, and twice to your Majesty, once by *David*, who deceived you, and now by me, he might speak unto them what he would, and also cause them to put these Things in Writing, for they hear whatsoever an Embassador will speak, and always demand if he will say a y more; but he must have a good Interpreter; nay, many Interpreters, and be at large Expences.

65. Such is the Relation of the Monk *Rubruquis*, who had the best Opportunity that any Man had to that Time, of looking into the Affairs of the *Tartars*, of examining their Force, of enquiring into the Form of their Government, and making himself perfectly acquainted with their Manners and Customs, of which he has given so large, so curious, and so accurate an Account. Before we proceed to our Remarks thereon, it may not be amiss to clear up a few Difficulties that occur in this Relation, and which, for want of being clearly resolved, may occasion some Doubts in the Mind of our inquisitive Reader; and this is the more necessary, because hitherto nothing of this kind has been done, at least in our Language; but the Relation has been left naked and unsupported to the Censure of the Reader, without the least Notice taken of those Facts that must necessarily embarrass him, and in a great Measure affect the Credit of the Author. I am very sensible, that many of my Readers may be of Opinion, that I might spare myself some part of the Trouble I take in illustrating those old Writers; but I beg leave to observe once for all, that it is not either for their Interest, or mine, that I should do so. If I had not been thoroughly satisfied that these Travels were the best in their kind, I should not have inserted them; but with respect to the World, this is not enough; for though I have it in my Power to give them what seems to be most proper for such a Collection, yet I owe it to them, and to myself, to make it as evident as it is possible, that I discharge this Trust as I ought, and that I give them nothing which is not truly worthy of their Perusal; and this can no otherwise be done, than by obviating every Difficulty that may possibly incline them to differ from me in Sentiment, and therefore I hope this will push me in the Point I am still to take with regard to this Author, who, as he was a Writer of great Candour and Sincerity, so he has mentioned many Particulars, which, tho' they were well known in his Time, and more especially to the Prince, to whom this Work was addressed, yet are so imperfectly known to us, that without a strict Search into the Histories of those Times, it is not easy to conceive, how they can be reconciled to the rest of his Narration.

We will state these plainly, and then the Truth of my Observation will be manifest. In the first Place, it seems extraordinary, that the King of *France* should be so much deceived with respect to the Embassy that was sent him from the *Tartars*, which occasioned the whole of this Transaction; but with respect to this, it appears clearly from the Histories that have written the Reign of *Saint Louis*, that these Embassadors came from a *Tartar* Prince called *Erkathay*, and brought with them Letters which we still extant, and which positively assert, that it was the Design of the *Khan* to co-operate with the Christians, in order to reduce the Power of the *Mohammedans*. At the Head of this Embassy was one *David*, who is named in the Letters as one to whom the King of *France* might give entire Credit, to which his Majesty might be more inclined, because he had in his Company *Friar Andrew de Lantani*, whom the Pope had formerly sent into *Tartary*, and who assured the King, that he had known *David* there in a Post of Distinction. This Embassador it was, that positively asserted, that the *Khan* was become a Christian, and that there was no Difficulty in procuring a close Alliance between him and the Christians. Upon this, the King did send *Friar Andrew* with a considerable Number of Persons in his Train, back with the *Tartar* Ambassadors, in the Beginning of the Year 1255, but as to the Success of this Negotiation, we have no Account. There is another particular mark in our Author's Account, and that is with respect to his Character; for tho' I suppose myself, that he was sent by the King his Master with Letters very ready, yet he frequently tells us, that he did not allow himself to be an Embassador, but desired rather to be considered as a Monk, who visited *Tartary* from his Zeal for the Christian Religion.

The Reason of his Pretence, was to preserve the Honour of the King, in case that the *Tartar* Treatment that he should receive, should be such as he would not be obliged to receive as an Embassador. In the first Place, he

to the Conversion of *Sartach* was false; and next, because he was aware the *Tartars* were informed, that the King his Master had been beat in *Egypt*, and taken Prisoner there by the Infidels; whence he concluded, that he should not meet with a very good Reception. He therefore takes great Care to inform the King, that whatever Usage he received, could reflect no Dishonour upon his Majesty, because of the Precaution he had taken to assume no higher Character than that of a Monk, who came to preach the Christian Religion to the *Tartars*. But the Readers may very probably wonder why the *Tartar* Prince *Erkathay*, should take such a Step as this, in order to mislead to great a Monarch, and yet, if he adverts to the Account our Author has given of the Genius and Expectations of the *Tartars*, he will easily perceive, that this was a Stroke of their Policy, and no very bad one. They had a Mind to be perfectly acquainted with the Design of the *Franks*, their Forces, and the Manner in which they intended to carry on the War against the *Saracens*; and could they fall upon a Way more proper than this for accomplishing their Ends. The Character afforded, by our Author to the *Tartars*, is justified by all Writers, both ancient and modern; for their Policy with respect to foreign Countries consists entirely in Cunning and subtilty; for not having the Advantages that other Nations have of free Commerce and constant Intercourse with the Inhabitants of distant Countries, they supply their eyes with Intelligence by such Artifices as these. Sometimes the Prince takes upon him to send Ministers to foreign Courts, whose Business it is, under Colour of a Negotiator, to get the best Accounts they can of the Regiots in which they reside, in order to leave their Countrymen whenever Occasion offers as Harbingers or Guides; and as they depend on these Arts in Time of Peace, to they place their Confidence in War in the Quickness of their Motion, and in that Rapidity with which they overrun great Countries, before the Inhabitants have Time to take proper Measures for their Defence.

It was for these Reasons, and to save the Honour of the King his Master, that our Author denied that any Embassadors had been sent to *Mongu-Khan*, for he confessed *Friar Andrew* as sent only to the Prince, who wrote to the King his Master, and not to the great *Khan*, as he writes; does not appear that the *French* had any justities, as they were denied to them by this Relation. We may add to all this, that our Author was something different as to the Character which *Darien* assumed, by his giving us to understand, that in those Days there was a certain number of People, who in those remote Parts of the World used a Practice of giving themselves out for the Ministers of Princes they scarce knew, and made a Trade of such strange Exports. He likewise tells us, that he observed, that the Eastern Christians in general were always of great Vivacity, and so fertile in the Conception of every thing they saw or heard appeared to them as the Object of a Wonder, and so such they reported it whatever came, to serve their own Purposes.

Upon these Principles he grounds the political Part of his Work, in which he seems to labour, without success, to establish these two Maxims. The first, that it was neither safe or honourable to amuse a Monarch as to the *Tartars*, who were in his Possession of an invincible sort of People, very proud, and extremely warlike, cruel, and who understood all Appointments of War as proceeding from Fear. The second, that the Law was nothing near so strict as it had been reported to be; that there was far less Danger like to a cruel Execution of them as Enemies, than from treating with them as Friends, into which Notion he was led by observing, that the Discipline was not exact, that they were still in some Degree with the regular Art of War, and no way of proceeding upon it, as if it was a Foot upon the Ground, they were prepared to meet them in the Field with disciplined Armies. That which I must take notice of as a remarkable Part of his Work, is his Description of the *Pope*, and his high Notion of his Power, which he justifies, however, as in some measure excusable, as he lived in an Age in which he lived, and the *Conquerors* of those Times, who took upon them to

dispute the greatest Princes in Christendom, as the Case then was with the Emperor, or to send them into the most distant Parts of the World, under Pretences of Religion, as appears from the Expeditions undertaken by his Master King Louis, which were as unfortunate in their Event, as in founded in their Principles.

But it is now Time to add a few Observations with respect to the Usefulness of this Work, as it stands in this Collection, and to show how far the Travels of Rubruquis contributed to make the Western Parts of the World acquainted with the Passages into the East, as well as with what was doing there, and the Force of the several Monarchs that were in Possession of those Countries at the Time he visited them.

1. The Travels of Rubruquis are equally astonishing in whatever Light they are considered. Take them with respect to Length, and they extend to upwards of five thousand Miles one Way, and to near six thousand another. I mean from Constantinople in his going out, and to Acon or Ptolemais in his Return, which is such a Space of Ground as it will not be easy to find any Man that has travelled, and let us to distinct an Account of what he has seen. But his Travels are not to be considered from their Length as from the Nature of the Countries that are travelled through, then here again is a new Proof of the Value of this Performance, since it is certain no European, except John Carpini, ever travelled so far before, neither have we any Accounts of Travels of the same kind since, that, only excepted, which follows in the next Section, and from which we have received here in Europe the first certain Accounts of China, and the first Notice we had of there being in the World such a Country as Japan. We shall apprehend this Matter better, if we take a short View of the Countries through which our Monk passed by the Names they are known to us at present. It is plain, that from Constantinople he sailed coast the Black-Sea to the Port of Cassa, from thence he travelled by Land all the rest of the Way, this is to say, first through Crim Tartary, then crossing the great Rivers Tanais and Volga, he came in the Country of Volgar, and to the Camp of Baata, thence through the vast Country of the Calmucks, and to North-Eastward to the Court of Meng Khan, which, according to his Description, must have lain in the Latitude of fifty Degrees North, or somewhat more, and considerably higher than what is now called the Climate Tartary. In his Return he passed through all the vast Delarts of Great Tartary, through the Country of the Mogols, and so by the Head of the Caspian-Sea, and then along the West Side of it through the Countries of Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Diarbek, and to into Syria; all which Countries then were, and most of them are still, in the Hands of the Tartars, of whom he has given us such an Account as is not only very consistent with itself, and carries the most strong Marks of Veracity, but is very agreeable also to the best Accounts we have since received of those Countries.

As our Author was not acquainted with the Language of the Tartars, and did not remain long enough amongst them to acquire it in that Degree of Perfection which was necessary to read and to understand their Histories, we need not at all wonder at some small Errors that have crept into his Points of no great Consequence. As for Instance, in what he tells us of Zingis-Khan, who he makes a Tartar, as other Writers have done a Backman. I shall not trouble the Reader with Remarks of the right spelling of the Word Zingis, which I have already given him as ought to be spelt, and have since conform'd to our Author's Manner of writing it, that the Reader might find less Difficulty in comparing this with other Books of the same kind. I say, I shall not insist on such Trifles, but shall content myself with observing, that Zingis, however spelt, is a Suffixive, and signifies properly the glittering or shining of Steel, whence springing the Notion, that this Prince was originally of some Trade in which Iron or Steel was employed, because all the Tartars represented him as a Man who from low Beginnings had raised himself to the vast Empire, and expected him at the same Time from the Consideration of his having deprived them of their Liberty and Independence; but among the Tartars themselves this Appellation was taken to an honorable Sense,

Zingis signifying with them illustrious, and Zingis-Khan signifies literally, the most illustrious Monarch.

As to the Religion of this Prince, it was undoubtedly that of his Country, concerning which we have a great deal in Rubruquis agreeable to what he saw or heard, but not so clearly expressed, as that we should be able to say precisely what is the Faith of the Tartars. Our Author is certainly in the Wrong as to Presbyter John, of whom such a Noise has been made in the World, and about whom so little can still be said with any Certainty. What led him into the Mistake was this; Tujan was the Khan of the Naimans, defeated and killed by Zingis-Khan, and it was from the Likeness of his Name to John, that our Author took it for granted he was that John the Priest so well known to the World. But after all, the Presbyter John is still in being, and is no other than the grand Lama, or Supreme Pontiff of the Tartars, who resides, as we have before observed, in the Kingdom of Tangut, and is in the Opinion of the whole Tartar Nation, immortal. The Truth of the Matter is that he is an Ecclesiastical Prince, whose Fame and Credit is very extensive, tho' his Power be very restrained. He resides in a Monastery surrounded by his Monks, who, whenever he dies, supply his Place from among themselves, and keep this Secret so religiously that all the Tartars are as firmly persuaded that their grand Lama lives for ever, as that the Sun always shines. This Krves to explain another Circumstance, that at first Sight might seem very idle and ridiculous to the Reader, I mean the Question put to Rubruquis, whether the Pope was not four or five hundred Years old. It is very plain from hence, that they considered the Pope as the grand Lama of the West, and having heard the Romish Priests insist much on the Perpetuity of the Church, they referred all this to the Person of the Pope, and supposed this spiritual Monarch to be immortal like their own.

If I durst avow my own Sentiments plainly, I should say, that there is no better Evidence of the Idolatry of the Tartars, than of the Papists; and this without intending any high Reflection on the Members of the Romish Church, for both have Images or Idols, both seem to worship them, and yet both when charged with it absolutely deny the Fact. Our Author plainly owns, that Meng Khan told him expressly he worshipp'd but one God, and that the Tartar Priests, whom he charges very freely with Idolatry, disowned it themselves, and affirmed that they reverence their Images only, and did not worship them. But after all, it plainly appears, that they kept the Secret of their Religion so well, that our Author never so much as heard of the Grand Lama, and consequently could know nothing at all of the Grounds of their Religion, which, to deal plainly with the Reader, remains still as great a Mystery to this Day.

It is a Point that the Tartars will never be brought to explain in any manner whatever; and after all the Pains that I have been able to take in order to obtain some sort of Certainty on this Head, I am able to say no more of it than this, that what the Lamas or Priests teach publicly, are restrain'd to these three Points: I. That there is one God the Fountain of Being, the Creator of all things, the Ruler of all things, and the sole Object of Divine Worship. II. That all Men in general are his Creatures, and therefore ought to consider each other as Brethren descended from one common Parent, and all to entitle to all the Blessings he bestows, and that therefore it is great Impiety to abuse those Blessings, or to snare each other. III. That man as such as the common Reason of Mankind hath taught them to establish Property, it is necessary that it should be preserved, and that it is therefore the Duty of every Man to be content with his own, and to be just to his Neighbours. This Religion the Priests not only teach, but practise with inapproachable Exactness; and therefore Rubruquis very fairly owns, that the Regularity of their Manners exceeded the Precepts of the Christian Religion, not because the Doctrines of the latter were in all inferior in Superiority to those of the former, but because in point of Purity of Manners the Aegyptians and other Christians were very defective.

After setting this Subject by the Side of Light we are able, the Reader will not find it at all necessary to supply what a

thing that extremely puzzled, not only our Author, but all who have wrote of the Affairs of the *Tartars*, and it is this; that they are absolutely indifferent as to other Religions, entertaining all with equal Respect, whether *Christians*, *Mohammedans*, or *Jews*, which proceeds from their finding the fundamental Principles of their own Religion taught by them all, and practised by none that come amongst them better than by themselves, or by their Priests.

We find in *Rubrucus*, some mention made of a Nation called *Alkashin*, of whom it will be requisite to give the Reader some Account; they are the same that are mentioned by our ancient Historians, under the several Names of *Hosselins*, *Ajessins*, *Ajassins*, *Ajanites*, and *Chafians*, and were in Truth as odd a Sort of People as ever existed. They possessed a Tract of Country which contained twelve Castles and Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Tyre*, were a mix'd Race of Men, and for a long Time made no Profession of any Religion, but practised a loose Kind of *Mohammedism*, and were Tributaries, first to the Knights Templars, and then to the Christian Earls of *Tripoly*. In the eleventh Century, they would have declared themselves Christians, if they might have been released from that Tribute; but this was refused, and they grew thenceforward the most bitter Enemies the Christians had.

These People were governed by a Prince stiled by our old Historians, the old Man of the Mountain, who finding himself surrounded by States much more powerful than his own, devised a new and strange Way of making himself equally dreadful to his Neighbours and to Strangers. He gave out, that he only was the true Vicar of *Mohammed*, and that he had the Keys of Paradise in his Hands: To support which Notion, he caused a fine Garden to be laid out, in a Valley, near his Palace, adorned in every respect, so as to resemble the Paradise of that Prophet; he likewise provided a sort of Opiate, and whenever he saw a young Man of a daring and resolute Temper, he sent for him, and promised him the perpetual Enjoyment of all sensual Delights, if he would execute boldly whatever he commanded; and by way of earnest,

gave him the Opiate to drink, caused him to be carried while asleep into his Garden, where, when he awoke, he found every thing he could wish for, and many beautiful Women to attend him; when he had remained there a certain time, the Opiate was again administered, and he was conveyed back when asleep, to the Palace, where the old Man of the Mountain promised him, that provided he fulfilled all his Commands during Life, he should dwell after Death perpetually in that Garden.

By this Artifice, he established an Order of Men ready to venture on whatever he commanded, and when any Prince made War upon him, he dispatched three or four of these young Villains to this Court, or Camp, with Instructions to murder him, which they never failed to perform. It was by their Hands that *Louis of Bavaria* was killed in the Year 1231, and in 1251, he dispatched four of them with the like Commission to the Court of *Louis IX.* but suddenly altering his Mind, he dispatched four more with counter Orders, who made such Haite, that they arrived at the *French* Court before the former, and discovering themselves to King *Louis*, remained always near his Person, to preserve him from their Companions, whom they likewise discovered at their Arrival, and for this Service, the *French* Monarch sent them back to their Master, loaded with Presents. By this Means the old Man of the Mountain became terrible, even to the most powerful Monarchs; and from the Practice of his desperate Bravos, we have the Word *Assassins*, and the Phrase of *Assassination*, for Murders of this Nature. This Practice was continued to the Time of which our Author speaks, a little after which, the whole Nation was extirpated by the *Tartars*.

These are all the Facts mentioned in his Writings, that seem to stand in need of Explanation, unless we except what he has delivered concerning the Witchcraft and Sorceries of the *Tartars*. As to these, we can only say, that they are still much addicted to such Superstitions, and are thereby exposed, as he has shewn us, to many Impostures, and abundance of Mischiefs that attend them. But in one Particular he is mistaken, which is in confounding the *Sereres* with the *Lamas*, or *Tartar* Priests, whereas they are quite different Persons. What he relates of the Divination by the Blade-bones, is confirmed by all other Travellers, and is a Sort of Folly practised by all other *Laplanders* and other northern Nations. A Folly ridiculous and absurd indeed, but not more so than the other Arts of Divination, which have prevailed in politer Countries, and which are not perhaps wholly extinguished at this Day. What he says in relation to the sprinkling of Ashes on the Floor, relates to another superstitious Custom of the same kind, which gave Birth to that kind of Fortune-telling called *Geomancy*, which was transferred to *Europe*, and about which several Treatises have been written, and one particularly in our Tongue, not many Years ago, which I mention to shew not only the Probability of what *Rubrucus* has related, but likewise to demonstrate, that the going into such foolish Practices is not peculiar to such Nations as we esteem barbarous; though I shall readily allow, that it is a Mark of Stupidity and Barbarity where ever it appears.

We have no certain Account how this Relation of *Rubrucus* was received by the King his Master, but in all Probability it was very agreeable to him, since, though the Prince, after his Return to *France*, took all imaginable Pains to set the Affairs of his Kingdom in Order, and to reform the Abuses that had crept into it during his Absence, yet he still retained a strong Desire of repairing all the Disgrace he had sustained in his former Expedition, by renewing the War against the Infidels, which determined him to make another Expedition against them, and this, notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be made to it, he undertook in the Spring of the Year 1270. He transported on this Occasion a numerous Army into *Africa*, resolving to begin the Operations of the War with reducing the Kingdom and City of *Tanis*, to which he laid Siege: But before he had made any great Progress towards taking the Place, the Plague broke out in his Army, and the King being infected therewith, died on the Twenty-sixth of August the same Year.

The best *French* Historians, as well as those of other Nations, condemn these Kinds of Expeditions, as idle and romantick; and yet it cannot be denied, that if the Spirit of making War against the Infidels had not been railed at that Time, it is more than probable, that the *Mohammedans* would have over-run the best Part of *Europe*, whereas in consequence of this Spirit, they were driven out of *Portugal* and *Spain*, to which I must here leave to add, that the Travels of *Rubrucus*, and others into different Parts of the East, first inspired that Passion for Discoveries, which has since produced such mighty Effects. Before that Time, we knew little or nothing of this Part of the World of the Situation of distant Countries, and those who affected to be thought great, laboured to discredit whatever was delivered in Relations of this Kind, which prevailed in some Places; and if it had prevailed in all, we had been, at this Day, as ignorant, as poor, and as much Slaves as our Ancestors were before that Spirit of Commerce arose, that has not only discovered both the *Indies*, but has taught Men of Courage, that the whole World is their Country; and that he who improves useful Knowledge, if not properly encouraged at home, will be a welcome Guest where ever he goes.

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SECTION XXI.

The curious and remarkable Voyages and Travels of Marco Polo, a Gentleman of Venice, who in the Middle of the XIIIth Century passed through a great Part of Asia, all the Dominions of the Tartars, and returned home by Sea through the Islands of the East-Indies.

Taken chiefly from the accurate Edition of *Ramusio*, compared with an original Manuscript in his Prussian Majesty's Library, and with most of the Translations hitherto published.

1. A succinct Introduction to this Work.
2. An Account of the Author from *Ramusio* and other Writers.
3. The several Editions and principal Translations that have been published of these Travels.
4. An Account of the Objections that have been raised against them.
5. The Characters given of this Performance by several eminent Critics.
6. The Author's introductory Account, containing an Abridgment of his Travels to the Time of his Return to Venice.
7. A Description of Armenia the Lesser, of the Country of the Turks, of Armenia the Greater, of the Province of Zorzanis, the Kingdom of Mosul, of the City of Baldaeh, or Bagdat, of the City of Tauris, with an Account of a remarkable Earthquake.
8. Of the Country of Persia, the City of Jaski, the City of Cermam, of the Town of Camandu, and of the Country where Rhubarb grows.
9. Of several other Countries, and the principal Curiosities in them.
10. The History of the Ajjafin, and of the Manner in which their Prince was killed, together with the Description of many other Countries.
11. Of the City of Samarcand, the Town of Lop, and of the great Desert in its Neighbourhood, with other remarkable Passages.
12. Of the Province of Camul, and several other Countries to the City of Ezina, and another great Desert.
13. Of the City of Caracurum, and of the Tartars, with a complete History of that Nation, and of their Monarchs.
14. Of the vast Countries to the Northward of Tartary, and many other curious Particulars.
15. Of the great Power of Cublai Khan, of his Government, Family, Dominions, &c.
16. Of his Palace in the City of Cambalu, a particular Description of that City, and other remarkable Observations.
17. Of the Magnificence of the Court of the Grand Khan, and of the Manners and Customs of his Subjects.
18. A copious Account of the Countries between the Place of his Residence, and the Country of Thibet.
19. A large Description of the last mentioned Province, and of many others, with an Account of the Observations made by the Author in his Progress through them.
20. Of the Province of Mangi, and of the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the Tartars, together with an Account of the Provinces and Cities afterwards reduced under their Dominion.
21. Of the noble City of Quinfai, and of the vast Revenues drawn from thence by the Emperor of the Tartars.
22. Of the Island of Ziquangri, and of the Attempts made by the Tartars to conquer it, and their Misfortune in them.
23. A large Account of various Countries, Provinces, Cities, and Islands in the East Indies.
24. Of the great Island of Ceylon, of the Kingdom of Malabar, and the State of other Countries visited by the Author.
25. Of the Kingdom of Murili, the Diamond Mines there, and other Countries adjacent.
26. Of the Island of Madagascar, the Country of Ethiopia, and other Parts of Africa.
27. Of the Province of Aden, and of several Countries reputed to be inaccessible.
28. Many obscure Passages in this Performance explained.
29. Remarks and Observations.

IT is with ancient Writers as with ancient Coins, such as understand them value them above measure, while few as will not be at sufficient Pains to examine them, not only despite them, but also such as admire them. Thus none are more governed by Prejudice than those who declaim against it, and none greater Bigots than such as are attached to their own Opinions, from a Notion that they think freely. Yet this Zeal for Freedom of Thought ought to be amended rather than discouraged, as being in itself commendable, though sometimes dangerous, by being misapplied. It may, and to say the Truth, to many it does seem a tedious and disagreeable Labour to look so far back as the first Springs and Dawnings of Knowledge; yet, however they may colour this with Pretences to refined Taste, it is in fact no better than an Excuse for Idleness, and a Dislike to the taking those Pains which are requisite to succeed in such Enquiries.

The Travels of *Marco Polo* are indeed very old, and are come into our Hands with considerable Defects; but they are very valuable for all that, and very well worthy of our Attention. He was the *Columbus* of the East-Indies, the first that gave a certain and distinct Account of the Sea beyond China, and of the free Passage thereby through all the Islands of the East-Indies, back into those Countries that are very well known. It is true, that a great Part of what he related, though delivered with much Solemnity, and confirmed by the strongest Affirmations, was much called in Question, and thought in some measure beyond all Belief. But subsequent Discoveries have banished this Incredulity, and what were once esteemed Fables have been

since found true Relations; and the Discourses of *Marco Polo*, that were rejected by the supercilious Wits of his own Time, have been raked out of the Dust of old Libraries, decyphered in a manner from the barbarous Latin of Monkish Translators, and brought into the Form we now have them by the indefatigable Pains of the learned *Ramusio*; a Man whose Countenance alone might be sufficient to give Credit to this, or any other Work; though from the Notes we have added, it will appear that there are intrinsic Marks of its Value in the Performance itself: Yet we owe to *Ramusio* the being able to discover these, and therefore to him we willingly ascribe all the Glory that results from the Vindication of this curious Piece, and the Honour of its illustrious Author. To the same excellent Person is due the Account we have received of several Particulars relating to the personal History of *Marco Polo* and his Family, of which in as few Words as possible we shall give the Reader a Relation; which, though not absolutely necessary to the understanding of the Book, will be found useful and entertaining.

2. Signior *Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, and his Brother Signior *Maffio*, began their Travels from *Constantinople* in the Year 1250, and having proceeded to the Court of the Grand Khan of Tartary, resided there for many Years, and returned, as the Reader will see, to Venice about the Year 1269, where they found the Wife of Signior *Nicolo* deceased, and her Son, of whom she was left big at the Time of their Departure, a well accomplished Youth, of nineteen Years of Age. Him they carried back with them to the Court of the Khan, and after having spent

than Father *Martini*, to whom we owe the best Description of *China*, and who was consequently a better Judge than any other of the Merit or Demerit of this Work. He assures us, that there is not the least Reason to doubt the Truth of our Author's Relations on Account of the Obscurity of the Names of Places; for, says he, he wrote them after the *Tartar* Pronunciation, whereas later Writers flatter to imitate as well as they are able the Pronunciation of the *Chinese*.

I will add to these but one Testimony more, which is that of an Author very able to have detected him, if he had caught him in Untruths, and who was far enough from being tender of Mens Reputations as he thought them to blame. The Author I mean is *Albanus* *Knicker*, who in his Account of *China* confesses, that none of the old Authors have more fully or more accurately delineated the remotest Countries of the East than *Marco Polo* has done; yet he readily admits, that there are many things in him so very dark, that they may be in a manner hid in explicitable; but then, with great good Sense and Candour, he attributes this to the Author's Want of Skill in Geography and Astronomy; and if we consider how young he was when his Father carried him into *Tartary*, and how little Opportunity he had of acquiring that sort of Knowledge that was most necessary for preventing the Mistake, we may easily concur in Opinion with so many eminent and learned Writers, that in Consideration of so many curious and useful Passages in his Writings, these Blemishes, especially as they were in a manner unavoidable, may very well be forgiven. After having thus cleared the Way, we will no longer detain the Reader from the Perusal of these Travels, which their Author has so digested. He first gives a succinct Account of his Father's and Uncle's Progressions, and then of his own; after which, he enters into a more particular Description of the Countries and Places through which they passed, and relates also such remarkable Things as he was informed of in the Course of his Voyages.

At the time that *Baldwin* was Emperor of *Constantinople*, in the Year of our Lord 1250, two Gentlemen of the most illustrious Family of *Paolo* or *Polo*, at *Venice*, embarked on board a Vessel freighted with various kinds of Merchandise on their own Account; and having traversed the *Mediterranean* and the *Bosphorus*, they came with a fair Wind, and the Blessing of God, to *Constantinople*. There they continued for some Time to repose themselves, and then crossing the *Pontus Euxinus*, arrived at a certain Port called *Solinda*, from whence they went to the Court of a great *Tartar* Prince called *Barba*, to whom they shewed the fine Jewels they had brought, and presented them with some of the most valuable. That Monarch was far from being ungrateful; he kindly accepted their Presents, and in return gave them others of greater Value. They remained a full Year at his Court, and then desired all things for their Return to *Venice*. But before they had an Opportunity of departing, there broke out a War between this Prince *Barba* and another *Tartar* King, whose name was *Aon*; and this Dispute being decided by a Battle, the Army of *Barba* was defeated. This unlucky Accident exceedingly embarrassed the *Tartars*, who knew not what Measures to take, or how to get safely back into their own Country. At length, however, they took a Resolution of sleeping, as well as they could, out of the Country where they were; and by several By-roads escaped to a City called *Cashcan*, situate on the River *Tygris*. They continued their Journey from thence through a great Desert, where there were neither Inhabitants nor Villages, till at last they arrived at *Babara*, a considerable City in the Confines of *Persia*. It was at the Time of their Arrival, the Residence of a Prince called *Barach*, in whose Court meeting with a good Reception, and not knowing how otherwise to dispose of themselves, they remained three Years. At that Time a certain Person of Distinction was sent Embassador from the said Prince *Aon* to the Great Khan, who is the Superior Monarch of all the *Tartars*, residing in the remotest Countries of the Earth, betwixt the North-East and the East, called *Cublai Khan*; who coming to *Babara*, and finding there these two Brethren, who were now

well versed in the *Tartarian* Language, he rejoiced exceedingly, and persuaded these Men to go with him to the great Emperor of the *Tartars*, knowing that he should gratify him in this, and that they also should be entertained with great Honour, and rewarded with large Gifts, especially seeing, through the Conference had with them, he perceived their pleasing Behaviour. These Men therefore, considering that they could not easily return home without Danger, consulting together, agreed to go with the said Embassador, and accompany him to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, having certain other Christians in their Company, whom they brought with them from *Venice*, and departing towards the North East and the North, were a whole Year in going to the said Court of the said King.

The Cause of their long Time spent in this Journey, was the Snows and Waters being much increased, so that they were forced in their Travel to stay the washing of the Snow, and decaying of the Floods. Being therefore brought before the Presence of the Great Khan, they were most courteously received by him. He questioned them concerning many things; as of the Countries of the West, the Roman Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, how they carried themselves in Government, and in warlike Affairs; how Peace, Justice, and Concord continued among them; also what Manner of Life and Customs were observed among the *Latins*, and especially of the Pope, of the Christians, of the Church, and of the Religion of the Christian Faith; and *M. Nicolo*, and *M. Alaffi*, as wise Men, told him the Truth, always speaking well to him, and orderly, in the *Tartarian* Tongue; inasmuch that he often commanded they should be brought to his Presence, and they were very acceptable in his Sight; having well understood the Affairs of the *Latins*, and resting satisfied with their Answers.

The Great Khan intending to send them his Embassadors to the Pope, first consulted with his great Lords, and then calling to him the two Brethren, desired them to go to the Pope of the *Romans*, with one of his Barons called *Chogatal*, to pray him to send an hundred Men learned in the Christian Religion unto him, who might shew his wife Men that the Faith of the Christians was to be preferred before all other Sects, and was the only Way of Salvation, and that the Gods of the *Tartars* were Devils, and that they, and others, the People of the East, were deceived in the Worship of their Gods. He gave them also in charge, to bring, in their Return from *Jerusalem*, of the Oil of the Lamp which burneth before the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, towards whom he had great Devotion, and held him to be the true God; they therefore yielded due Reverence to the Great Khan, promised that they would faithfully execute the Charge committed unto them, and presented the Letters which they received from him, written in the *Tartarian* Tongue, according to his Command, unto the Bishop of *Rome*.

He, according to the Custom of the Kingdom, commanded a golden Tablet to be given them, engraven and signed with the King's Mark; carrying which with them, throughout his whole Empire, instead of a Passport, they might be every where safely conveyed through dangerous Places, by the Governors of Provinces and Cities, and receive their Expences from them; and lastly, how long soever they would stay in any Place, whatsoever they needed, for them or theirs, should be furnished them. Taking their Leave therefore of the Emperor, they took their Journey, carrying the Letters and golden Tablet with them; and when they had rid twenty Days Journey, the Lord who was associated with them, began to fall grievously sick; whereupon consulting, and leaving him there, they prosecuted their intended Journey, being every where courteously received, by reason of the Emperor's Tablet; yet in many Places they were compelled to stay, occasioned by the Over-flowings of the Rivers, so that they spent three Years before they came unto the Port of the Country of the *Armenians*, named *Giazza*; from *Giazza* they went to *Acre*, about the Year of our Lord 1269, in the Month of *April*.

But having entered into the City of *Acre*, they heard that Pope *Clement* the Fourth was lately dead, and that no other was substituted in his Place, for which they were

not a little grieved. At that Time there was a certain Legate of the Apostolic See at *Are*, viz. *Master Nicolò Nicotri di Piacenza*, to whom they declared all they had in Commission from the Great Khan, and he invited them to expect the Creation of a new Pope: In the mean space they did depart, and *Venice* to visit their Friends, *Master Nicolò* found that his Wife was dead, whom at his Departure he had left with Child, but had left a Son named *Marco*, who was now nineteen Years of Age: This is that *Marco* who composed this Book, who will mention therein all those things that he hath seen. The Election of the Pope of *Rome* was deferred two Years. They fearing the Discontent of the Emperor of the *Tartars*, who expected their Return, went back again to *Are*, to the Legate, carrying with them *Marco* their Child, and having gone to *Jerusalem*, and fetched the Oil with the Legate's Letter, testifying their Fidelity to the great Khan, and that a Pope was not yet chosen, they went again towards *Grazza*.

In the mean time Messengers came from the Cardinal, to the Legate, declaring to him that he was chosen Pope, and he called himself *Gregory*. Hearing this, he presently sent Messengers to call back the *Venetians*, and admonishing them not to depart, prepared other Letters for them, which they should present to the Great Khan of the *Tartars*, with whom he also joined two preaching Friars, Men famous for their holy Conversation and Learning. The one was called *Friar Nicolo D'averza*, the other *Friar Galieno de Tropa*: To these he gave Letters and Privileges, and Authority to ordain Priests and Bishops, and of Absolution in all Cases, as if himself were present, with Presents also of great Value, to present to the Great Khan, together with his Benediction. They came to *Grazza*, a Sea port in *Armenia*, and because *Bent-cobdas* and the Sultan of *Babylon*, leading a great Army, then invaded the *Armenians*, the two Friars above-mentioned began to be afraid of themselves, and delivering the Letters and Presents to Signiors *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, desiring to avoid the Danger of the Ways and Peril of Wars, remained with the Master of the Temple, and returned with him.

But the three *Venetians* exposing themselves to all Danger, with many Labours, and much Difficulty, travelled many Days always towards the North-East and North, till they after three Years and a half came to the Emperor of the *Tartars* great City of *Cemenixia*: for in the Winter Time their Journey had often long Hindrances by reason of the Snow and extreme Cold, with Foundations of Waters. However, King *Cublan* hearing of their coming, though they were yet very far off, sent Messengers forty Days Journey to meet them, who should conduct them, and furnish all Necessaries for their Journey. Going therefore to the King's Court, and being brought to his Presence, they fell down before him on their Face, yielding the accustomed Reverence, of whom being courteously received, they were ordered to rise, and he commanded them to declare how they passed the many Dangers of the Ways, and what they had treated with the Bishop of *Rome*; then they related it distinctly and at large, and gave the Emperor the Pope's Letters and Presents, which they brought; at which the Khan wonderfully rejoicing, commended their faithful Care. The Oil also brought from the Lord's Sepulchre, and offered unto him, he reverently received, commanded it should be honourably preserved, and asking of *Marco*, who he was? *Master Nicolò* answered, that he was his Majesty's Servant, and his Son; he entertained him with a friendly Countenance, and taught him to write among other of his honourable Courtiers, whereupon he was much esteemed of all the Court, and in a little Space learned the Customs of all the *Tartars*, and four different Languages, being able to write and read them all.

The Great Khan, to make his Wisdom more apparent, committed an Ambassage unto him to be performed in a City called *Cara-kar*, unto which he could scarcely travel in six Months Space; but he carrying himself wily in all things, discharged what he had in Commission with the Commendation and Favour of the Prince, and knowing the Emperor would be delighted with Novelties in the Places which he passed through, he diligently searched the Cu-

stoms and Manners of Men, and the Conditions of the Countrey, making a Memorial of all that he knew and saw to divert the Great Khan; and in six-and-twenty Years which he continued one of his Court, he was so acceptable to him, that he was continually sent through all his Realms and Signories for the Affairs of the Great Khan, and sometimes for his own, but by the Khan's Order; and this is the true Reason that the said *Master Marco* learned and knew so many Particulars relating to the East, which follow in Order in these Memoirs; but these *Venetians* having stayed in that Court many Years, and grown very rich in Jewels of great Value, were inspired with Desire to visit their Country, leaving that if the Khan now old should die, they should not be able to return. One Day *Master Nicolò*, seeing the Khan merry, craved Licence to depart in the Name of all the three; whereat he was moved, and asked why they would put themselves on so dangerous a Journey, and if they wanted Riches, he would give them twice as much as they had, and out of pure Affection would not permit their Departure.

Yet not long after it happened, that a King of the *Indians*, named *Argon*, sent three of his Counsellors unto the Court of the great *Cublan*, whose Names were *Ustai*, *Apuzai*, and *Coza*, to treat with him, that he would deliver him a Wife; for his Wife, named *Belzona*, being lately dead, begged this Favour of the King at the Point of Death, and left in her Will, that he should not marry a Wife of another Family than her own, which was of *Gata*: King *Cublan* therefore yielding to his Request, caused to be brought out for them a fair young Maiden of seventeen Years of Age, named *Cegalin*, descended of the former Queen's Family, to be the Wife of *Argon*. These barbarous departing, rode eight Months the same Way they came, but found bloody Wars among the *Tartars*, so that they were constrained to return, and acquaint the Great Khan with their Proceedings. In the mean time *Master Marco* had returned from those Parts of *India*, where he had been employed with certain Saivies, and declared to the King the Singularities of the Places, and the Society of the same; which reaching the Ears of the Embassadors, they conferred with the *Venetians*, and agreed, that they with the Queen should go to the Great Khan, and desire Licence to return by Sea, and to have the three *Lains*, who ruled in Sea Affairs, with them, to the Country of some Sea: The Great Khan was much displeas'd with the refusal, yet upon their Petition granted it, and caused *Ustai*, *Maffio*, and *Marco* to come into his Presence, and an eminent Demonstration of his Love, would have them present before him after they had spent time in *Armenia*, and in their own Houles; and he caused to be written a Tablet of Gold, in which was written his Consent to their Liberty and Security through his Dominions; that Expenses should be given them for their Passage, and Convey to the *Palace*, according also that they should be his Embassadors to the Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and other Christian Princes.

He caused fourteen Ships to be prepared, each having four Masts, and able to bear nine Sails in all; the Length of which is too long here to be related; four of them had from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and sixty Manns in each of them. In these Ships the Embassadors, the Queen, with *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco*, set forth, having first taken Leave of the Great Khan, who gave them many Rubies, and other precious Stones, and their Expenses for two Years. After three Months they came unto a certain Island called *Java*, and from thence sailing through the *Indian* Sea, after eighteen Months they came into the Country of King *Argon*: Six hundred Men of the *Murceys*, and others, and but one of the Women, died in the Passage; but only *Coza* of the three Embassadors survived. When they came to the Country of King *Argon*, they found that he was dead, and that one *Cecato* governed the Kingdom for his Son, who was under Age; they went to acquaint him with their Affairs, who answered, that they should give her to *Cafin* the King's son, then in the Parts of *Arbor Secco*, in the Confines of *Pojia*, with five thousand Persons for the Guard of certain *Palaces* against the Enemy. Having done so, *Nicolo*, *Maffio*, and *Marco* returned to *Chincato*, and staid there nine Months.

After this, taking Leave, *Chiacato* give them four Tables of Gold, each a Cubit long, and five Fingers broad, of the Weight of three or four Marks, in which were written, that in the Power of the eternal God the Name of the Great Khan should be honoured and praised many Years, and every one who should not obey should be put to Death, and his Goods confiscated. In them were further contained, that these three Embassadors should be honoured, and Service done them in all Lands and Countries as to his own Person, and that Horses, Convoys, Expences and Necessaries, should be given them; all which was so duly put in Execution, that sometimes they had two hundred Horses for their safe-guard. In this their Travel, they heard that the Great Khan was dead, which took from them all Desire of returning thither.

They rode till they came to *Trebizond*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, and after to *Negropont*, and at last came with great Riches late to *Venice*, A. D. 1295.

Here ends the Historical Introduction of our Author, which shews us how he came to be qualified for writing the following Description of the remotest Countries in the East. The Reader will naturally observe, that our Author wrote under very particular Circumstances, as having no other Knowledge than what he acquired amongst the *Tartars*; and therefore though the harsh and uncouth Names that occur in the subsequent Relation of his Travels may both disguise and perplex them, yet they very plainly prove the Sincerity and Authority of our Author's Writings, since taking Things as he has related them, it was simply impossible that he should have written them any otherwise than as they stand; for 'twas his hard Lot to travel with the *Tartars*, and to pen the History of his Travels in a Prison, so that their Imperfections ought not to be ascribed to the Man, but to his Circumstances.

There are two *Armenia's*, the *Greater* and the *Less*. In the *Less Armenia* the King resides, in a City called *Schibis*, and in all his Country is observed Justice and good Government. The Kingdom itself hath many Cities, Fortresses, and Castles; the Soil also is fertile, and the Country abounds with every thing necessary, nor is there any want of Game, or Wild Fowl; the Air indeed is not very good. The Gentlemen of *Armenia*, in Times past, were free Men, and good Soldiers, but are become now effeminate and nice, giving themselves up to Drunkenness and Riot. There is a certain City in this Kingdom seated near the Sea, which is called *Grizza*, having an excellent Haven, whither Merchants resort from divers Countries, and even from *Venice* and *Genoa*, on account of several sorts of Merchandize brought thither, especially Spices of sundry Kinds, and abundance of other valuable Goods brought thither out of the East Countries; for this Place is, as it were, the settled Mart of all the East.

In *Turcomania* are three Sorts of Nations, viz. the *Turcomans* or *Turkmen*, who observe the Law of *Mohammed*: They are Men illiterate, rude, and savage, inhabiting the Mountains, and inaccessible Places, where they can find Pastures; for they live only by their Cattle. There are good Horses in this Country, which are called *Turkish* Horses; Mules are also in that Country of great Estimation. The other Nations are *Greeks* and *Armenians*, who possess the Cities and Towns, and bestow their Labour on Merchandize and Arts. They make the best Carpets in the World, and they have many Cities, the chief whereof are *Cege*, or *Iconium*, *Cesarea*, and *Selaste*, where *St. Basil* suffered Martyrdom for Christ, and they acknowledged one of the Khans, Kings of the *Tartars*, for their Lord.

Armenia the Greater is a very large Province, tributary to the *Tartars*, and hath many Cities and Towns, the chief City whereof is called *Arzugia*, and the best Buckram in the World is made there. Most wholesome hot Waters also spring there for the washing and curing of Mens Bodies; and the other more famous Cities next to the

Metropolis are *Argiron* and *Darziz*. In the Summer Time many *Tartars* resort there with their Flocks and Herds, drawn thither by the Fatness of their Pastures; and again in the Winter depart for a certain Time, by reason of the abundance of Snow. The Ark of *Noah* remained in the Mountains of this *Armenia*.

This Country hath the Province of *Moxul* and *Meridin* bordering on the East; but on the North is *Zorzania*, in the Confinces of which a Fountain is found, from which a Liquor like Oil flows, and though unprofitable for the seasoning of Meat, yet is very fit for the popping of Lamps, and to anoint other Things; and this natural Oil flows constantly, and that in Plenty enough to lade Camels. In *Zorzania* is a King called *David Melic*, or King *David*; one Part of the Province is subject unto him, the other pays Tribute to a Khan of the *Tartars*; the Woods there are of Box-trees. The Country extends to the two Seas, *Marmaggiore*, or the *Euxine*, and that of *Baccu*, or the *Caspian*, which containeth in Circuit 2800 Miles, and is like a Lake, having no Communication with other Seas. In it are many Islands, Cities, and Castles, some of which are inhabited by those that fled from the *Tartars* out of *Persia*.

The People of *Zorzania* are Christians, observing the same Rites with other Christians. They keep their Hair short like the Western Clergy; the Inhabitants have many Cities, and their Country abounds with Silk, of which they make very fine Manufactures. *Moxul* is a Province in which there are many Sorts of People, some called *Arabians*, are *Mohammedans*, others are *Christians*, some *Nestorians*, others *Jacobites*, and others *Armenians*; and they have a Patriarch called *Jacolet*, who ordains Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and sends them through all Parts of *India*, and to *Cairo* and *Baldack*, or *Bagdat*, and where-ever *Christians* dwell, as is done by the Pope of *Rome*; and all the Stuffs of Gold and Silk called *Muleims* are wrought in *Moxul*.

But in the Mountains of this Kingdom dwell the People called *Curds*, of whom some are *Nestorians*, others *Jacobites*, and some Followers of *Mohammed*; they are wicked Men, and rob Merchants. Near to them is another Province called *Mus*, or *Meridin*, wherein grow great Quantities of Cotton, whereof they make Buckrams, and other Works; they are subject to the *Tartars*. *Baldack*, or *Bagdat*, is a great City, in which resided the great Khaliff, that is the Pope of all the *Saracens*; a River runs through it, from whence to the Sea is accounted seventeen Days Journey. They sail by a City called *Cisfi*; but before they reach the Sea they come to *Balsora*, about which grow the best Dates in the World. In *Baldack*, or *Bagdat*, are many Manufactures of Gold and Silk. There are wrought Damasks and Velvets, with Figures of various Creatures: All the Pearls in Christendom come from thence. In that City is an University, where is studied the Law of *Mohammed*, Physic, Astronomy, and Geomancy. It is the chief City in those Parts.

When the *Tartars* began to extend their Conquests, there were four Brethren, the eldest of which, *Mangu*, reigned in *Seha*. These purposing to subdue the World, went one to the East; another to the North; to the South a third, which was *Ulan*; and the other to the West. In the Year of our Lord 1250, *Ulan* having a great Army of one hundred thousand Horse, besides Foot, used Policy, and having hid a great Part of his Men, brought, by pretending Flight, the Khaliff into his Ambuscade, and took him and the City, in which he found infinite Store of Treasure, in-somuch that he was amazed. He sent for the Khaliff, and reproved him, that in that War he had not provided himself with Soldiers for Defence, and commanded that he should be inclosed in that Tower where his Treasure was, without other Sullenance.

This seemed a just Judgment from our Lord *Jesus Christ* on him; for in the Year 1255, seeking to convert the *Christians* to the *Mohammedan* Religion, and taking Advantage from that Place of the Gospel, *That he which*

* There is nothing obscure in this Description of *Armenia the Less*; and I added this Note only to put the Reader in Mind, that our Author drew that great Part of the Trade from *Europe* to the *India* was carried on this Way by the *Venitians* and *Genoese*. *Arzugia* is indeed a Name not to be met with in any other Author; but the Account given us by *Marco* is so clear and exact, that there can be no doubt about it.

There is nothing gives so much Credit to our Author's Relation as these historical Facts, which are capable of being verified by other Authors. The Prince he mentions was *Ha Ali Khan*, who was Son-ther to *Mangu Khan*; he entered these Countries A. D. 1255, with an Army of *Tartars*, and in 1257, put an end to the Empire of the *Abghian* Khaliffs, by taking *Bagdat*, as our Author relates it.

hath Laick, as the Grain of Mustard-seed, shall be able to remove Mountains. He summoned all the *Christians*, *Nestorians*, and *Jacobites*, and propounded to them in ten Days to remove a certain Mountain, or torn *Mobammedans*, or be slain, as not having one Man amongst them which had the least Faith. They therefore continued eight Days in Prayer; after which a certain Shoemaker, in consequence of a Revelation made to a certain Bishop, was fixed upon to perform it. This Shoemaker, once tempted to Lust by Sight of a young Woman, in putting on her Shoe, zealously had told her that of the Gospel, and literally had put out his right Eye. He now on the Day appointed with other *Christians* followed the Cross, and lifting his Hands to Heaven, prayed to God to have Mercy on his People, and then with a loud Voice commanded the Mountain in the Name of the Holy Trinity to remove; which presently, with great Terror to the *Khaliff* and all his People, was effected, and that Day is since kept holy by fasting also on the Evening betwixt it.

S. Tauris is a great City in the Province of *Irania*, and is a most populous Place. The Inhabitants live by the Exercise of Arts and Merchandize, they make Stuffs of Gold and Silke; foreign Merchants residing there make very great Gain, but the Inhabitants are generally Poor. They are a mixed People of *Nestorians*, *Armenians*, *Jacobites*, *Georgians*, *Parsees*, and *Mobammedans*: Those last are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they steal from Men of other Religions; and the Wickedness of the *Saracens* had converted many *Tartars* thereto. If the *Christians* kill them in their Robbery, they are reputed Martyrs. From *Tauris* into *Persia* are twelve Days Journey. In the Continents is the Monastery of *Saint Barthelemy*, the Monks whereof are like *Carmelites*; they make Cordles, which they lay on the Altar, and give to their Friends, who devoutly esteem them. *Persia* containeth eight Kingdoms, whereof the first is called *Gollan*, the second *Caraghan*, the third *Ler*, the fourth *Sughlan*, the fifth *Spahan*, the sixth *Schiras*, the seventh *Somara*, the eighth *Amerebam*, which is near *Arberjesco* towards the North. They have fine Horses here, when they are sold into *India*; there are also very excellent Asses sold dearer than the Horses, because they eat little, carry much, and travel far. They have Camels, but not to wight. There are necessary in those Countries, which sometimes for a long Way yield no Graze.

The People of those Countries are very wicked, covetous, Thieves, and Murderers, professing the Faith of *Mobammed*. Merchants are every where slain by those Thieves, unless they travel in Caravans. There are excellent Artificers in the Cities, who make wonderful Things in Gold, Silke, and Embroidery. The Countries abound with Silkworms, Wheat, Barley, Malet, and other Kinds of Corn, and Plenty of Wine and Fruits; and though their Law forbids Wine, yet they have a Clois to correct or corrupt the Text, that if they boil it, then it changeth the Taste, and therefore the Name also, of Wine, and may be drunk. *Jah* is a great City in the Continents of *Persia*, where there is great Trade; it hath also many Manufactures in Silke. *Ormus* is a Kingdom in the Continents of *Persia* to the East, subject to the *Tartars*. In Vents of the Mountains Stones are found, commonly called Turquoises, and other Jewels. There also are made all sorts of Arms and Ammunition for War, and by the Women excellent Needleworks in Silks, with all sorts of Creatures very admirably wrought therein. There are the best Falcons in the World, very swift of Flight, red-breasted, and under the Tail less than those of other Countries. Proceeding further, you go through a great Plain, and having ended eight Days Journey, you come to a certain Delcent. In the Plain are many Cattles and Towns, but in that high Delcent are many Trees, and those fruitful, but no Habitation, except a few Shepherds Huts. This Country in Winter Finnes intolerably cold. After this you come into a large open Plain, where a certain City is seated, which is called *Camanda*, heretofore

large and populous, but now destroyed by the *Tartars*, and the Country is called *Reabnle*. There grow *Pomegranates*, *Quinces*, *Peaches*, and other Fruits, which grow not in our cold Countries. It hath also very great Oxen, and all white, thin haired, with thick, short, bunt Horns, and a Camel's Bunch on the Back, accustomed to bear great Burthen; and when the Pack-Saddles are set upon the Bunch, they bow the Knee like Camels, and having received the Burthen, rise again, being so taught. The Sheep of that Country are as big as *Alces*, having so long and broad Tails, that they weigh thirty Pounds Weight. They are very fat, and fat, and good Meat.

Moreover, in the High Walls of this Country are many Cities and Towns, with high Walls of Earth to defend them from the *Caraons*, that is, *Mefozos*, that is, a mixed sort of People between *Indian* Women and *Tartars*, Ten thousand of which are commanded by one *Nagadar*, the Nephew of *Zagatbar*, who formerly ruled in *Turkestan*. This *Nagadar*, hearing of the *Malabars* subject to *Sellan Afian*, without his Uncle's Knowledge, went and took *Doy* with other Cities, erected a new Seignory, and mixing with the *Indian* Women, raised their *Caraons*, which go up and down to rob and spoil in *Rocharle*, and other Countries. The Plain whereof I now speak is five Days Journey extended towards the South; but at the End thereof a Way begins by little and little to descend for twenty Miles together, and the Road itself is very bad, and not without Danger, by reason of Thieves. At length you come to very good Plains, which extend themselves two Days Journey in Length, and the Place itself is called *Ormus*.

That Country abounds with Rivers and Palm-Trees; there is also Plenty of divers Fowls, especially *Pigeons*, *Jays*, which are not like ours. From hence you come unto the Ocean, wherein an Island is seated called *Ormus*, which many Merchants resort, bringing spice, and precious Stones, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Leopards Furs, and all other precious Things from *India*. That is a great Mart, having Cities and Castles under it, and a Head of the Kingdom of *Cheerman*. The King is called *Ruchined Ben Achomach*, who yields Obedience to the King of *Cheerman*. He makes himself Heir, if any dies there. In Summer, by reason of the Heat, they betake themselves to their Summer-Houses, built in the Waters; and from Nine till Noon there blow a Wind with such extreme Heat from the Sands, that it takes away a Man's Breath, and stifles him, which makes them lie in the Water. The King of *Ormus* sent an Army of sixteen hundred Horie, and five thousand Foot, against the Lord of *Ormus*, for not paying his Tribute, which were all surprized, and stilled with that Wind. The Inhabitants of the Place eat no Bread made of Corn or Flax, but feed upon Dates, salt Fish and Onions. They have not very stout Ships, for they do not fasten them with iron Nails, by reason the Wood is brittle, and would cleave; but with wooden Pins, with certain Threads of the Shells of *Indian* Nuts. The *Ormus* is made after the Manner of Leather, cut of whose Threads are cut, of which Threads exceeding strong Cables are made, which are able to endure the Force and Violence of the Waters, and are not easily corrupted thereby. Their Ships have one Mast, one Sail, one Cabin, and are covered but with one Deck. They are not covered with Pitch, but with the Oil and Fat of Fishes; and when they cross the Sea to *India*, carrying Horses and other Things with them, they lose many Ships, because that Salt is very tempestuous, and the Ships are not fit to stand that Iron. The Inhabitants of that Country, who have embraced the Law of *Mobammed*, have a custom of this Country, when any Master of a Ship is dead, the Wife left behind him should mourn for him one Day, once a Day. They have Women who observe the Practice of Mourning, and weep continually to mourn daily for their Dead. R to the

* In the several Parts of this Work, there are great Variations in the Names of this eighth Part, it is which the Description of the Kingdom of *Ormus* is given; but it is very apparent that they are Corruptions only of the Cities, and Provinces of that Kingdom, it is not necessary to give a long Explanation of them.

* It is very evident from the Account, that our Author extends the Name of *Ormus* to the Coast opposite to the Island called *Ormus*; but in other Countries he speaks of it as plainly the Province of *Achomach*.

Castles in the Mountains round about it: A certain great River also flows through the Middle thereof. There are many Porcupines in that Country, which they hunt with Dogs, and they contracting themselves with great Fury, cast their prickly Quills at Men and Dogs, and wound them. That Nation hath a particular Language, and the Shepherds abide in the Mountains, having made Caves for their Habitations. You go hence three Days Journey, without meeting any Inhabitants, to the Province of *Baxiari*, which is inhabited by *Mohammedans*, who have a peculiar Language. Their Kings, who succeed each other hereditarily, are reported to have derived their Descent from *Alexander the Great*, and from the Daughter of *Darius*, and are called *Dulcarten*, that is to say, *Alexandriane*. There are found the *Ballastias*, and other precious Stones, of great Value.

No Man, in pain of Death, dare either dig such Stones, or carry them out of the Country, but with the Licence and Consent of the King; for all those Stones are the King's, and he only lends them to whom he pleases, either as Presents, or in Payment of Tribute: He exchanges also many for Gold and Silver, and this he doth let the Stone, whereof there is so much Plenty, should become too common and cheap. Other Mountains also in this Province yield Stones, called *Lapis Lazuli*, whereof the best Azure is made, the like is not found in the World. These Mines also yield Silver, Brass, and Lead. The Country itself is very cold. There are many Horses, and those excellent, large, strong, and swift, which have to hard and tough Hoofs, that they need no Iron-shoes, although they run over Rocks. It is said, that not many Years ago, there were Hordes of the Race of *Alexander's Bucephalus*, which had the same breeded Mark as he had, in the Possession only of the King's Uncle, who was killed for refusing the King to have some of them; whereupon his Widow, in spite, destroyed the whole Race. There are also excellent Falcons. The Soil of this Country bears excellent Wheat and Barley without Husk, and Oil made of Nuts, and Mustard, which is like Flax-seed, but more savoury than other Oil. There are thought Passages and difficult Places. The Men are good Archers and Huntsmen, clothed in Beasts Skins. The Hills are steep and high, large Plains, fine Rivers; and if any have an Ague, by living two or three Days on the Hills he recovers, which *Marcos* experienced himself after a Year's Sickness. The Women, in the Skirts of their Garments put sixty or eighty Yards of Cotton; the butcher a Woman looks the is in their Eyes the handlamer.

The Province of *Bajara* is ten Days Journey towards the South from the Country of *Balaxam*. The Country itself is very hot, which is the Reason the People are brown. They have a Language of their own, and wear gold and silver Ear-rings, with Pearls and other Stones artificially wrought in them, they eat Fish and Rice, and are Idolaters, crafty and cruel. The Province of *Cheymar* is seven Days Journey distant from *Bajara*, the Inhabitants whereof have also their own Language, and are Idolaters beyond all other, cunning Idolaters, forcing their Idols to speak, and darkening the Day. From hence you may go to the *Indus* River. The Men and Women are brown, not wholly black, their Heat being somewhat tempered. Their Food is Flesh and Rice, yet are they exceeding lean. There are many Cities and Towns in this Country, their King is tributary to none. There are certain Hermits in this Province, whom Monasteries and Cells worship Idols, honouring their Gods with great Abundance of Meat and Drink, and observe great Chastity, are very cautious not to offend their Idols, and live long; of these are many reputed Saints, and the People show them great Reverence. The Men of this Province know no living Creature, and shed no Blood, and if they eat Flesh, it is necessary that the *Saracens*, who live amongst them, kill the Creature. Cereal is here sold dearer than any where. We will leave the Way to *India* now, and return to *Balaxam*, and direct our Way towards *Cajbar*, betwixt the East and North-East. Beyond *Balaxam* is a certain River, whereon stand many Castles and Villages belonging to the King of *Balaxam's* Brothery, and after three Days Journey is the Province of *Kashan*, having in Length and Breadth three Days Jour-

ney, the Inhabitants whereof have a peculiar Language, and worship *Mohammed*. They are however stout Warriors and good Hunters, for the Country abounds with wild Beasts.

If you depart thence betwixt the North-East and the East, you must ascend for three whole Days together, until you come to an exceeding high Mountain, thence which there is said to be none higher in the World. There also betwixt two Mountains is a great Lake, and through a Plain runs a very fine River, near which are excellent Pastures, so that in them a lean Horse or an Ox may be fat in ten Days. There is also Plenty of wild Beasts, especially exceeding great wild Sheep, having Horns, some of them six Spans long, of which they make divers kinds of Vessels. The Plain contains twelve Days Journey in Length, and is called *Pamer*; nor is there any Habitation there; and Travellers must carry Victuals with them: No Bird also appears there, by reason of the Cold; and it is reported, that if Fire be kindled there it is not to be long nor to effectual to boil any thing as in other Places. From hence the Way leadeth forty Days Journey further between the East and the North-East, through the Mountains, Hills, and Valleys, in which many Rivers are found, but no Village or Herbs, and the Country itself is called *Palore*, and some Huts and Cottages of Men are seen on the Tops of those high Mountains, but such as are savage and wicked Idolaters, who live by hunting, and are clothed by the Skins of the Beasts they kill. After this you come to the Province of *Cajbar*, which is tributary to the Great Khan, and the People are *Mohammedans*. There are Vines, pleasant Gardens, fruitful Trees, Cotton, Flax, and Hemp, and a fertile Soil. The Inhabitants have a particular Language, and are Merchants and Artificers, covetous, that they eat that which is bad, and drink wine. Some *Nestorian* Christians are found there, who have their Churches. The Country extends still the Day Journey.

Samarand is a great and famous City in that Country, where are lovely Gardens, and a fertile Plain. It is subject to the Nephew of the Great Khan, and the Christians dwell with the *Saracens*, whence little Agreement betwixt them. It is reported, that on this Account a Miracle happened, the Brother of the Great Khan, *Zagatar*, who governed that Country about an hundred Years ago, being persuaded to become a Christian, the Christians, through his Favour, built a Church in Honour of *St. Peter* the Baptist, with such Cunning that the whole Roof thereof was supported by one Pillar in the midst, under which was set a square Stone, which, by Labour of the King, was taken from a Building of the *Saracens*. *Zagatar's* Son succeeded after his Death in the Kingdom, but in the Faith, from whom the *Saracens* contended that the Christians should be compelled to restore that Stone, and when they offered a sufficient Price, the *Saracens* refused to accept any other Compulsion than the Stone, whereupon the King lifted up himself, that the *Saracens* might take away that Stone, and so continued.

Departing again from this City, you come to the Province of *Charaban*, about five Days Journey distant. This Province hath Plenty of Provender, being subject to the Dominion of the Nephew of the Great Khan. The Inhabitants worship *Mohammed*, yet among them some *Nestorian* Christians dwell. They are near a hundred Years have most of them twelve Days Journey from the Mouth of a Branch in their Throat, by reason of the Warmth of the Water they drink. The Province *Caram* is about five Days Journey from the East and the North-East. It is subject to the Nephew of the Nephew of the Great Khan, and hath many Cities and Towns. The chief City thereof is called *Caram*. The Province extends eight Days Journey in Length. There is no Want there of any thing necessary for the Maintenance of Life. It hath Plenty of Corn, Flax, Hemp, Cotton and Wine, but the People are not so well like, yet good Artificers in various Trades, and are very chaste. They acknowledge *Mohammed* as their Prophet.

Proceeding farther through the same Country, you come to the Province of *Pamer*, extending four Days Journey in Length; it is subject to the Great Khan, and

many Cities and Castles; the chief City thereof is called *Pem*, near which runs a River wherein precious Stones are found, such as Jasper and Chalcedons. The Inhabitants of the Country follow the Law of *Mohammed*, and are Artificers and Merchants. There is a Custom in this Province, that when any married Man goeth into another Place and returneth not home in twenty Days, it becomes lawful for the Wife to marry another Husband; and the Men also, whenever the Women go away for the same time, do the like. All those Provinces, *viz. Cascha, Coton, Piem*, to the City of *Top*, are in the Bounds of *Turkenon*.

Cascha is subject to the *Tartars*; the Name of the Province and chief City is the same: It hath many Cities and Castles; many precious Stones are found there in the Rivers, especially Jaspers and Chalcedons, which Merchants carry quite to *Ouelach* to sell and make great Gain. From *Pem* to this Province, and quite through it also, is a sandy Soil, with many bad Waters, and few good. When an Army passeth through this Province, all the Inhabitants thereof, with their Wives, Children, Cattle, and all their Household Stuff, fly two Days Journey into the Sands, where they know that good Waters are, and stay there, and carry their Corn thither also to hide it in the Sands, after Harvest, from the like Fears. The Wind doth wade their Steps in the Sand, that their Enemies cannot find their Way. Departing from this Province, you are to travel five Days Journey through the Sands, where no clear Water doth than that which is bitter or is any where to be found, until you come to the City called *Top*, which is a great City, from whence is the Entrance of a great Desert, called also the *Wilderness of Top*, seated between the East and the North-East. The Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, subject to the Great Khan.

In the City of *Top*, Merchants who desire to pass over the Desert, cause all Necessaries to be provided for them; and when Victuals begin to fail in the Desert, they kill their Asses and Camels, and eat them. They make it mostly their Choice to use Camels, because they are furnished with little Meat, and bear great Burthens. They must provide Victuals for a Month to cross it only, for to go thro' it length-ways would require a Year's Time. They go through the Sands and barren Mountains, and daily find Water; yet it is sometimes so little that it will hardly suffice fifty or a hundred Men with their Beasts; and in three or four Places the Water is salt and bitter. The rest of the Road, for eight and twenty Days, is very good. In it there are not either Beasts or Birds; they say, that there dwell many Spirits in this Wilderness, which cause great and marvellous Illusions to Travellers, and make them perish; for if any stay behind, and cannot see his Company, he shall be called by his Name, and to going out of the Way aloft. In the Night they hear as it were the Noise of a Company; which taking to be theirs, they perish likewise. Concerns of musical Instruments are sometimes heard in the Air; likewise Drums, and Noises of Armies. They go therefore close together, hang Bells on their Beasts Necks, and put Marks, if any stay.

Having passed over the Desert, you come into the City *Sachin*, betwixt the East and North-East, subject to the Great Khan, in the Province of *Tangut*, where, as well the Worshipers of *Mohammed*, as new *Nestorian* Christians are found; many Idolaters are also there, who have their proper Language. The Inhabitants of this City live not by Merchandize, but on the Fruits of the Earth. The City hath many Monasteries, consecrated to divers Idols, in which many Sacrifices are offered with great Reverence: And when a Son is born to a Man, he presently consecrates him to some Idol, and in honour thereof, killeth a Sheep that Year in his House, which he presenteth before, together with his Son, the next Festival Day of that Idol, with many Ceremonies, and great Reverence. Afterwards the Flesh of the Sheep is boiled, and left to hang before the Idol till their Prayers are finished, which they make for the Conservation of their Son; and

the Idol hath, as they suppose, sucked the Savour of the Meat; after which, all his Kindred being gathered together, eat the Flesh at home with great Devotion and Joy, but religiously keep the Bones in certain Vessels. The Priests have the Feet, Head, Inwards, Skin, and some Part of the Flesh, for their Share.

In celebrating the Funerals of such as were Men in Esteem, the dead Bodies are buried after this Manner; the Kindred send for the Astrologers, and tell them what Year, Month, Day, and Hour he who died was born, who, having considered the Constellation, assign the Day when he is to be buried; so that when the Planet suits not, they preserve the dead Body sometimes seven Days, and sometimes six Months, preparing a Chest for it at home, and joining the Sides together with such Art, that no noisome Smells issue forth. They also embalm the Body itself with Spices, and cover the Chest, fairly painted, with embroidered Cloth; and every Day that the dead Corpse is kept at home, at the Hour of Dinner a Table is spread near the Chest, Wine and Meat set thereon, for the Space in which one might eat a Meal's Meat, supposing that the Soul of the dead feedeth on the Savour thereof. The Astrologers sometimes forbid to carry it out of the chief Gate, pretending some disastrous Star, and cause them to carry it out another Way, and sometimes break the Wall which is opposite to that Place, which the Planet makes more lucky; for otherwise the Spirits departed would be offended, and hurt those of the House; and if any such Evil happen, they ascribe it to the Dead thus wronged. When the Body is carried through the City to be buried without, wooden Corteges are erected in the Way, with a Porch covered with Silk, in which they place the Body, and set before it Bread, Flesh, and delicate Meats, supposing the Spirit to be refreshed therewith, which is held to be constantly present at the burying of the Body; and when they come to the Place where the Body is to be buried, they diligently and curiously paint upon Papers made of the Bark of Trees the Images of Men and Women, Horses, Camels, Money, and Garments, all the Instruments of the City founding, which are burned together with the dead Body; for they say, that dead Men shall have so many Men-servants, and Maid-servants, Cattle, and Money in another Life, as Pictures were burned with him, and shall perpetually live in that Honour and Riches.

The Province of *Camul* lieth in the wide Country of *Tangut*, subject to the Great Khan, having many Cities and Towns; the chief City is called *Camul*. This Province is bounded by two Deserts, *viz.* the Great Desert, of which we have spoken before, and another that is less, of three Days Journey. It abounds with all Things for the convenient support of Life. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, have a peculiar Language, and seem to be born for no other Purpose but to apply themselves to sporting, singing, dancing, writing and reading, after their Fashion, playing on Instruments, and giving themselves unto Pleasure. When any Traveller passing by goes into any Man's House for Entertainment, the Master of the Family receives him with great Joy, and commands his Wife, and all the Family, that as long as he will abide with them, they obey him in all things. In the mean time he departs, and returns not so long as the Guest remains at his House; and during all this Space the Stranger lies with the Wife, Daughter, and the rest, as with his own Wives. The Women of the Country are beautiful, and ready to obey all these Commandments of their Husbands, who are so besotted with this Folly, that they think it a glorious thing for them, and believe it to be acceptable to their Idols, that, through their Favour thus obtained, they prosper, and enjoy Plenty of all things. *Mangu Khan* having heard of this Folly, commanded them not to observe this detestable Custom any longer, and accordingly they forbore it for about three Years; and then not seeing their wretched Fertility, and troubled with some domestic Crosses, they sent Embassadors to

The Desert mentioned by our Author, still retain the same Name in the most modern Maps. His Description of this and other Wildernesses is very exact; and the Hardships he mentions, arising through them are not at all exaggerated. It is for this Reason that it is so extremely difficult to pass from any Part of the Dominion of the Great Mogul to *China*, without taking a prodigious Company to avoid these Deserts. It is also forty Years ago since a certain Rajah, who had incurred the Mogul's Displeasure, attempted, with a Train of thirty Followers, to pass through these Deserts, in which they all perished by Hunger and Thirst, except the Nellenan himself, and four of his Attendants, who returned in safety to *India*, where he and one of his Men died of the Fatigue a few Days after.

wife, in two Parts, stuck the Pieces by themselves into the Ground, and wrote upon the one *Zingis*, and the other *Uman*: and told to the King, In the mean Space while we read, it shall come to pass, by the Idol's Power, that these two Parts of the Reed shall fight together, and whose Part shall fall on the other, the King shall obtain Victory in the Battle. The Multitude therefore running together to behold that Spectacle, the Astrologers began to mumble their Prayers, and read their Incantments; when presently the Parts of the Reed being moved, fought together, until the Part of *Zingis* ascended upon the Part of *Uman*, which being seen by the *Tartars*, assured of the future Victory, they were encouraged to the Battle, and *Uman* being slain, the Victory and Kingdom, and *Uman's* Daughter, remained to *Zingis*.

Zingis reigned six Years after this, in which he conquered many Provinces; and lastly, when he endeavoured to win a certain Castle called *Tbargin*, and came somewhat too near, being shot in the Knee by an Arrow, he died, and was buried in the Mountain *Altai*. The first King of the *Tartars* was called *Zingis*, the second *Khan-Khan*, the third *Batyn-Khan*, the fourth *Eju-Khan*, the fifth *Mangu-Khan*, the sixth *Kublai-Khan*, whose Power is greater than all his Predecessors, having inherited theirs, and adding by Conquest in a manner the rest of the World; for he lived near sixty Years in his Government. The Name *Khan* signifieth Emperor. All the great *Khans* and Princes of the Blood of *Zingis* are carried to the Mountain of *Altai* to be buried, wherefoever they die, altho' one hundred Days Journey from it; and they which carry the Corpse to the Burial kill all those that they meet in the Way, saying, Go and serve our Lord the King in another Life; they kill also the best Horses. When the Body of the Great *Khan-Mangu*, the Predecessor of *Khan-Kublai*, was brought unto the Mountain *Altai* to be buried, the Soldiers accompanying the Funeral are reported to have slain above ten thousand Men upon the aforesaid Occasion.

The *Tartarian* Women are most faithful to their Husbands. Adultery is the greatest Shame amongst them; yet it is accounted lawful and honest that every one may marry as many Wives as he is able to maintain, altho' the first be looked upon as principal, and more honourable than the rest. These live together in one House, without one ill Word, in a admirable Concord, make their Merchandizes, buy and sell, and procure all things necessary to their Husbands and Household, the Men meddling with nothing but their Hunting, Hawking, and things pertaining to Arms. They have the best Falcons in the World, and also Dogs; they live only on Flesh and Milk, and what they take in Hunting. They eat Horses, Camels, Dogs, if fat; and drink Mares Milk, called *Cosmos*, to be managed, that is like white Wine. If the Father dies, the Son may have all his Wives, except his own Mother and Sisters; if the Brother being dead, it is lawful for the Brother who remaineth alive to marry the Widow of his deceased Brother. The Husbands receive no Dowry of the Wives, but they themselves bring Dowry to the Wives and their Mothers. Through the Multitude of their Wives, the *Tartars* have many Children; for is this Multitude of Wives very beneficial, seeing they gain much through their Labour; besides they are very careful for the Government of the Family, and the Preparation of their Food, and wait no less Care execute the other Duties of the House; but the Men apply themselves wholly to Hunting, Fowling, and the Exercise of Arms.

The *Tartars* feed many Herds of Oxen, Flocks of Sheep, and other Beasts and Cattle, and remain with them in Places of Pasture, in the Summer Time, in the Mountains, and colder Places, where they find Pasture and

Wood; but in the Winter, they remove to the hotter Countries, where they find Pasture for their Cattle, marching forwards two or three Months together. Their Houses are covered with Sticks and Felt, and are commonly round, which they carry with them in Carts or Waggon, with four Wheels; for they can fold and extend them, let them up and take them down; and they turn wherefoever they go the Door of these moveable Houses always to the South. They have also neat Carts of two Wheels, covered with Felt so close that the Rain cannot pierce thro' them, drawn by Oxen and Camels, wherein they carry their Wives, Children, and necessary household Stuff with them, and defend them from the Injury of foul Weather and Rain.

The *Tartars*, if they be rich, are clothed in Sables, Ermins, and Cloth of Gold, and all their Furniture is costly. Their Arms are Bows, Swords, Pole-axes, and some Lances; but they can best use their Bows, to which they are used from their Childhood: They are hardy, active, brave, but somewhat cruel, will continue two Days and Nights on Horseback armed, exceeding patient, and obedient to their Lords; their Cattle also are strong and hardy. The Law and Faith of the *Tartars* is this, they say, that there is one Great God, Supreme in Heaven, of whom with daily Incense, they desire good Understanding and Health. They have another which they call *Natigay*, which is a little Image covered with Felt, or some other thing, which every one hath in his House. To this God they make a Wife and Children, placing the Wife's Image at the Left-hand, and the Representations of the Children before his Face. This they call the God of earthly things, which keeps their Children, and their Beasts, and Corn, and give it great Reverence. Before they eat themselves, they anoint the Mouths of the Images with Fat of the fatted Flesh; and they cast the Broth out of Doors, in Honour of other Spirits, saying, that now their God with his Family has had their Part; and after they eat and drink at Pleasure.

If the Son of a *Tartar* die before he has been married, and the Daughter of another die also unmarried, the Parents of the deceased meet together, and celebrate a Marriage between the Dead, and making a Draught in Writing of that Contract, they paint Men and Women for Servants, Horses, and other Creatures, with Cloaths of all Sorts, and Monies in Paper, and burn them together with the Contract; by the Smoak whereof they say that all these things are carried to their Children in another World, where they are married; and the Fathers and Mothers conceive they are joined together in such a Bond of Affinity, as if these Marriages had been celebrated while the married Couple were still living.

When the *Tartars* go to War, their Prince conducts about a hundred thousand Horses, appointing Heads over Tens, Hundreds, Thousands, and ten Thousands, by which Subordination, Commands are easily maintained; every Hundred is called a *Tuc*, every Ten a *Teman*: When they begin their March, they send out Men every Way as Scouts, that no Enemy assault them unprovided. Of Horses and Mares every Man has about eighteen. They carry also their Felt-houses, under which they shelter themselves in Times of Rain. When there falls out some important Employment, they will ride ten Days together without Victuals dry or boiled, and live on the Blood of their Horses, cutting a Vein, and sucking it. They have Milk dried like Paste, which they make by boiling the Milk, and skimming the Cream, which swims on the Top, into another Vessel, and make Butter; afterwards they set the Milk in the Sun, and dry it, and when they go to the Army, carry with them about ten Pounds thereof, and every Morning a Man takes about half a Pound, and puts it in a

Our Author has been charged with many Mistake in this List of the Princes who succeeded *Zingis-Khan*, but he has been charged by those who knew particulars of the Matter than he did; and therefore to set this Matter right, we will give a short Account of that Succession, from the first track Work of *Mongolus-Batulus-Khan*. Two Years after the Death of *Zingis-Khan*, the *Tartar* Princes, in Compliance with the Emperor's Will, would have elected *Qubai-Khan* to that Dignity, which he absolutely refused, because he had an Uncle and two elder Brothers. This Dispute lasted forty Days, when at a great Council his elder and younger Brother rose up and said, You have heard our Father's Will; your Modesty shall not render us guilty of Impiety, we will execute his Will, if you will not; and taking him, one by one, and the other by the other, they forced him into the Imperial Chair against his Consent, A. D. 1230. This Prince died suddenly in 1245. He was succeeded by his Son *Kojak-Khan*, whom our Author calls *Koon-Khan*, who died in the Year 1247, and was succeeded by *Mongol-Khan*, who held the Empire to the Year 1257, when he was succeeded by *Kipjak-Khan*, the same with whom our Author lived, and whom he calls *Khan-Koon*. He reigned in all thirty five Years, and died in the Year 1292, which agrees very well with Marco Polo's Relation.

Flask, or Leather Bottle, with as much Water as he pleases, which while he rides, mixes together, and this is his Dinner.

When they encounter with their Enemies, they ride here and there shooting, and sometimes make a Shew of Flight, shooting as they fly: and finding the Enemy broken, rejoice their Forces, and pursue the Victory, having their Horses to command, as with a Sign to turn any Way. But now the *Tartars* are mixed and confounded, and so are their Fashions. They punish Malefactors after this Manner: if any steal a Thing of small Value, and is not to be deprived of Life, he is seven Times beaten with a Cudgel, or seventeen, or seven-and-twenty, or thirty-and-seven, or forty-seven, giving the Strokes according to the Measure and Quality of the Offence, and that unto an hundred: Some die through these Strokes. But if any have stolen an Horse, or other Thing, for the which he deserves to die, he is cut asunder with a Sword in the Middle; but if he will redeem his Life he may, by restoring the Theft nine-fold. Such as have Horses, Oxen, or Camels, brand them with their Marks, and send them to feed in the Pastures without a Keeper. Leaving the City of *Caracorum* and the Mountain *Altai*, we come unto the champaign Country of *Bargu*, which extends itself northwards about sixty Days Journey in Length. The Inhabitants of these Places are called *Medates*, and they are subject to the Great Khan, and in Manners like the *Tartars*; they are a sort of savage Men, and eat the Flesh of Beasts which they take by hunting, especially Stags of which they have Plenty, and they make them to tame that they can ride them; they have no Corn or Wine. In the Summer they chiefly practise hunting of wild Beasts and Fowls, or the Flesh whereof they may live in the Winter; for in Winter Fowls as well as other living Things fly from thence on account of the Extremity of the Cold.

12. After forty Days Journey you come to the Ocean, near which is a Mountain, where Storks and fine Falcons breed, which are carried thence unto the Court of the Great Khan. Here we must return unto the City *Campion*; if therefore you proceed farther five Days Journey from the City *Campion* towards the East, you come to the Kingdom of *Erginul*, in the Province of *Tangut*, subject to the Great Khan. In this Kingdom are many Idolaters; there are some *Nestorian* Christians and *Turks*; as also many Cities and Castles, of which *Erginul* is chief. From hence, if you proceed farther to the South-East, you may go to the Parts of *Cathay*. Going South-East towards *Cathay*, there is a certain famous City named *Cingay*, the Name also of the Province, tributary unto the Great Khan contained in *Tangut*; the People are some Christians, some *Mohammedans*, and others Idolaters. There are also found wild Oxen, very near as big as Elephants, very fair, having white and black Hair, short in other Parts, and on the Shoulder three Palms long, fine, white, and in many Respects beyond Silk, of which Hair our Author brought some to *Venice* as a rare Thing. Many also of these Oxen are tamed, and made to couple with tame Kine, and the Breed of them are fitter for Business than any other Creatures, bear great Burthens, are yoked to the Plough, and do twice as much Service as others.

The best Muff in the World is found in this Province, and is taken from a Beak of the Bignets of a Goat, having Hair like a Stag, Feet and Tail like a Gazell, but without Horns. In both four Teeth, two above and two beneath, of the Length of three Fingers, as white as Ivory, and is a very beautiful Creature. When the Moon is at full, near the Navel, under the Belly, there grows to this Beak an Impulse or Bladder, full of Blood, and at the Full Moon they go to hunt them, and take away that Swelling, which is dried in the Sun, and is the best Meek, the Flesh is also good to eat: Master *Marco* brought to *Venice* the Head and Feet of this Beast dried. The Men

live by Merchandize and Arts, and have Abundance of Corn. They are Idolaters, of a fat Body and little Nose, black Hair, having no Beard but four Hairs on their Chin. The Women are wonderfully fair, and what the Men desire to marry Wives, they rather make Choice of the Beautiful than the Noble or Rich. It often happens from hence, that a great Nobleman marries a poor Wife, it being usual, assigning a Dowry to her Mother. This Province extends itself five-and-twenty Days Journey in Length, and is very fertile; in it are exceeding large Pheasants, having Trains eight or ten Handful long; many other Kinds of Birds are also found there, which have very beautiful Feathers of various excellent Colours.

After eight Days Journey further East, you meet with the Province *Egrigala*, in the which are many Cities and Castles; all but this lies still in *Tangut*. The principal City is called *Galacia*, the Inhabitants thereof are *Mohans*; there are three Churches of *Nestorian* Christians, who are subject to the Great Khan. In this City Castles are made, woven with white Wool, and the Hair of Carde, than which there are scarce any better in the World. East from this Province of *Egrigala*, lies that of *Tasach*, in which are many Cities and Castles, and here *Prehyterjan* resides, who now pays Tribute to the Great Khan. The King of that Nation is called *George*, and is a Priest of a Christian, and most of the People are Christians. All the Great Khans after his Death (who was slain in Battle by *Zangis*) give their Daughters to those Kings to Wed. This King *George* holds not all that the Priest *Zen* before held, and is the Fourth of that Family. There is a Nation there called *Jagous*, more fighty Men, and finer Merchandize than the rest, descended of Idolaters and *Mohammedans*. There are also two Regions, where they dwell, which in those Parts are called *Oz* and *Megg*, but they which dwell there call them *Ung* and *Mergu*, being *Geg*, and in *Wangul* the *Tartars*. Riding fifteen Days towards *Cathay* are many Cities peopled with Idolaters, *Mohammedans*, and *Nestorians*. There is one City called *Sindien*, where very excellent Arms are made; divers sorts fit for Armies. In the Mountains of this Province are great Mines of Silver, and much Game, and the Country of the Mountains is called *Utsi*.

Three Days Journey from the City last mentioned stands another City *Jangamur*, that is, *The Little Lake*, where there is a Palace, in which the Great Khan delights, because there are many Lakes and Rivers, many Swans, and in the Plains, Cranes, Pheasants, Partridges, and other Fowls. There are five Sorts of Cranes there, some have black Wings like Crows, others are white and bright, having their Feathers full of Eyes like Parrots, but of a golden Colour, the Neck black and white, very beautiful, and short for Bignets not unlike ours; a fourth Little, and very fair, intermingled with red and blue Colours, the fifth is grizzle, or grey Colour, having red and black Dots, and these are very large, and near to this City lies a Valley where are many Cottages, in which a great Number of Partridges are maintained, which are kept for the King's coming to lodge there in some Time. The Day Journey North-Eastward, is the City *Camde*, which the Great Khan *Kublaj* now resides in; there is a great and marvellous Palace of Marble, and other Stones, which extends to the Wall on the one Side, and to the Middle of the City on the other. The Inclosure is six Miles wide, and the Circuit of the Wall on that Side, which is the Palace, and the City Wall, into which there can enter but by the Gate. In this Inclosure or Park are pleasant Meadows, springs, Rivers, red and yellow Peet, Lawes, and other things, the Hawks, of which are many, which hunt and kill the *Ger-Falcons*, which he gives once a week to the King, who often catch one Leopard or Lion, and a pair of Horses, with which he hunts the Stag and Deer, and having taken the Leopard, gives it to the *Ger-Falcons*, and is holding this

* The Account of this Mammal is very exact, and contains nothing in it liable to Exception, which I see that when I have lately I have seen was told me, and which tall with the Account of his Understanding, he may very well be understood. I have seen one in the Mountains, and in the Relation of *Fabrigius*. The People in *Europe* were extremely curious to know the Name of this Creature, and they would not give him to be, and therefore when our Author heard that the Name was *Utsi*, he took it, and so it is now called. The Priest *Jab*, but as we have already said that Matter in a clear Light, we shall not trouble the Reader with any more of it.

Spectacle, he takes much Delight. In the midst of a fair Wood he hath built a Royal Houfe on Pillars gilded and varnished, on every one of which is a Dragon all gilt, which winds his Tail about the Pillar, with his Head bearing up the Roof, as also with his Wings displayed on both Sides; the Cover also is of Reeds gilt and varnished, so that the Rain can do it no Injury, the Reeds being three Handfuls thick, and ten Yards long, split from Knot to Knot; the Houfe itself also may be pulled in Pieces, and taken down like a Tent, and erected again; for it is sustained, when it is set up, with two hundred silken Cords. The Great Khan useth to dwell there three Months in the Year, viz. *June, July, and August*. On the twenty-eighth Day of *August* he departeth to make a solemn Sacrifice. He hath an Herd of white Horses and white Mares, about ten thousand, of the Milk whereof none may drink, except he be of the Imperial Race of *Zingis-Khan*, and except one Family called *Horiat*, who had this granted by *Zingis* for their Valour; and these Beasts, as they go up and down feedings, are much revered, nor dare any go before them, or hinder them in their Way.

The Astrologers or Sorcerers tell the Khan, that on the twentieth of the Moon of *August*, he shall disperse that Milk here and there for the Honour of all Spirits, and his Idols, that they may be careful Preservers of all Things which he possesseth. There are two sorts of Idolaters called *Chebetb* and *Cegma*, which in the midst of Storms ascend the Palace, and suffer no Rain to fall thereon, which they make the People believe comes to pass by their Sanctity, and therefore they go slovenly and negligent of their Persons, never washing nor combing themselves. They also have a horrible Custom to dress and eat such as are condemned to Death, but not those which die naturally. They are called *Backsi*, which is the Name of their Order, as Friars Preachers or Minors with us; they seem by Magic to do what they list. When the Great Khan in his Hall sits at his Table, it is raised eight Yards high; and in the midst of the Hall, a good Distance from the Table, is a great Cupboard of Plate, from whence these Sorcerers cause Wine or Milk to fill the Goblets, without any Hand touching them; this they do in the Presence of any Man, whenever their Lord commands it. These *Backsi* also, when they have a mind to make Feasts to their Idols, go to the Khan, and address him thus, "Sir, You are to know that if our Idols be not honoured with Sacrifices, they will bring Plagues upon Corn and Beasts, and therefore we intreat you to give us the Flesh of so many Sheep, with black Heads, and so many Pounds of Incentive, and Lignum Aloes, that we may make them due Sacrifice and Honour." This they speak not to him themselves, but by certain Lords deputed to that Office, who speak to the Khan, and obtain it. On the Feast-day they sacrifice these Beasts, and sprinkle the Earth before the Idols.

They have great Monasteries, some of the Bigness of a City, in several of which are about two thousand Monks, who serve an Idol sequestered from the Laity, as appears by their Shaving and Garments; for they shave their Heads and Beards, and wear a religious Garment. These, in the Solemnities of their Idols, sing with solemn Songs, and Lights, some of them may marry. There are some who observe strict Abstinence, called *Sensin*, leading an austere Life; for they eat nothing but Meat mingled with Water, till all the Flour be gone, and eat the Bran without any Sauce. These worship the Fire; and the Men of other Kingdoms say, that these, which are to austere, are Hereticks against their Law, because they worship not Idols as they do; and there are great Differences between them, and therefore not at all. They shave their Head and Beard, wear black hempen Garments, or of a bright yellow. They

sleep on thick Mats, and live the severest Life in the World. In this Book I purpose to write all the great and marvellous Acts of the present Khan called *Cublai-Khan*, which is, if expressed in our Tongue, Lord of Lords, the greatest Prince in People, Cities, and Treasures, that ever was in the World, he being descended from the Progeny of *Zingis*, the first Prince of the *Tartars*, the sixth Emperor of that Country, beginning to reign in the Year of our Lord 1226, being *twenty-seven Years old*, and ruling the People with great Wisdom and Gravity. He is a valiant Man, exercised in Arms, strong of Body, and of a lofty Mind, for the Performance of Matters before he attained to the Dignity of the Empire, which by his Wisdom he did, against the Will of his Brethren. He often shewed himself a valiant Soldier in the Wars, and carried himself like a wiser and bolder Captain than ever the *Tartars* had; yet since he swayed the Kingdom, he went but once into the Field, and sends his Sons and other Captains on Expeditions.

In the Year of our Lord 1286, his Uncle, whose Name was *Naiam*, being thirty Years of Age, and having the Command of many People and Countries, so that he was able easily to bring together four hundred thousand Horse, being puff'd up through youthful Vanity, would no longer be subject, but would needs take away the Kingdom from his Lord *Cublai*, and sent to another great Lord named *Caydu*, Lord of the Parts towards Great *Turky*, who was Nephew of the Emperor *Cublai*, yet hated him, who yielding to his Motion for Rebellion, promised to come in Person with an hundred thousand Horse.

Both of them began to gather Forces, which could not be done so secretly but *Cublai* heard of it, and presently took order to set Guards on the Ways, that no Intelligence might pass, and then assembled all the Forces, within ten Days Journey of *Cambalu*, with great Speed, so that in twenty Days were gathered together three hundred and sixty thousand Horse, and one hundred thousand Foot, a great Part of them Falconers, and Men of his Household; with these he made Haste Day and Night towards *Naiam's* Country, where, at the End of twenty-five Days he arrived, altogether unlooked for, and rested his Men two Days; then he called his Astrologers, and caused them, before all the Army, to divine who should have Victory; a thing they use to encourage their Men, and they promised it to *Cublai*. One Morning whilst *Naiam* was sleeping negligently in his Tent, having not so much as sent out any Scouts to gain Intelligence, *Cublai* made the Head of his Army upon a Hill, himself sat in a certain Castle of Wood, full of Archers and Cross-bow Men, borne by four Elephants, on the Top whereof was the royal Standard, with the Images of the Sun and Moon. He divided his Army into three Bodies, of which he sent that on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left against *Naiam's* Army. To every ten thousand Horse were assigned five hundred Foot, with Lances, taught to leap up behind the Horsemen, if any Occasion of Flight happened, and suddenly, on Advantage, to light and kill the Enemies Horses with their Lances: *Caydu* was not yet come.

The Battles joined, and made a cruel Fight, which continued from Morning till Noon, and then was *Naiam* taken and brought before *Cublai*, who commanded that he should be sewed betwixt two Carpets, which should be tossed up and down till the Breath was out of his Body, that so the Imperial Blood might not be exposed to the Sun or to the Air. The Remainder of his People swore Obedience to *Cublai*, which were four Nations, *Ciazza*, *Carli*, *Barscol*, and *Sitingui*. *Naiam* was secretly baptized, and by Profession a Christian, but no Follower of the Works of Faith, yet he signed his principal Ensign with the

The Year of this Emperor's Age, at the Time of his Accession, is put in a different Character, because none of the MSS. have it at all, and the Author in several of the printed Editions; we cannot therefore fairly charge the Author with the Mistake in it, which consists of ten Years, the Prince at the Time of his Accession being thirty-seven Years old, or rather in the thirty-eighth Year of his Age. There seems also to be a Mistake in the Year of his Reign, but that is easily corrected, since, as that Prince was raised to the Imperial Dignity in the Month of *January*, the *Mo*, who reckons according to the *Tartar* Year, places it in 1226, whereas we, computing from the beginning of the Month of *January*, choose it 1227. The genealogical History of the *Tartars* informs us of the breaking out of a civil War upon the Election of this Emperor; and therefore it is somewhat of a different Account of the Conclusion of it, in which our Author might be easily mistaken, since he owns what he deduced from the *Tartar* History. However, the Exactness as to Dates is truly wonderful, since in the Compass of one hundred Years after these Transactions published, we had no authentic History of the *Tartars* in Europe, and consequently neither *Marco Polo*, nor his Editors, could have any opportunity to correct their Account, so as to make them correspond with the genealogical History before-mentioned. This Remark is the Property of our Author's Veracity, and of the Value of his Work.

Sign of the Cross, having with him infinite Numbers of Christians, who were all slain.

The *Jews* and *Saracens* that were in the Army of *Cublai*, began to upbraid the Christians with this Disaffection of the Cross, who complained of it to *Cublai*; he sharply reprov'd the *Jews* and *Saracens* for this Behaviour, and then turning to the Christians, he said, "Surely, your God and his Cross would not give any Aid to *Naram*; but be not you therefore ashamed, because God being good and just ought not to defend Injustice or Iniquity. " *Naram* was a Traitor to his Lord, and contrary to all Equity rais'd Rebellion, and sought the Help of your God in his mischievous Purposes; but he, as a good and upright God, would not favour his Designs."

He returned after this with great Triumph to *Gambalu*, and staid there till *Easter*. On that Day he called the Christians before him, and killed their Gospels, and made his Barons do the same. He does the like on the great Feasts of the *Saracens*, *Jews*, and *Heathens*, that *Sege-mimber-Khan*, the God of the Idols, *Mokammel*, *Moses*, or who ever is great in Heaven, might help him; yet he made best show of liking to the Christian Faith, but pretended the Ignorance of the *Negherian* Priests, and the mighty Acts of the Sorcerers, hindered his professing it.

For the better rewarding his Soldiers he kept twelve Barons or Counsellors, who gave him Notice of each Captain's Merits; and accordingly he rais'd them from the command of one hundred to a thousand, and from one thousand to ten thousand, and to on, giving them Vessels of Plate and Tablets. The Captain of one hundred hath a Tablet of Silver; and the Captain of a thousand, of Gold or Silver gilded; the Captain of ten thousand has a Tablet of Gold, and a Lyon's Head on it. The Weight of the Tablets differs also according to the Dignity. On the said Tablet is written a Command in this Manner: "By the Strength and Power of the Great God, and by the Grace which he hath given to our Empire, the Name of Khan be blessed, and let them all die and be destroyed which will not obey him." All Officers who have these Tablets have Privileges in Writing of all things, which they are to do and demand; and the Generals when they ride in publick, have a Cloth borne over their Heads, and when they sit, it is on a Chair of Silver. Their Tablet is of three hundred Sagi, which is equal to fifty Ounces of Gold, with the Image of the Sun and Moon; such as have a Tablet with a Ger-Falcon thereon, may take with them for their Guard the whole Army of a great Commander. *Cublai* is a comely handsome Man, of middle Stature, of a very fresh Complexion, black and bright Eyes, well-furnished Nose, and all the Lincaments of his Body consisting of due Proportion. He has four Wives, who are esteemed lawful, and the first born of them is to succeed him in the Kingdom, and every one of them is call'd Empress, and holdeth a peculiar Court, and that in a magnificent Palace, having about three hundred Women to attend her, and many Eunuchs Servants, and at least ten thousand Persons in their Families.

The Grand Khan hath also many Concubines. There is likewise a Nation of war People among the *Yartars* call'd *Virguts*, where every second Year he sends Embassadors to make search for the fairest young Women for him; who returning, bring him four or five hundred more or less, as they see Cause. There are Examiners appointed to take a View of all their Beauties, examining Eyes, Nose, Mouth, &c. apart, and set a Price on them at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, or more Carats, and they bring those of that Rate which their Commission appoints; these he causes to be received by other Examiners, and of so many perhaps chooses thirty of the chief for his Chamber, which he puts to some of his Barons Wives to see if they find not in their Sleep, if in Smell or Behaviour they be not offensive; those which are approved are by Fives divided, each fifth Part waiting three Days and Nights in his Chamber by cottle, the other in the next Lodgings pre-

paring whatsoever these command them. The less prized are put to Cookery and other Offices; and sometimes the Khan bestows them on Gentlemen, with great Portion. The Men of that Country esteem it a Grace and Credit to have Daughters worthy his Liking; and think themselves born under an ill Planet if they are not kept when sent to Court.

Cublai had two-and-twenty Sons by his four legitimate Wives, and the first-born of his first Wife was call'd *Zingis*, who would have succeeded him in the Empire if he had not died before his Father. He left a Son named *Timur*, a valiant Man, wise, and experienced in Arms, who is to succeed his Grandfather in the Empire, instead of his deceased Father; but by his Concubines he hath five-and-twenty Sons, all which are daily exercised in Acts of Arms, and are great Lords; seven of his Sons by his Wives are Kings of great Provinces, and maintain their States with great Reputation.

16. Three Months of the Year, that is, *December*, *January*, and *February*, *Cublai* resides ordinarily in *Gambalu*, which is at the North-East Corner of *Catboy*; and there, on the South Part by the new City, is seated a great Palace; first there is a great Wall, each Square being eight Miles, with a deep Ditch environing, and a Gate in the Middle of each; after which is the Space of a Mile in Circuit, where Soldiers stand; after this is another Court of six Miles square, with three Gates on the South-square, and three on the North; that which is in the middle being in both the greater, and kept shut, except when the Khan passes that Way; the other is always open to others; in each Corner of this Wall, and in the middle is a fair Palace, eight in all, very large, in which are kept the Khan's Ammunition, and Furniture of all Sorts; Horses in one; in another Boxes and Shooting Artillery; in a third, Carrels, Carriages, and Leather Armour; and so in the rest.

Within this Circuit is another Walk like the former, very thick and ten Paces high, all the Bartlements white, the Walk square, each Square a Mile in Length, with six Gates the former, and eight Palaces also very large, which are the Khan's Provisions; between these two last Walks are also many fair Trees and Meadows, in which are Deer with other Game, and Store of Grains, the Fields being raised two Cubits to spare it; no Ditch or Pools of Water being therein. Within this last Wall is the Palace of the Great Khan, the greatest that hath been seen, standing to the Wall on the North and South, and open with the Barons and Soldiers pass. It hath no Ceiling, but a very high Roof; the Foundation of the Pavement ten Palms high, with a Wall of Marble round about it two Paces wide, as it were a Walk. At the End of the Wall without, is a fair Turret with Pillars. In the Walls of the Hills and Chambers are carved Dragons, Soldiers, Birds, Balls of divers kinds, Histories of Wars gilded; the Roof is so made that nothing is seen but Gold and Imagery; in every Square of the Palace is a great Hall, capable of holding a Multitude of People; the Chambers are disposed the best that may be devised; The Roof is red, green, azure, and of all Colours. Behind the Palace are great Rooms and private Store-houses for his Treasure and Jewels, for his Women, and other private Purposes.

Over-against the said Palace of the Khan is another for *Zingis* his Son, whose Court was in all Things like his Father's. Near this Palace towards the North is a Mount made by Hand, a Mile in Compass, one hundred Paces high, adorned with Trees that are always green, and this Mountain the King commands all the Trees to be brought from remote Parts, lading Elephants with them, for they are taken up with the Roots, and are transplanted in this Mountain; and because this Mountain is always green, it is call'd the *Green Mountain*. And where the East of the Mount was taken away, are two Lakes or winding ditches, other, with a small River supplying them with fresh Fish, and so grated that the Fish cannot get out.

* There have been large Dissertations written upon this Description of our Author, and great Disputes about the City here described, which will have it one Place, some another, because it is a Tartar Appellation; and modern Writers speak of this City by another Name. We cannot either Time or Room to write in this Controversy; and therefore we shall cut it short. *Maria Pava* wrote by the last name, and therefore set down *Gambalu* for *Khan Kalik*, i. e. the Imperial City; and it is allowed, that *Khan Kalik*, is the City of *Peking*, the present Metropolis of China, of which we shall hereafter have Occasion to speak at large in another Place; and shall therein take an Opportunity of giving the true account given us in the Text by *Maria Pava*.

The City of *Cambalu* in the Province of *Catbay*, seated on a great River, was famous, and the Royal Seat in ancient Times; and this Name *Cambalu* signifies the City of the Lord or Prince. This City the Great Khan removed to the other Side of the River where the Palaces are, for he understood by the Astrologers that it would rebel against the Empire. This new-built City is called *Taidu*, and he commanded all the *Catboians* to go out of the Old City into the New; which contains in Compass four-and-twenty Miles, every Side of the Square containing six Miles. It hath Walls of Earth ten Paces thick at the Bottom, and at the Top but three, as growing by little and little thinner. The Battlements are white; every Square of the Wall hath three principal Gates, which are twelve in all, having sumptuous Palaces built over them. There are also certain Pavilions in the Angles of the Walls where the Arms of the Garrison, which are one thousand at each Gate, are kept. The Buildings are iquered, and the Streets laid very straight by Line throughout the City; so that from one Gate a free Prospect opens throughout the City to the opposite Gate; having very stately Houses built on both Sides like Palaces, with Gardens and Courts, divided according to the Heads of Families: In the midst of the City is a certain noble Building, wherein hangeth a very great Bell; after the tolling whereof in the Night, no Man must go out of his House until the Beginning of the Day following, except it be for some extraordinary Cause, as for a Woman in Travail, and then they are compelled to carry Lights with them.

Without the City of *Cambalu* are twelve large Suburbs three or four Miles long, adjoining to each of the twelve Gates, more inhabiting in the Suburbs than in the City; here Merchants and Strangers live, each Nation having several Store-houses, or Buries, in which they lodge. No dead Corpse of any Man is burned within this City, but the Bodies of Idolaters are burned without the Suburbs, where the dead Bodies of other Sects are buried; and because an huge Multitude of *Saracens* inhabit there they have above twenty-five thousand Harlots in the Suburbs and in the City; and these have a chief Captain appointed over every hundred and thousand, and one General, whose Office is, that when Embassadors come, or such as have Business with the Khan, whose Charges he defrays, then this Captain giveth every Embassador, and every Man of his Family, a Change of Women every Night at Free cost, for this is their Tribute. The Guards, every Night, carry such to Prison whom they find walking late; and if they be found guilty, they are beaten with Cudgels, for the *Saracens* tell them, that it is not good to shed Man's Blood; but many die of these Beatings. The Great Khan hath in his Court twelve thousand Horse-men, which they call *Castans*, faithful Soldiers of their Lord, who guard his Person, more for State than Fear; and four Captains have the Charge of these, whereof every one commandeth three thousand. When one Captain, with three thousand Soldiers within the Palace, hath guarded the King for three Days and Nights, another Captain with his Soldiers succeeds; and so, throughout the Year, this Course of watching by Turns is observed.

When on account of any festival Day he keeps a Chamber Court, his Table, which is higher than the rest of the Tables, is set at the North Part of the Hall, his Face is to the South, having the first Queen on his Left-hand, that is, his principal Wife; and his Sons and Nephews, and those of the Royal Blood, on his Right; yet his Table is in a lower Place, so that they scarce touch the King's Feet with their Heads, the Seat of the eldest being higher than the rest; the Princes sit in a lower Place than that; their Wives also observe the like Order: First, the Khan's Sons Wives and his Kinmen sit lower on the Left-hand, and after those of the Lords, and of every Captain and Nobleman, each in their Degree

and Order; and the Emperor himself, while he sits at his Table, may cast his Eyes upon all that seat with him in that Hall. There are not Tables for them all to sit; but the greatest Part of the Soldiers and Barons eat on Carpets. At all the Doors stand two gigantick Fellows with Cudgels, to see that none touch the Threshold, which, if he does, they take his Garments away, which he must redeem by receiving so many Blows as shall be appointed, or else lose them. They who serve the King, and those sitting at the Table, all of them cover their Mouths with Silk, lest their breathing should by any means touch the King's Meat or Drink: And when he hath a Mind to drink, the Damsel who giveth it goes back three Paces and kneels down, and then the Barons and all the People kneel, and the Musicians sound their Instruments. There is no Cause, since I would avoid Prolixity, why I should write any thing concerning the Meats which are brought to the Table, how dainty and delicate they are, and with what Magnificence and Pomp they are served in.

All the *Tartars* observe this Custom, to celebrate the Birth-day of their Lord most honourably. The Birth-day of *Cublai* is kept the twenty-eighth of *September*, and this Day he accounteth more solemn than any in the whole Year, except the first of *February*, on which they begin the Year. The King therefore, on his Birth-day, is clothed in a most precious Garment of Gold, and about two thousand Barons and Soldiers are clothed in the same Colour of Gold, though of Silk Stuff and a Girdle wrought in Gold and Silver, which is given them; with a Pair of Shoes. Some wear Pearls and Garments of great Price, who are next to the Khan; and these Garments are not worn but on thirteen solemn Feasts, according to the thirteen Moons of the Year; all are then clothed like Kings. This Custom is also observed by the *Tartars*, that on the Birth-day of the Great Khan, all the Kings, Princes, and Nobles, who are subject to his Dominions, should send Presents unto him, as to their Emperor; and they who desire to attain any Place of Dignity or Office of him, offer their Petitions unto twelve Barons appointed for that Purpose; and what they decree is all one as if the Emperor himself had answered them. All People also, of what Faith or Sect soever, whether *Christians* or *Jews*, *Saracens* or *Tartars*, and *Pagans*, are bound solemnly to call upon their Gods, for the Life, Safety, and Prosperity of the Great Khan.

On the First of *February*, which is the Beginning of the *Tartar* Year, the Great Khan, and all the *Tartars*, wherefoever they are, celebrate a very solemn Feast, and all, as well Men as Women, desire to be clothed in white Garments as a Token of good Luck; therefore, that Fortune may favour them all the Year, they wear white at the Beginning thereof. The Rulers of Cities, and Governors of Provinces, mindful of their Duty, send unto their Emperor this Day Presents of Gold and Silver, Pearls and precious Stones, many white Cloths, and other white Things, and many Horses of a white Colour. The rest of the *Tartars*, at the Beginning of the Year, send white Presents one to another. It is the Custom of those who bring Presents, if they can, of each to present nine Times nine; as, if they send Horses, to present nine Nines, that is eighty-one; and so of Gold, or Cloths, and other Things; that sometimes he hath, by this reckoning, one hundred thousand Horses. Also, at this happy Season, all the Elephants which the Emperor hath (five thousand in Number) are brought unto the Court, covered with Tapettry, the Similitudes of divers Beasts and Fowls being portrayed thereon, carrying upon their Shoulders Chests full of Gold and Silver Vessels; many Camels are also brought, covered with fine silken Cloths, which bring other Things necessary for the Court.

* This Method of posting Guards and relieving them, was extremely ancient in the East, as appears from the Account given us by the *Greek* Writers of the Oeconomy in this respect of the *Persian* Emperors; and it is still practised by almost all the *Tartar* Princes, and particularly, by the Great Mogul, as we shall have Occasion to show in the second Volume.

† This Account agrees exactly with what is related from Authors of good Credit in Dr. *Hurd's* most learned Treatise of the Religion of the ancient *Persians*, with respect to the Ceremonies observed on the Birth day of the Emperor, and at the Beginning of the new Year. Indeed the Conformity is so great, that one might be tempted to believe there is a nearer Relation between the *Tartars* and the ancient *Persians* than is commonly imagined; and I must confess, that I cannot, for my own Part, help thinking that the Religion of the *Tartars* is very nearly the same with that of the old *Persians*; that is to say, I apprehend the *Lamas* of the one correspond with the *Magi* among the others.

On this Day, in the Morning, all the King's Captains, Barons, Soldiers, Physicians, Astrologers, and Governors of Provinces and Armies, and other Officers of the Empire, assemble in the great Hall before the King, and they who happen to have no Place there, for the Multitude stand in another Place, where they may see them, all being placed in their Order and Degree. One fifth, who is amongst their Clergy as a Prelate, and crieth with a loud Voice, *bow down and adore*, and presently all do Reverence, bending down their Foreheads to the Earth; then he saith, *God preserve our Lord with long Life and Joy*; and all answer, *God grant*; then he saith, *God increase and advance his Empire, and preserve his Subjects in Peace, Concord, and Prosperity*; and all answer, *God grant*; and thus they do four Times; then the Adoration being finished, the same Prelate goes to an Altar, richly adorned, on which is a red Table, whereon is written the Name of the Khan; and taking a Censer, and putting Spices therein, they perfume the Table and the Altar with great Reverence, in Honour of the Great Khan, and return to their Places; after which are offered the Gifts of which we have spoken; and then the Tables are prepared, and a most solemn Dinner held, eating and drinking with great Joy with their Wives, in manner before described. And lastly a tame Lion is brought to the King, which lying at his Feet like a gentle Whelp, acknowledgeth and caresses his Lord.

In those three Months in which we sail before the Emperor resides in the City of *Cambalu*, viz. in *December*, *January*, and *February*, all the Hunters which the Emperor hath in all his Provinces round about the Province of *Cathay*, apply themselves to hunting, and bring all the larger wild Beasts, such as Stags, Bears, Roe-Bucks, Wild Boars, and Deer, to their Governors; who if they be distant from the Emperor's Court less than thirty Days Journey, send such Beasts as are taken by Waggon or Ships to the Emperor; having first bowled them: But such as are forty Days distant from his Court, send only the Skins, which are necessary for making of Armour. He hath many Leopards and Wolves for hunting, and many Lions also greater than those which are in *Calicut*, in the Har whereof certain little Beasts appear of divers Colours, viz. white, Black, and Red, and they are bred to catch Bears, Boars, Stags, Roe-bucks, wild Asses, and wild Oxen, and it is marvelous to see the Lion's fierceness and Dexterity in the Sport of Hunting; two Lions are commonly carried on one Waggon when they go to hunt, and with them a Dog, with which they are tamed; and they carry the skins in their Paws, because of their Fury and Unruliness; and they must carry them contrary to the Wind, for else the Beasts would tear the hand free. He hath also many tame Leopards, which are so taught, that they take Hares, Roe-Bucks, Deer, and Foxes; and so, which some of them tear not to pieces, and Wolves, and vex them to grievously, that without Labour and Danger they may be taken by them.

The Khan hath in his Court two which are Brethren, one called *Lapan*, the other *Mingon*; called in the *Tartar* Language *Guers*, that is, Masters of the Game; each of them hath the Command of ten thousand Men: They which are under one of them are clothed in Red; the others in Sky Colour; when they hunt, these keep diverse Sorts of Dogs, to the Number of five thousand Mallards and others. In hunting they go with their People one on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left; and the King and they take up so great a Length of the Plain, that from one End to the other is a Day's Journey, so that no Beast can escape them; and it is great Pleasure when the Khan goes in the hunt, to see the Dogs follow Hares, Bears, and all other wild Beasts. These Brethren are bound by Covenant from the Beginning of *October* to the End of *March* to bring to the Court our plentiful Herd of Beasts and Birds, be they Quails and Ithies, the best they can, in such Proportion.

The Month of *March* coming in the Great Khan departeth from the City of *Cambalu*, and proceeds northward towards the Ocean, distant thence two Days Journey, bringing with him about ten thousand Falconers, who have Falcons, Hawks, Ger-Falcons, and other kind of Fowls of Prey, fit for Hawking. These Falcons discipline themselves by an hundred or two hundred in a Company, and the Birds that are taken for the most Part are brought unto the King, who by reason of his Court, fitteth a wooden Houfe, which two Elephants carry, covered with a Skins of Lions, and was hung with Cloth of Gold, being with him for his Recreation twelve choice Part and twelve Courtiers; many Noolmen also, who are they who guard the King's Person, who was they that are Falcons or Cranes, or other Birds flying in the Air, prey to the Falconers, who are in the King's Court, they send the same unto the King, and never take the King's, and let their Falcons and Hawks fly, as the King's, sitting on his Bed beholds the Patterns of the Birds. One or two thousand Men go also with the King, some of the Hawks run hither and thither by two or three hundred together the Falcon and Hawks fly, as the King's, that if it need be they may help them, and the *Tartar* Language are called *Jeje*, that is to say, Watchmen, or Marksmen, being Part of a certain kind of White, wherewith they call to the Hawk, that it should, for it is meant that the Falconer, who is the Hawks, should follow them, seeing those of whom I know, when they are employed in taking up the Hawks, and the Hawk that by no means they are lust or lull; and every flying Hawk carrieth a little Table of Silver on her Foot, thereon the Mark of her Master, or Falconer, that if she be all she may be referred to her Owner.

But if the Mark cannot be known the Hawk is delivered to a certain Baron, who for this Cause is called *Es-langazi*, to whom are brought all lost Things, and whose Finder would be punished as a Thief, and to him must return to require of Things lost. He hath a particular Place noted by his Name, that is to say, in which of his People he may always be known. When they are employed in Sporting and Hawking they come into a certain great Plain called *Carzarmain*, where the Emperor King, and all the Courtiers are present, as usual in such a manner.

The Hall is the Khan's Pavilion, in which were a thousand Soldiers stand, and the Pavilion is a square, with the four to the South, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the North, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the East, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the West, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the South, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the North, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the East, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the West. These Pavilions are supported by a Square, and other Pavilions erected, where the Wives, Sons, and other Cubines of the King remain. Further east the Hawks, Falcons, and other Birds, which are taken by Hawking, have the Tents, but there is a great multitude of Tents, that to them that come to hunt, and at a Distance as if a famous City was set out there.

The King remains all *March* in that place, and takes innumerable Beasts, and infinite Multitudes of Fowls, so that Man may in this time hunt in all the Provinces of *Cathay*, at the least within five Days Journey of *Ways*, to another, and fifteen a third Way, of the King's Court, nor keep an hunting Dog, or a Hawk, from the Beginning of *March* until the Month of *October*. No Man is permitted to use any Device of Fowls, whether it be Stags, Deer, Roe-Bucks, or Hares, or any other of their Breed; and hence it is, that there is no other Game. It is incredible what Multitudes of People, Men

I have not time to remember the Names of the Pavilions, but the Author confirms what we have before said, that the Pavilion of the King is a square, with the four to the South, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the North, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the East, and a square Pavilion, which is a square, with the four to the West. These Pavilions are supported by a Square, and other Pavilions erected, where the Wives, Sons, and other Cubines of the King remain. Further east the Hawks, Falcons, and other Birds, which are taken by Hawking, have the Tents, but there is a great multitude of Tents, that to them that come to hunt, and at a Distance as if a famous City was set out there.

because that though they have plenty of Wood, yet is there such frequent Use of Stones and Laths, that the Wood would not serve.

It is not amiss, having spoken of his Provision abroad, to mention his Care for the Poor of *Cambala*. When he hears of any honourable Family decayed by Misfortune, or of any which cannot work, and have no Subsistence, he gives to such Families the whole Year's Expences, each Head of such Families going to the Officer for that Purpose, and shewing their Bill of Allowance, receive Provisions accordingly. There is a Place set apart for those Officers; they are provided also with Garments for Winter and for Summer. The *Khan* having the Tenths of all Wool, Silk, and Herap, which he causes to be made into Cloaths, in a Houie for that Purpose appointed; for all Trades are bound one Day in the Week to work for him. He provides also Apparel for his Amites, and in every City causes Cloth to be made of his Tythe Wool. You must understand, that the *Tartars*, according to their ancient Customs, bestowed no Alms, but rather upbraided those that were in Necessity, as hated of God; but the Idolaters, especially those *Bachis*, have propounded it as a good Work acceptable unto God, and have taught him to be thus bountiful; so that in his Court, Bread is never denied to any who ask it, and there is no Day in which are not given away twenty thousand Crowns in Rice, Millet, and Panike; whence he is esteemed as a God by his Subjects.

There are in *Cambala*, *Christians*, *Saravens*, and *Catayans*, about five thousand Astrologers and Diviners, which the Great *Khan* provideth yearly in Food and Raiment, as he doth those Poor above said. These have an Astro-labe, in which are marked the Signs of the Planets, the Hours and Points of all the Year. Herein all those Astrologers, each Religion apart, view the Course of the Year according to every Moon, observing the Disposition of the Weather, referring always to God to do none or less after his own Pleasure. They write also upon certain Squares they call *Tacuin*, the Things which are to come that Year, which they sell to those that will buy them, and such as speak most Truth are most honoured. If any intend any great Work, or to go a far Journey, and will know the Event beforehand, he has recourse to these Astrologers, to see it with their Eyes in the Heavens, which they pretend to do, comparing the present Constellation with that of his Birth, which they demand of him; so foretelling him the Good or Evil. The *Tartars* reckon the Computation of their Years by Twelve, the first signified by a Lion, the second by an Ox, the third by a Dragon, the fourth by a Dog, and so through the whole Twelve; so that if it be demanded of a Man when he was born, he will answer, such a Point of such an Hour of such a Day, in the Year Lion. Thus their Fathers exactly set down in a Book, and when the Twelve is complete, they go over the same again.

Of their Religion, we have said, that they are Idolaters, and for their Gods, have a Table set aloft in the Wall of their Chamber, on which is written a Name representing the High God of Heaven, and there every Day with a Ceremony of Devotion they adore it in this Manner; they sit up their Hands aloft, and strike their Teeth three, praying it to give them a good Understanding and Health, and receive thereof nothing else. Besides, on the Ground they have another Statue called *Natagan*, the God of earthly Things, with his Wife and Children, whom likewise they worship with License, striking or gnawing the Feet, and stamping upon their Hands; and desire thereof Temperature of the Air, Fruits of the Earth, Children, and the like. They hold the Soul to be immortal, and that when a Man dies, it enters into another Body, better or worse, according to the Merits of the former Life; as of a poor Man to become a Gentleman, and after a Prince or Lord, and to last, till it be absorbed in God; and if it

have ill deserved, to be a poorer Man, after a Dog, always descending to the lowest Rank of Business. They have a solemn Speech, salute cheerfully and honestly, have a graceful Carriage, and feed cleanly. They bear great Reverence to their Parents, and if any be unobedient, or regardless of that Necessity, there is a publick Tatouage assigned for this Particular to punish ungrateful or disobedient Children: Prisoners are released at three Years End, and marked in the Cheek, that they may be known the Malefactors.

The Barons and People which go to the Grand *Khan*, observe these Rights, first, within half a Mile of the Place where the *Khan* is, 'tis still and quiet, without Noise or any loud Speech; that every Baron can continually a little Vessel to spit in, after which he says, none daing to spit in the Hall: They have for walking of white Leather, which they put on when they enter the Hall, putting off the former, and giving them to their servants, lest they should foul the Carpets.

18. Ten Miles off *Cambala* is a certain great River named *Pulifangan*, emptying itself into the Ocean, by which many Ships with much Merchandise are sent; and in that Place there is a very fair Bridge, all of wrought Stone, curiously wrought, containing three hundred Paces in Length, and eight in Breadth, so broad that ten Men may ride abreast; on each Side, it is secured with a Wall of Marble, and Pillars set in a Row, and in the Height of this Arcent is a great and high Pillar, at the Foot whereof is a great Lion, and on the Top another, and to quite through the Bridge: One Pace and a half Distance are Pillars with Lions on the Top, and a far Way with wrought marble Work betwixt, to keep Men from falling. Having passed over the River and Bridge, and proceeding thirty Miles westward (in which Places are continually seen, with Vineyards and terraced Fields you come to the City *Guzer*, both fair and great, having many Monasteries of Idols. Cloth of Gold and Silk are made there, and the purple and finest Cambricks or Lawns, and many common Inns for Strangers or Travellers are used in that City. The Citizens are Architects at *Mongay*, A Mile without this City the Way parting one way West, the other South-East; that to the West leads through the Province of *Cashy*, but the other way the Country of *Mungy*, from the City of *Guzer* to the Kingdom of *Tamju*.

You ride ten Days through *Cashy*, which has many fair Cities, well furnished with Vineyards, and good Fields, from whence Wine is carried to *Cashy*; where there is none: There are many Monasteries of Serpents, the People civil, and Cities very populous. *Tamju* is the Name of the Kingdom, and the chief City, which is great and fair, situated in a plain with Store of Ammunition fit for the whole Army. The Wine about this City travels the whole Province Seven Days further westward is a level Road, beset with many Cattles and Oxen, and is a very great Trade in different Merchandise carried to it, which you come to a City very great, named *Phanzu*, which there is still abundance of Silk and Wool, and Westward from *Phanzu* flows a very pleasant River called *Phagan*, anciently built by a King called *Phagan*, the spacious Palace, where is a fine Hall, where is painted all the famous Kings which ever reigned, and it is a fair Spectacle. Of his Kingdom, he was potent, and was attended only by one Prince of which he had many in his court. He was so wise, that he had a Mind to take his Pleasure, carried in a light Chariot through the City, which was his Art and Nature, that the Governor that ruled him, did not *Uman* his Lord, against whom he had a grudge.

But seven Men, profiting in Art, they had taken, took him at a Disadvantage in his chariot.

The Tartarian Cycle was a very good Contrivance, and is to be seen not only preserved amongst them, but also in the Chinese, who in all their Books have the same explanation of it; and it was taken from the Persian Nations of *Indus*, who in their Books have the same explanation of it. It is not to be wondered, that the Description of this Cycle is so exact, since it is so common in the Persian Books, and that the Author of this Description, who was a Persian, had the opportunity of seeing it. It is not to be wondered, that the Author of this Description, who was a Persian, had the opportunity of seeing it. It is not to be wondered, that the Author of this Description, who was a Persian, had the opportunity of seeing it.

Prisoner to Presbyter *John*, or *Uncan*, who put him on
with Cloaths, and appointed him to keep his Cattle, and set
ever him a strong Guard, till two Years were ended; af-
ter which he commanded him to be brought before him,
and being dressed in princely Apparel, he giving him his
Parole, after a sharp Admonition, sent him well attended to
the Repossession of his Kingdom. About twenty Miles
beyond the Cattle *Taigin* is the River *Caramaran*, which
is the reason of the exceeding Breadth and Depth thereof,
hath no Bridge over it in all the Space from thence, till it
floweth to the Ocean. On the Shore thereof are many
Cities and Castles built, wherein great Trade is carried on.
This Country abounds with Ginger, Silk, and Fowl, ef-
pecially Pheasants, so that three of them are bought for a
Indian Goat. There grow Reeds in vast Plenty, so
that some are a Foot, and others a Foot and a
half in Compass, which are applied to many Uses. Pass-
ing this River, after two Days Journey, is the famous
City called *Carianfu*, where many Cloths of Gold and
Silver are made. Here grow Ginger, Galingale Spike,
and many spices. The People are Idolaters.

Proceeding seven Days Journey westward, many Cities
and Towns, lovely Fields and Gardens are found, and every
where Mulberries for Silk-worms. As for the People, they
are mostly Idolaters; but there are also *Christians*, *Turks*,
Negrians, and some *Saracens*. There is a vast Abundance
of wild Beasts and Fowl. If you proceed seven Days
Journey farther, you shall come to a certain great City, nam-
ed *Quansu*, which is the chief City of the Kingdom, in
which have reigned many famous Kings; and, at this Day,
the Son of the Great Khan, called *Mangala*, hath the Com-
mand thereof. That Country yields great Plenty of Silk,
Gold, and all other Things necessary for furnish-
ing an Army, and for the Preservation of Man's Life.
The Inhabitants worship Idols, and there are some *Christi-
an*, *Turks*, and *Saracens*. Five Miles without this City
stand the Palace of *Mangala*, seated in a Plain, where
are many Springs, Rivolets, and Places of Game. There
is a high Wall encompassing a Park of five Miles, where
are sorts of wild Beasts and Fowls. In the midst is an
imperial Palace, having many Halls and Chambers, great
part of it painted with Gold and Azure, and numberless
Rooms adjoining it. The King, with his Counters, delights
himself in hunting the wild Beasts, and taking of Fowl,
following his Father's Examples in Justice and Equity,
much beloved of his People.

Proceeding three Days Journey westward from the said
City, through a very beautiful Plain, where many Cities
and Castles are, which abound with silk Merchandize and
Mulberries, you come to a Country, where in the Moun-
tains and Vallies are frequent Habitations, and many Vil-
lages of the Province of *Cekian*. The Inhabitants, as to
Religion, are Idolaters; and as to Employment, Hut-
ting. Also in that Country they hunt Lions, Bears,
Tigers, Roe-bucks, Deer, and Wolves. The Plain is two
Days Journey over, and the Country is about twenty
Days Journey westward, well inhabited, being finely di-
vided into Mountains, Vallies, and Woods. After
twenty Days, towards the West, there lies a Province
called *Abaluch Mingi*, that is, the *White City*, on the
River of *Mang*, which is well peopled. This Province,
after two Days Journey, hath a Plain, in which are an infi-
nite Number of Villages; Beyond these lie Mountains,
Hills, and Woods, all well inhabited. It hath Plenty of
Beasts, and of those creatures that yield Mulk. In
this Province Ginger grows in great Plenty, as also Corn
and Rice.

After twenty Days Journey through those Hills is a
Province in the Confines of *Mangi*, named
Pa. The chief City hath the same Name, and is very
rich, exceeding rich, being twenty Miles in Circum-
ference, and hath many rich and mighty Kings; but an old
King, left three Sons Successors in the Kingdom,
and divided the City into three Parts, compassing every
Part with their proper Walls, all which, notwithstanding,
are contained within the former Wall; but the Great
King inhabited nevertheless that City and Kingdom.
This City hath many Rivers, and many Places round
about, but a Mile over, some two hundred Paces,

very deep; on them are many Bridges of Stone, very fair,
eight Paces broad, set on both Sides with Marble Pillars,
which bear up a Timber Frame that covers the Bridge,
each Bridge having Streets and Shops thereupon. When
the Rivers have passed through the City, they become one
great River, called *Quian*, which runs one hundred Days
Journey hence to the Ocean. Near these Rivers are many
Cities and Castles, and on them innumerable Ships for
Merchandize. Proceeding four Days Journey farther,
thru' a very fine Plain, many Cities, Castles, and Villages are
found, in which five Lawns extend in beautiful Order.
There are also many Wild Beasts there. Beyond the Plain,
which we have now mentioned, is the wide Province of
Thebet, which the Great Khan vanquished and wasted; for
in it lie many Cities destroyed, and Castles overthrown, by
the Space of twenty Days Journey; and because it is be-
come a Wilderness, wanting Inhabitants, wild Beasts and
Lions are there increased excessively, and it is requisite
therefore that Travellers carry Victuals with them. Very
large Cane grows in this Country, ten Paces in Length,
and three Palms in Thickness, and as much from Knot
to Knot. When Travellers therefore will rest at Night secure
from Beasts, they take great Bundles of the greener Reeds,
and putting Fire under, kindle them, which make such a
Crackling, and so great a Noise, that it may be heard two
Miles off; which terrible Sound the Wild Beasts hearing,
flee away, but it has sometimes happened, that Lions and
other Beasts, which Merchants use for their Journey, hear-
ing this Noise, and Cracking, have grown too much
afraid, and betaking themselves to Flight have escaped
from their Masters; and therefore wiser Travellers binding
their Feet together, detain them in their proper Places.

19. These twenty Days Journey ended, having passed
over the Province of *Thebet*, we met with Cities, and
many Villages, in which, through the Blindness of Idola-
try, a wicked Custom is used; for no Man there marryeth
a Wife that is a Virgin; whereupon, when Travellers and
Strangers, coming from other Places, pass through this
Country, and pitch their Pavilions, the Women of that
Place having marriageable Daughters, bring them unto
Strangers, desiring them to take them, and enjoy their
Company as long as they remain there. Thus the hand-
somest are chosen, and the rest return home sorrowful, and
when they depart, they are not suffered to carry any away
with them, but faithfully restore them to their Parents.
The Maiden also requireth some Toy, or small Present, of
him who hath deflowered her, which she may shew, as an
Argument and Proof of her Condition; and she that hath
been loved and abused of most Men, and shall have many
such Favours and Toys to shew to her Wooers, is accounted
more noble, and may on that Account be advantageously mar-
ried; and when she would appear most honourably dressed,
she hangs all her Lover's Favours about her Neck, and
the more acceptable she was to many, so much the more
Honour she receives from her Countrymen. But when they
are once married, they are no more suffered to converse
with strange Men, and the Men of this Country are very
cautious never to offend one another in this Matter. They
are Idolaters, and cruel, thinking it no Sin if they rob and
exercise Theft. They live by Hunting and the Fruits of
the Earth: Many Beasts also are found with them, yielding
Mulk, called in this Country *Gadderi*. They have a
Language of their own, and have no Money, not so much
as the Paper-Money of the Khan, but use Corals for Mo-
ney, and are clothed with the Skin of Beasts, or coarse
Hemp. This Country belongs to the Province of *Thebet*,
for *Thebet* is a very large Province, and has been some time
divided into eight Kingdoms, having many Cities and
Towns, with Mountains, Lakes, and Rivers, where Gold
is found. The Women wear Coral about their Necks, and
hang it about the Necks of their Horses, as a precious thing.
In this Country there are very large Dogs, as big as Mules,
which take wild Beasts, especially wild Oxen, called
Tyamni.

There are in this Province many sorts of Spices, which
are never brought into these Parts. This *Thebet* is as yet
the former Province's Subject to the Khan. Outside Wall
of the Province of *Thebet* bordereth the Province of *Cekian*,
which was formerly governed by her own King, now by

Cares to the Women, who are afflicted therein by Slaves, which they buy, or take in War. When a Woman is once delivered, she tortures the Bed, washes the Child, and dresses it, and then the Husband lath down, and keeps the Child with him forty Days, not suffering it to depart; is visited all that Time by Friends and Neighbours, to cheer and comfort him. The Woman looks to the House, and carries the Husband his Broths to the Bed, and gives Suck to the Child by him. Their Wine is made of Rice and Spice; their ordinary Food is Rice, and raw Fleth, dressed as before mentioned. In this Province there are no other Idols, save that every Family adoreth the oldest Man in the House, of whom they say, come themselves and all they have; they dwell for the most part in wild and mountainous Places, but Foreigners come not to those Mountains, because the Air would kill them, being in Summer very corrupt.

They have no Letters, but make their Contracts and Obligations by Talles of Wood, one half whereof one keepeth, and the other the other, which being afterwards paid, the Talley is destroyed. There are no Physicians in this Province, nor in *Candiu*, *Vociam*, and *Caratam*; but when any is sick, they call the Magicians or Idol Priests together, and the sick Person declares his Disease unto them; then the Magicians dance, and sound certain Instruments, and blow forth Soags, in Honour of their Gods, till at length the Devil entereth into one of them, skipping and playing in the Dance. Then leaving the Dance, they come to with him that is possessed, for what Cause that Disease happened unto him, and what is to be done for his Recovery. The Devil answereth by him, because he hath done this or that, or because he hath offended this or that God, therefore he tell unto this Disease. Then the Magicians offer a God to pardon him this Offence, promising, that if the sick Person recovers, he shall offer a Sacrifice of his own Blood; but if the Devil, or the Priest, think the Patient to be sick of such a Disease that he cannot be freed by any means, he useth to answer; This Man hath offended that God, that he cannot by any Sacrifice be recovered; but if he think he shall recover, he commandeth to offer to many Rams, having black Heads, and to prepare so many Magicians with their Wives, by them to offer Sacrifices, and that God may then be appeased towards him; which being heard, his Kinsmen quickly cause those things to be done which the Devil commanded. They kill Rams, and sprinkle their blood in the Air, and the Magicians assemble, light great Candles, and perfume the whole House with Incense, making great Smoke of Lignum Aloes, and sprinkle the Broth of the Fleth in the Air, with the Potion made of Spices; all which being duly performed, they skip about again, and dance in Honour of that Idol, which is supposed to have been favourable to the Sick, singing and making a horrible Noise with their Voices. These Things being performed, they ask the possessed again, whether the Idol be pleased? And if he answer, no, they presently prepare themselves to fulfil any other Command of his; but if he answer that he is satisfied, they sit down at the Table, and eat the Fleth offered to the Idol with great Joy, and drink the Liquors; and Dinner being done, and the Magicians paid, every one returns to his own Home; and when the Sick hath thus escaped the Disease, it is the Providence of God, and hath been referred to Health, they attribute it to the Idol, to whom they sacrificed; but if he die, then they say, the Idol was displeased, and that some of the Sacrificers tasted thereof. This is not done to all, but by the richer, the Devil, or Idols, in his Name, pupping on their Blindness.

The Great Khan, A. D. 1275, sent an Army into the Kingdom of *Tartam* and *Guratan*, to reduce it, his Forces

being to the Number of twelve thousand veteran Troops, under the Conduct of a *Nestorian*, an experienced Officer. As soon as the King of *Mein* and King of *Bengala* heard of their coming, assembling their Forces, they joined Horse and Foot together about threecore thousand, and about a thousand Elephants bearing Castles, and in every Castle twelve or sixteen armed Men were placed; with this Army the King of *Mein* marched speedily towards the City of *Vociam*, where the Army of the *Tartars* lay encamped. *Nestardin*, however, marched forth with invincible Courage to fight the Enemy, and drawing near them, encamped near a certain great Wood, knowing that the Elephants with their Towers on their Backs were not able to enter the Wood. Then the King of *Mein* seeing this, resolved to meet them; but the *Tartarian* Horse perceiving the Elephants which were placed in the Front of the Battle were terrified, so that they could not by any Means be brought to charge the Elephants; the *Tartars* therefore were compelled to alight from their Horses, and tying them to the Trees, they came to fight on Foot against those Beasts, and very wisely shot a Multitude of Arrows against the Elephants, which not able to endure the Wounds received by the Arrows, betook themselves to flight, and went all to the next Wood, broke their Castles, and overthrew the armed Men sitting in them; which the *Tartars* seeing, run to their Horses, and getting upon them, furiously fell upon the King's Army with great Violence, and many of either Army fell. At length the King of *Mein* being put to flight, left the Victory to the *Tartars*, who hastened to the Wood, and taking many Captives, used their Help to seize two hundred of these Elephants, and ever since the Great Khan hath used Elephants in his Army, to which before he was not accustomed; Hereupon also he vanquished the Countreies of the King of *Mein* and *Bengala*, and subjected them to his Empire.

Departing from the Province of *Caratam*, there is a great Desert, which continueth two Days and a half, nor is there any Habitation there, but a very large Plain, in which three Days in the Week Multitudes meet together for Trading. Many descend from the great Mountains of that Country, bringing Gold with them to change for Silver, that is, giving an Ounce of Gold for five Ounces of Silver, and therefore many Merchants from foreign Nations come thither, who bring Silver and carry Gold away, and bring thither Merchandize to sell to these People; for to those high Mountains in which they who gather Gold in the Country dwell, no Stranger can come, because the Way is intricate and unpassable. When you are past that Plain, going toward the South, *Mein* bordereth upon *India*, and the Distance is about fifteen Days Journey through Places uninhabited and woody, in which innumerable Elephants, Unicorns, and other wild Beasts wander.

After that sixteen Days Journey, you come to *Mein*, a great and noble City, the Head of the Kingdom, and subject to the Great Khan. The Inhabitants thereof have a peculiar Language, and are Idolaters. In this City there was a King, who being ready to die, commanded that near to his Sepulchre there should be erected two Towers in the Form of Pyramids, one at the Head, the other at the Feet, both of Marble, of the Height of ten Fathom. On the Top was placed a round Ball; he caused one to be covered all over with Gold, a Finger thick, and the other with Silver; and upon the Top, round about the Balls, many little gold and silver Bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the Wind, gave a certain shrill and pleasant Sound. The Monument or Sepulchre was also covered with Plates, partly of Gold, partly of Silver. He commanded this to be made in Honour of his Soul, and that

The great Captivities made by the *Tartars* in the East, have so overturned all Monuments of Antiquity among the Nations they have subdued, that it is not for their Travels of *Marco Polo*, we should be at a Loss for any of the Particulars relating to them. The *Chinese* Historians, and very truly confirm the Truth of what he has delivered, but in general Terms only, so that they add nothing circumstantial, or that might bring us a clearer or more exact Idea of what he has laid down, in respect to which it is sufficient for us to observe, that most of the Captivities he mentions either happened at the Time when he was actually present in the Court of the Great Khan, or a very little before it; and therefore could not but be well informed as to the Truth of what he asserts. Strange indeed to us, who live at so great a Distance from these Countries, and are so little acquainted with the Manners of their Inhabitants, but at the same Time very agreeable to the best Accounts that have been afforded us of these Countries by modern Travellers, and more especially by the Millionaire, who have been at great Pains to descend and reduce into Order such Passages as they have met with in *Chinese* and other Oriental Writers.

is found such a Market-Place, two Miles, as is said, in Compaſs. There is alſo one large Canal, which runs againſt the ſaid Street behind the Market-places, on the next Bank whereof are erected great Store-houſes of Stone, where the Merchants from *India*, and other Parts, lay up their Merchandize, being at Hand, and commodious for the Market-places. In each of theſe Market-places the People meet three Days in a Week, to the Number of between forty and fifty thouſand, who bring thither all things that can be deſired for Man's Life, Beaſts, Game, and Fowls, that Lake yielding ſuch Advantages for bringing them up, that for a *Venitian* Groat you may have two Geefe, and four Ducks for the ſame. Then follow the Butcher-rows, of Veal, Beef, Kid, and Lamb, which the great and rich Men eat; for the Poor eat all the Offal, and uſe ſuch Meats, without reſpect. There are all ſorts of Herbs and Fruits continually, and amongſt the reſt huge Peas, weighing ten Pounds apiece, white within like Puſe, and very fragrant. Peaches yellow and white, very delicate. Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other Places dried; very good Wine alſo, but it is not eſteemed in thoſe Parts as with us, that of Rice and Spices contenting them. Every Day from the Ocean are brought up the River, which is the Space of five-and-twenty Miles, great Quantities of Fiſh, beſides that of the Lake, ſo much that a Man would think would never be bought, and yet in a few Hours all is gone. All theſe Market-places are encompassed with high Houſes, and underneath are Shops for Artificers, and all ſorts of Merchandize, as Spice, Jewels, Pearls, and in ſome only Rice-Wine. Many Streets answer one to another in the ſaid Market-places; in ſome of them are many cold Baths, accommodated with Attendants of both Sexes, a thing to which from Children they uſe themſelves. There are Chambers alſo in the ſame Baths, with hot Waters for Strangers, which are not accuſtomed to the cold Waters; they waſh every Day, neither do they eat before they have waſhed.

In other Streets are mercenary Proſtitutes, in ſuch Numbers that I dare not report it, and not only near the Market-places, where they have their Places appointed, but through all the City; they ſtand pompouſly adorned with rich ornaments, many Servants, and their Houſes finely furnished. There are very ſkillful in making Sports and Dances, and contriving Pleaſures for raviſhing Men out of themſelves. In other Streets are the Phyſicians, the Astrologers, they which teach to read and write, and infinite other Trades. At each end of every Market-place is a Place, where Lords and Governors are appointed by the King to determine Difficulties which happen betwixt Merchants and others, as alſo to look to the Guards on the Bridges, puniſhing ſuch as are negligent. Along the principal Street on both Sides are great Palaces with Gardens, and near them Houſes of Attitricers, and ſuch Multitudes of People conſtantly going to and fro, that a Man would wonder whence ſuch Multitudes could be provided with Victuals; and Maſter *Moro* learned of an Officer of the Cuſtom-houſe in *Quinſay*, that by a very accurate Computation, it appeared, the daily Expence of Pepper in *Quinſay* was three and forty Soma, and every Soma is two hundred and twenty-three Pounds. Hence may be gueſſed the Quantity of Victuals, Fleſh, Wine, and Spices, were there ſpent. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, ſe none but Paper-Money, are of a very fair Complexion, apparelled for the moſt part in Silk, which grows in all that Territory abundantly, beſides that which is brought from other Places. There are twelve principal Companies or Corporations, each of which have one thouſand Shops, and in each Shop or Stand are ten, fifteen, or twenty Men at Work, and in ſome forty under one Maſter.

The rich Traders do not work with their Hands, but ſtand in their Shops, well, or rather pompouſly dreſſed, eſpecially their Wives, with Jewels invaluable. And altho' their Kings ordained, that the Child ſhould be of the Father's Trade, yet the Rich are permitted not to work at it, but to keep Shop, and Men working in the ſame Trade. Their Houſes are well built, and very richly furniſhed with Pictures and other Ornaments of immense Price. The Natives are peaceable, know not how to manage Arms, nor do they ſeem in their Houſes, neither in their Trade and

Debate among them. They exerciſe their Trades with great Sincerity. They live in ſuch Amity, that one Street ſeems as one Houſe, without Jealouſy among their Wives, which they hold in great Reſpect, and it would be reputed a great Diſgrace to ſpeak a diſhoneſt Word to a married Woman. They entertain foreign Merchants kindly, both in their Houſes, and with beſt Advice for their Affairs; but they are not over fond of the Soldiers, and Guards of the grand Khan, becauſe by them deprived of their natural Lords and Kings. About the Lake are very fair Buildings, and great Palaces of the principal Men, and Temples of their Idols, with Monasteries of many Monks. In the midſt of the Lake are two Iſlands, upon each of which is a Palace, with incredible Numbers of Rooms, whither they reſort upon Occaſion of Marriages, or other Feaſts, where Proviſions of Veffels, Linen, and other things are maintained in common, for ſuch Purpoſes, one Hundred ſometimes accommodated at once, in ſeveral Rooms. In the Lake alſo are Boats and Barges for Pleaſure, adorned with fair Seats and Tables, and other Proviſions for a Banquet, covered above, and flat, upon which Men ſtand with Poles to puſh the Boat on, the Lake being but ſhallow: Within they are painted, without are Windows to open and ſhut at Pleaſure; nor can any thing in the World ſeem more pleaſant than in this Lake to have ſuch various Objects, the City ſo fully preſenting itſelf to the Eye, with ſo many Temples, Monasteries, Palaces, Gardens, with high Trees, and on the Water Barges and People; for their Cuſtom is to work one Part of the Day, and to ſpend ſome Part in this Diſverſion with their Friends, or with Women on the Lake, or eſſe in Chariots, riding through the City, which is alſo another of the *Quinſay* Pleaſures; for all the Streets are paved with Stone, as alſo are all the Highways, in the Province of *Mangi* only for the Foot; Poſts are left on the Side a Space unpaved: The principal Street of *Quinſay* is paved ten paces on each Hand, and in the midſt it is full of Gravel, with Paſſages for the Water, which keep it always clean.

In this Street are innumerable long cloſe Charlots, accommodated with Cloths and Cuſhions of Silk for fix Perſons, who divert themſelves in the Street, or go to the Gardens, and there paſs the Time in Bowers, fine Walks, &c. which are kept for that Purpoſe, and return at Night in the ſame Chariots. When a Child is born, the Father ſets down the exact Point of Time, and with that Note goes to the Astrologer, to conſult of his future Fortunes; of theſe Astrologers are a great Number in every Market-Place. Theſe People will not celebrate a Marriage without ſuch Conſultation. When one dies that is of Note, the Kindred cloath themſelves in Canvas, and ſo both Men and Women accompany him to the Burying-Place, playing on Inſtruments, and ſinging all the Way Prayers to their Idols, and being come to that Place, caſt into the Fire many Papers of Cotton, whereon are painted Slaves, Houſes, Camels, Stuſſs of Gold, and Silk, and Monies, which they think he ſhall really poſſeſs in another World, and make a grand Concert of Muſick, in Conceit of the Joy wherewith the Idols there receive his Soul, where he beginneth, as they fancy, to live anew. In every Street are Towers of Stone, to which, when in Danger of Fire, they uſe to carry their Gods, their Timber-Houſes being very ſubject to ſuch Casualties. The Khan hath ordered, that on the moſt of the Bridges, Day and Night, there ſtand under a Covert, ten Soldiers, five by Day, and five by Night, and in every Guard-room is a Tabernacle of Wood, with a great Balcon, whereby they know the Hours of the Day and Night, which at every Hour's End the Warders ſtrike, to ſignify what Hour, One, Two, &c. beginning at the Sun-riſing; and then again, at the Beginning of the Night. They walk up and down, and if any have a Light or Fire after the appointed Time, they caſt him to answer it before the Juſtices, or Governors aforeſaid, or if any walk later.

If any be not able to work, they carry him to ſome Hoſpital, of which are exceeding many, founded by the old Kings, with great Revenues, through the City: When they are well again, they are compelled to work. If a Fire happen, theſe from divers Places come to and quench it, and to carry the Goods to the Iſlands, or thoſe Towers;

for in the Night none of the Citizens dare go out, but those who are in Danger. The Khan always keeps here a Body of his best and most faithful Soldiery, as being the best and richest Place in the World. Within a Mile of each other, are built Ramparts of Wood, where the same Precautions are used for like Purposes. When the Khan had reduced all *Mangi* to his Obedience, he divided it, being before but one Kingdom, into nine Parts, and set them a Vice-King over each, who there administers Justice. Every Year they give Account to the Khan's Officers of the Revenues, and other Accidents, and every third Year are changed, as all other Officers are. One of these Deputy Kings is resident at *Quinjav*, who is Governor of above one hundred and forty Cities, all rich and great: Nor let this be esteemed a Wonder, seeing in *Mangi* there are twelve thousand Cities, all inhabited by rich and industrious People, in one of which the Khan maintaineth a Garrison, proportionable to the Greatness and Occasions, one thousand, ten, or twenty thousand, not all *Tartars*, but *Catbayans*; for the *Tartars* are Horsemen, and keep in such Places as may be fit to exercise their Hories. Into *Catbay* he sends those of *Mangi*, and *Catbayans* hither, such as are fit for Arms, of which he makes choice every third Year, and sends them for four or five Years together, into Places twenty Days Journey from their own Country, and then suffers them to return Home, a fresh Body succeeding; and most Part of the Khan's Revenues are this Way expended, and if any City rebel, he suddenly from the next Garrison compels an Army to reduce or destroy them. The City of *Quinjav* hath in constant Garrison thirty thousand Soldiers, and that which hath least, hath one thousand regular Troops, Horse and Foot in Garrison.

I come next to speak of the Palace of King *Fanfur*. His Predecessors caused to be inclosed a Place of ten Miles Circuit, with high Walls, and divided it into three Parts. That in the middle was entered by one Gate on the one Side, and on the other were great and large Galleries, the Roof sustained by Pillars, painted and wrought in pure Gold, and fine Azure. These were smaller at the Entry, and the further the greater, the tallest at the End; the Roof richly adorned with Gold, and on the Walls were painted the Stories of the former Kings, done very elegantly. Every Year, on certain Idol Holidays, *Fanfur* keeps his Court, and feasts his principal Lords, the great Merchants, and rich Artificers of *Quinjav*. Ten thousand are at a Time under these Terraces. This feasting endured ten or twelve Days with incredible Magnificence, every Guest endeavouring to present himself in greatest Pomp. Behind this marble Building was a Wall, which divided the Palace, in which were, as it were, a Cloister with Pillars, sustaining the Terrace round about the Cloister, wherein were Chambers for the King and Queen, curiously wrought. From this Cloister was an Entrance into a Gallery six Paces wide, extending in Length to the Lake, all covered. On each Side of this Gallery were ten Courts, answering to each other like Cloisters, each Court having fifty Chambers, with their Gardens, and in them one thousand Concubines abode, which the King kept for his Service, who, sometimes with the Queen, sometimes with them, went in his Royal Barge on the Lake, for Recreation, or to visit his Idol Temples. The other two Parts of the Setaglio were divided into Groves, Lakes, and Gardens, planted with Trees, in which were inclosed all Sorts of Beasts, Roe Bucks, Stags, Hares, Cories, and there the King diverted himself with his Damfels in Chariots, or on Horseback, no Man entering there. There the Ladies hunted with his Dogs, and when weary, they went into those Groves, which answered one another over

the Lake, and there leaving their Garments, came forth naked, and fell to swimming in the King's Presence. Sometimes he would eat a Barquet in those Groves, long served by those Damfels, without once thinking of Arms, which sweet Meat cost him the four Sure ye have heard. All this was told me by a rich old Merchant of *Quinjav*, while I was there, one who had been familiar with King *Fanfur*, and knew all his Life, and had seen that Place flourishing, into which he would needs bring me.

The Viceroy now resides there, and the first Gallies remain as they were, but the Damfels Chambers are gone. The Walls also which encompassed the Woods and Gardens are fallen to the Ground, the Beasts and Trees being gone, and all the other Ornaments destroyed. Twenty-five Miles from *Quinjav* is the Ocean, between the East and North East, near which is a City called *Gangon*, an excellent Port, where arrive the *Indian* Ships with Merchandise. While *Marco Polo* was in *Quinjav*, Account being given to the grand Khan of the Revenues, and the Number of Inhabitants, he hath seen that there have been enrolled one hundred and sixty Toman of Fires, reckoning for a Fire the Family dwelling in one House; every Toman contains ten thousand, which makes sixteen hundred thousand Families, of all which there is but one Church of Christians, and those *Nestorians*. By the Household-books bound to have written over his Door the Names of the whole Household, Males and Females; also the Number of Hories, the Names added or blotted out as the Family increaseth or decreaseth; and this is observed in the Cities of *Mangi* and *Catbay*. Those also that keep here in a Book the Names of their Goods, and the Day and Hour of their Departure, which Books they shew daily to the Lords, or Magistrates, who preside at the Market-places. In *Mangi*, the Poor which are notable bring up their Children, sell them to the Rich. The Revenues which accrue to the Khan from *Quinjav*, and the six Cities pertaining thereto, being the Ninth Part of the Kingdom of *Mangi*, are first of Salt, every Year, eight Toman of Gold, every Toman is eighty thousand *Sassid* Gold, and every *Sassid* is more than one Florin of Gold, which will amount to six Millions and four hundred thousand Ducats. The Cause is, that that Province being nigh the Sea, there are many Lakes, where the Salt in Summer is coagulated into Sals, water with fire of the Kingdoms in that Country a reward. There is great Sugar growing, which pay, as likewise the Spice of the Parts, and a third in the Handled. The best of the Wine. Also those twelve Corns, and wheat, and all twelve thousand Shops, and the Merchants who bring Goods hither, or carry any hence by Sea, pay the Price. They which come from remote Countries, as the *Magians*, as for example, from the *Indies*, pay half *Cent*. Likewise all things there breeding, as Beasts, and growing out of the Earth, and Silks, pay the best King, and the Computation being made in the Presence of Master *Marco*, besides Salt before mentioned, the Revenues amount to two hundred and ten Toman, which is sixteen million eight hundred thousand Ducats in Gold.

A Day's Journey from *Quinjav* to the South, by all the Way Houses, Villages, Fort Gardens, and Forts of Victuaries; at the End whereof is *Lapona*, a fine City, in the Jurisdiction of *Quinjav*. Three Days more South East, is *Ugna*, and two Days farther you will see that Way, finding Cattle, Cows, and well cultivated Places, in such a Neighbourhood of that they tempt Travellers all one City, and are all in the Jurisdiction of *Quinjav*; there are great Cows fifteen Paces high, and Palms thick. Two Days Journey farther is the City of *gus*, far and large; and travelling to the South East

^b The *Tartars* visibly depended upon a military Force for the Preservation of their Empire in *Cassia*, which when they had lost the Police, or a Part of their Government, which they adapted, is uncertain, but it is most probable that they were driven out of it as far enough from answering the End of the *Tartars*, by becoming a mere standing Army, and leaving the Government in the Hands of the *Indians*; that Part of the South which is an extensive one, they soon depopulated, and became a vast and desolate Wilderness; the latter, but had by the *Tartars* conquest, imposed, and by continuing the Burthen of such a numerous Army, and the want of Liberty by the *Kob*, it began to form a new Revolution, which at last they were obliged to give up. The *Indians* were well peopled and regularly settled Countries, beyond the Limits of *Perfa*, and extending to the *Indies*. A third of the World, not what to think of our Manners, when we came first across them to the full New of this Empire, and a great Part of it was admirably governed, and in following a Constitution, that made it not a little. According to the late Account, the Revenues amount to fifty Millions sterling annually.

Places full of People and Trades; and in this Part of *Mangi* are no Sheep, but Beavers, Buffaloes, Goats, and Swine in great Plenty. At the End of four Days Journey farther is the City *Zengian*, built on a Hill in the Middle of a River, which, dividing into two Branches, encompasses it, and then runs one to the South-East, the other to the North-West. This City is in the Jurisdiction of *Quinsay*, and its Inhabitants are Merchants also and Idolaters; this Country abounds with all Sorts of Game. Three Days Journey from thence, through a most pleasant Country, exceeding well inhabited, stands *Gieza*, a great City, which is the last of the *Quinsay* Kingdom; after which you enter into another Kingdom of *Mangi*, called *Concha*; the principal City thereof is *Ingua*, by which you travel six Days Journey South-East, through Hills and Dales, always finding Places inhabited, and Plenty of Game, of Beasts and Fowl; they are Idolaters, Merchants subject to the Khan. There are about Lions; and here grow Ginger and Galingale in great plenty, with other Sorts of Spices; eight Pounds of Ginger are sold for a *Venetian* Groat. There is an Herb, whose Fruit hath the Effect, and gives the Colour and Smell of Saffron, but is not Saffron, which is used in their Meats. They commonly eat Man's Flesh, if the Persons die not of Sickness, as better tailld than others. When they go into the Field they shave to the Hairs, and paint their Faces with Azure; they serve on Foot, except the Captain, who rides, and uses a Sword and Lance; they are very cruel, and when they kill an Enemy presently drink his Blood, and afterwards eat his Flesh.

After six Days Journey is *Quelinsu*, a great City, with three Bridges, each eight Paces broad, and above an hundred long: The Women fair and delicately shap'd. They have abundance of Silk and Cotton, are great Merchants, have Plenty of Ginger and Galingale. I was told, but saw them not, that they have Hens without Feathers, being like Cats, which yet lay Eggs, and are good to eat. There are many Lions, which make the Way very dangerous. After three Days Journey, you arrive in a populous Country, inhabited by Idolaters, who make abundance of Silk Manufactures, the chief City is *Ingua*, where is great Plenty of Sugar, sent thence to *Cambala*, which they know not how to make good till they became subject to the Khan, in whose Court were *Babylonians*, which taught them to refine it with Ashes of certain Trees, they only boiling it before into a black Paste. Fifteen Miles farther lies *Gangua*, still in the Realm of *Concha*, and here the Khan keeps an Army in Readiness for a Guard of the Country. Through this City passes a River a Mile broad, built on both sides, and abounding with Ships carrying Sugar and other Lading. This River discharges from hence five Days Journey South-East at *Zaitum*, a Seaport, from which the rich Ships of *India* come to this pleasant City, as is all the Country betwixt, in which are Trees and Shrubs of Camphire. *Zaitum* is a famous Port, where all the Ships arrive with Merchandize, thence dispersed through all *India*. There is here such a Quantity of Pepper, that what comes by *Alexandria* to the West is sold to it, and, as it were, one of a hundred. The Commerce of Merchants is incredible, it being one of the most commodious Ports in the World, exceeding profitable to the Khan, who receives Custom at the rate of ten in the Hundred of all Merchandize. They pay to much for Hire of Ships also, that there is not above one half of their Merchandize remaining entire to themselves, and yet that thirty yields vast Profit to them. The Citizens are idolatrous, given to Pleasure; in it are many Artificers on embroidered and Arras Work. The River is great, very wide, and swift, and one Arm of it runs to *Pungay*, at the parting of which is *Tringai* situated, where *Porcelaine* Dishes are made. I was told of a certain Earth, which they call *Tringai* Hills, and to let lie exposed to all Weathers for thirty Years without Hurting; after which, returning by Fire, they make Dishes, paint them, and then put them in the Furnace. You may there have eight Dishes for one *Venetian* Groat. In this Kingdom of *Concha*, the

Khan has as great a Revenue almost as that of the Kingdome of *Quinsay*. In these two Master *Marco* was, and in none of the other nine Kingdoms of *Mangi*, in all which one Language is used, with Variety of Dialect, and but one Sort of Writing; and therefore we will speak no more of them, but in the next Book discourse of *India* the Greater; the Middle and the Less, in which he was both in the Service of the Khan, and also in his Return with the Queen to *Sargon*.

22. We will now enter into the Affairs of *India*, and begin with their Ships, which are made of Fir, with one Deck, on which are twenty Cabins, more or less, according to the Bigness of the Ships, each for one Merchant. They have a good Rudder, and four Masts with four Sails, and some two Masts, which they either raise or take down at Pleasure. Some greater Ships have thirteen Divisions on the Inside, made with Boards inclosed, so that if by a Blow of a Whale, or Touch of a Rock, Water gets in, it can go no farther than that Division, and the Leak being found, is soon stopped. They are double, that is, have two Courses of Boards, one within the other, and are well calked with Oakum, and nailed with Iron, but not pitched, for they have no Pitch, but anointed with an Oil of a certain Tree mixed with Lime and Hemp, beaten small, which unnds taster than Pitch or Lime. The greater Ships have three hundred Mariners, the others two hundred, or one hundred and fifty, as they are in Bigness and in Burthen, from five to six thousand Bags of Pepper; and they were wont to be larger than now they are, the Sea having broken into Parts and Islands, that the Defect of Water in some Places cauleth them to build less. They use also Oars in these Ships, four Men to one Oar; and the greater Ships have with them two or three less Ships, able to carry a thousand Bags of Pepper, having sixty Mariners, or upwards, on board; which small Ships serve sometimes to tow the greater. They have also with them ten small Boats for fishing and other Services, fastened to the Sides of the larger Ships, and let down when they please to use them. They leath their Ships also after a Year's Usage, so that then they have three Courses of Boards, and they proceed in this Manner sometimes till there be six Courses, after which they break them up. Having spoken of the Ships, we will speak of *India*, and first, of certain Islands.

Zipangu, i. e. *Japan*, is an Island on the East, one thousand five hundred Miles distant from the Shores of *Mangi*; very great, the People of white Complexion, of gentle Behaviour, in Religion Idolaters, and have a King of their own. They have Gold in great Plenty, for few Merchants come thither, and the King permits no Exportation of it; and they which have carried on Commerce there, speak of the King's House covered with Gold, as Churches here with Lead, gilded Windows, Floors of Gold. There are also many Pearls. Once the Fame of these Riches made *Cublai-Khan* to send to conquer it two of his Barons, with a great Fleet of Ships, one named *Abbaca*, and the other *Venfanfin*, who going from *Zaitum* and *Quinsay*, arrived there, but falling out between themselves, could take but one City, and there beheaded all they took, except eight Persons, which, by an incanted precious Stone, inclosed in the Right-arm between the Skin and Flesh, could not be wounded with Iron; whereupon, with wooden Clubs, at the Command of the two Barons, they were slain. It happened one Day, that a northern Wind blew hard, which was dangerous to the Ships riding there, so that some were lost, some put out farther to Sea, and others, with the two Leaders and a few principal Persons, returned home. Out of many broken Ships some escaped by Boards and swimming to an Island not inhabited, four Miles off *Zipangu*, and were about thirty thousand, without Provisions or Arms, against whom the *Zipanguans*, after the Tempest was calmed, sent out a Fleet of Ships, and an Army. These coming on Land to seek the wrecked *Tartars* without Order, gave Occasion to the *Tartars* to wheel about, the Island being high in the Middle, and to get unteer to their Ships,

A Count of the Ships used in the Trade of the *East-Indies*, agrees exactly with the modern Relations; and though, without doubt, they have a great Part of our Ships for many Purposes, yet I believe, the Nature of these Seas considered, they may be, and very probably are,

which were left unmanned, with the Streamers displayed, and in them they sailed to the chief City of *Zapangu*, where they were admitted without Suspicion, and found few others but Women. The King of *Zapangu* besieged them six Months, and they having no Relief, yielded themselves, and their Lives were saved. This happened A. D. 1264.

The Khan, for the ill Conduct of his two Commanders, cut off the Head of one, and sent the other to a desert Island called *Zerga*, where he caused Offenders to die, by sewing them, their Hands bound in a new slay'd Hide of a Buffaloe, which drying, shrinketh so, as it puts them to vast Tortures, which lead to a miserable Death. The Idols in this and the adjoining Islands are made with Heads of Kine, Swine, Dogs, and in other Fashions more monstrous, as with Faces on their Shoulders, with four, ten, or even an hundred Hands; and to these they ascribe most Power, and do most Reverence, and say, that so they learned of their Progenitors. They sometimes eat their Enemies which they take, with great Joy, and for great Dainties; at least so it is reported of them. The Sea, in which this Island lies, is called the Sea of *Cin*, or *Chin*, that is, the Sea against *Mangi*, and in the Language of that Island *Mangi* is called *Chin*, or *Chint*, which Sea is so large, that there are seven thousand four hundred and forty Islands therein, the most Part of them inhabited; that there grow no Tree which yields not a good Smell, and that there grows many Spices of divers Kinds, especially Lignum Aloe, and Pepper black and white. The Ships of *Zaitum* are a Year in their Voyage, for they go in Winter, and return in Summer, having Winds of two sorts, which keep their Seasons, and this Country is far from *India*; but I will leave them, for I never was there, nor are they subject to the Khan, and return to *Zaitum*; from hence sailing South-westward one thousand five hundred Miles, passing a Gulph called *Chenan*, which continues two Months sailing to the Northward, till confining on the South east of *Mangi*, and elsewhere with *Asia* and *Toloman*, and other Provinces before named. Within it are infinite Islands all in a manner inhabited. In them is found abundance of Gold, and they trade one with another.

22. This Gulph seems like another World; and after one thousand five hundred Miles, sailing across this Gulph, is the County *Zanbar*, rich and great, having a King and a Language of their own, Idolaters, and paying Tribute to the Grand Khan of twenty Elephants, and Lignum Aloe in great Quantities yearly. A. D. 1268, the Khan hearing of the Riches of this Island, sent thither *Sagatu* with an Army to invade it. *Acambate* the King thereof was old, and made his Composition by paying the Tribute, which has been mentioned. There are many Woods of black Ebony there, which are of infinite Value. Sailing thence betwixt the South and South east one thousand five hundred Miles is *Java*, at present supposed by Mariners the greatest Island in the World, being above three thousand Miles in Circuit, under a King who payeth Tribute to none, the Khan not offering to subject it, because of the Length and Danger of the Voyage. The Merchants of *Zaitum* and *Mangi* fetch thence abundance of Gold and Spices. South and South-westward six hundred Miles from *Java*, are two Islands, one *Sondur*, which is the greater, the other *Condur*, less, both desolate.

Fifty Miles South east from them is a Province, or firm Land, very rich and great, named *Lachae*, the People Idolaters, having a Language of their own, as well as a King. There grows Brasil Wood in great Plenty, much Gold, Elephants, wild Beasts, and Fowl, a Fruit called *Berchur*, large as Lemons, very good; the Place is mountainous and savage, and the King permits not any to come thither, lest they should know his Country, and attempt to conquer it. There are abundance of Porcelain Shells for Money transported to other Places. Five hundred Miles Southward from *Lachae* is the Isle *Pentan*, a savage Place, which produceth in all the Woods sweet Trees, sixty Miles in the Way, the Sea is in many Places but four Fathoms, after

which sailing to the South-east thirty Miles farther, is the Island and Kingdom of *Malaur*, which hath a prole King and Language to itself, and here a great Trade carried on in Spices from *Pentan*. One hundred Miles South east is *Java the Less*, in Compass about two thousand Miles, and hath in it eight Kingdoms, and the People many Languages; they are Idolaters, have the same Customs, Spices, Ebony, and Brasil, and are like to the same, that the North Star cannot there be seen. Master *Marco* was in six of those Kingdoms, of which he gives the following Account, leaving the other two which he saw not.

One of these eight Kingdoms is *Felab*, where the Inhabiters, by frequent Trade with *Saracens*, are converted to the Law of *Mokammed*. In the Cities the Mountains are very healthy, eating Man's Flesh, and all kinds of impure Food, and worship all Day what they first see in the Morning. Next to that is *Baima*, which hath a Language by himself; they live without Law like Beasts, and sometimes kill Hawks to the Khan, who lays claim to all the Land; the savage Beasts they have wild Elephants, and Unicorns, smaller than Elephants, like the Buffaloe in *Hind*; their Feet are like Elephant's Feet, they have one Horn in the middle of the Fore-head, and hurt none therewith, but with the Tongue and Knee; for on their Tongue are certain big Prickles, and sharp, and when they hurt any, they raise on him, and press him down with their Knees, and then tear him to Pieces with their Tongue. The Bears like a wild Boar's, which he carries downwards to the Ground. They love to stand in the Mire, and are fit to be used, and not such Unicorns are said to be in our Parts, who suffer themselves to be taken by Maids, but quite contrary. They have many Apes, and of several Kinds, they have God-hawks back as Ravens, great, and good to prey. There are certain small Apes, in their Faces like Men, which they put in Boxes, and preserve with Spices, and sell them to Merchants, who carry them through the Wall, throwing them for Pigmies, or little Men.

Sanare is the next Kingdom, where Master *Marco* lived five Months against his Will, forced by ill Weather. There none of the Stars of *Charles's Wain* are seen. He went out on Shore with two thousand People, and there tarried for those five Months, for fear of those brutish Men cannot trade mean while with them for Victuals. There are excellent Pith, Wine of the Date-Tree, very white, and for Phthisick, Dropsy, Dis-eases of the Spleen, some white, some red, and *Indian Nuts* as big as a Man's Hand, the middle whereof is full of a pleasant Liquor better than Wine; they eat of all sorts of Flesh without any Dis-ease. *Dragonis* is another of these Kingdoms named by the Khan, having a King and Language of their own. The Law of an admirable Custom, that when one is sick, they send to enquire of the Sorcerers whether he shall die. If the Devils answer no, the Kindred tend for him, with Offerings to frange the sick Party, after washing of him in Pines, and the Kindred eat his own goods, and even to the Marrow of the Bones; if they say he shall die, Substance of him should remain, Worms would eat thereof, which would want Food, and to die, to the great Torture of the Soul of the Deceased. The Bores eat afterwards rakes and carry into some Caves in the Hill, that no Beast may touch them. If they take any Strength, they eat him in the same manner.

Lamban is the fifth Kingdom of *Java*, in which is great Plenty of Brasil, of the Seeds whereof Master *Marco* brought to *Venice*, and sowed them, but in vain, the Soil being too cold. They have Unicorns in great abundance, and Choice of Beasts and Fowls. *Fanjur*, the sixth Kingdom, hath the best Camphire, which is sold Weight for Weight with Gold. In that Province they make Mead out of great and long Trees, as thick as two Men can embrace, whence paring off the thin Bark and Wood about three Fingers thick, the Pith within is Mead, which they put in Water, and stir it very well, the lightest Droits swimming, and the finest settling to the Bottom, and then the Water being call away, they make Paite, of which Master *Marco* brought some to *Venice*, talking not much unlike Barley-Bread. The

* This Attempt made by the Tartars to conquer *Java* is a very curious Circumstance, and of great Consequence to the History of that Country, because mentioned by no other Author, which is the Reason that Father *Marco* refers us hither on that Head, in his most accurate and correct the Empire of *China*.

of this Tree thrown into the Water sinks like Iron, which they make Lanets, but short, for it long, they would be too heavy to bear. These they sharpen, and use at the Pops, with which so prepared, they will pierce through Armour sooner than if they were made of Iron. There are one hundred and fifty Miles from *Lambri*, sailing westwards, are two Islands, one called *Nocueran*, in which the Inhabitants live like Beasts, go all naked, both Men and Women, and worship Idols, have excellent Trees, Cloves, Peppers white and red, *Indian Nuts*, Brazil, and other Trees; the other *Angaman*, savage as the former, and where I was told they had Dogs Heads and Teeth.

Sailing hence one thousand Miles to the West, a little to the North-west, is *Zeilan*, two thousand and five hundred Miles in Circuit, and anciently three thousand six hundred Miles, as is seen in the Maps of the Maldives of those Places; but the North Winds have made great Part of it Sea. It is the finest Island in the World; King is called *Sendernaz*. The Men and Women are naked, go naked, save that they cover their Privities with a Cloth, have no Corn, but Rice and Oil of *Sesamum*, Fish, Wine of Trees, abundance of Brazil, the best in the World, Sapphires, Topazes, Amethysts, and other Gems: The King is said to have the very finest Ruby ever seen, as long as one's Hand, and as big as his Arm, without Spot, shining like a Fire, not to be sold for Money. *Cublai-Khan* sent and offered the Value of a City for it; but the King answered, he would not part for the Treasure of the World, nor part with it, unless it had been his Ancestors. The Men are unfit for Labour, and hire others when they have Occasion. From *Zeilan*, sailing sixty Miles to the West, lies the great Province of *Malabar*, which is not an Island, but firm Continent, called *India the Greater*, the richest Province in the World: There are in it four Kingdoms, the chief of which is *Calicut*, in whose Kingdom they fish for Pearls, viz. at *Malabar* and *Zeilan*, in a Bay where the Sea is not more than twelve Fathom; in which Divers descend, in Bags or Nets tied to their Bodies, bring up the Pearls, in which are the Pearls: And because there are many great Fish which kill the Fishermen, they hire certain Magicians to charm them, and these have the twentieth, and thirty the tenth. These Oysters are found through the whole Month of *April*, and till the Middle of *May*, and at any time else. In *September* they find them in a Bay above three hundred Miles off, and till the Middle of *April*. The King goes naked as the rest, save that he wears some honourable Emblems, as a Collar of precious Stones about his Neck, and a Thread of Silk to his Breast, and some hundred and four fair Pearls strung together to his Prayers, of which he makes daily use to many his Idols. A sort of Bracelets he weareth on three Places of his Arms, and likewise on his Legs, on his Fingers, and on his Toes. The Prayers which he says are *Panca*, *panca*, *Panaca*, one hundred and four times. This King has some thousand Concubines, and if it any please him, he will as often he did from his Brother, whence Wars had been kindled; but the Mother threatening to cut off her Breasts, he had not ventured them, if they proceeded, the Quarrel was discontinued. He hath many Horsemen for his Guard, and always accompany him, wags, when the King dies, they throw themselves voluntarily into the Fire when he is dead, to do him Service in the next World.

This Prince and his Brethren, the Kings of *Malabar*, *Malabar*, *Malabar*, *Malabar*, and other Parts, the Country is very rich, and if it sometimes fall out that it does, yet they are bred all favoured and in right. Condemned Persons will offer themselves to die in Honour of such an Idol, and have performed with twelve Knives, and twelve other divers Parts of the Body, at every Blow, saying *Yah-meh* in Honour of that Idol; and the last he says is *Yah-meh*, and is then burnt by his Kindred. Many of them cast themselves into the Fire with their Idols, and the following those who return it. They have many Idols, and in all of them adore Cows, and would not touch any Body's Flesh as Beef for all the World. There are some called *Gans*, who eat such Oxen as die of any Disease, or any other kind, and draw over their backs with Ox dung. These *Gans* are of the Posterity

of those which flew *St. Thomas*, and cannot enter the Place where his Body is. They sit on Carpets on the Ground in this Kingdom; They have no Corn but Rice; are not a martial People; kill no Beasts, but when they will eat any, get the *Saracens* to do it, or other People; wash twice a-day, Morning and Evening, both Men and Women, and will not otherwise eat, which they who observe are accounted Hereticks. They touch not their Meat with their Left hand, but use that Hand only to wipe, and for other unclean Uses. They drink each in his own Pot, and will not touch another Man's Pot, nor suffer their own to touch their Mouth, but hold it over, and pour it in. To Strangers who have no Pot they pour Drink into his Hands, and oblige him to drink with them. Justice is feverely administered for Crimes, and a Creditor may in some Cases encompass his Debtor with a Circle, which he dares not pass till he hath paid the Debt, or given Security; if he does, he is to be put to Death; and Master *Alonso* once saw the King himself on Horseback thus encircled by a Merchant, whom he had long delayed and put off; neither would the King go out of the Circle which the Merchant had drawn, till he had satisfied him, the People applauding the King's Justice. They are very scrupulous of drinking Wine made of the Grape, and they which do it are not thought worthy or honest Men, or admitted to be Witnesses, a Thing denied also to him who falls by Sea, for they say such Men are desperate. They think Lechery no Sin. It is very hot, and they have no Rain but in *June*, *July*, and *August*; without which Refreshing of the Air they could not live. They have many Physiognomists and Southsayers, which observe Beasts and Birds, and have an unlucky Hour every Day in the Week, called *Choiab*, as on *Monday*, betwixt two and three, on *Tuesday* the third Hour, and on *Wednesday* the ninth, &c. through all the Year, set down in their Books. They curiously observe Nativities. At thirteen Years old they put their Boys to get their own Livings, who run up and down to buy and sell, having a small Stock given them to begin, and in Pearl Season they buy a few Pearls, and sell them again to the Merchants, which cannot well endure the Sun, for little Gain; what they get they bring to their Mothers to dress for them, for they may not eat at their Fathers Coll. They have Idols, male and female, to whom they offer their Daughters, who, when the Monks or Priests appoint, sing and dance to the Idols, and very often set Victuals before them, saying that they eat, leaving it the Space of a Meal, singing all the while, and then they fall to eating in earnest; after which they return home. The Cause of these Sacrifices is the Household Quarrels betwixt the God and Goddesses, which, if they should appeate, they should lose their Blessing. The great Men have Letters made of large Canes, which they tatten artificially to some upper Place to prevent Tarantulas biting, and also Fleas and other Vermin, and for fresh Air.

The Place of *St. Thomas's* Sepulchre is a small City, not much frequented by Merchants, but very much by Christians and *Saracens* for Devotion. The *Saracens* hold him a great Prophet, and call him *Ananus*, that is, a holy Man. The Christians take of the Larch where he was slain, which is red, and carry it with them with great Reverence, and give it, mixed with Water, to the Sick. *A. D.* 1288, a great Prince, having more Rice than Room to lay it in, made hold with *St. Thomas's* Church, in the Room where Pilgrims were received; but by a Vision of *St. Thomas* in the Night, was so terrified that he quickly left the Place. The Inhabitants are black, not so born, but became so by often anointing themselves with Jeilame Oil, which is called Beauty. They paint the Devil white, and their Idols black. The Cow-worshippers carry with them to Battle some of the Hair of a wild Ox, as a Preservation against Dangers, and therefore such Hairs are sold at a high Price.

25. Malabar, or *Menjil*, is notward from *Malabar* five hundred Miles; the Inhabitants are Idolaters. They have Diabolism in their Idols, which they search for after great Rains. Westward from *St. Thomas* is *Luce*, whence the *Bramins* have their Original, who are the honestest Merchants in the World, and will not lye for any thing,

and squat, have no Prince, and live like Beasts. The Tartars often rob them of their Cattle in those dark Mountains, and lest they should lose their Way, they ride on Mares which have Colts sucking, which they leave with a Guard at the Entrance of that Country, where the night begins to fall, and when they have taken their Prey, they return to the Mares, which hasten to their Colts. In this long continued Summer, they take many of the finest Mares (on Occasion of the Tartars going to rob them) which I have heard some are brought into *Russia*. *Russia* is a great Country near that Northern Darkness. The People are Greek Christians, the Men and Women fair, they pay Tribute to the King of the Tartars of the West, in whom they border. On the East there is plenty of Wax, and Mines of Silver; it reaches, as I was told, to the Ocean Sea, in which are Islands that abound with Great Lions and Falcons.

We are now arrived at the Close of this Author's Writings, and therefore are the more capable of judging of the Particulars they contain, which was the Reason that I left some Points to be considered here, which I should otherwise have thrown under the Head of Objectives. Some critical Readers have affected to doubt, whether our Author, or rather his Performance, deserves Credit, from the Account that is given of the Manner in which it was wrote, and from the different Stories that we are told of the Original. We have already accounted for the Mistakes that have been made on this Head, and shall only take Notice, that *Francis Pipin*, of the Order of Preachers, who made a Latin Translation of our Author's Work, tells us in his Preface, that from the Report of his Dominicans, he was satisfied that *Mares Polo* was a Man of great Prudence, remarkably honest, and who had the fairest Character that could be. It is not so very inconceivable, that such a Man should expose that Credit which he had been at so much Pains to establish, by sending into the World an indigested Heap of Fictions and Romances. But the same Person informs us farther, that *Signior Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, was the most renowned and best beloved Man of his Time, and that he instantly reported the very same Facts, during his whole Life, which his Son published in his Works; and for his Uncle *Signior Maggi*, who enjoyed some of the principal Offices in the Government at *Venice*, and distinguished himself by his Wisdom and Integrity, when he was on his Death-Bed he took particular Care to assure his Executor, that he had reviewed his Nephew's Work, and that he was fully satisfied that there was nothing in it that was or should be true, and thus he gave him Leave to live for the Satisfaction of the World. Here then are the credible Witnesses to the same Facts, and therefore according to all the Laws of Evidence, they ought to be credited upon as thoroughly established.

We must how ever distinguish between such Facts as our Author reports from his own Knowledge, and those which are grounded only on Hearsay and Information. We may as well be an Author of Credulity or Imprudence, when we relate strange and improbable Things in his Writings, as we can be with Justice charge him with falsity or Falseness on this Head, and we ought not to make some Allowance for the Genius of the Time in which he wrote, but to stand out as presumptuous, that even the wisest and most prudent Man can be totally free from the Errors of the Age in which he flourished: It may not be an illis to give a few Lessons with regard to our Author.

In the twenty fifth Chapter there is an Account of the Mines, in the Kingdom of *Musfil*, where we are told of a Passage that is to be met with in most of the Part of our Author, because it is reported on the Credit of the Inhabitants, and we were willing to examine it by itself, and that the Reader might perceive we had Reason to enquire upon him some Insuperabilities which he might have upon our Author himself. After having observed that Diamonds are found there at the Bottom of a deep Mountain, after the rainy Season is over, he tells us that they are to be found in the Summer Time ascend the Mountain, though with great Difficulty, because the steepness of the Hill, and had aundance of small Stones and Gravel. In this they

are likewise much exposed to Danger from the vast Number of Serpents of enormous Size, which shelter themselves in the Holes and Caverns of these Rocks, where, nevertheless, they find Diamonds in the greatest Abundance. Among other Methods of obtaining them, they make use of this: There are abundance of white Eagles that rest in the upper Part of those Rocks, for the sake of feeding on the Serpents, and in the deep Valleys and Precipices, where Men are afraid to venture themselves, they throw Pieces of raw Meat, which the Eagles perceiving, immediately swoop and seize it, with all the little Stones and Gravel that adhere to these small Pieces of Meat. Such as search for Diamonds, watch the Eagles Nests, and when they leave them, pick up such little Stones, and search likewise for Diamonds among the Eagles Dung. The Kings and great Men in this Country keep the fairest and finest of these Stones to themselves, and suffer the Merchants to sell the rest.

The famous *Julius Caesar Scaliger* was extremely offended with this Relation, which he treats with the most Contempt, and seems to wonder at the Assurance of a Writer that expects Stories of this kind should gain Credit: Yet, after all, I do not see that there is any great Fault in our Author's relating this Tale, however improbable it may seem, since without doubt he received it from the Inhabitants, and what Motives they had to tell him such a Story is not very difficult to guess. The native *Indians*, in all the Revolution that we have experienced in the Countrey where they live, have preserved this Trade in their own Hands, and by Fables of one sort or other kept Strangers from attempting to interfere with them. Our Author was very probably the first *Europæan* that was ever at the Diamond Mines, and therefore we have the best Reason for being surpris'd at his being imposed upon in an Affair of which he could not be a competent Judge.

But to make the Reader some Amends for so imperfect a Relation of the manner in which this valuable Trade is carried on, I shall take this Opportunity of inserting the best Account of the Matter that I believe has been hitherto given by one who was an Eye-witness of it in the Year 1680, and that too in the very Country known to our Author by the Name of the Kingdom of *Musfil*. "The Diamonds are scattered and dispersed in the Earth, and he to this, that in the most plentiful Mine, it is rare to find one in digging, or till they have prepared the Stuff, and searched purposely for them: They are also frequently enclosed in Clods, and some of those of *Malswelled*, and the new Mines in the Kingdom of *Gelandra*, have the Earth so fixed about them, that till they grind them on a rough Stone with Sand, they cannot move it sufficiently to discover they are transparent, or were not for their Shapes, to know the same other Stones. At the last opening of the Mine, the unskilful Labourers sometimes, to try what they have found, lay them on a great Stone, and flaking on them with another, to their costly Expence discover they have broken a Diamond. One I know who had an excellent Stone of eight Mangelans, that is, sixty two Grains, served so by ignorant Miners he employed. Near the Place where they dig they raise a Wall, with such rugged Stones as they find at hand, whereof all the Mines afford Plenty, of about two Feet high, and six Feet over, flooring it well with the same; for the laying of which they have no other Matter than the Earth tempered with Water. To strengthen and make it tight they throw up a Bank against the Side of it, in one Part whereof they leave a small Vent about two Inches from the Bottom, by which it empties itself into a little Pit made in the Earth to receive small Stones, if by chance any should run through. The Vent being stopp'd, they fill the Cavern they have made with Water, taking therein as much of the Earth they dig out of the Mine as it can conveniently receive at a time, breaking the Clods, picking out the great Stones, and stirring it with Shovels till the Water is all muddy, the gravelly Stuff falling to the Bottom; then they open the Vent, letting out the foul Water, and supply it with clean, till all the earthy Substance be washed away, and none but a gravelly one remains at the Bottom. Thus they continue washing till about Ten of the Clock before Noon, when they

“ they take the gravelly Stuff they have washed, and spread it on a Place made plain and smooth for that Purpose near the Cistern, which being so dried by the Heat of the Sun at that Time of the Day, they very curiously look it over, that the smallest Bit of a Stone can hardly escape them. They never examine the Stuff they have washed, but between the Hours of Ten and Three, lest any Cloud, by interposing, intercept the brisk Beams of the Sun, which they hold very necessary to sift them in their Search, the Diamonds constantly reflecting them when they shine on them, rendering themselves thereby the more conspicuous.

“ Some of the expertest Labourers are employed in searching, he that lets them at work usually sitting by, and over-looking; but it is hardly possible, especially where many are employed, to watch them so narrowly, but that they may steal part of what they find, as many times some of them do, and selling it privately, convert it to their own Use. If they find a large Stone, they carry it not presently to their Employer, but keep on looking, having an Eye on him, till they observe he takes notice of it, when with the Turn of their Hand they give him a Glimpse of it, but deliver it not till they have done Work, and then very privately, it being the general Endeavour to conceal what they find, lest it should come to the Knowledge of the Governor of the Place, and he requires a Share, which in the Kingdom of *Golconda* is usually practised, without any Respect to the Agreement made with them. The Miners, those that employ them, and the Merchants that buy the Stones of them, are usually *Pagans*, not a Musselman, that ever I heard of, followed the Employment. These Labourers, and their Employers, are *Telingas*, commonly Natives of or near the Place. The Merchants are the *Bamans* of *Guzerat*, who for some Generations have taken their own Country to take up this Trade in which they have had such Success, that it is now solely engrossed by them, who, corresponding with their Countrymen in *Sarat*, *Goa*, *Golconda*, *Tifapere*, *Agra*, and *Diu*, and other Places in *India*, furnish them all with Diamonds.

“ The Governors of the Mines are also Idolaters. In the King of *Golconda's* Dominions a *Telenga Bramme* rents most of them, whose Agreement with the Adventurer is, that all the Stones found under a *Pagoda* Weight are to be their own; all of that Weight and above is to be his, for the King's Use. But although this Agreement be signed and sealed, he minds not at all the Performance thereof, but endeavours to engross all the Profit to himself, by tyrannically squeezing both Merchants and Miners, who he not only taxes very high, but maintaineth Spies among them of their own People. On the least Suspicion that they have been any ways fortunate, he immediately makes a Demand on them, and raises their Tax; and on a false Pretence they have found a great Stone, drubs them till they surrender what they have, to redeem their Bodies from Torture.

“ Besides, the Price is so high on all sorts of Provisions, Beets, and Tobacco, which with them are esteemed Necessaries, that the Price of all Things is doubled, by which Course there is hardly a Man to be found worth five hundred Pounds amongst them, most of them dealing by Monies taken up at Interest of Usurers, who reside there purposely to furnish them, who with the Governor eat up their Gains, so that one would wonder any of them should stay, and not betake themselves to Places where they might have better Usage, as there are many in other Governments, and some few that have the Scale to remove, but many their Debts, others the Hopes of a great Hit, detain. Both Merchant and Miner go generally naked, only a poor Cloth about their Middle, and their Soles on their Heads; they dare not wear a Coat, lest the Governor should lay they have thriven much, and are rich, and to enlarge his Demands on them. The swift, when they find a great Stone, conceal it till they have an Opportunity, and then with Wife and Children run all away into the *Tifapere* Country, where they are secure. The Government in the *Tifapere* Country is better: Their Agreements observed, Taxes easier, and no such Impositions on Provisions,

“ the Merchants go handsomely clad, among whom are several Persons of considerable Estates, which they are permitted to enjoy peaceably, by reason why not more Mines are much more populous, and better cultivated than those of *Golconda*.”

It is for the same Reason that I have omitted the improbable Story of a Bird called a *Ruc*, of such prodigious Size as to be able to carry an Elephant upon its Back, which Absurdities our Author was probably induced to believe, by the strange Things he daily saw in that Part of the World, and of which the People in *Europe* had not so much as the least Idea. That *Gondius* is a requisite for keeping the World within Bounds, assuming no Inclination to try the Patience of my Reader, by inserting any more of these odd Travels, but is absolutely necessary for connecting the several Parts of the Discourse, and shewing how, in what Manner, and by whom those great Discoveries were made, which unite the different Nations in *Europe* to carry on together a Trade as they do to all Parts of the *East Indies*. This, without doubt, was originally owing to this Work of *Albruzius*, who, though no Geographer or Seaman himself, yet in such clear and evident Proofs of the Possibility of reaching the most distant Parts of *Asia* by Sea, that his Work was more esteemed in *Portugal*, where the full Spirit of Discovery appeared, than in *Italy* itself. It remains, in this Place, to give a short Account of the Names by which he has distinguished the Countries he visited, and promising to answer the great Objection raised against his Work, from his not making any Mention of the famous Wall in *China* for keeping out the *Tartars*, which shall be done in as few Words as possible.

Our Author following exactly the Sentiments of the *Tartars*, distinguishes all this great Country into two Parts, *viz.* *Catbay* and *Mangi*, about which many Doubts have been raised, and many Diatribes let on both sides by just Grounds, since it is very plain, that under the Permutation of *Catbay*, *Murco Polo* comprehends the Northern Provinces of *China*; and under that of *China* the nine Southern Provinces, which are separated from the former by the great River *Yang*, and when we come hither to treat of the present State of the *Empire of China*, we shall take Occasion to shew, that the Description of his agrees very well with the best Account of the *Empire*. This will be the more intelligible to the Reader, when he is informed, that the *Tartars* of *Europe* use very different Names, that is to say, they call *Catbay* to the Northern Parts, and that of *Europe* to the Southern Provinces of *China*. As to the Name of *Catbay*, or *Mangi*, in the *Tartar* Language, it signifies *Barbarians*, and to they called the *Tartars* themselves from the brutality of their Manners, and their extravagant Haughtiness and Pride, and especially the intolerable Hatred and Contempt which they entertain of the *Tartars* themselves. The plain Reason was, that they did not mention the famous Wall in *China*, which he entered it by the Southern Provinces, and that confines himself to the Places he saw, or to those which were in their Neighbourhood, and professes his Distance from the Western Parts of *China* to the Sea, it was not possible he should take Notice of it, or that we should consider this Matter attentively, it is very plain, that in Circumstance, instead of lessening the Credit of *Murco Polo*, ought, in Truth, to strengthen it very much, since it is a convincing Proof of the Truth of what is asserted in relation to his own Travels, and his Description of the Countries through which he passed, and especially that he did not amuse himself with Accounts of Countries and Provinces of which he could have no Information from Report, to which, if he had himself been present, he must have been much more obscure and obscure than we find it at present. But it is now time to return to the Conclusion of this Section, by shewing the Authority of the Subject, that may be obtained by the Perusal of *Murco Polo's* Travels, in order to the thorough Understanding of the Subject. And thus we shall perform a considerable Part of our Duty, and in such a Manner as may demonstrate the Necessity of looking into any one of the most valuable of our

29. As the Inhabitants of Europe received the first distinct Accounts of the vast Country of China from our illustrious Venetians, so from them likewise they had the earliest and best Account of the Revolutions that had happened in that Empire by the Power of the Tartars; a Thing of such Consequence to the right understanding of that subsequent Travellers have related, that I will be bold to say all the Difficulties and Discouragements that have been thrown in our Way, and have so long hindered our making a right Use of the many Collections of Travels that have been published, have arisen in part from a Humour that for some time prevailed, of treating Marco Polo's Relation as a Romance, and partly through the Mistakes of those who, for want of having sufficient Lights, and the Materials that were requisite, undertook to explain the History of the Inruptions of the Tartars into China, and endeavour'd to make the Dates and Facts mentioned in these Travels, fall in with their Accounts, according, at every Turn, the Author of Errors and Faults, of which themselves only were guilty. To remedy these Disorders, and to make the Way plainer for the future, we shall, without running into a long Discussion of what other Writers have advanced, observe, that there have been three distinct Conquests of China made by the Tartars, of each of which we shall give a clear and distinct Account in very few Words. The first of these was by the Eastern Tartar, who, before the Time of Zingis-Khan, made himself Masters of the Northern Provinces of China, and fixed the Seat of their Empire at *Khanbalick*, *Cambalu*, or *Pekin*; and this, as I conceive, gave Rise to what is call'd the Empire of *Catbay*; concerning which, all our ancient Writers in general deliver themselves with so much Confusion, sometimes representing *Catbay* as a Part of Tartary, sometimes again comprehending under that Name the whole Empire of China; and at others, distinguishing from both. But from this Distinction, it clearly appears, that though the ancient Empire of *Catbay* was situated in China, yet it was an Empire rais'd by the Tartars; and that from want of attending to this, so many Mistakes have been introduced.

The Prince who govern'd *Catbay* in the Time of Zingis-Khan was *Alan-Khan*, against whom that great Conqueror made his first Attempt, in the Year 1206, and that with such Success as to oblige this Monarch, after various Designs to shut himself up in the City of *Cambalu*, and to sue for Peace, which, with much Difficulty, he obtained; the Confirmation of which he gave his Daughter in Marriage to Zingis-Khan. This Peace was but of very short Continuance; for *Alan-Khan*, having a Jealousy that some of his Nobility held Intelligence with his Enemy, he put many of them to Death; and finding the northern Parts of his Dominions in a manner wast'd and depopulated by the late Invasion, he retir'd to the City of *Nankin*, which his Father had fortified with three Walls, the chief of which was forty Leagues in Circuit, and left his Son in Possession of *Khanbalick* and of the adjacent Countries. The rest of the Nobility, enraged at the Instances of Severity before-mentioned, and at the same time doubting their own Safety, had immediate Recourse to Zingis-Khan, and drew him a second Time into *Catbay*, where he made himself Master of the Imperial City of *Cambalu*; the News of which Accident affect'd *Alan-Khan* to such a Degree, that he poison'd himself. This happened about the Year 1210; and thus the Tartars became Masters of the northern Parts of China. They continued their Conquests under the Reign of the Successors of Zingis-Khan, till the Emperor, who reign'd when our Author was in these Parts, viz. *Coplai-Khan*, who in the Year 1278 completed the Conquest of *Mangi*, or the southern Parts of China.

The Bounds of Zingis-Khan's Conquests on this Side, was the River *Uiang*; but his Successors annex'd all the Country between that River and the River of *Kiang*. All the rest were subdu'd by *Coplai-Khan*, and his General *Pekin*. This was the second Conquest made by the Tartars, who not only destroy'd the Empire formerly establish'd by their Countrymen in *Catbay*, but also that of the native Chinese, which had subsisted for so many Ages. This short Recapitulation sets this Affair in its true Light,

and not only explains what Marco Polo has told us, and reconciles his Accounts with those of later Authors, but also connects his Relation with that of *Rubruquis*, and even those of the Arabian Travellers; so that taking the Whole together, we have a clear and satisfactory View of the Affairs of China, to that which I call the second Conquest by the Tartars; but as the Affairs of this Country were entirely changed again before the Arrival of the Portuguese by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*, I think it will be for the Reader's Ease and Advantage to have this History conducted to its Close before we enter upon the Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese; because otherwise, when we come to speak of the Chinese as again in the Possession of their Country, and again driven out and conquer'd by the Tartars, it must necessarily introduce infinite Confusion. It is from the Chinese Writers that we have the Reigns of the Tartar Emperors who succeeded *Coplai-Khan*, and of whom there is very little Mention made in the Histories of the Tartars.

The Chinese, as I before observ'd, call'd this new Imperial Family *Yuen*, and bestow'd the Name of *Chi-Tsu* upon *Copli-Khan*, of whom their Histories speak with the utmost Reverence, and whom they celebrate, for his having opened the great Canal mentioned by our Author, and which has been ever since justly considered as one of the Wonders of China. It is three hundred Leagues in Length, and nine thousand Imperial Barks are constantly employ'd thereon, in transporting the Tributes of the southern Provinces to *Cambalu* or *Pekin*, and in other Services. These Writers place the Death of this Emperor somewhat lower than the Tartar Historians; for the former say, that he lived to the Age of fourscore, and died A. D. 1295, whereas the latter place that Event in 1292. He was succeeded in the Empire by his Grandson, whom our Author calls *Timur*, but in the Chinese Chronicles he is stiled *Teking-Tsong*; and as his Grandfather excelled in Power, so he distinguished himself by his Clemency and the Love of his Subjects. After him reign'd seven other Princes of his Family, all of whom were no less illustrious on the score of their personal Virtues, than glorious from their possessing so large an Empire: And it is very remarkable, that the Chinese History renders to great Justice to this foreign Race of Princes, as to stile the Period in which they ruled over China, the *wise Administration*. The last of them was *Clun-ti*, a Prince of great natural Endowments, but who unfortunately gave himself up to Priests and Women, leaving the Management of the Affairs of the Empire entirely to his Prime Minister. The Tartar Soldiers, through so long a Peace, had lost their original Discipline, and were become slothful and effeminate, which to rais'd the Courage of the Chinese, that they began to shew a Disposition to revolt; and one *Tebou*, an obscure Person, who had been no better than a Footman, having put himself at the Head of a Body of Malecontents, reduced many of the great Cities in the Empire; and became, by Degrees, so powerful, that he twice defeated the Imperial Army, and at last forc'd the Tartars to abandon China, after they had been possess'd of it ninety-nine Years. This Revolution happen'd in 1370; and *Tebou* having by his Success in this War rais'd himself to the Imperial Throne, assum'd the Name of *Tai Tson*, and fix'd his Imperial Residence in the City of *Nankin*. And thus it was that the Chinese, having expell'd their Conquerors, recover'd the Dominion of their own Country.

As for the Emperor *Clun-ti*, he retir'd with his Tartar Subjects northwards, and died of Grief and Vexation about two Years after this Revolution happen'd. The Tartars that were thus expell'd, having a strong Tincture of the Chinese Customs, did not join with the rest of the *Meguls*, but settled themselves in the Country of *Leiston*, and were, from this Time forward, stiled the *Nomades Meguls*, or *Meguls of the East*, to distinguish them from the other *Meguls*, who were call'd *Meguls of the West*.

This desert Country they cultivat'd with the utmost Care, built therein several considerable Cities, and practis'd that Industry which they had learned by conversing so long with the Chinese; yet, in some respects, they still retain'd a Tincture of their ancient Manners; for, instead

of remaining firm and united, which seem'd to be the only Means left for recovering again the Dominions they had lost, they split themselves into several little Principalities, under to many Khans; who, though their Territories were not very wide, maintained nevertheless their Independency. Among the most considerable of those Cities which they erected, were *Kirin*, *Ula*, and *Kenkita*, all three of them seated on the West Bank of the River *Sangere*, which falls into the great River *Amur* about twelve Days Journey above its Mouth. The City of *Kirin* is distant from the Province of *Leaton* about three hundred and sixty Miles. The City of *Ula* is in Latitude 41° 20' N, and was consider'd as the Capital of the *Niuchen Meguls*. The Khan of *Ula* however was far from being a considerable Prince, had no sort of Superiority over the rest of the Khans of the Eastern *Tartars*, was without Allies or Resources beyond the Power of his own Subjects; and yet, as we shall shew hereafter, it was this Khan *Ula*, that had the Courage to undertake, and the good Fortune to accomplish the third Conquest of *China*: But at present we will leave the *Tartars* cultivating their Delays, and return to the new-founded Empire of *Toku*, and his Descendants.

The Dynally, founded by this Prince, was call'd *Ming*, and the Emperor, who, as I have said before, assumed the Name of *Ti Tsou*, reigned thirty-one Years with great Glory, and left the Empire to his Grandson, who perished in a Civil War, and was succeeded by his Uncle, who, having been formerly King of *Peiking*, transferred the Seat of the Empire thither. The sixth Emperor of this Family was *Yng Tjong*, under whose Reign the *Tartars* made new Incursions into *China*, to oppose them, the Emperor march'd at the Head of a great Army, and pursuing them considerably beyond the famous Wall, they suddenly faced about, attacked and defeated the *Chinese*, making the Emperor Prisoner. His Son, who was but two Years old, was advanced to the Empire, and the Brother of the captive Emperor, whose Name was *King Ti*, declared Protector, which Promotion gave him an Opportunity of seizing the Empire. The *Tartars*, some time after, released *Yng Tjong*, who chose however to lead a private Life, and leave his Brother in Possession of the Empire, which he enjoyed to his Death; and then the old Emperor was again seated on the Throne.

The eleventh Emperor of this Race was *Chi Tjong*, who had the good Fortune to defeat the *Tartars* in several Battles; and it was under his Reign that the famous *Francis Xavier* preach'd the Christian Religion in the East, where he died in 1552. The Emperor *Chi Tjong* reigned forty five Years, in the latter Part of which the Government began to decline very sensibly, as it continued to do under all his Successors, down to *Hou Tjong*, who was the sixteenth and last Emperor of the Family of *Ming*. It was under his Reign that *Zungty*, who was Khan of *Ula*, form'd the Design of making himself Master of *China*, notwithstanding that all the Force he was able to raise did not exceed fifteen thousand Horses. He began with entering into private Intrigues with some of the *Chinese* Mandarins, who were exil'd into the Province of *Leaton*, by whose Assistance he soon became Master of a great Part of that Province. The Emperor sent against him an Army more than sufficient to have forc'd him back into his own Country; but he had so much Address, as to prevent the principal Officers of this Army from doing their Duty; so that by degrees he master'd all the rest of that Province, and at last took Possession of its Capital.

While this Scene was transacted in the East, and the whole Force of the *Chinese* Empire employ'd there to fo

little Purpose, new Troubles arose in the Western Provinces, where several Bands of Thieves and Highwaymen committed the most extravagant Outrages; and at last, under the Command of one *Lycoungz*, an obscure and infamous Fellow, plunder'd several Cities, and even whole Provinces, which increasing the Number of the Forces the Rebel had at last sufficient Power to attempt the Subversion of the Empire. It was with this View that he march'd directly to *Peikin*, where in three Days he became Master of the Place, and the Emperor finding himself abandon'd, hang'd himself on a Tree in his Garden. *Lycoungz* immediately took the Title of Emperor, and endeavour'd by all the Methods he could devise, to bring over to his Interest *Oufanguei*, who was General of the Army sent against the *Tartars*, and the only Person capable of disputing with him the Possession of *China*. This General however reject'd all his Offers with Contempt, and oblig'd *Lycoungz* to take the Field once again, and to march against him with his numerous Army: *Oufanguei*, who saw that it was simply in possible for him to take the leading head at once against the Usurper and the *Tartars*, resolv'd to make Terms with the latter Enemy of the Emperor, and then to invite *Zungty* to come to his Assistance.

This was precisely what the *Tartar* Prince desired, and therefore he made no Difficulty of complying with his Demand. He left five thousand of his own Troops in the Province of *Leaton*, and then march'd with ten thousand *Tartars*, and twenty thousand of the Inhabitants of that Country to the Relief of the *Chinese* General, who receiv'd him with great Joy. They march'd together directly towards the Usurper, and when they were upon the Point of giving him Battle, *Zungty* observ'd, in a Conference he had with the *Chinese* General, that, as the best Part of the Forces of the Empire, and especially those of the Southern and Western Provinces, were extirpated by the *Tartars*, it would be very expedient for him to order the Tails of his Horses after their Manner by some Means the Army of the Usurper would take them all the *Tartars*. *Oufanguei* following the Advice of the King, it had so good an Effect, that the Rebels were totally defeated, and *Lycoungz* oblig'd to fly with the Remains of his Army towards *Peikin*. The victorious Allies order'd their Pursuit without the least Intermision, and on one drawing near the City, the *Chinese* General made this motion, that all such as did not take Part with the Usurper should trim their Horses after the Manner of the *Tartars*, that they might the more easily distinguish themselves on all Occasions. This stratagem had a great Effect as a second Victory: *Sa h M* donates declar'd themselves against the Usurper, that finding it absolutely impossible to maintain his Ground, he first plunder'd the Imperial City, and then retir'd with his Army loaded with Booty. When the Allies were in Possession of *Peikin*, it was agreed that *Zungty*, with his Forces, should remain there for the Security of the Place, and that *Oufanguei*, with his Army, should pursue the Usurper till such time as he could be put to the War.

The same Arts, or rather the same Virtues by which the *Tartar* Prince had gain'd the Affections of the Inhabitants of *Leaton*, produced the like Consequences amongst the Inhabitants of *Peikin*; and as, on the one Hand, they were weary of living without the Support and Protection of a Governor, so they flatter'd themselves, on the other, with enjoying all imaginable Happiness under a Prince so much Humanity and so great Abilities as *Zungty*; and therefore, almost of their own Accord, they chose him Emperor in the Absence of the *Chinese* General, and had himself Views upon the Throne, in which he had

¹ At present all the Eastern *Tartars* is subject to the *Chinese* Emperors, and is divid'd into two Parts, the first contains what may be call'd the hereditary Dominions of the Family now reigning in *China*. It is divid'd into three Governments, and the Inhabitants are all subject to the Name of *Mont-tseu*. The Capital of this Country is call'd by the Inhabitants themselves *Mongton* but by the *Europe* People, which is *Day* is a well peopled and well built City, where there is a sovereign Tribunal for deciding all Affairs that relate to the Dominions of *Tartary*. The other Part of this Country is still under the Dominion of its own Princes, who have the Title of Khans, which they receive from, and are Vassals to, the Emperor of *China*. The Inhabitants are call'd simply *Mongols*, or *Mongans*, and the County passes also under the last Denomination.

² As it is not my Intention to give the Reader here a History of *China*, but barely to mention such Facts as may be necessary to explain what has been related before, as I am not yet in the Success of my Voyages, I did not think myself oblig'd to mention all the Emperors of this Family, who therefore have touch'd only on the Reign of such as might best answer my Purpose.

³ These Facts are somewhat differently related by different Historians; but I have given them the Reader from the Collection of a Person who has taken great Pains to make himself Master of the *Chinese* History, which he may probably have prevail'd upon to publish when he had it perfect enough to bear the Inspection of the Critics.

probably succeeded, if he had not been thus out-witted by the Tartar *Zungt-by*, who foreseeing how different a thing might prove for him to maintain himself in Possession of so great an Empire, with such a handful of Forces, as no sooner seated on the Imperial Throne, than he instantly dispatched Advice of his good Fortune to the Khans of *East Tartary*, who were Princes of his own Family, inviting them to come, and share with him in so rich a Conquest. This was certainly a good Expedient for securing himself against the Fickleness or Infidelity of the *Chinese*; but at the same Time it visibly exposed the new Emperor to the Danger of being undone by his Auxiliaries; for the Khans of the *Tartars*, who on the first Summons halted to his Assistance, had certainly in View the dividing the *Chinese* Empire amongst them; but *Zungt-by* was a Prince of such Wisdom and Penetration, that he immediately discovered the Danger to which he stood exposed, and provided against it with a Sagacity equal to his Penetration. He divided these Corps of *Tartars* as soon as they entered his Dominions, sent for several of their Princes to *Pekin*, and in a short Time to separated them from each other, that they became absolutely his Subjects, and were unable to act otherwise than was conducive to his Service. In the Conquest and Settlement of *China*, this Tartar Prince shewed all the Courage and Capacity of *Julius*, all the Policy and Conduct of *Augustus Cæsar*, by which he thoroughly accomplished the third Conquest of *China* by the *Tartars*, which happened in one thousand six hundred forty and four, after the *Chinese* had preserved their Freedom for two hundred sixty-six Years.

This new Race of *Tartar* Princes, which still continue to reign in *China*, for the twenty-second Dynasty of their Monarchs, is distinguished by the Name of *Ying*; it is however very remarkable, that *Zungt-by* is not accounted the first of those Emperors, because he died almost as soon as he was seated on his Throne, and before he was entirely possessed of *China*, leaving the Empire to his Son *Chun-Yehi*, who was then no more than six Years of Age, and to whom his dying Father assigned his Brother *Ama-Van* for his Guardian. So early a Minority, would have imagined, must have been fatal to the new raised Empire; but *Ama-Van*, during the Non-Age of his Nephew, conducted all things with so much Wisdom and Fidelity, that when the young Emperor came to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, he found himself in as full Possession of his Dominions, as if he had descended to him from a long Line of Ancestors. The Emperor *Chun-Yehi* was himself a Person of extraordinary Abilities, easy and affable amongst his Soldiers, wife and prudent in his Councils, and to refined a Politician, that under Colour of executing the Laws with exactness, he took off all the great Men in *China* that were capable of giving him either Jealousy or Disturbance; so that after a Reign of seventeen Years, he left the Empire perfectly settled to his Son, who was but eight Years of Age.

The Name of this Prince was *Gang-li*, he was raised to the Throne in the Year 1662, and, during his Minority, the Empire was governed by four great Ministers, who executed their Offices with the greatest Wisdom and Integrity, so that this second Minority proved not in the least dangerous to the Empire. It is true, that the famous *Chinese* General *Ousungwei* took the Advantage of this, and endeavoured to shake off the Yoke of the *Tartars*, of whom with equal Wit and Wisdom, he said, that he had called in Lions to assist him in hunting Dogs. He had some Success at the Beginning, and might probably have secured at least some Part of the Empire for himself and his Posterity, if he had not been very old at the Time of his Revolt, and died not long after, which gave the Emperor's Ministers an Opportunity of taking such Mea-

asures, as put it out of the Power of the *Chinese* to rebel for the future. *Gang-li* fell nothing short, either of his Father or his Grandfather, so that it may be reckoned an extraordinary Felicity in this Family, that for three Generations there were as great Princes of it as perhaps of any other in the World. This Emperor was extremely careful with regard to two Points, the encouraging and distinguishing his *Tartar* Subjects, and behaving with the utmost Justice and Moderation towards the *Chinese*.

In the Beginning of his Reign, indeed, he committed some necessary Acts of Severity, but when he found that he had by this Means absolutely broken the mutinous Spirit of the People of *China*, he changed his Conduct entirely, and applied himself wholly to the putting every thing in the best Order possible, for the Benefit of all his Subjects. It was with this View that he obliged the Viceroy and other Governors of Provinces to administer Justice with Impartiality and Mildness, taking from them the Power of punishing capitally, and obliging them to send all such Sentences to the supreme Tribunal of the Empire. In order to take away all Distinctions, and to render his *Tartar* and *Chinese* Subjects but one People, he established this Regulation; he obliged the *Tartars* to wear the *Chinese* Habit and obliged the *Chinese* to cut their Hair, after the Mode of the *Tartars*, and this upon Pain of Death. It may seem strange, but it is nevertheless true, that many refused to comply with this Order, and chose rather to part with their Lives than their Hair, and that many more abandoned their native Country, to fly into Places where they might wear their Hair as long as they were wont. But the Emperor's Edict had notwithstanding the desired Effect, that is to say, freed him from such mutinous Spirits as might have disturbed the Tranquillity of his Reign.

The most important Employments, and the most honourable Offices in the Government, he gave only to the *Tartars*; but then he made a Law, by which the Children of *Tartars* by *Chinese* Women, or of *Chinese* by *Tartarian* Women, who were bred up in the Customs, and were taught to speak the Language of the *Tartars*, were declared capable of the highest Offices in the Empire. He was not more careful of the Domestic than of the Foreign Affairs of his Empire, which almost all his Predecessors had neglected to a great Degree; for he not only reduced all the Eastern *Tartars* intirely under his Obedience, but made two Journeys into that Country, where he admitted all Ranks of People freely to his Presence, and thereby gained the Love of the *Moguls* in the highest Degree. As for the *Tartars* of the West, he forced them to have recourse to his Protection, and not only drove the *Calmuks* from his Frontiers, but entering their Country also in his Turn, took from them the Provinces of *Chamil* and *Tarjan*, which serve as an excellent Barrier on that Side for the *Chinese* Empire.

In his Person, and in his Manners, he had nothing of the *Tartar*, and was to perfectly acquainted with every Government in *Europe*, that he discoursed of them in a manner that surprised even the *Europeans* themselves. The late Czar *Peter* the First sent M. *d'Ismaïloff* with the Character of his Embassador to the *Chinese* Court, whom the Emperor not only received with all imaginable Politeness, but at the first Audience presented his Excellency, a Nobleman who accompanied him, and his Secretary, each with a Gold Cup full of Mead, by which they plainly perceived that he was informed of the Czar's Custom, who when he had a mind to distinguish any Foreigner, was wont to present him with a Glass of Wine with his own Hand. This Emperor *Gang-li* reigned with great Glory sixty-one Years, and died on the 20th of Dec. 1722. He left behind him seventeen Sons, the fourth of which he declared his Successor, who at his Accession to the Imperial Dignity,

The *Chinese* Historians themselves agree, that this Race of Emperors were far inferior to the *Tartars*, as giving themselves up too much to a kind of Intemperance, and to the Pursuit of their Dignities. Some of them were carried away by a vain Desire of finding the Water of Life; others, by a kind of Intemperance, by drinking of which a Man might become immortal; but with little Success, that the Emperor *Chi-Tsong* died immediately after he drank of this pretended Water of Life, at the Age of Fifty eight. Others were possessed with a violent Desire of finding the philosopher's Stone, which induced them to spend too much of their Time in chymical Experiments. The Fate of these Monarchs sufficiently shews, that the Art of Government is the only Science worthy of the Attention of Princes.

This Prince took care to secure the *Moguls* of the East from the ambitious Designs of the *Russians*, and for that Purpose made a very friendly Alliance with the Czar *Peter* the First, for settling the Limits of their respective Empires, in consequence of which the Town and Fort of *Albany* was demolished.

assumed the Name of *Tong-Tebing*, i. e. Peace undisturbed. This Prince, who is said to inherit the Virtues as well as Dominions of his Ancestors, was in quiet Possession of the Empire in the Year 1735, since which we have not had any certain, or at least very important Accounts from *China*.

By this Deduction of the *Chinese* History we learn a Multitude of things necessary for the understanding such of the subsequent Voyages as mention that Country, which was the Reason that I insisted upon it to long; and we likewise discover the Usefulness of this sort of Knowledge, with respect to the Voyages that have gone before. We see that the *Chinese*, with whom our *Arabian* Travellers conversed, were quite another sort of People than those that now inhabit *China*; for they were a pure and unmixed Nation, whereas the modern *Chinese* are in a great measure incorporated with the *Tartars*; from whence it is easy to discern, that great Alterations must have happened in their Manners, especially if we consider the Character that *Rubruquis* gives the *Tartars*, which comes much nearer that of the modern *Chinese* than any thing we meet with in the *Arabian* Writers. It appears likewise from the Comparison of the Facts related by the *Arabians* with those mentioned by *Marco Polo* of the People of *Mangi*, that both these Writers must have reported Things with great Fidelity, since they agree in a Multitude of Particulars. The Conquest of the Northern Part of *China* by the *Tartars*, though not expressly mentioned, yet is plainly alluded to by the second *Arab* Writer; and as to the true Conquest of *China* by the same Nation, we owe the full Account of it to *Marco Polo*; for, without the Assistance of his Relations, it would have been a thing very difficult, if not impossible, to have discovered, that *Chai-Tsea* was the same with *Copli-Khan*, or *Cublai-Khan*, Emperor of the *Tartars*, who before he became Master of their Country was called by the *Chinese* *Hsi-pi-li*.

We likewise learn from this succinct View of the *Chinese* History, that the *Tartars*, who now possess *China*, are the very same Nation that formerly possessed it, contrary to what some very learned Men asserted, and which was generally believed half an Age ago. We likewise see, that the reigning Family in *China* are direct Descendants of *Cublai-Khan*, and consequently of *Zingis-Khan*, that famous Conqueror, whose Empire, as we have elsewhere shewn, was the most extensive that has been hitherto known in the World. These Things are of very great Consequence, if we read Voyages for the sake of improving and enlarging our Knowledge, and not merely for the sake of Amusement, which, however, is rather increased than lessened, by attending to these Circumstances. We can easily apprehend, after a little Reflection, that in the Time of our *Arabian* Travellers, and even in that of *Marco Polo*, the *Chinese* Empire must have been in a much better Condition, and its Trade much more flourishing than when it was first visited by the *Portuguese*, *English* and *Dutch*. Before that Time it had not been exposed to those cruel Ravages that ensued first on the breaking out of their Civil Wars, and next from the last Conquest by the *Tartars*. Besides, we can at any time have Recourse to this short History, when we are at a Loss as to the Facts mentioned in subsequent Voyages, and by comparing the Times in which they happened with the Dates that are therein set down, obtain an easy Solution of Doubts that perhaps we could never otherwise have got over.

It is from this Consideration of these Advantages, and that as far as my Power lies I might remove all Obstacles whatsoever to the perfect understanding of this Subject, that I have determined to give the Reader in the next Section a concise History of the other *Tartar* Empire in the *Indes*, I mean that of the Great Mogul, who was likewise a Descendant from the same Family with the great Con-

queror I have so often mentioned. By pursuing this Method, which I have brought into the narrowest Compais possible, the Reader will gain such a previous Knowledge of a great Number of Facts as never to be at a Loss in perusing any of the Voyages to the *East Indies*, either in this, or in any other Collection, which, without such an Introduction, it would have been absolutely impracticable for him to have understood, and that for many Reasons, of which I will take the Liberty to mention only a few. In the first place then, every Voyage brings us not only into a new Country, but, if I may so speak, introduces us into a new Company, with the Character of which, if we have not some previous Acquaintance, it is impossible for us to bear our Ease, whereas if we know in general who and what they are, we enter immediately into the true Sense of the Relation, and hear all that is told us with Pleasure. In the next place, it often happens, that either from the Force appearing tedious, or from some other Motive, the Writers of Voyages give us only short Hints as to the Government of the Countries through which they pass, or the Characters of Princes that reign in them, which would be utterly unintelligible to such as never heard of them before, and yet may be sufficient for the Information of those who have a general Notion of the Posture of things in that Country at the Time mentioned by the Author. Lastly, we are by this means enabled to rectify the Mistakes of such Writers, to distinguish between the Truth and Faithfulness of what they relate, and to form a clear and certain Judgment of the Merit of their Performances.

It may possibly be objected, that for the same Reason which have been offered in Support of these two Histories of the *Chinese* and of the *Indian* Empires, we might be obliged to write the History of all the other Princes that have reigned in the *Upper Asia*, which Objection, however, is not at all founded in Fact, since in the first place the Histories of all the little Princes in *India* are very far from being so necessary as those of the capital Empires; and in the next, how necessary soever we might make them, it is impossible for us to write any such Histories, because the necessary Materials for them are not to be had. When therefore this Matter is seriously considered, it appears to be a new Argument in favour of our Design, for since there have been but two great Empires in that Part of the World, of which any just and regular Account can be given, and to which all Books of Voyages and Travels through the *East-Indies* must necessarily refer, it would seem very absurd and unreasonable, after all the Pains we have taken in the darker Ages of this History, to declare that Period of it, which is at once the most useful, and will appear by far the most agreeable to a modern Reader, as there is not in the Compaus of Universal History any Branch so full of extraordinary Events, or in which there occur more surprizing Turns and Revolutions than in that which we are about to give.

Add to all this, that however deficient the rest of the Oriental Histories may be, we have abundant Materials for this, and those too as excellent in the kind as can be desired; for besides the particular Relations afforded us by several Writers of Credit, who were actually on the Spot when those Events happened which they record, we have very great Lights given us by such of the Oriental Writers as have undertaken to explain the several Expeditions of the *Tartars*, and especially those of the famous *Tamerlane*, whose Conquests, though less extensive, have, notwithstanding, made a greater Figure in our general Histories than those of his glorious Predecessor *Zingis-Khan*. Besides all which we have the singular Advantage of having a great Part of this History taken from the very Records of that Empire which it concerns, by the Industry of Mr. *Mansoubi*, who was formerly

¹ The Change of Names is a very clear Proof that no sort of Blame ought to be on *Marco Polo* for wanting Places after a different Consistency than what is commonly used, and we have this Advantage from it, that we learn the *Tartar* Appellations, and have thereby an Opportunity of comparing them with the *Chinese*. I cannot help remarking upon this Occasion, that in all Probability *Hsi-pi-li* is no more than the true Name of *Acqui* (for so in that Language it is written) expressed in *Chinese* Characters; but for the Name given him, after he started the Empire of *China*, it may be read the first of his Race, for *Chai* signifies the beginning, and *Tsea* a kind of Violet-coloured Point or tinge which is in the Imperial Diadem.

² Mr. *Mansoubi* was a *Tartar* by Birth, but he wrote his History of *Indostan* in the *Portuguese* Language, which was then and is still common in the East. We owe the Publication of it to the famous Jesuit Father *Castro*, who dedicated his *First* Translation to the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Father of the present *King of Spain*. In his Preface to that Work, he promises some farther Memoirs by the same Hand, but I cannot find that they were ever published, which is the more wonderful, considering the great Reputation that the first Part of the Work acquired. It is therefore very desirable, if possible, that these Papers may fall into other Hands, and yet see the Light.

Years in that Country, in the Quality of Physician to its Emperors, and had thereby an Opportunity of having free Recourse to those Records, which for the Benefit of Posterity,

as well as his own Information, he transcribed, and from which in a great Measure we have taken the Facts that are contained in the following Section.

SECTION XXII.

A succinct History of the Empire of the Great Mogul, from its Foundation by the Great Tartar Conqueror Timur-Bec, or Tamerlane, to the present Times.

Taken chiefly from the Oriental Writers.

1. The History of Timur-Bec, or Tamerlane, from his first Appearance in the World, to his being declared Khan of the Tartars.
2. His Conquests in the Indies, and subsequent Victories, to the Time of his Death.
3. The History of Miracha the Son of Tamerlane, and his Successor in Part of his Dominions.
4. The Reign of Abouchaid the Grandson of Tamerlane.
5. The History of Sheik-Omar, the Seat of whose Empire was at Samarcand.
6. The Life and Reign of Babar, the first of these Monarchs who assumed the Title of Grand Mogul.
7. An Account of the great Revolution which happened under Homayum, his Restoration to the Empire of the Indies, and his Death.
8. The Reign of Akabar, and the Accessions made by him to the Dominion of the Moguls.
9. The Reign of Jehan Guire, and of the Troubles that happened therein.
10. The History of Shah-Jehan, and of the Princes his Sons, to the Time of his Decease.
11. A succinct Account of the Reign of Aurengzebe, and of the several Accessions made by him to the Indian Empire.
12. Of the Disputes that happened after his Decease among the Princes his Sons.
13. Of the Reign of Isadour-Shah, and of the War carried on by him against his Brethren.
14. Of the Troubles that have happened since in that Empire.
15. The History continued to the Expedition of the Shah-Nadir, or Kouli-Khan, with an authentick Account of its most remarkable Particulars.

THE Empire of the Tartars subsisted for near two hundred Years, under the Administration of the direct Descendants of its illustrious Founder *Zingis-Khan*, when a new Conqueror was born of the same Race; for *Timur-Bec*, or, as he is usually called by us, *Tamerlane*, was descended in a direct Line from *Caitu*, who was the Great-Grandfather of *Zingis*. His Family, though not powerful, was very illustrious, since, tho' he was the Vassal or Subject of *Adill-Khan*, yet he was by Birth, Prince or Chieftain of the Tribe of *Burlaqs*. The visible Declension of the Power of *Adill-Khan*, gave him some Hopes of shaking off his Dominion. The Weakness of four Princes had so loosened the Foundation of their Throne, that this *Adill-Khan* had little more left him than the Shadow of supreme Authority. Whole Tribes of the *Mongals* or *Akzals*, withdrew themselves entirely from his Obedience, and set up particular Princes of their own; the Rest, who still acknowledged his Sovereignty, pretended to assign the Measure of their Submission, and to fix the Bounds of that Duty they were content to pay. As for *Tamerlane*, his Design was to throw off the Yoke entirely; but wanting sufficient Strength for to build an Uncertainty, he confederated with *Hugien*, who had exactly the same way of thinking; and when they had joined their Forces together, they declared War against *Adill-Khan*, attacked and defeated his Army, and having taken him Prisoner, tied him Hand and Foot, and threw him into a Torrent, where he was drowned. *Tamerlane*, to give the best Colour possible to so tall a Fact, raised *Caitu*, who was a direct Descendant from the famous *Zagatai-Khan*, to the Throne, from whom in two Descents it came to the Possession of *Mohammed* his Grandson. But he who was now powerful enough to bestow Crowns, had so much of Ambition, as to preserve the Power that attended them in his own Hands, though for certain Purposes he suffered the Title to remain elsewhere. Under the Name of *Mohammed Khan*, he made War on the Rest of the Princes of the Family of *Zingis*, and by his repeated Victories became so famous, that he was quickly considered as the first or principal Khan of the Tartars. This provoked the Jealousy of *Hugien*, who had been his first Companion in Arms, so that of a Friend and Ally he first became a secret Rival, and very soon an open Enemy. Their Armies met in the Plains of *Balk*, where a Bloody Battle ensued, in which *Hugien* was defeated and killed, and *Tamerlane* then saw himself at the Head of the whole Power of the Tartars, without a Competitor, and therefore having sum-

moned all the Princes of the Blood of *Zagatai* to *Samarcand*, there, by a Sort of Election, assumed the Title of Khan, which hitherto he had not done, put on the Imperial Crown of Gold and the Girdle, which was also an Ensign of that Dignity, received the Homage of all who were present, and very rich Presents upon that Occasion. It is from this Election and Coronation, that the Reign of this great Prince is usually dated, because though he had the Power long before, yet his Title was never till now acknowledged, or himself known to the World, as supreme Khan of the Tartars, which Title he ever after bore.

2. This great Event fell out in the Year of the *Hegira* 781, in the Year of our Lord 1379, and in the thirty-fourth Year of the Age of *Timur*. He was no sooner seated on the Throne of *Zingis-Khan*, than he began to form a Design of uniting under his Dominion all the Countries that had formerly paid Obedience to that Conqueror, with which View he instantly attacked the Princes of *Cheeriffan*, *Sigism*, and *Kandabar*, whom he reduced in a short Space of Time, and thereby opened a fair Road into the Indies. It was in the Year of the *Hegira* 800, and *A. D.* 1409, that he undertook the Conquest of that extensive Empire, at the Entrance of which he found Abundance of little Clans of Thieves, that by the Help of the strong Holds which they had erected, maintained a kind of tyrannical Power over the adjacent Country. These he first of all rooted out, and at the same Time destroyed without Mercy a Multitude of Guebres, or Worshipers of Fire, that had settled themselves on the Confines of *Indoistan*, when driven out of their native Country of *Persia*. He next besieged the famous Fortrefs of *Uddagen*, which had hitherto been considered as impregnable; but as this was not a Task that required so great an Army as that under his Command, he employed a Part of it in reducing the adjacent Country, then under the Dominion of Sultan *Mohammed*, who finding himself in such imminent Danger, invited all the neighbouring Princes to join him, in order to defend themselves against a common Enemy, who made no Scruple of declaring that he meant to dispossess them of all their Dominions, in order to annex them to his own. This Application had the desired Effect; *Rajah Rama* and the Rest of those little Princes took care to assemble their Forces, and at the Time appointed joined Sultan *Mohammed*, who immediately marched to give the Invader Battle. The Forces of the Indian Princes surpassed in Number by very far the Army of the *Tartars*, but the Conduct of *Timur*, who had

great Success and Glory; but the Violence of his Temper, joined to a high Opinion of his good Fortune, drew him into another War, which cost him both his Crown and his Life.

He had always a strong Inclination to pass for the great Defender of Justice amongst his Neighbours, and therefore taking Offence at the Proceedings of *Uzun Cossan*, a very potent Monarch of the Family of *Zangis Khan*, who had deprived one of his Relations of his Dominions, he declared War against him, notwithstanding all the Persuasions that Prince could take to terminate the Difference between them by a Negotiation. *Uzun Cossan*, though much inferior in Power, was much better versed in the Art of War, and by running his Country, and keeping his Forces always encamped in Places that were inaccessible, he so weakned the Forces of the *Tartar*, that, at last, he found himself obliged to retreat, in order to save the Remains of a numerous Army, worn out with perpetual Fatigue. But he was not able to conduct them, as he endeavoured, into his own Dominions, but was defeated and taken Prisoner by the Sons of *Uzun Cossan*, who immediately conducted him to the Presence of their Father, who received him at first with great Humanity, but being provoked at the insolent Speeches of *Abouchaid*, who reproached him with not daring to meet him in the Field, at last ordered his Head to be struck off, and put out the Eyes of his three eldest Sons, who were taken with him.

Soga was the Fate of this intolent and vain-glorious Monarch, equally unfortunate in the Beginning and in the Close of his Reign, but in neither more so than he deserved. The Chronicles of the Mogul Empire take Notice, that he left a bad Example to his Successors in these two Points, first, in putting to Death his Brother, and next in his Ingratitude to his most faithful Servants; Circumstances very dishonourable for his Memory, and which shew how unworthy he was of so great an Empire, that in the Course of twenty-eight Years, which he sat upon the Throne, could leave nothing but the shame of his Vices to make him remembered by Posterity. There have been Doubts arisen about the Succession of this Prince, because, in the great Seal of the Mogul, on which the Names of all the Emperors are engraven, there is one *Mirza-Mohammed* mentioned, whom some therefore would have the Son of *Miracha*, and the Father of *Abouchaid*. The first may be true, but not the latter, since it is probable, that this *Mirza-Mohammed* was his Brother, whom he put to death.

Shah-Omar, the fifth Son of *Abouchaid*, succeeded his Father in the Year of the *Hegira* 874. *A. D.* 1460, and was of a quite contrary Disposition: He is recorded to have been a very pious *Mohammedan*, and to have made the Study of the Khoran the Business of his Life, which is the more extraordinary, since his Great-grandfather *Timur* had a Religion of his own, which was a Sort of Deism. His Great-grandfather had very little Religion, and his Father none at all, though he made some Pretences to *Mohammedanism*. The Reign of *Omar* was a continued Peace; he never thought to trouble his Neighbours, was contented with his own Dominions, where he ruled his Subjects with Justice and Moderation, and was neither disturbed by Plots at home or Wars abroad. The only Thing remarkable in the Reign of this Monarch, is the Manner in which he amused himself; for it must appear somewhat singular, that a Prince, who seriously delighted in Peace, should invent a new kind of War for his Diversion.

At the End of his Garden he had a high Terrace, at each Extremity of which was built a Pigeon-house; farther the Emperor daily retired, and as he fed his Pigeons with his own Hand, they looked about him as soon as he appeared. He had taught these Creatures to live in a perpetual State of Enmity; so that as soon as the Emperor lifted up a white Satin Standard, the Pigeons

of one House attacked those of the other, and they with great Resolution defended themselves, and often killed out and drove away the Invaders. It one Day happened that the Emperor, deeply engaged in this Sport, flourishing his Standard in the Air, and having his Eyes fixed on his Pigeons, fell against the wooden Balustrade of his Terrace, which, being rotten, gave way, so that by his Fall he broke his Skull, of which unlucky Accident he died in two Days after, having reigned happily for himself and for his Neighbours twenty-four Years.

6. He was succeeded in the Throne by his Son *Babar*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 899, *A. D.* 1493. This Prince had scarce taken Possession of the Government before he found himself engaged in a War, for which he was every way indifferently provided. The Prince of the *Uzbek Tartars* at that Time was *Schah-Bac-Khan*, who remembering that his Father had been deprived of *Samarcand* by *Abouchaid*, the Grandfather of *Omar*, he determined to lay hold of the Opportunity that offered of recovering his Dominions, knowing that the *Moguls* were much softened by their Inactivity during so long a Peace. He made a right Judgment in this Matter; for, on his Approach, *Babar* found it impossible to make head against him, and therefore retired from Place to Place, till at last he took Shelter in *Cabulistan*, the Governor of which remained faithful to him, and soon assembled an Army capable of recovering what he had lost to the *Uzbeks*.

Babar had hitherto appeared of as peaceable a Disposition as his Father; but now, whether stung with Resentment or roused by Despair, he shewed as great Courage as any of his Ancestors, and seemed impatient to invade that Country which he had so lately abandoned. The Governor of *Cabulistan* however was of quite a different Sentiment, and having shewn his Master that it was infinitely more easy to make himself absolutely Lord of *Indostan* than to recover the Countries he had lost, he brought *Babar* over to his Opinion. In order however to proceed with the greater Security and Success, the Emperor proposed making a Journey through *India*, under the Disguise of *Giogis*, or *Indian Pilgrims*, that they might the better judge of the Strength and Condition of those whom they meant to conquer.

They executed this Resolution almost as soon as they had formed it; and having travelled undiscovered from one Extremity of *India* to the other, they found it inhabited by four Nations. The first were the native *Indians*, who still kept up the Form of the ancient Constitution, though the Spirit of it was in a manner lost. Their Kings shutting themselves up in their Seraglios, thought of nothing but their Pleasures, and left the great Affairs of Government to their Ministers, who were often as indolent as themselves, and left them in their Turn to their Domesticks. The *Bramins* had exchanged the elevated Philosophy of their Ancestors for a Life of Superstition, which amused the Vulgar with a false Religion, and seemed to justify the Men of Sense, in having little or none at all. Their Soldiers kept their Horses, took their Pay, and appeared at their stated Times in Review; but as for Service they knew it not in Practice, and the very Idea of it gave them Disquiet. The common People were sunk in Luxury and Sloth, mistaking the Power of doing Evil for Liberty, and placing all Happiness in the Pursuit of their vicious Appetites, without Danger of Restraint, or Fear of Reproach.

The second Sort of People were the *Pattans*, a Race of *Mohammedans*, who from the opposite Coast of *Arabia* had passed over thither, and having first settled on the South-side of the River, erected there a Town, which still bears the Name of *Muslipatan*; from whence extending themselves still farther and farther, they at last became Masters of the Kingdom of *Dehli*, of which they were possessed when *Famerlane* made his Irruption into the *Indes*.

The Vice, which of all others has most stained the Glory of the Mogul Race, is Ingratitude; the first Imputation of which was derived from the Conduct of this *Abouchaid*. When he was obliged to fly, in order to save his Life, after the Loss of his Crown, two of his Counsellors counselled him to, and shared with him in all his Misfortunes. After he was restored, these two worthy Men expected some Share in his Favour, but *Abouchaid* thought them plain; he was more obliged to them than it was in his Power to repay, and therefore he hated to see them; neither was he contented to banish them his Court, but ordered their Names to be struck out of the Roll of his Servants. Hence the Ingratitude of *Abouchaid* is to this very Day a proverb through the East.

7. This is a famous Province between the *Indes* and the *Tibet*, and his belonged sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other of these Empires, and the origin of the great Consequence to the East, that it is a common Saying, he who is not Master of *Cabul*, is not Master of the *Indes*.

The *Perfians* were the third Sort of People; and these were no other than the Remains of the ancient *Perfians*, who were and are certainly the most innocent People in the World, and perhaps the most pious. As the principal Part of their Religion consists in worshipping the Almighty Author of all Things under the Symbol of Fire, the *Mohammedans*, without taking any Pains to enquire into their Principles, concluded them Idolaters; and when they conquered *Perfia*, forced them to abjure their Religion or to quit their Country. They chose the latter, and this brought Multitudes of them into the *Indes*, where, by a laborious Industry, they procured a bare Subsistence, exposed continually to the Inults of the other Nations, without any thing to sustain them under the Weight of so many and so great Misfortunes, save the Testimony of a good Conscience in this Life, and the Hopes of a Reward in that to come. The fourth Sort of People were his own Subjects the *Moguls*, placed there in Garrisons by his Ancestors, and employed in levying the Tributes imposed by them upon the *Rajahs*.

When *Babar* and his faithful Companion had examined all Things with the utmost Diligence and Attention, they returned to *Cabalistan*, and began to prepare for the Execution of their Project. They had observed, that the Prince of the *Pattans*, who was in Possession of the Kingdom of *Dehli*, was the most powerful of any of the *Rajahs* in the Country of *Indogon*, and therefore they resolved to begin with reducing him. *Babar*, having put himself at the Head of a numerous Army, summoned this Monarch, whose Name was *Amirissa*, to lay aside the Style and Title of a Sovereign, in a Country which belonged to the *Moguls* by Right of Conquest. *Amirissa* answered, that a King, though tributary, was still a King, and that since they disputed his Title, he was determined to pay no more Tribute to one driven out of his Dominions, and who, by his Conduct, seemed unworthy of Respect. *Babar* having received this Answer, prosecuted his March towards *Dehli*, and met with *Amirissa*, at the Head of an Army much greater than his own; but as the *Indians* were Soldiers only in Shew, they were broke and defeated by the first Attack. Their King perished like a brave Man in the Midst of his Enemies; the Remains of his Army took Shelter in the Mountains of *Thebet*. *Babar* remaining Master of the Country, made Choice of *Dehli* for his Capital, which has continued to be the ordinary Residence of his Successors ever since.

The first Care of this Prince, after his Establishment in the *Indes*, was to frame a Body of Laws, or rather to establish a few fundamental Maxims for the Government and Security of his Empire, that his Successors might not be exposed to such Accidents as he had met with, or be obliged, at every turn, to let their whole Dominions on the Hazard of a Battle. The Foundation on which this Structure was raised, was the sole and absolute Right of the Great Mogul, for so *Babar* was first called, to all the Country he had acquired by Conquest; and this was so clearly understood, as that it secured all Property to him, and made even the greatest of his Subjects Tenants at Will, or Tenants for Life at the very utmost. As by this Means the whole Lands in his Dominions were veiled in the Mogul, and all the great Men in the Kingdom made dependant upon his Pleasure, so by another Principle, the Bulk of the People were put as much into his Power, since no written Laws were allowed, but the Judgment of the Emperor established what was right and wrong in his Dominions. In his Capital he gave Judgment himself in all Causes that came before him; in other Cities there were Officers who decided all Things in his Name, and whose Decrees were liable to be reviewed by the Mogul himself.

These Constitutions were devised by the Governor of *Cabalistan*, who, as he had fixed the Emperor upon the Throne by his Fidelity, now secured him thereon by his Wisdom. The Effects of these Settlements very soon ap-

peared by the Change that was perceived in the Fate of *Indians*; for the *Tartars*, who had been the old Masters of *Babar* and his Ancestors, returned to him in few Families Quarters, as did also the *Perfians* and other *Mohammedans*, with whom the Court and the Army were filled, and upon whom all Places of Trust and Profit were bestowed. The great Officers, and in short all who had Professions civil or military, were styled *Omrah*, and the old *Indians* retained their antient Appellation of *Rajahs*. We shall meet with these Words very often, and therefore it may not be amiss to fix the Sense of them effectually. The *Omrah* is the mere Creature of his Prince, and though he enjoys large Tracts of Land by his Favour, as well as considerable Appointments, yet he enjoys both but for Life, and can leave nothing to his Children, all being returned to the Mogul at his Decease, who is the Heir-General of every Man in his Service. The *Rajahs* are hereditary Princes in their own Dominions, which they hold indeed of the Mogul, but by certain Tenures, with which, if they comply, he has no farther Demands upon them. It often happens that these *Rajahs* live at Court, and are honoured with Employments, in Right of which they become *Omrah*; but at their Decease the Mogul retains all that they possess in his Dominions, and nothing but the Principality descends to their Children.

After all the Obligations that *Babar* owed to the Governor of *Cabalistan*, he became as ungrateful to him as his Grandfather had been to the Company of his Misfortunes, and treated him in such a Manner, that for his own Security, turned *Jaquir*, and in that Degree sheltered himself in some distant Part of the *Indes*. After he left the Court all Things ran to Confusion, and it plainly appeared, that none was able to govern the Empire, according to its present Constitution, but him who had framed it. It was so long Time before the Empire discerned this, but at length he found it out, repented of his Ingratitude, and would very willingly have recalled his Minister to Court, if he had known where to have found him. His Endeavours for some Time were fruitless; at last he bethought himself of an Expedient, which was successful as it was singular; he published an Edict, by which he ordered every Market-Town in his Possessions to send its *Bazar* or Market-Place up to *Dehli*, to return a sufficient Reason for not doing it. His Majesty thought this was, that he believed he should be able to catch him, amongst these Returns, the Place where his Minister had taken Shelter. When he came to look over a list of his Finger on the following Answer from a Town at a great Distance from his Residence. The Inhabitants declared, that they were ready, and willing to obey his Imperial Decree, but that their *Bazar* did not naturally belong to *Dehli*, and therefore, if his Majesty would be pleased to send one of the *Bazar's* of his Empire to *Cabalistan*, he should immediately set out. *Babar* ordered the Requester to bring him this Return to send him with a certain Man by whose Advice they made it, which according to they did, and it proved as he expected, his Minister's Servant the Governor of *Cabalistan*, whom he recalled to his former Post, and to his Favour, both which he enjoyed as long as he lived. The rest of his Empire which affords us nothing remarkable, namely his Kingdom in profound Peace, and having lived to a good old Age, he died in the Year of the *Hegira* 933, at *Dehli*, after reigning five Years at *Samarcand*, three in *Cabalistan*, and thirty in the *Indes*.

He was succeeded in his Dominions by his Son *Humayun*, or *Amayun*, who very soon experienced what was difficult a Thing it is for the Successor of a Conqueror to preserve his Dominions. He had the Alliance of his Father's old Counselor, but, like a young Man, he did not put that Confidence in him that he deserved, contrary to his Advice, and in spite of all his Remonstrances, promoted to the highest Employments the Person in the World most capable of doing him Misch-

¹ The Name of this City is sometimes called *Dehli*, and the Reader will meet with a large Description of its Situation. It is very near the Part of the Kingdom of *Perfia*, and it was in the Neighbourhood of this Place, that the great Battle was fought, which put *Amirissa* out of his Dominions. There is said to be still remaining in this City a Column erected in Memory of that Victory, which is thought to be in the *Cherates*, and in a Language now altogether unknown. The *Emrah* *Rajah*, who was defeated by *Babar*, is reported to have been a great Benefactor to King *Perzia*.

The Thing happened thus: A young *Pattan* Lord, named *Chira*, who had been bred up with *Amayum* in his Father's Court, became his principal Favourite, and was advanced to the greatest Posts in the Government. Such a Confidence did this Prince place in him, that he made him his Generalissimo and Commander of the Guards about his Person. But *Chira*, on whom Ambition, or a pretended Love to his Country, had a much greater Influence than all the Favours bestowed on him by *Amayum*, meditated how he might depose his indulgent Master, and restore the *Pattans* to their ancient Sovereignty. This great Minister first discovered his Ambition, it is said, by changing his Name from *Chira*, which signifies a young Lion, to that of *Chircha*, which signifies the Royal or Imperial Lion. And being Commander of all the *Persian*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* Troops, among whom he had rendered himself very popular, by his obliging Behaviour; and his own People the *Pattans*, as well as the *Indian Rajahs*, being glad of an Opportunity of throwing off the Mogul Yoke, all Things seemed to conspire to raise him to the Throne.

Amayum however being apprised of this universal Disaffection to his Person, occasioned by his Favourite, assembled a small Body of *Tartars* and *Persians*, with whom he gave Battle to *Chira*; but their Numbers being very unequal, *Amayum* was soon compelled to leave the Field, and fled to the Shah of *Persia* for Protection, after he had reigned in *Debly* about eleven Years, almost in continual Trouble and Confusion. The Inhabitants of the East are extremely addicted to Augury, or observing the Flight of Birds, from whence the few Courtiers who attended *Amayum* in his Retreat, predicted his Return to his Empire; for, it fell out one Day, when the Weather was hot, and he was weary with Travel, that Prince lay down to rest, when an Eagle, followed by her young ones, hovered for a considerable Time over his Head, and there by shaded him from the Sun-beams. When he awaked, his Attendants complimented him on the Omen, which served to keep up his Spirits; for it is observed, by all the Writers of his History, that he bore his Misfortunes with great Dignity, and appeared as much a Monarch in his Exile, as he had ever done upon his Throne. The *Persian* Prince received him with all imaginable Kindness and Respect, assigned him a Palace in his Capital, with a competent Revenue, and left nothing untried that might contribute to lessen his Sense of his Disaster, which had to good an Effect, that the *Indian* Monarch forgot his Cares, and passed his Time as comfortably as it is possible for one Prince to do in the Dominions of another.

In the mean time however, *Chircha* employed all his Thoughts in providing for the Welfare of that Nation, who had, in some measure, called him to the Throne. He was a Man of great Parts, and of a benevolent Nature; he saw that the only Means to make his People happy was, to enlarge and facilitate their Trade; and therefore to this he applied his Attention and his Power. He erected, at proper Distances in all the great Roads throughout his Dominions, Caravanseras, or publick Inns, where Merchants might find all Conveniences, and proper Persons to attend them at a very moderate Expence, and where Foot-passengers might be entertained at the publick Expence. His Example had such an Effect on the rest of his Subjects, that they began to imitate him in the like Foundations, which proved of infinite Advantage to the Publick; and has therefore been practised ever since. The founding such Receiptacles for Strangers and Travellers, being accounted the highest Point of Clarity in that and other Eastern Countries to this Day. Another Regulation with the same View did equal Honour to the Administration of this Prince, and contributed no less to-

wards making him the Darling of his Subjects. There was, before his Time, no kind of Certainty in the Weights or Measures of this Country, but all Things were in a manner bought and sold by hand, which was attended with many Inconveniences. This Evil he remedied by a Law, which forbid the selling any thing but by Weight and Measure, and appointed the Standards of both to be kept in the great Towns throughout his Dominions. The Reign of this Prince was but short, and he died without Issue, for otherwise he had, in all Probability, put an End to the Mogul Empire in the *Indies*. He was a very martial, as well as a very wise and prudent Prince in Time of Peace, and had a particular Turn for the Art of Engineering, which, by an Accident, proved fatal to him; for, having a Cannon of an unusual Size sent him from *Bengal*, he would needs make Trial of it himself, and the Piece bursting, he was killed by the Breech of it that struck him on the Head, when he had enjoyed the Empire about nine Years.

All Things upon his Death fell into Confusion; every one of the petty Princes had either Views for himself or for some greater Prince, to whom he was attached; and, in the Midst of his Distraction, the Government remained without a Head, and every *Rejab* acted as an independent Prince in his own Dominions. While Things were in this Situation, a certain *Faquir*, whose Name was *Cbadaula*, went privately to the Court of *Persia*, and informed *Amayum* how Matters stood, assuring him that if he could produce but any Appearance of Force, he might be able to recover his Throne. He applied himself upon this to the Shah of *Persia* his Protector, and offered, if he would assist him, to pay him an annual Tribute, and, as a Compensation for the Expence he must necessarily be at in furnishing him with an Army, he proposed to make a Cession of the principality of *Kandabar*. These Terms were immediately accepted, and with a considerable Body of Foot, and twelve thousand *Persian* Horse, he began his March towards the Frontiers of the *Indies*. The King of *Persia*, at his taking Leave of him, gave him a short Piece of Advice, which contributed no less to the Preservation of his Dominions, than the Army with which he furnished him, did to the regaining them. His Advice was to keep up continual Enmity between the *Pattans* and the *Rashpouts*, or *Indian* Soldiery, by which Means each of them would be weakened, and both of them kept within the Bounds of their Obedience.

On his entering the Confines of *India*, he found the whole Country open except only the Fortrels of *Labor*, in which a *Pattan* Lord was Governor, and had under his Command a numerous Garrison, every way well provided. Of this Place however, he soon became Master by the following Stratagem. An hundred young *Persians*, wholly devoted to his Service, disguised themselves in the Habits of Pilgrims just returned from *Mecca*; of these a Part got into the Fortrels before it was dark, and the rest presented themselves at the Gates just as the Day was shut in, intreating Admittance for that Night only. The Governor looking upon it as an Act of Religion, admitted them: But in the middle of the Night, when the Garrison, weary with Fatigue, were buried in Sleep, the pretended Pilgrims fell upon the Governor and those who were about him, and having massacred them without Mercy, delivered the Fortrels to *Amayum*, who, by this Means, entered *Labor* without the least Resistance. He marched on from thence with the utmost Diligence toward *Debly*. A single Battle fought at the Distance of three Leagues from that City determined the Dispute, and put him once more in Possession of the Dominions of his Ancestors. *Amayum*, upon his Restoration, shewed his Gratitude to the *Faquir Cbadaula*, who first brought him the News of *Chira's*

This, probably, might be, in some Measure, owing to the personal Behaviour of *Amayum*, who astonished the *Persian* Monarch by his Presence of Mind at their first Interview, which happened to be in a Summer-House, where there was but one *Sopha*, and that too small for them to sit on together. The *Indian* Prince saw this with Indignation, but recollecting himself after he had paid his Compliments to the *Sah*, who was standing, he desired him to be seated; and as soon as he had placed himself on the *Sopha*, *Amayum* fate down by him on his Quiver, which, after the *Tartar* Custom, he had hanging at his Back, which Act of Spirit pleased the Shah extremely.

There is one Circumstance of this Prince's Reign which ought not to be passed over. When he took Possession of the Palace of *Amayum*, he treated his Emperors with extraordinary Respect, and being informed that the was with Child, ordered her to be sent to *Persia* to her Husband; but *Amayum*, seized with a fit of Jealousy, refused to see her; of which the informed *Chircha* by Letter. Upon this he wrote to *Amayum*, assuring him there had never to much as seen the Emperess; and to confirm the Truth of this Fact, he swore it upon the *Khoran*; on which the Emperess received her with great Tenderness and Affection; and the Son, with which she was then big, succeeded him in the Empire.

Death, by granting him an Estate in Lands, to be enjoyed by him and his Posterity for ever; and this is the only *Mohammedan* Family in *India*, it is said, who can claim the Property of any Lands at this Day. His Descendants also take Place of all others, and his Tomb has great Honours paid to it; but his Gratitude seems to have been exhausted, by the Returns made to this worthy Man, since in regard to the Shah, to whom he owed all things, he neither shewed Kindness, or Justice, since he never paid him so much as one Year's Tribute, nor yielded to him the Principality he promised. Yet he remembered his Advice, and followed it very exactly, by which Means he took away from future Malecontents all Power of giving him Disturbance, and left it as a Maxim to his Posterity, who have practised it with great Success, and to this has been chiefly owing the Preservation of the Dominions he left them.

Ameyum was in the Flower of his Age when he recovered his Dominions, but whether it was that a settled Melancholy had grown upon him, while under his Misfortunes, or that he had a Mind to shew, that in the Possession of the highest Blessings, he had still the common Fate of Mankind in his Eye, or that he was led thereto by a Custom common among the *Mohammedan* Princes of his Age; so it was, that as soon as his Government was settled, he began to build himself a Tomb, upon which he bestowed incredible Expence. He likewise settled a large Revenue for the Maintenance of a certain Number of Mollas, or Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law, to reside constantly there, and to spend their Time in praying for his Soul, and reading the *Khoran*, near the Tomb where his Body was to be laid. When this Edifice was in good Forwardness, *Ameyum* went one Day to see it, and having a Carpenter's Rod in his Hand, walked upon the Battlements, and gave the Workmen some Directions, when, either through Weariness, or that he might look about him with great Ease, he clapped the Rod down, and leaning upon it, which being but slender, broke, and the Roof being sloping, the Emperor rolled forwards, and fell from thence to the Ground; by which Accident he was killed upon the spot, and found his Death and his Tomb together, in the Year of the *Hegira* 966, and *A. D.* 1552. The latter was finished by his Successor with the utmost Magnificence, and adorned with a Dome, which is so richly gilt, that it dazzles the Eyes of the Spectator by its Splendor. It stands a little Way without the Gates of *Dehly*, at the End of a fine Bridge, composed of twelve Arches, and is esteemed one of the noblest Monuments in the Empire of *Indostan*. This Monarch survived his Restoration two Years nine Months and fourteen Days, and reigned from his first Accession twenty-two Years.

Ameyum was succeeded by his Son *Akbar*, or *Alber*, then but thirteen, whom all our Historians agree wanted no Accomplishments to adorn a Throne. He had, they tell us, a most penetrating Judgment, an extensive Knowledge, an intrepid Soul, and at the same Time was generous, tender, and compassionate. He soon perceived that the *Moguls* and *Tartars* bore no Proportion with the *Pattans* and *Indians* under his Government, and therefore inviting the neighbouring *Uzbeks* and *Persians* to serve under him, he preferred them to the principal Posts, and gave them Wives, that they might in Time be a Balance for that Part of his Subjects whom Nature and Interest inclined to be addicted to his Government. And the greater Part of those who are called *Moguls*, at this Day, are a Mixture of white People of several Nations, professing the *Mohammedan* Religion; but it being found, that in a short Time they lost their Complexion, and de-

generate into Softness, like the original Natives of the Country, new Supplies of *Persians* and *Tartars* are encouraged to transplant themselves, and these usually fill the greatest Posts in the Government. This Prince also, to strengthen himself against the *Tattans*, whom he dreaded most, took several Bodies of *Rajpoots*, or *Rajpoots*, into his Service. These are the bravest People amongst the native *Indians*, who make Arms their Profession, and are Pagans by Religion; and to endear them the more, it is said, he took the Daughters of the principal Rajs among the Number of his Wives, and suffered the Rajs to match with the *Mogul* Princesses; though I must confess this Part of the History is a little difficult to give Credit to, because no People in the World are so scrupulous of mixing with those of a different Religion, or even with a different Sect, or Employment, as the Generality of the Pagans of *India* are; though there are some Sects, on the other Hand, that admit of very great Liberties.

To proceed, *Akbar* having taken all prudent Measures to render his Government secure at home, began to think of extending his Dominions towards the Sea Coasts, that he might come in for a Share of the Trade and Riches that the maritime Places possessed; and the first Prize of this Nature, that he undertook, was against the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, which extends from the River *Tapie*, upon which the Town of *Surat* stands, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*. This Part of *India*, at that Time, enjoyed a most flourishing Trade, and the *Portuguese* in particular, who had established several Colonies in this Part of the Country, imported immense Trades every Year from *Europe*, in Exchange for the Manufactures of *India*. The Prince who then reigned in *Guzarat*, was Sultan *Bakadar*, a *Mohammedan*. This Sultan *Bakadar* maintained a long War with the *Portuguese*, who had encroached upon his Territories, and lately made themselves Masters of *Diou*, a Town which lies upon an Arm of the Sea, almost opposite to *Surat*; but both the Sultan *Bakadar*, and the *Portuguese*, being alarmed at the Approach of the *Mogul*, united their Forces against him.

It was with some Difficulty, it is said, that *Akbar* prevailed on his Troops to march against the *Portuguese*. They had been repented at *Dehly* as something more than mortal, and those vast Posting Machines armed with Artillery, with which they had heard they fought upon the Water, they were apprehensive might be presently, or at least some time, of the like Nature upon the Land. They dreaded the Encounter thereof to such a Degree, that they were upon the Point of turning their Tails, and quitting the Enterprize, till *Akbar*, who had by this time informed himself of the Numbers and Strength of the Enemy, and their Manner of engaging, convinced his Troops how much inferior this little *Guzarat* Prince, and the *Portuguese*, were to the Forces he brought with him, and putting himself at the Head of his Troops, he brisk Charge he routed both the *Guzarats* and *Portuguese*. Sultan *Bakadar* fled, but his Children were taken Prisoners, and put to Death by the Conqueror, and the whole Kingdom immediately submitted to his Power, except those Towns the *Portuguese* were possessed of, which being fortified after the modern Way, bid Defiance to his Forces, as indeed a very slight Fortification will do this Day. Their Elephants, which are their greatest Strength, are of very little Use in a Siege, because a Battery of great Guns would soon lay them in Ruins, if they could be supposed to intrepid, as not to be shattered by strong Fire, or even the Report of a Cannon.

Akbar finding *Guzarat* to easy a Conquest, he sent his Arms towards *Deccan*, which lies to the South-west of it.

*The intelligent Reader will easily perceive the Reason why this Empire has been more failed to Revolutions than any other in the World; and that he can depend on that *Tartars*, and Strangers, the native *Indians* remaining, and as distinct a Nation as ever, retaining the *Mohammedan* as heartily as the *Mohammedans* contain them; in that this Government still remains what it was at the first, and is to say, Military, the sword giving Law, and being the true Source of Power. This Observation will be found of great Use in understanding the subsequent Part of this History.

†It is a very difficult thing to fix the Manner of Writing this Word, which in all Probability is very incorrectly expressed by the Most of our English Authors; write it, *Fakhars* or *Rajpoots*, they are properly the War Tribe of the ancient *Scythians*, and we find them frequently distinguished by the Name of *Rajpoots*. The Arms they use, are commonly Swords, Pikes and Bows, but when they appear in a yellow Cloak, it is a certain Sign that they have made a View either to conquer or die. On these Occasions, it is common enough for them to be given their Courage; by taking Oath, which inspires them with a sort of Military Fury, that differs no much from Madne. There is a saying in the *Indians*, which is, that before they engage, they embrace each other, as if they were on the Point of being put to death, and thereby their Resolves to rush into another State.

This was divided into several little Sovereignities. *Mustapha*, a Mohammedan Prince, possessed that Part of the Country wherein the Towns of *Brampour* and *Acerare* situated, whose Subjects gave him the Title of *Mélec*, or King. *Amanadagar*, and the Territory belonging to it, was subject to the Queen of *Cande*, and *Aubar* commanded the District of *Dolabed*. These Princes, though at other Times Enemies, united their Forces against *Akebar*, and gave him Battle, but were defeated by him with very little Loss. The Reduction of the Fortresses which these Princes possessed, proved a Work of greater Labour; for now every one being to defend what was their own, exerted their utmost Force, and their utmost Capacity.

The Forces of *Acer* was the first that he attacked, an irregular Fortification, and which could have made no Defence against the European Army, but a Place of great Strength in the *Indies*, and very well provided with Artillery, some of which, it is said, were cast by the *Indians* themselves, before the *Portuguese* visited their Coasts. King *Mustapha* was there in Person, with a very numerous Garrison, composed entirely of his best Troops. The Defence he made was worthy of his Reputation for Conduct, and for Courage, and the Army of the *Mogul* was so fatigued by the Fatigue of this Siege, that the Emperor himself had Thoughts of raising it, when he was informed by some Deserters, that the Garrison began to want Water, which encouraged him to remain before the Place. King *Mustapha* perceiving the Cisterns dry, and knowing the Rainy-Season to be at a Distance, resolved to retire privately out of the Fortress, in order to throw himself into *Brampour*, and there defend himself and the rest of his Dominions.

It was with this Design, that in the middle of the Night he quitted *Acer* in Disguise, and before he had proceeded far, he was seized by the Advance Guards of the *Mogul* Army, who carried him immediately to the Emperor's Tent. When he came into the Presence of *Akebar*, that Monarch asked him who he was, and where he was going? To which, with great Spirit, he answered, that he was King *Mustapha*, and that knowing him to be a wise and generous Prince, he came out to ask his Advice, since they had now no Water left, and he could not bring himself, after living so long as a King, to become the Subject of another. *Akebar* bid him go back to the Place and be satisfied, that if Heaven intended to deliver him, he would meet with a Supply of Water by some unexpected Means. *Mustapha* took his Advice, and returned to his Fortress. It was then about the middle of *May*, and as the rainy Season does not usually commence till the middle of *June*, he had not much Reason to expect what nevertheless fell out the Night following, in which it rained so plentifully, that his Cisterns were all full by the next Morning. *Akebar*, astonished at this Accident, left a sufficient Body of Troops to block up *Acer*, and marched with the rest of his Forces to besiege *Brampour*, which, though a Place of considerable Strength, and well provided with every thing, did not hold out long, and *Mustapha* seeing the best Part of his Dominions lost, resolved to make the best Terms he could for himself, in Consideration of the Surrender of *Acer*. The *Mogul* granted him as good Conditions as he could reasonably expect, and *Mustapha* entering into his Service, had the same Rank as paid him as the other Rajahs.

After the Reduction of *Acer*, the *Mogul* prepared next for the Siege of *Amanadagar*, which the Princess of *Cande* defending with great Courage, kept him two Months before the Place. At length, despairing to hold out, she could all her Treasure to be melted into Bullets, and intreated with the bitterest Curses against her Enemies, that they might be sent into the neighbouring Woods, to prevent his possession. Some of these Gold and Silver Bullets *Muzuchi* shot at her, were found in his Tunic, and he read the Instructions on them with abundance of Delight, and one particularly of Gold, he says, weighed eight Pounds at least. *Amanadagar* hearing the great Dainties that this Princess was resolved to make an Effort for her Deliverance, sent at the same Time to keep the War out of his own Country. The Design was generous in itself, and well contrived, and on the Review of his Forces, it

seemed not altogether impossible to have executed it; for this *Indian* Prince, by compelling all his Subjects to take Arms, had drawn together near fifty-thousand Men. *Akebar* however attacked him suddenly on his March, defeated him without the Loss of a Man, and his own People being discontented with his Conduct, murdered the unfortunate *Amanadagar* in his Flight. The Princess of *Cande* seeing now no Hopes left, yielded her City, and herself, to the victorious *Mogul*, who not only treated her with all the Respect due to her Quality, but soon after received her into the Number of his Wives, and she remained for many Years his principal Favourite. *Akebar* was now Master of the best Part of the South Coast of *Indostan*, and almost all the Rajahs of that Country readily yielded him Obedience.

It was at this Time, that from a Motive hitherto concealed, he took Occasion to destroy the vast and beautiful City of *Dehli*, the ancient Residence of the *Pattan* Kings, and the Capital of *Indostan*. He built a Mosque, and a Palace at *Letipour*, and the Rajahs building also many Palaces near them, it soon became a very considerable City; but the Lustre of this Place lasted not long, since the Emperor himself perceiving that the Air was unwholesome, removed from thence, and returned into the Neighbourhood of *Dehli*, where, out of the Ruins of the old City, he erected a new one on the Banks of the River *Jenna*; but even the Splendor of this new City could not please him long, and therefore proceeding farther on the River, he fixed on the little Town of *Agra*, for the Seat of his Empire. It is seated on a large Plain, and the River *Jenna* making an Elbow therein, the City lies round it in the form of a Half-moon. At one End he erected a noble Palace, round which the Omrahs and Rajahs built theirs; so that in a very short Space of Time, from an inconsiderable Hamlet, it grew to be a large City, of nine Italian Miles in Circumference, and having no fewer than 660,000 settled Inhabitants, exclusive of Strangers.

The Palace of the Emperor, which serves for a kind of Citadel to *Agra*, is one of the finest Structures in the World. The Walls of it, which are about thirty-five Foot high, are of a fine red Stone, little inferior in Hardness and Beauty to Marble, and it is built in such a Manner, that the joining of the Stones does not in the least appear. It is adorned with rich and beautiful Balconies on every Story; and between the Palace and the River, there is a kind of Parade, where the Emperor sees his Guard reviewed, and the Battles of his Elephants. On the other side the River stands another City, as long as *Agra*, and not much inferior to it in bigness. This is entirely inhabited by *Indians*, or, as they are now called, *Banians*, who are either Merchants, or Artificers; so that this City is no less remarkable for its Commerce, than the other for being the Imperial Residence of the Grand *Mogul*, and being the Capital of the *Indies*. When this great Work was accomplished, it plainly appeared, that this Emperor intended it for a Monument of his Glory to latest Posterity, by his bestowing upon it the Name of *Akebarabad*, i. e. the City of *Akebar*; but after his Decree, this new Name was laid aside, and the old one revived; so that this Capital of the *Indian* Empire is still known by the Name of *Agra*.

His Attention to the raising of this new City, did not extinguish that Third of Empire, which had appeared in the first Years of his Reign. On the contrary, having heard of an *Indian* Rajah, who was equally celebrated for his Wisdom and Courage, and who was besides illustrious on the score of his Descent from the famous *Porus*, and whose Dominions lay but twelve Days Journey from his Capital, he immediately formed a Design of reducing them, the rather because they lay between his hereditary Dominions and his new Conquests. This Rajah took the Name of *Rana*, which seems to have been common to all his Family, according to the ancient Custom of the *Indies*. He was a Prince worthy of the Blood of *Porus*, and who, if he had been well seconded, might have restored the Liberty of his Country. As it was he made a noble Attempt, which will be ever remembered in the Chronicles of that Country.

He was soon obliged to quit the Field, and to shut himself up in the Fortrels of *Chitor*, seated on the Top of an high Mountain, and surrounded by a River. The Siege of this Place cost the Mogul two Years, though at the Head of the most numerous and best furnished Army that had ever been seen in that Country, and was endangered by the foulest Piece of Treachery that perhaps was ever committed. *Akbar* pretended to raise the Siege, and desired of *Rana* to have the Liberty only of entering the Place with fifty Attendants, which was granted him by the honest *Indian* without the least Suspicion; but after he had been very kindly entertained, and conducted to the Gates of the Fortrels by the *Rajah* himself, he threw over his Neck a Chain of Pearl, strung upon Mohair for that Purpose, and pulled him without the Place, where a Body of the Mogul's Troops made him Prisoner. He afterwards made his Escape, and the Mogul having renewed the Siege, he was killed on the Walls, and so the Place was forced to capitulate, and thereby all the Dominions of that once powerful *Rajah* were annexed to the Empire of *Akbar*, and proved a very considerable Acquisition.

The Conclusion of this War could not but be very agreeable to the Emperor, who found his Troops sufficiently harassed by a War of such Continuance, and in which at the Beginning so many *Indian* Princes were engaged, who, notwithstanding, retired into their respective Territories as soon as they saw *Chitor* invested; whereas if they had kept the Field, and harassed the Army of the Mogul, it is highly probable they might have preserved the City of *Chitor*, and the Country of *Rajah Rana*, from being thus swallowed up by him, who meant to bring them all under his Subjection. But whether it proceeds from Religion, Humour, or Custom, certain it is, that the *Banians* have an established Principle amongst them, that defensive Wars against Foreigners are only lawful, and that they ought not to march out of their own Dominions, in order even to attack an Enemy that has often attempted their Destruction. This weak Notion has always given the Moguls great Advantages over them, and particularly this poltuck as well as enterprising Prince, who, when he had torn from them a Part of their Dominions, suddenly laid down his Arms, and thereby put an End to the War, till another favourable Opportunity offered.

Akbar therefore, after he had subdued this Province, employed himself for some time in cultivating the Arts of Peace, in enlarging the City of *Agra*, and beautifying his Palaces; and among other great Works, he planted the Road from *Agra* to *Lahor*, and made it one continued Walk of shady Trees, though it be not less than four hundred and fifty *English* Miles from one City to the other. This still remains as a Monument of this Emperor's Grandeur, and is an inconceivable Refreshment to Travellers in so hot a Climate. He was a great Admirer of all robust Exercises, and took a Pleasure in the most hazardous Uses thereof, breaking unruly Horses, and managing the War-Elephants when they fought; an Employment so very dangerous, that the Wives of those who are obliged to do it by their Office, tear off their Cloaths, and the Pendants from their Ears, when their Husbands are thus exposed. Nay, it is reported of him, that the War he had with the Peasants of the Country, the most obstinate he ever engaged in, when some of them had shut themselves up in a Town, and the Conductors of the Elephants were ordered to break open the Gates; upon their expressing some Reluctance to hazard themselves in so desperate an Undertaking, the Emperor commanded one of them to dismount, and clothed in a common Soldier's Coat, mounted the Elephant himself, and managed him with that Dexterity, that he forced open the Gate in the midst of a Shower of Arrows which the besieged poured upon him, and had the good Fortune to come off unhurt. This War with the Peasants, which begun in *Akbar's* Reign, lasted a considerable Time; for being acquainted with all the Defiles and inaccessible Parts of the Forests, it was found exceed-

ing difficult to drive them from their Haunts, and the Government is so severe upon this sort of People to this Day, that if a Peasant be found in Arms, he loses his Head. Nothing is more common than to see the Heads of these Wretches hanging on the Road Sides in terrour.

While *Akbar* was engaged in this War with the Peasants, his eldest Son *Jehan Gaire* broke out in Rebellion against him, but his Party was soon defeated, and the Prince made a Prisoner. However, such was his Father's Tenderness towards him, that he did not keep him long confined; but, to deter him from such Practices for the future, upon his Enlargement, he made the Prince follow him into a Forest, where he shewed him the Heads of the principal Conspirators hanging upon the Branches of the Trees. The Prince being taught, by so tragical a Prospect, the Danger that attended such Enterprises, or moved by a Sense of the Emperor's Indulgence to him, ever after continued unshaken in his Loyalty and Duty to his Father. This Insurrection was no sooner suppressed, but the *Patians*, who had been driven up into the Mountains by *Amayum*, began to make Incurfions into the open Country, and threatened to assume their ancient Sovereignty in the Kingdom of *Debly*. Against these *Akbar* sent an Army of eighty thousand Men, who entered the *Passan* Country, but were all cut in Pieces, or perished in the Deferts.

This Misfortune obliged the Emperor to lay aside all Thoughts of subduing these People, at least for the present, and perceiving that the chief Cause of his Misfortune was, that his Artillery had not been so well played as it might have been, he resolved to take some *Europeans* into his Service, and with this View he sent for some *English* Gunners from on board their Ships that came to trade upon his Coasts; and of one of these Gunners he heard a very wonderful Story, which, as it has nothing in it improbable, I will venture for the Reader's Amusement to relate. This Man was particularly skillful in his Profession, but still had a great Affection for his Bottle, and found himself much at a Loss in a *Mohammedan* Country, where Wine was prohibited. He at last contrived a very singular Method for procuring in this respect a Dispensation for himself. The Emperor being desirous to see a Proof of his Dexterity, ordered a large Carpet to be hung up at a reasonable Distance, and directed him to fire at it, which the Fellow did, but pointed the Gun in such a manner, that the Shot flew extremely wide. The Emperor called him, and gave him a pretty brisk Reproof, telling him, that it was a Shame for a Man to take upon him that Office, who knew so little of the Matter. The Gunner answered with great Humility, that since he had been debared the Use of Wine, his Eyes were grown dim, but that if his Majesty would order him a chipping Cup, he durst engage to hit a smaller Mark. *Akbar* immediately commanded that they should give him a Quart, of which the Gunner made but one Draught, and then applying himself to the Task he had undertaken, he performed it with universal Applause. The Emperor upon this ordered it to be entered in the Annals of his Reign, *That Wine is as natural to Europeans as Water to Fish, and that to deprive them of it, was to rob them of the greatest Comfort of their Lives.*

It was from this Accident that a Law was made, giving Leave to such Foreigners as settled in the Empire to cultivate Vineyards, which they have since done with great Success and Profit. He from this Time forward had a great Kindness for the *Europeans*, and took all imaginable Pains to engage them, as well as all other Strangers, to settle in his Dominions, that they might enlarge the Trade, and perfect the Manufactures of his Subjects. By this Means his Empire became every Day more and more flourishing, and the Inhabitants of it more and more numerous; yet with all these great Properties, and notwithstanding he was certainly one of the ablest Politicians in the East, *Akbar* had something very extravagant, which discovered itself particularly in his Notions about Religion. His own good Sense, assisted by the Lights he received

* The Siege of *Chitor* is almost as famous among the modern *Indians*, as the Siege of *Troy* among the ancient *Greeks*; and in this Number of famous Stories have been thrust into this History. Thus it is said to have had its Beginning from the Character which *Akbar* had received of the beautiful *Pawani*, the Wife of *Rana*, and the most lovely Woman in the *Indies*. All these Embellishments I thought requisite to set out, that we might keep the more within Bounds, and report as near as possible nothing but Matters of Fact to the Reader.

from the Portuguese Missionaries, brought him to discern many Absurdities in the *Mohammedan* Religion, to which he had never been much addicted; but instead of becoming a Christian, as the Portuguese Priests expected, he framed a strange Project of introducing a new Religion, which very plainly shewed that he considered it only as a political Institution, and as an useful Engine of Government. He was sensible of the great Inconveniences that arose from his Subjects being of different Faiths, and therefore he was willing to introduce a System that might reconcile them all, and at the same time place him at the Head of Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil Affairs. This Scheme of his he published at *Lamor*, and it at first it was tolerably well received, at least among his Courtiers, who were really enough to embrace any thing that might please their Master. In this new Religion he flattered to comprehend the principal Doctrines and most remarkable Rites of all the rest. Baptism he borrowed from the Christians, Circumcision from the *Mohammedans*, a profound Reverence for the Sun from the *Perfecs*, and with these he mingled somewhat of the Morality, and even of the Theological Notions of the *Bramins*, assuming, in consequence of this Invention, the Title of *Shah Geladin*, that is, the supreme Pontiff of the sovereign Law.

But in the midst of his Politicks there were certain Circumstances attended these Proceedings, which he had not foreseen, and that was the disgusting all such of his Subjects as were really Men of Principles, and sincerely attached to the Faiths which they professed. The *Mohammedans*, who are, generally speaking, Bigots, were provoked to the highest Degree by what they call his Apostacy. The *Indians* were by no means pleased, and the *Perfecs* remained obstinately fixed to their old Religion, which they thought was grievously profaned by this new Regulation; and thus, instead of pleasing all, he pleased none but such Men of corrupt Intentions as were leas't to be relied on. The Fruit-fruits of his new Religion was a dangerous Revolt begun in the following Manner: *Mustapha*, one of the Dean Princes, whom he had formerly subdued, and who, as has been before observed, had lived peaceably in the Mogul's Court for a considerable Time, about this Time retired from thence, and found means to repossess himself of his Country, where many *Mohammedans*, disgusted at the Rights the Emperor had put upon their Religion, went over to him. The Prince *Pihari*, the Emperor's beloved Son, to whom he had given the Name of *Morad*, was sent with a gallant Army to suppress this Insurrection; he engaged the Rajah in the Province of *Cambaya*, being considerably superior to the Enemy in Numbers, but *Mustapha*, who was an experienced Captain, and perfectly acquainted with the Country, gained an entire Victory over the Emperor's Forces, and the Body of young *Morad* was found in the Field of Battle among the slain. This Stroke of fortune, it is said, pierced *Akebar* to the Heart, and he was so sensible of the Anger of Heaven, that he never after worshipped the Sun, nor suffered, as in consequence of his Scheme he had done, divine Honours to be paid to his own Person.

The Emperor soon after returned from *Cackemire*, by the Way of *Lamor*, and marched Southward till he arrived at *Agra*, where mighty Preparations were made against *Mustapha*. In the mean while the Emperor grew extremely thoughtful, abandoning all sorts of Diversions but Hunting, which he followed chiefly for the Opportunity of retiring alone into the Forest, and unfrequented Places. In one of these Excursions, sitting by himself under a shady Tree, it is said he observed a certain Kind of Caterpillars creeping near him, which he killed with the Point of one of his Arrows, and shooting an Antelope soon after with the same Arrow, the Beast expired in an Instant, tho' the Wound was not in a mortal Part; whereupon the Em-

peror commanded the Antelope to be opened, the Flesh of which appeared black and corrupted, and the Dogs died that eat of it, by which *Akebar* discovered how very subtil the Poison extracted from this Insect was, and caused a Quantity of Pills to be made up with it, which he compelled some disaffected Lords to take in his Presence, and thereby dispatched them out of his Way. He practised the same Conduct towards all whom he esteemed Friends to *Mustapha*, whom he found to have Abundance of Creatures in his Court, and promised himself, by this Contrivance, a safe and happy Reign for the future.

But it so fell out, that this very Art turned upon himself, and shortened his Days in the same Manner that he had done those of his Enemies. The Person to whom he confided the Secret of mixing these Pills, had Orders to supply the Emperor's Box from time to time with a certain Quantity of them. In this Box there were three Partitions, in one of which he kept his Betel, which, according to the Custom of his Country he chewed in the same manner as in *Europe* People chew Tobacco; in the second he had some cordial Pills to help Digestion, and in the third were those Poison Pills. It happened one Day, that either through Hury or Inadvertency, he mistook the Pills in the third Partition for those of the second, and by this means poisoned himself. The Venom operated slowly, but surely, notwithstanding all the Assistance he received from his Physicians, and from the *Portuguese*, to that he ended his Days in great Pain and Misery, after he had reigned sixty-three, and lived sixty-six Years. His Corpse was interred in a very fine Tomb of his own Building, and he left behind him the Character of one of the bravest, wisest, and most fortunate Princes of the Age in which he lived, and seemed to have merited in the Course of his Reign, the Title he assumed at the Beginning of it, *Akebar* in the Language of his Country signifying *invincible*.

9. *Shah-Selim*, i. e. the peaceable King, succeeded his Father *Akebar* on the 21st of October in the Year of the *Hegira* 1014, and in that of our Lord 1605. On his ascending the Throne, he assumed, as the Custom is in the *E. I.*, a new Name or Title, and called himself *Mohammed* *Mohammed Jehanguir*, i. e. the Light of Religion, Mohammed Conqueror of the World. Almost all the *European* Authors call him *Jehan Guire*, and therefore that we may not seem to affect Singularity in Matters of no great Importance, we shall call him so likewise, that the Reader may apply what is here delivered the more readily to what he may read of this Prince in other Authors. As to the Character of this Monarch, we are obliged to speak of it more largely than hitherto we have done of any of these Princes, because the History of his Reign depends in a great measure thereupon. He fell very far short of his Father in Abilities, and at the same time exceeded him very much in his Vices. He loved eating and drinking more than became a King, and the chief Reason why he inclined rather to the Christian than to the *Mohammedan* Religion was, because the former did not restrain him in Meats or Drinks as the latter did. He was very brave in his Person, though he did not affect War so much as some of his Predecessors; but whenever his Affairs forced him to take the Field, he shewed himself as capable of conducting his Armies as any of them. He was naturally fond of the *Franks* or *Europeans*, because he found them more inclined to that manner of Life which he liked best, than the *Mohammedans*, whom he treated with great Harshness and Severity; for he particularly affected Feasting at that Season of the Year, when by the Precepts of their Law they were bound to fast; and if at such times they refused to eat and drink as freely as he would have them, he threatened to throw them out of the Window of his Dining-room, under which two fierce Lions were constantly chained. One would ima-

There are Abundance of strange Stories related of the Conferences between this Monarch and these Missionaries, which, as I cannot believe, I will not relate, but content myself with observing, that in this Court, as well as in most others, the Suppleness of the Clergy did more Honour to Religion than their Preaching could do good. The Truth of the Matter seems to be, that they had one thing in View, and the Emperor another, so that they were continually at Cross purposes, they studying by Artifices, unworthy of the Christian Religion, to convert him, and he labouring all he could to pick out of them such things as might be of most Use to him, in which he succeeded much better than they.

There seems to be something contradictory in this Account of the Poison which *Akebar* discovered, since it is said to have operated suddenly on the Beast, and to slowly in Men; but if we consider the Facts attentively, we shall soon be convinced that they are very consistent. In the first Place the Poison in one Instance was unmix'd, and in the other compounded, which must necessarily make a great Alteration in the manner of its working; and in the next the Poison was very differently applied; for with respect to the Antelope, it was thro' immediately into the Blood and Joints, whereas when administered to Men, it passed first through all the Operations of the Stomach, which, though they could not entirely destroy, must, however, much weaken its Force.

This was *Mohammed-Khan*, his Father's Prime Minister, who had always supported him even at the Hazard of his Interest. The Emperors, who hated that Minister for many Reasons, and especially, because he was the only Rival that her Brother *Ajaph-Khan* had in the Emperor's Favour, placed Things in such a Light to her infatuated Husband, that at last he gave his Consent that this great Man, who had deserved alike well of himself and of his Subject, should be murdered. The Scheme laid for this Purpose, had as much in it of female Management as of Malice. A Company of *Indians*, who were posted in a Hall through which he was to go to the Emperor's Apartment, had Orders to stab him in his Passage. Had this Commission been given to one resolute Man, the Thing had probably been done; but these People behaved in so cowardly a Manner, that they discovered the Design without executing it, and *Mohammed*, who had much personal Bravery, forced his Passage into the Emperor's Apartment, where, finding him surrounded by Officers upon whom he could depend, he seized upon his Weapon, forced him to mount his Elephant, and the tearing himself by him under the same Canopy, with a Dagger drawn in his Hand, he sent the Emperor's Word by one of her own Spies, that the Life of *Jehan Guire* should answer for it, if any Attempt was made to hinder his Passage. In this Manner he conducted the Emperor to his own Palace, where he was very lately guarded, for *Mohammed* was not only General and Commander in Chief of the Army, but had it entirely at a Devotion; so that notwithstanding this surprising Accident, there was not the least Stir among all the Soldiers, nor any Attempt made to rescue the Emperor out of his Hands. While he had him thus in his Custody, he obliged him to continue sober, and presented to him, in very plain Terms, the bad State of his Affairs, and the bad Consequences that must necessarily attend the Intrigues of the Sultana. In the mean time he directed every thing as he was wont to do, in the Emperor's Name; levied Troops, and made open Preparations for War. The young Prince, who was all this Time in the Field, collected also a numerous Body of Men, the best Part of whom however were *Indians*; for having married a Wife of that Nation, and having always thought to oblige the Rajahs, his chief Interest lay among those People, who promised themselves great Things whenever he came to the Crown.

But all these Hopes were dashed by *Mohammed*, who released the Emperor, detested *Cojrou*, and sent him and his Family Prisoners to the Citadel of *Gualtier*. While the Prince remained in the Captivity, *Nour Jehan* made him an Offer not only of his Liberty, but to assure his Succession to the Crown, if he would marry her Daughter, whom she promised to divorce from his younger Brother *Nour Jehan*, as being an inactive Prince, and never likely to maintain himself upon the Throne, if he should be placed upon it. But such was Sultan *Cejrou's* Contempt, or Prejudice to *Nour Jehan's* Family, or as others say, such was his Passion for one of his Wives, that he refused to comply with her, even in those wretched Circumstances. *Ajaph Khan*, Brother to the Sultans, also encouraged the unfortunate *Cejrou* to persist in his Resolution, having an Interest to manage distinct from that of his Sister's; for Sultan *Chorron*, the third Son of the Emperor, as has been observed, had married his Daughter; and if Sultan *Cejrou* and *Nour Jehan* should be reconciled, his Son-in-law could never hope to succeed. But, to make all sure, fell Sultan *Cejrou*, induced by the Hardships he suffered, or the Hopes of a Crown, might, at length, be prevailed on to comply with the Sultans; he procured the Emperor to send for Sultan *Chorron* to Court, where they agreed together to cause Sultan *Cejrou* to be privately murdered in Prison. It was at first attempted by Poison, but the Prince suspected the Design, and would eat nothing but what was ordered by his beloved Wife; whereupon they resolved to take the shortest Way, and ordered the Captain of the Guards to strangle him, which was executed without the Emperor's Knowledge.

However, a Fact of this Nature could not be transacted so privately, but it was at last discovered; and though the Murderers were Perions of that Consequence, that the Emperor could not punish it in the Manner it deserved, yet he, from thenceforward, determined to make his Grandson *Bolaqui*, the Son of Sultan *Cojrou*, his Successor, who appeared to be a Prince of great Expectations, and then about seventeen Years of Age. This Prince therefore was brought to Court, and treated as the presumptive Heir of the Crown, while Sultan *Chorron* was commanded to retire to his Government of *Decan*. Here he spent his Time in making Alliances with the neighbouring Rajahs, and by Presents and Offers of Preferment, brought over most of the best Officers in the Empire to his Party, while the old Emperor spent his Days in the Amusements of the Seraglio, or over a Bottle with his Friends; for either the Sultans now indulged him with it, or he had not that Influence over him, as when her Charms were in their Bloom.

It was while Things remained in this Situation, that *Jehan Guire* enjoyed the pleasantest Part of his Reign. He spent the hot Summer Months in the little Kingdom of *Cachemire*, which all the Eastern Writers represent as incomparably the finest Country in the World. It is the most Northern Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and is, strictly speaking, no more than a Valley surrounded by high Mountains. The Air is temperate and wholesome, the Country rich and fruitful, and the People valiant in War, laborious and industrious in Time of Peace. It was in this beautiful Region that the Emperor indulged himself in all the Pleasures of a rural Life. His Palace was elegant and agreeable, but, at the same time, rather convenient than magnificent; his Gardens large, but irregular, and remarkable, rather for their Resemblance to a Forest, than for the Decorations that are derived from Art. The Emperors, that the might seem to comply with the Humour of so kind a Husband, condescended to share in those rural Delights, and particularly diverted herself with feeding tame Fish in her Canals, some of which were many Years afterwards known by Bills of Gold which she caused to be put round them. In the Winter Season, when the rainy Weather makes it very uncomfortable living in the *Indies*, *Jehan Guire* contrived a singular Method of amusing himself at *Agra* or *Lahor*. He caused a kind of Fair to be kept in the Galleries of his Palace, where the Omrahs and Rajahs kept Shop, and attended them with their Wives and Daughters. The Emperor and the Royal Family were their only Customers, and amused themselves in going from Shop to Shop, cheapening Goods and haggling for them as if they were in earnest concerned about laying out their Money.

But these Kinds of Pleasures were frequently interrupted by untoward Accidents in the Imperial Family, and sometimes too by Causes of another Nature. The wife and potent Shah *Albas* was, at that Time, Monarch of *Perfia*, and a formidable Neighbour to the Mogul. He revived the Pretensions which his Predecessors had on the Principality of *Khandabar*; and one Summer, when *Jehan Guire* was diverting himself in the Kingdom of *Cachemire*, the Shah sent an Ambassador to demand the Restitution of that City and Country, agreeable to the Promise made by his Grandfather *Amayum*. The Emperor sent Orders immediately to the Viceroy of *Multan*, which is the nearest Province to *Khandabar*, to assemble, with the utmost Expedition, an Army for its Relief; but being informed that the Thing was impossible, he sent Instructions to the Governor of the Fortrels of *Khandabar*, which is the strongest Place in the *Indies*, to set a good Face upon the Matter, and to deliver up the City and Castle, as soon as the *Persian* Army appeared. The Governor, however, could not believe his Eyes, and being a better Subject than a Statesman, was unable to comprehend that any Reasons could be strong enough to induce the Emperor to part with a Place of so great Strength, and of so much Importance; he therefore defended it very bravely for six Months, and did not even surrender it then, till the Breach

* This Diversion has been much used by his Successors; but especially by his Grandson: though it has always given great Offence to the Omrahs and Rajahs, because it obliges them to expose their Wives and Concubines, which they do not only to the Imperial Family, but to the People, with infinite Uncleanliness, and the latter, because this has sometimes occasioned the carrying their Wives into the Imperial Haram.

long once more to change the Place of his Residence, and accordingly he set out for *Labor*, and in his Way thither died at *Bimber* on the 2^d of *October*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 1038, *A. D.* 1627, having reigned twenty-two Years and six Days, and lived fifty-eight Years, one Month and twenty-nine Days.

He was much regretted by his Subjects, over whom he reigned with much Justice, and with whom he lived in a manner so familiar, that they loved him as a Father and a Friend, as much as they respected him as a Prince. He was far from wanting great Qualities or good ones; the Softness of his Temper was his greatest Fault.

The Death of the Emperor revived the Commotions in the Empire, and raised them much higher than ever, as the Time was now come, when the Possession of the Crown was the only thing that could give any of the Princes a secure Title to his Life. There were immediately three Parties formed, and in the Space of a very few Days, two Emperors proclaimed. The first of these was *Shabariar*, the deceased Monarch's youngest Son by a Concubine, then twenty-two Years of Age, whose Dominions never extended farther than the Palace, and who owed the Shadow of Empire that attended him for a little while, to the Influence of *Nour-Jehan*, whose Daughter, by her first Husband, he had espoused. Sultan *Bolagu*, the Grandson of the late Emperor, and the true Heir of the Crown, was proclaimed by the Army, and soon after acknowledged by the City of *Agra*, by which Means the Emperors and her Son-in-law fell into his Hands; he imprisoned them both, and to secure himself more effectually, put out the Eyes of the latter; so that his Empire ended almost as soon as it began, and indeed, he was in every respect to weak a Prince, that his Mother-in-law had so great Hopes of him, notwithstanding all the Arts she had practised in his Favour. The Contell seemed now in a Manner over, and Sultan *Bolagu* thought himself so secure of the Empire, that he took little or no Pains to separate himself with the principal Omrahs, or to procure the Affections of the People, which are always a Monarch's firmest Support. *Afaph* and *Mohammed*, notwithstanding, had their Eyes upon Sultan *Chorrom*, but the Treasures and Forces of the Empire being in the Power of *Bolagu*, they did not yet think it a proper Time to declare themselves.

Bolagu resolving to found his Uncle's Intentions, sent to demand a Tribute, and Homage, for the Kingdom of *Dean*, and the other Dominions he held of the Empire. The Omrah, who was dispatched to Sultan *Chorrom* on this Occasion, was acquainted, that he was in so ill a State of Health, that he could not possibly transact any Business; the Omrah still persisted to see him, which, with some Difficulty, he was at length permitted to do, and found the Sultan in a very weak, languishing Condition, as he apprehended, and vomiting Blood in such Quantities, that he did not think it possible he could live many Days. The Omrah thereupon immediately dispatched a Courier to *Agra* with the News, which he knew would be very acceptable to the Court. But this Illness it seems was all counterfeit, and the Blood he seemed to vomit was only the Blood of a Kid he held in his Mouth; However, the Disease was still carried on, Sultan *Chorrom* disappeared on a sudden, and it was not only given out that he was dead, but his whole Court went into Mourning for him.

The eunuch *Mohammed* also prevailed with the Omrah who came from *Bolagu*, to write to his Master, to obtain Leave for the burying the Sultan in the royal Sepulchre at *Agra*, which was readily granted, and upon the Return of the Courier, a pompous funeral Procession began, agreeable to the Quality of so great a Prince. *Mohammed-Khan*, at the Head of a thousand Officers of the deceased, attended the Hearse, and Sultan *Chorrom* himself followed in Disguise. Several Bishops of the *Keypoots*, or *Rashpoots*, Allies of Sultan *Chorrom*, fell in with the Pro-

cession, upon the Road, under Pretence of paying their last Duties to be deceased. *Afaph Khan*, who had not declared himself, but remained of *Bolagu's* Council in *Agra*, treacherously advised the young Emperor to meet his Uncle's Corpse, as they drew near *Agra*, who thereupon marched out with an ordinary Guard, and such an Equipage as was suitable to the Occasion. He was surprized to see so numerous a Body of Troops attending the Hearse, and suspecting he was betrayed, turned short on a sudden, and made his Escape, never attempting to recover *Agra*; and, indeed, he did not stop till he found himself in the *Persian* Dominions. He looked upon the Inflection to be universal, and very well knew, that the Consequence of falling into the Enemies Hands was Death, or the Loss of his Eyes at least. This Transaction shews, that the Statesmen of the East are as able and as refined Politicians as the *Italians* themselves, and within a Title as wicked too. But let that pass, and let us see how the Affairs was conducted after this Flight of the second Emperor, who reigned only a few Months.

10. Sultan *Chorrom* having thrown off his Disguise, mounted the Carriage which was supposed to contain his Body, and which when stripped of its funeral Ornaments, appeared to be a triumphal Car, in which he entered the City of *Agra* in Splendor, where he was received with the loud Acclamations of the People, who began to be afraid of the bloody Disposition shewn in so short a Space by his immediate Predecessor. The first thing he did, was to enquire for *Shabariar*, and the rest of the Princes of the Blood, and being informed, that they were all kept Prisoners in one of the Apartments of the Palace, he instantly gave Orders that the Gates of it should be walled up, and there left a Brother and three Nephews to perish for want of Sustenance. This Piece of Cruelty was the more extraordinary, because he had but the Moment before, and out of the very next Apartment, delivered his own three Sons, who being at Court with their Aunt the Empress, *Nour-Jehan*, had been imprisoned ever since the old Emperor's Death. Whether this Act of Severity displeased the old Minister, *Mohammed-Khan*, or whether he was grown so weary of Courts, as to wish he might breathe his last in a better Air, is uncertain; but so it was, that as soon as this great Revolution was over, he demanded Leave to retire, which was with some Difficulty granted him, and he passed the Remainder of his Days in an honourable Retreat in Peace and Quiet.

The Subjects of this Empire had now all the Reason in the World to hope for an happy Administration; the Prince was in the Flower of his Age, drawing towards his thirty-sixth Year, one who had shewn a martial Disposition, great Intrepidity, and a Soul not to be broken by the Frowns of Fortune. He assumed with the Imperial Diadem, a new Name, and caused himself to be called thenceforward, *Shababuddin Mohammed Shab Jehan*, i. e. *The bright Star*, *Mohammed King of the World*; but our European Historians generally call him by the last Part of this long Name, viz. *Shab Jehan*, and therefore it is by that we shall mention him in the ensuing Account of his Reign. The Dominions he possessed were larger in Extent, and produced much greater Revenues, than any of his Predecessors had enjoyed; for all the vast Extent of Countries between the Principality of *Kandahar* to the River *Indus*, owned him for their Monarch; neither was it barely an Acknowledgment of his Superiority, but they were content likewise to pay him large Tributes, the Quantities of which, as well as the Title thereto, was now, through Length of Time, effectually established.

Yet he had still some Difficulties to struggle with, notwithstanding this fair Outside of his Circumstances. The *Rajahs*, however submissive they might be, were little to be depended on, though Subjects they were Princes, and had Dominions of their own, no way despicable either for their Size or their Situation. In order to understand this Matter clearly, it is necessary to observe, that all the flat

¹ It was not for a long Time known where the Prince took Shelter, and some of the Memoirs of these Times say, that it was *Mohammed-Khan* who prevailed upon him to make his Flight, that he might have no Hand in shedding the Blood of any of his Master's Family.

² The Day on which he mounted the Throne, was the first of *February* 1628, so that the Consecration, after his Death, lasted very little more than six Months. It was believed, that after the Death of *Shabariar*, the old Empress *Nour-Jehan*, was not displeas'd to see him mount the Throne, as he had married her Nephew, and was thereby Son-in-law to *Afaph-Khan* her Brother.

Cells to be made under his Palace, in one of which he kept his Gold, and in the other his Silver, cast into such large Ingots, as could not be easily removed or embezzled; and one great Pleasure of his Life was to visit these Receipts of his Riches, and delight his Eyes with gazing upon them. This single Vice of Covetousness absorbed and swallowed up all the rest of his Desires, inasmuch that though in the first Years of his Reign he had particularly piqued himself upon doing strict Justice to his Subjects, yet now he gave them up to be plundered by all the Governors of Provinces, and other great *Omrahs*; and when he found they were grown excessively rich by such Practices, he turned the Edge of his Resentment suddenly upon them; and, under a Colour of punishing their Oppressions, put them to death and seized their Effects.

His three Sons he sent to govern the most distant Provinces of his Empire, and kept only the eldest Sultan *Dara*, to share with him the Cares of Government, and to be the nearer that Throne which he was one Day to possess. Sultan *Sujab* was made Viceroy of *Bengal*; his youngest Son *Morad*, was established in *Guzerat*; and *Aurengzebe* was Viceroy of *Decan*; all of them were obliged to pay their Tribute exactly; and for their Submissiveness in a manner that became their Rank, were compelled to have Recourse to the same unjust Measures which other Governors practised. It was this, and the earnest Desire of obtaining Possession of the Diamond Mines, that put the last mentioned Prince upon attacking the King of *Golconda*, a very unjust War in itself, but to remarkable for the Issue of it, and for the Consequences attending it, that it is necessary we should enter into a more particular Account of it. It took Rise therefore in the following Manner; *Mirza Mula*, a Person who came into *India* in the Service of a Merchant, entering afterwards into that of the Mogul, was advanced by Degree to the most considerable Commands in the Army; but finding himself slighted by Sultan *Dara*, he went over to the King of *Golconda*, who gave him a Post in the Treaty, and the Direction of the Trade of his Country; in which Employment *Mirza Mula* having amassed together considerable Sums, he endeavoured to distinguish himself at Court by a magnificent Equipage, and the Curiosities he purchased and presented to his Majesty and the Royal Family; and among the rest the King's Mother, the Dowager Queen, who was so blundered with the Gallantry of the *Peperis*, that she denied him no Favours; which the King having an Ear on of, without taking any further Notice of her Majesty's irregular Passion, sent *Mirza Mula* out of the Way, to the Government of *Carnate*, in which were the famous Diamond Mines. Here he took Care to lay by the most curious Stones for his own Use; and one among the rest he happened on, so large and fine, that it was not to be matched in the *Indies*, either for its Size or Lustre, which he afterwards presented to *Aurengzebe*. *Mirza Mula* was not contented with what he found in the Mines, but he forced the People under his Power to bring in their Gold and Jewels, under pretence of the Necessities of the Government. He plundered the very Temples and pulled off the precious Stones with which the Images were adorned; of which the King of *Golconda* being informed, determined to call *Mirza Mula* to a severe Account for his Rapine and Exorbitations; but the good Queen let her Favourite know the Dangers that threatened him: Whereupon *Mirza Mula* immediately dispatched a Courier to *Aurengzebe*, whose Government lay contiguous to *Golconda*, to let him know that if he would march with his Army into that Kingdom, he would join him with a Body of Troops from *Carnate*, and that his Interest was so considerable in the Palace itself, that he might depend upon an easy Conquest; and to convince him of the Advantage of the Enterprize, made him a Present of the large Diamond above-mentioned.

This was the most agreeable Message that *Aurengzebe* could have received; for he did not doubt that if he was

once possessed of the Riches of *Golconda*, he should bid fair for the Empire of *Indostan*; he marched therefore, without Delay, and joined the treacherous *Mirza Mula* with his Army. The King of *Golconda* hereupon retired, in the utmost Consternation, from his Capital of *Bagnagur*, and shut himself up in the Fortrefs of *Golconda*, which stands about three Miles from it. The Confederates plundered *Bagnagur*, and afterwards invested the Fortrefs, of which *Aurengzebe* sent Advice to the Emperor. Sultan *Dara* was alarmed at the Progress of *Aurengzebe*'s Arms, and represented to the Shah *Jehan*, that if his Brother was once Master of the Diamond-Mines, his next Attempt would be infallibly against the Crown; whereupon Orders were immediately dispatched to *Aurengzebe* to desist from the Enterprize, and retire to his Government of *Decan*. As things were not yet ripe for the Execution of his great Design, *Aurengzebe* obeyed the Orders of the Court, and concluded a Treaty with the King of *Golconda*; the principal Articles whereof were, that the Mogul should be reimbursed his Charges in the War; but the King's Daughter should be given in Marriage to the Prince *Mohammed*, *Aurengzebe*'s eldest Son, who should succeed to the Crown of *Golconda*, after the Demise of his Majesty, and that *Mirza Mula* and his Family should be at Liberty to retire, with their Effects, out of the Kingdom. Thus was *Golconda* delivered from the Danger that threatened it at this Time. but *Aurengzebe* had such a Taste of the Riches that Country afforded, that he fully determined to make it a Province of the Empire, if ever he succeeded to the Crown.

Aurengzebe, finding his Friend *Mirza* wanted neither Courage nor Conduct, and that he had a confirmed Aversion to his Brother, the Sultan *Dara*, and above all, that he was Villain enough to execute whatever he should command, without Remorse, looked upon him as a proper Instrument to promote the ambitious Designs he had in View; he took him therefore into his most intimate Confidence, and made him General of the Forces against the Kingdom of *Vishnour*, while he himself spent his Time in amusing the People with extraordinary Shews of Devotion, most exact Justice, and uncommon Benevolence to the Poor, which rendered him exceeding popular. In the mean time the Emperor Shah *Jehan* was taken dangerously ill, and it was reported in *Delhy*, and even in the remotest Provinces of the Empire, that he was dead; whereupon the three youngest Sultans, his Sons, began to make Preparations in their respective Provinces to push for the Empire. Sultan *Sujab*, or *Ghais*, Viceroy of *Bengal*, was the first that appeared in Arms, directing his March towards *Delhy* with an Army of forty thousand Horse. When he first set forward, it is said, he laid his Hand on his Scimitar, crying out, "Now for a Throne, or for a Grave." He gave out, upon the March, that Sultan *Dara* had poisoned the Emperor, and that he was going to revenge his Father's Death: But Shah *Jehan* recovering from his Indisposition, wrote his Son Word with his own Hand, that he was now perfectly in Health, and that his Brother *Dara* had not contributed to his late Illness, and therefore he would do well to return to his Government of *Bengal*, and repair the Oversight his Excess of Zeal had induced him to commit, by a more exact Obedience for the future. But Sultan *Sujab* receiving other Letters from his Friends at the same Time, assuring him that it was not likely that his Father should recover, and that his Fortune depended on his appearing immediately before *Delhy*, the Sultan thought fit to continue his March. Shah *Jehan* thereupon removed his Court to *Agra*, being a Place of much greater Strength. *Dara* followed his Father's Court; but detached his Son *Soliman Chocru*, and with him *Rajah Jaising*, and *Obid-Khan*, two experienced Generals, and a gallant Army to oppose Sultan *Sujab*, whose Forces, in all respects, were easily defeated, and the Sultan himself, with some Difficulty, escaped to *Bengal*, where he endeavoured to recruit his Army.

* The Kingdom of *Golconda* is an inland Country, on the East Coast of the Peninsula of *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*. *Aurengzebe* would have been at a Loss to find out the large Diamond, if he had not been informed of it by the King of *Golconda*, which, as we shall see hereafter, he afterwards sold to the Mogul Empire, under the Name of the Province of *Hyderbad*, which is only another Name for the Capital of that Country, called in the Text by its old Name *Bagnagur*; and that this Country was very well worth acquiring, appears from the great Revenue which it produced to the Great Mogul, of 3,711,000 Pound.

The Confusions in the Empire did not end here. The two younger Sons of the Emperor were also in Arms, in order to dispute the Possession of the Empire with Sultan *Dara*. And now it was that the profound Dissimulation of *Aurangezbe* paved the Way for his mounting the Imperial Throne, while he pretended to assist the Ambition of his youngest Brother. The old Pretence was that of Religion: Sultan *Dara*, he said, was an Infidel, Sultan *Nigab* a Heretic, and therefore the Crown ought to be secured to Sultan *Morad*; for, as to himself, the utmost of his Desire was to spend the Remainder of his Days near the Tomb of *Mohammad* in Acts of Mortification and Devotion. But to shew, that as much a Saint as he was, he understood the Affairs of this World as well as any of them; he assembled a very numerous Army, composed of veteran Troops, that had been employed in his former Wars, extremely well provided with every thing necessary, with which he joined his Brother *Morad*, and his Troops, not far from *Deby*. The first Step he took was, to persuade that Prince to assume the Title of Emperor, in which Quality he received and obeyed his Orders, which, however, were such as himself dictated in his Council. As soon as Sultan *Dara* was informed that the two Brothers had joined their Forces, he sent a Trompet with a Letter from the Emperor, his Father, to each of them, assuring them that he was in perfect Health, and commanding them to retire and disband their Troops, on pain of being treated as Rebels. This surpris'd Sultan *Morad* exceedingly, and he would willingly have attended for his first Order, to attend the Emperor, his Father, immediate Obedience. But *Aurangezbe* prevented his Return to his Duty, by suggesting that Occurrence now came too late; that though the Emperor might be restored, Sultan *Dara* would be revenged, and that to separate their Armies would be doing his Business, and giving themselves up to the Mercy of the Emperor, his Father, and Sultan *Morad*; of which Loyalty, especially when it was farther separated from him that his Father was now superannuated, and that Sultan *Dara* only made use of his Name. *Morad*, conceiving with himself that it was better for him to impose Law upon his Brethren, than be obliged to receive it from them, determined to proceed, and to acquire, if possible, by Arms, a Crown, to which he was not entitled either by the Laws of Nature, or the Custom of his Country.

But as we are now to enter on that War which is made to great a Name in *Europe*, as well as the *Indies*, it will be necessary to say something of the Characters of these Princes; and the rather, because some of them have been much misrepresented, as in *Europe*, generally misunderstood. Sultan *Dara* was always happy in the Enjoyment of his Father's Favour, in consequence of which he received an Education of Royal Dignity, from Nature, a very practical Liberty, and a great Confidence; his Parts were not only high, but his Education speaking, so that before he reached the Flower of his Age, he was Master, not only of all the Sciences which are usually taught in the Universities, but most of the Languages likewise that are used in *Europe*. His liberal Knowledge, and the great Goodness of his Heart, joined to a prodigious Virtue, were the Sources of his Fame. He was, in every Company, the greatest Prince that ever drew Breath in the *Indies*; and the most liberal Master, the wisest Man of the Age, in which he lived, and consequently was in his Country, one of the best Men that ever was bred up in a Court; and withal, the worst qualified to live in one. Several Paradoxes shall be in few Words explained. His Wisdom never upon him the Habit of being ascribed to be in sight with the Quakers, and Persians, on tender of him less capable of being advised by them as were creditable. He did not spend much of his Time in Business, the Duties of every Profession, and expected that Men of every Profession should discharge

those Duties. He had no sort of Craft, and despised it very much; he was to truly virtuous, that he knew too little of bad Designs to guard against them; and he was so open and sincere, that he never suspected any Man of Deceit. He had a great Respect for the Missionaries, and they, in return, had taken a great deal of Pains to persuade the World that he was a Christian in his Heart; and that the Knowledge of this was one great Cause of his Misadventures, which, however, is so far from being true, that I venture to affirm, they flowed from quite a different Fountain. He had, indeed, studied Religion more than became a Prince, and left behind him a Testimony of it, which plainly proves the Truth of what I have asserted; and yet not one of the Missionaries have mentioned it, for Reasons that I cannot assign. In short, he reviv'd the old Scheme of his Ancestors, and had a Mind to reform the Legislature, as well as the Monarch of the *Indies*. It was with this View that he composed a large and learned Work, to prove that the Principles of the old *Indian* Religion were the same with those of Mohammedanism; and, in Support of this, he collected, with great Labour and Care, was worth collecting from the Works of the ancient *Bramins*, and compared these with the principal Passages of the *Khoran*, to demonstrate that these Religions were not so far from each other as those who professed them imagined, and that there wanted nothing but a little Temper and good Sense to bring them to a good Understanding. This alarmed the Bigots against him, as the Strangers of his Conduct, and his Contempt for the Arts of Court, raised him, with those who placed their Hopes and Trust in being well versed in them.

Sultan *Nigab* was the very reverse of his Brother, except that he had a fine Person, a happy Countenance, and great Parts, for he was a finished Courtier, understood the Art of Intriguing perfectly, and proceeded with such Success, that *Aurangezbe*, upon whom *Dara* had chiefly depended, was private and secure, and betrayed the Matter, to which he was engaged all Things. This Prince had Spies in every Part of the Court, knew every thing that was done there, and the Sentiments of all who composed it. He had likewise private Intelligence with the principal *Rajahs* throughout the Empire, and a private Correspondence with the King of *Persia*; and that he might not want any opportunity to execute his Interest, he declared for the Sect of *Shy*, which is the established Part of the *Persian*.

The Character of *Aurangezbe*, though not so capable to rule his Brethren, was very probably better upon them. He had strong Sense, much Application, and a deep Reach of Thought; but he was a little more, and the most profound Diplomatist in the World. He was an Ambitionist, in every respect, exclusively devoted to the highest Degree, and yet affecting to depict himself as a devout Man, without the least Mixture of Faith or Counsel in his Heart. He saw that his Brethren could Men of other Religions, and of various Opinions, his Hopes in the bigotted *Mohammedans*, who were ever to be a powerful Party, and that he could not expect to see the Way that he desired to be taken. He knew very well that if he could not attain his Throne by his own Merit, he was not likely to preserve his State, and therefore he spent his whole Time, and applied all his Thoughts in meditating how to acquire the Empire of *India*, and in hindering the rest of the World from preventing his Design, which he believed, and which Experience showed to be the best Method of preserving it.

Morad, the youngest of Sultan *Jahan's* Sons, was a noble generous Prince, one who possessed *Mercy* more than from his Heart, and was really as much a believer as any of the Clergy could wish him. He loved Hunting, and other Exercises of that Kind, and was not so given to Women. In all other respects he was a very amiable and worthy Prince, and it he appeared from some Parts

There is a great deal of Difference between the *Indians* and the *Persians*; the former are of a more liberal and generous Spirit, and the latter are more reserved and suspicious. The *Indians* are more open and sincere, and the *Persians* are more crafty and deceitful. The *Indians* are more devoted to Religion, and the *Persians* are more devoted to the World. The *Indians* are more liberal and generous, and the *Persians* are more reserved and suspicious. The *Indians* are more open and sincere, and the *Persians* are more crafty and deceitful. The *Indians* are more devoted to Religion, and the *Persians* are more devoted to the World.

of his Conduct in a different Light, it was owing to the Influence that *Aurangzebe* acquired over him, and in which he acted against his own Sentiments. Let us now return to Matters of Fact, and discuss them in as few Words as possible. All the Hopes of *Aurangzebe* lay in making his Brethren destroy each other. His Schemes were in some Measure accomplished with respect to Sultan *Syjah*, and from his Intelligence, he knew very well, that Sultan *Dara* was not an equal Match for the Forces they had in the Field against him, and this gave him as much Delight in one Sense, as it did Pleasure in another; for, as he saw very clearly that his Brother's Safety and Interest depended upon taking him off, to notwithstanding the Difference of their Characters, he was afraid his Brother might see it himself, or at least be shown it by some who were about him, which made him more intent upon his Destruction, towards whom he professed both Duty and Affection, than on that of his elder Brother against whom he was in Arms: Yet he covered his Uneasiness with a Shew of great Tranquillity, and prevented any Suspicion that might have arisen from his Retardness, by ascribing it to a Spirit of Religion; so that while he was plotting the most detestable Villainy, the far greater Part of the Camp beloved him entirely taken up with religious Meditations. He employed the vast Treasures he had reaped up by the most unjustifiable Means, in Practices no less wicked; and by that means had constant Advice of whatever passed in all the Courts; so that if his Hypocrisy had ever been detected, he would have had Leisure sufficient to have secured a Retreat, and at the same time his Officers and his Troops were so devoted to him, that he had not the least Reason to doubt their defending him to the last Man: Such were the Circumstances on his Side.

Dara was not idle in the mean time, but ordered his Generals *Jacentsing* and *Cassam-Khan*, to take a Post upon the River *Ugin*, which might have been maintained against all the Forces of the two Brothers. But *Cassam-Khan*, one of those whom *Dara* had formerly disobligeed, being in the Interest of *Aurangzebe*, withdrew upon the Approach of his Army, and left the Rajah *Jacentsing* to fight it out by himself; whereupon the two Brothers gained an easy Victory, making themselves Masters of all the Enemies Artillery and Baggage, and so did the Partisans of *Aurangzebe* manage this Matter, that all the Glory of the Victory was ascribed to him, which gave a great Disgust to the Ministers and Generals of *Morad's* Army, knowing that their Master's Troops had born all the Burthen of the Day, while *Aurangzebe* seemed to relieve his own Forces for another Occasion. They began now to be convinced of the ambitious Designs of the Dissembler, and had, it is said, without their Master's Knowledge, formed a Design to cut him off next Time he came to *Morad's* Quarters, which *Aurangzebe*, who had his Spies in every Place, had some Intelligence of, and came no more to his Brother's Tent as usual, but sent his Son *Mohammed* to pay his Compliments, without discovering that he was apprized of the Conspiracy against him. While the two Brothers continued their March, the Malecontents at Court came over to them every Day, and many of those who had beheld remained there for an Opportunity of giving Intelligence to the Enemy. *Shah Jehan* finding himself betrayed on every Side, and reflecting on his former Conduct, it is said, in respect to the Omahs, thought this universal Detestation might proceed from a particular Prejudice to his own Person; he made a Cession therefore of the Crown, and devolved all his Authority on his Son *Dara*, who thereupon rated a prodigious Army, and marched to meet the Enemy upon the 14th of June, 1657.

Since this mighty Army, says the Historian, extend itself on the vast Plains of *Agra*, would have inclined any one to believe, that *Dara* must have commanded Victory

where-ever he went; but *Dara's* haughty Carriage, it seems, had raised him as many Enemies as the Vices of *Shah Jehan* the Father, inasmuch that there was hardly a considerable Officer in the Army but had his particular Prejudices. *Dara* continued his March for four Days, till he came to the River *Chamb-I*, where he entrenched himself, and determined to wait the Motions of the two Brothers; for here his Army could be supplied with all Manner of Provisions from *Agra*, and the Enemy, he knew, could not possibly subsist long in that barren Country, which lay to the Southward, especially at this Season of the Year, when the Heats are intolerable. *Aurangzebe* observing the Disposition of the Imperial Army, and that all the Avenues to *Dara's* Camp were fortified with Entrenchments and Batteries of Cannon, concluded it was impossible to face the Enemy in that Post. On the other Hand, he was sensible, that the least Delay was their infallible Ruin. *Dara* would be joined in a little Time by his victorious Son, who was returning from the Pursuit of Sultan *Syjah*, and their own Troops would be disheartened, and dispersed, if their first Heat was a little cooled, as is usual in all Insurrections, where Rebels meet with unforeseen Difficulties. In this Distress, the Rajah *Campet*, a confirmed Enemy to the Court, offered the two Brothers a Passage through his Country, which lay about thirty Miles higher up the River, where it was probable they would meet with no Opposition; for the Rajah's Territories being woody and mountainous, and the Rajah himself a General in the Imperial Army, *Dara* looked upon himself as secure on that Side, when to his Surprise, Intelligence was brought him that a Body of the Enemy had actually passed the River, and was preparing to attack his Rear. *Dara* immediately dispatched the treacherous *Cassim-Khan* to oppose them, but he having a Correspondence with *Aurangzebe*, suffered his whole Army to pass the River, and form themselves in Order of Battle, without giving them any Disturbance; so that now both Armies came to a Battle on equal Terms, which was fought with very great Bravery on that Side, where *Dara* himself commanded; but the other Generals not doing their Duty, and some of them with their whole Bodies going over to the Enemy, the two Brothers, at length, obtained an entire Victory. *Dara* retired with a small Body of Troops, which remained faithful to him, to *Agra*, where he staid but a few Hours to refresh himself, and continued his March to *Delhy*; but the Governor having heard of the Loss of the Battle, refused him Admission, whereupon he was compelled to retire to *Lahor*.

The two Brothers, with their victorious Army, advanced to the Gates of *Agra*, and invested the Place, which was betrayed to them in a few Days, and the old Emperor *Shah Jehan* made Prisoner. The two Brothers possessed themselves of his prodigious Treasures, which they found sufficient to reward their Adherents, and support their Contention; and having refreshed their Troops, and put the Government into such Hands as they could depend on, they left a Garrison in *Agra*, and continued their March towards *Delhy*, *Morad* being treated by *Aurangzebe*, and the whole Army, as their Emperor. They were encamped in the fertile Plains of *Matta*, where stands a noble Mosque or Temple erected by some of the Mogul Emperors, which *Aurangzebe* proposed as a proper Place for the Inauguration of his Brother; whereupon great Preparations were made to perform the Solemnity on the 14th of June 1658. The Evening before *Aurangzebe* sent a most dural Message to his Brother, importing, that he was extremely sorry that a sudden Illness, with which he was seized, would not allow him to wait upon his Imperial Majesty, in order to concert with him and his Attendants the lucky Hour for his Coronation; but that if he would have the Goodness and Condescension to accept of a final Collocation at his

the most very authentic Relation of the Transactions in these Wars, but particularly two, the first by *Mr. Berners*, and the second by *Mr. Ouseley*, who were both upon the Spot, and both Attendants on the unfortunate Sultan *Jehan*. I have, however, chosen to follow the former Reason, first, because he is in the History of the *Mogul's* Studies, and procured the Materials for writing his Account, and secondly, because he wrote at Leisure, and after he had taken Leave to enquire into an extensive Field, which he recorded, and to view the several likely to be deceived by common Report. Thirdly, because he was an *Indian* and a Hindu, and appears to have been much better versed in Affairs of State, and in the Practices of the Court, than the other two, who were very able and faithful, as well as interesting Writers.

Quarters, all things might be regulated there, so as to prevent any Delay in a Matter of so great Importance. Some of the principal Confidants of Sultan *Morad* could not very well digest this Message, but fancied there was something concealed under it which might be prejudicial to their Master, and therefore they advised him to return a very civil Answer to this Compliment, but by all means to decline the Visit. There were, however, others, who were secretly in his Brother's Interest, who persuaded him to go, and as Sultan *Morad* was a Prince of a very open and generous Disposition, he listened to the Advice, and went with his ordinary Guard, and a few of his principal Courtiers, at the Time appointed, to his Brother's Tent, where he was received with such high Marks of Respect, and with so much seeming Affection, that he laid aside all Suspicion, and according to his usual Custom, drank freely of several sorts of excellent Wine, which were provided for him; but as for the pious *Aurengzebe*, he, for a Principle of Conscience, could not taste a Drop of that prohibited Liquor, and therefore drank Water only. At last Sultan *Morad*, having got his full Dose, fell fast asleep, and was, by his Brother's Command, immediately removed into another Tent, attended only by his faithful Eunuch, who could not by any means be persuaded to leave him.

In the mean time the Officers and Courtiers of *Morad* were entertained in another Tent by Persons of equal Rank with themselves, who were known to have strong Heads, and could bear drinking. The Guards all the Time attended round the Tent, and all the Musick of the Camp playing, as if the Brothers had spent the Night together in Feasting. *Aurengzebe* early in the Morning went with six of his Guards into the Tent, where Sultan *Morad* and his Eunuch were still fast asleep, and having cautioned them to be bound before they were well awake, he ordered them to be put into two close Litters, and sent away privately, one to the Citadel of *Dehly*, and the other to that of *Agra*. When all was over, he directed a Message, in his Brother's Name, to such as were to assist at the approaching Coronation, importing, that the solemn Procession to the Mosque was to be made from the Tent of *Aurengzebe* at a certain Hour, and therefore they were to be ready by that Time in the Temple. When the Hour fixed for the Coronation came, the greatest Part of both Armies were drawn up in perfect Order, under Colour of preventing Disturbances, without Arms. On a sudden they were surrounded by several choice Squadrons of Horse from the Army of *Aurengzebe*, who, as soon as the Procession began to move, made the first Declaration of the Charge by brandishing their Swords, and crying out, *May the Emperor Aurengzebe reign forever*. The rest of the Army were exceedingly alarmed at this, but they were too slow to join in the Cry, from an Apprehension that the Troops might trample them down, and put them to Flight; so they discovered the least Sign of Rebellion. As soon as they saw in the Advancements, *Aurengzebe* himself appear, at a distance for a Moment on the Tent prepared for his Brother, and having any other respect with the Effluvia of the Imperial Durry, presently withdrew, the whole Army following him, and leaving a Division, which is a Proof, that a contrary Opinion was there is no such thing as Liberty, for save only *the Right*, and not *Right*, which ought to render Princes absolute, and their Subjects Privileged by the Law. Pretogeevix, because both stand upon the same Foundation.

In the midst of all this Success, *Aurengzebe* ran a great Hazard of being betrayed, or at least of seeing the War revive in a Quarter which, with all his Conquest, he never suspected. He had sent his eldest Son Sultan *Mohammed* to *Agra* to execute his Orders with respect to Shah *Jehan*, who had performed very punctually, since as soon as he entered the Presence of his Grandfather, he told him in a very few Words, that he was now old, and incapable of managing the Empire, and desired the Honour to leave it to him, who would look on it as a great Gift, and left it to explain it;

but at the same time informed him, that his Father intended no Hurt to his Person, but was content to allow him a Palace, his Seraglio, and such Amusements as might content an old Man. The Eunuchs and the Women that were a loud Outcry at this barbarous Message; but *Aurengzebe* bore it calmly, and with great Patience. He did still more, for he gave the strongest Proof of the Falshood of the Pretence, and of his Capacity for governing at a Time when his rebellious Children treated him as a Dwarf. He retired, as Sultan *Mohammed* commanded, and as soon as he was fixed in his new Apartment, he sent to desire another Visit from his Grandson, who, as soon as he was coming at a Distance, he threw himself on his Knees, the young Man coming to lift him up, he addressed him in these Words: "Since it is so, since I must be destroyed by my own Children, I submit to my Fate; but be you courageous enough to match the Crown of the Indies from him, who is made unworthy to wear it. The City of *Agra* is yours, you have in it a power of Arms devoted to your Service, I resign it on my knees, and secure yourself from the Cruelty of a Prince who will never show Affection to his Son after treating a Father as he has done me." Sultan *Mohammed* was struck with this Discourse; but as he knew that the Officers under his Command were entirely devoted to *Aurengzebe*, he did it not pursue his Grandfather's Advice, which, however, made such an Impression on him, that he never forgot it, or obeyed his Father otherwise with Reluctance.

The People however, more sensible of the Privation of Duty, could not help to be discontented at the Resolution of so great a Monarch. *Aurengzebe* was to some informed of it, than he came to a Resolution to be with in his Father's Hand, addressed to Sultan *Dara*, in whose Direction he directed him to march with all the Forces he could gather, towards *Agra*, promising him to engage *Aurengzebe* to make him a viceroy, and to give him to be considered in his Apartment. The next Day he had a Spectacle upon the Stage, who represented the last Days of the Usage of the old Emperor to be what he desired, he admired the Wisdom and Humanity of *Aurengzebe*. The artful Prince, having thus tried all Things behind him, and having, out of the Treasures of his Father, taken away all the Hopes, all who had hitherto courted him in his Enterprises, found himself at Length to use Sultan *Dara*, who had again drawn a fresh Army together in the Night out of *Delahy*. The Time was now happy in a fatal and one General, whose Name was *Jehan Khan*. *Aurengzebe* attempted to intercept him, failed for the first Time upon which cause a Letter to be forged in the Name of *Aurengzebe*, importing a Design to betray his Master, and to send the Matter to, that it led into the Hands of Sultan *Dara*, who, having suffered so much from the Success of *Aurengzebe*, before, became now a reasonable supposer, at the Sight therefore of this Letter, he immediately sent General *Jehan Khan* upon whom the rest of his Officers were after his whole Army a sudden turning, and was ordered to march into the Province of *Razzeem*, from whence he returned to *Peshawar*.

Aurengzebe took this Opportunity of turning his Army against his other Brother *Jehan Khan*, who had been ordered to march northwards, he pursued him, and joined with his Army towards *Agra*. But *Aurengzebe* was not with a surprising Certainty, perceiving that *Jehan Khan* falling into his Hands. However, Sultan *Aurengzebe* posted his Troops to advantage only that he was not to be forced in his Camp, and kept a Communication with several Towns, from whence he was supplied with Provisions, while his Enemies wanted all Necessaries, and even Water, which they were forced to bring to their Camp upon the Backs of Camels from the Springs, which lay at twenty Miles Distance. In this Distress *Aurengzebe* ordered it to be given out, that he would give a present

to the Emperor, and to the Emperor, but especially in *Delahy*, *Peshawar*, and the *Indies*, to combat the hopes upon a...
 Shah *Jehan* was sincerely addicted to the Succession, and became...
 would be the best course to pursue. They once persuaded him to leave his Capital, upon Pretence that he...
 and kept the Emperor ever since, but that he did not...
 M...

Morning, and accordingly the Tents were struck, and the Troops actually in Motion; which Sultan *Sujab* observing, prepared to fall upon their Rear. The Troops of *Aurengzebe* were ordered to give Way upon the first Attack, until they had drawn the Advance-guards of Sultan *Sujab* some Distance from their Camp, and then to make a Stand, which Orders were punctually executed; and Sultan *Sujab* observing his Men were over-powered, detached still other Troops to support them; and the Enemy doing the like on the other Side, it came at length to a general Battle. The Generals, mounted on their respective Elephants, advanced with the Bodies under their immediate Commands to engage each other, and the Battle was fought with great Obliquity, till *Aurengzebe* actually drew his Enemy into a Field, where he had ordered Pits to be made the Night before, and covered over with Turf, so that they lay unperceived. Here the brave Sultan *Sujab* was advancing to engage his Brother, and periously decide the Fortune of the Day, when his Elephant floundered into one of these Pits prepared for him, from whence the Sultan found it impossible to disengage himself suddenly; whereupon the Army, not seeing their General, imagined he was killed, and thought of nothing but making their Retreat. Sultan *Sujab* afterwards mounted a Horse that was brought him, and endeavoured to rally his flying Troops, but it was too late; the Rout was too, a panick Fear had seized his Forces, and they could never be brought to make a Stand again; and *Sujab*, with great Difficulty, made his Escape into the Province of *Bengal*. Here he recruited his shattered Army, and, having posted himself in an advantageous Camp, waited the Approach of the Enemy, when he understood that *Muhammed*, the eldest Son of *Aurengzebe*, was in some Distance, and secretly invited him to come over to his Party, which Negotiation was so well managed, that he did not only desert his Father's Court himself, but brought over with him several of his best Officers. Upon this, *Aurengzebe* had Recourse to his old Practice of forging Letters, by which he drew Sultan *Sujab* to believe that *Muhammed* had deserted by his Order, who thereupon treated the young Prince in such a Manner that he was glad to reconcile himself to his Father, who led him with far Promises till he had him in his Power, and then, in a little Time, sent him Prisoner to the Castle of *Gallior*.

Sultan *Dara*, having drawn another Army together, marched, with great Diligence, towards the City of *Amadabad*; but when he was within a few Miles of it, the Governor, who had been corrupted by *Aurengzebe*, shut the Gates of it against him; upon which, the Army he had assembled, seeing him thus betrayed, abandoned him, in order to provide the best they could for their own Safety. The Sultan, now entirely despairing of his Affairs, determined to fly for Refuge to *Persia*; to which he was the rather induced, because, *Green Khan* had the Command of that part upon the Frontiers, who was his Friend, and might favour his Retreat. This Man had received the highest Favours from the Sultan, and particularly once he saved his Life, when the Emperor *Shah Jehan* had commanded him to be trod to Death by Elephants for some Misdemeanour he had committed. This Traitor received the Sultan with the greatest Professions of Gratitude, but immediately gave Intelligence to the General who commanded the Forces of *Aurengzebe* on that Side, that he had *Dara* in his Power, and would deliver him up. The Sultan suspected the Treachery, and was meditating how he might make his Escape from thence, when a Detachment of *Aurengzebe's* Forces surrounded the Palace, and carried *Dara* Prisoner with them to *Bakar*, which was believed by his Brother's Troops, being the only Fortrefs which still held out for *Dara*, they compelled the unfor-

tunate Sultan to send Orders to the Governor to surrender the Fortrefs, who obeyed, on Condition he might be at Liberty to retire into the Kingdom of *Cachemire*. When the captive Prince was brought to *Dehly*, he was set in an open Chair on the Back of an Elephant, with his Feet chained, and his youngest Children about him, which moved the Compassion of the People. His Brother *Aurengzebe* would not see his Face, but ordered him to be secured in a Castle without the Town; and, having assembled a Council of the principal Omrahs, he proposed it as a Matter indifferent to him whether it were most advisable to condemn *Dara* to perpetual Imprisonment, or deprive him of his Life; by which Means he did not doubt but he should discover which of them were in *Dara's* Interest, determining with himself not to spare one of them. But these great Lords were all so wise as to save their own Lives by voting away their Master's, except one, who had been his declared Enemy, which, it is said, gave *Aurengzebe* such an Opinion of the Man, that he afterwards took him into the Number of his Friends. After long waiting the fatal Stroke, Sultan *Dara* met with it from the Hand of a common Executioner, who, with great Brutality, threw him on the Ground, and afterwards cut off his Head. Some of the Missionaries have reported he died a Christian, but as they do not produce any Evidence in Support of it, we can scarce credit the Fact barely on their Assertion.

The personal Hatred of *Aurengzebe* to his Brother, it is reported, was such, that he ordered *Dara's* Head to be brought him, and viewed it with great Satisfaction, and intuling over it, said, "Behold the Remains of a weak Man, who would have wrested a Crown from me he was not able to sustain." He afterwards ordered the Head to be carried to his Father *Shah Jehan*, and his Sister *Ishan Ara Begum*, who were imprisoned in the Castle of *Agra*; at which melancholy Spectacle the old Emperor fell into a Swoon, but it did not break his Heart, as his pious Son *Aurengzebe* expected; nor was the Sight a less Affliction to the Sister, who had always espoused the Interest of Sultan *Dara*, and whom he had promised to marry, it is said, if ever he possessed the Throne. Sultan *Sujab*, the second Son of *Shah Jehan*, still remained in *Bengal*; but upon the Approach of *Aurengzebe's* Army, finding himself in no Condition to oppose so great a Force, he proposed to retire to the Kingdom of *Arracan*, which lies to the South-East of *Bengal*, but separated from it by impassable Mountains and Forests. The Portuguese, who were then possessed of *Chattigan*, a Port near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, took upon them to transport the Sultan, with his Treasure and Family, thither; but, it is said, they sunk the Vessel in which the Money and Jewels were, and afterwards converted them to their own Use. However that be, Sultan *Sujab* arrived safe at *Arracan*, though it might have been as happy for him if he had perished at Sea with his Treasure; for he had not been long in the Court of *Arracan*, before there happened some Misunderstanding between him and the Prince he fled to for Refuge; and not only himself, but his Wives and Children, were all cut to Pieces in the Year 1658. Thus miserably died the second Son of *Shah Jehan*, who first began the Rebellion against his Father.

Sultan *Chacu*, eldest Son of *Dara*, a Prince of great Expectation, still remained secure from his Uncle's Cruelty in the Territories of the Rajah *Sirmager*, whom neither Threats nor Promises could move to deliver him up. But *Aurengzebe* so insinuated himself into the Favour of *Sirmager's* Son, that he prevailed with him to betray Sultan *Chacu* into his Hands; to which End, a Hunting-Match was appointed, and Intelligence given in what Part of the County they would hunt; whereupon an

¹ The first of the Writers who tell us, that he did not send his Son, Sultan *Muhammed*, immediately to this Prison, but kept him some Time to a Guard, but when he had taken the eldest Son of Sultan *Dara*, he sent them both thither, on the 14th of January, 1661, and kept them in the same Prison, till *Muhammed* died of a natural Death, as most Writers say; but, as some would insinuate, by Poison, which however is improbable, because, with equal Provocation from another of his Sons, the Emperor contented himself with a long Imprisonment, and did not put them to Death before his Death.

² This Execution was performed in the Night, on the 28th of August, 1659. We are told, that a little before his Death, this Prince was asked by *Aurengzebe's* Orders, what he would have done with him or else he had obtained the Victory. As he is a Rebel, and a Murderer, answered him *Dara*, he best knows what he deserves; which answer occasioned his Death. It is highly probable, that *Aurengzebe* invented the Story, as it is said to be inserted in the Chronicles of the Mogul Empire, in order to excuse this Cruelty. At least this is certain, that he did not suffer the Honours of a Royal Burial to be paid in such a Manner as might give the latest Colour possible to the foul Actions of which he was guilty. And as he was a Prince of prodigious Riches, it is very easy to conceive that, by his Abundance, a very plausible Account

which lie to the Eastward of Bengal. Emir Jenla, being a Man of ambitious Spirit, joyfully accepted the Command, proposing to extend his Conquests as far as China; or, however, being at the Head of so powerful an Army, hoped to be in a Condition to give Laws to his Sovereign. The General met with great Success in the Beginning of his Enterprize. The Rajah of *Abam* was defeated, his Capital *Chandara* plundered, and that Prince forced to retire into the Mountains; but the rainy Season coming on sooner than was expected, the Country was immediately overflowed. The Army of Emir Jenla found it very difficult to subsist in their new Conquest, and not less difficult to retreat; however, Emir Jenla did at length find Means to return into Bengal, of which Province he was Governor, proposing the next Year to complete his Conquest of the Kingdom of *Abam*; but his Army having contracted the Bloody-Flux in that wet Season, were most of them swept away, and among the rest, Emir Jenla, to the great Satisfaction of *Aurangzeb*, who hardly looked upon himself to be Emperor while he lived. As this Officer was a Man of a very enterprising Genius, his Master took the properest Method to be rid of him, by feeding his Vanity, and seeming to respect from his Zeal, Activity, and Abilities, the Conquest even of the Empire of *China*, though he was sensible that the Countries which lay between him and that Kingdom were impassable for great Armies, and therefore when Emir Jenla was dead, he made no farther Attempts on that Side; but, to encourage others to serve him, he gave *Mohammed*, the Son of Emir Jenla, all his Father's Estate, which by the Laws of the Empire devolved to the Crown.

The next considerable Expedition in this Reign, was against the Pirates, who infested the Bay of Bengal, and fortified themselves at *Chatagan*, and other Places, on the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and in the Kingdom of *Aran*, which lies contiguous to Bengal. These Pirates consisted of *Europeans*, or *Franks*, of all Nations, but chiefly of *Portuguese*, who frequently made Slaves of the Mogul's Subjects, burnt and plundered the frontier Towns, rendered both the Seas and the Shores very unsafe. Against these, *Aurangzeb* sent another of his Generals, who suppressed the Pirates, and brought that Part of *India* under as peaceable and regular a Government as any other Part of the Empire. About the Beginning of the Year 1666 there happened some Stirs in the Empire, occasioned by the Ambition of some of his own Children, who coloured with the fair Pretences of Zeal for the Conservation of the Empire, and Pity for its lawful Monarch, the unfortunate Shah *Jehan*, which, however, had no other Consequence than making the innocent old Man a Victim to the Terror of his cruel and unnatural Son, who, to secure himself any farther Trouble, and to take away all Pretences for the future, ordered the old Emperor to be poisoned at the Age of Seventy-four.

This, however, did not make him the easier, or dispose his Sons to greater Obedience. Of these, excluding Sultan *Mohammed*, who lived and died in Prison, he had four, viz. *Mohammed Masum*, that is, the *Illustrious*, was extremely ambitious, and began very early to form Designs against his Father's Life: Once he was very near carrying his Point; he caused a Pit to be dug very deep, in the Place where his Father's Tent was to be pitched, which was so well covered, that *Aurangzeb* very narrowly escaped being buried in it, for which Sultan *Mohammed* was for many Years confined in a Dungeon, where he endured not so much as a Ray of Day-light. Shah *Azem*, the *Glorious*, had likewise engaged in Plots of the same Nature, which proving unsuccessful, and he fearing they might come to be detected, fled to the King of *Orissa*, where he remained till the Edge of his Father's

Reformation was worn off. But the greatest Hazard this Emperor ever ran, was from the Ambition of Sultan *Akbar*, whom he trusted with a great Army, in order to reduce one of the Rajahs, who had rebelled; but the first News that the Emperor heard, was, that his Son had joined the Rebel, and that they were marching towards him, with seventy thousand Horse, and a proportionable Number of Foot. The Troops which *Aurangzeb* had about him, were in no Capacity of disputing with him a Force, and therefore he had Recourse to his old Artifice; that is to say, he sent a Letter to the Prince, which he contrived the Rajah should intercept, wherein he commended his Son's Conduct, in drawing the Army of the Idolaters to that Place, assuring him, he would advance the next Day to such a Post, where, having the Rajah's Forces between them, they might charge them on all Sides, and that it was not possible any of them should escape. The Eunuch, by whom this Letter was sent, being brought Prisoner to the Camp by the Rajah's Out-guards, and the Letter read among the Officers of the *Rajpoots*, occasioned a terrible Consternation in the Rajah's Army, and notwithstanding Sultan *Akbar* swore on the Alcoran it was a Contrivance of his Father's, he found it impossible to remove these Jealousies the Letter had created, which gave the Mogul Time to reinforce his Troops. The Rajah was afterwards defeated, and *Akbar* fled with a Body of four thousand Horse to another Pagan Prince; but being closely pursued by his Father's Troops, was forced to fly to the *Portuguese* at *Goa* for Protection, who transported him to *Persia*, where he was very kindly entertained by the Shah, and afterwards, it is said, married his Daughter; nor could the Mogul, either by Threats or Promises, ever procure him to be delivered up. *Aurangzeb*, however, fell upon the Rajah *Seva*, who had assisted *Akbar* in his Rebellion, and, having taken several of his Towns, besieged him in his capital City of *Gingy*, but they held out a Siege of many Years, nor was it taken while *Seva* lived, though the Mogul, in the mean time, subdued both the Kingdoms of *Vishapour* and *Solonda*. The youngest of his Sons was Sultan *Kambukhi*, who had as much Ambition as any of the rest, but he knew better how to conceal it, and therefore never took up Arms against him, but laboured all he could to gain his good Graces by Flattery.

In this Manner the Emperor spent many Years of his Life, without losing any Part of his Authority, which was in a great measure owing to his florid Health, and his retaining the free and perfect Use of his Senses. In order to preserve them, he led a Life as regular as that of a religious Person, restrained by a certain Rule, and kept his Passions under such Restraint, that he was never known to shew any Sign of an Alteration in his Temper; so that there was no guessing, either from his Countenance, the Tone of his Voice, or from his Gestures, at what passed within. He loved Regularity extremely, and observed it himself with such Strictness, that every-body about him knew his Duty, and knew when it was to be performed; and all who had any Petitions to present, or Complaints to make, knew when they might have Admission. To gain Time for going through such a Variety of Business, and that he might be able to converse with another, this was the Emperor's constant Course. Life. Early in the Morning, before Break of Day, he bathed, and spent some Hours in his Devotions; then having eaten a little Rice, or Sweetmeats, shut himself up with his Secretaries, and before Noon he gave publick Audience to his Subjects. After which he prayed again, and then went to Dinner, his Table being furnished only with Rice, Herbs, Fruits, or Sweetmeats; for neither Fichs, or Figs, or any strong Liquors, were ever brought before him. In the Afternoon he gave Audience again; which being over,

* Author does very much in regard to this Part, for some privately assert, that he compelled his Father to drink Poison, and that he had just died of old Age, and these Inimities which he had brought upon himself by his Vices. One Part goes so far, as to charge a *Mohammedan* Religion, expelled *Aurangzeb* to the hatred and Calumnies of the *Mohammedans*. The other says, that the Character of this Prince would make any thing they said of him believed; and, in the Confidence of this, it is very possible they may be charged him with Crime, of which he was never guilty.

The Behaviour of these Princes plainly shews how much Example goes beyond Precept; for most certainly there is a vast deal more to be learnt from the Education of Children, than from the general Censure of the Law. The Emperor's Children were grown Men, in the Haram or Women's Apartment, but took care that they should not only be instructed in the Law, but also be acquainted with the War, and for this Reason called them to Council, and employed them in his private Affairs, so that they were not left to their independent Command. In short, he was a very bad Man, with very good Principles.



These Strangers were, and in what Manner they were answered, that they came from a great City called *Malacca*, and that they were of a certain Kingdom in *Europe* called *Portugal*. At these Words *Nautaquum* appeared more surpris'd than before, and at last, turning to those who were about him, he said, Let me die, if I don't believe there are the *Chinese*, of whom we read in our old Books that they fly upon the Waters, and make themselves Masters of every rich Country they hear of: We shall think ourselves very happy, if they are content to be our Allies. He then called a Woman, who could speak the *Chinese* Language, in which he was but indifferently skilled, and desired her to ask the Captain with what View he brought these Strangers into *Japan*. The Captain answered very candidly, that he found them at *Malacca* much distressed for a Passage to some Port in the *Indies*, and that he, from a Principle of Humanity, took them on board his Vessel, in hopes that Providence would raise him a like Friend, in case he should fall into the same Distress. This satisfied *Nautaquum* perfectly, so that he made no Difficulty of going aboard the *Chinese* Vessel, with some of the principal Persons about him, and asked the *Portuguese* abundance of Questions, whom he also invited to visit him on Shore, promising to entertain them kindly.

They went accordingly, and carried him a Present, which was very graciously received, and *Nautaquum* entered into a long Conversation with them about their Country, and particularly insisted on these three Points, which he said he had been told by the *Chinese* and *Lequians* in his Country. First, that *Portugal* was bigger than *China*, and richer; the second, that the King of *Portugal* had conquered the best Part of the World; and thirdly, that his *Portuguese* Majesty had better than two thousand Houses full of Gold and Silver. *Pinto* ingenuously owns, that he did not stick exactly to Truth in his Answers, but contrived such as were most likely to keep up the high Opinion that *Nautaquum* had conceived of their Monarch. All the Time they staid here, they were treated with the utmost Civility and Respect, being permitted to see every thing they desired, and to go where they would. *Zemoto* had a very fine Gun, with which the *Japanese* were extremely taken, inasmuch that they spoke of it to *Nautaquum*, who

that certain Strangers were come into the *Portugal* by which it was apparent, that the World was greater than they imagined, and that he desired how he might at least one of these Strangers to disengage himself from them because at that Time he was very much distressed, and suffered by repeated Fits of Black Melancholy, which oppressed him to the last Degree. The *Portuguese* did not immediately consent to the Request, but after some time, that the King of *Bungo* was both his Uncle and his Father-in-Law, he most earnestly desired that he would gratify the Request of that Prince. At the last he consented, he declared, that he could not part with his *Zemoto*, but that the Embassador might take either of the other two he pleased, but after a little Reasoning, he fixed upon *Pinto* as the most proper Person to go in his Uncle, because he was of a brisk and lively Temper, and therefore the most likely to divert him; and at the same time made him a Present of two hundred Taels, as Compensation for the Trouble of this Journey.

Things being thus regulated, *Pinto* took his Leave of his Friends, and embarked with the Embassador for the Kingdom of *Bungo*, which lies but at a very small Distance from the Island of *Yacoxima*. They arriv'd, without meeting with any Accident, at the Fortrels of *Agua*, where they remained two Days, and then they set out for the Capital, where they arriv'd the very same Day. The King did not sooner Notice of their coming than he sent for one of his Sons to compliment them, to whom the Embassador delivered a Letter from *Nautaquum* for the King's Father, whose Name was *Origenis*, who, as soon as he received it, desired the *Portuguese* to come to him, whom he received with all the Respect imaginable. The first Question he asked *Pinto* was whether the Goods which he was dreadfully afflicted, was a Distemper known in any of the Countries through which he had pass'd, and whether he had ever heard of any Remedy that would effectually cure it? *Pinto* told him honestly, that he was no Physician, but that he had brought with him from *China* a kind of Wax, which had a Quality of relieving the most violent Pains of their Cause be what it would, but that he had left the Island where he first arriv'd; upon which the King said

* These Islands, of which it seems the *Portuguese* had already some Knowledge, pass under different Names; and even such Days are not able to say much with any Certainty about them. Some Writers call them the Islands of *Laysans*, others the Islands of *Roche*. They lie between the 22d and 23d North Latitude, having the Island of *Formosa* on the South-west, the Continent of *China* on the West, the Islands of *Formosa* on the North, and the Ocean on the East, on which Side they seem to have no Land nearer to them than *America*. The *Japanese* report that these are the most fertile Countries in the World, and that the Inhabitants are the easiest, happiest, and best conditioned of the Human Race. They are subject to the Prince of *Sasuma*, who is one of the principal Lords of the Empire of *Japan*. It may not be amiss to observe, that the only Port formerly Masters of these Islands, and that at present there is some Commerce between them and the *Philippines*.

* This Island, which *Pinto* calls *Jannamoa*, is, undoubtedly, *Javanna*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Franda*. It lies in the 10th North, at a very small Distance from the great Island of *Souma*, which is the second in Size of those three Islands which are known in *Europe* by the common Name of *Japan*, which is not, as we generally apprehend it, the Name of a particular Country, but of a large Archipelago, the most considerable of which is *Nippon*. It is true, that later Authors speak of no such Port as *Pinto* mentions; but that is not surprising, since it is on all Hands allowed, that prodigious Changes have been made in the Name of the principal Ports and Places in these Islands.

* One of the most singular Things in *Pinto's* Relation is this, that, notwithstanding the Abolishment of the People on their first beholding the Gun, which his Companion brought over, they were, however, so ingenious as to comprehend the whole Mechanism of it in a very little Time. I think it is not was first brought to *Japan*, they had made several of them, and in the space of a few Years they became very expert in making them. When they, though very cautiously in secret, is, notwithstanding, collected by later Writers.

fore safely predict, that the Continuance even of that slender Power which the *Portuguese* have still left, cannot continue long, and that for these two plain Reasons: First, because it has been long, and is still in a declining Condition, so that its Force being extremely decayed, and at the same time continually employed in resisting the Efforts of its Enemies, it is impossible, in the Nature of Things, that it should subsist for any Time: Secondly, the Manners of the People are entirely ruined, so that there is not the least Probability that any such Reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make such Use of the convenient Ports of which they are still possessed, as is necessary to revive and restore their Commerce in the *Indies*. I venture therefore to pronounce, that in the Compass of twenty or thirty Years, their Establishments in these Parts will be quite lost, and that in all likelihood, *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*,

The advantageous Consequences that arise from such Expeditions, beget in the Bosy of a People a Spirit of Industry and Commerce, which, by giving a new Turn to their Genius, and raising at the same a virtuous Emulation, in a short Space, shorter indeed than can be well imagined, create a naval Force, and thereby establish a new maritime Power. But, on the one hand, the Wealth derived from Commerce, and that wonderful Flow of Success which usually attends a Nation powerful at Sea, very often produces Luxury and Indolence, which naturally lead to the Ruin both of Trade and naval Power. I do not mean, by Luxury, the Possession of all the Pleasures and good Things of this Life, but the affecting nothing else. If it were otherwise, we ought not to desire Commerce at all, because it is the certain Source of Riches and Affluence; but there is a great Difference between possessing and using good Things moderately, and being

...in much that he complained to his Father, and desired he would prevail upon the Stranger to trust him with his Gun, to which the Portuguese yielded, and promised to go a shooting with him the next Day.

The young Man was so impatient that he was up before it was light, and on the fifth of August was at Pinto's Chamber-door before he awoke. He had too much Manners to disturb him, but unluckily trying the Gun, took it out with him into the Court, and resolved to make a Shot. He put in a double or treble Charge of Powder, which giving Fire, the Gun burst, cut his right Thumb so that it hung by a Thread, and at the same time a Piece of the Barrel struck him so violently over the Ear, that he fell flat upon the Ground, and those who were about him thought he was killed. The Noise of this Accident was very soon spread over the whole Town, where it was unanimously agreed, that the Stranger's enchanted Instrument had killed the Heir of the Crown. The Noise made round his Apartment awaked Pinto out of his Sleep, who coming down without knowing what was the Matter, went directly to the Place where the Accident had happened, and seeing the Prince lying on the Ground, whom he took to be dead, he threw himself on the Body in the utmost Anxiety. A Moment after came the King, the Queen, and the two Princesses, all of them in a distracted Condition, and as soon as they saw the Prince swimming in his Blood, and Pinto lying by him, they immediately concluded that the Stranger had killed the Prince, upon which two Soldiers advanced with their Swords drawn, in order to cut off his Head; but the King called out to them to forbear, since he was determined he would first extort from him the Reason that induced him to commit so vile a Fact.

The Reason of this Stay of Execution was, because a little before a Conspiracy had been discovered, for which several Persons had been executed the Day before; and the King apprehended, without any Reason, that this Action might be an Effect of that Conspiracy. It is not necessary for us to dwell upon all the little Circumstances of this Affair; and therefore it will be sufficient to observe, that when they were on the very Point of torturing Pinto, in order to make him confess why he committed this detestable Murder, and who were his Accomplices, the Prince very luckily came to himself, and seeing how Things stood, was filled with great Concern, that he alone was in the Fault, and that the Stranger knew nothing of the Matter; wherefore he supplicated that he might be set at Liberty, and have Leave to come to him, which his Father immediately granted. It was then proposed, that they should send for an old Prince, who lived at seventy Leagues Distance, to dress the Prince's Wounds, and to try if he could save his Life. The young Man declared against this, and said, he should die before he came, and begged that he might be left in the Hands of the Stranger, who knew best how to deal with him. The King thereupon called for him, and asked, if he would undertake his Son's Cure, which, if he refused, he should think his King too small a Re-

While Things were in this Situation, they had Advice that the Chinese Ship was ready to sail; upon which Pinto desired Leave to be gone, to which the King very unwillingly consented; but as the Stranger insisted upon it, he ordered a Vessel to be equipped, in order to carry him back to the Island of *Tanucama*, and sent a Gentleman with him, furnishing him also with all manner of Provisions and Retretments. After his Return to that Island, our Traveller remained there a Fortnight, waiting for a fair Wind, and then embarking, arrived safely at *Lisamps* on the Coast of *China*. This is, in few Words, the Account given us by Pinto himself: Let us now proceed to the other Discovery of this Country made by the Portuguese, according to our Promise.

In the same Year 1542, three of the same Nation came by pure Accident into this Country, their Names were, *Antonio Mata*, *Francisco Zemeto*, and *Antonio Pexeta*, who in a Voyage from the Island of *Macassar* to *China* were thrown upon the Coasts of these Islands, and were exceedingly well received. Amongst other Acquaintance, they entered into a close Conversation with one *Argera*, a Man of a good Family, and considerable Fortune; but who was exceedingly troubled in Mind on account of some Irregularities committed in his Youth, who heard them with Pleasure discourse concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion. About two Years after *Avarez Vaz*, a Portuguese Merchant, came into the same Country, and became very intimate with the same Person, whom he persuaded to go to the Portuguese Settlements in *India*, in order to be converted and consoled by the holy Discourses of the famous *Francis Xavier*; to which at length he yielded, and having received Baptism at *Goa* in the Year 1548, he the next Year accompanied Father *Xavier* and two other Jesuits in their Voyage to *Japan*, where they immediately entered upon their Mission; by the Progress of which, this Country was made so thoroughly known to the Portuguese, that if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own Voyage thither, it is very possible we had never heard any thing of it at all; but that he afterwards visited *Japan* in Company with Father *Xavier*, and after the Decease of that industrious Jesuit, whom the Papists esteem the Apostle of the *Indes*, he went thither again as Ambassador from the Viceroi of the *Indes* to the King of *Bango* in 1536, so that there seems to be no just Grounds for calling any thing that he has written in Question.

The Conventions made in this great Empire contributed not a little to support and extend the Portuguese Trade, which was managed with much Facility, and to a vast Profit: For the Portuguese being established in *China*, carried from thence vast Quantities of Silk into *Japan*, where, as all Ranks of People affect to be clothed in it, There followed a prodigious Consumption, which enriched the Portuguese Merchants very soon to a high Degree, tho' it is scarce credible, that as some Dutch Writers report, they have sometimes carried home in our small Ship one hundred Tons of Gold. But this prodigious Success proved

Consequences that arise from such the Body of a People a Spirit of e, which, by giving a new Turn to ng at the same a virtuous Emula- e, shorter indeed than can be will al Force, and thereby establish a But, on the one hand, the Wealth ee, and that wonderful Flow of attends a Nation powerful at Sea, xury and Indolence, which natu- both of Trade and naval Power. I ry, the Possession of all the Plea- of this Life, but the affecting no- otherwise, we ought not to desire ife it is the certain Source of Riches here is a great Difference between

SECTION XXIV.

The Voyage of Francis Pirard de Laval to the East-Indies; his Shipwreck amongst the Mlades, and his copious Account of that Archipelago.

Translated from the Author's Original Voyage, published by himself in French.

1. An Account of the Design of this Voyage, and the Author's Embarkation for the East-Indies, May 18, 1601.
2. The remarkable Accidents which happened in their Passage till their Arrival at the Island of Anibon.
3. They double the Cape of Good Hope, and arrive happily on the Coast of the Island of Madagascar.
4. They meet with a dreadful Storm there, and lose a great many Men by the Scurvy and Sur-

... had two very bad Consequences; for, first, they dis-
gusted such Princes as had embraced the Faith; and, se-
condly, they hardened the Infidels in their Aversion to it.
But it was not only the Corruption of the *Portuguese*
Merchants, Officers, and Seamen, that gave Offence to the
People of this Empire, the Intrigues of the Missionaries
themselves contributed to it as much, or more, by ex-
citing the Jealousy of the Emperor; for where-ever they
had converted any of the Princes of *Japan*, they were
continually at Court, and, instead of minding what was
the proper Business of the Church, engaged at every Turn
in Affairs of State, making the Direction of Conscience
much less their Care than the Direction of Councils, by
which they became the Authors of many Troubles, and
afforded a Handle to their Enemies of charging them
with many more; so that the Emperor of *Japan* began at
last to surmise, that there was more of Hypocrisy than
Sincerity in their Hearts, and that they were endeavouring,
under Colour of saving Mens Souls, to establish a new
Government in that Country.

These Jealousies, which certainly were not altogether
without Foundation, were extremely increased by two
Circumstances; the first was, the Haughtiness and Ill-
conduct of such as were sent Embassadors thither, espe-
cially after the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*;
for those Masters were wont to boast of the vast Power
of the Catholic King, and of the mighty Extent of his
Dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japo-
nese*, by shewing the Maps of the *East* and *West Indies*;
and the Impudence of one of these Embassadors is said
to have carried him so far, as that on being asked how his
Master had acquired such vast Territories at so great a
Distance from his hereditary Dominions, he answered, by
sending Missionaries first to convert a Part of the Inhabitants
to Christianity, and then sending Troops to assist the
new Convert in shaking off the Yoke of infidel Princes.

The other Circumstance was the coming of the *Dutch*
Ships up on the Coast of *Japan*; for these People applying
themselves entirely to Commerce, and submitting, for the
like thereof, to whatever Terms were prescribed by the
Japanese, gained thereby such a Degree of Confidence
with their Princes, that it procured implicit Credit to their
Representations, as to the ambitious Designs of the *Span-
iards* and *Portuguese*. These Remarks will give the
Reader to easy a Key to the political Contrivances for first
retraining the *Portuguese* Trade to a particular Port, and
then shutting them up as it were in a Prison during their
Stay in that Empire, as in the first Chapter of this Work
has been largely related, that we need not run here into
any Repeating, for content ourselves with observing,
that notwithstanding the many previous Signs which the
Portuguese had of the approaching Rupture with the *Japo-
nese*, yet were they so far from taking such Steps, as
in common Prudence they ought to have done, for avoid-
ing to great a Mischief, that on the contrary, they behav-

... they professed the utmost Extent of their Knowledge to
that it belonged to the Prince of *Matsuma*, who was de-
pendent on, and a Tributary to, the Emperor of *Japan*.
In the Year 1613, Father *Comanzo*, who first carried
the Christian Religion in *Japan*, hearing that the Prince
of *Matsuma* had sent to *Japan* for a Physician, and that
a Convert to Christianity, a Man of good sense and
quick Parts, was pitched upon to go over into that
Country, he recommended to him the Care of instructing those Peo-
ple, if a favourable Opportunity offered, in the
Faith; which Commission the Physician executed with
much Zeal and Fidelity, that he quickly gave
Comanzo a good Account of his Mission, allying
he had not only made many Converts, but that he had
the People in general better inclined to the Christian Re-
ligion, than could have been expected.

In 1620, Father *Angelis*, who was then at *Tagayudo*,
most Northern Part of the Island of *Nippon*, to which
many Christians had been banished, received Orders there-
from his Superior, to go himself to *Matsuma*, in order
to cultivate the Seeds of Conversion, whence the *Japanese*
Physician had flown, and accordingly thither he went the
same Year by Sea. He arrived very safely in the *Bay*
Tsugo, and from thence travelled through several Rivers
to *Matsuma*, where he found a vast Number of *Japanese*,
and amongst them many Christians. They had been ex-
pelled there but a few Years, and had been driven out
by the Discovery of very rich gold Mines (the *Nippon*
being the neighbourhood of this City, and Mines of that
kind called) of a very singular Kind. There is a River
passes by the City of *Matsuma*, imminently rich in Gold;
those who desire to deal in that Commodity, purchase
from the Prince such a Part of the River, and erect a
semicircular Canal, well secured by strong Beams,
which, by sluices, the River is turned, leaving behind
of its Channel as the Adventurers have agreed to pay
thence they take the Mud, and by frequently raising it
obtain vast Quantities of Gold dust, and sometimes Pieces
of Gold of a considerable Bigness. When they have
finished their Work, and find there is no more Gold to
be got, they fill up the Canal, and by that Means turn
the River back into its old Channel, and in the Space of a
Year or two it is found as rich in Gold as ever.

Father *Angelis* informs us, that the Natives of that
Country, which we call *Yesso*, call it in their own Lan-
guage *Ainomovori*, but were able to give but a very im-
perfect Account of its Extent or Situation. These Peo-
ple were larger, stronger, and had much better Complex-
ions than the *Japanese*, and wore Beards that reached to
their Girdles. They were dressed in long Robes of Silk,
Cotton, or Linnen, according to their Rank, which were
set off with abundance of little Ornaments. Their Arms
were Bows, Arrows, Lances, and short Swords. In Point
of Religion their Notions were very obscure and con-

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ing loaded with Ball, beat the Sail of the *Corbin* to Pieces;
upon which the Vice-Admiral fired two Guns on the Rig-
ging of the Ship that had injured him; and the Admiral
tacking to the Windward of the *Dutch* Admiral, spread all
his Sails, and fired a Gun upon them; the *Dutch* Admi-
ral presently struck, and, having informed himself that
the Mischance was occasioned by the Oversight of a Gun-
ner that was in Drink, delivered up the Gunner to the
French Admiral, in order to condign Punishment, and beg-
ging he would pardon the Mistake. Our Admiral find-
ing how the Matter stood, said, he desired no further Sa-
tisfaction; and having returned the Gunner, entreated the
Dutch to vouchsafe him a Pardon. How the *Dutch*
treated him afterwards I know not; though I do not
much doubt but they hanged him up immediately at the
Yard-arm; for the *Dutch* observe an exact Discipline
among their Ships, and suffer no Mistakes to pass with Im-
punity; and from thence it comes to pass, that their Navi-
gation is more successful than the *French*.

June the 23 we departed the *Canary Islands* in 28, 29,
and 30. At 10 the 23th and 24th we came within

treading upon their Eggs. This Fowl is no bigger than
a Pidgeon, and the Flesh is black, but eats admirably
well.

On the 10th of *October* we put to Sea again, and *Nov-
ember* the 17th we made the Island of *St. Helena*, which
lies in 16° S. Lat. at the Distance of six hundred Leagues
from the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon the Altar of a Chap-
el in this Island we found several Letters, advising that
the *Dutch* had passed that Way. Here we thought to
have fired our Mizzen-Mast, but found no Wood fit for the
Purpose. The Air, Fruit, Flesh, and Water of that Place
are so healthy, that our Men, who were much oppressed
with the Scurvy, recovered in the Space of Nine Days. On
the 26th we set sail, and stood for the *Cape of Good Hope*,
and three Days after doubled *Arrolles*, which are a Bank
of Shelves upon the Coast of *Brazil*, in 15° S. Lat. and
seventy Leagues long. The doubling of these Sands is
both difficult and dangerous, and in falling to the *East-
Indies*, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious in keep-
ing to a just Distance from the *Green* Coast, which is
very unhealthy, and incommoded with Calves and Cur-

...ent of their Knowledge to be
...e of *Mitama*, who was con-
...to, the Emperor of *Japan*,
...*onjance*, who then called
...*apan*, hearing that the Prince
...n for a *Physician*, and that
...a Man of good Parts and
...on to go over into that Quality,
...Care of instructing the Pro-
...quity offered, in that the
...the *Physician* gave
...he quickly gave
...s Mission, assuring
...Converts, but that he had
...inclined to the Christian Re-
...a expected.

bounded by the Sea, where the Currents are so violent, that tho' there is a Country on the other Side the Strait, within Sight, and where they are able to distinguish the Horfes feedings, yet hitherto none of the Inhabitants of *Yesso* have passed over thither, because great Quantities of large Canes are driven with prodigious Violence by those Currents, to that it they were to hazard themselves in their small Boats, they must run an apparent Hazard of being overiet and lost. From hence I conclude, that according to all Appearance *Yesso* hath a fourth Sea on the North, which consequently separates it from *Tartary*. From whence should those impetuous Currents come, but from a Sea to the North of *Yesso*, running East and West, or from West to East, and discharging itself to the South, through the Straits, on the West of *Yesso*, with such Rapidity, as renders them impassable to the People of the Country.

"The second Reason is, that the Inhabitants of *Yesso* are not under the Dominion of any one Prince, nor have they amongst them any Chief that has a Tract of Country of any great Consequence, that is Subject to him; they are likewise far from acknowledging the Supremacy of any Khan of the *Tartars*, or seem to be acquainted with that Title, or with any thing of the like Import; but every Family, or at least every little Village, has a Chief who governs it absolutely, and without acknowledging any Superior, which appears to me a strong Proof, that they are separated by a Sea from all other Countries, since if it were otherwise, they would undoubtedly be governed as those Countries are. I am sensible, that it may be objected against the first Proof I offer, that the Currents of which I am speaking, may possibly be occasioned by the Opening of some great River, which discharges itself into the Sea, somewhat farther to the North, and thereby occasions such an Accession of Water, as in passing through those Streights, form such terrible Currents. But after all, I cannot help esteeming it more reasonable to believe that this Country is bounded on that Side, as well as on the rest, by an Arm of the Sea. At least this is the most common Opinion, and I remember to have seen in *Sicily* an old Map of the World, in which the Land of *Yesso* is laid down as an Island. As to what the Inhabitants of the Country say, I have examined those that came from the East, and others who came from the West, but found them all alike ignorant of Geography.

Thus far this Missionary, who is the only *Portuguese* that has wrote sensibly upon this Matter. He does not, however, seem to have been acquainted with one Thing, which he might have learned in *Japan*, and that is, that those People distinguish between the Island of *Yesso* and *Otu Yesso*, that is, the higher or upper *Yesso*; from whence it is very plain, that there is both an Island and a

in that Country, the other, that through the Emperors of that Country have granted several Licences to *Europeans*, and particularly to our Countryman Captain *William Saris*, for making Discoveries to the West and North, yet they have always been extremely cautious of permitting any Strangers to examine their Coasts on the East.

24. The new *Philippine* Islands are a late Discovery, of which we have an Account in the Philosophical Transactions, in a Letter from a Missionary at *Mindanao*, who tells us, that being accidentally at the Town of *Gurvam*, in the Island of *Sima*, he there found twenty nine Palatos or Inhabitants of certain new-discovered Islands, who were driven thither by the Easterly Winds, which blew in those Seas from *December* to *May*. They had run before the Wind for seventy Days together, according to their own Relation, without being able to make any Land till they came in Sight of the Town of *Gurvam*, an Inhabitant of which being on the Shore, perceived them, and judging from the Make and Size of their Vessels they were Strangers, and out of their Course, took a Piece of Cloth and made them a Signal of entering the Road he directed; to avoid the Shoals and Banks of Sand they would otherwise have run upon. These poor People were so frightened at the Sight of this Stranger, that they began to put to Sea again; yet the Wind forced them back a second time towards the Shore; when they came near, the *Gurvanese* made the same Signal as before; but seeing they would not mind it, but would unavoidably be lost, he threw himself into the Sea, and swam to one of the little Vessels, on purpose to bring them late into Shore. He was no sooner got to them, but the Women with their Children on their Backs, and all that were in that Vessel, threw themselves overboard, and swam to the other. He seeing himself alone in the Vessel, resolved to follow them, and getting aboard the second, shewed them how to avoid the Shoals, and brought them safe to Land; in the mean time they stood immoveable, and resigned themselves up intirely to the Conduct of this Stranger, as so many Prisoners.

The Inhabitants of *Gurvam* running to Shore, received them very kindly, and brought them Wine and other Provisions; they eat *Cocoas* very freely, which are the Fruit of the Palm-trees of this Country. Their Pulp is something like that of Chestnuts, only that it is more oily, and it supplies them with a sort of sweet Water, very pleasant to drink; they gave them Rice boiled in Water, which is eat there and all over *Asia* as Bread is in *Europe*; they looked on it with Surprise, and taking up some Grains of it, threw them on the Ground, imagining them to be Worms; upon bringing them large Koots called *Polarum*, they eat greedily of them. In the mean time they brought them two Women that had formerly been driven on Shore on the Coast of *Gurvam*, and who understood a little of the Language of this Country; one of the Women found among these Strangers one of her Relations, and as soon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The In-

This Fowl is no bigger than a Pheasant, but eats admirably well. We put to Sea again, and made the Island of *St. Helena*, which is distant of six hundred Leagues from the Cape of Good Hope. Upon the Altar of a Church we wrote several Letters, advising that they should return the same Way. Here we thought to land, but found no Wood or fresh Fish, and Water of that Place was very scarce. The Natives, who were much oppressed in the Space of Nine Days. On the Coast of the Cape of Good Hope, we were told of a Bank of *Arrollos*, which are a Bank of *Brazil*, in 15° S. Lat. and the doubling of these Banks is very dangerous, and in sailing to the Cape it is to be very cautious in keeping the *Greeney* Coast, which is a very dangerous Coast, and Commodore's Bay, which is a very dangerous Bay.

The Seamen being scorbutick, we marked out a Place on the Shore for the Sick, and at the same time a *Dutch* Ship was forced into the same Harbour by Stress of Weather, which had not one sick Hand on Board. The Natives gave us Cattle, Fowls, Honey, and Fruit, in Exchange for Knives, Scissars, and Trinkets of little Value; but the Place was so unhealthy, that many of our Men died, partly by the Scurvy, and partly by a Pleuriticke Fever. We lay directly under the Tropicke of *Capricorn*, and the Sun-beams darted upon us almost in a perpendicular Line; some had their Legs scorched, and ulcerated through their Stockings; nay, the extreme Heat would have incommoded us more, if it had not been for the Convenience of a fine River to bathe in, and the Shades of a large Wood. We were possed at the Foot of a great Mountain, which was covered with Infinity of large Lizards that offered no Hurt to any body. The Wood was replenished with an innumerable Quantity of little Monkeys and Apes, which entertained us with a continual Shew of dancing a rout, and skipping from Tree to Tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and make an agreeable Harmony, with their various and warbling Notes.

these Islands are *Mohammedans*, being a Medley of several Nations, viz. *Ethiopiens*, *Caffres*, *Arabians*, and *Perfians*. They are true Friends to the *Portuguese*, and a cunning, sharp sort of People, that are not fit to be confided in.

When our Men offered to land at a little Village to take in Water, the Inhabitants rose up in Arms, and opposed their Landing, till they sent them five or six Crowns, after which they allowed them to take as much Water as they pleased. All these Islands are extremely fertile in Oranges, Citrons, *Cocoas*, Honey, Betel, and Rice, which we bought up at the easy Purchase of a few Iron Trinkets and *Flanders* Ware; Flesh, indeed, is as dear there as here, though they have plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep. They have Bark made altogether out of the Body of one Tree, in which they keep their Fruit to *Mozambique* to be exchanged for Cotton, Cloth, Gold, Ivory, &c. One Day we saw a monstrous Fish rise above the Water, which had the Form and Figure of a Man, with a sort of Beard towards the Chin that seemed to be his Pins, and a long scaly Head, terminating in a Point: when we offered to come near

Vessel, that a Storm had driven out of its Course, and got it from hence to *Marianna*. These Strangers added, that of the thirty two Islands three of them were uninhabited, unless with Wild-fowl, but all the rest were well peopled. Upon asking them the Number of Inhabitants, they pointed to a Heap of Sand, to shew that their Number was very great. The Names of these Islands are *Pais Lammilatup, Sarason, Turapie, Pahyay, &c.*

The three Islands that have nothing on them but Wild-fowl, are *Pisact, Huatan, Pagan*. The most considerable of all these Islands is *Lamuree*, where the King of the Country keeps his Court, and to him the Governors of all the other Islands are subject. Among these Strangers, there was one of the Governors and his Wife who was the King's Daughter; though they went half naked, yet their Carriage, and a peculiar Air of Greatness, sufficiently distinguished them from the rest. The Husband had his Body painted all over with certain Lines, in such a manner, that they formed several Figures: The rest of the People were also painted in like manner more or less. The Women and Children were not painted at all; there were nineteen Men and ten Women of different Ages, the Make and Colour of their Faces were much like that of the *Philippine*. The Men had no other sort of Cloaths than a Sash wrapped several times round their Bodies, and covering their Reins and Thighs; they wore on their Shoulders about an Ell and an Half of coarse Linen Cloth, like a Coat, tied before, and hanging loose behind. Both Men and Women dressed much alike, only that the Women had a Piece of Cloth somewhat longer, that hung from their Waist down to their Knees. Their Language is different from that of the *Philippine* and *Mariannese*; their Manner of pronouncing comes nearest that of the *Arabs*, and some who understood the Language observed the Women that learned the most considerable amongst them, had several Rings and Necklaces of Tortoise-shell, called here *Carey*; and others made of a Substance much like Amethyst, but not transparent. The Manner of their living at Sea, which was for seventy Days together, continually driven by the Wind, was thus. They cast out a sort of Net made of a great many Twigs or Trees tied together, with a large Mouth for the Fish to enter in at, and terminating in a Point, to prevent their getting out. The Fish they took after this manner was all the Nourishment they had, and Ram Water saved in Coco shells, which is the Fruit of the Palm-trees, and of the Figure and Size of a Human Skull.

They have no Cows in their Islands, and at the Sight of them they ran away, as they did likewise at the Barking of a Dog; neither have they Cats, Stags, Horses, nor, in general, any Quadruped, nor any Fowl, but Sea-fowl, excepting Hens, which they breed up, but never eat their Eggs. Notwithstanding this their Want of every thing, they are very cheerful, and contented with their Condition. Their Songs and Dances are exact and regular; when they sing, it is all in Concert, every one observing the

uted in building a Merchant-Ship at *Caragan*. I saw no Metals in their Country. The Father-Mother made each of them a Present of a Large Piece of Bar, which they received with as much Joy as if it had been made of Gold; and for fear it should be lost, they fastened it under their Heads, when they went to sleep. They have no other Arms than Lances of Darts, made of human Bones, very well sharpened, and fixed in a Piece of naturally very pebble; but if any Quarrel happens amongst them, it is decided with some Piece of the Head, which yet very rarely happens; for when they would come to a close Fight, they first throw their Spears, they are soon reconciled again. They value their Spears heavy, but, on the contrary, have a great deal of Lightness and Courage. They are not so fully as the Inhabitants of the *Mariannas*; yet they are well proportioned, and shaped much like those of the *Philippine*. Both Men and Women let their Hair grow long, and hang down to their Shoulders. When they understood that they were to be conducted to the Presence of the Father-Mother, they painted their Bodies all over with a yellow Colour, which is looked upon by them as a great Ornament.

The oldest of these Strangers was once the Captain of the Coat of *Caragan*. They are very expert in catching Shells, but threw them into the Sea, as if they valued their Value. The New *Philippine* is situated in the Number, and form one of the Islands of the North-East, being enclosed on the North and South by the Tropic Line and the Tropic of Cancer, on the East by the Strait between the *Mariannas* and *Ponapoo*. The Inhabitants of the Islands never offer any Violence to each other; Murder and Homicide are unknown to them; they have a Prove amongst them, that no Man may kill another. It is probable these Islands may contain Gold, Amber, and Drugs, being situated nearly under the same Degree of Longitude as the *Andaman*, which we have Nutmegs, and other valuable Spices.

Though these People seem to live in a very happy and amongst them a sort of Potentates and total Government; every Island obeys his Chief, who is subject to the King of the Country. The first of these Islands is the Island of *Fau*, called likewise *Tau*. Though these Islands were never heard of in any of the Voyages made very few Years, it is a long Time since they were discovered. Mountains of *Santal*, thick Smokes were often seen on the Coast, which commonly happens in some of the Islands; when the Inhabitants let Fire to their Woods on the Mountains of the Ground: These Smokes the *Federer*, *Ulan*, *Ulan*, and other Islands, had also observed when they were out at Sea.

There have been some Opinions made to this Account by some of our Writers, who have reported inaccurately, and thereby entertained themselves

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immediately the King sent for his Brother-in law to save what was on Board our Ship, though the Flats were such that no Boat could come near it; yet they found a Way of getting at it by Means of a Rope fastened at one End to the Ship, and at the other to the Rock; for tho' the Waves washed over them, they had fast hold by the Rope, and to get to the Ship; nay, they are so ingenious, that they took out the very Cannon and the heaviest Goods, and laughed at any Advice we could give them. When we left the Ship, we brought with us about a thousand Crowns in several Grids, and buried it ashore for a common Relieve, to supply our Necessities; but some of our Men being in want of Subsilience, digged up the Place, and offered the Natives Pieces of Money for Food, after which the Natives would never allow us Sustainance without Pieces of Money, and in regard that the least Piece in the Bank was worth Twenty pence, their Provisions were much over-valued; Every Seam in had from his Neighbour what he had got, and would not assist him even at the Point of starving; nay, when any lay very sick, the rest came and nursed him, before he died.

geon, with black and white Feathers, and is excellent Meat, though the Natives do not eat it. The uninhabited family Islands appear at a Distance as if they were covered with Snow; for the Sand, which is as fine as that of an Hour Glass, is extrem white, and white to very but as to hate the Penguins Eggs. These sandy Islands afford little or no fresh Water, but the covered Islands, whether inhabited or not, enjoy that Benefit, altho' for a very few, the Inhabitants of which are forced to have Recourse to the neighbouring Islands for Water, and make use of certain Inventions for the receiving of Rain-Water.

The Water of some Islands is better than that of others; their Well-Water is neither very sweet nor very wholesome, but is very plentiful, and very fresh, every within four Pieces of the Sea Side; for they dig not above three or four Feet, and where the Sea makes frequent Inundations. This Water is very hot in the Night-Time, and extreme cold in the Day, especially about Noon. To return to the thirteen *Italons*, the first, being nearest from the North, is called *Tal Pon Mata*, i. e. *the high Peak*; in this lies the Head or Cape of the same Name, called

the Fourteenth of *November*, in the Year 1710, that I sailed from the *Philippine* Islands, in order to find the Islands of *Palaos*, supposing my Departure to be from the Lat. of 13° 0', and from the Long. of 143° 22', I navigated fifteen Days, as I have marked in my Chart; and, on the Thirtieth of *November*, we discovered Land to the North-East 3° towards the North, having observed a 1/2 Variation to the East in this Course, the Land lying from us about three Leagues.

" We made Sail again in order to approach nearer, when it appeared, that there were two Islands, which our Father *Duroon* thought fit to call the Islands of *St. Andrew*, because, on the Day that we discovered them, the Church celebrated the Feast of that great Apostle. When we were very near these Islands, we perceived a dog coming to us, in which were some of the Inhabitants, who stood out, when they were within Hearing, *Mipin*, *Mipin*, which is as much as to say, Good People. A *Palaos*, who had been baptized at *Manila*, and whom we carried with us, shewed himself then, and spake to them: As soon as they came on Board, they informed us, that these Islands were called *Sonforol*, and that they were Part of the *Archipelago* we sought for. They expressed a great deal of Satisfaction and Joy at the Sight of us, which they testified by kissing our Hands, and embracing us.

" These People are extremely well shaped, and of a very robust Constitution; they were naked, except that about the Middle they wore a Piece of Mat. Their Hair was curled; they had very little Beard, and, to defend themselves from the Rain, they wore upon their Shoulders a kind of Mantle, made of a thick Sort of Mat, and, on their Heads, Hats of the same Sort of Stuff, round which they stuck Birds Feathers upright. They were extremely surpris'd to see our People smoke Tobacco; and, of all things, seem'd most to esteem Iron; and whenever they saw it, they gaz'd on it in such a manner as visibly betray'd how much they covet'd it: And in case we did not understand their dumb Signs, they made no Difficulty of earnestly and frequently demanding it. In the Afternoon there came off two other Boats, in each of which there were eight Men; as soon as they came near us, they began to sing, beating Time with their Hands upon their Thighs. When they were on Board, some of them began to measure the Length of the Ship, taking it for granted, that it was made of a single Tree, while others counted our Number of Men. They brought us some Leaves, some Fish, and some Herbs.

" These Islands were all covered with Trees to the Sea-Shore. Their Boats appeared to us very neatly made, in which they made use of Smack-Sails, having a Lee-Board on the other Side the Boat, in order to prevent it from going over. We desired them to shew us what was the Course to the largest of their Islands, or *Pansaque*, and

direction, and taught them to pronounce plainly the holy Names *Jesus* and *Maria*. We asked them several Questions as to the Bigness of the Island, and the Number of its Inhabitants. They answer'd, that the Island was about two Leagues and a half in Circumference, and that very probably there might be eight hundred People, who lived chiefly on Cocoa, Fish and Sails. I observed the Height of the Sun at Noon, and found, that we were in the Latitude of five Degrees fifteen Minutes North, the Variation of the Compass at Sunrise being about 5° to the N. E.

" The Currents carried us away to the South-East with great Violence, we were not able to recover the Land till the fourth, about Six in the Morning. We then found ourselves at the Mouth of the Channel, betwixt the two Islands. I then sent the *Shallop* once more to look for an Anchorage; it was to no Purpose, for about 4 in the Afternoon they returned with an Account, that the Coast was an entire Rock, and that it was to no Purpose to let go an Anchor. On the 5th, about 7 in the Morning, the two Fathers came to a Resolution of going ashore, and setting up a Cross. *Don Padilla*, and myself, represented to them the Dangers to which they would be exposed, and how much they had to fear from these Islanders, with whose Temper we were but little acquainted, and how much they might be embarrassed, in case the Currents carried us to such a Distance as might put it out of our Power to send a Boat to bring them off, or to afford them any Assistance. Their Zeal was so warm, that they made little Account of these Difficulties, but persisted firmly in their Resolution, in spite of all we could say. At last, therefore, leaving Brother *Danlon* on Board the *Ship*, they went into the *Shallop*, taking with them the Quarter-Master of the Vessel, and the Ensign of the Land Forces we had on Board: They likewise carried with them the *Palaos* I have before mentioned, together with his Wife and Children.

" The two Missionaries being gone, we kept near the Island all Day, by the Favour of the Wind, notwithstanding the Force of the Current; but towards the Evening, the Wind sunk, and we were driven out to Sea. We put out Lights from the Time it was dark, on the Bolt-sprit, and also on the Mizzen-mast, that they might see where we were. During the Night, we had some Gulls of Wind from the North-East, the North-West, the West and South-East, so that in the Morning at Break of Day, we found the largest of the two Islands bore from us, N. N. W. distant about 5 Leagues. We endeavour'd from that Time to the 6th at Noon, to get as near the Land as we could, but without Effect; nay, the Current drove us still farther and farther, so that I found myself in the Latitude of 5° 28' N.

" We

to West, we cannot cross directly from Entrance to Entrance, but set out from the East Coast, which is then the Head of the Current, and taking it sideways, steer for the West Entry of the other *Atollon*. In order to return, we set out from the East Entrance, and over-thwarting the Current, make to the West Entry of the other *Atollon*. When the Current changes its Course, we observed the same Contrivance in setting out from the Head of the Current, and entering the other *Atollon* at the Place which lies under the Current of these Entrances. Some are broad, and some narrow, but the widest is not above two hundred Paces over, and some of them are less than thirty; each Entrance hath an Island on each Side, and if Cannon were planted on these Islands, it would be easy to hinder any Ships to enter.

" Of the Channels that part the *Atollons*, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great Ships, and frequently visited by Strangers, when the Currents carry them in against their Will. To begin from the North Side, the first of the four washes the *Atollon* called *Malos Malos*, and it was in this that we were first seen. The

ment, and in order to turn it extremely black, several Women keep their Daughters Heads shaved till they are eight or nine Years old, leaving only a little Hair on the Forehead, to distinguish them from Boys, who have none at all: I have seen some Children have half flaxen Hair, which has turned very black by being shaved every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair, but the Women take a Pride in having theirs thick and long, which they wash and dress very frequently. They wash their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that Purpose; after which their Hair hangs dishevel'd in the Wind, till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moist and oily. Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after washing; but the Women wash their Bodies more than once in a Day, their Hair is not washed above twice or thrice a Week. They may wash their Hair when they please, but they are oblig'd to do it on *Fridays*, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Festival for the Men. After the Women have washed, rubb'd and perfum'd, they stretch all the

at their going off, let fly a Shower of Arrows, four of which fell on Board our Ship. Don *Padilla* then thought fit to order a general Discharge of our Fire-Arms; upon which the *Indians* jumped over-board, leaving their Vessels, and swimming towards the Shore at a prodigious Rate, but when they found that we gave over firing, they returned to their Boats, re-embarked, and made for the Land as fast as they were able. These *Indians* were all of them naked, and some had painted their Bodies of different Colours. Their Skin is generally of an Olive Colour; but some were darker skinned than others; they had nothing with them that we saw, but a few Coconas. On the 12th we had little or no Wind, so that it was as much as we could do to continue in our Station, which we did all that Day without approaching near the Land. About four in the Afternoon there came off two Boats, who made Signs, and spoke to us; but as we had no Interpreter, we were not able to learn what they said. About Nine at Night the Wind blew South-South East, and the Currents setting strongly to the North, carried us away at a great Rate. I then thought the most prudent thing I could do was to sail between two of these Islands, the Chanel being very open and fair, and about a League over. On the 13th, being to the West of these two Islands, we held a Council, in order to consider what Measures we were to take, and it was very soon resolved to bear away for *Sanjoral*, in order to learn some News of our Missionaries, and of our Shallop. On the 14th, I found myself abreast of that Island. We lay there the whole Day without so much as seeing a Boat, though we were within Cannon-shot of the Shore. We coasted round the West Side of the Island till the 20th, when a high Gull of Wind from the South-East drove us out to Sea.

On the 21st we again drew near the Coast, and by Two in the Afternoon were within three Quarters of a League of the Shore, without perceiving any Boat. In the Evening we were driven to Sea again by an East-North-East Wind, upon which we held another Council, in which, after mature Deliberation on the Circumstances we were in, without a Shallop, in some want of Water, without knowing where to get any, it was resolved to return to *Manila*, which we did with some Difficulty, being forced to make the Tour of *Mindanao*, carrying nothing back but the melancholy News of the Lots of the two worthy Fathers we carried out.

It appears clearly from this Relation, that it was penned by the Captain of the Vessel, though he has not thought fit to inform us of his Name. Better Evidence than this of there being such an Archipelago cannot be desired, tho' at the same time it must be confessed, that this Account gives us a very different Notion of those People from that suggested by the former Narratives. In 1711 another Attempt was made of this kind, which ended as unluckily, some of the Jesuits intended for the Mission dying at Sea, and

the Year 1756 were let off Shore by the Commodore for Mutiny, in a Voyage from *New Spain* to the *Filipinas*.

While these People were on Shore at *Guam*, they had some Silver Plate, and after considering it over, declared that they had a great deal of the Metals of the Islands, which gave Occasion for the fitting out some from *Guam*, for the Discovery of those Lands, in the Year 1722; but what the Fate of that Expedition was, is not come to our Knowledge. It is certain, that a very great Discovery might be made on this Side, because, what is already known, it is very clear, that there is a continued Chain of Islands in the Longitude of our Station from the Line, or rather from the Continent of *Neu-Hevey*, which lies in the Latitude of 8° S. to the Islands, that make a Part of the Archipelago of *Japan*, in the Latitude of 32° N. and as it is certain, that the Inhabitants of the last mentioned Archipelago acknowledge they need great Quantities of Silver from an Island which lies to the East of them, it is not at all improbable, that many rich Metals might be found in some of the many Islands which form the Chain before mentioned.

But this, however, is not the Discovery that I mean, and therefore I shall explain myself a little farther. If a Settlement was made on any of these Islands, to the East of them, it might afford a Opportunity of visiting the great Continent, if it had been any Continent between *America* and *Asia*, or if it might lead to the Discovery of some continental Land between *America* and *Asia*, which, from their Situation, might well be expected to abound in rich Commodities, but particularly in silver Mines, since it is confessed, that the richest of those hitherto discovered are in the Northern Parts of *Japan* and of *America*. If it should be shown, that the rich silver Mines of *Pacifique* are not the only answer to that, this makes rather for than against my Opinion, because they are very near the same Parallel South Latitude that the rich Mines of *New Mexico* are to the N. that is, a little within forty Degrees. But this is not all, for if any such Islands could be discovered, they would afford us an Opportunity of reaching a very good East for a Passage either to the N. E. or N. W. which is a Point of very great Importance, and is not to be treated very judiciously by Mr. *Delle*, in our former Pieces, which, sooner or later, may very probably produce some such Discovery.

We have now gone through all that we prepared us with respect to this Part of our Subject. I shall now say a few Words by the Expeditions of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* on this Side. It next remains to shew how that Portuguese Power which those Nations had acquired in the East crumbled, and broke to pieces, notwithstanding the many Advantages they had for preserving it, and what remains in these *Indes* under the Dominions of the *Crown of Portugal*: Which, when we have perused, we shall

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which they make Pottage, with Milk, Cocoa, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters. The Country produces likewise several sorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one called *Nelipeu*, which grows wild, being round, and as big as one's two Fists. They bruise it upon a rough Stone, and then expose it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white sort of Meal that eats admirably well in Pottage or Cakes, only it must be very fresh, or it is apt to be heavy upon the Stomach. Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is called *Alau*, which must be sown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh. Some of these sorts of Roots are red, and others white; the Inhabitants boil them several Ways, and make them the most of their Food, keeping them for a whole Year, for they come to Maturity only once a Year, viz. in *September*. They have no Rice but what is exported from the Continent, however they have it pretty cheap, and use much thereof, either boiling it with Water or mixed with Spices, boiled with Milk and Sugar of Coconas, with Peppers Fish, or turned into Meal after drying and

frequent the Sea. Cats, Pole-cats, and Ferrits, are likewise found there; but there are no great Herds, either wild or tame, save a few Sheep, and some three or four hundred Cows and Bulls in the Island of *Male*, which belong to the King, and of which they never eat but on Festival-Days, and solemn Occasions, for these Kine are imported from the Continent. They have no Dogs, nay, they abhor them so much, that when the King of *Portugal* sent two as a Present to the King, he ordered them to be drowned immediately. The Sea affords Plenty of all sorts of Fish, especially between the *Atollons*, where the Sea is shallow and calm; the Fishery is the most constant Exercise of the Natives, who feed mostly upon Fish, when fresh, with Rice, or other Meat fried with the Oil of Coconas, or boiled in Salt water, and dried for keeping. They send every Day Ships loaded with Fish to *Manila*, *Achen*, and other Places. Many of the Fishermen have lost Arms and Legs that have been bit off by a sort of great Fish frequent in those Seas. This great Plenty of all Necessaries causes an easy Purchase: four hundred Co-

in cruel Wars against each other, and the *Mohammedans* taking Advantage of this War, endeavouring to make themselves Masters of every Country in which they were permitted to trade; so that it must be admitted, the *Portuguese* had, at first, some Reason for making Use of Arms, and insisting on a Fortress where ever they established a Factor, because the one was necessary for the Security of the other; but in this they were blamable, that they affected to govern with an absolute and uncontrollable Power every Country into which they came, instead of cherishing and supporting the *Indians*, as they might have done, to their own great Profit, as well as that of those unhappy People, who, from their own Difficulties and ill Management, became the Prey of every new Invader.

If the *Portuguese* had taken this Step, they had undoubtedly secured this rich Commerce to themselves; whereas by their Tyranny they made the Inhabitants way of them to the last Degree, and ready, whenever an Opportunity offered, to change their Masters. It must, however, be allowed, that the Method they pursued served to gratify their Vanity exceedingly, inasmuch as for above a Century they governed the *Indies* at their Will, and were the sole Lords of that rich and extensive Trade, none of the *Indian* Nations being allowed to carry on any Trade at all but by their Permission, and under the Sanction of their Passports. They carried this Matter still farther; for with respect to the richest Commodities, they reserved the Privilege of dealing in them to their own Subjects entirely, such as in the Cinnamon of *Ceylon*, the wild Cinnamon of *Cambay*, Ginger, Iron, Steel, Lead, Tin, Copper, Plaster, Timber for building, all Sorts of Arms, Honey, and Pepper. These Regulations, both with respect to *Slaves* and reserved Commodities, together with a Power of visiting such Ships as put into any of the Ports under their immediate Dominion, continued in Force for a long Series of Time, and was not totally abolished till the Year 1700, which was One hundred and fourscore Years after their first Establishment in those Parts.

During the best Part of this Time, they disposed, as the supreme Lords of *India*, of all the rich Commodities it afforded, sending home annually fifteen or twenty large Ships laden with the most precious Merchandize of the East, exclusive of the Profits they made of their Commerce in the *Indies* themselves, and the adjacent Coasts of *Africa*, viz. to *China*, *Japan*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, *Melinda*, *Malabar*, and *Sofala*. *London* became, by this Means,

As I have pursued a brief chronological Method in relating the Loss of the Settlements made by this Nation in the *East-Indies*, we must have started from one Part of this Country to another, which would have occasioned great Confusion, without yielding any considerable Advantages; whereas the Method we have now taken by proceeding from West to East, will show the Reader, as he goes along, how these Settlements were lost in the very same Order in which we have before shewn they were acquired.

Chap. II. to the EAST-INDIES.

Upon other Occasions they take five or six large Pieces of Wood, and having ranged them all in a Line, raise Planks on them of the same Wood, to fit upon, and so pass from one Island to another: and it is by this Contrivance they generally manage their Fishery. In the Canals that run between the *Atollons* one Man can work these Instruments of Navigation, though they are not proper for the Sea; for they know how to trim their Decks so well, that there is no Fear of overtilting; and if that happens, their Plank will always swim: all the Danger lies in disjoining the Pieces; and this sort of Float is called *Candou-patis*, from the Wood of which it consists. The *Candou-tree* has yet another strange Property, namely, that when one Piece of it is struck against another they will extract Fire; and this serves them in the Place of Tinder-boxes.

13. Our Method directs us, in the next Place, to speak of their Language, which lies in two Channels; the first is the *Maldivan*, properly so called, which is very copious; the second is the *Arabick*, of the same Use as *Latin* in a Popish Country, being the Language of their

Sun-set, and at ten o'Clock at Night, remaining each Time half an Hour. Those that have no mind to go to Church may say their Prayers at home, or none at all if they please; but if it be known that any Person neglects their Duty of Prayer altogether, nobody will eat or converse with him; from whence it comes to pass, that almost all of them, whether Tradesmen or others, spend a great Part of their Time in publick Service. They make use of Beads as well as the Papists; but they have no Crosses. Before they enter the Temple they wash their Feet, Hands, Ears, Mouth and Eyes, observing at the same time certain Ceremonies, and pronouncing Prayers suitable to the Sin they repent of.

They are so scrupulous, that no Temptation in the World can oblige them to forbear this solemn Way of washing, upon the Apprehension that it certainly purges them of all Sin and Pollution. The greatest Indecency of their Worship is, that they wash and bathe publickly and promiscuously, and offer their penitential Prayers with a loud Voice, and to discover to all the World all the secret Transgressions of their Lives. At this Rate all the secret Adventures of Man and Wife are laid open to the World by the publick

with great Care, and rendered it in every respect very considerable; but after the Dutch had deprived them of the Island of Ceylon, they did not long let them rest here, but by the Assistance of an Indian Prince, besieged and became Masters of that Place in 1655.

From thence all along the Coast, quite up to Bengal, the Portuguese have lost all Power; and as for Settlements they had none of any great Consequence to lose, having in the Time of their greatest Power contented themselves with a small Establishment at Meliapour, or St. Thomas, restraining all the rest of the Coast by their Squadrons, which were continually cruising in the Bay of Bengal. On the opposite Side of the Gulph the Portuguese had once very great Power in the Kingdom of Pegu, in consequence of their assisting the Monarch of that Country against the King of Siam, who had invaded his Territories, and would very probably have made him his Tributary, if a Body of Portuguese had not come to his Assistance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himself effectually against his Enemy, but even to pursue him into his own Country.

It is very easy to discern what mighty Advantages might have accrued to the Portuguese from this favourable Turn, if they had known how to improve it; but we learn from a late Author, that what might have turned so much to their Benefit, proved, by their own ill Management, the Cause of their Ruin, and that in a very short Space of Time. The King of Pegu, it seems, was so sensible of the Service they had done him, in driving the King of Siam out of his Country, that in pure Gratitude, he made one Senbor Thomas Pereyra, who commanded the Portuguese in the War, Generalissimo of all his Forces, which Preferment made the Portuguese so insolent, that in a few Years they became intolerable to all Ranks and Degrees of Persons in Pegu. Both Kings grew tired of War, but both were too proud to make Advances towards Peace, so that for many Years they had Skirmishes with small Parties, though not set Battles; and where-ever the Portuguese Arms went, they had Victory to accompany them. The King of Pegu, to have his Forces nearer the Borders of Siam, settled his Court at Martaban, and kept the Portuguese near him, to be ready upon all Occasions, either to repel or assault the Siam Forces, as Opportunity served; and Thomas Pereyra was the great Favourite at Court: He had his Elephants of State, and a Guard of his own Countrymen to attend him.

* This City of *Du* stands in the Latitude of 11° 27', and is by many supposed to be the *Barygaza* of the Ancients. It is about a League in Length, and not a third Part of a League in Breadth. The Country about it abounds with all the Necessaries of Life, and the City itself is well built, and well fortified, as any in the Indies. It is very famous for the Siege it sustained in the Year 1605, before given some Account. At present it is in a worse Condition than formerly, both with regard to Wealth and Strength, and is in some measure, it is in less Danger of being attacked.

† It is very remarkable, that the Portuguese are best respected in those Countries where they had no Fortresses, which show that the *Mahomedans* had not established their Power, the Europeans were under no Necessity of building Forts, but might have carried on their Trade as well without them. There are a great Number of Portuguese, or rather Descendants of Portuguese, settled in the Country, who are poor, but pious, and are treated with great Indignity, both by the Natives and by other Europeans, which can be attributed to their having lived so long in the Indies, as to have lost all Spirit, and to become as degenerate as the *Stamens* themselves. When they were first sent out for the *Indies*, they were in a better Condition than they are now, and were much respected by the Natives, who esteem them very much. After their long stay in the Indies, they were so much out of Order that he could not attend to his Majesty till he was better; which Answer provoked the King, that he ordered the whole Nation to take up Arms, and to make a general Massacre of the Portuguese, wherever they should be found, in City or Country. The King's Orders were put in Execution in a few Days, and in a few Hours all the Portuguese were slaughtered, and the guilty Criminal was taken alive, and made to tread the Heels to an Elephant's Feet, which dragged him through the Streets till there was no Skin nor Flesh left to cover his Bones; which Spectacle appeared the entire Day. There were only three Portuguese slaves, who were accidentally in the Suburbs, near the River, who saved themselves till Night favoured their Escape in a small Boat, in which they crawled along the Shore, till they arrived at the Woods and Rocks afforded them, and then returned to Malacca, to give an Account of this dreadful Transaction.

The Kingdom, or as some called it, the Empire of Siam, lies next to Pegu, and is a Country of vast Extent, the Monarch of which was too powerful for the Portuguese to think of making any great Conquest in his Dominions, and therefore they chose to live with him upon equal Terms, for the sake of the vast Trade carried on in his Dominions, which are extremely well situated for Commerce, having on one Side the Kingdoms of *Lan*, *Cambaya*, and *Cochin China*, and on the other, the Kingdoms bordering on the Gulph of Bengal. Besides, there usually resorted thither a Fleet of Merchant Ships from *India*, laden with all the rich Goods of that Empire. They continued to hold a fair Correspondence with the Monarch and his Subjects as long as their Power subsisted in the Indies; but by Degrees the Dutch have in a great Measure excluded them from their Influence here, since they, when they erected their Factory here, and have since wrought themselves so effectually into the Confidence of this Prince, that he has granted them an exclusive Privilege of purchasing all the Tin in his Dominion, which is a Branch of Commerce of prodigious Importance, yet the Portuguese are not wholly ejected, though their Trade is much fallen from what it was. There are several small Principalities on the Isthmus, which were formerly under the Power of the Portuguese, except the

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Prayers; after which the Catibe being mounted on a raised Place at one end of the Temple, takes a naked Sword in his Hand with the Point downward, and flourishing it about, recites his Prayers. In the mean time the People pray without ceasing, putting themselves in various Postures, and observing several apish Gestures.

The Catibe has a new Prayer for every Friday in the Year, and when that Year is expired, makes use of the same Prayers for the next. He repeats all without Book, and if he happens to be out in one Word, Syllable, or Letter, the Moudins reprimand him publicly, and the Feast is thought to be ineffectual. This Service lasts about two Hours, and after it is over, the People saluting one another, and the King returning in great State to his Palace, entertains them at his own Expence. They observe the like Solemnity on the Day of every new Moon, and rejoice when they see it. Upon this Occasion they clean their Houses, Courts and Streets, garnishing the Entries of the Churches, and the Gates of their Houses with Cocoa Shells cut in the middle, and filled with white Sand, and burning Coals, upon which they burn almost all Night sweet-scented Gums and Woods, at the same time the Infidels of their Houses, their Beds, &c. are perfumed after the same manner.

the Courtship consists in sending to one another Songs and Verses, inscribed with Bodkins on Cocoa Leaves, which are as white as Paper.

The Youths likewise present their Mistresses with Garlands of sweet smelling Flowers, and receive in return Presents of Betel nicely dressed. In fine, they take all possible Measures to heighten their Mirth and Divisions. Three Days before it ends the Bellman and the Trumpeters go round the Island, requiring all the Inhabitants, whether Men or Boys, Women or Girls, to send their Names in Writing to the Naybo of their respective *Atellen*, and to pay an Offering of half a Lirin a Head, which the People pay very willingly as a Tribute to God and Mankind. For they imagine that without the paying of that Tribute their Falling would not avail them. In this Law the Parents pay for the unmarried Children, and for their servants and Slaves; and if any poor Person has not the Money to lay down, the King, or any rich Person, pays for them very willingly. The Money arising from this Law is divided in the Hands of four Receivers, one on the Behalf of the King, a second for the Clergy, a third for the new converts, and a fourth for the Poor. One third of it goes to each spiritual Person, another to the Priestesses, and the remaining third to the Poor. About August and September

Chap. II.

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In 1602, the Dutch, who were then become very powerful in the Indies, attacked and destroyed the Fleet of the Portuguese here, consisting of thirty-four Sail, on board of which were three thousand Men; but they were not able to take the Place. The next Year the King of Johore invested it with an Army of sixty thousand Men, in Revenge of what the Portuguese had done against him three Years before, when they took and destroyed his Capital; but, however, he was obliged to raise the Siege with great Loss. But the Dutch, well knowing the Importance of the Place, and the vast Advantages accruing to the Portuguese from its Situation and Commerce, the former affording them an Opportunity of levying 10 per Cent. upon all Vessels passing through the Streights, and the latter producing annually a large Revenue, they attacked it in the Year 1640 so vigorously, that they became Masters of it after a Siege of six Months. The Walls and Fortifications they preserved, as also the Church of St. Paul; but most of the other Churches they were destroyed, and the great Hospital they have turned into a Warehouse. The Language spoken here is esteemed the most copious and polite in the Indies, and therefore serves as a kind of general Tongue through all the Islands and Provinces further towards the East. In the Kingdom of Cambodia, or Comboya, the Portuguese have still a considerable Trade, and they are likewise well received in Tonquin. As to their Settlements in the several Islands of the East-Indies, in China, and in the Empire of Japan, we have spoke of them sufficiently already under the Head of Discoveries, and there is therefore no need of our insiling farther upon them here, as our View, at present, is no more than to shew how their principal Settlements were lost, and to whom, which having done, it may not be amiss to say somewhat of the Wars carried on against them in these Parts by the Dutch, and the Pretences they made use of for carrying them on.

28. The Troubles in the Low Countries, which produced a War between the Crown of Spain and the Republick of the United Provinces, began about 1570, and

...opportunity of retaining these Countries, both in which
in a singular Degree they from this Accident obtained. For
as on the one hand, his Catholic Majesty had enough to do
in defending his hereditary Dominions before this Accession
of the Territories of Portugal, so he was tempted to apply
the Revenues of that Crown to the immediate Wants of
the Spanish Government, which we may conclude were
very great, since on his Death-bed he owned, that the
Wars of the Low-Countries had cost him five hundred and
sixty-four Millions of Ducats, which is upwards of one
hundred and twelve Millions of our Money; whence it is
easy to perceive, that he could not spare as much as was
 requisite for the Defence of the Portuguese Territories. On
the other hand, the Portuguese themselves, though they
had been always distinguished for their Loyalty to their
natural Princes, were far enough from shewing so much
Zeal in the Service of the King of Spain; and it is very
natural, when the Minds of private Men are entirely de-
spoiled of publick Spirit, for the Affairs of the State to fall
into Confusion.

But one would have imagined, that after the Separation of Portugal from Spain, which happened in the Year 1640, Things would have taken another Turn; because, with King John IV. the Dutch had no Pretence of making War. To give the Reader a clear Idea of this Matter we must remember, that the Dutch had taken Brazil from the King of Spain, or rather from the Portuguese, while they were his Subjects; but afterwards that Nation considering this as an Injury not to be borne, attempted to drive the Dutch out, notwithstanding the Treaty concluded between the States and the King of Portugal in 1641, which, to say the Truth, had been but indifferently observed on both Sides; that is to say, the Dutch had encroached upon the Portuguese in the East-Indies, and they, on the other hand, gave the Dutch little or no Respite in Brazil, out of which, in ten Years Time, they drove them entirely.

About this Time died King John IV. and left his Son Alphonso VI. a Minor, which Advantage the Dutch took to declare War against the Crown of Portugal, from a Persuasion that this Opportunity of regaining what they had lost in the West, and prosecuted their Conquests in the East-Indies, was not to be lost, and the rather, because Portugal was at that Time engaged in a dangerous War with Spain, and the Dutch had lately concluded a Peace with that Crown. It was in consequence of this new War that

* At the Time the Portuguese delivered themselves from the Spanish Yoke, the Dutch were employed, as we have already shewn, in reducing the Island of Ceylon, and made use of Abundance of Artifices, in order to prosecute the Advantages they had gained, notwithstanding the Peace concluded between the States General and the Crown of Portugal in Europe; neither did they desist from their Hostilities, even after the Peace was proclaimed in the Indies, but continued to give the Portuguese almost as much Trouble as while the War continued. This they did, under Pretence of being Allies, or Auxiliaries to fetch Indian Princes as were at War with the Portuguese; and where this Pretence was wanting, they took Care by their Familiarities to stir up new Wars, and under Pretence of restoring the Indians to their Freedom, contrived Things to as to engage them in long and bloody Wars, which had no other End than to oblige them to change their Masters, with this Difference only, that whereas the Portuguese endeavoured to keep large Countries, and to oblige the Indian Princes to pay Homage to the King of Portugal, the Dutch contented themselves with the Sea-Coasts, and forbidding those Princes to trade with any other Nation; so that their Slavery was equally great, though not always equally apparent, which ever Side prevailed.

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new-married Queen, A Man may have three Wives if he can maintain them, but not more; and if all three live in one Island, he is obliged by Law to bestow as many Nights upon one as upon the other. Tho' after all this Law is not observed, and indeed it is a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are so lascivious.

The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wife, and is obliged, not only to be at the Charge of the nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to settle upon her a Jointure equal to what her Mother and other Ancestors had. They are so nice on this last Condition, that if the Priest apprehends the Husband cannot afford such a Jointure, he refuses to marry them, notwithstanding both Parties require it; but after all, the Bride may renounce either whole, or Part of the Jointure, after Marriage, and indeed that is frequently practised. Brothers and Sisters, and god Cousins, and those who by way of Friendship and Intimacy have used to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, these, I say, are prohibited to marry. The Males may marry when they will, but a female Orphan cannot marry till she is fifteen Years of Age, instead of her Father by

deceased Person. The Priests sing continually during the whole Course of the Ceremony, and in the Procession a Person of Quality sprinkles the Assistants with Water made of sweet Flowers.

The Grave is covered with a large Piece of Silk, or Cotton, which, on the Interment, goes to the Priests of the Temple. When the Couple is laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceased Person to the Quarter they face Mohammed's Tomb, and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, sprinkling it with Water. When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following Fridays they pray over the Grave, where the Priests sing, eat and pray every Day, till the third Friday passes, after which, a general Feast is prepared for the Relations, Friends, and Priests, who pretend, that the Soul of the deceased Person is then conveyed to Paradise. This Feast is prepared every Year, and on All-Souls Day they throw fresh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incense: The Grave is surrounded with wooden Pales, for they reckon it a great Sin to walk over it. They never bury a dead Person in the same Place, but they bury the

In the *East-Indies* Things were to remain as they then stood, and both Parties were to keep what, at the Conclusion of this Peace, should be in their respective Possessions; but the *Dutch* kept this no better than they did the former Treaty; but, on the contrary, in 1663, attacked all the Places which the *Portuguese* held on the Coast of *Malabar*, particularly *Cochin*, which they had no sooner taken, than they destroyed all the Wild or Bastard Cinnamon, which, after the Loss of *Ceylon*, had proved an advantageous Branch of Commerce to the *Portuguese*. There were high Complaints made of this in *Europe* to the States-General, who were either deceived by the plausible Accounts given them by their *East-India* Company, or pretended to be deceived, that they might, with a better Grace, protract the Negotiation relating to this Affair, till their Subjects in the *East-Indies* had so fortified the Places they had taken, as to put it intirely out of the Power of the *Portuguese* to attempt the Recovery of them*.

These Proceedings gave the finishing Blow to the Ruin of the *Portuguese*, who have never since been able to undertake any thing of Consequence; but, on the contrary, have exhausted much of their remaining Strength in defending themselves against their *Indian* Neighbours, who encouraged by the Progress of the *Dutch*, and excited thereto by some of their Agents, have been since endeavouring to tear from them the small Remains of their Possessions in *India*, and have often kept *Goa* itself blocked up for many Months together; in which, perhaps, they have as much mistaken their own Interest as prejudiced that of this Nation, the Power of which has already so much broken, as not to afford any just Ground of Jealousy either to *Indians* or *Europeans*.

29. We have already, in the Course of this History, pointed out many of the Causes of the Declension of that mighty Power which, in so short a Space of Time, the Crown of *Portugal* acquired in the East; but as this is perhaps the most useful Part of the present Section, it may not be amiss to add a few farther Observations on this Subject, the rather, because the *Portuguese* Authors, who have treated so largely of the Conquests made by their Nation, have been, in a great measure, silent on the Means by which they were lost. One great Cause of their Ruin was the Circumstances of their Government at home, where, for many Years together, they were engaged in a long, expensive, and dangerous War against the Crown of *Spain*,

* The *Dutch*, though their *East India* Company gained sufficiently by these Practices, suffered very severely, as a State, from the Jealousies excited in their Neighbours. The *English* had some Experience of a like Disposition towards them; and though the *French* had not, they were not less ready to join in a War to humble them, as they phrased it, which was that of 1672; and how far the Cause of that War were connected with the Conduct of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, may appear from a Fact charged upon them by Mr. Tavernier, who in his Travels writes, that the *Dutch* Factor at *Gambra* in *Perfia* publicly burnt the Picture of King *Charles II.* in a Fire, partly made of Cinnamon, which cost him a great deal of Money, and which gave a very bad Impression of the *Dutch* to the *Perfians*, who laboured all they could to undo the Trouble the *Jesuits* gave them in *China*, discovered this Practice to the Governor of the Diamond Mines at *Sijapan*, who caught the Factor, and executed the *Faquirs*, with Stones about them to the Value of twenty five thousand Pounds, which he took from them, and then was taken publicly for punishing the Habit of thofenoly Men, took such Measures as prevented their carrying on that Trade.

We owe this Circumstance to the History of *Holland*, by M. De La Nouville, who tells us, that the *Dutch* being extremely jealous of the Trade of the *Faquirs*, with Stones about them to the Value of twenty five thousand Pounds, which he took from them, and then was taken publicly for punishing the Habit of thofenoly Men, took such Measures as prevented their carrying on that Trade.

three Years, Five hundred thousand Crowns; from whence we may form some Notion of the Profit of the *Voyage*. Now as it is impossible such exorbitant Sums should be made any other Way than by oppressing the *Indians*, and taking large Sums from the Merchants, we may easily perceive, that all these private Fortunes were made at the Expence of the public Interest.

The bad Examples of the *Government* had a very great Effect on all the subordinate Officers; so that *Pride*, *Innerness*, *Luxury*, and a pompous Display of Wealth, attended by illicit Means, took place of that generous Avarice, that laudable Ambition, that disinterested Zeal, which enabled their Ancestors to lay the Foundation of a large an Empire, with a very inconfutable Part of that Power which was in the Possession of those who succeeded. The Clergy too followed the Example of the Lay, instead of promoting, as at the *Reign* of the *Portuguese*, the Conversion of the Natives to the Christian Faith, from a religious View of saving their Souls, they now proceeded that Work from the meaner Motive of making themselves servient to their own Purposes, and enabling them to acquire vast Riches. This Corruption prevailed to such a Degree, that not only many of the *Jesuits* at *Goa* engaged in Trade, contrary to the Rules of their Order, and not Duty as Missionaries, but even descended to so low a Trade as to disguise themselves in the Habits of *Faquirs*, or *Mahomedan* Monks, that they might have an Opportunity of visiting the Diamond Mines, and purchasing Stones of an extraordinary Value*.

But what most of all contributed to corrupt the Missionaries of the *Portuguese* Settlements, was the little Care taken to prevent their leaving all Things to the Care of the *Negroes* and other Slaves, and their intermingling with the People of the Country, Practices which have been so often proved to be fatal to all *European* Establishments, because it not only softens and effeminates the Minds of such Settlers in this Way of living, but also changes their Views, and makes them lose all Regard for their Country, and induces them to take such Measures as are most likely to preserve them in the Enjoyment of such servile Pleasures. The *Portuguese* at *Goa* have been for more than a Century past so much addicted to this grovelling and sensual kind of Life, that provided they might enjoy their fine Houses at the City, and their Country Palaces in its Neighbourhood, they gave themselves no Pain about what happened elsewhere.

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like ours, they could not have the free Use of their Arms. Persons of Quality commonly wear such Coats; but some have a Custom of covering their Skin from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Paste, made of the Powder of Camphire and Sanders, beaten upon a smooth Stone, and incorporated with the distilled Water of sweet-scented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, &c. with this Paste, and draw various Figures upon them; however, they must not appear with that Piece of Foppery before the King, or be seen in his Palace. The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or party-coloured Turbans, some of which are of Cotton, for the meaner sort of People, and others of Silk, for the Persons of Quality. The King's Officers and Soldiers have frequently embroidered Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which other Subjects are not allowed to wear. Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within Doors they use wooden Sandals, which they pull off when visited by a Person of superior Rank; oftentimes their Legs are likewise naked.

The Women wear a Coat of Cotton, or Silk, which

Drop of Water, though they wash their Moulds before and after. Instead of Table-cloths and Napkins they use Banane-Leaves. Their Dishes are made of Earth, or *China* Porcelaine, which is very common in that Country, gold or silver Vessels being prohibited by Law. They use all round like Boxes, with an earthen Cover, over which they put a Piece of Silk, for the *Pisanes* are there so numerous and troublesome, that it would be impossible to keep Meat without a Cover upon it, and the People are so nice, that they will not taste any Meat that has been touched by a Fly, Plume, or any Insect or noxious Thing, but give it to the Fowls. As for the *Pisanes*, whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they are to offer them what they will not eat themselves, and to entertain them with the best Victuals they have. If there be the least Crack in a Dish, they eat no more out of it, holding it polluted.

All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, and wash it nicely, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very natural Piece of Decency. If they have Occasion to cough or spit at Time of eating, they rise from

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* There is a very wide Difference between these total Preferences and the Governments formerly in the City of the Viceroy of Goa, which were first the first was that of *Mombasa*, which still is in their Hands, and the only one of the old Government that is so; the second was that of *Mojoa*, on the Arabian Coast, which was of very great Importance, and brought in large Revenue; the third was that of *Ormuz*, on the Coast of *India*; the Captain General of the Island of *Goa* was the fourth, and the Governor of the important Forts of *Macao* the fifth. Upon each of these General Governments there depended many others of less Consequence, of which these Generals had the absolute Disposal; but as one would think them were continued in them for no longer than three Years. And it was for this Reason they were guilty of so much Extortion, looking upon their Governments as Leases for many Years, in which they were to make their Fortune.

LAVAL Book 1

Chap. II. to the EAST INDIES. 711

... they wash their Mouths before
... le-cloths and Napkins they use
... are made of Earth, or Clay
... very common in that Country,
... prohibited by Law. They use
... an earthen Cover, over which
... for the Pisfautes are there to
... that it would be impossible to
... er upon it, and the People do
... not taste any Meat that has been
... ue, or any in contact with
... the Powis. As for the Dogs,
... the Servants of God, they
... will not eat them, and
... Victuals they have, they
... may eat no more out of it, than
... with their Fingers, and wash
... thing full, that being accounted
... Decency. If they have Occa-
... sion of any other kind of
... they eat no more out of it, than

... turn them adrift, so that they float upon down till they are
... quite burnt; and this they take for a Sacrifice that is ac-
... ceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they can-
... not easily set their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens
... and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right afore the
... Ship they mean to sail in. They likewise pay a superstiti-
... ous Deference to the imaginary King of the Sea, and dare
... not spit to the windward of the Ship, nor look behind
... them.
... All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Prince of
... the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and
... clean as Temples. They place a wonderful Virtue in cer-
... tain Characters called *Catide*, which they wear under their
... Garments in little Boxes, and sometimes under their Arms,
... Necks, Girdles, or Feet, according to the Seat of the Dis-
... temper; for, their imaginary Virtue is said to consist in
... curing or easing Diseases, procuring Love, Hatred, Safety,
... or Danger, &c. These they buy of the Magicians, who
... are their only Physicians. They impute Death, Sickness,
... and all Affliction to the Devil, and, in order to pacify
... him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets in a
... dish, which they burn in a custom, which some

... and when they are nine Years old, they commence the Stud-
... ies and Exercises of the Country.
... Their Studies consist in learning to read and write, to
... understand the *Alcoran*, and to know their Duty. They
... have three sorts of Letters, *viz.* the *Arabick*, the *Maldivean*,
... and a third sort, which is commonly made use of in
... most Parts of the *East-Indies*. Their Lessons are wrote
... down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and
... whiten again after they have got their Lessons by Heart;
... for durable Writings are on Paper made of the Leaf of a
... Tree called *Mavate Quatan*, that Leaf being a Fathom and
... a half long, and a Foot broad. To teach the Children to
... write, they make use of no Paper, but make Draughts of
... Letters with a Budkin upon smooth, plain Boards of Wood,
... covered with fine white Sand. The Children have such a
... profound Veneration for their Masters, that they cannot
... marry them any more than their own Parents. Some of
... them, especially the *Moudans*, *Naybey*, and *Catines*, carry
... their Studies a great length, and acquire great Skill in the
... *Alcoran*, and other Treatises of the Law. The Mathe-
... matics are much esteemed in this Country, and especially
... the Art called *Almagest*, which is a

Moss, and by that means maintain their Masters, instead of being kept by them.

About fifteen Days Journey from hence lies *Sofala*, where the *Portuguese* have likewise an Establishment, subject however to the General of *Mozambique*, and here a prodigious Trade is driven on, at which the *Portuguese* are, or might be, Masters. It consists chiefly in Gold, of which there are greater Quantities here than in any other Country in the World, since the annual Produce of this Market is computed, by the best Judges, at Forty-six thousand Ounces. There are vast Quantities of *Sponges* and *Canary Wines*, *Oils*, *Silks*, *Linens*, *Cottons*, *Coral*, and other *European Goods* sold here, which are carried by the Inhabitants of the little Kingdom of *Sofala*, through all the great Empire of *Movometopa*, which the *Portuguese* stile the Empire of Gold, from the prodigious Quantities of that precious Metal which are brought to them from thence. There are, likewise, some other very rich Commodities brought hither by the Negroes, such as the most excellent Ivory in the World, great Quantities of Ivory, abundance of fine Mats, which are much esteemed in the *Indies*, and a great Number of Slaves, so that *Goa*, and all the rest of the *Portuguese Settlements*, are furnished from hence. One may justly wonder that, considering the Value of this Settlement, and its convenient Situation, the *Dutch* had not made themselves Masters of it long ago, as well as of all the other Places belonging to the Crown of *Portugal* in this Coast.

In the Year 1607, they attempted *Mozambique* with very little Success, which, however, did not discourage them; as it must be allowed, that where there is a Prospect of Gain, the *Dutch* are not easily discouraged: And, therefore, in 1608, they attacked it a second Time with greater Force, but with the same Success as before, except that they made themselves Masters of a rich *Portuguese Fleet*, which, in some measure, paid the Expence of the Expedition. This year *Dutch*, however, is much fallen off by the *Dutch* making themselves Masters of *Mombasa*, and other Places, which gives them an Opportunity of supplying the *Africans* with *European Goods*, which they purchase in different Part of the *Indies*.

As for the Slave which the *Portuguese* still retain, the Gold obtained thereby is sent to *Goa* and to *Dna*, where it is coined into small Pieces, called *St. Thomas's*, which are not worth above Half a Crown of our Money; and it is observed that this Coin is of a woful Fourth, that is, of a bad Alloy, than any other in the *Indies*, which is another Sign of a declining Trade; for the *Sarabins*, which were formerly coined at *Orma*, when in the *Portuguese Hands*, were esteemed the best Gold in the *Indies*; but they are now become extremely scarce; and the *St. Thomas's* are said to be coined in this Quantity every Year.

31. Their Possessions are said to produce so little to the King of *Portugal*, that it has has been more than once de-

the Preservation and promoting of Trade, which he who understand that Subject best agree together in Ruin. This is an exclusive Company, which has the Right to the Commerce of *Mozambique* and *Alagoa*, which Company has taken upon itself the Payment of the Royal Officers, who are also Two-thirds concerned therein, which has given such a Blow to the natural Commerce of *Goa*, that the best Part of the *Indian Merchants* of the *Indies* are now retired from thence. To say the least, it was the great Share the Viceroy, Governors, and other Officers, always took in Commerce, without doing any thing thereto, except protecting the Merchants from the Violence committed by themselves on such as did not give them to a Share in their Trade, that first destroyed their extensive Commerce they enjoyed. And, upon this subject, the Wits of the *Indies* have framed a very witty Verse. They say, that when the *Portuguese* came into the *Indies*, they had a Sword in one Hand, and a Compass in the other; but that they might fill their Pockets with Gold, they quickly dispensed with the first, and sold it for the second, the last, by which they have lost all. But to see their Power and their Commerce are to make it seem, that it is as great as ever, inasmuch that there is a great Number of the Country, who are called *Cannons*, the Portuguese wearing stockings, though they employ them as *Indians*, Lawyers, and Merchants; by which many of them are so rich that they keep a *Dzoo* or *House of Lions*, and are in much better Circumstances than the *Portuguese* themselves.

The Revenues of the Church have suffered very much by this surprizing Change in the State; there is now a Monastery that does not receive four or five hundred Crowns out of the Treasury, at the same time, the Soldiers starve and mutiny for want of Pay, which is so much the harder upon the Government, that the Reverend Fathers know very well how to take care of themselves, inasmuch that it is affirmed, that the *King of Goa* have a better Revenue than the Crown of *Portugal*. It is not easy to know what becomes of the Money of the Churchmen here; but it is very evident, that the Wealth they possess, together with the Establishment of the Mission at *Goa*, is such a dead Weight on the State, that it must sooner or later destroy it. The Wits of the *Portuguese* in *Europe* understand this very well, and would be glad to see some proper Remedy applied, to remove the Prejudice against the Church or Churchmen, and to get enough from being the Vice of that Nation, but out of pure Regard to the Crown, and to the Nation, they would think, that the Clergy themselves, shall be contributing at more, ought to be willing to part with some Inportion of what is already in their Hands, in order to reduce the State more able to protect them in the Possession of the Remainder. Besides, there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious Houses is directly opposite to

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ing. Upon the Flats near the Shore they catch small Fish like Pileard's with Casting-nets.

At the two Equinoxes they have a general Fishing, which is very remarkable. At these two Periods of the Year, as the Tides flow beyond their wonted Bounds, so they ebb more than usual, and discover several Rocks and Flats, which at other times continue under Water. Upon this Occasion the *Maldivians* pitch upon several dry Corners, which they encompass with Stones raised like a Wall to a great Height, being forty Paces in Circumference, with a Door or Entrance left that is three Paces wide. This done, thirty or forty of them stretch out, all round the Flats, a large wide Circle of the great *Coccolards*, at each Fathom of which they tie a Piece of *Coccolard* shell dried, and that supplies the Place of Cork, making the Line float. Now the Fish enclosed within the Circle are so scared with the Shadow of the Floating-line, as if it had a Net underneath it, that instead of making their Escape by swimming, they fly from it, and, by the gradual Contraction of the Line, are brought into the Inclosure, the Entry of which is therupon Ropp'd with all Expedition with Faggots of the *Maldivian* and *Portuguese* *Coccolard* together.

proaching to the Door of the Houses, which is always open, and spread with Tapestry of Cotton Cloth, or some other Stuff, they cough once, upon which the People of the House come out. In the Island of *Mala* the King's Officers and Soldiers cough frequently, to give Notice to another in the dark Streets, for fear of receiving mortal Wounds from their Arms, which are always naked in these Hands.

22. We shall in the next place take a View of the Government, which is an absolute Monarchy, for the King is feared and revered by all, and every thing depends upon his Pleasure under him. Each *Attollor* has a *Naybe* or Governor, who is a Priest, and Doctor of the Law. The *Naybes* govern the inferior Priests, and are assist'd in the Administration of Justice, and the Management of religious Concerns. The *Cantons* or *Attollors* being divided into many Islands, each of these Islands, that contain above forty-one Men, is allotted a *Postor* or *Attollor*, who presides there in religious Matters, and one of the particular Priests of the *Molques*. All the *Postors* are employed in instructing the People in the Law, and in giving a certain Portion of Fruits collected from every Island

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LAVAL Book I.

Chap. II. to the EAST-INDIES. 713

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This gallant Man, Don Antonio Mocha de Brito, was General of the North, and afterwards Admiral of the Gulph of Ormuz, in which Character he gained immortal Reputation. In the Month of June, 1621, he with three Ships only fought fourteen Arabian Vessels of the same Size, in the Bay of Muscat, for a whole Day; and when he might have retired safely into the Port of Dou, he anchored close by them all Night, in order to have renewed the Fight next Morning; but the Arabian Vessels being enough the Day before, stole away in the dark, and recovered their own Coast. Several Boats full of Merchants, went from Muscat to see this Battle, and afterwards complimented the Portuguese Admiral on his Victory, little suspecting, that before the End of that Year, a Man, who had done such eminent Service to the Publick, would fall, and a Victim to private Revenge.

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... were no other Ar-
... the Thing proves itself
... Pleasure, supposing Happi-
... do not find a great Part
... new what etc.
... to this plain Truth, that
... at, mined the Fate on their
... they considered their own
... that of their Enemies, that
... means by which that Force
... Industry, Patience, Pru-
... the first Adventurers; all
... the Side of their Compete-
... s, ought to have awakened
... on, and to a Return to their
... red, and were alone able to
... efforts. But continuing as
... and the Natives, and to neg-
... Precautions against the
... of their Enemies, and drew
... which could never other-
... them.

... at like Causes wild, in all
... like Effects, and therefore
... repeat these Remarks in the
... h it would have been a great
... m here, inasmuch as they
... Labour useful and impor-
... no more than an agree-
... the Reader, however, from
... we have, in the next Sec-
... at large of a very curious
... who has given us a tolerable
... which is the Subject of his

... the Discoverer of the Passage to the
... ed to their greatest Heights, for it
... remarkable, that the Son of the great
... on, take in no greater Compassion
... or, the Roman.

S E C T.

... than he imitates, and
... emy, to whom the Prince
... Nantapa met the King
... was a man of
... to come to him, whom
... it imagined. The
... that the Gods were
... a Dittent-prick
... he had fallen, and
... that would effect
... he was no Physician
... in China a kind of
... the most violent Pain
... that he had the
... on which the King
... and even in the
... of Poles. The
... the Lands of
... the Japanese
... the Human Race
... to observe, that the

Ilands, and himself made Prisoner. 7. A general Description of these Islands, their Product, and the People who inhabit them. 8. The Description of these Islands into several Provinces, with an Account of the Sea that furcunbs them. 9. Of the Original Inhabitants of this Country, their Complexions, Stature, Temper, and Manners. 10. The vast Fertility of the Maldives, and the Nature of the several kinds of Corn and Fruits produced there. 11. Of the Birds, Fowl, Fish, and other sorts of Provisions, and of their prodigious Plenty and excessive Cheapness. 12. A very singular Method in use among the Inhabitants for weighing whatever is lost in the Sea. 13. Their Language, Religion, Temples, Priests, and Form of publick Worship, with occasional Remarks on them. 14. Other Ceremonies of their Religion, together with their Feasts and Fasts, and Diversions at sea. 15. A large Account of their Marriages, the Manner of their settling Jointures, and their frequent and voluntary Divorces. 16. Their funeral Ceremonies, Profits accruing thereby to the Priests, and other curious Particulars relating to that Subject. 17. A Description of the Dress of Men and Women in these Islands, and of the Laws in relation thereto, and other Circumstances. 18. Their Customs in eating and drinking, Laws for prohibiting of Luxury, and generous Concern for the Poor. 19. Superstitious Customs among them in relation to the Killing of Beasts, Use of Baths, Sails, and other oddities. 20. An Account of the Diseases which prevail among the Inhabitants, their Skill in Physick, and other Sciences. 21. The Virtues and Vices of the Maldivians, with some curious Particulars relating to their Women. 22. A large Account of the Nature of their Civil Government, Power of the King, his Privy Council, Judges, &c. 23. Criminal Punishments in Use among them; together with the Estate of their Military Establishments. 24. A Description of the King's Palace, Habits, Manner of Living, and other Circumstances relating to his Court. 25. His State when he appears in Publick, the Queen's Court, and the great Respect paid them by their Subjects. 26. The Particulars of the Royal Revenue, the Nature of the Coinage here, and of the Value of their Commerce. 27. The Manner of the Author's Escape out of this Country, after he had remained a Prisoner there for several Years. 28. The Author's Journey to Bengal, and Return out of the Indies. 29. Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Particulars.

HERE are some Voyages and Discoveries which never lose their Value, because never superceded by any thing more excellent in their kind; and this we may truly affirm to be the Case of that Voyage which we now present to the View of the Reader. It contains a very curious, accurate, and circumstantial Account of Countries and People, who, tho' they lie at the very Entrance of the Inds. were never described before, nor has any subsequent Account of them appeared capable of entering into any Degree of Comparison with this which we before us. Our Author appears to have been a Man of good Sense, and great Observation. He was led to travel from a Humour common enough in Youth; but, at the same time, this Humour of his was regulated by a Disposition not very common in young People, which was that of looking to the Bottom of whatever appeared worthy of Notice, and of labouring to acquire whatever Talents were necessary to make so thorough an Inquisition. It was from these Principles that he derived that Constancy and Resolution which are so conspicuous in the following Relation.

He was, doubtless, in hopes, when he undertook this Expedition, that all Things would have fallen out favourably, and that he should have been entertained with the Sight of all the Curiosities in the Indies, with little Hazard, and some Gain to himself. But when it fell out otherwise, and he found all these Resolutions overturned by the unlucky Accident of a Shipwreck, he did not lose either his Reason or his Spirits; but, on the contrary, determined to make use of this Accident to further his Design of obtaining a distinct Knowledge of the Places and

People whom it was his Fortune to visit. It was in consequence of these Notions, that he examined carefully, and recorded faithfully whatever came within the Compass of his Notice; And that he might enlarge the Circle of his Understanding, he applied himself with Diligence, first to learn the Tongue of the Country, and next to enter into a free Conversation with regard to their own Affairs of every kind with the People themselves; so that his Judgment always went along with his Curiosity; and we may rest satisfied that he has not reported Things barely as they appeared, but as they were.

After this Account of our Author, it is requisite we should say somewhat of the Time and Manner in which this Voyage was undertaken, and afterwards we shall leave him to speak for himself. The Fame of the East-India Commerce in the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, provoked some French Merchants of St. Malo, Laval, and Vitré, to think of sending two Ships into that Part of the World, which Project they executed in the Spring of the Year 1601. The biggest of these Vessels was of the Burthen of three hundred Tons, called the *Cressant*; the lesser of two hundred Tons, called the *Corbon*: The former of these was under the Command of the Sieur de *Bardeveze*, the other under that of *François Grant*, Countable of St. Malo. They sailed from the last-mentioned Port on the Eighteenth of May, 1601, and had not proceeded above ten Leagues out to Sea before their Mizen-Mast split and broke in the Middle, which, says our Author, was the Beginning of our Misfortunes: And their History he continues thus.

2. On the 21st we fell in with nine great Dutch Hoys, each of which saluted us with a Gun, but one of them being

... and *Pinto* lying by him, they immediately concluded that the Stranger had killed the Prince; upon which two Soldiers advanced with their Swords drawn, in order to cut off his Head; but the King called out to them to forbear, since he was determined he would first extort from him the Reason that induced him to commit it to vile a Fact.

The Reason of this Stay of Execution was, because a little before a Conspiracy had been discovered, for which several Persons had been executed the Day before; and the King apprehended, with our Reason, that this Action might be an Effect of that Conspiracy. It is not necessary for us to dwell upon all the little Circumstances of this Affair, and therefore it will be sufficient to observe, that when they were on the very Point of torturing *Pinto*, in order to make him confess why he committed this detestable Murder, and who were his Accomplices, the Prince very luckily came to himself, and seeing how Things stood, he cried with great Concern, that he alone was in the Fault, and that the Stranger knew nothing of the Matter; wherefore he intreated; that he might be set at Liberty, and have Leave to come to him, which his Father immediately granted. It was then proposed, that they should tend for an old Boy, who lived at twenty Leagues Distance, to

... *Porto* Merchant, came into the same Country, and became very intimate with the same Person, whom he persuaded to go to the Portuguese Settlements in India, in order to be converted and consoled by the holy Discourses of the famous *Francis Xavier*; to which at length he yielded, and having received Baptism at Goa in the Year 1548, he the next Year accompanied Father *Xavier* and two other Jesuits in their Voyage to Japan, where they immediately entered upon their Mission; by the Progress of which, this Country was made so thoroughly known to the Portuguese, that if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own Voyage thither, it is very possible we had never heard any thing of it at all; but that he afterwards visited Japan in Company with Father *Xavier*, and after the Decease of that indolent Jesuit, whom the Papists esteem the Apostle of the Indies, he went thither again as Ambassador from the Viceroy of the Indies to the King of *Borgo* in 1536, so that there seems to be no just Grounds for calling any thing that he has written in Question.

The Conventions made in this great Empire contributed not a little to support and extend the Portuguese Trade, which was managed with much Facility, and to a vast Profit: For the Portuguese being established in *China*,

both Amicable and dangerous, and in sailing to the
Indies, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious in keep-
ing to a just Distance from the *Green Coast*, which is
very unhealthy, and incummoded with Calms and Cur-
rents, and, at the same time, standing off from the *Is-
lands*, for the doing of which there is Sea Room enough,
since we reckon a thousand Leagues from the Coast of
Africa to that of *Brazil*. Having doubled the Cape, we
continued our Course for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and in a
few Days we knew that we approached it by the Appear-
ance of the Reeds called *Trombas*, and wate speckled
Fowls. Having weathered the *Cape of Good Hope*, we
came in Sight of that of *Aguillas or Needles*, which thows
fifteen Leagues further into the Sea, and lies in 34° S. L.
This Cape derives its Name from the Observation, that
when a Ship comes before it, the Needle of the Compass
points directly northward, without declining to the East
or West.

We met *January* the 6th, 1702, with a violent Storm,
in which one of our Seamen fell overboard, and his
Companion would have jumped after him if we had not
prevented him; though, after all, I took his Offer to be
the Effect of Wine rather than true Affection; for there
is but little Friendship among sea-faring Men, although
our Course, we steered by the Country of *Narraganset*,
Coast of *Ethiopia*, without any Storm, which was uncon-
mon in those Seas; for between the 33d and 35th there
are never, almost, without violent Storms. After that
we mistook our Course, thro' the Equator, and went
and, on the 4th of *February*, finding ourselves on the
Land-side of *St. Laurence*, tacked about, in order to
make the other Side.

4. *February* the 7th, having passed that Land, accord-
ing to our Wishes, we were surprized all on a sudden by
a violent Storm from the South-West, being less acquainted
with those Seas than the *Portuguese*, who make many
Provisions for such Accidents. In the Storm it was so
dark at Noon-Day, that we could not see the Heads of
one another; our two ships were separated, and our Sails
were tore to Rags, such was the Force of the Rain and
Wind, that they wounded our Faces like to many Lines
of Whipped. The Waves swelled so high, and whelmed
in upon the Ship, that we could not stand up on the Deck.
In this Place we continued four Days and four Nights, and
some of the Men that were on board, applied themselves
to devout Exercises, while the Sailors redoubted the Oath
and Blasphemies. Our ancientest Pilots and Captains pre-
tended they never encounter'd such a Tempest, but the
Business was, they never had been in those Seas, which
swell higher than elsewhere.

On the 11th the Storm being over, we found ourselves
Laurence, being much disabled. All our Men were now
nearly half dead, and we had not a Man or Boy, but a
Gunner, that had ever been in the *Indies* before; whereas
came within forty or fifty Leagues of the Land, the Sea
appeared yellowish and frothy, and was covered with
floating Corpses, which continued to appear on us, so
far till the 15th, that we arrived at last at Anchor in
Augustin's Bay, in 35° 30' South Latitude. This Bay is large
and very convenient, having an excellent Ground of
and Sand. The same Day the *Cross* parted from us, and
twelve Days Separation, and was more than 1100 Leagues

from us.

for the Catholic King, and of the mighty Extent of his
Dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japo-
nese*, by shewing the Map of the *East and West Indies*;
and the Impudence of one of these Embassadors is said
to have carried him so far, as that on being asked how his
Majesty had acquired such vast Territories at so great a
Distance from his hereditary Dominions, he answered, by
sending Missions at first to convert a Part of the Inhabitants
to Christianity, and then sending Troops to assist the
new Converts in shaking off the Yoke of infidel Princes.

The other Circumstance was the coming of the *Dutch*
Ships upon the Coast of *Japan*, for these People applying
themselves entirely to Commerce, and submitting, for the
like there is, to whatever Terms were prescribed by the
Japanese, gained thereby such a Degree of Confidence
with their Princes, that it procured implicit Credit to their
Representatives, as in the ambitious Designs of the *Span-
iards and Portuguese*. These Remarks will give the
Reader to carry a Key to the political Contrivances for first
restraining the *Portuguese* Trade to a particular Port, and
then shutting them up as it were in a Prison during their
Stay in that Empire, as in the first Chapter of this Work
is shewn.

and amongst them many Christians. They were dis-
tinct there but a few Years, and had been discovered
by the Discovery of very rich gold Mines in the Neigh-
bourhood of this City, and Mines of this kind are
called, of a very singular Kind. There is a River
passes by the City of *Masjuma*, in which many
those who desire to deal in that Commodity, pass
from the Prince such a Part of the River, and the
semicircular Canal, well secured by strong Banks,
which, by Sines, the River is turned, leaving some
of its Channel as the Adventurers have agreed to do,
thence they take the Mud, and by frequently digging
obtain vast Quantities of Gold dust, and sometimes Pieces
of Gold of a considerable Bigness. When they have
finished their Work, and find there is no more to be
got, they fill up the Canal, and by that Means shut
the River back into its old Channel, and in the space of
Year or two it is found as rich in Gold as ever.

Father *Angelis* informs us, that the Natives of that
Country, which we call *Yesso*, call it in their own Lan-
guage *Anemoxori*, but were able to give but a very im-
perfect Account of its Extent or Situation. These Peo-
ple were larger, stronger, and had much better Complex-
ions than those of the *Indies*.

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to be very cautious in keep-
the *Guinea* Coast, which is
loaded with Cattle and Coe-
me, standing off from the
h there is Sea Room enough,
and Leaguers from the Coast
of Living, should the Caps we
Cape of Good Hope, and an
approach'd it by the Appen-
to-nabas, and wate spread
the Cape of Good Hope, we
willas of Needes, which flows
the Sea, and lies in S. E.
from the Observers; that
the Nee'le of the Compass
without declining to the East

1702, with a violent Storm,
men fell overboard, and the
aped after him if we had not
all, I took his Offer to be
than true Affection, in that
ing his far-seeing Men, who
the Country of Africa, upon the
any Storm, which was uncon-
between the 33d and 34th, and
violent Storms. At last
of the Ignorance of the
arr, finding ourselves in
s, tacked about, in order to

ing pass'd that Place, accord-
to be surpris'd all on a sudden by
South-Westerly, being led on board
Portuguese, who made many
In the Storm it was so
could not see the Heavens, so
is were separated, and our Ships
is the Force of the Rain, and
our Eyes like to make us
es twofold or three, and what
could not find out on the Des-
of Days and four Nights, and
on board appear'd to me
the Sailors redoubt'd of our
entell Pilots and our pro-
such a Tempest, but
had been in that Storm, and

ing over, we found our
d. All our Men were in
of a Man's Board, but a
in the *Indies* before. When
Leaguers of the Island the Sea
tly, and was so near us that
cont'ued to appear only
are ved and call Anchor in the
South Latitude. The Boys sing
ing an excellent *Cronica*, call-
ay the *Cronica* of the
and was more than a
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Quantity of little Insects, which enter'd near us
with a continual Shew of dancing about, and skipping
from Tree to Tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and
make an agreeable Harmony, with their various and warb-
ling Notes. Not to mention the Indolence of our Men in
ceeding in so hot a Climate, and the pernicious Con-
sequences that attend'd it, I shall only take Notice farther
of the unspeakable Uncleanliness from the Flies by Day, and
the Gasts that pestered us by Night, in piercing the Fleets
with the Blood Cancer, and an Inflammation of Blood. This
Inconvenience was so cutting, that some crept into Sacks
and Bags, leaving only a small Hole to breathe through,
and all of us were forced to make Fires, and lie down in
the midst of the Smoke.

The Island of *St. Lawrence* is seven hundred Leaguers
in Circumference. It lies between 26 and 1. South Lat-
itude. It abounds in Cattle, especially Sheep, which
bring forth three or four Lambs at a time; the Cattle are
not appropriated, but common to all that catch them; for
the Inhabitants, and indeed most of the other *Indians*,
chiefly rather to feed on Fish, Fowl, and Milk. It is com-
mon there to see two or three hundred Bulls and Cows in
one Herd, and when they come to cross a broad deep Riv-
er, the Cows raise their Heads upon the Bulls Rumps,
and so get over. We anchored at the Mouth of a River
that afforded great Plenty of Fish and Crocodiles, and
when we killed a Crocodile, and took out its Entrails, we
observed, that like Milk they made a very agreeable Per-
fume in the Air. The Natives are of a tawny olive Col-
our, inclining to red; they are tall, frail, well made, and
not only of a ready Apprehension, but wiser; their Hair is
long, and weather'd into Strands. They are naked all over,
excepting that their Privities are covered with Cotton Cloth.
The Women wear one Piece of Cloth, that covers them
from under their Breast to their Girdle, and another that
reaches from thence to the Knees, their Heads being bare,
and shaved. Their Arms are Bows and Javelins, called
Arroyas, for the Noise of a Gun might them exceedingly.
This said that this Island was formerly peopled by the
Chinese, upon the Occasion of a Ship's being cast away upon
that Coast; and indeed they resemble the *Chinese* very
much, being that their Complexion is not near so white,
which perhaps in my Proceed from their going naked, and
living in the *Torrid Zone*. At present the Island is very
populous, and governed by several Kings that wage War
with one another: Some of the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*,
and circumcised, and the rest are *Pagans*. The in-
habited Parts of the Island are in great Want of Water.

On the 14th of May, having refitted our Ships as
well as we could, and provided ourselves with Water,
Wool, and Fleth, which after all would not take Salt to
us, as what we have in *Europe*, we I think, and steer'd for
the *Carnaria* Islands, from the Consideration that our Com-
plement of Men was very short and sickly. The 2d made
the Islands, which lie in 12° 35' South Latitude between
St. Lawrence and the Continent of *Africa*, at the Distance
of twenty Leagues from *Moscambique*. There are five of them,
each of which has a peculiar King, and one of them call'd
Milailil, being surrounded by the other four. We chose to
anchor in its Road; we saw several Villages ashore, the
Inhabitants of which used us kindly, and gave us Fruits in
Exchange for Trinkets made of Iron. The Inhabitants of

a mountainous Run nie above the Water, with in the
Form and Figure of a Man, with a sort of Beard towards
the Chin that seem'd to be its Pins, and a long scaly Head,
terminating in a Point: when we offer'd to come near
him he plung'd his Head under Water, and to discover'd
Part of his Back, which was scaly. We find a Fort-
night in this Road, and the Goodness of the Fruit and the
Air cured our Men of the Scurvy to a Miracle; and in-
deed I have always observ'd that Citrons and Oranges,
and their Juices, are of sovereign Use in scorbatick
Cafes.

On June the 17th we set sail, and the 24th repass'd the
Equinoctial Line, standing to the Northward in the Lat-
of 5°. We perceived some great Shelves surrounding
little Islands, which were the *Maldives*, though most of our
Matters and Pilots mistook them for the Islands call'd *De
digo des Koer*, which we had left eighty Leagues a Stern to
the North West. Our Admiral design'd to pass to the
North of the *Maldives*, between them and the Coast of
India; but, on the contrary, we run directly upon them,
whereas we ought to have flood an hundred Leagues off
them, if we had a Mind to be safe. In fine, such was
our Misfortune, that the *Corbin*, which sail'd a-head, truck
thrice upon a Rock, at the Distance of five or six Leagues
from the Coast of the *Maldives*. In this Disaster we saw a
Bark belonging to the Islands, which would not come near
us on account of a strict Prohibition in that Country to
approach any Ship in Distress without the King's Leave.
In the mean time the Sailors eat and drank heartily, and
treated their Commanders with Insolence, insulting all
those who shew'd any Regard for Religion, and loudly
proclaiming that, since Death was so certain, they were
resolv'd to render its Approaches easy and soft. This
fill'd me with Horror, and convinc'd me that most Sailors
leave their Souls and Consciences ashore. In fine, after
continuing two Days in this deplorable and desperate Con-
dition, we made a shift to reft our Gallion, and had it
cover'd the Flats, and, with infinite Labour and Difficulty,
arriv'd on board of it at one of the Islands call'd *Poulaion*,
which is not a League in Circumference. We had car-
ried some Arms along with us, but the Inhabitants disput-
ed our Landing till we had given up our Arms, and sur-
render'd ourselves at Discretion. There were not above
twenty or twenty-five Inhabitants in the Island, but they
conceiv'd their Measures so wisely, that they lent off our
Boat and all their own to the other Islands: to prevent
any Insurrection from us, they carried us to a Lodge in
the Middle of the Island, where they entertain'd us with
some Fruit, Cocos, and Lemons, and treat'd us of all we
had, alledging that it belonged to their King, as being a
Wreck. We had a Piece of Scarlet Cloth with us,
which we pretended was design'd for a Present to the
King of the Islands, affirming at the same time, that the
whole Cargo of our Ship was for a Compliment to him.

Upon this nobody dar'd to touch the Scarlet;
but, after all, we cut off a Piece of two or three Ells of it,
and present'd it to the Governor of this little Island,
in order to oblige him, and he, who was a very old Man,
took it very kindly, conjuring us not to speak of it.
Soon after the Governor sent the Master and two Sailors
to the King, who resid'd in the Capital Island call'd *Atile*,
and the Master present'd him with the Piece of Scarlet.

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without acknowledging any Superior, which appears to
me a strong Proof, that they are separated by a Sea
from all other Countries, since if it were otherwise,
they would undoubtedly be governed as those Countries
are. I am sensible, that it may be objected against the
first Proof I offer, that the Currents of which I am
speaking, may possibly be occasion'd by the Opening
of some great River, which discharges itself into the
Sea, somewhat farther to the North, and thereby occa-
sions such an Accession of Water, as in passing through
those Straights, form such terrible Currents. But after
all, I cannot help esteeming it more reasonable to believe
that this Country is bounded on that Side, as well as
on the rest, by an Arm of the Sea. At least this is
the most common Opinion, and I remember to have
seen in *Sicily* an old Map of the World, in which the
Land of *Yesso* is laid down as an Island. As to what
the Inhabitants of the Country say, I have examin'd
those that came from the East, and others who came
from the West, but found them all alike ignorant of
Geography.

Thus far this Missionary, who is the only *Portuguese*
at has wrote...
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that being in a...
be lost, he threw himself into the Sea, and swim to one
of the little Vessels, on purpose to bring them safe into
Shore. He was no sooner got to them, but the Women
with their Children on their Backs, and all that were in
that Vessel, threw themselves overboard, and swim to the
other. He seeing himself alone in the Vessel, resolv'd to
follow them, and getting aboard the second, shew'd them
how to avoid the Shoals, and brought them safe to Land;
in the mean time they stood immoveable, and resign'd
themselves up intirely to the Conduct of this Stranger, as
so many Prisoners.

The Inhabitants of *Guizam* running to Shore, received
them very kindly, and brought them Wine and other Pro-
visions; they eat Cocos very freely, which are the Fruit of
the Palm-trees of this Country. Their Pulp is something
like that of Chestnuts, only that it is more oily, and sup-
plies them with a sort of sweet Water, very pleasant to
drink; they gave them Rice boiled in Water, which is
eat there and all over *Asia* as Bread is in *Europe*; they
looked on it with Surprise, and taking up some Grains of
it, threw them on the Ground, imagining them to be
Worms; upon bringing them large Roots call'd *Palmus*,
they eat greedily of them. In the mean time they brought

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reducing such a vast Abundance of Materials, as the *Portugueze* Historians, and those of other Nations, who have treated on different Parts of this Subject, have amassed, within the Bounds of one Section, and that too of no great Size, will require great Diligence, and put me under the Necessity of laying aside many Things which those Writers thought worthy of transmitting to Posterity. But this will be so far from proving in any respect prejudicial to the Reader, that it will on the contrary turn to his Advantage, because it will free him from the Trouble of running through a long Course of trifling Circumstances that have had or nothing to do with the main Point.

For as to the copious and swelling Panegyrics on particular Captains, the long Accounts of the Travels and Labours of Missionaries, and that pompous Detail of Church History, which makes up at least two-thirds of what these Authors have delivered, they are certainly Matters that an *English* Reader would be tempted to hurry over as fast as possible, and therefore the Omission of them must contribute not only to the Elegance, but to the Usefulness of this Performance. Indeed, when freed from these and other cumbersome Circumstances, there cannot be any thing more pleasant or instructive, and at the same time more curious and instructive, than this Part of our History, in which we see what mighty Things may be performed by Courage, Industry, and Application, and how soon even the smallest States, by cultivating a maritime Power, become potent and considerable.

The little Kingdom of *Portugal* is bounded on the North and on the East by several Provinces of *Spain*, and on the South and West by the *Atlantick* Ocean. It extends from 32° to 42° of North Latitude, and lies between the 7° and 10° Longitude West from *London*. It is in Length from North to South about three hundred Miles, and in Breadth from East to West about one hundred. The Climate is pleasant and wholesome, the Soil fertile in some Places, but not in many, so that they are supplied with Corn by us and by the *Dutch*. This Country was formerly famous for Gold, but for many Ages there has been none, or at least but little of that precious Metal found there. There is, indeed, a very rich Silver Mine at *Guacaldana*, still wrought with considerable Profit; but the principal Advantage of *Portugal* is its Situation on the Sea, and the Excellence of its Harbours. That of *Lisbon*, if we extend it from *St. Benez's* above it, to the Bay of *Cascais* at the Mouth of the River, is four or five Leagues long; but if we only take in that Part of it about the Town, where Ships ride in the greatest Security from Storms and Enemies fifteen Fathom Water, it will contain several thousand Sail, the Entry of it indeed is hazardous without a Pilot, but on the other hand, Ships ride securely when they are in it, being covered by the Hills on which the City stands on one Side, and by the opposite Banks, which are very high, on the other. There are, besides this, several other good Ports in this Kingdom, the Subjects of which have been always famous for their Application to Maritime Affairs, and after they had driven the *Moors* out of their Country, followed them into their own, and, under the Reign of King *John the First*, defeated them in a great Battle, and took from them the Forts of *Ceuta*, which still remains in the Power of the Crown of *Spain*.

It was to the Zeal and Magnanimity of the Infant Don *Henry*, the Fifth Son of this King *John*, that the *Portugueze* are indebted for all that Glory which they have acquired by their Discoveries and Conquests in the East, and we may justly consider the Attempts made by them at this Justice as the more extraordinary, since their Country was but just recovered from a long and dangerous Civil War, the Power of their Prince very far from being great, his Finances very low, and the Country to indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have recourse to other Nations for Men to recruit his Armies, and to serve on Board his Fleets, which were very far from being considerable; I

do not mean in Comparison of the Fleets fitted out in our Times, but of those that were then employed by the Crown of *Spain*, and the Republicks of *Italy*. Yet under these Discouragements this Spirit of Trade and Navigation not only sprung up, but prospered; and this too, notwithstanding that many of their Statesmen were very averse to such Undertakings, from the Danger and Difficulties that attended them; nor could they in all Probability have been carried into Execution, but from the Zeal of the Clergy, who, out of a Desire of propagating the Christian Faith, promoted them to the utmost of their Power.

2. The Infant Don *Henry* Count *de Viseo* was a Prince endowed with all the great Qualities that distinguish Heroes from other Men. He had shewn his Courage in his Youth in the Wars against the *Moors*; but he was far from valuing himself on the Power of destroying or making miserable his Fellow-creatures, and therefore thought the proper Object of Valour was the facing those Dangers that hindered the Prosecution of such Designs as might be beneficial to the human Species. He resolved therefore to make himself Master of the *Cannaries*, which were then in the Hands of *Maoi de Bethanceart*, who held them under a Grant from the King of *Castile*, and who for a valuable Consideration made over his Right to Prince *Henry* about the Year 1406. He sent *Ferdinand de Castro*, who was at that time Master of his Household, to take Possession of them, and receiving that they might be of great Use in the Discovery of the Coasts of the great Continent of *Africa*, which were then very little known, he began about the Year 1410, to fit out Ships for that Purpose, and took *Spamoras*, and others who were skilled in Navigation, into his Service for that Purpose.

The utmost Limits of the South-west Part of *Africa*, then known to the *Portugueze*, was a Cape running out from the Foot of Mount *Atlas*, the proper Name of which was *Chaunar*, but called by the Seamen Cape *Non*, situated in the Latitude of 28° 10' North; and these Vessels proceeded along the Coast to Cape *Bojadore*, in 26° North Latitude, but they had not the Courage to double it. In 1418 *Tristan Vaz* discovered the Island of *Porto-Santo*, and gave it that Name, because the first saw it on the Feast of *All Saints*. The next Year the *Portugueze* discovered the Island of *Madeira*, to which they gave that Name, on account of its being covered with Wood. In 1439, a *Portugueze* Captain doubled Cape *Bojadore*, which some think is the same that in the Writing of *Ptolemy* is called Cape *Cannier*. The next Year they sailed as high as Cape *Blanca*, in the Latitude of 20°, and soon after discovered the *Rio del Oro*, with several small Islands upon the Coast. In 1446, *Nuno Tristram* doubled Cape *Verd*, in the Latitude of 17° 45'. In 1448, in the Spring, Don *Gonzalo Albo* sailed to the Islands called *Apories*, or the *Hawk-Islands*, from the Word *Agor*, which in the *Spanish* Language signifies a Hawk. They were at that Time uninhabited, and were settled by this Commander, who did not, however, visit at this Time the Islands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, which were settled, as we have elsewhere observed, by some *Hemings*, and from thence were called the *Hemish* Islands.

In the Year 1449, the Islands of Cape *Verd* were discovered on the Behalf of the Infant Don *Henry*; the first of these was called the Island of *May*, because they came thither on *May day*, and at the same time they bestowed the Names of *St. James* and *St. Philip* on two of those Islands, the Rest remaining undiscovered till the Year 1460. The progress made by the Infant Don *Henry* gave great Satisfaction to the Princes that possessed the Crown of *Portugal*, inasmuch that King *Alphonso IV.* or rather the Infant Don *Peter*, who governed the Kingdom during his Minority, made him a Grant of the Islands of *Porto-Santo* and *Madeira*. The Infant, however, judged it requisite, according to the Custom of those Times, to obtain the Sanction of the Holy See, and for that Reason sent Don *Fernand Lopez d'Azavedo* as his Embassador to Pope *Martin V.* who, as the

I was very far from being my Intention to give the Reader either a Description of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, or the History of it: for both being to the succeeding Volume. What I have said in the Text was purely to render the subsequent Part of this Section as perfect as I could, and well connected. By comparing the Force of the Kingdom of *Portugal* with the Conquests gained by the *Portugueze* since *John the First*, he will be made fully sensible of the Truth of my Remarks, and by attending to the Situation of this Country, he will be furnished, even there was no long time more than a Nation's turning their Thoughts to that for which Nature designed them, for with respect to the *Portugueze*, as to the Possession then had, the *Portugueze* were better treated than any other People in *Europe*.

...ing it in such a Manner as might be most honourable to himself and advantageous for his Subjects, the great Ruler of all Things disposed of him otherwise, by calling him out of this Life. In his last Sickness he appointed his Cousin *Don Emanuel*, who also married his Sister, his Heir. This Prince who succeeded to the Throne of *Portugal*, 1497, was in the Flower of his Age, being then about Twenty seven, and possessed, in an eminent Degree, those Qualities that are most worthy of a Monarch. He had great Parts, much Penetration, and an excellent Judgment, yet he was so confident of his own Abilities, that, foreseeing the Execution of his Predecessor's Projects would be attended with a larger Expence than the Discoveries hitherto made had induced, he declined entering upon them, without taking the Advice of his Council, before whom he laid all the Informations that either himself or his Cousin King *John* had received. The *Portugueze* Statesmen were extremely divided in their Opinions, for some pressed the King warmly to tread in the Footsteps of his Ancestors, and, to comply with *Glozy*, who with so much Reputation they had begun; while others as vehemently opposed his Pursuit of this Design, each Party supporting their Opinion by very plausible Arguments.

Such as were desirous that this new Navigation might be attempted, observed, that the Trade to the *Indes* had been the great Source of Power and Riches to every Empire that had been possessed of it, that Providence seemed to have thrown it into the Hands of their Nation, in such a manner that it would not only be disadvantageous but dishonourable to refuse it; that all Difficulties now were in a manner overcome, so that there remained scarce any thing but the going to take Possession of those fine Countries, and that vast Wealth which all the World thirsted after, though none but themselves knew how to reach; that the engrossing to rich a Trade to *Portugal* would balance their small Extent of Territory, and enable his Subjects to make as great or greater Figure than the Inhabitants of Kingdoms much more potent in Appearance; that, in fine, there was no less Danger to be apprehended from abandoning this Design, than Benefit to be expected by pursuing it, since, in all Probability, their ambitious Neighbours, the *Spaniards*, would pursue and accomplish this great Work, which would enable them to execute, with Ease, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundless Ambition.

On the other Side it was alledged, that there were many Things more apparently necessary to the Kingdom than such large, such expensive, and such uncertain Expeditions, since there were several large Tracts of Land, and particularly that spacious Plain betwixt the *River* and the *Zagas*, that were not properly cultivated, the Improvement of which would free them from the Necessity of depending for their daily Bread upon Strangers; that their Country was but thinly peopled, at least, in proportion to the Number it might be able to maintain, it, instead of nature Expeditious they turned their Thoughts towards making the most of what was in their Powers so that it was very unreasonable to squander away Men that might be immediately useful to their Country, for the sake of distant, and perhaps fallacious Expectations; that all their Discoveries and Conquests hitherto, had furnished him only with a few Negroes, Elephants, Teeth, strange Birds, and other Curiosities, in procuring which they had suffered many Sore weeks, and run the Hazard of many more; that, for a Cento y together, they had been amused with these golden Dreams, and therefore it was high Time to

awake from this Delusion; that the Kings his Predecessors had been at vast Expences, to very little Purpose, in Pursuit of the like Designs, and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in following their Example, but oblige him also to consider the Consequence of running an exhausted Nation into Expences she was unable to bear; that besides the Success of the Undertaking, might bring such Demands upon the Crown of *Portugal*, as would greatly exceed her Forces; so that perhaps her Interests at home might come to be sacrificed to those abroad. I have dwelt the longer upon these Arguments, to show that the greatest and most salutary Designs are liable to as many Objections as the most dangerous and the most destructive.

4. The Deliberations into which the King entered upon this important Affair, though they did not absolutely carry him from his Purpose, or engage him to abandon a Design which was, in some measure, recommended to him, with his last Breath, by that great Prince to whom he owed his Throne, yet they, for a long Time, retarded his Preparations, and hindered him from undertaking that Project in the Manner he had first intended: At last, however, fearing that his Neighbours might take Advantage of a longer Neglect, especially as he understood that the *Spaniards* very vigorously pushed toward their Discoveries, he came to a final Resolution to wait no longer, but to make a Trial of what might be done in this Way, by sending a few Ships only with a small Number of Men, in which he endeavoured to avoid Extremes, and to steer as it were in the Middle, between the Opinions of such as were of his Council. It was in consequence of this Determination, that in the Spring of the Year 1497, he ordered four Ships to be equipped for his Expedition, of these, three were armed Vessels, with some Pieces of Cannon on board, and the fourth a small Store-ship. We may be sure that their Force was not very great, since, in the whole, it consisted in no more than an hundred and sixty Soldiers and Seamen.

The Person chosen to command was *Don Vasquez de Gama*, a Man of Quality, who possessed all the Talents necessary for such an Employment. On the 9th of *July*, 1497, he embarked on board the *Gabriel*, which was the Admiral of this little Fleet, of the Burthen of One hundred and twenty Tons, and the same Day put to Sea: On the Third of *August* he left the Island of *St. Augustin*, on the Twentieth of *November* he doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, in the Beginning of the Month of *January* he put into a Port of *Ethiopia*; and, on the first of *March*, he entered the Port of *Mozambique*, where the Savages destroyed many of their People, and where they were in great Danger of being betrayed, as soon as they were known to be Christians. His Artillery, however, preserved him, and from thence he continued his Voyage to *Mombaza*, where he again met with very perfidious Peasants. He sailed from thence to *Melinda*, the Prince of which Country received him with great Civility, and promised to send an Ambassador by them when they returned into *Portugal*.

Don Vasquez, in Obedience to his Instructions sailed from thence for the Coast of *Malabar*, and arriving happily at *Calicut*, there first heard of a puissant Monarch in those Parts, styled the *Sumerin*, which is a Dignity comparable to that of Emperor; there he met, very unexpectedly, with an extraordinary Act of Friendship; for, on the first going of his Officers on Shore, they were met by a *Moor* of *Tunis*, who knew them, by their Dress, to be *Portugueze*; and though both on the shore of his Country

* It is clear from hence, that if any Accident or Shipwreck had attended this Voyage, there had been an End of the Design for ever, though it would have remained just as reasonable and fit to have been undertaken as before, which I mention to show how probable a Thing it is, that in a great and glorious Discoveries have been prevented by such groundless Oppositions.

The Reader will easily perceive, from this Discourse, that it is not a great Force, or a vast Expence, that is necessary to the Execution of an important Design, but the Choice of a good Officer, one who knows what he is to do, and goes with a Resolution to do what he is sent to do. All the famous Expeditions, from the Beginning of the World to this Period of Time, are not comparable to what was performed in the narrow Compass of one Year. Time by *Columbus* and *Vasquez de Gama*; for the former sailed on the 11th of *October*, 1492, and the other on the 12th of *July*, 1497, so that as I observed before, the Discovery of the *East Indies* and the *West*, were completed in seven Years, at a small Part of the Expence that attended our last *East India* Expedition, and with a Force that would be scarce thought sufficient for equipping, at this Day, *Three* *Portugueze* Ships. I must say this with any View of making invidious Comparisons, because I am persuaded that our *Antients*, who commanded the *West India* Expeditions, had he used in those Times, and been assisted with other of those Commands, would have done as much as *Columbus* or *Gama*. But I have not this System with this View, that our Countrymen may be taught, that as great Things as these may yet be done, whenever our Undertakings are conducted by *Politic* Officers, and the Execution of them entrusted to Officers who are known to have a greater Regard to *Glory* than *Fortune*.

and his Religion, it was natural for him to hate them, yet he very generously offered them his Service, and very faithfully fulfilled all that he promised. He acquainted the *Samorin*, that a certain rich, powerful, and warlike Nation, were come from the farthest Parts of the Earth to seek his Friendship, and to desire Leave to trade with his Subjects: This Representation had its Effects, *Gama* was allowed not only to anchor in that Port with his Ships, but was also admitted to an Audience, in which he was treated with all the Honours and Respect imaginable.

But things however did not remain long in this Posture, for the *Mohammedans*, who were settled in great Numbers in the Dominions of this Prince, being that their Commerce must be destroyed by the coming of the *Europeans*, took incredible Pains to misrepresent them, as ambitious, fraudulent, and cruel People, who meant nothing but to depole the *Samorin* himself, and to conquer his Country; which Stories had such an Effect on the *Indian* Monarch, that he began to form Schemes for the Destruction of *Gama* and his People. Don *Vasquez* however, had very early Intelligence of his Design, and therefore hastened on Board his Ships, and quitted the Coast. He wrote, however, a Letter to the *Samorin*, in which he very gently complained of this Breach of Faith, justified himself from the Imputations thrown out against him, and advised the *Samorin* to return to his former Sentiments, assuring him that he would not as Account in changing his Commerce with the *Mohammedans* for that of the Subjects of the King his Master. The *Samorin* wrote him a very polite Answer, in which he threw the Blame upon his Ministers and the *Mohammedans*, promising to punish in him as well guilty, advising him, that for the Time to come, his Nation should meet with no Reason to complain. He added to these Compliments a very respectful Letter to the King of *Portugal*, in which he accepted the Propositions made him on his Majesty's Behalf, and promised a free Trade to his Subjects, without further Answer to his former Allies.

Don *Vasquez* having received the Letters, proceeded to the Island of *Angedive*, at the Distance of fifty Leagues from *Calicut*, where having repaired his Vessels, and refreshed his People, he set sail from thence in order to return to *Europe*. In his Passage, he took Care to put into *Mozambique*, where he was received with great Friendship, and according to his Promise, sent with him an Ambassador to the *King*. He sailed thence to the Island of *Zanzibar*, but finding by the Way, that his Crew was much diminished, he burnt the *S. Raphael*, which was commanded by his Brother *Paul Gama*, and took the Men on Board his own Ship. From *Zanzibar* he sailed to *Mozambique*, where he took in a Supply of Provisions.

On the 25th of March following, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, proceeded thence to the *Islands of Swaziland*, and in the Month of September, 1497, arrived late at *Calicut*, having spent two Years and two Months in his Voyage, and being lost by Sickness and Fatigue about one third of his Crew, and amongst them his Brother. The Captain of his first Ship directed him in his Passage Home, with a View to give to *Calicut* before him, in which he succeeded, and employed rather advantageous than profitable to Don *Vasquez*, for King *Emmanuel* sent him of his private Nobility to meet him, receiving him, on his coming to Court, with all imaginable Marks of Favour and Esteem, and rewarded him beyond every thing but his Merit. He created him *Count of Indiguera*, gave him the royal Arms of *Portugal*, charged with two Lions, in Addition to his Name of *Gama*, which signifies a *Vice*; and though he brought in great Riches home, bestowed upon him these Appointments. He made also great Presents to all his Officers, but was there to much as a private Man on Board the Ship, that did not receive the personal Thank of this Prince, and with it considerable Marks of his Bounty.

So happy a Conclusion of the first Attempt, paved the Way to a second Expedition, for which the King caused immediate Preparations to be made, but at the same Time declared, that Don *Vasquez* should enjoy in Peace that Glory he had acquired, and not be obliged to hazard his Person in a second dangerous Voyage. It may not be amiss to observe, that this second Expedition met with no Success, much more powerful is Success than Reason, and the greater Authority of Experience, than all Arguments in the World. All Experiments were but trifling, and those who before had treated the *Indies* as a Chimeræ, were now fully convinced, that it was impossible to perform.

The Fleet therefore intended for this Expedition, consisting of thirteen Sail, some of which were Ships, was to effectually vindicate, in arms and blood, as to fill Strangely with a full Liberty of the Courage, Power, and Wealth of the People inhabiting that Coast, from which it came. Don *Pedro Alvarez Cabral*, appointed General and Commander in Chief, and assisted by him Proofs to instruct the Natives, if they were to be had; but it not, and determined to a select of his most experienced hundred chosen Men on Board, when he set sail with Force sufficient to support him. In the Month of June, in the Year 1500, he sailed from the River of *Travancore* having thence, that was much the proper Season of the Year for sailing to the *Indies*. In his Passage, keeping out to Sea, in order to avoid the Storms which therto had been met with, he coasted the Cape, he had himself near an unknown Coast, which he called *Africa*, and as the Coast made no appearance, he thought fit to make a Stop, and to land some of it on the behalf of his King his Master, who he accordingly called the *Island of the Holy Cross*, that is to say, since known by the Name of *Brazil*.

This Discovery appeared to him of great Importance, notwithstanding he had already seen it, and was ready, he thought fit to send *Captain Tomaz* to *Portugal* with the News, and one of the Nobles on Board, as a Proof of this Discovery, and he himself with twenty condemned Persons who were put on board him for such desperate Service, in that new found Country, and then prosecuted his Voyage.

In a short Time after he left *Brazil*, he was seized by a most dreadful Storm, which lasted twenty Days together, in which he lost many of his Crew, and some of his Ships, on Board of which was the *Captain* *Diago Diaz*, who still doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and who, by this unlucky Accident, paid the Penalty of that which were on Board that Ship. The Government of this Island, this Misfortune, continued till he was distressed at *Mozambique*, where he arrived with only six Sail, and those to in a very shattered Condition. He labouring remembering the Difficulties of his Voyage, his Predecessor, received him, if not with Honour, at least with Respect, and furnished him with what was demanded; he sailed from thence to *Malinda*, where he continued his Route to *Melinda*, where he had the Honour to see the Ambassador of that Prince, whom he had previously brought over.

He proceeded from thence with a fair Gale of Wind to the *Angedive* Islands, where he refreshed himself, and his Crew. The *Samorin* having Intelligence of his Arrival, sent certain Persons of Education to congratulate him thereupon, and to invite him to *Calicut*, which Invitation he accepted, provided he had the Liberty of his own Security. This was not felt a pretty boy. He thought, when he came to explain himself as to the Illness he expected, it appeared of a much more extensive Nature. He demanded the Cause, or Continuation of the Court, and some other of the *Samorin's* Ministers, to which that Prince listened at first, but at last yielded to

It is not to be observed, that *Francis and Isabella* had not sent *Columbus* to discover *America*, at the Time they did, because they were not yet married, and it was not till the Year 1494, that they were joined in Marriage. It is also to be observed, that *Columbus* was not the first Discoverer, worth it they do not immediately succeed, are necessarily attended with their usual Success. It is also to be observed, that *Columbus* was not the first Discoverer, worth it they do not immediately succeed, are necessarily attended with their usual Success. It is also to be observed, that *Columbus* was not the first Discoverer, worth it they do not immediately succeed, are necessarily attended with their usual Success.

to, and to all the other Demands made by the Portuguese General. On his Landing, he was received with all imaginable Civility, and immediately admitted to an Audience of the Emperor, at which *Capral*, who was naturally vain, made a pompous Display of his Magnificence. The *Samorin*, to demonstrate the Sincerity of his Professions, made him a present of a Houfe, by a Deed of Gift, which was ingroffed in Letters of Gold; he permitted him alfo to fet up the Standard of *Portugal*, to appoint a Factor, or Conful for his Nation, and to open Magazines for the effectual carrying on of Commerce, but all this fair Shew of good Intelligence and reciprocal Friendship soon came to nothing.

The Portuguese Historians assure us, that it happened through the Imprudence of their new Factor, or Conful, whose Name was *Correa*, and who, on fome flight Information, acquainted *Capral*, that the *Samorin* intended him fome foul Play. The Portuguese General, upon this, began to fize the Ships of the *Indians*, and to commit other Acts of Hostility; upon which the Inhabitants, as might be reasonably expected, attacked the Portuguese Factory, forced open the Gates, pillaged and burnt the Houfe, and of fixty-fix People that were in it, murdered fifty, the rest faving themselves with great Difficulty on Board their Ships. The Portuguese General took a very fevere Revenge, by burning ten rich Ships that were in the Port, making Slaves of Part of their Crews, and beating down a great many Houfes about their Houses; alfo which he filled away for *Cochin*, which lies thirty Leagues from *Cicut*.

The Prince then on the Throne of *Cochin*, was called *Trimumpara*, who having Reasons to be offended with the *Samorin*, received him very kindly and concluded a Treaty with him, into which the Kings of *Coulan* and *Cananor* desired to be admitted. *Capral* taking great State upon him, did not immediately listen to this Proposal, but offered to carry their Ambassadors, if they thought fit to fend any with him, into *Portugal*, assuring them, that his Master would fend them speedy and powerful Assistance against the *Samorin*. They readily accepted his Offer, and the General having taken on Board a rich Cargo, paid a Visit to the King of *Cananor*, and having received the Ambassadors of all the three Princes on Board, he in the Month of *January* sailed from *Cochin*, in order to return to *Europe*.

The *Samorin* fitted out a great Fleet, on Board of which were two thousand Men, and sent it in Pursuit of them, but the Portuguese being better Sailors, easily escaped this Danger. In his Passage home, one of his Ships unluckily ran ashore on the Coast of *Melinda*, and *Capral*, to prevent the *Mohammadians* from making any Advantage of this Accident, first nailed his Cannon, and then set the Ship on Fire; notwithstanding which, the King of *Melinda* found Means to weigh the Artillery, and to render them serviceable, to the great Prejudice of the Christians.

The Portuguese General continued his Voyage, doubled the Cape without any great Difficulty, and arrived safely at *Lybon*, on the 2.d of *July*, 1501. He brought Home with him a very rich Cargo, the Ambassadors of three Princes, and a pompous Account of the great Exploits he had performed against the *Samorin*. All which, however, did not procure him a very favourable Reception from his Master, on account of the great Loss he had sustained in this Voyage, and the Number of gallant Men who had perished in it, and who were not to be replaced or replaced, by all the Wealth of the *Indies*.

It seems, Don *Emmanuel* had some Forefight of what might happen from the haughty Disposition of this Officer, and therefore had dispatched a Squadron of four Sail to the *Indies*, under the Command of Don *Juan Nova* *Cabeza*, a Man of great Prudence and Courage. He sailed of *Capral* in his Passage, but arriving at *Melinda*, and there learning what had passed at *Cicut* and *Cochin*,

he continued his Voyage to *Cananor*, and having complimented the King on the Part of his Master, failed for thence for *Cochin*. He met in his Voyage, a Fleet of upwards of four score Sail, which the *Samorin* had sent to attack and destroy him in the Port of *Cananor*. Don *Juan*, notwithstanding the great Inequality of their Force, fought them for a whole Day, and having sunk ten of the *Enemy*'s Ships, four Barks, and other small Vessels, and killed upwards of four hundred Men, forced them to return with Shame to *Cicut*. After this Victory, he was received with all imaginable Mark of Kindness and Gratitude at *Cochin*, where having at Leisure reinvailed his Ships, and taken in a very rich Cargo, he failed for *Europe*.

He doubled the Cape without any Difficulty, and in his Passage from thence touched at the Island of *St. Helena*, of which he made such a Report on his Return to *Lybon*, as engaged the King of *Portugal* to intrust his Admirals to touch for Refreshments there for the future. But a Squadron of six Sail that were sent to *Brazil* at the same Time Don *Juan* was dispatched to the *Indies*, had not the like good Fortune, four of them being lost at Sea, and the two that returned brought little with them except Monkeys and Parrots.

6. The Necessity of sending a greater Force into the *Indies* than had been hitherto employed, was now very apparent, and therefore King *Emmanuel* ordered twenty sail of stout Ships to be equipped for that Purpose, neither did he find it more difficult to furnish so large a Force with every thing necessary, than to fit out the small Fleets he had sent before; for now that there was a Prospect of great Riches being got by this Commerce, he had not only the Command of the Wealth of his own Subjects, but Foreigners also resorted in Crowds to *Lybon*, some in search of Employment, and others to employ their Money. The Bunnels was next to find a Person fit to be intrusted with so great a Command, and the King, after mature Reflection, determined to engage *Vasquez de Gama* to go thither a second Time. That great Officer was in every Respect as easy and as happy as he could wish; his Reputation was well established, his Fortune larger than his Desires, and the Affairs of his Family in the fairest Situation. But the present Posture of things made his Presents necessary abroad, and from a Sense of this he readily quitted his Retreat, and sacrificed all the Blessings of Life, as became a Man of Honour, to the Service of his Country.

In the Spring of the Year 1503, he sailed from *Lybon*, doubled the Cape without any remarkable Accident, and arriving at *Quilao*, forced the King thereof to become tributary to his Master, and to agree to the annual Payment of two thousand Crowns of Gold. He failed from thence to *Cananor*, where he let the Embassador on Shore, made several rich Presents to the King in the Name of his Master, renewed the Alliance made with him, and then sailed for *Cochin*. While he was there, he received a Deputation from the Christians of *India*, or, as they are commonly called, Christians of *St. Thomas*, to whom he promised all the Assistance in his Power, and that he would leave, as indeed he did, a strong Squadron behind him to protect them. The *Samorin* in the mean Time neglected nothing in the Power of a great Politician, or of a puissant Monarch, to destroy his Enemies. He laboured all he could to engage *Trimumpara* to betray Don *Vasquez* into his Hands; but that Prince answered, that hitherto the Portuguese had behaved towards him with great Honour and Generosity, and that while they continued so to act, he would never abandon them.

The *Samorin* had next Recourse to open Force, and assembling a Fleet of twenty-nine Sail, resolved to attack Don *Vasquez*, when he was ready to return with his Fleet heavy laden, and consequently in a Condition less able to oppose him. When therefore he had Intelligence that the Portuguese Admiral was preparing for his Departure, he sent this mighty Force against him. Don *Vasquez de Gama* suffered them to come as near him as they thought fit, and

I think it requisite to add a Note here, in order to inform the Reader, that this is no Remark of mine, but taken from the Portuguese Writers, who in an Argument, that in those Days, when a true Spirit of Virtue prevailed, it was held more honourable for a great Officer to serve his Country in such a manner, and that *Capral* was blamed, not for his want of Zeal or Courage, for he does not seem to have been defective in either, but for not being in command of his People as he ought to have been; for it is, and will be, a Maxim in all well governed States, that he is no Friend to his Country, who is careless of his People.

then attacking two of their largest Ships with great Vigor, the Seamen and Soldiers, after a short Resistance, in which they lost three hundred Men, jumped over-board, which struck such a Terror into their Companions, that they immediately spread all the Sail they could, and bore away in the utmost Confusion. In these two Ships that were taken, Don Vaquez found immense Riches; for besides Gold and Silver Plate to a great Value, there was on board one of them an Idol of a most horrid Shape, which weighed sixty Pounds in Gold. In the Head there were two Emeralds for Eyes, more perfect than any that had been seen in *Europe*; and in the Breast there was fixed a Ruby of the Size of a Chestnut, these and other valuable things being taken out, together with a Robe designed for the Idol, embroidered with Pearls, Topazes, and Diamonds, the Ships were set on Fire.

Vaquez proceeded from thence to *Cananor*, conferred with the King on the Measures necessary to be taken in his Absence, and then leaving behind him six large Ships under the Command of *Vincent Sodrez*, he sailed for *Mozambique*, where having taken in some necessary Refreshments, he continued his Voyage without the least unlucky Accident, till he arrived at *Lisbon*, where he was received with the utmost Joy, and the Tribute of the King of *Qyloa*, in a Silver Basin, was carried in Triumph before him.

As soon as *Gama* left the *Indies*, the *Samorin* assembled an Army of 20,000 Men, and marched to attack the King of *Cochin* by Land. The News of this Invasion so frightened the Subjects of that Monarch, that they began to curse the *Portuguese*, and to treat their King to make his Peace with the *Samorin*, by delivering up such of them as were in his Hands, and renouncing his Alliance with them. *Trinumpara* behaved on this Occasion with extraordinary Firmness, he gave the *Portuguese* that were at *Cochin* a strong Guard, and notwithstanding the Cowardice of his Subjects, resolved to put all to the Hazard, rather than break his Faith.

At this Juncture *Vincent Sodrez* arrived with the Ships under his Command, to whom the King applied himself for Relief, and desired he would land a Part of his Force to assist him in this Extremity. The *Portuguese* Officer was a very brave Man, and understood his Business perfectly; but he loved Money, and had found a very easy way of acquiring it, by plundering the *Mohammedan* Traders. He therefore found out, that by his Instructions he was to act by Sea, and not on Shore, and therefore would not consent to land to much as a single Man. This amazed the King, and enraged the *Portuguese* that were at *Cochin* to the last Degree; but *Sodrez*, without putting himself to any Pain about their Repentments, sailed to the *Red Sea*, in order to make Prizes, where his own Ship was lost, and he and his Brother drowned.

In the mean Time the *Samorin* marched with his Army into the Territories of *Cochin*, where the King being betrayed, they forced a Pass that led to his Capital, by which they imagined they had him intirely at their Mercy. As soon as *Trinumpara* was informed of this unlucky Accident, his first Care was to secure the *Portuguese*, and in order to this, he directed that they should be sent over to the Island of *Viapan*, which lies over-against *Cochin*. This Island was considered to be the most solemn Mysteries of the *Indian* Religion, and had therefore been hitherto accounted sacred in all the Disputes between Monarchs of that Faith; but it was now a Place of extraordinary Strength, and that not only from its being inaccessible by Nature, but from the great number of Art, and in this Island there were con-

siderable Magazines, and a very numerous Garrison of good Troops.

The *Samorin* carrying all before him, and a great Part of *Trinumpara's* Subjects have deserted their Master, and submitted to that Tyrant, the King of *Cochin* found himself at last obliged to follow the *Portuguese*, and take Shelter in the same Place. The Governor of *Viapan* remained firm to his Master's Interest, and thereby preferred him from the Rage of his Enemy; for the *Samorin* having burnt the Town of *Cochin*, several Times attacked the Island of *Viapan*, and was as often repulsed with great Loss, and at last obliged to abandon his Design, and to return again into his own Dominions, the Winter Season coming on, in which it is impossible for an *Indian* Army to keep the Field, but he left a considerable Garrison in *Cochin*, and ordered several Forts to be erected, resolving to return thither again in the Spring.

7. It was now become a settled Maxim in *Portugal* to send annually a Fleet to the *Indies*, and according to *Francis Albuquerque* coming with a strong Force into those Seas, and having joined at the *Angedive* Islands the Ships under the Command of *Pedro Alvares*, he sailed directly to *Viapan*, where he comforted the King of *Cochin* on the Part of Don *Emanuel* his Master, and assured him that he should receive all the Assistance from him that lay in his Power, which he performed with as much Sincerity as with Readiness he promised. In the first place, he drove the Garrison, which the *Samorin* had left in *Cochin* from thence, and having demolished their Forts, brought the King back again in Triumph to his Capital. As this Victory, and the Use he made of it, gave the *Portuguese* Admiral a good Title to the King's Favour, he took Occasion from thence to desire the Liberty of erecting a Place of Strength for the Security of his Countrymen, that they might not be exposed to such Dangers as they had lately gone through for the future; the Proposal was very kindly accepted, and the King of *Cochin* gave him leave to build a Fort where-ever he thought fit. In Consequence of this Permission, *Francis Albuquerque* made Choice of an Eminence, which commanded both the Town and the Fort, and the King having allowed him to cut down all the fine Palm Trees that were planted round his Palace, he quickly finished the Fortress he had marked out in the best manner that such Materials would permit. He likewise built a Chapel for the Performance of Divine Service; and thus as the *Portuguese* Writers themselves express it, their Nation became possessed of the Dominion both in Spirituall and Temporals of the *Indies*, and the King of *Cochin* without perceiving it, contributed all that lay in his Power to the introducing Strangers as Lords over himself and his Neighbours.

Under pretence of reducing such as had rebelled against the King of *Cochin*, they made themselves Masters of their Countries, pillaged all their Towns and Villages at Pleasure, and committed greater Devastations than the *Samorin* himself had done during the late Invasion. In the midst of these Proceedings *Alfonso Albuquerque* arrived from *Portugal* with an additional Force, he soon added both to the Conquests and Alliances of the *Portuguese*. The Factors or Guardians of the King of *Colan*, a very rich and potent Prince, whose Capital lay twenty four Leagues South of *Cochin*, demanded the Protection and Friendship of *Portugal*, which was immediately granted, and a Factory settled there. The King of *Zanzibar* was soon after compelled to submit to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the free City of *Brava*, which was a kind of Common wealth, was obliged to pay an annual Tribute. The King of *Melinda*

7. This Man has a very good Character given him by the famous *Portuguese* Historian *John de Barros*, at least in Point of Courage; but a very bad one in Point of Policy and his Understanding. He had heard of a rich Fleet of Ships in the *Red Sea*, and he would needs intercept it, and take the Spoil. In vain the People of the Country repented to him, that it was dangerous; he was not to be deterred by the Reproof of the People, or the Advice of his Friends. He was so possessed with the Delusion of being rich, that he had no regard to the Safety of his own People, and his Brother's Death, *Pedro Alvares*, upon whom the Command devolved, endeavoured to return with the remaining Ship to *Coimbra*, but in vain; he was taken, and was forced to retire to the *Angedive* Islands, where he wintered.

8. It is not easy to conceive how in such a Situation the King of *Cochin* could refuse the *Portuguese* leave to build a Fort in his Dominions, and yet not be obliged to do so. The *Portuguese* Writers, without any Ceremony, and without any regard to the Honour of their Nation, or the Liberty of the People, have asserted, that it was a Prince's Policy not to be justified. He was pressed by two Difficulties equally great, but the Danger from whom these Difficulties arose were not equally pressing, and therefore he chose, as indeed any other Prince would in his Circumstances, to raise the Island of *Viapan* to be the great Dungeon. The *Portuguese* Writers, without any Ceremony, and without any regard to the Honour of their Nation, or the Liberty of the People, have asserted, that it was a Prince's Policy not to be justified. He was pressed by two Difficulties equally great, but the Danger from whom these Difficulties arose were not equally pressing, and therefore he chose, as indeed any other Prince would in his Circumstances, to raise the Island of *Viapan* to be the great Dungeon. The *Portuguese* Writers, without any Ceremony, and without any regard to the Honour of their Nation, or the Liberty of the People, have asserted, that it was a Prince's Policy not to be justified. He was pressed by two Difficulties equally great, but the Danger from whom these Difficulties arose were not equally pressing, and therefore he chose, as indeed any other Prince would in his Circumstances, to raise the Island of *Viapan* to be the great Dungeon.

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had Recourse to the Portuguese for Assistance against his Neighbour the King of *Amboyna*, which ended in the Reduction of them both. Those great Successes terrified the *Samorin* to such a degree, that in the most humble manner he sought for Peace; and in order to obtain it, entered into such Conditions as seemed satisfactory to the Portuguese, made them Reparation for the Losses they had sustained when formerly settled at *Cochin*, and did every thing for them that they insisted upon.

But as great Prosperity is apt to corrupt the Minds of Men, so the Portuguese made a very ill Use of this extraordinary Turn of Affairs in their Favour, since not long after this Peace concluded with the *Samorin*, they took a Ship of his richly laden; and notwithstanding he applied by his Embassadors for Satisfaction, *Francis Albuquerque*, who then acted with supreme Authority in the *Indies*, not only refused him Satisfaction, but treated him with Scorn and Disrespect. This irritated that Monarch to such a Degree, that he determined to renew the War, in order to revenge himself upon these Strangers, and to destroy the King of *Cochin*, who had sacrificed the Freedom of the *Indians* by his indiscreet Concessions to these foreign Invaders.

He kept, however, his Design to himself, and made secret Preparations for War, in order to be ready to fall upon his Enemies as soon as the Portuguese Fleet should return to *Europe*. But all the Precautions he used could not hinder *Trimaupara* from gaining early Intelligence of his Intentions, who thereupon applied himself to the *Albuquerque*, intreating them to leave a sufficient Force behind to protect their Countrymen and Allies in the *Indies*. The Request was Reasonable in itself, and the King of *Cochin* had the justest Grounds to expect it should have been complied with; but notwithstanding what he could say, *Francis Albuquerque* would not be persuaded to leave him any more than three Ships, and one hundred and fifty Men, under the Command of *Edward Pacheco*, a Man of great Courage and Conduct, and of such Steadiness and Abilities, that he was an Army in himself. This Step once taken, the *Albuquerque* sailed with a rich Cargo for *Europe*, but met with very different Fates in their Voyage, since *Francis Albuquerque* the Uncle perished, with all who were on Board his Ship, none knew where, or how; but *Alphonso*, the most fortunate Commander of his Time, arrived safely at *Lisbon*, with all the Ships under his Command, having acquired as great Fame and Riches as any that had been hitherto employed in the East.

As soon as the Portuguese Fleet quitted *India*, the *Samorin* assembled an Army of sixty thousand Men, and a great Fleet, in order to attack *Trimaupara*; and the Portuguese in his Dominions. The Subjects of that Prince acted as ill on this, as they had done on the former Invasion; that is to say, they abandoned their Prince, and endeavoured to save themselves without thinking of their Country. The King behaved with his usual Firmness and Constancy, disposed all things to the best Advantage, and left the rest to Providence. *Pacheco* and his Portuguese gained great Reputation by this War; and it was chiefly by his Assistance, that the vast Preparations made by the *Samorin* produced nothing but Confusion and Shame to their Author. This Commander built another Fort for the Defence of the Haven, acted with the greatest Alacrity and Courage by Sea or Land, where-ever the common Interest called him; so that when a new Fleet arrived from *Portugal*, and the Danger being over, he testified a Desire of returning home: The King of *Cochin* gave him Letters, testifying how well he had behaved, and how much they were indebted to him for their Security.

At his Return King *Emanuel* paid him the highest Honours, ordered one of the most eloquent Prelates in the Kingdom to write the History of this War, which he transmitted to the Pope, and other Christian Princes, telling them at the same time, that it was as great a Satisfaction to him to have such a Man his Subject, as to be Master of the *Indies*; and to show that he did not mean to reward the

important Services with Fame only, he bestowed on *Pacheco* some of the richest Governments in *Africa*. Such was the nobility of this Prince, to whose sublime Virtues *Portugal* owes her Glory, and her *Indies*; a Prince, who knew how to suit the Abilities of Men to the Designs in the Execution of which he employed them, who judged impartially of their Behaviour, never punished with any degree of Severity, or suffered Envy to mix with the Rewards he bestowed on Men of Merit. Such a Prince was remarkably well served at home, and highly esteemed abroad: His Fortune made him the Deight of his Subjects; his Power rendered him the Terror of his Enemies; his Fidelity gained him the perpetual Confidence of his Allies. But it is now time to pursue our History, and to speak of the first Viceroy sent by the Crown of *Portugal* to direct the Affairs of the *Indies*.

8. The immediate Acquisition of Wealth and Power did not take up the Mind of this great Prince, as to engage him in an Opinion that all Difficulties were overcome, and that there was nothing now to be thought on but making use of what was already in the Hands of his Subjects; on the contrary, the great things they had performed, inclined him to extend his Plan, and to think of driving the *Mohammedans* entirely out of the *Indies*. It was undoubtedly a great and glorious Design, but at the same time it seemed, the Strength of his Kingdom considered, absolutely impracticable. Don *Emanuel* had been informed that there were three great Ports in the East, in which the *Mohammedans* were established, and from whence they carried on all their Commerce to the most distant Parts of the *Indies*. These Ports were *Aden* in *Arabia*, *Ormuz*, in an Island of the same Name on the Coast of *Persia*, and *Malacca*, near the Streights of *Singapour*. As their Strength was divided, Don *Emanuel* judged it not impossible to make himself Master of all these Places in their Turns, and with this View it was that he began to fit out a larger and better appointed Fleet than hitherto he had sent to the *Indies*.

While he was employed in these Preparations, there happened a new Scene of Affairs in the East, where the *Brammins*, who were about the *Samorin*, shewed themselves able Politicians, by giving him the best Advice that the Posture of his Affairs would admit. They observed to him, that the *Christians* and *Mohammedans* were equally Enemies, and that therefore the wisest thing he could do was to call in the one to combat the other, that by thus wasting their Forces, they might be so reduced, as that he might be a Match for both. He, listening to their Request, sent for Aid from the Sultan of the *Mannalukes*, who were at that time in Possession of *Egypt*; the News of which greatly terrified all the *Christians* in the *Indies*, and occasioned their sending immediate Advice of it into *Portugal*.

This obliged King *Emanuel* to dispatch his Fleet sooner than he intended, and with a less Force, though it was even now very considerable, consisting of thirteen large Ships, and six Carvels, with a great Body of Soldiers on Board. He made choice of Don *Francis Almeida Count de Abrantes* to command it, who had served King *Ferdinand* of *Castile* in his Wars with Great Reputation, and gave him the Title of Vice-King, and Governor-general of the *Indies*. He likewise assigned him Guards for his Person, a certain Number of Chaplains, and whatever else could be thought necessary to give an Air of Grandeur to his Office. On the 25th of *March* 1505, the Fleet sailed from the River of *Lisbon*, and on the 11th of *April* following reached the Islands of *Cape Verd*; from whence stretching too far to the South, in hopes of doubling the Cape with great Ease, the Fleet ran into such high Latitudes, as that the Seamen had many of them their Fingers frozen; but varying their Course a Point or two to the East, they arrived safely at *Quiloa*, where *Abraham*, the Tyrant of that Country, refusing to pay his Tribute any longer, the Viceroy drove him out, and settled *Mohammed Anconin* in his Place, building a Fort there to keep the People the better in Subjection.

* This Scheme of Don *Emanuel's* was actually executed in every Branch of it by Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*; but I think it is very questionable, whether the Portuguese would not have found their Account much better in making two or three good Settlements in the *Indies*, without endeavouring to distress the Inhabitants, or to deprive them of their Liberty: In prosecuting of which Design, their own Success ruined them, as in the succeeding Part of this Work we shall have Occasion to shew.

Then he sailed to *Mombaza*, which is a small City, in an Island well fortified with two Citadels, furnished with some Pieces of Cannon, which engaged the King to retake *Almeida* Entrance. This, however, he forced, by beating their Forts to the Ground, and afterwards took the City by Storm, and made Slaves of a great Part of the Inhabitants. He continued his Voyage to the *Ange-dive* Islands, which are five in Number, not far from *Goa*, where, according to his Instructions, he built a Fort. He proceeded thence to *Canonor*, where, with the Consent of the King, he built another Fort, and put a strong Garrison into it. On his Arrival at *Cochin*, he found things in a very unsettled Condition; for *Trimumpara*, worn out with Years, had resigned the Crown to his Sister's younger Son *Neubador*, rejecting the elder, because he had deserted him on the last Invasion by the *Samarin*, which occasioned great Troubles; but the Viceroy put an End to them, and fixed *Neubador* firmly on his Uncle's Throne.

About this Time a Squadron of eight Ships was sent out to discover new Lands, by which was found the Island of *Madagafcar*, otherwise called *St. Lawrence*, because it was first seen on the Day dedicated by the Church of *Rome* to that Saint. *Almeida* also detached a Squadron under his Son *Laurence de Almeida* on the same Service, who repaired to the *Maldivæ* Islands, from whence he was driven by a mighty Tempest to the Isle of *Ceylon*, thought to be the *Taprobana* of the Ancients; where landing, he took the Inhabitants into the Protection of *Portugal*, and imposed a Tribute on their King; nor was the Viceroy in the mean Time less employed, but defeated the *Calicutians* in a great Battle at Sea; then dividing his victorious Fleet, he committed one Part of it to *Emanuel Pazagno*, and the other to his Son, upon his Return from *Ceylon*, appointing the first to accompany the trading Ships of *Cochin* to *Cape Comoris*, for their Security against the *Rovers* in those Seas, and the other to cruise at large about the Coast, for the Defence of the Islands and Ports. It became now an established Rule among those new Inhabitants of the *Indies*, that whoever came into those Parts, without a Pass from some *Portuguese* Admiral, or Governor of a Fort, should be esteemed as Enemies, and lose both Ship and Goods, whereby they engrossed all the Wealth of the *East* to themselves; and the better to maintain their Authority, King *Emanuel* lent out yearly new Reinforcements and Supplies.

In the Year 1508, fifteen Ships were fitted out, under the Command of *Arstian de Cunha*, with which, repairing to the Coast of *Zanguebar*, he assisted the King of *Melinda* against his rebellious Subjects, and burning the Cities of *Nosa* and *Brava*, sailed to *Zocotara*, where, reducing the chief Town of the Island, he left a Garrison in it, and made the best of his Way to *Malabar*, where, joining the Fleet of *Almeida*, they repaired against the People of *Calicut*, who were now assisted by a Fleet from *Arabia*, and before *Panan*, one of their Towns, gave them a final Defeat. Not long after they engaged off of *Cboal*, near *Bombay*, the Fleet of *Campson* Sultan of *Egypt*, coming to the Assistance of the Enemy, which they entirely routed, and every where came off Conquerors, excepting that the aforementioned Son of *Almeida* falling in with a Squadron of *Cambayan* and *Egyptian* Ships, was unfortunately slain with an Arrow, as he bravely defended himself against them. The Body of this young Hero could not be found, but the Fleet returned with the melancholy News, which the Viceroy received with great Constancy of Mind, saying no more, than that his Son could not end his Days more gloriously than in the Service of his Country.

Alphonso Albuquerque was now arrived in the *East* with a strong Squadron from *Portugal*, with which, deluging to subdue the Isle of *Ormuz*, at the Mouth of the *Persian*

Gulph, he first reduced the Cities *Curiate*, *Majaze*, *Sabar*, and *Orfacan*, lying along the Coasts of *Arabia*, then subject to the King of *Ormuz*; after which, defeating the Enemy in an Engagement in the Port of that City, he landed in the Island, and prepared to invest the Place, when the King (called *Zarfadin* II.) gave leave that the *Portuguese* should build a Fort on the Sea-Coast, and engaged not only to pay them an annual Tribute but to defray the Charges of the War. The Time of *Almeida's* Viceroyship being now on the Point of expiring, he resolved to revenge the Death of his Son, and going on with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, attacked off *Diu* a great Fleet of *Cambayans*, *Egyptians*, *Canattars*, and other of the Enemies of the *Portuguese*, by whose Hands his Son fell, and entirely routed them with great slaughter, subdued all the Coast from *Diu* to *Cochin*, forcing the several Princes to yield themselves tributary to *Portugal*.

His Commission being now expired, he delivered the Government with great Reluctance to *Albuquerque*, and having passed the Cape of *Good Hope*, in his Way homewards, was, with his Companions, unfortunately slain by some Barbarians on the Coast of *Africa*, through his own Imprudence; for he would needs go on Storming a Country of Provisions and Refreshments, in a Country almost unknown; and there some of his Attendants having quarrelled about the Price of Provisions with the Natives, with more Courage than Prudence, ran to their Assistance; but when he saw the whole Country pouring down upon them, he would have retired, and called his great Endeavour to make a Retreat to his Ship. But it was too late, the Barbarians discharging on him, and there were with him, a Shower of Arrows, by which he fell, and twelve experienced Officers were killed upon the Spot; so that he lost not only the Rewards which he most reasonably have expected from his Master, but even would a decent Funeral, which, in the Opinion of those who survived him, was a much heavier Misfortune.

g. He was succeeded in his Command by *Alfonso Albuquerque*, whose Services had already merited much from his Master, and whose Character seemed him the fittest of all others to be entrusted with *Portugal* this Time; yet he had not the Title of Viceroy, but that of General only, though his Authority was as extensive as that of *Almeida*, and his Success in his Admiralty an extraordinary, that it acquired him the Surname of Great. *Vernand Coutinho*, Grand Marshal of *Portugal*, who was come with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, and with three thousand Men on Board, to put him in Possession of the Government, engaged *Albuquerque* to begin the Evacuation of his Authority with the Destruction of *Calicut*, which had given them so much Trouble, and which was likely to give them still more, as long as it stood. This Expedition was very honourable for the new General, though it proved fatal to its Author; for while *Albuquerque* took the Field that commanded the Place, and left him to the Power of the Grand Marshal made himself Master of the Revenue of the, where finding immense Riches, his People fell to pillaging, and the *Indians*, taking Advantage of the Disorder they were in, fell upon them, and cut them off to a Man. *Albuquerque* did all that in his Power lay to prevent the Mischief, but without Effect, and in endeavouring to get another he ran a great Risk of being destroyed himself; for in his Passage towards the Palace, he received two dangerous Wounds, and immediately after was almost crushed to Pieces, by a great Stone thrown upon him from the Top of one of the publick Buildings. In this Constitution his Soldiers took him up, and carried him on Board his Ship, and then they made a good Retreat, navigating at this unfortunate Undertaking the Grand Marshal, and fourteen Men, and about three hundred wounded.

¹ This was a very deep Question in Politics, viz. Whether Rebellion in the next Heir deprives him of his Right of Succession. But it may be said that ever the *Portuguese* considered the thing in this Light, the youngest of the two Nephews seemed to them most deserving, and therefore it was very natural for them to be in his.

² We learn from some of the *Portuguese* Historians, that *Almeida* suffered his Jealousy of *Albuquerque* to carry him to the City of *Canonor*, where he kept him Prisoner, and was obliged to send Servants to attend him; and though it was impossible they should have Intelligence of this in *Portugal*, yet it seems they suspected the Master, and therefore sent a Man of great Quality, and a strong Fleet, to regulate Affairs in that Part of the World, without which, it is probable, there might have been some Difficulty in persuading the Viceroy to part with a Power of which he was so fond.

As soon as *Albuquerque* recovered, he formed a Design of making himself Master of *Ormuz*; and for that Purpose assembled a great Fleet, and a considerable Body of Troops, amongst which were two thousand veteran Portuguese that had served long in the *Indies*. But when he was on the Point of sailing, he received such Intelligence as engaged him to alter his Design, and to resolve upon attacking *Goa*, a large and rich City in the Island of *Tiwarin*, with one of the best Ports in the *Indies*. This Island, which is about nine or ten Leagues in Circumference, was esteemed, from its Situation, the most important Post on the Coast of *Malabar*. The King of *Decan* was the natural Lord of it, and the Person who commanded for him therein was one *Idaleon*, a Moor by Birth, and a Man of great Courage and Experience. He took all imaginable Care to put the Place into the best Posture of Defence possible; notwithstanding which, the Island was reduced, and the City of *Goa* taken by Storm by the Portuguese, assisted by a Fleet and Army of an *Indian* Prince, called the King of *Onor*, under the Command of *Tinicia*, his General. Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* made his publick Entry into it on the 17th of *February*, 1510, with great Magnificence; and having settled every thing there, in the best Order possible, he appointed his Nephew *Antonio de Norogna* Governor of the City; *Gasper de Payva* General Director of the Commerce, and *Tinicia* had the Charge of the Revenues, which amounted to Eighty-two thousand Pieces of Gold per Annum. This Conquest was not easily maintained, for *Idaleon* returned with such a Force as recovered the Place, and the new Governor *Antonio de Norogna* was slain in the Dispute, which, however, served only to increase the Desire of *Albuquerque* to raise the Credit of his Nation, by securing a Country and City of such Consequence, which, after a War of long Continuance, he accomplished; and this City became afterwards, viz. in 1519, the Seat of the Governor, and the See of an Archbishop, and Primate of the *Indies*.

The Conquest of *Goa*, though in itself of vast Importance, was far from satisfying the Ambition of *Albuquerque*, whose Mind was continually agitated with the Desires of extending the Power of his Prince and his Reputation. It was with this View that he sailed with a great Fleet to the Road of *Malacca*, where he demanded the Portuguese Prisoners the King had in his Hands. The *Indian* Monarch put him off with fair Words and Promises, and the General being afraid that he might put the Prisoners to death, bore with this Treatment for some Time; but, at last, was so provoked, that he made an Attempt on the Place, and actually set it on Fire; upon which the King of *Malacca* immediately sent the before-mentioned Prisoners, and offered to make Peace with the Portuguese upon their own Terms. Those prescribed by *Albuquerque* were extremely hard, for he demanded Leave to build a Fort where he thought fit, a Reparation of Damages done to the Portuguese, and a Sum of Money equivalent to the Expence of this Expedition.

The *Indian* Monarch, having consulted with his Council, absolutely refused to yield to them; and thereupon Hostilities were again begun on both Sides, which ended in *Albuquerque's* attacking the City of *Malacca* by Sea and Land with great Fury, and, after an obstinate Resistance, it was taken by Storm, and given up to the Pillage of the Portuguese Soldiers; and we may guess at the Riches of the Place by the clear Fifth, which was referred to the King; and which was bought on the Spot by the Merchants for two hundred thousand Pieces of Gold. The General immediately caused a Fort to be erected for the

Security of the Place, and putting a good Garrison into it he gave the Command thereof to *Rodriguez Patalino*: He raised one *Utinut*, an *Indian* Lord, who, by deserting the King of *Malacca*, had been very useful to him, to the Post of supreme Magistrate of the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and, having received the Compliments of several *Indian* Princes upon his Victory, he prepared to return to *Goa*. Before he quitted the Place a Conspiracy was discovered, in which *Utinut* was principally concerned, who thought to have made himself Master of the Place. As his Letters were intercepted, the Proof against him was clear, and the General ordered him and his Son to be executed, notwithstanding his great Age, and an Offer made him of an hundred thousand Pieces of Gold to spare their Lives. After this, and staying there near a Year, he determined to leave a very brave Man and experienced Officer Commander of the Forces at *Malacca* with a sufficient Number of Ships and Men. These Precautions being taken, he sailed for the Coast of *Malabar*; but, in his Passage met with such a Storm, as destroyed the greatest Part of his Fleet, with all the Riches on Board, and it was with very great Difficulty that the General himself escaped.

After a short Stay at *Cochin*, and putting every thing there in the best Order they could, Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* retired to *Goa*, where Things were in some Confusion; but he soon restored them, and humbled all the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood to such a Degree, that the *Samorin* himself sent Embassadors to implore Peace, and to offer him Permission to build a Fort at *Cabut*, wherever he thought fit. The Emperor of *Ethiopia* also sent an Embassador to *Goa*, and from thence to *Portugal*; and, in short, the Terror of the Portuguese Arms was now so great, that *Idaleon* and the Princes that had given the greatest Opposition to the Settlement of that Nation in the *Indies*, were glad now to atone for their Insurrection, by offering to accept whatever Terms Don *Alphonso* thought fit to prescribe. Such a long Train of Successes, and so splendid a Scene of Prosperity, would certainly have turned the Head of a Man of less Abilities than the Great *Albuquerque*, to whose Capacity the Portuguese were more indebted for their Conquests, than to the Arms and Fleets which he commanded.

He had, indeed, all the Talents requisite for a Man in his Station, and with these such a Degree of Diligence and Application, as would have enabled him to have performed great Things, if his Parts had been less shining.

He loved the ancient Frugality of his Country, and never suffered himself to be corrupted by the Power or Wealth that he possessed; and indeed he made no Use of either, but for the Service of the Crown. When he saw the Disposition of the *Indians* to measure every thing by outward Pomp, he seemed to give into their Notion, and affected, upon publick Days, prodigious Magnificence; But in the midst of all this he relaxed nothing of his former Severity, but lived, in the midst of all his publick Splendor, as coarsely, in respect to his Person, as any private Man. In exacting the Dues of the Crown, he was somewhat severe; but, with regard to his own Fortune, he took so little Care of it, that, except his publick Appointments, he had scarce any thing he could call his own. His Officers were his Children, and he took as much Pains in teaching them their Duty as an affectionate Parent in the Education of his Sons. He overlooked Misdemeanors, but punished Treachery, or Neglect of Duty, with inexorable Severity. He was extremely ready to reward, and all his Discouragements at his Table was of the great Actions performed by his Officers, while he was not only silent as to his own,

* While these Disputes lasted, *Sequeria*, a Portuguese Officer, had the Command of a considerable Squadron given him, which was to be sent in order to make Discoveries, and as he had taken part with the Victor against the General, he no longer knew that the latter was intended with a French Command, than he immediately abandoned his *D. pastaraz*; sailing from *Cochin* on the 19th of *August*, 1509, he arrived on the Coast of *Malacca* on the 11th of *September*, and was entertained with a Shew of Friendship by the King, who received him to a grand Entertainment, with five thousand Men, and all who came with him, which *Sequeria* availed, by pretending Sickness, the King then attempted to surprise the Portuguese as they landed to carry on their Commerce, in which he succeeded better, killing some, and making a considerable Number of Prisoners; *Sequeria* revenged himself by attacking and plundering several rich Vessels that met with on the Coast, and then he continued his Voyage to *Portugal*. It was this Act of Treachery that induced Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* to make his Attempt on *Malacca*.

* This Storm happened on the Coast of the Island of *Somatra*, in which *Albuquerque* found a new Opportunity of raising his Reputation. The Ship on which he was on board striking on a Rock, the Crew hurried him into his Long Boat, and just as they were putting out in the Wake, the General saw a young Man fall from one of the Masts into the Sea, near his Boat. He sprung himself to his Assistance, caught him in his Arms, and thereby preserved his Life at the Hazard of his own.

but would not permit others to commend them. It was a common Saying of his, that he was afraid of nothing but Flattery; and it was observed, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his good Graces that way. Let them serve their King and Country, said he, if they would be beloved by *Albuquerque*; and his Actions were agreeable to his Words, for he distinguished none but Men of Merit. It has been well observed by some of the *Portuguese* Historians, that the Vanity of *Ameida* made him affect the State of a Prince, when the Power of the *Portuguese* was but indifferently established; whereas the Modesty of *Albuquerque* was most conspicuous when his Victories had left him nothing to fear, and when the greatest Princes of the East sent their Embassadors to beg his Friendship.

Yet, with all these Qualities, this Hero had his Faults. His Ambition was boundless, and carried away by an extravagant Desire of extending the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*, he very little regarded whether the Measures he took for that Purpose were just or unjust. In his private Life, he was a Man of the strictest Honour; in his public Character, Regard to Truth will not permit us to say so much. What we have farther to relate of his Actions, will fully justify this Remark. He made himself Master of *Goa* without any other Pretence than that it was necessary to the Crown of *Portugal*. He had seized *Malacca* for the same Reason: And now he meditated the Conquest of *Ormuz* from the like Motive, and he effected it in the following manner: He had formerly, that is, before he was declared General of the *Indies*, attempted to raise a Citadel there, without being able to effect his Design; but the Power of the *Portuguese* being now so much increased, that all the Commerce of the East depended upon them, the King of *Ormuz* had been obliged to become tributary, because his City and Nation depended upon Trade; other Places could not be rich, but his Dominions could not subsist without it.

The then King of *Ormuz* was *Torun Shab*, a young Prince of no great Abilities, and of a weak and timorous Spirit. In the Beginning of his Reign, he was entirely governed, as all Princes must be, who have not Parts enough to govern themselves, by an old Minister, whose Name was *Noradin*, a Man of great Cunning, but of no enterprising Genius, and who, to support himself, and secure the Administration to his Family, brought three of his Nephews to Court, and gave them great Parts in the Government and in the Army. *Hamed*, the youngest of these, in a short Time gained, by his Intrigues, a Share of Power, that neither the King nor his Uncle had any more than a Shadow of Authority left. Don *Afonso Albuquerque* being informed of this, assembled his Army, and gave it out that his Design was to attack *Aden*; but, when at Sea, he directed his Course to the Coast of *Persia*, and appeared before *Ormuz* when he was least expected. He demanded that the Citadel should be immediately put into his Hands, *Portuguese* Factories settled in the Place, and that the King should absolutely acknowledge himself dependant on the Crown of *Portugal*.

Torun Shab, thinking it better to be the Vassal of a foreign Prince, than the Slave of his own Minister, exerted his Authority to lessen his own Dignity, admitted the General into the Citadel, assigned the *Portuguese* some of the best Houses in the Town for their Factory, and ordered their Flag to be displayed upon the Palace. *Hamed* could not help but overting his Impatience at a Change so sudden and unexpected, to prevent the Effects of which, he formed some Designs against the General's Life; of which Don *Afonso* was no sooner informed, than he gave Orders to some of his Soldiers to cut him off, which they with a Ceremony performed. If the General had stopped here, it had been well enough, but his Projects

were not of a Nature to be bounded by any thing but the absolute Possession of what he aimed at, and therefore, under Pretence that a Fleet was coming from *Egypt*, to make a Descent upon the Island, he demanded all the Artillery of the Place, which, he said, was necessary for his preserving it from the Enemy.

Torun Shab assembled his Council, who declared, that in the first Place they knew nothing of any such Design; and in the next, that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the General's Design. The Cowardice of the King, however, got the better of the good Sense of his Ministers, the Artillery was put on board for the present Service, which the General would never restore; he having made *Pedro d' Albuquerque* Governor of the Citadel, he seized sixteen of the Princes of the Blood, with their Wives and Children, and carried them away with him to *Goa*, that he might have sufficient Hostages for that good Behaviour to him, who, he was conscious, was Reason enough to be displeas'd with his Conduct towards them; and thus, for the present, *Ormuz* was ingested to the *Portuguese*.

A little before the Return of *Albuquerque*, he received a magnificent Embassy from the King of *Persia*, who, finding himself in danger of suffering by the new Empire, erected by this General in the East, resolved to prevent it if he could, by offering him his Friendship. The General received him with all the Respect due to the Minister of so great a Prince, and caused him to be entertained during the Time he staid at the publick Expence, and that too with as great Magnificence as the Circumstances of Time and Place would allow. He likewise made the *Persian* March very valuable Presents, and such as he very much expected; for he sent him some very fine Pieces of Brass Cannon, and various other Utensils of War, together with some able Engineers to manage them, which he did for two Reasons; first, that he might secure the sincere Friendship of so great a Monarch, which he knew would be of prodigious Consequence, as Things then stood to the Affairs of *Portugal*, and next, because he was perfectly sensible that the Advantages gained over the *Persians* by the Artillery were entirely owing to their Artillery; and this great Politician very rightly judged, that nothing could be more for Purposes better than keeping the Force of these two Empires on an Equality.

A short time after the Return of Don *Afonso Albuquerque* to *Goa*, he was seized with an Illness, which a few Days carried him off at the Age of sixty three. He was called by the *Mohammedans* *Mohammed Shab*, because he was born at *Messida* in *Aravia*, which in the Eastern Tongues is called *Malanda*, but by the *Portuguese* he was stiled, and that very justly, *Albuquerque*. He was the ablest Statesman, and by far the most illustrious General they ever had in the *Indies*, and in these Affairs in the best Situation; and yet he performed some great Actions of his Life with very mean Equipments. For with thirty Ships he took *Calicut*, with twenty one he became Master of *Goa*, with twenty four he seized *Malacca*, and had no more than twenty two in his Expedition against *Ormuz*. At the time of his Death his Reputation still higher, if he had lived to execute them; and they are both of them worthy the Character of an illustrious Person, and such as perhaps would have oversteered any other Head than his own.

He had so firmly established the Power of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, that he saw no Possibility of the Trade being diverted into another Channel, but that *Aden*, who he suspected would make themselves Masters of *Aden*, and he very well knew, that by a right Management of the old Channel of Commerce, by the Way of *Aden*, might be restored, and would then become more profitable than ever. To prevent this, he instituted a Fleet of

If we consider what Sentiments the *Indians* must have of the Behaviour of the *Portuguese*, we must naturally conclude, that they think as freely, and as barbarous as the *Tartars*; and, therefore, when we hear what the *Portuguese* will do to the *Indians*, we are not surpris'd to find them so cruel, and wicked Disposition of the *Indians*, but to their Cruelty and Apprehension of the *Portuguese*.

It is true, that *Aden* owed both its Being and its Grandeur to its Trade, and therefore we often hear it mentioned, to show that the *Indians* were not so miserable by Situation, that may not be rendered agreeable by Commerce and the Wealth that it brings in, the *Indians* were never to accompany this Abundance, and it was to the *Factions* that took Rise from their Wealth and Corruption, that the *Indians* owed their Destruction.

of Ethiopia, that for his own Security against such bad Neighbours as the *Turks*, the best Step he could take would be to divert the Channel of the Nile, by cutting a Passage for it into the Arabian Sea before it reached Egypt. If this Design had taken Effect, it must undoubtedly have rendered the greatest Part of Egypt uninhabitable, and without doubt would have rendered it impracticable to renew the Method of transporting East-India Commodities from the Red-Sea to Alexandria, which was the principal thing he had in View. His other Project was to transport three hundred Horse from the Island of Ormuz to the opposite Coast of Arabia, which is but seventeen Leagues, and this Party he thought sufficient to plunder the Tomb of *Mohammed* at Mecca, and to burn the Relicks of that false Prophet, which he imagined would have various good Consequences. One of which would certainly have had, that is, it would have struck all the *Mohammedans* in the East with Terror and Amazement, and have diverted that Concourse of People thither; I mean to Mecca, which made the Commerce of Arabia famous, and consequently would have promoted in a great Degree another Design of resuming the Trade of the East out of the Hand of the *Turks*, and other *Mohammedan* Nations.

The Death of this excellent Commander, though at so great an Age, proved some Inconvenience to the Portugueze Affairs, and would have proved a much greater, if his Successor had not been at that time at *Cochin* with a Squadron of ten Sail, which he had just brought from *Persepolis*. This General *Albuquerque* left all the Settlements then made in the Indies in perfect Peace, and in admirable Order, and he likewise left such a Body of regular Troops as were capable not only of maintaining what was already acquired, but also of adding such Conquests as the King or his Successors should judge necessary. His Funeral was performed with great Solemnity, and his Body interred in a Chapel dedicated to the Blessed *Virgin*, which himself had built at *Goa*, and which was much enlarged by his Son *Alonso Albuquerque*, who lived to the Age of fourscore, and gave considerable Assistance to such Historians as have recorded his Father's Actions.

The Person chosen to replace this great General was *Lopez Suarez*, who was come for that Purpose with a Squadron of Men of War from *Portugal* to *Cochin*, where he received the News of *Albuquerque's* Death. It seems to have been a Maxim, and indeed it was a very right one, not to leave the same Officer too long in the Possession of so great a Power as it was necessary to vest in the Viceroy or General of the Indies; and without doubt it was owing to this Method, that some of these great Officers were prevented from making an ill Use of their great Authority, and from setting up for themselves, which all things considered, it is a Wonder they did not, since with a little Management any enterprising Commander might have leured the *Javan* Island to himself, and have brought the Inhabitants to think it their Interest to defend him. *Suarez* was no sooner entered upon his Administration, but the People of *Aden* sent Ambassadors to him, to let him know they were ready to comply with his Demands, but he took no notice of their Submission; and having a Design on the Egyptian Fleet, which he heard was coming down the Red-Sea, he, to keep his People employed till their Arrival, near the Straights of *Babel-mandel*, attacked *Zeila*, a Town on the Coast of *Africa*, opposite to *Aden*, and gave the Plunder to his Soldiers and Seamen.

But *Suarez* too late repented him of his Neglect of the People of *Aden's* Offers, for the expected Fleet of *Egypt*

never appeared, and that City changed soon after its Resolution of submitting to *Portugal*. To the Loss of this happy Opportunity succeeded another Misfortune; for *Campson* the Sultan of *Egypt* being overcome by the Emperor *Selm*, and his Dominions becoming Part of the *Turkish* Empire, the Coasts of *Egypt* and the Red-Sea were much better guarded than before, several new Forts being erected there, and supplied with good Garrisons. In the mean time *Andrada*, who commanded in chief at *Malacca*, made an Expedition for settling of Trade to the Coast of *China*, where he was hospitably entertained for some Months, but his People growing insolent upon his kind Reception, committed several Violences, and he was forced to quit the County with the Loss of a great Number of his Followers. The Portugueze of *India* were now but in an indifferent State, and the new Forts lately finished in *Ceylon*, and the Kingdom of *Coulan*, were scarce sufficient to keep the Inhabitants in their Duty, so that *Suarez* being looked upon as unequal to so great a Charge as the Government of those Acquisitions, was recalled, and *James Lopez* appointed his Successor.

He, on his Arrival in *India*, having quelled some Insurrections there, and overcome the King of *Bintam*, whom he forced to accept a Peace on his Terms, repaired to *Ormuz*, and defeating *Moeri* King of *Bobarim*, an Island in the *Persian* Gulph, reduced it to the Obedience of *Portugal*. *Lopez* was succeeded by *Edward de Menezes* in 1521, who restored the King of *Pacem*, in the Island of *Sumatra*, to his Dominions, on condition of his paying a Tribute, and giving Leave for the erecting a Fort upon his Coast. In the first Year of this Viceroy's Administration died *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, the greatest Prince that ever sat on the Throne of that Kingdom, who, having reduced to his Obedience not only the Coasts of all *India*, both within and without the *Ganges*, but of the Gulph of *Persepolis*, and of the Red-Sea, and covering with his Fleets the *Ethiopian* and *Atlantic* Oceans, shut up the Navigation to those Countries from all others, thereby totally excluding the *Venetians* from the Commerce of the East, whose Merchants had ever since the Year 1269, to that Time, wholly engrossed that Trade. He also subdued great Part of the Coast of *Barbary*, making himself Master of *Ajofia*, *Tita*, and *Azamora*, near *Cape Cantin*, and defeated the Forces of the Emperor of *Morocco* in several Rencontres.

He was succeeded by his Son *John III.* about which Time the Viceroy of *India* appointed *Lewis de Menezes*, with a strong Squadron, to keep the People of *Ormuz* in Obedience, and sent *Garcias Henriquez* with another to the Eastward to make farther Acquisitions, which latter failed round the Islands *Banda Mira* and *Gumanapy*, and proceeding thence to *Andore*, there fell in with one of the Ships that had been sent out under *Magellan* by the Emperor *Charles V.* to make new Discoveries, which *Henriquez* attacked, and made himself Master of, putting to Death or making Slaves of all the *Spaniards* on board. This done, he erected a Fort in the neighbouring Island *Ternate*, and strictly enjoined the Inhabitants not to vend their Spices to any other than the Portugueze.

The next Year *Hellor Silveria* being appointed Admiral of the Indies, was joyfully received by the Viceroy of *Goa*, from whence he proceeded to *Malacca*, then besieged by *Laquezimenes* the King of *Bintam's* Admiral, and having happily raised the Siege, detached *Alonso de Sousa* to the Coast of *Bintam*, which having ravaged, he gained a great Victory over the Shores of *Pabang*, *Patana*, and *Java*, killing great Numbers of the Enemy, and taking several Pri-

son. The Fleet with which this Commander sailed into the Red Sea was by much superior to any thing the Portugueze had ever been able to put to Sea before that time, and was entirely the Effect of Don *Alphonso d'Albuquerque's* Prudence and Diligence. It consisted of thirty seven large Ships, and at the same time he arrived before *Aden*, there was no Force in the Indies capable of disputing with him. The Reason that the Inhabitants of that City would then have submitted was, because a great Part of their Walls remained unrepaired, so that they were not in a Condition to make any Defence; but when they observed the Slowly of the Portugueze General, and that he did not embrace an Offer of such Importance with the Readiness that he ought to have done, they lost no Time in repairing their Fortifications, and putting their City in a Posture of Defence, so as to be no longer under Apprehensions of his Power, and then they treated him with Contempt.

It appears from hence, that the Portugueze were the first who attempted to monopolize the Trade of Spices; at which the Reader may be the more surpris'd, since we do not hear at this time of any other East-India Nations that traded in those Parts, and therefore this forbidding the Inhabitants to sell Spices, might appear an unnecessary Precaution. To let this Matter in a true Light, the three following Points must be observed. In the first place, there was a great Trade for Spices carried on throughout all *Asia*, and thus the Portugueze were desirous of keeping it in their own Hands. In the next place, they were very apprehensive of their being carried into the Red-Sea, and to through *Egypt* to *Alexandria*, to their great Rivals in Trade the *Venetians*; to prevent which, they kept a Squadron cruising at the Mouth of the Red-Sea. Thirdly, they were afraid of the *Spaniards* from the West-Indies, the Governors in *America* making frequent Attempts on this Side, in hopes of establishing a regular Commerce between the Kingdom of *Mexico* and the *Moluccas*; so that it is very plain the Portugueze Viceroy had Reason enough to apprehend their having this valuable Commerce taken out of their Hands.

soners; after which, proceeding to *Machian* and *Bachian*, two of the *Molucca* Islands near *Tidor*, he plundered them, and carried off a great Booty. The next Year *Vasquez de Gama* was appointed Viceroy of the *Indies*; but as he was in a very advanced Age, it being improbable he should live long, a Commission was made out for *Henry de Meneses* to succeed, in case of his Decease before the three Years of his Viceroyalty should be expired. There was a third Commission to *Pedro Mascarenbas*, appointing him Viceroy, if *Meneses* should die; and a fourth to *Lopez de Sampayo* to succeed, in case of the Death of *Mascarenbas*. The *Portuguese* by this means were almost secure of providing, that their Acquisitions in *India* should not remain without a Head, and the Event shewed the good Effects of their Care; for *Gama* did not long enjoy his new Honour; but having first defeated the People of *Calicut* in an Engagement at Sea, died within a few Months after his Arrival at *Goa*, so that the Viceroyalty devolved upon *Henry de Meneses*.

The Commission by which he was to succeed was sealed up with this Supercription, *Not to be opened till (which God forbid) Vasquez de Gama, Viceroy and high Admiral of the Indies, shall be departed this Life*. This being now opened by the next commanding Officers in the great Church at *Cochin*, *Meneses*, who was then absent from the Place, was proclaimed Viceroy, whose Administration was likewise of a short Date, and diversified with both good and bad Fortune; for after several Engagements with the *Calicutans* with various Success, he defeated their Fleet in the Port of *Guleta*, and made himself Master of most of their Ships; soon after which he destroyed a Fleet of *Turkish* Ships off *Dabal*, another of *Moers* off *Zella*, worsted that of the Prince of *Patana* and *Laquesimenes* the Admiral of *Bintam*, and then advancing to relieve the *Portuguese*, besieged by the Enemy in the Fortrefs of *Calicut*, he performed the same, but died of a Wound he had received in his Leg by an Arrow, in the Year 1526.

This unlucky Accident had very bad Effects on the Affairs of the *Portuguese*, and as there were the Retult of the very Precautions that were taken to avoid them, it may not be amiss to examine them more at large. As soon as it was known at *Goa* that *Henry de Meneses* was dead, all the great Officers assembled, in order to open the Billets by which the Successor was appointed; and in opening these, the Authority of Viceroy devolved upon *Pedro Mascarenbas*, who was then at *Malacca*. One of the Officers present, who took upon him to have more Wit than his Neighbours, thought proper to distinguish upon this Occasion between a General present, and a General at a Distance; he said, that the Intent and Meaning of these Substitutions was plainly, that the Government in the *Indies* might never want a Head; and that an absent Head being in Effect no Head at all, it was necessary to open another Billet, in order to procure a Viceroy for the present, till *Pedro Mascarenbas* should arrive from *Malacca*.

This Proposal was far enough from being universally approved by all who were present, because many of them foresaw, that under Pretence of providing against a slight Evil, or rather an Inconvenience, they were on the Point of running into a much greater Mischief. However, *Alphonso Mexias*, who first proposed the opening the other Billet, pressed it with such Earnestness, that at last it was complied with, and the Billet being opened, *Lopez de Sampayo* the Fourth, substituted Viceroy, took upon him that Charge, and gave the *Malabarians* a signal Defeat in an Engagement at the Mouth of the *Bucanor*: But *Mascarenbas* highly resenting it, that *Sampayo* should usurp the Viceroyalty out of his Turn, would by no means acquiesce with that Proceeding, but assumed to himself the Title and Office of Viceroy, and being forced to wait the proper season for coming down to *Goa*, took that Opportunity to repair with a Fleet of nineteen Sail to the Coast of *Bintam*, where he defeated *Laquesimenes*, the Enemies Admiral, together with the Fleet of *Pabang*, which came to their Assistance, when taking the City of *Bintam* by Storm, he burnt it; and the King, dying with Grief at his ill Success, *Mascarenbas* ap-

pointed another in his Room, on condition that he should maintain no Army nor Fleet without Leave from the *Portuguese*, but commit himself wholly to their Protection. This done, he went with his Fleet to *Goa*, where he desired a Number of Arbitrators might be appointed to judge whether he or *Sampayo* was the proper Viceroy; but the latter at first refused to submit to any Arbitration: Instead of which, contrary to all Reason and Justice, he seized and imprisoned him, supposing that this would put an End to the Controversy, by frightening the Friends of his Competitor into Silence; but in this he took his Measures quite wrong, for this Viceroy, instead of lessening the Interest of *Don Pedro*, increased it, so that at last he found himself under a Necessity of yielding to this Proposition, and thirteen Judges were chosen to decide this difficult Question, which by an Accident that happened in the mean time was made still more difficult.

For, a fresh Squadron arriving from *Portugal*, brought more of these Billets, with an Order that such of the old ones as were not opened, should be suppressed and sent back, and that the Government should be determined by the new Billets: the first of which, by the Advice of *Alphonso Mexias*, the first Mover of all these Billets, was opened, contrary to the Opinion of the wisest and best Men at *Goa*, who foresaw, that instead of lessening, it would augment the Doubts and Suspicions that had grown them into Factions already. This Billet being in Favour of *Lopez*, he affirmed, before the Judges, that both the former Nominations were void, and therefore he insisted only upon this last; and they being, for the most Part of his Faction, or else corrupted by *Mexias*, came into it at once, declared him Viceroy, and, to put an End to all Disputes, ordered *Don Pedro Mascarenbas* to return immediately to *Portugal*; with which Arbitration he complied, as plainly perceiving that he could hope for nothing by continuing in the *Indies*, when Things were in this Situation. On his Return to *Lisbon*, he laid the whole Proceedings before the King, together with a Memorial, in which he represented, that as all these Disputes had been occasioned from their not knowing certainly his Majesty's Pleasure, he humbly desired that it might be declared, who it was his Majesty intended to have named Viceroy, that Accusers of this Kind might be prevented for the future. The King accordingly heard and decided this Matter with great Justice and Wisdom; for, in the first place, he executed the Decree of the Arbitrators, and ordered that the present Viceroy, *Lopez*, should pay to *Don Pedro* twenty thousand Crowns, as the Profits of his two Years Government; and at the same time, made a Regulation for the future to this Effect, that, on the Opening of these Billets, should be the Absence of the Person nominated should not prejudice him in any Degree, provided the Person nominated was a Part of the *Indies* between *Cape Horn* and *Senegal*; and in the best Part of the *Indies*, rendered it impossible for any such Accident should hereafter fall out, which might have occasioned all this Confusion.

But as *Don Lopez* had, in other Respects, behaved well, it was judged the reasonablest Course to give him the Possession of the Government, more especially since he was obliged to part with all the *Indies* he had acquired in it. As soon as the King's Orders were received in the *Indies*, *Don Lopez* executed them as every King would have done himself to the Friends of *Don Pedro*; and he behaved in every other Circumstance, as becoming a worthy Man and a good Subject. But no sooner were his Troubles over, than new Disturbances broke out, which occasioned fresh Confusions in the *Indies*.

Henry Garcia, who was at that Time Governor of the *Moluccas*, finding Affairs extremely troubled by the Wars which his Predecessor had begun against the King of *Tidor*, with very little Advantage, thought fit, on his first coming to his Government, to make Peace with *Amanzor*, who was then King of that Island, on Condition that he should restore the *Portuguese* Prisons he had taken from the *Portuguese*, which in the Space of six Months, he undertook to do. But the

¹ This was the Beginning of those Factions which proved afterwards so fatal to the *Portuguese*; for it is certain, that if the Government began to improve each other, and take many such Steps for their private Advantage, at the Expense of the public Good of the Country, we need not wonder at the unlucky Accidents that followed, their Commerce, by bringing Strangers of all Nations into those Seas.

Face of Affairs in those Parts altering soon after, *Garcias* repented him of the Peace, and resolv'd to renew the War, believing, that if he could reduce this Island, it would very much raise his Reputation; to furnish himself therefore with some Pretence for breaking with the King of *Tidor*, he, before the Time limited was expired, sent to demand the Cannon and Prisoners; to which *Alonzo* modestly reply'd, that he would have deliver'd them up when the Treaty was made, if it had been in his Power; but that having lent the Cannon to a Prince who was his Neighbour, it required some Time to get them back. He had so little Suspicion however of the Governor's bad Design, that, being at this Time extremely indispos'd, he requested him to send a Physician, whose Advice he might make use of in his Recovery. *Garcias* accordingly sent one, under whose Direction the King put himself, without the least Reserve, and was by him most balefully poisoned. Immediately after the King's Death, *Garcias* sent again to demand the Cannon and Prisoners, and because the People desired a Delay till the King's Funeral was performed, he having all Things ready, expecting the Event, made a Descent upon the Island, attacked the capital City, took it, and plundered it, and treated the People with the utmost Inhumanity.

As this was done without the least Provocation, in a Time of full Peace, and when there was not the least Intention on the Side of the Natives to renew the War against the Portugueze, it caus'd among the People of that Island, and of most of the rest of the *Moluccas*, an insupportable Hatred against them; soon after which, a Squadron of the Emperor *Charles V.* arriving there, was welcomed by the People of *Tidor*, with all the Marks of Kindness, on account of the *Spaniards* equal Enmity with them to the Portugueze, and being received into their Port, they rais'd Works for the Defence of it, in case of an Attack from the Enemy. The *Spaniards*, who were under the Command of *Igniguzza*, alledged, that the *Moluccas* belonged of Right to them, as being first discovered by *Magellan*, with a Commission from the King of *Spain*, and that the Dispute having been submitted to Arbitration, was determined in their Favour.

On the other Hand, the Portugueze, under the Command of *Henriquez*, said, that the unjust Sentence of the *Castilian* Arbitration had been reverber'd by the Judges in *Portugal*, and that those Islands were discovered ten Years before the Voyage of *Magellan* in the *Spanish* Service by *Alonso Alvarez*, who was sent out to make Discoveries by *Alonso Albuquerque*, in whose Company was *Magellan* himself, before he had desert'd his Country. Thus they disput'd with Words for a while, but soon after came to Blows, the People of *Ternate* taking Part with the Portugueze, and those of *Tidor* and *Gilolo* with the *Spaniards*. The latter struck the first Stroke, by besieging the Portugueze Fortrets in *Ternate*, where, at the first Attack, they took one of the Enemies Ships, and now the *Spaniards* and Portugueze had gone near to have atoned for the Mistakes they had done to the *Indians* by the Destruction of each other, but that the Emperor being engag'd in other Wars in *Europe*, neglected to remove an Acquisition, and for a certain Sum of Money yielded up his Right in the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal*.

This was look'd upon at that Time as very indifferent Policy, and as the Effects of his not considering attentively the Advantages that might have been deriv'd to him in *Europe*, by the prudent Management of his Affairs in

America, and this because his Thoughts were entirely turn'd on the vain Project of raising an universal Monarchy by Force of Arms, whereas the Portugueze wisely contented themselves with pushing on their Conquests in the *Indies*, and employ'd their Riches they deriv'd from thence to secure themselves against their ambitious Neighbours in *Europe*; from which Plan, if she had never varied, she might have escap'd becoming a Province to *Spain*, as she afterwards did, and all the unlucky Consequences that follow'd from that Conjunction. But it is now time to return from these Reflections to the Thread of our History. Matters being settled in those Islands, the Viceroy *Sampayo*, sent out *John Deza* with a Squadron, to cruise off *Cananor*, and at the same Time, dispatched *Alphonso Melia* to the *Sunda* Islands, who, just as he had doubled the Cape of *Comorin*, met with some Deputies coming to *Goa*, from the Prince of *Calecura*, on the Pearl-fishing Coast, with Offers of Tribute and Submission, upon Promise of Assistance against his Enemies the *Calecutians*.

In the mean time, *Deza*, upon his Station, intercepted all Ships passing between *Calecut* and *Cambaya*, to the incredible Loss of the People of both those Places, and landing at *Mangalor*, the Inhabitants deserted the Town, which he plundered and set on Fire; after which, falling in with *Cutial* the Admiral of *Cilicut*, he engag'd and defeated him, and carried him Prisoner to *Cananor*; and about the same Time *Anthony Alranza* sailing to the *Red-Sea*, took great Numbers of the *Arabian* Ships, and burnt several along the Shore; *Sampayo* himself, off *Cananor*, destroyed the greatest Part of a Fleet of one hundred and thirty Sail of *Moorish* Ships, bound to *Mecca* with Spices, and then repairing to *Porca* (the Prince whereof was a formidable Sea Rover) he landed there, and took the Town, forcing the Prince to betake himself to Flight, who left such a vast Booty to the Portugueze, that the Share of the meanest Sailor came to a thousand Dollars. From thence he sail'd to the Northward, and near the Island of *Bombay*, fell in with a Fleet of the Enemies, under the Command of *Haliffa*, Admiral of *Cambaya*; whereupon proffering a Reward of one hundred Dollars to the first Man who board'd one of the Enemies Ships, he immediately engag'd, and having entirely routed them, committed the Fleet to the Command of *Miranda*, who, soon after the Viceroy's Departure, came to another Engagement with the *Mahabarians*, before the Town of *Chaul*, and gave them a signal Defeat, killing great Numbers, and carrying off a rich Booty in Spices to *Cochin*; soon after which, the Portugueze reduced the Town of *Tamor*, made the Prince of the neighbouring Country their Tributary, and again routed *Haliffa*, the *Cambayan* Admiral.

In the mean Time, *Nunbo de Cunha* set out from *Portugal* with a Commission to be Governor, accompanied by his Brother *Simon de Cunha*, who was constituted Admiral of the *Indies*, and in his Way thither, attempting to put in at *Mombaza*, in order to pass the Winter-Season there, was refus'd Entrance by the King, but forced a Passage into the Port, and making himself Master of the Town, gave the Plunder to the Mariners, and set it on Fire. Departing thence early in the Spring, he made the best of his Way to *India*, where he resolv'd to make himself Master of the Town and Fortrets of *Diu*, situate in an Island of the same Name, near the Entrance of the Gulph of *Cambaya*; to which Purpose, repairing thither with the Fleet, upon his Appearance off the Place, he received an

* As soon as this was known to the Viceroy, he sent a new Governor to the *Moluccas*, one *George Mendez*, between whom and *Garcias* there appear'd a long Dispute, in which the latter was still made Prisoner, and afterward the former. And this, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* were actually possess'd of *Tidor*, and were endeavoring to get the rest of the Islands into their Hands, which shews the Infatuation of the Portugueze, who could not avoid quarrelling at that very Juncture, when Union was most necessary, and when not only the Extension of their Commerce, but the very being of it depended thereon, and could not be secured without it.

* We have a clear Account of this Matter, and a very good one, in *Sir William Monks's* Naval Treatise. The Controversy, says he, to whom the *Moluccas* should belong, continued between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* made sundry Attempts by Way of the *Indies*, but ever more with unprosperous Success. At last *Don John III.* of *Portugal*, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, who longly lent him three hundred and fifty thousand Ducats, when he went into *Italy* to be crown'd Emperor, upon Condition the King of *Portugal* should no Way be molested in his Possession of the *Molucca* Islands, till that Money was repaid; which being never done, the *Spaniards* never since pretended to those Islands.

* I mean by this, that if the Portugueze had cultivated Manufactures at home, in order to support and supply their Commerce in the *Indies*, without engaging, as *Don Sebastian* unfortunately did, in Wars on the Continent, and in *Bombay*, they must have become one of the principal maritime Powers in *Europe*, and have attained to such Wealth and Strength, as would effectually have secured them for ever against the Attempts of *Spain*, in launching out into wild and fruitless Expeditions, to gratify the Humours of ambitious Princes, will prove fatal to any, but to itself, and most to a trading Nation.

Envoy from *Badur* King of *Cambaya*, with Offers of yielding the Fortrels into his Hands, which being accordingly performed, it was committed to the Custody of *Anthony Siceira*.

Not long after the King of *Cambaya*, at the Instigation of the *Turks*, who were very desirous of getting *Du* into their Hands, made an Attempt to dispossess the *Portuguese*, and recover the Place; but with an unfortunate Event he, with his *Turkish* Auxiliaries, being entirely routed, most of his Fleet sunk, and himself received his Death's Wound in the Engagement. Soon after this, *Soliman*, the *Turkish* Emperor, sent the *Paisha* of *Cairo* to besiege it, with a Fleet of sixty-two Gallies, six Gallions, and other smaller Vessels, having on Board four thousand *Jamzaries*, sixteen thousand other Soldiers, besides Gunners, Seamen and Pilots, which on their Arrival before the Town, were joined by eighty Sail of Ships at *Cambaya*.

The *Turkish* *Paisha* landing his Forces, battered the Fortre's with sixty Pieces of Cannon; but the Governor with great Bravery sustained his Attack till the Arrival of *Garcias de Noronha*, the new Viceroy from *Goa*, to his Assistance, who, by a Stratagem passing thro' the Enemies Fleet with Drums beating and Trumpets sounding, as if they had been some of their *Indian* Allies, the *Turks*, upon Discovery of their Mistake, raised the Siege in the utmost Confusion, leaving behind them their Tents, Ammunition, Artillery, and above a thousand wounded Men, besides the like Number that were out on Foraging; all which fell into the Hands of the *Portuguese*. After the Death of *Badur* before mentioned, *Mamud* became King of the *Cambayans*, and *John de Castro* succeeded *Noronha* as the *Portuguese* Viceroy, in which Time the *Cambayans* and *Turks* made another Attempt on *Du*, but with the like Success as before, *de Castro* routing them both by Sea and Land, with a very great Slaughter; after which, he added several Works to the Place, and raised a new Cuttel, in a more advantageous Situation, and of much better Materials than the former.

11. In this prosperous Manner did the *Portuguese* carry all before them in *India*, during the Reign of *John III.* who dying *A. D.* 1557, was succeeded by *Sebastian*, then an Infant. That Prince growing up, was to intent upon his *Indian* Acquisitions, that he resolved on a Voyage thither himself; and it was with Difficulty his Council found Means to dissuade him from it. They did at length prevail on that Point, but could not prevent his undertaking a Design more hazardous than the former, *viz.* an Expedition against the Emperor of *Morocco*; and he embarking for that Purpose with a great Army, and the Flower of the *Portuguese* Nobility, on Board a numerous Fleet, landed at *Tangier*, and unadvisedly marching up into the Country, gave the *Moor*s Battle near *Alcazer*, where he was cut off with the whole Army.

He was succeeded by *Henry* his Uncle, then in advanced Age, whose Reign is remarkable for nothing but the Disputes about a Successor to him. he dying *A. D.* 1578, *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, who had Pretensions to the Crown, thought it most expedient to end all Disputes by the Point of the Sword; and understanding the great Inclination the *Portuguese* had through Hatred of a *Castilian* Government, to set *Antonio*, a natural Son of *John III.* upon the Throne, he ordered the Duke of *Alva* to march at the Head of a powerful Army into the Kingdom, who soon reduced it to his Obedience, forcing *Antonio* to withdraw to *England*; from whence, after some unsuccessful Attempts to recover his lost Dominions, he retired to *Paris* and died there *A. D.* 1595. The rest of the Territories of that Crown fell, at the same time, into the Hands of the Conqueror, except the *Azores*, or western Islands, which

were, at length, subdued to *Spain* by a great Victory obtained over a Fleet of *French* Ships sent thither to maintain them in the Obedience to *Anthony*.

As this Subjection of the *Portuguese* to the *Castilians*, was very arksome and odious to them, so was it attended with Consequences very fatal to their Interests; for, upon the first Commotions in the Low Countries, *Philip* being that one of the best Expedients to quell them, would be, to deprive the Inhabitants of the Advantages they received by Trade with *Portugal* and *Spain*, he prohibited all Commerce between them; for, in those Times, the *Dutch* Ships made no longer Voyages than to these Countries, for the Commodities of *India*, with which they afterwards supplied the Northern Nations of *Europe*. By *Philip's* Designs met with an Event very contrary to his Expectations, though they were laid very deeply, as was followed with the utmost Success, as well as Expedition. The Conquest of *Portugal*, indeed, carried along with it the Conquest of the Dominions of the *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies*, and seemed to promise the *Spaniards* the same quiet Possession of both *Indies*; But this Project began very soon to fail, for, in the first Place, the *Portuguese* Governors paid no more than a forced Obedience to the Crown of *Spain*; and in proportion to the Distance of their Settlements, the Governors were, more or less, contempt as to their Conduct. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* having many Affairs of their own to mind, and very little, if any, Concern for the Interest of *Portugal*, the annual Fleets and regular Supplies were neglected, or, when sent, proved very inferior to what they ought to have been. A too quick Sense of this Relaxation of Government, induced many who were vested with Authority in the *Indies* to make Use of their Power to serve their private Purposes, without regard to the publick Welfare of their Country or the private Benefit of such as were under their Protection.

But what contributed most to the speedy Ruin of their Affairs was, this Act of Policy, by which *Philip II.* prohibited, on their Rebellion, his Subjects in the Low Countries from trading to any Part of his Dominions, by which he absolutely forced them on the *Netherlands*, he might have secured his *Indies*, and all their Wealth, which well minded, and their Produce properly applied, would, in a short Space of Time, have enabled him to put all his ambitious Projects into Execution. As to the *Dutch* finding an absolute Stop put to the possible Trade in *India* Commodities, which had they had bought in the Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal*, was immediately, to try it was not possible to procure directly from the *Indies* directly; whereas, had they been permitted to have purchased them in their own Country, this Design had never been thought of, but the Commerce of *India* had continued in its usual Channel, without Envy or Disturbance.

We have now concluded to its Close, the first Part of this Section, and have shewn how this Navigation was opened, improved, and monopoliz'd by the *Portuguese*, how their Conquests in this Part of the World were made, and maintained, and how by entertaining and pursuing this Scheme of distant Expeditions, the industry and wealth of considerable of all the Kingdoms of *Europe* are one of the richest and most potent, having by this means their own Power to have increased her in all her Parts, and have had no Cause to dread the Ambition of the *Netherlands*, or their united Endeavours to get Possession of the Point we now to as clear an Explication of the Cause, which within the Compass of this Section we proposed.

* This was one of the greatest and most honourable Victories ever gain'd by the Arms of the *Portuguese*. It was a Campaign of six or seven Months, and cost the King of *France* a great deal of Money, but he was oblig'd to give up the Siege, and to retire to *Paris*. The Reputation of this Victory was not only great, but it was also a great Victory over the *French* King, *Francis I.* sent into *Portugal* to obtain the Peace, and who had made the *Portuguese* Detour in order to bring it up in his Cabinet of continuant Officers.

† The *Count* *Du*, *Sebastian* was so fatal to the *Portuguese*, and the personal Virtues of that Prince rendered him so much beloved, that they could not bring themselves to believe especially as his Body was never found, that he perished in this Action. Next to the death of him of that Nation to this Hour, that he escaped, and it is certain, that a Person who called himself *Sebastian*, appeared afterwards in *France*, where, at the Request of the King of *Spain*, he was seized, then examined in a full Senate, and defended himself in so well, that he was not only H. at a new trial, but into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who imprisoned him first at *Alcala*, and afterwards carried him to *Madrid*, where he died. Conducted, according to the very fact, that he was no Impostor, but the true King of *Portugal*.

12. It would require much Room, and add very little to the Reader's Satisfaction, should we prosecute the History of the Portuguese Empire in the East, through all the Changes and Revolutions to which it was subjected, from the Causes before-mentioned; the rather, because as soon as Dominions increased, they were obliged to carry on Wars in different Places at the same time, with several Nations, and with great Variety of Success. In order therefore to separate these Subjects, so as to represent to the Reader what is of Importance to be known, and that in the easiest and clearest Method possible, we will consider the most remarkable Discoveries and Settlements of this Nation in the Indies, according to the Order in which they were made; the principal Events that happened in them during the Time they remained in their Hands, and the Manner in which they lost them, whether to the Indians or Europeans. By this Division, that Confusion which would necessarily attend the Abridgment of a general History, so pregnant with Events, will be avoided; all the Particulars relating to the same Places and Persons, will be ranged together, so as to give Light to each other, and render the Perusal of them easy and entertaining; at the same time, that by being thus digested, every Colony, every Country will have its History preserved in such a Manner, as that it may be easily compared with whatever has been said before, and be with like Facility turned to, when what is hereafter said may make it necessary.

Before we proceed to these Discoveries and Settlements, it will be necessary to fix the Place from which they were made. Calicut, as we have before shewn at large, proved the first Place they visited in the Indies, though the first Settlement they built was at Cochin, which lies South of it. They were sole Masters of the Commerce on the Coast of Malabar from the Gulf of Cambaya to Cape Comorin for about one hundred and fifty Years, which determined them to fix the Capital of their Dominions as near as possible to the Centre of this Coast, which was one principal Inducement to their fixing Goa in the manner before-mentioned. It stands at an equal Distance from Surat and Cape Comorin, in a little Island made by the Rivers Mandoa and Ghara, about six or seven Leagues in Circumference, and at the Distance of about three Leagues from the Fall of these Rivers into the Sea. The Name of the Peninsula forming is Salsette, and the Soil is extremely rich and fertile. In the hot Season the Waters are very low, sometimes scarce two Feet in Depth; but the rest of the Year they rise so high as to afford the largest Vessels an Opportunity of entering the Port of Goa, which is one of the safest and most commodious in the Universe.

All the Territories adjacent to this City are held by a Treaty with the King of Decan, who, by yielding these, retained a free Trade for his Subjects throughout the Indies in all Commodities except Pepper, with which they were to furnish the Portuguese alone. Since this Agreement many Disputes have happened, and when their Power has been great, particularly in 1603, the Viceroy of Goa treated their Neighbours with great Severity. At the same time before-mentioned, they had Intelligence of four Indian Vessels bound with Pepper to Malaba and Persia, which they seized and took. Their Cargoes, pursuant to the Treaty, were confiscated; yet not satisfied with that, they murdered all who were on board them in cold Blood, in order to strike a Terror into the Natives. This Behaviour, as it might well be expected it would, raised a violent Aversion in the Indians against them, which they never fail to discover when any Opportunity offers. There are in Goa many superb Edifices, such as the Viceregal, the Archbishop's, and Inquisitor General's Palaces; and throughout the Churches are exceedingly numerous, and many of them wonderfully rich. In Extent it contains about

ten Miles, taking in all the Fortifications raised round it for its Security, which bend according to the Course of the River, and are so well furnished with Cannon, that hitherto they have rendered it impregnable, though it has been very hard pressed, both by Indians and by the Dutch. It was from this City, in the Latitude of 15° 20' North, that the Portuguese made their Discoveries, and sent most of their Colonies; and having given this short Account of it, we shall next proceed to describe them.

13. The Maldives are so situated, that it was impossible the Europeans should make many Voyages to, or be long settled in the Indies, without being acquainted with them, since the most northern of them lie but fifty Leagues from Cape Comorin. They extend from 8° of North Latitude to 4° of South, stretching in Length consequently near two hundred Leagues; but they are not above thirty or thirty-five Leagues in Breadth in any Part of the Archipelago. Within this Space are contained a prodigious Number of Islands, so that even in the Time of Ptolemy, that is, in the second Century, they were accounted 1278; but the Inhabitants maintain, that a small Part of them only were then known, for their Sovereign takes the Title of Sultan of the Maldives, King of thirteen Provinces, and of twelve thousand Isles. There is in this, without doubt, a Mixture of that Pomp and Ostentation which is so common in the East; but for all that, there are, unquestionably, many more than the Antients knew any thing of under this Monarch's Dominion. Admiral Suarez discovered them in 1505, and he made an Alliance with their King, which was confirmed by Sequeria, who demanded Leave to build a Fort upon the Island of Male, which is the largest of them, and the chief City of the same Name is the Capital of their Monarch.

John Gomez, who was sent thither for this Purpose, met with a favourable Reception, and by dint of Presents prevailed upon the King to agree to his Demand. He built this Fort of Wood, there being neither Stone nor Lime in the Island. It was extremely well situated, and in some measure commanded the Port, so that it might have been of great Service to the Portuguese, if he had behaved as became him; but no sooner was the Fort finished, than presuming on the Terror of the Portuguese Name, he began to lord it over all the Strangers that traded thither, though his Garrison consisted but of seventeen Men, which occasioned a Conspiracy of the Mohammedans against him, who attacked him when he least expected it, and cut off him and all his People to a Man, levelling the Fort with the Ground. The Portuguese were never afterwards able to obtain any Establishment in the Maldives, which is the Reason that several of their Authors treat them as pitiful Places, and their Inhabitants as a base and barbarous People, contrary, however, as we shall see, to all Reason and Evidence.

It was impossible for them to double Cape Comorin, without taking Notice of the noble Island of Ceylon, Ceylan, or Ceilon, called by the Inhabitants Lamma, which in their Language signifies the Terrestrial Paradise, or Holy Land, a Name given it by its first King, Viga Rajah, who is supposed to have flourished five hundred Years before Christ: It was afterwards called Ilanara, or Iranate, which is as much as to say the Island Kingdom; it was also called Uthenava, or the Fertile Land, and Venafson, or the Country of Delight. The Arabians call it Serendib, or rather Srendive. It is by many held to be the largest, and is, beyond Controversy, in itself, the richest and finest Island in the World. The Portuguese settled here in 1506, under the Conduct of Lawrence Almeida, who erected a Column with an Inscription, testifying that he took Possession of that Country on Behalf of Emanuel King of Portugal, because it had no Master, though at the same time he treated with the Emperor, and promised him the Protection of his

The East Indies in general are very properly divided into the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and the adjacent Kingdoms on the Continent. The Portuguese, being as they did at first confined to the Coast of Malabar, which made the West Point of the Peninsula without the Ganges, acquired the happiest Station that could be desired, sending their Commerce, and their Conquests on every Side; and there is Reason to believe, that their being as they did the only Europeans on this Side, contributed greatly to the Preservation of their Dominions, notwithstanding all the Efforts made by the Mohammedans to dispossess them. There is but one good Description of this prodigious Archipelago written by Francis Pissard de La Val, a Frenchman, who was a long time in some of these Islands, and which, as it is a Work equally curious and instructive, and at the same time exactly within our Plan, we shall have it at large in the next Section, which will give him an Opportunity of observing how little Cause the Portuguese had to treat the Inhabitants of the Maldives with Contempt, since it is certain that they are one of the bravest and one of the most polite Nations of the East.

of Orange, by which they fixed themselves so well, that no European Nation has been able to dislodge them.

Tior is larger than *Ternate*, is also a particular Kingdom, and produces the same Fruits: It lies a little South of *Ternate*, near the Line. The *Spaniards* assailed the Inhabitants against the *Ternate* at first, but had War with them at last, and treated them barbarously, till expelled by the League above-mentioned. The *Dutch* attacked the *Spaniards* here in 1107, and afterwards without Success. But, at last, to kill by the Assistance of the King of *Ternate*, after an obstinate Resistance, and were finally received by the King, who allowed them to settle Fisheries here. The Capital is of the same Name, and has an Harbour about a Stone's Throw from the Shore, dry at Low water, and defended by a Chain of narrow Rocks, over which the Tide rises from three to six Foot. The Town is very strong by Nature.

Maur, Mohl, or Ymor, lies between *Tilor* and *Maclean*. It was laid waste during the intestine Wars; but the *Dutch* built a Fort at the North End of it, which encouraged the Inhabitants to return from *Glolo*, continuing from the *Dutch*; the *Spaniards* durst not attack it. *Maclean* lies just under the Line South from *Mohr*. The *Dutch* took it from the *Spaniards* in 1609, and built three Forts here. It is seven Leagues in Compass, and has several little Towns; the Inhabitants were then about Nine thousand: It was reckoned the fruitfullest of the *Moluccas*, and produced the best Cloves. The Inhabitants were more industrious than their Neighbours. *Buckian*, the last of the proper *Moluccas*, lies South from *Maclean*, and was a Kingdom. The Country is large and desert; it abounds with Sago, Fruits, Fish, and, many other Sorts of Provisions. It was formerly very potent, and had the best Cloves in the *Moluccas*, but was ruined by the Idleness of the Inhabitants. They had an Alliance with the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who planted Garrisons there, but were dispossessed by the *Dutch* in 1610, who built other Ports, and obtained a Liberty to trade without paying Custom. The Isle of *Labeva* lies to near it that they frequently go by the same Name, though each had their particular King. The latter is very pleasant, and abounds in Cloves. The Inhabitants rebelled against the *Dutch*, but were forced to submit, and have been since kept in Awe by Fort *Barneseli*.

The Island of *Beavo* was formerly subject to the King of *Amate*; it is not very considerable; but while in the Hands of the *Portuguese*, was more considerable than it is at present. But the Island they chiefly depended upon was that of *Ymor*, which is much larger than the other of the same Name before mentioned, and was extremely fruitful, so that it supplied most of the *Moluccas* with Provisions. West from thence lies the Island of *Sabor*, in which was a strong Fortrefs, wherein the *Portuguese* Garrison held out a Siege of two Months against the *Dutch* Fleet and Army, and, when they surrendered, marched out near one thousand strong. There are many other Islands, which are commonly, since the *Dutch* Conquest, called the *Moluccas*, because they make that Word synonymous with the Spice-Islands; whereas the *Moluccas*, strictly speaking, are no more than the five Islands first described. It was with the Spices they produced, that the *Portuguese* traded throughout the whole Extent of the *Indies*, that is to say, from *Cina* to the Coasts of *Egypt*.

The Viceroy *Lopez Suarez*, Successor to the famous Don *Alphonso d' Albuquerque*, was the first who thought of establishing a Commerce with *Cina*; and in the Year 1511, sent forth that Purpose *Ferdinand Andrada*, with a Squadron of eight Ships, laden with Merchandise,

together with *Thomas Perera*, with the Character of Embassador from *Imanuel, King of Portugal*. On their Arrival at the Mouth of the River *Canton*, the *Portuguese* Ships were stopped by the *Chinese*, and only two suffered to proceed up the River, on board one of which was the Embassador, and the *Portuguese* Commadore *Andrada*, who was a Man of Quality and of strict Honour, so that he soon gained very much on the *Chinese*, notwithstanding their natural Aversion to Strangers. By his Civility and polite Behaviour, he first drew them to trade with him, and then, by his Exactness and Probity, brought them to have a Confidence in him; but what had the greatest Effect of all, and might have established the Commerce of the *Portuguese* to the Exclusion of all other *European* Nations was, his giving Notice a little before his Departure, that at such a Time he meant to sail, and that if any body had Demands upon him, or any who belonged to him, they might, before that Time, apply and receive Satisfaction.

This, it seems, was a Thing new to the *Chinese*, but withal so agreeable, as they made him the highest Protections of Friendship, and assured him that they would willingly trade with his Nation, in hopes of meeting with the like just Usage: But this fair Prospect did not continue long; and, as this was the first, it had also very near proved the last Voyage of the *Portuguese* thither. The Captains of the Ships that were left at Anchor at the Mouth of the River, were the Occasion of this, for they landed and fell into Trade with the Natives; but presuming on their Power in the *Indies*, they began to treat the *Chinese* in the same Manner they had done other People; that is to say, they landed several Pieces of Cannon, and then took what Goods they pleased, and at what Rates they thought fit, committing many other Insolences, such as ravishing Women, and trading with Pirates for such Persons as they had taken Prisoners, of whom the *Portuguese* made Slaves. The Viceroy of the Province quickly assembled a great naval Force, with which he surrounded the *Portuguese* Squadron, and had infallibly taken every Ship, if a Storm had not risen, which scattered the *Chinese* Fleet, and gave them an Opportunity of returning to *Malacca* with more Profit than Honour. As for the Embassador, *Thomas Perera*, he, though perfectly innocent, proved the Victim of his Countrymens bad Behaviour; for the *Chinese* Court having received Advice of what had passed before his Arrival, not only refused him Audience, but sent him back to *Canton* in Chains, where he was put into the common Prison with the lowest and vilest Criminals, and there spent his miserable Life for several Years; till, at length, worn out with Hardships, he expired in such wretched Circumstances, that he did not leave wherewith to bury him.

It was many Years before the *Chinese* would suffer the *Portuguese* to have any Trade with them at all; but, at last, permitted them to send annually some Ships to the Island of *Sanchan*, where they were allowed to erect Tents on Shore, for a very small Space of Time, in which they disposed of their Merchandize. At length, in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, a favourable Opportunity offered, not only of restoring their Commerce, but of procuring an Establishment in *Cina*, which is what no other Nation ever had to boast. The Thing fell out thus; A certain Pirate, whose Name was *Tschang si Lao*, committed prodigious Ravages upon the Coasts, and having at last acquired a great Force, he made himself Master of the little Island of *Malacca*, and from thence not only blocked up the Port of *Canton*, but proceeded to far as to besiege the City. The *Mandarines*, in this Distress, had Recourse to the *Portuguese*, whose Ships were then at the Island of

*The King of *Portugal* likewise maintained a Gallion for bringing the Tributes of the *Moluccas*, officered in the same Manner as that mentioned in the text, but inasmuch as the Voyage was longer, and there were more Seamen employed, the yearly Expence amounted to 3,292,09 Reys, which is 100,000 l. which shows that the public Revenue was diminished there with great Economy in those Times.

The famous *Portuguese* Historian, *José de Barros*, though, otherwise, a very candid Writer, endeavours, as far as he is able, to cover and disguise the Fact, but other Writers, even that Nation, confess it ingenuously, and speak of it as it deserves. It proved, without doubt, of infinite Prejudice to the Nation, as indeed they Paid and ever bear up Tempered in many other Places. It may be justly wondered that they never employed Force while their Affairs in the *Indies* were in so flourishing a Condition; but they were restrained from this, by their Fear that the *Chinese* might revenge any Injuries they did them upon the *Christians*, which is very probable; and therefore they were in the right to proceed as they did. To the Truth, the *Portuguese* seem, of all the Nations in the World, the least fit to have any Correspondence with the *Chinese*, because of their Ignorance of the Language, and of the natural Suspicion of the Natives of that Empire.

"Henceforward, so long as the Sun shall shine upon the Earth, let not any Christian be so hardy as to set his Foot in Japan; and be it known to all the World, that if King Philip in Person, the God of the Christians, or the great Aata, one of the first Deities of Japan, shall presume to break this Ordinance, he shall pay for it with his Head." They then gave these poor People an old Ship to return in to Macao, which they chose rather than to be put on board any of the five Dutch Ships that were then on the Coast, and offered to let them sale on Shore in that Port.

In the Year 1641, arrived at Macao from Europe Don Antonio Terreyra, with the News of the Revolution in Portugal, and that Don Juan Duke of Bragança, had mounted the Throne, and assumed the Title of John the Fourth, to whose Obedience they readily returned, and as a Mark of their Loyalty, presented him with two hundred Bra's Cannon, and a vast Quantity of Ammunition. This Monarch, in the Year 1646, thought fit to make another Attempt in Favour of the City of Macao, and sent Don Gonzalo Segueyra as his Ambassador to the Emperor of Japan, to inform him, that Portugal no longer continued subject to the Crown of Spain, which as it was the principal Occasion of the Nation's being prohibited all Commerce with the Japanese, he hoped that a good Intelligence would now be restored between the Citizens of Macao and the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty. The Ambassador was very civilly received, and an Express sent to Court with the News of his Arrival. About a Month afterwards a Courier arrived with the Emperor's Answer, which was to this Effect: That his Request could not be granted, but that he and all that belonged to him had free Liberty to depart.

In the Year 1682, another favourable Opportunity offered, which the Portugueze, with great Alacrity, embraced: A Japanese Vessel being driven by a Storm from their own Coast, was forced to take Shelter in the Port of Macao, where those who were on board it met with a very kind Reception, and having been entertained at the publick Expence, till they were recovered from the Hardships they met with at Sea, and were then put on board one of the best Vessels belonging to the Port of Macao, and sent back to their own Country. On their coming to an Anchor in the Road of Nangazaqui, and sending the Japanese on Shore, they received a Message from the Magistrates, importing, that they were obliged to them for this kind and generous Return, but that for the future they would advise them not to give themselves the Trouble of sending home any more of their People, since it would not answer their Ends. Since that Time the City of Macao has declined very much, and though it is at present in a better Condition than it has been, yet it is far from being so considerable as in the sixteenth Century, as we have already shewn the Reader in another Place. But that it may possibly make a better Figure than it does, we shall hereafter render probable, when we come to speak of the present State of the Portugueze Dominions in this Part of the World.

In the Year 1521, Magellan discovered the Ladrone Islands, near those which he called the Archipelago of Saint Lazarus, because he discovered them on the Feast of that Saint. The Portugueze arrogate to themselves this Discovery, because he was their Countryman, though in the Service of the Crown of Spain; and on the other hand, the Spaniards challenge the Discovery of the Moluccas, because Magellan went to them from America in their Service, but without doubt this Title was wrongfully laid, since, as we have shewn, the Portugueze had discovered them long before. It cannot indeed be affirmed, on any good Authority, that the Portugueze had before this time visited the Ladrone Islands; but it is very certain, they made several

Voyages thither afterwards, and did not think them to be despicable as they are now esteemed; but on the contrary, drew from thence Things of great Value; and the Reason I have mentioned here is, that I might have an Opportunity of acquainting the Reader, that when this Nation first settled in the Moluccas, they were informed by the Inhabitants, that from these little Islands they were wont to receive considerable Sums in Silver, and the very finest Emeralds they had in Exchange for Spices.

The Portugueze were in Hope of finding, according to this Information, Mines of Silver and precious Stones amongst them; but on the closest Search, could meet with neither, which was the true Reason they never made any Settlements there. But this Account affords us room to conjecture, that before the Portugueze penetrated thus far into the East, there had been some Commerce between these People and the Americans, from whom they might receive both Silver and Emeralds. This is a Point that deserves mature Consideration, because, if there be any Truth in this Conjecture, it will give some Light into the Means of poppling America, which hitherto has perplexed the ablest Enquirers into such Subjects. It is true, that at first Sight there seems to be no great Authority for this Conjecture, since it is founded on the Report of the Inhabitants of the Moluccas, who were, according to the best Accounts we have of them, a rude and barbarous People. Yet let them be ever so rude and barbarous they could not be mistaken as to a Matter of Fact; they had Emeralds amongst them, and as their Count y did not produce them, they must know from whence they had them; and since this could be learned no other way but from these People, there seems to be no Reason why we should not accept of their Account.

The Conjecture, however, does not rest upon this alone, but upon another Fact, which cannot be disputed; and it is this, that there are no Emeralds to be found in any of the Countries in the East-Indies, and yet they were so common there, when the Portugueze came first into those Parts, that they brought considerable Quantities into Europe, from whence grew the Distinction of Oriental and Occidental Emeralds; whereas in Truth there never were any that could be strictly and properly called Oriental, because, as I observe, they are not the natural Produce of any Country in the East; and yet in another Sense they might be very well so called, because they came first to us from the East. I cannot help adding to this Observation another, which is, that there is some Reason to doubt, whether the Inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands were always so rude and barbarous as the Portugueze and Spaniards found them; and my Reason for advancing this, because I find the best Portugueze Writers agree, that the Chinese had been Masters of the Moluccas, and very probably of these Islands also, as they certainly were of some of the Philippines; and if so, that very probably they were more civilized while under their Dominion, and grew rude and barbarous by their being deserted by them, and left to themselves.

This will appear still the more probable, if we consider on the one hand what the Chinese Writers tell us of their Emperors contracting their Dominions from Maxims of Policy; and on the other, what appears very clear to us from what we know with Certainty of their History, which is, that the Empire had been overturned by the Tartars, and consequently their Economy totally disturbed before the Portugueze came into the Indies at all. What I would conclude from hence is, that possibly we may be mistaken in our Notions of these Countries, and that theretore it may be worth while to enquire more narrowly into this Matter, which may possibly lead us to some kind of Evidence of an Intercourse between the East and West-Indies,

It seems a little extraordinary, that the Emperor of Japan should treat these People with so much Severity, when it appears from this very Account, that Justice is as regularly administered in his Dominion, as in any Part of the World; but in all human Probability, he was induced to do them in this Manner by the Representations of the Dutch, as to the Power of the King of Spain, and his Intentions of reducing both the Indies.

This Fact, that no such thing as a true and perfect Emerald is to be found in any of the Countries on the Continent, or in any of the Islands of the East Indies, is maintained by the famous M. de la Roche, than whom I think a better Authority cannot be produced. He was indubitably as well skilled in Jewels as any Man of his Time, and had travelled more in the Indies than almost any other Writer, so that to controvert his Authority in this Head, is to refute the best Evidence that can be produced, in order to conclude, without any Evidence at all, that the Thing is otherwise. It may, and indeed it has been said, that to support this Opinion, we ought to shew that there has been such a Commerce with America but there is a Difference between proving a thing, and rendering it probable; and yet in the next Chapter something further shall be said in Defence of this Opinion, which will approach very near a Proof.

before either were known to us by the Passages now in Use. But let us for the present return to the Discoveries of the *Portuguese*.

In the Year 1522, *Antonio Britto* and *Garcias Henriquez* being sent from the *Moluccas*, discovered the great Island of *Celebes*. This *Antonio Britto* was the very Person that had taken one of *Magellan's* Ships, and put all the People that were in her to Death, which had gained him the Reputation of a bold and able Seaman; nor did he lose it by this Expedition, since he actually discovered what he was sent to look for. Other *Portuguese* Writers say, that he did not go himself, but fitted out Ships for that Discovery, and that they in their Return to the *Moluccas* saw certain Islands which they could not reach, to which they gave the Name of the Islands of *Mey*. But when *Antonio Galvano* was Governor of the *Moluccas*, he sent over two of the Natives, who were baptized, into that Country, who converted several of the Princes thereof from Paganism to Christianity, and established a good Correspondence between them and the Inhabitants of the *Portuguese* settled in the *Moluccas*.

This Island of *Celebes* is divided from *Borneo* by the Straights of *Macaassar*, and lies at a great Distance from the *Moluccas*. *Angelus* tells us, the Natives are of a white Complexion, and that they were formerly much given to Piracy. That Writer, and some others, give us an odd Account of the ancient Form of Government in this Country, and which seems to confirm what I have before suggested, that there had been great Revolutions in these Parts before they were discovered by the *Europeans*. What they say on this Subject, reduced into a narrow Compass, amounts to this; that there were originally seven Kingdoms or Principalities in this Island, the Princes of which met together and chose a Monarch, who had a limited Power over the whole Island, and whom, in case of Tyranny, they who elected him deposed. This does not look like Rudeness or Barbarity, but seems to have been a very rational kind of Policy, instituted for the Sake of preserving the Peace of the several Nations inhabiting that Country, and preventing those Wars that most otherwise have kept them in continual Confusion, and into which they actually relapsed, when by some Accident or other this salutary Form of Government fell into Disuse.

The Discovery of so considerable a Country was looked upon by the *Portuguese* as a Matter of great Consequence, and Measures were taken to secure the Affections of those whom it was not found easy to conquer; but, on the other hand, capable of being obliged, or rendered useful, as their Allies, by good Usage. The People were much blaver, and withal much better Sense than most of the *Indies*; and therefore, after a little Conversation with the *Europeans*, they began, in general, to discern that there was no Sense or Meaning in their own Religion; and the few of them who had been made Christians by the Care of *Don Inacio Garcia*, were not so thoroughly instructed themselves as to be able to teach them a new Faith. The whole People in general, however, distinguished themselves by their Spirituality, and became Devils at once; but, not content with that, they determined to send, at the same Time, a *Messenger* to *Meina*, to desire from the King, Count or Prince, and from the other, Doctors of the *Moluccan* Law, to come to embrace the Religion of those Princes who came to embrace them. The *Portuguese* have likewise been very zealous enough for their Religion; but it seems that *Don Raul Pereira*, who was then Governor of *Meina*, was a little deficient in his

Concern for the Faith, since he made a great and very unnecessary Delay in sending the Priests that were desired.

On the other hand, the Queen of *Achin* being a furious *Mohammedan*, no sooner received an Account of this Disposition in the People of the Island of *Celebes*, than she immediately dispatched a Vessel full of Doctors of the Law, who, in a short Time, established their Religion effectually among the Inhabitants. Some Time after came the Christian Priests, and inveighed bitterly against the Law of *Mohammed*, but to no Purpose; the People of *Celebes* had made their Choice, and there was no Possibility of bringing them to alter it. One of the Kings of this Island, indeed, who had before embraced Christianity, persisted in the Faith, and most of his Subjects were converted to it; but still, the Bulk of the People of *Achin* continued *Mohammedans*, and are to this Day, and the greatest Zealots for their Religion of any in the *Indies*. This was one of the greatest Fruits in Policy that ever the *Portuguese* committed; for if all the Inhabitants of that Island had been made, as they very easily might have been, zealous Christians, the *Dutch* had never become so absolute in the *Indies* as they now are.

But this Difference in Religion did not hinder them from living on very good Terms with the *Portuguese*, who established a better Trade here than in any other Part of the *Indies*; for, finding few rich Commodities, and no Opportunity of encroaching on the Liberties of the Nation, they were glad to treat them as a free People, and the Situation of the Country being extremely easy for that Purpose, made it very soon the Centre of Commerce. The great Island of *Borneo*, abounding in Gold, Spices, Pepper, and other rich Commodities, lay but a Day's Sail from them; *Amboyna* and the Spice-Island, are no more than three or four; the Kingdoms of *Siam*, *Cambaya*, *Calicut*, and *Tanquin*, the Empire of *China*, and the *Philippine* Islands, none of them above three hundred Leagues. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Portuguese*, who had the best Part of the World, should be so full of Ships, and the great Towns on the Coast were Places of great Trade, when it was to much the Interest of the *Portuguese* to promote it. The People themselves were very capable of managing it, being very ingenious, and as well skilled in Navigation as any of their Neighbours, and though they had not any very rich Commodities, except Gold, and that in great Quantities, they had wherewithal to purchase those of the great *Indies*, since the Rice of this Country is often the chief of the *Indies*, as their Cotton is held the best, with the other traded to the *Moluccas*, and from thence brought to such Quantities of Spices, that they drove a very considerable Trade in them with the *Europeans*.

The Reason that this Island is sometimes called *Meina*, and at others *Macaassar*, is, because the former, which lies in the North-West Part of the Island, and the latter, which takes up all the South, were the principal Kingdoms of the Island, and especially the last, the Monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently made many Masters of the best Part of the whole Island. The People are allowed to be the tallest and bravest of the *Indies*, and are likewise remarkable for having a great deal of Knowledge in all Sorts of Poisons, which is a great deal of them of too deadly a Nature, that the very least of such of them, is instantly and irreparably mortal. The Men make use of them to tinge the Hair of their Wives, or rather Harts, which they blow through hollow Trunks, and that with such Force and Dexterity, that

As the *Portuguese* were declared by the best Authors on this Subject, it may not be amiss to set it in the clearest Light of which it is capable. Two Brothers, Sons of the King of *Meina*, going over to the Island of *Lorabate*, saw there the Ceremonies of the Christian Worship, and being desirous to see the Rites of the Church of *Rome*. They were extremely pleased with the Show, and desired therefore to know more of the Substance, and desired them to apply to the Governor, in order to be informed as to the Notions the *Portuguese* had of God, the Reasons why they were so religious, and how themselves might be made so. He readily complied with them on their Heads; they were quickly convinced of the Truth of what he said, and to were baptized to the Names of *Isidoro* and *Michael*, which, it seems, the Governor made no Scruple of performing with his own Hands, there being, at that Time, no Priest in the *Moluccas*. It is easy to conceive, that these Men, returning into their own Country, might be able to show the King and a Council of the Idolatry, without being capable of demonstrating the Truth of the Christian Faith. The ancient Kings of this Country desired to be taken Notice of, because we shall then evidently see that the People had good Reason to do as they did. *Isidoro* and *Michael* told them, that the Heavens were eternal, and the Sun a God and Goddess, from whose Influence all Things proceed, that there had once a great Flood, and the Sun flung the Moon, the Capon interceded with the World, and that it was unlawful to kill any living Creature, except Swine, and that the former was too badly, and the latter too good for a human Soul to dwell in. But they did not think it reasonable to believe in the *Moluccas*, and, if they had none of these, they themselves made free with their Conscience. No wonder therefore, that they were so much affected with a Religion of such Practices.

they will hit a small Mark at the Distance of fourscore Yards. They likewise dip the Points of their Daggers in the same poisonous Drugs, and the very Scratch of it, either Dart or Dagger, kills without Remedy¹. The Women likewise make use of these Poisons to gratify their Revenge; for as they are generally allowed to be extremely constant themselves, so they have very quick Repentments in Cases of Infidelity, especially in regard to *Europeans*, who frequently cohabit with them, and sometimes marry them.

As they were rather the Allies than the Subjects of the *Portugueze*, so they were much more attached to that Nation than any other *Indians*, and gave a very hospitable Reception to such of them, as on the Declension and Ruin of their Colonies fled thither for Protection, which was one Reason that the *Dutch* made such a Point of reducing the King of *Macassar*, which they did after a long War in 1667, and prescribed to him very hard Terms; particularly these, that he should deliver up to them the Harbour of *Jampakan*, as too good for any but the *Dutch* to be possessed of; next he was obliged to turn all the *Portugueze* out of his Dominions, which was the more reasonable, because it was intended that he should never trade with them or any other *European* for the future; and lastly, he was to renounce all Commerce with the Spice-Islands, without which his Conquerors could not have monopolized them².

This fully proves what has been before observed, that if the *Portugueze* had taken Care to have converted these People to Christianity, and had taught them the Sciences, they would have been of more use to the Crown of *Portugal*, than all the *Indian* Nations that were subjected to it; for they had very right Notions of the Consequences of falling under the Dominion of the *Dutch*, and struggled against their whole Power in the *Indies*, when at its greatest Height, for many Years; and since their Country has been subdued, Multitudes of the *Macassars* have quitted it, and transported themselves to other Places, where they are entertained as Soldiers, particularly at *Batavia*, where they are esteemed by far the best *Indian* Troops in the Service of the States, and some of them likewise are in the Pay of the *Portugueze* Viceroy at *Goa*.

The *Sunda* Islands were now entirely open, and it is not easy to conceive how the *Portugueze* could be so long travelling those Seas, without gaining a proper Knowledge of them; yet it does not appear, that before the Year 1527, they were acquainted with any thing more than the Name of the Island of *Borneo*, and with its Situation, by reason of their frequently passing by its Coasts. About that Time, Captain *Edward Cunt* had Orders to examine it more narrowly, and being once acquainted with the Worth of the Country, they made frequent Visits thither. This Island, which is almost of a circular Figure, lies immediately under the Equator; it is about five hundred Leagues in Circumference, and abounds with the richest Commodities, the Hills well stored with Gold, and the finest Diamonds in *India* are found in its Rivers, washed down into them probably from the Hills by the Torrents that pour into them.

All the Coasts they found inhabited by *Malayan Moors*, who certainly had established themselves there by Conquest; but the original Inhabitants still remain in the Mountains, and are called *Bajans*, which in the *Malayan* Tongue signifies a wild Man, and the *Moors* use the very same Word for the largest Sort of Apes, that are likewise common in this Country, as if they meant to signify,

that the one had as little of Humanity about them as the other, which however is far from being true. The *Moors* are governed by several Kings, the chief of which are those of *Manjar-Maffen*, of *Succadon* (in one of whose Rivers there are excellent Diamonds found) of *Borneo*, and others. The *Beajufes* have no Kings, but only Princes and other Chiefs. Those that are Subjects to the King of *Manjar*, or border upon him, pay a Tribute; but such as live farther up in the Country, and in Places inaccessible to the *Moors*, are absolutely independent, and live according to their own Customs. The *Beajufes* are generally very superstitious, being much addicted to Augury. They do not adore Idols, but their Sacrifices of Sweet-wood and Perfumes are offered to one only God, who they believe rewards the Just in Heaven, and punishes the Wicked in Hell. They marry but one Wife, and look upon any Breach of conjugal Faith, either in the Man or in the Woman, as so heinous an Offence, that every one contrives the Death of the Person transgressing, either by themselves or their Friends; and therefore the Women are very modest and reserved, especially the Maidens, who are not seen by their Husbands till the Wedding-day, when the Women receive their Portion.

They are Enemies to Fraud and Theft, and grateful for Benefits received. Among themselves they live lovingly and friendly, and therefore when every Man has gathered what he towed for his own Use, the rest on the Mountains and Vallies is in common, without any Distinction of particular Right. They are also well inclined in their Pleasurs, and seek Honour in Hunting, at which Sport they endeavour to get some sharp Horns to polish, and wear them as an Ornament at their Girdle. This Girdle is no other than a long Slip of Linnen, which turns between their Thighs to cover their Privities, one End of which hangs down before, and the other behind. The Peasants make a sort of Cloth of the Barks of Trees, which being afterwards washed and beaten, are as soft as Cotton, and those Trees being within the Dominions of the *Malay Moors*, they expose themselves for the Bark to their Tyranny and Intolerance. Some of them go naked, and the rest wear a small Doublet made of the same Bark, which they dye of any Colour. On their Heads, to keep off the Heat of the Sun or Rain, they wear a Cap of the Palm-Tree Leaves, shaped above like a Sugar-Loaf, long, and with Flaps hanging down.

The Weapons they use are Knives, made like the Canklers of the *Moors*, and Zampettes, that is, Trunks about six Opans long, out of which they shoot little wooden Darts, with an iron Head at the one End, and a Cartouch, or hollow Paper at the other, blowing into which they shoot it out with a vast Force, and sometimes the Point being poisoned, the Wound is mortal. They also shoot Birds with Pellets through them. The *Beajufes*, as to their Persons, are of a dark Complexion, well countenanced and strong. Such is the Account given of them by the *Portugueze* Writers, who, for any thing I know, are the only Authors that can be depended upon in this Particular. Their Countrymen carried on their Trade chiefly with the *Moors*, whom they could never subdue; nor have their Successors, the *Dutch*, been able to do any thing considerable against them, as we have already shewn at large in another Place.

The noble Island of *Java* was sooner visited by the *Portugueze*, on account of the Trouble given them by the Pirates, or Privateers, issued out from *Bantam*, or as they call it *Bintan*, and other Place in the same Island, which

¹ When our Royal Society was first founded, they sent some Queries to Sir *Pl. Marto Fannetti*, who resided at *Batavia*, the sixteenth of which ran in these Words: "What Poison is the King of *Macassar* in *Chilbo* said to have particula-ly himself, which not only kills a Man immediately, that hath received the slightest Wound by a Dart dipped therein, but also within half an Hour's Time makes the Flesh touched therewith to rotten, that it will fall like Snow from the Bones, and whose poisonous Steam will soon fly up to a Wound made with an unpoisoned Dart, if the Blood be only in the slightest Manner touched with a Dart infected with the Poison?" To which he gave the following Answer: "That there is such a Poison in this King's Possession, is not certain, but what it is, no Christian ever knew; some say it is the Gall of a venomous Fish, others say it is a Tree, which is so venomous, that those who are condemned to die fetch the Poison, but not one in a Hundred escapes Death. The Roots of this Tree are held an Antidote against the Poison; but our People, when we had War with *Macassar*, found no Antidote like to their own or other Excrements. As soon as they felt themselves wounded, they instantly took a Dose of the same, which presently provoked to vomit, and so by Repulsion (as I conceive) and sweat, freed themselves from further Infection."

² I should not have advanced these Facts on the Authority of Report of any Writer whatever, but the Treaty dated the 18th of *November 1667*, is before my Eyes, and the sixth Article of it begins thus: "They, that is the Regents of *Macassar*, shall turn out the *Portugueze*, and all belonging to them, without Exception; and because we are obliged to believe that the *English* are great Mischief-makers, and the Authors of the present War, the said Regents shall turn them out also the first Opportunity, and shall never permit either of these Nations, or their Creatures, to negotiate or trade in *Macassar* hereafter, &c."

induced *Pedro Mascarenhas* to attack *Bantam*, which he took and plundered, though *George Albuquerque* had attempted it in vain. *Java Major* lies South-East from the *Peninsula of Malacca*, having *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, lying before it. Authors vary as to its Dimensions; but the most moderate allow it nine hundred Miles in Circumference. The Air is generally esteemed more wholesome than in any of the Isles before mentioned, the Country exceedingly fruitful, and the Coast abounding with good Ports. It is not intended here to enter farther into the Description of Places, than to render what we have to say as to the History of them clear and intelligible.

The *Javanese* pretend, that they are descended from the pure and unmixed Race of the old Inhabitants of *China*, who retired thither when their Country was over-run by the *Tartars*; and on this they very much value themselves; but before the *Portuguese* came there, they had not only mixed with other neighbouring Nations, but were also become *Mohammedans*. The whole Island at that Time was canted out among a Number of little Princes, some more, some less powerful; but most of them Masters of some Force by Sea. All this corroborates what has been before so often observed, that these Nations did not grow better by their Commerce with the *Europeans*, but were actually declining from what they had been when first visited by them, and have been sinking lower and lower ever since.

The *Portuguese* Generals saw plainly enough, that they had not Force sufficient to keep this Island, and therefore they contented themselves with making a new King of *Bantam*, when they had taken it, and accepted from him an annual Tribute. *Panarucan*, a small City, the Capital of a little Principality of the same Name, and withal a commodious Port, owed much to their Protection, and was raised to one of the principal Marts of the whole Country, where they not only dealt in Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities of the Island, but also in Gold, precious Stones, and Spices brought from other Places, and more especially from the adjacent Islands. But since the *Dutch* became Masters of *Batavia*, and the Emperor of *Materan* and the King of *Bantam* have divided the Island between them, this Place is become a Fishing Village, and all its Trade is entirely lost.

20. There is some Dispute as to the Time, and even as to the Person who first visited the Coast of *New Guinea*: Some say that this Coast was first discovered by *Alvare de Saavedra* in the Month of *May* 1520, as he was returning to *New Spain* from a Voyage he had made for Discoveries. He fell in with this Continent in the Latitude of two Degrees South, and ran East along by it above five hundred Leagues to the End of the Month of *August*. The Coast was clean, and of good Anchorage: The People black, with curled Hair, naked to the Waist, and covered from thence to their Feet. *Saavedra* having sailed four or five Degrees to the South, returned again unto the Equinoctial, and having passed it, discovered towards the North an Island, on which he bestowed the Name of *Isla de los Pintados*, that is, *The Island of painted People*; for he found the Inhabitants white, and each of them marked in his Body with an Iron. They could not understand the Language they spoke, which was very guttural; but by the Signs they made, they apprehended that they came from *China*.

There came off a Boat full of these People in a hostile manner, threatening the *Spaniards*, and throwing Stones at them; but *Saavedra* would not suffer his People to fire upon them by any means. A little beyond this Island they discovered many others low and flat, covered with Palm-Trees and Grass, so that they made a very pleasant Appearance, and therefore *Saavedra* called them *Los Jardines*, or the Gardens; they were very full of People, who seemed to them by their Countenances, and the Manner of wearing their Hair, to be descended from the *Chinese*; but by their long Continuance there were become barbarous, and even brutish, living without Law, that they may live without Labour, and clothed only with a whiteland of Stuff, which they make of Grass. They eat Cocons instead of Bread, pulling them before they are ripe, and burying them in the sand, from whence, after some Days, they take them out,

and lay them in the Sun, where they ripen of themselves. They likewise eat Fish, which they take in a kind of Boats, called *Parasos*, made of Pine-wood, which is driven on that Coast at certain Times of the Year, they know not from whence or how. The Tools with which they make these Boats are made of Shells. What appeared to *Saavedra* the most strange was, that these People had never seen, nor had any Notion of Fire, till they came upon their Coast, and then they shewed the utmost Terror and Apprehension at the Sight. *Saavedra* would have returned from hence to *New Spain*, but met with so many Difficulties in his Passage, that worn out with Grief and Care, he died, and his People brought his Ship back to the *Moluccas*.

This gave an Opportunity to the Author we have taken this Account from to learn all those Particulars, and the Writer deserves the more Credit, as he was a Man of Distinction, and Governor of the *Spice Islands* for the *Portuguese*. His Name was *Antonio Galvano*, the first who took so much Pains to introduce Christianity into the East of *Celebes*, and who has written an exact Account of the Discoveries made by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies* and in the *West*. But we must not apprehend from his Account, that this Southern Continent was absolutely unknown till this Discovery of it by *Saavedra*, because it is certain from his own Account, that the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* were very well acquainted with it before the *Portuguese* came amongst them, and carried on a considerable Trade thither; but this Part of the Coast on which *Saavedra* sailed was unknown to the *Europeans* before. While thus *Antonio Galvano* commanded at *Torres*, there was a famous Pirate, who with a Squadron of *Javans* did a great deal of Mischief on the Coast of the Land of *Papua*, which is the Country since called *New Guinea*, and at last began to threaten the Subjects of the *Portuguese* in the *Moluccas*. To repress the Violences committed by this Rover, *Galvano* fitted out some Barks that were sent him by the King of *Tidor*, and having manned them with a few *Portuguese*, and with the Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Islands, he sent them under the Command of *Johann Vinagrez*, a Priest, in Quest of this Pirate, who when they came up, and after a smart Engagement, in which the Pirate and his Brother were both killed, destroyed and dispersed the rest of his Squadron.

After obtaining this Victory, he was sent to the Country of *Papua*, where he was kindly received by several Princes, and converted some of them and their Subjects to the Christian Faith, which was so great a Satisfaction to the worthy Governor, that he instituted a kind of Seminary, in which he bred up Abundance of young Men brought from those Countries, instructing them himself in the Christian Religion, and in all sorts of Literature that were at that Time studied in *Portugal*.

It is observed by the *Portuguese* Historians, that while other Governors increased their Fortunes, this Man died only to increase his Reputation, and the Number of his Master's Subjects, by his wife and gentle Government, which had so good an Effect, that Multitudes of *Christians*, expelled and banished by *Mohammedan* Princes throughout the *Indies*, repaired to him in the *Moluccas*, where he was so entirely beloved by all the Inhabitants of those Islands, that they joined together in a Representation to the King of *Portugal*, setting forth the many Advantages that would accrue to the *Portuguese*, as well as to themselves, if *Antonio Galvano* was continued in his Government for Life; but before this Representation was framed, the Governor of the *Indies* left *George Cabral* to succeed him, which, in the Space of a few Years, produced such a Change in their Affairs on this Side, that *Maffeus*, and other of their Historians, have deemed it worth our Account of them.

It was the removing this worthy Man that hindered all the Southern Continent from being thoroughly known, for by his Candour, Humanity, and wise Government, he established a new Face in that Part of the World, of which the *Portuguese* never had an Idea, either before or since; and if he had remained there but a few Years, would have done more towards the Conversion of these Nations by his own Virtue and Piety, than ever could be effected by an Army of Millionaires. But what he was

where they open of themselves, which they take in a kind of Bark, or wood, which is drawn on that Year, they know not from what Trees which they make use of. What appeared to Saenz de Gama these People had never seen, nor will they come upon their Coast, outmost Terror and Apprehension could have returned from hence to so many Difficulties in his Voyage and Care, he died, and was carried back to the Moluccas.

As to the Author we have taken in all those Particulars; and this Credit, as he was a Man of the Spice Islands for the Portuguese, Antonio Galvano, the first who introduced Christianity into the East, has written an exact Account of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the West. But we must not suppose that this Southern Continent was his Discovery of it by Saenz de Gama, his own Account, that the Indians were very well acquainted with the same amongst them, and carried on; but this Part of the Coast is unknown to the Europeans before. He commanded at Ternate, there was a Squadron of Portuguese in the Coast of the Land of Papua, he called New-Guinea, and at the Effects of the Portuguese were the Violences committed by the Royal Barks that were sent from the King, he manned them with a few Portuguese Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Kingdoms under the Command of Antonio de Siquiera, this Pirate, who when he was in a final Engagement, in which he was both killed, destroyed the whole Squadron.

Antonio de Siquiera, he was sent to the Country, kindly received by several Princes, and their Subjects to the Christian Religion, and a Satisfaction to the worthy King, a kind of Serenity, in which some young Men brought from a three day hunt in the Coast in the Land of Ternate that were at that Time.

The Portuguese Historians, that relate their Fortunes, this Man's Reputation, and the Number of his wife and gentle Government, the Effect, that Multitudes of Christians, by the Assistance of the Portuguese, repaired to him in the Moluccas, and were beloved by all the Princes, and joined together in a Republic, and setting forth the many Advantages to the Portuguese, as well as the same was continued in his own Country. This Republic was what the Indies left George of Aragon in the Space of a few Years, upon their Affairs on this Side, that their Historians, have declared themselves.

This worthy Man that first led out from being thoroughly known, humanity, and wise Government, he in that Part of the World, if never had an Idea, either before or remained there but a few Years, towards the Conversion of the People and Priests, than ever could be of Millions. But what he was

not permitted to effect by his Actions, he has sketched forth in his Writings; so that, from them we learn, this great Southern Continent was, in his Time, well inhabited; and though their Inhabitants might, in some Parts of it, be absolute Barbarians, yet in others, they were as much civilized as their Neighbours, and had, as we have before seen, not only the Use of Vessels, but some kind of naval Force.

2. The Discovery of the Philippine Islands, as they are now called, was, undoubtedly, made by Francis Magellan in the Year 1521; and the first Island in which he landed was Hummuna, which is now barren and uninhabited. He took possession of the Island of Butuan, by erecting a Cross, as we have elsewhere shewn, on the Wednesday in Easter-Week, in the same Year. But these Islands were not settled on the Behalf of the Spaniards till the Year 1565, by Michael Lopez de Legaspi, a Native of Mexico, acting under a Commission from King Philip II. in honour of whom they were called Philippines. But with this Conquest and Settlement I have, at present, nothing to do, as intending to speak only of the Discoveries made in these Parts by the Portuguese, on whose behalf Don Antonio de Galvano, in the Year 1538, sent Francis de Castro to the Island of Mindanao, where he persuaded six of the petty Princes to receive Baptism, with all their Families. This Island of Mindanao is the most southern of all the Philippines, and the largest of them all, except Manila; it extends from 6° of N. L. to 10° 30', and is enclosed three hundred Leagues in compass. There are few Countries in the World better watered; for there are in it twenty navigable Rivers, and near two hundred Rivulets, besides large Lakes, one of which is called Mindanao, and gives its Name to the whole Island.

The Portuguese found it inhabited by several different Nations, of which the true original Lords of the Country possessed then only the Hills and inaccessible Places; being Negroes, with crisp and curled Hair, like those in New-Guinea; and by the way those were the original Inhabitants of all the Philippines. The Portuguese and Spaniards call them Negrillos, a Nation who have sacrificed all the Blessings of Life, and all the Advantages of human Nature, to an enthusiastick Love of Liberty. Those who inhabit one Mountain will have no Intercourse with those who inhabit the next; nay those that inhabit the Middle of a Hill will murder such as live at the Top or the Bottom of it, if they find them in their District. They have neither Lords nor Laws, but live like Brutes, for the sole Satisfaction of being free. This silly Humour induced them to abandon the Sea-Coasts on the first Appearance of Strangers, which have been since settled by several Nations, some Mohammedans from Borneo, others a white People, no body can well say from whence, only the most civilized Inhabitants own, when the Portuguese came amongst them first, that these Islands had formerly been under the Dominion of the Chinese; and, upon their abandoning them, were left a Prey to any Nation that thought fit to settle in them, and were able to defend themselves from the Blacks in the Mountains.

The Island Solo lies South West from Mindanao, and is governed by a King of its own; it is far from being large, but its Situation between Mindanao and Borneo makes it the Mart of all the Moorish Kingdoms. I do not find that the Portuguese ever pretended to settle, much less to conquer these Islands; but they visited them frequently for the sake of Trade, and in those Days there was a greater Commerce in these Parts than can be well imagined; for while the Trade was open to Japan, there came annually two or three Ships laden with Silver, Amber, Silks, Cloths, Cabinets, and other Curiosities, made of sweet Scented Woods, with vast Quantities of Silks, Mullins, Calicoes, Quilts, and Earthen-ware from China. For these the Merchants of Galeonda exchanged their Diamonds; those of Ceylon their Rubies, Topazes and Sapphires; from Java and Sumatra came Pepper, and Cloves, and Nutmegs from the Moluccas.

The native Commodities of these Islands were as valuable as any of the rest, since no Country in the World,

Peru not excepted, abounds with more Gold. In the Mountains they dig but Three Feet deep, before they meet with it in red Sand, and while they cannot come at the Mountains for the Blacks, they dig Trenches in the flat Country, and after the rainy Season, they pick the Gold out of the Mud that is left in them. Cinnamon they have as good as any in Ceylon, but nobody having any Property in the Trees, they tear and destroy the Bark at all Seasons, which is the Reason the World is so little acquainted with the Cinnamon of Mindanao. In the Sea, between this Island and Solo, there is a Pearl-Fishery, inferior to none in the Indies, either in point of Colour or Shape. Ambergris they have in great Plenty and Perfection on their Coast, and Lumps are very often found of twenty or thirty Pounds Weight; nay and sometimes larger.

It was from their Commerce with Mindanao, and the Respect, or, as they call it, Homage, paid to the King of Portugal by some of the petty Monarchs of that Country, that the Portuguese pretended to maintain their Claim to these Islands against the Spaniards, who assume to themselves an exclusive Right over all the Philippines; because Luzon, or Manila, which is the biggest of them, is in their Possession; yet they have to manage their Affairs, that, though they keep these Settlements merely for the sake of Trade, their Government is so ordered as to lessen that Commerce which those Islands had before they became Masters of them; and at the same time the royal Revenue is so indifferently managed, as not to defray above Two-thirds of the Expenses of the Government; though the People are so much harassed, that they fly to all Parts of India to avoid the Hardships imposed on them at home.

Father Navarrete, who was himself a Spaniard, and who in his History of China shews a manifest Partiality for his Country, confesses the Truth of this, and that he never was in any Country of the Indies but he found Manila Indians, either carried away or run away from thence; and of this, he says, the Spanish Government complained, as being extremely detrimental to that Settlement: But he observes very justly upon that Occasion, that Complaints lie only against themselves and their own Conduct: Let them, says he, use the Indians well, and they will not run away; let them protect those People as they ought, and no body will be able to steal them. The Negligence of the Portuguese, the Tyranny of the Spaniards, and the intrenching Disposition of the Dutch, hinder these Islands from being, what they otherwise must be, the Centre of Commerce between the East and West Indies; and if a free Trade were allowed to them, each of these Nations would get ten times as much, and that too with ten times the Ease with which they get what little they do get by their Commerce here at present.

22. There is not any Passage relating to the Discoveries made by the Portuguese in the East more curious or more extraordinary than what relates to the finding the Islands of Japan, which were discovered about the same time by two different Sets of Adventurers, both, in all Appearance, the pure Effects of Chance. And though, in the Account we have received of both these Discoveries, very little Notice is taken of Dates; yet, from Comparison of Facts, it is pretty evident, that the Persons we shall first speak of arrived in that Country some time in the Month of May, A. D. 1542. Of the first of these, we have a very large Account written by Mendez Pinto, who was himself the Discoverer; but for many Reasons we have found it necessary to contract that Account into as few Words as possible, that we may have Room to give the Reader both the Discoveries, and thereby enable him to judge for himself, as to the Controversy that has been raised concerning them.

Ferdinand Mendez Pinto tells us himself, that being in Company with two of his Countrymen, whose Names were Diego Zeimoto and Christopher Borelle, at Lampacao, which is the same with Macao, they there endeavoured to get a Passage to some other Part in the Indies, and found it very difficult to do: At last a Chinese Corsair offered his

promising to conduct them to the Islands of *Leguina*, but when they were at Sea, the Weather proved so stormy, and the *Chinese* Captain's Ship so leaky, that there was an absolute Necessity of putting into some Port to rest; and accordingly the Captain bore away for a certain Port in the Island of *Japan*, which our Author tells us was that of *Niagima* in the Island of *Tanaisima*, where they safely arrived. Before they enter'd the Port, two Barks came from the Shore to know who they were, and what they wanted? The Captain answer'd, that they were come from *China*, that his Ship was full of Goods, and that his Intention was to trade, if they might obtain Permission; to which the principal Person in the Barks answer'd, that the Lord of the Island was call'd *Nautaquim*, and that if they paid the Port Duties, they might have Leave to trade. The *Chinese* Captain instantly complied with this Demand; the Patron of the Barks us'd him thereupon with great Civility, and conducted him immediately into the Harbour.

About two Hours after the Lord of the Island came thither, accompanied by several Persons of Distinction, and some Merchants. At the Sight of the three *Portuguese* he was very much astonish'd, and demanded immediately who those Strangers were, and of what Nation? The Captain answer'd, that they came from a great City call'd *Malacca*, and that they were of a certain Kingdom in *Europe* call'd *Portugal*. At these Words *Nautaquim* appear'd more surpris'd than before, and at last, turning to those who were about him, he said, Let me die, if I don't believe there are the *Chinese*, of whom we read in our old Books that they fly upon the Waters, and make themselves Masters of every rich Country they hear of: We shall think ourselves very happy, if they are content to be our Allies. He then call'd a Woman, who could speak the *Chinese* Language, in which he was but indifferently skil'd, and desired her to ask the Captain with what View he brought these Strangers into *Japan*. The Captain answer'd very candidly, that he found them at *Malacca* much distress'd for a Passage to some Port in the *Indies*, and that he, from a Principle of Humanity, took them on board his Vessel, in hopes that Providence would raise him a like Friend, in case he should fall into the same Distress. This satisfied *Nautaquim* perfectly, so that he made no Difficulty of going aboard the *Chinese* Vessel, with some of the principal Persons about him, and ask'd the *Portuguese* abundance of Questions, whom he also invited to visit him on Shore, promising to entertain them kindly.

They went accordingly, and carried him a Present, which was very graciously received, and *Nautaquim* enter'd into a long Conversation with them about their Country, and particularly insist'd on these three Points, which he said he had been told by the *Chinese* and *Leguins* in his Country. First, that *Portugal* was bigger than *China*, and richer; the second, that the King of *Portugal* had conquered the best Part of the World; and thirdly, that his *Portuguese* Majesty had better than two thousand Houses full of Gold and Silver. *Pinto* ingeniously owns, that he did not stick exactly to Truth in his Answers, but contriv'd such as were most likely to keep up the high Opinion that *Nautaquim* had conceived of their Monarch. All the Time they stay'd here, they were treated with the utmost Civility and Respect, being permitted to see every thing they desired, and to go where they would. *Zemolo* had a very fine Gun, with which the *Japanese* were extremely taken, inasmuch that they spoke of it to *Nautaquim*, who

desir'd to see it, and how it was us'd, which Request of his being complied with, he thought himself to much oblig'd thereby, that he set the *Portuguese* upon one of his own Horses, and oblig'd him to ride through the Town with a Crier before him, who proclaim'd him *Zemolo's* Cousin, and admonish'd the People to confide in such: At his Return he had an Apartment assign'd him in the Palace; upon which he made a Present to *Nautaquim* of his Fowling-piece, in return for which, he receiv'd ready Money a thousand Taels, which makes near Money three hundred and thirty-three Pounds.

The People imitated the Generosity of their Prince, and bought all the Captain's Goods at such round Rates, that for a Cargo which cost him two thousand three hundred Taels, they gave him to the Value of thirty thousand. We need not doubt that People so well-interr'd, pass their Days there very agreeably, and were not in a great Hurry about their Departure. After a Month or more, however, the *Chinese* Captain having desired his Ship to be repaired to put to Sea; but before he was ready, a Storm happened, which changed the Face of their Island. A Boat arriv'd in the Harbour, having on Board a Gentleman charged with a Letter from the King of *Bungo*, the Lord of the Island, signifying that he was pleas'd that certain Strangers were come into his Dominion, which it was apparent, that the World was not more than they imagin'd, and that he desired he would speak to at least one of these Strangers to discourse with him, whether because at that Time he was very much oppress'd, and suffer'd by repeated Fits of Black Mould, which oppress'd him to the last Degree. The Lord of the Island sent immediately for the *Portuguese*, and having order'd them, that the King of *Bungo* was both his Uncle and his Father-in-Law, he most earnestly desired that they would gratify the Request of that Prince. At the same time, however, he declar'd, that he could not part with *Zemolo*, but that the Ambassador might take with him whomever he pleas'd, but after a little Reflection, he fix'd upon *Pinto* as the most proper Person to satisfy Uncle, because he was of a brisk and lively Temper, and therefore the most likely to divert him; and at the same time made him a Present of two hundred Taels, as Compensation for the Trouble of this Journey.

Things being thus regulated, *Pinto* took his Leave of his Friends, and embark'd with the Ambassador to the Kingdom of *Bungo*, which lies but at a very small Distance from the Island of *Tanaisima*. They arriv'd, without meeting with any Accident, at the Fort of *Sipapo*, where they remained two Days, and then they set out for the Capital, where they arriv'd the very same Day. The King receiv'd Notice of their coming, than he immediately sent out one of his Sons to compliment them, to whom the Ambassador deliver'd a Letter from *Nautaquim* to the King's Father, whose Name was *Origenza*, who, as soon as he receiv'd it, desired the *Portuguese* to come to him, which he receiv'd with all the Respect imaginable. The first Question he ask'd *Pinto* was whether the *Goats* were scarce; he was dreadfully afflict'd, was a Dilemma known in many of the Countries through which he had pass'd, whether he had ever heard of any Remedy that would effect his Cure? *Pinto* told him honestly, that he was no Physician, but that he had brought with him from *China* a kind of Weed, which had a Quality of relieving the most violent Pains of their Cause; he said that he had heard of this Remedy in the Island where he first arriv'd, upon which the King

* These Islands, of which it seems the *Portuguese* had already some Knowledge, pass under different Names; and even our Dutch Writers are not very exact in their Certainty about them. Some Writers call them the Islands of *Laguans*, others the Islands of *Relais*. They lie in the North-east part of North Latitude, having the Island of *Pinnas* to the South-west, the Continent of *China* to the West, the Islands of *Formosa* to the North, and the Ocean on the East, on which Side they seem to have no Land nearer to them than *America*. The *Japanese* report that there are no more fertile Countries in the World, and that the Inhabitants are the easiest, happiest, and best condition'd of the Human Race. The principal Prince of *Soracima*, who is one of the principal Lords of the Empire of *Japan*. It may not be amiss to observe, that the Islands are entirely Master of these Islands, and that at present there is some Commerce between them and the *Philippines*.

* This Island, which *Pinto* calls *Tanaisima*, is undoubtedly, *Tanaisima*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Formosa*. It lies in the East of the Continent, at a very small Distance on the great Island of *Mina*, which is the second in Size of those three Islands which are known in *Portugal* by the common Name of *Japan*, which is now, as we generally apprehend, the Name of a particular Country, but of a large Archipelago, which the most considerable of which is *Nippon*. It is true, that later Authors speak of no such Port as *Pinto* mentions; but that is not surprising, since it is on all Hands allow'd, that prodigious Changes have been made in the Name of the principal Port and Place in these Islands.

* One of the most singular Things in *Pinto's* Relation is this, that, notwithstanding the Admiration of the People of that Island, he being a European, was not in any Manner brought over to their way of thinking, however, inasmuch as to comprehend the whole Mechanism of *China* was a very great Part of his Business, and that he had a great Deal to say in the several Parts of the Empire, and in the course of a few Years they became very well acquainted with the Language, though they still retain'd, in several Instances, the old Customs, which they had brought over from their own Country.

directly dispatched a Messenger thither to fetch it. As soon as it arrived, *Pinto* caused it to be steeped in Water, which he gave the King to drink, and in the Space of a few Days he found himself so well, that he was able to rise and walk about, which he had not done for two Years.

It is easy to imagine what high Effects so extraordinary a Circumstance as this must necessarily produce, and what Careless were naturally bestowed on a Stranger, who had so suddenly and so unexpectedly performed so great a Cure. The King ordered all the Care imaginable to be taken of him, and the whole Court was employed in contriving how to entertain and divert him; but in the midst of all this Joy and Satisfaction, there happened an unlucky Accident, which had like to have been attended with very bad Consequences. *Pinto* had with him his Gun, which was mightily admired by every Body that saw it, and the Operations of which filled them with Astonishment. The hereditary Prince was so taken with it, that he would needs try to shoot himself, to which *Pinto* would by no means consent, telling him, it was an Instrument to be managed with great Caution, and might do unexpected Mischief in the Hands of a Person who knew not how to manage it. This, instead of satisfying the Prince, made him only the more eager, inasmuch that he complained to his Father, and desired he would prevail upon the Stranger to trust him with his Gun; to which the *Portugueze* yielded, and promised to go a shooting with him the next Day.

The young Man was so impatient that he was up before it was light, and on the fifth of August was at *Pinto's* Chamber-door before he awoke. He had too much Manners to disturb him, but unluckily spying the Gun, took it out with him into the Court, and resolved to make a Shot. He put in a double or treble Charge of Powder, to which giving Fire, the Gun burst, cut his right Thumb so that it hung by a Thread, and at the same time a Piece of the Barrel struck him so violently over the Ear, that he fell flat upon the Ground, and those who were about him thought he was killed. The Noise of this Accident was soon spread over the whole Town, where it was unanimously agreed, that the Stranger's enchanted Instrument had killed the Heir of the Crown. The Noise made round his Apartment awaked *Pinto* out of his Sleep, who coming down without knowing what was the Matter, went directly to the Place where the Accident had happened, and seeing the Prince lying on the Ground, whom he took to be dead, he threw himself on the Body in the utmost Agony. A Moment after came the King, the Queen, and the two Princes, all of them in a distracted Condition, and as soon as they saw the Prince swimming in his Blood, and *Pinto* lying by him, they immediately concluded that the Stranger had killed the Prince; upon which two Soldiers advanced with their Swords drawn, in order to cut off his Head; but the King called out to them to forbear, since he was determined he would first extort from him the Reason that induced him to commit so vile a Fact.

The Reason of this Stay of Execution was, because a little before a Conspiracy had been discovered, for which several Persons had been executed the Day before; and the King apprehended, without any Reason, that this Action might be an Effect of that Conspiracy. It is not necessary for us to dwell upon all the little Circumstances of this Affair, and therefore it will be sufficient to observe, that when they were on the very Point of torturing *Pinto*, in order to make him confess why he committed this detestable Murder, and who were his Accomplices, the Prince very luckily came to himself, and seeing how Things stood, he shewed with great Concern, that he alone was in the Fault, and that the Stranger knew nothing of the Matter; wherefore he intreated that he might be set at Liberty, and give Leave to come to him, which his Father immediately granted. It was then proposed, that they should send for an old *Portugeze*, who lived at seventy Leagues Distance, to dress the Prince's Wounds, and to try if he could save his Life. The young Man declared against this, and said, he should be before he came, and begged that he might be left in the Hands of the Stranger, who knew best how to deal with him. The King thereupon called for him, and asked, if he would undertake this Shock Cure, which, it is probably, he should think the King too small a Re-

ward. *Pinto* declared he could promise for nothing, but that he was willing to do all that lay in his Power, and that he had great Hopes of succeeding.

Upon this the Prince was left in his Hands, but not without a great Struggle on the Part of the *Portugezes*, who declared, that if the Stranger touched his Wounds, he would die that Night; and that the best thing the King could do was to offer up *Pinto* as a Sacrifice to the Gods, and to send an Express immediately for the old *Portugeze* before-mentioned. The Prince interposed, however, so warmly in Favour of the Stranger, and some of the oldest and wisest Men about the Court thought the young Man's Desire so reasonable, that the King consented to it, and the Prince being carried to *Pinto's* Lodgings, he dressed him as he had seen the *European* Surgeons do, and in one Month's Time there was no other Sign of the Wounds than the Scars they had left, and a little Deadness in his Thumb. The King and the whole Court were quite ravished with Joy at his unexpected Recovery, and besides a thousand Blessings and Thanks, made the *Portugueze* abundance of magnificent Presents, besides fifteen hundred Taels in ready Money, which the King bestowed upon him as soon as the Prince was able to go abroad.

While Things were in this Situation, they had Advice that the *Chinese* Ship was ready to sail; upon which *Pinto* desired Leave to be gone, to which the King very unwillingly consented; but as the Stranger insisted upon it, he ordered a Vessel to be equipped, in order to carry him back to the Island of *Yacuzima*, and sent a Gentleman with him, furnishing him also with all manner of Provisions and Refreshments. After his Return to that Island, our Traveller remained there a Fortnight, waiting for a fair Wind, and then embarking, arrived safely at *Lisbopo* on the Coast of *China*. This is, in few Words, the Account given us by *Pinto* himself: Let us now proceed to the other Discovery of this Country made by the *Portugueze*, according to our Promise.

In the same Year 1542, three of the same Nation came by pure Accident into this Country, their Names were, *Antonio Mota*, *Francisco Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Pexota*, who in a Voyage from the Island of *Macassar* to *China* were thrown upon the Coasts of these Islands, and were exceedingly well received. Amongst other Acquaintance, they entered into a close Conversation with one *Angero*, a Man of a good Family, and considerable Fortune; but who was exceedingly troubled in Mind on account of some Irregularities committed in his Youth, who heard them with Pleasure discourse concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion. About two Years after *Azarez Paz*, a *Portugueze* Merchant, came into the same Country, and became very intimate with the same Person, whom he persuaded to go to the *Portugueze* Settlements in *India*, in order to be converted and consoled by the holy Discourses of the famous *Francis Xavier*; to which at length he yielded, and having received Baptism at *Goa* in the Year 1548, he the next Year accompanied Father *Xavier* and two other Jesuits in their Voyage to *Japan*, where they immediately entered upon their Mission; by the Progress of which, this Country was made so thoroughly known to the *Portugueze*, that if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own Voyage thither, it is very possible we had never heard any thing of it at all; but that he afterwards visited *Japan* in Company with Father *Xavier*, and after the Decease of that industrious Jesuit, whom the Papists esteem the Apostle of the *Indies*, he went thither again as Embassador from the Viceroy of the *Indies* to the King of *Bango* in 1576, so that there seems to be no just Grounds for calling any thing that he has written in Question.

The Conventions made in this great Empire contributed not a little to support and extend the *Portugueze* Trade, which was managed with much Facility, and to a vast Profit: For the *Portugueze* being established in *China*, carried from thence vast Quantities of Silk into *Japan*, where, as all Ranks of People affect to be clothed in it, there followed a prodigious Consumption, which enriched the *Portugueze* Merchants very soon to a high Degree, tho' it is scarce credible, that as some *Dutch* Writers report, they have sometimes carried home in one small Ship one hundred Tons of Gold. But this prodigious Success proved

the Cause of their being at last deprived of this lucrative Commerce.

It is not to be expected that we should enter here into a long and particular Relation of the several Facts which drew upon them, from the Government of *Japan*, that Prohibition of which we have spoken so largely in the Article of *Macao*, and therefore we shall only report in general Terms, and in as few Words as possible, the principal Causes of that Exclusion. The vast Wealth they had acquired corrupting the Manners of the *Portuguese*, made them less cautious than they ought to have been, in their Behaviour towards the *Japoneſe*, inſomuch that, inſtead of the Moderation, Sobriety, and exact Conduct which they at firſt purſued, they grew proud, intolent, and diſſolute. This prompted them to change the Places where they were wont to trade, and to prefer ſuch Ports as were in the Dominions of infidel Princes, to thoſe in the Territories of theſe *Japoneſe* Lords, that had embraced the Chriſtian Religion, that they might live as they thought fit, and without being under the Controul of the Miſſionaries, who took all the Pains they could to oblige their Countrymen to advance the Credit of the Chriſtian Religion by the Regularity of their Lives. Theſe Errors had two very bad Conſequences; for, firſt, they diſpleaſed ſuch Princes as had embraced the Faith; and, ſecondly, they hardened the Infidels in their Averſion to it.

But it was not only the Corruption of the *Portuguese* Merchants, Officers, and Seamen, that gave Offence to the People of this Empire, the Intrigues of the Miſſionaries themſelves contributed to it as much, or more, by exciting the Jealouſy of the Emperor; for where-ever they had converted any of the Princes of *Japan*, they were continually at Court, and, inſtead of minding what was the proper Buſineſs of the Church, engaged at every Turn in Affairs of State, making the Direction of Conſcience much leſs their Care than the Direction of Councils, by which they became the Authors of many Troubles, and afforded a Handle to their Enemies of charging them with many more; ſo that the Emperor of *Japan* began at laſt to ſuſpect, that there was more of Hypocriſy than Sincerity in their Hearts, and that they were endeavouring, under Colour of ſaving Mens Souls, to eſtabliſh a new Government in that Country.

Theſe Jealouſies, which certainly were not altogether without Foundation, were extremely increaſed by two Circumſtances; the firſt was, the Haughtineſs and Ill-conduct of ſuch as were ſent Embaſſadors thither, eſpecially after the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; for theſe Miſters were wont to boaſt of the vaſt Power of the Catholic King, and of the mighty Extent of his Dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japoneſe*, by ſhowing the Maps of the *East* and *Weſt Indies*; and the Impudence of one of theſe Embaſſadors is ſaid to have carried him ſo far, as that on being aſked how his Maſter had acquired ſuch vaſt Territories at ſo great a Diſtance from his hereditary Dominions, he answered, by ſending Miſſionaries firſt to convert a Part of the Inhabitants to Chriſtianity, and then ſending Troops to aſſiſt the new Converts in ſhaking off the Yoke of infidel Princes.

The other Circumſtance was the coming of the *Dutch* Ships up on the Coaſt of *Japan*; for theſe People applying themſelves entirely to Commerce, and ſometimes, for the ſake thereof, to whatever Terms were preſcribed by the *Japoneſe*, gained thereby ſuch a Degree of Confidence with their Princes, that they procured imple of Credit to their Requeſts, as to the ambitious Deſires of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*. Theſe Remarks will give the Reader to eaſy a Key to the political Contrivances for firſt reſtraining the *Portuguese* Trade to a particular Port, and then ſhutting them up as it were in a Priſon during their Stay in that Empire, as in the laſt Chapter of this Work has been largely ſhewed, that we need not run here into any Repeating, but content ourſelves with obſerving, that notwithſtanding the many previous Signs which the *Portuguese* had of the approaching Rupture with the *Japoneſe*, yet were they lo far from taking ſuch Steps, as in common Prudence they ought to have done, for avoiding to great a Miſchief, that on the contrary, they behav-

ed daily worſe and worſe, till the Storm came upon them with ſuch a Force as was not to be reſiſted.

The particular Relation of the Subverſion of Chriſtianity in this Empire will be found in the ſucceeding Volume, when we come to treat of the Deſcription of *Japan*; at preſent we have only to obſerve, that the *Portuguese* have been deprived of this rich Commerce ever ſince the Year 1620, and that all the Attempts they have hitherto made to recover it have proved abſolutely inefficual, nor is it probable that any they may hereafter make will be attended with any better Succeſs.

23. The Country, or Countrey, lying beyond *Japan*, to the North-Eaſt, or North-Weſt, have been always regarded, at leaſt ſince Geography has been tolerably underſtood, as the very Cornices of the World, and the Extremitities of the Earth, which Countreys the *Japoneſe* themſelves called *Yeſo*, or *Yeſſo*, the *Chinese*, *Yeſo*, from whence we have the word *Yeſſo*, or *Yeſo*, by which in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Maps they are diſtinguiſhed. The firſt Accounts that were received of theſe Countreys were from the *Japoneſe* themſelves, but according to their Skill in ſuch Sciences, extremely dark and incorrect. They were not able to ſay abſolutely, whether their own Countrey was an Iſland or not; and as for the Land of *Yeſo*, they profeſſed the utmoſt Extent of their Knowledge to be, that it belonged to the Prince of *Matſuma*, who was dependent on, and a Tributary to, the Emperor of *Japan*. In the Year 1613, Father *Conſarzo*, who then preached the Chriſtian Religion in *Japan*, hearing that the Prince of *Matſuma* had ſent to *Japan* for a Phyſician, and that a Convert to Chriſtianity, a Man of good ſpirit and quick Parts, was pitched upon to go over in that Quality, he recommended to him the Care of inſtructing thoſe People, if a favourable Opportunity offered, in the true Faith; which Commiſſion the Phyſician executed with much Zeal and Fidelity, that he quickly gave Father *Conſarzo* a good Account of his Miſſion, ſhewing he had not only made many Converts, but that he ſaw the People in general better inclined to the Chriſtian Religion, than could have been expected.

In 1620, Father *Angeliſ*, who was then at *Yagrad*, the moſt Northern Part of the Iſland of *Nippon*, to whom many Chriſtians had been baniſhed, received Orders from his Superior, to go himſelf to *Matſuma*, in order to cultivate the Seeds of Converſion, which the *Japoneſe* Phyſician had ſown, and accordingly that he went the ſame Year by Sea. He arrived very ſafely in the Port of *Yagrad*, and from thence travelled through very many Rivers to *Matſuma*, where he found a vaſt Number of *Japoneſe*, and amongſt them many Chriſtians. They had been ſettled there but a few Years, and had been drawn thither by the Diſcovery of very rich gold Mines in the Neighbourhood of this City, and Mines of it may be called, of a very ſingular Kind. There is a River that paſſes by the City of *Matſuma*, immently rich in Gold; thoſe who deſire to deal in that Commodity, purchaſe from the Prince ſuch a Part of the River, and dig out a ſemicircular Canal, well ſecured by ſtrong Banks, into which, by Shutes, the River is turned, leaving ſome Part of its Channel as the Adventurers have agreed, for the ſpace of ſome ſcore Days, ſo that they take the Mud, and by frequently turning obtain vaſt Quantities of Gold duſt, and ſometimes Pieces of Gold of a conſiderable Bignets. When they have finiſhed their Work, and find there is no more to be got, they fill up the Canal, and by that Means raiſe the River back into its old Channel, and in the ſpace of a Year or two it is found as rich in Gold as ever.

Father *Angeliſ* informs us, that the Native of that Country, which we call *Yeſſo*, call it in their own Language *Ainomocori*, but were able to give but a very different Account of its Extent or Situation. Theſe People were larger, ſtronger, and had much better Complexions than the *Japoneſe*, and wore Bands that reached to their Girdles. They were dreſſed in long Robes of Silk, Cotton, or Linnen, according to their Rank, which were ſet off with abundance of little Ornaments. Their Arms were Bows, Arrows, Lances, and ſhort Swords. In Point of Religion their Notions were very obſcure and con-

raised, but the great Objects of their Worship were the Sun and Moon. They talk'd likewise of an invincible King of the Mountains, Forests, Seas and Rivers, but they did not worship him. Their Government was very regular and exact, and themselves the best-natured and best-behaved People the Missionary had ever seen. Their Commerce consisted chiefly in dried Fish, and in a sort of Seal-skins, which they exchanged for Rice, Cotton, Thread, and other Necessaries; for as for Gold and Silver, they made little account of them, but left the Trade in them to the *Japoneze*. On his first going over, Father *Angelis* was inclined to believe, that this Country was the southern Part of *Tartary*; but after he had made a longer Stay there, he in some measure altered his Sentiments, as appears by the following Letter he wrote upon this Subject, which is very curious and entertaining, and is, without the doubt that can be said on this Subject, from the Lights given us by the *Portugueze*.

"I am at present persuaded, that the Opinion entertained as to the Country of *Yesso's* being an Island, is not without Probability, and the Reasons upon which I go, are these: In the first Place, it is very certain, that this Country is bounded on the East, and on the South, by the Sea. On the other Hand, the Land of *Tesso*, which is the western Extremity of *Yesso*, is likewise bounded by the Sea, where the Currents are so violent, that tho' there is a Country on the other Side the Strait, within Sight, and where they are able to distinguish the Horses feeding, yet hitherto none of the Inhabitants of *Yesso* have passed over thither, because great Quantities of large Canes are driven with prodigious Violence by those Currents, so that if they were to hazard themselves in their small Boats, they must run an apparent Hazard of being overfet and lost. From hence I conclude, that according to all Appearance *Yesso* hath a fourth Sea on the North, which consequently separates it from *Tartary*. From whence should those impetuous Currents come, but from a Sea to the North of *Yesso*, running East and West, or from West to East, and discharging itself to the South, through the Straits, on the West of *Yesso*, with such Rapidity, as renders them impassable to the People of the Country.

"The second Reason is, that the Inhabitants of *Yesso* are not under the Dominion of any one Prince, nor have they amongst them any Chief that has a Tract of Country of any great Consequence, that is subject to him; they are likewise far from acknowledging the Supremacy of any Khan of the *Tartars*, or seem to be acquainted with that Title, or with any thing of the like Import; but every Family, or at least every little Village, has a Chief who governs it absolutely, and without acknowledging any Superior, which appears to me a strong Proof, that they are separated by a Sea from all other Countries, since if it were otherwise, they would undoubtedly be governed as those Countries are. I am sensible, that it may be objected against the first Proof I offer, that the Currents of which I am speaking, may possibly be occasioned by the Opening of some great River, which discharges itself into the Sea, somewhat farther to the North, and thereby occasions such an Accession of Water, as in passing through those Straights, forms such terrible Currents. But after all, I cannot help esteeming it more reasonable to believe that this Country is bounded on that Side, as well as on the rest, by an Arm of the Sea. At least this is the most common Opinion, and I remember to have seen in *Sicily* an old Map of the World, in which the Land of *Yesso* is laid down as an Island. As to what the Inhabitants of the Country say, I have examined those that came from the East, and others who came from the West, but found them all alike ignorant of Geography."

Thus far this Missionary, who is the only *Portugueze* that has wrote sensibly upon this Matter. He does not, however, seem to have been acquainted with one Thing, which he might have learned in *Japan*, and that is, that those People distinguish between the Island of *Yesso* and *Oku Yesso*, that is, the higher or upper *Yesso*; from whence it is very plain, that there is both an Island and a

Continent of *Yesso*; but we shall have Occasion to resume this Subject, when we come to speak of the Discoveries made by the *Dutch* on this Side, who were both more capable of making such Discoveries, and more industrious in making them than the *Portugueze*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the *Japoneze* informed the Missionaries, that there lay North-East from their Country, and to the East of that of *Yesso*, two Islands, of which the smallest, and that at the greatest Distance, they call *Yensima*, that is, the silver Island; and that which is nearest their Continent, *Kinsima*, or the golden Island; but as they have been always very cautious of explaining themselves as to the Situation of these Countries, some Doubts have arisen, whether there were really any such Islands or not.

However, in the Year 1620 a Ship was sent by Order of *Philip II.* of *Spain*, to discover them, but without Success; and the *Dutch* have likewise made an Expedition with the same View, to as little Purpose. This may seem to justify the Supposition of their being fabulous; but then on the other hand, there are two Circumstances equally strong, that seem to prove the contrary: The first is, that there is such a Plenty of Gold and Silver in *Japan*, as cannot be accounted for from the Mines known to be wrought in that Country; the other, that though the Emperors of that Country have granted several Licences to *Europeans*, and particularly to our Countryman Captain *William Saris*, for making Discoveries to the West and North, yet they have always been extremely cautious of permitting any Strangers to examine their Coasts on the East.

24. The new *Philippine* Islands are a late Discovery, of which we have an Account in the Philosophical Transactions, in a Letter from a Missionary at *Manila*, who tells us, that being accidentally at the Town of *Gurwam*, in the Island of *Suma*, he there found twenty nine Palaces of Inhabitants of certain new-discovered Islands, who were driven thither by the Easterly Winds, which blew in those Seas from *December* to *May*. They had run before the Wind for seventy Days together, according to their own Relation, without being able to make any Land till they came in Sight of the Town of *Gurwam*, an Inhabitant of which being on the Shore, perceived them, and judging from the Make and Size of their Vessels they were Strangers, and out of their Courte, took a Piece of Cloth and made them a Signal of entering the Road he directed; to avoid the Shoals and Banks of Sand they would otherwise have run upon. These poor People were so frightened at the Sight of this Stranger, that they began to put to Sea again; yet the Wind forced them back a second time towards the Shore; when they came near, the *Gurwameze* made the same Signal as before; but seeing they would not mind it, but would unavoidably be lost, he threw himself into the Sea, and swam to one of the little Vessels, on purpose to bring them safe into Shore. He was no sooner got to them, but the Women with their Children on their Backs, and all that were in that Vessel, threw themselves overboard, and swam to the other. He seeing himself alone in the Vessel, resolved to follow them, and getting aboard the second, shewed them how to avoid the Shoals, and brought them safe to Land; in the mean time they stood immovable, and resigned themselves up intirely to the Conduct of this Stranger, as to many Prisoners.

The Inhabitants of *Gurwam* running to Shore, received them very kindly, and brought them Wine and other Provisions; they eat *Cocoas* very freely, which are the Fruit of the Palm-trees of this Country. Their Pulp is something like that of *Chestnuts*, only that it is more oily, and it supplies them with a sort of sweet Water, very pleasant to drink; they gave them Rice boiled in Water, which is eat there and all over *Asia* as Bread is in *Europe*; they looked on it with Surprize, and taking up some Grains of it, threw them on the Ground, imagining them to be Worms; upon bringing them large Roots called *Palm-tree*, they eat greedily of them. In the mean time they brought them two Women that had formerly been driven on Shore on the Coast of *Gurwam*, and who understood a little of the Language of this Country; one of the Women found among these Strangers one of her Relations, and, as soon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The Inhabitants

bitants of *Guriam* strove with each other who should entertain these Strangers at their Houses, and furnish them with Provisions and Cloaths, and other Necessaries. Of thirty-five Persons that embarked there remained but thirty, five dying through Want of Provisions and other Hardships, in so long a Voyage, and some time after their Arrival another died.

They related, that their Country consisted of thirty-two Islands, which cannot be far distant from the *Mariannns*, as may be judged by the Smallness of their Vessels, and the Form of their Sails, which are very like those of the *Mariannese*. It is likely that these Islands may be in eleven or twelve Degrees of North Latitude, more Southerly than the *Mariannns*, and under the same Degree of Longitude as *Guriam*; for, sailing directly from East to West, they came ashore at this Town. It is likewise probable, that it was one of these Islands that was discovered some Years ago at a Distance, when a Ship belonging to the *Philippines* leaving the common Course, which is from East to West, under the third Degree of Longitude, and running farther to the South-East, first perceived it. Some called this Island *Caviana* from *Charles II.* of *Spain*, and others the Island of *Saint Barnaby*, because discovered on that Apostle's Day; and it was again seen in 1696, by another Vessel, that a Storm had driven out of its Course in going from hence to *Mariannns*. These Strangers added, that of the thirty-two Islands three of them were uninhabited, unless with Wild-towls, but all the rest were well peopled. Upon asking them the Number of Inhabitants, they pointed to a Heap of Sand, to shew that their Number was very great. The Names of these Islands are *Pais Lamuluutur*, *Saraon*, *Tarope*, *Taluyay*, &c.

The three Islands that have nothing on them but Wild-towls, are *Pracet*, *Haustin*, *Pagian*. The most considerable of all these Islands is *Lamuree*, where the King of the Country keeps his Court, and to him the Governors of all the other Islands are subject. Among these Strangers, there was one of the Governors and his Wife who was the King's Daughter; though they went half naked, yet their Carriage, and a peculiar Air of Greatness, sufficiently distinguished them from the rest. The Husband had his Body painted all over with certain Lines, in such a manner, that they formed several Figures: The rest of the People were also painted in like manner more or less. The Women and Children were not painted at all; there were nineteen Men and ten Women of different Ages; the Make and Colour of their Faces were much like that of the *Philippineje*. The Men had no other sort of Cloaths than a Sash wrapped several times round their Bodies, and covering their Knees and Thighs; they wore on their Shoulders about an Ell and an Half of coarse Linen Cloth, like a Cowl, tied before, and hanging loose behind. Both Men and Women dressed much alike, only that the Women had a Piece of Cloth somewhat longer, that hung from their Waist down to their Knees. Their Language is different from that of the *Philippineje* and *Mariannese*; their Manner of pronouncing is more like that of the *Arabs*, and some who understood the Language observed the Women that seemed the most comely amongst them, had several Rings and Necklaces of Tortoise Shells, called here *Lary*; and others made of a Substance much like Amethysts, but not transparent. The Manner of their living at Sea, which was for seventy Days together, continually driven by the Wind, was thus: They cast out a sort of Net made of a great many Twigs of Trees put together, with a large Mouth for the Fish to enter in at, and terminating in a Point, to prevent their getting out. The Fish they took after this manner was all the Nourishment they had, and Rain Water saved in Coconut Shells, which is the Fruit of the Palm trees, and of the Figure and Size of a Human Skull.

They have no Cows in their Islands, and at the Sight of them they ran away, as they did likewise at the Barkening of a Dog; neither have they Cats, Stags, Horses, nor, in general, any Quadruped, nor any Fowl, but Sea-towls, excepting Hens, which they breed up, but never eat their Eggs. Notwithstanding this their Want of every thing, they are very cheerful, and contented with their Condition. Their Song, and Dances are exact and regular; when they sing, it is all in Concert, every one observing the

same Humour and Gestures, which makes it very agreeable. They were surpris'd at the Government, Politics, and Manners of the *Europeans*. They admir'd especially the Solemnities and Ceremonies of the Church in celebrating the Divine Service, but also the Music, Instruments, Dances, and Arms of the *Spaniards*, whose powder was what surpris'd them most. They wonder'd at the Whiteness of the *Europeans*, in respect of whom they were perfectly tawny, as well as the Inhabitants of this Country. It did not then appear that they had any Knowledge either of a Deity, or that they worshipp'd Idols. Their Life is perfectly frugal, they never eat, but eating and drinking, in which they observe no Order or Place, when hungry or dry, and when they have any thing to satisfy Nature: Yet they eat but a little at a Time, and never enough to last for a whole Day. They shew much Respect and Deference to the Kings, and the Governors of Towns, and obey them very particularly. Their Civility and Respect consists in taking hold of the Hand or Foot of the Person they would honour, and gently rubbing his Face.

Amongst their Utensils they had some Saws, not made of Iron, but of a large Shell, called here *Lary*, which they rub and whet upon a certain kind of Stone. They were surpris'd to see the Number of Cannon Balls used in building a Merchant-Ship at *Guriam*. They had no Metals in their Country. The Father Missionary made each of them a Present of a large Piece of Iron, which they received with as much Joy as if it had been made of Gold; and for fear it should be lost, they fasten'd it under their Heads, when they went to sleep. They have no other Arms than Lances of *Dart*, and human Bones, very well sharpened, and six darts. They are naturally very peaceable; but if any Quarrel happens amongst them, it is decided with some sort of Cassowary Head, which yet very rarely happens; for when they would come to a close Fight, they separate, and till they are soon reconcil'd again. In any great dispute, and heavy, but, on the contrary, have a great deal of Firmness and Courage. They are not so bold as the Inhabitants of the *Mariannns*; yet they are well provided with all shaped much like those of the *Philippineje*. Both Men and Women let their Hair grow long, and hang down their Shoulders. When they us'd to be shaved, they used to be conducted to the Presence of the Father Missionary, they painted their Bodies all over with a white Colour, which is looked upon by them as a great Ornament.

The oldest of these Strangers was once seen eating the Coals of *Caragan*. They are very voracious, and they said, that in fishing they took two or three other Shells, but threw them into the Sea, as being unworthy their Value. The New *Philippineje* consist of a great Number, and form one of the most considerable Kingdoms in the East, being enclosed on the North and South by the Tropic Lane and the Tropic of *Cancer*; on the East by the Strait between the *Mariannns* and *Posseppone*. The Natives of the Islands never offer any Violence to one another; Murder and Homicide are unknown to them, and they bear a great Respect to one another. It is probable these Islands are rich in Gold, Amber, and Drugs, being situated under the same Degree of Longitude as the *Mariannns*, where we have Nutmegs, and other valuable Spices.

Though these People seem to be very ignorant amongst them a sort of Politics and Government; every Island obeys his Chief, who is subject to the King of the Country. The most considerable is the Island of *Faua*, called likewise *Lamuree*. Though these Islands were never heard of till the year 1686, yet in these few Years, it is a long Time since they have had Mountains of *Samal*, thick smokes were seen in the Coast, which commonly happens in the Islands of *Samal* and *Faua* when they set Fire to their Woods and Forests to clear the Ground: These Smokes the *Philippineje* call *Samal*, and other Islands, had also observed when they were at Sea.

There have been four Observations made of this kind by some of our Writers, who have been successful, and thereby unaccountably surpris'd.

founding their own Sense of Things with that of their Authors. It has, for example, been questioned, whether there be not Inconfinities in these Accounts of the *Indians*? It is suggested that, as no *European* ever was in that Country, so the Belief of such an *Archipelago* of Islands cannot be established on any rational Foundation; and that there is a visible Absurdity in the *Indians* being seventy Days in passing from a Country, the Smoak of which was seen from the Mountains of *Mindano*. This Humour of Reasoning away Facts, is so strong at present, that though I have already taken up more Room than I intended, yet I cannot forbear a lifting another Relation, with respect to these Islands, of a much later Date, viz. in the Year 1710, because I think it will put this Matter out of Dispute, and because, hitherto, it has never appeared in our Language.

The Vessel in which we embarked, in order to prosecute the Discovery of the Islands of *Palaoos*, was called the *Holy Trinity*, and her Crew consisted of eighty-six Persons: She was commanded by Serjeant-Major Don *Francis Padilla*, who carried with him the Reverend Fathers *Daberon* and *Cortiz*, Jesuits, accompanied by Brother *Stephen Baulin*, who were made Choice of to propagate the Faith among these Islanders. It was on the Fourteenth of *November*, in the Year 1710, that I sailed from the *Philippine* Islands, in order to find the Islands of *Palaoos*, supposing my Departure to be from the Lat. of 13° 9', and from the Long. of 144° 22', I navigated fifteen Days, as I have marked in my Chart; and, on the Thirtieth of *November*, we discovered Land to the North-East 3° towards the North, having observed 4 or 5° Variation to the East in this Course, the Land lying from us about three Leagues.

We made Sail again in order to approach nearer, when it appeared, that there were two Islands, which Father *Daberon* thought fit to call the Islands of *St. Andrew*, because, on the Day that we discovered them, the Church celebrated the Feast of that great Apostle. When we were very near these Islands, we perceived a descending to us, in which were some of the Inhabitants, who stood out, when they were within Hearing, *Muga Muga*, which is as much as to say, Good People: A *Palaoos*, who had been baptized at *Mandila*, and whom we carried with us, shewed himself to us, and spake to them: As soon as they came on Board, they informed us, that these Islands were called *Sonforal*, and that they were Part of the *Archipelago* we sought for. They expressed a great deal of Satisfaction and Joy at the Sight of us, which they testified by kissing our Hands, and embracing us.

Their People are extremely well shaped, and of a very robust Constitution; they were naked, except that at the Middle they wore a Piece of Mat. Their Hair was curled; they had very little Beard, and, to defend themselves from the Rain, they wore upon their Shoulders a kind of Mantle, made of a thick sort of Mat, and, on their Heads, Hats of the same sort of Stuff, round which they stuck Birds Feathers upright. They were extremely surprized to see our People smoke Tobacco: and, of all things, seemed most to esteem Iron; and whenever they saw it, they gazed on it in such a manner, as visibly betrayed how much they coveted it: And in case we did not understand their dumb Signs, they made no Difficulty of earnestly and frequently demanding it. In the Afternoon there came off two other Boats, in each of which there were eight Men, as soon as they came near us, they began to sing, beating Time with their Hands upon their Thighs. When they were on Board, some of them began to measure the Length of the Sloop, taking it for granted, that it was made of a single Tree, while others counted the Number of Men. They brought us some Leaves, some Fish, and some Herbs.

These Islands were all covered with Trees to the Sea-Shore. Their Boats appeared to us very neatly made, in which they made use of Snake-Sails, having a Lees-Board on the other Side the Boat, in order to prevent it from going over. We desired them to shew us what was the Course to the largest of their Islands, or *Fanque*, and

they pointed to the N. N. E. They added, that to the S. S. W. and to the S. S. E. there lay two other Islands, one of which was called *Merieres*, and the other *Paulo*. When we were very near the Land, I sent my under Pilot to sound, that I might bring the Ship to an Anchor. The Shallop being arrived within a quarter of a League of the Island, there came off three Boats full of People, and some of them going on Board our Shallop, one of the *Indians* took notice there of a Sabre, which, after he had, for some time, considered attentively, he jumped into the Sea, and took it with him. My under Pilot reported, at his Return, that there was no fit Ground for Anchorage, inasmuch as there was a great Depth of Water, and a rocky Bottom all along the Shore. I afterwards sent another Man on the same Errand, who quickly returned with the same Answer.

All this Time I had made a shift, by keeping under Sail, to stem the Current which ran very strongly to the South-East, but the Wind falling in the Evening, we began to drive at large; the *Indians* then got into their Boats to go ashore. Our Missionaries laboured all they could to keep them on board, but could not prevail upon them by any Means. They talked with them, however, some Time, on the first Principles of our Religion, and taught them to pronounce plainly the holy Names *Jesus* and *Maria*. We asked them several Questions as to the Bigness of the Island, and the Number of its Inhabitants. They answered, that the Island was about two Leagues and a half in Circumference, and that very probably there might be eight hundred People, who lived chiefly on Coconut, Fish and Sails. I observed the Height of the Sun at Noon, and found, that we were in the Latitude of five Degrees fifteen Minutes North, the Variation of the Compass at Sunrise being about 5° to the N. E.

The Currents carrying us away to the South-East with great Violence, we were not able to recover the Land till the fourth, about Six in the Morning. We then found ourselves at the Mouth of the Channel, betwixt the two Islands. I then sent the Shallop once more to look for an Anchorage; it was to no Purpose, for about 4 in the Afternoon they returned with an Account, that the Coast was an entire Rock, and that it was to no Purpose to let go an Anchor. On the 5th, about 7 in the Morning, the two Fathers came to a Resolution of going ashore, and setting up a Cross. Don *Padilla*, and myself, represented to them the Dangers to which they would be exposed, and how much they had to fear from these Islanders, with whose Temper we were so little acquainted, and how much they might be embarrassed, in case the Currents carried us to such a Distance as might put it out of our Power to send a Boat to bring them off, or to afford them any Assistance. Their Zeal was so warm, that they made little Account of these Difficulties, but persisted firmly in their Resolution, in spite of all we could say. At last, therefore, leaving Brother *Banan* on Board the Sloop, they went into the Shallop, taking with them the Quarter-Master of the Vessel, and the English of the Land Forces we had on Board: They likewise carried with them the *Palaoos* I have before mentioned, together with his Wife and Children.

The two Missionaries being gone, we kept near the Island all Day, by the Favour of the Wind, notwithstanding the Force of the Current; but towards the Evening, the Wind sunk, and we were driven out to Sea. We put out Lights from the Time it was dark, on the Bolt-sprit, and also on the Mizzen-mast, that they might see where we were. During the Night, we had some Gulls of Wind from the North-East, the North-West, the West and South-East, so that in the Morning at Break of Day, we found the largest of the two Islands bore from us, N. N. W. distant about 8 Leagues. We endeavoured from that Time to the 10th at Noon, to get as near the Land as we could, but without Effect; my, the Current drove us still farther and farther, so that I found myself in the Latitude of 5° 28' N.

We

“ We then held a Council of War, in order to consider what Course we should take. Don *Padilla*, the Lay-Jesuit, my Sub Pilot, and myself, were of Opinion, that the wisest thing we could do was to steer for the Island of *Panloque*, the largest of these Isles, and which was distant from that we had quitted about fifty Leagues. It was about nine o’Clock in the Morning of the 11th, that we discovered that Island; at Noon we were in the Latitude of $7^{\circ} 14'$ North, the Land being about a League off. At Four in the Afternoon came off four Boats, which kept at the Distance of about half a Cable’s Length, and were soon after followed by two other Boats; at last some of the People jumped over-board into the Sea, and swam on Board of us, with Intent, as it appeared, to steal any thing they could lay their Hands on. One of them laid hold of an Iron Chain, and pulled at it, in hopes of breaking it: another caught hold of a Hammock that was hung out to dry, and a third was endeavouring to get in at a Port-hole. Don *Padilla* considering the Behaviour of these People, thought proper to put the Soldiers under Arms, there being at least four-score Men in these six Boats, and at the same time made a Sign to the Islanders to keep at a Distance.

“ Upon this they began to row towards the Shore; but at their going off, let fly a Shower of Arrows, four of which fell on Board our Ship. Don *Padilla* then thought fit to order a general Discharge of our Fire-Arms; upon which the *Indians* jumped over-board, leaving their Vessels, and swimming towards the Shore at a prodigious Rate. but when they found that we gave over firing, they returned to their Boats, reembarked, and made for the Land as fast as they were able. These *Indians* were all of them naked, and some had painted their Bodies of different Colours. Their Skin is generally of an Olive Colour; but some were darker skinned than others; they had nothing with them that we saw, but a few Coconas. On the 12th we had little or no Wind, so that it was as much as we could do to continue in our Station, which we did all that Day without approaching near the Land. About four in the Afternoon there came off two Boats, who made Signs, and spoke to us; but as we had no Interpreter, we were not able to learn what they said. About Nine at Night the Wind blew South-South-East, and the Currents setting strongly to the North, carried us away at a great Rate. I then thought the most prudent thing I could do was to sail between two of these Islands, the Chanel being very open and fair, and about a League over. On the 13th, being to the West of these two Islands, we held a Council, in order to consider what Measures we were to take, and it was very soon resolved to bear away for *Sonferal*, in order to learn some News of our Millionaries, and of our Shallop. On the 14th, I found myself abreast of that Island. We lay there the whole Day without so much as seeing a Boat, though we were within Cannon-shot of the Shore. We coasted round the West Side of the Island till the 20th, when a high Gull of Wind from the South-East drove us out to Sea.

“ On the 21st we again drew near the Coast, and by Two in the Afternoon were within three Quarters of a League of the Shore, without perceiving any Boat. In the Evening we were driven to Sea again by an East-North-East Wind, upon which we held another Council, in which, after mature Deliberation on the Circumstances we were in, without a Shallop, in some want of Water, without knowing where to get any, it was resolved to return to *Mantla*, which we did with some Difficulty, being forced to make the Tour of *Mindanao*, carrying nothing back but the melancholy News of the Loss of the two worthy Fathers we carried out.”

It appears clearly from this Relation, that it was penned by the Captain of the Vessel, though he has not thought fit to inform us of his Name. Better Evidence than this of there being such an Archipelago cannot be desired, tho’ at the same time it must be confessed, that this Account gives us a very different Notion of those People from that suggested by the former Narratives. In 1711 another Attempt was made of this kind, which ended as unluckily, some of the Jesuits intended for the Mission dying at Sea, and

others perishing in these Islands, as very probably these and that are mentioned in the foregoing Voyages.

25. It has been generally believed, that these Islands of *Palaos* are near the *Philippines*, and the same with those which were discovered by a Spanish Captain in the Year 1681, and who in Honour of *Charles* the Second of Spain, called them the *Caroline* Islands; but I think these lay more to the South. On the 19th, and on the 21st of *June* 1722, there arrived in the Island of *Guam* the largest of the Archipelago called the *Marianne* Islands, two Boats full of *Indians*, who said they embarked from an Island called *Savaflop*, in order to go to another at a small Distance from it called *Uly*, and were driven thither by a Storm. A Vessel was fitted out to carry them home, and from the Accounts given by those who were on Board that Vessel, it very clearly appeared, that the last named Island was one of those called the *Caroline* Islands, lying in the Latitude of 6° North. It is fact, that these Islands belong to a large Archipelago divided like the *Mildoves* into five Provinces, and inhabited by various Nations of very different Colors: Some Negroes, supposed to be of the same Race with the Inhabitants of *New Guinea*, others tawny, like the *Islanders* in the *Philippines*, and a third sort perfectly white, supposed to be the Descendants of certain Spaniards who in the Year 1566 were set on Shore by their Commanders for Mutiny, in a Voyage from *New Spain* to the *Papixes*.

While these People were on Shore at *Guam*, they found some Silver Plate, and after considering attentively, declared that they had a great deal of that Metal in other Islands, which gave Occasion for the fitting out some Ships from *Guam*, for the Discovery of those Isles, in the Year 1722; but what the Fate of that Expedition was, is not come to our Knowledge. It is certain, that a very great Discovery might be made on this Side, because, though what is already known, it is very clear, that there is a continued Chain of Islands in the Longitude of 150° East from the Line, or rather from the Continent of *Neu-Heu*, which lies in the Latitude of 8° S. to the Islands, which make a Part of the Archipelago of *Japan*, in the Latitude of 32° N. and as it is certain, that the Inhabitants of the last mentioned Archipelago acknowledge they received great Quantities of Silver from an Island which lies to the East of them, it is not at all improbable, that many rich Metals might be found in some of the many Islands which form the Chain before mentioned.

But this, however, is not the Discovery that I mean, and therefore I shall explain myself a little farther. If a Settlement was made on any of these Islands, in a very small Island to the East of them, it might afford an Opportunity of visiting the great Continent, if in that Archipelago any Continent between *America* and *Asia*, or if any might lead to the Discovery of some considerable Islands between *America* and *Asia*, which, from their Situation, might well be expected to abound in rich Commodities, but particularly in silver Mines, since it is confessed, that the richest of those hitherto discovered are in the Northern Parts of *Japan* and of *America*. If it should be found, that the rich silver Mines of *Pofofue* in *Japan* were the answer to that, this makes rather for than against my Opinion, because they are very near the same Degree of South Latitude that the rich Mines of *New Guinea* are to the N. that is, a little within forty Degrees. If this is not all, for if any such Islands could be discovered, they would afford us an Opportunity of reaching such a Point of very great Importance, and so we might be treated very judiciously by Mr. *Dobson*, in our return to *Pieces*, which, sooner or later, may very probably produce some such Discovery.

We have now gone through all that we proposed with respect to this Part of our Subject. It is to be regretted, that by the Expeditions of the *Porifue* and *Uly*, we have not seen this Side. It next remains to shew how that proposed Power which those Nations had assumed, and which has crumbled, and broke to pieces, notwithstanding the many Advantages they had for preserving it, and what their aims in these *Indies* under the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*. Which, when we have perused, shall be

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der will have a much more compleat History of the *Portugueze Indies*, and that too in a much narrower Compass than is any where else to be met with. In treating of this Subject, I have, to the utmost of my Power, laboured to draw together such Circumstances as were most likely to contribute to the Reader's Information, and to connect, with the greatest Propriety, the ancient and modern Commerce in this Part of the World; and, at the same time, I have been very careful to omit nothing that might entertain or divert him. As to the particular Memoirs of the *Portugueze* Governors, their Disputes with the *Indian* Princes, and with each other, they would have swelled this Section to an enormous Length to a very little Purpose; and besides, the Reader will meet with enough on this Head in other Places. I shall pursue the same Method in the subsequent Articles, and shall endeavour to point out briefly, and truly the Causes of that strange Revolution which has happened in the *Portugueze* Trade; the rather, because I am convinced the same Causes will produce like Effects, in regard to the Trade of all other Nations.

26. The Care taken by the *Portuguese* to establish themselves firmly in all the principal Ports of the *Indies*, was of great Consequence to them, considering the Circumstances under which they began their Commerce in these Parts; for at that Time the *Indian* Princes were engaged in cruel Wars against each other, and the *Mohammedans* taking Advantage of this War, endeavouring to make themselves Masters of every Country in which they were permitted to trade; so that it must be admitted, the *Portuguese* had, at first, some Reason for making Use of Arms, and insisting on a Fortrefs where ever they established a Fact^y, because the one was necessary for the Security of the other; but in this they were blameable, that they affected to govern with an absolute and uncontrollable Power every Country into which they came, instead of cherishing and supporting the *Indians*, as they might have done, to their own great Profit, as well as that of those unhappy People, who, from their own Difficulties and ill Management, became the Prey of every new Invader.

If the *Portuguese* had taken this Step, they had undoubtedly secured this rich Commerce to themselves; whereas by their Tyranny they made the Inhabitants weary of them to the last Degree, and ready, whenever an Opportunity offered, to change their Masters. It must, however, be allowed, that the Method they pursued served to gratify their Vanity exceedingly, inasmuch as for above a Century they governed the *Indies* at their Will, and were the sole Lords of that rich and extensive Trade, none of the *Indian* Nations being allowed to carry on any Trade at all but by their Permission, and under the Sanction of their Passports. They carried this Matter still farther; for with respect to the richest Commodities, they reserved the Privilege of dealing in them to their own Subjects entirely, such as in the Cinnamon of *Ceylon*, the wild Cinnamon of *Coron*, Ginger, Iron, Steel, Lead, Tin, Copper, Plants, Timber for building, all Sorts of Arms, Honey, and Pepper. These Regulations, both with respect to Passports and reserved Commodities, together with a Power of visiting such Ships as put into any of the Ports under their immediate Dominion, continued in Force for a long Series of Time; and was not totally abolished till the Year 1700, which was One hundred and fourscore Years after their first Establishment in those Parts.

During the best Part of this Time, they disposed, as the supreme Lords of *India*, of all the rich Commodities that afforded, sending home annually fifteen or twenty large Ships laden with the most precious Merchandise of the East, exclusive of the Profits they made of their Commerce in the *Indies* themselves, and the adjacent Coasts of *China*, *Japan*, *Perseus*, *Arabia*, *Melinda*, *Mafambique*, and *Sofala*. *Japan* became, by this Means,

the greatest Port for Trade in *Europe*, to which the Ships of all Nations resorted for the Commodities and Manufactures of these distant Countries, the best Part of which were paid for in Gold and Silver, and, for the rest, the most valuable Products of these Nations were exchanged; so that the whole of this Commerce was in the Hands of the *Portuguese*, who set whatever Price they thought fit upon what they imported, and sold at exorbitant Rates to other *Europeans*, what they had purchased in the *Indies* for coarse Stuffs, Needles, Knives, Glass-Ware, and other Things of very little Value. In consequence of which, they became, by far, the richest trading Nation, and, at the same Time, the most potent maritime Power in this Part of the World; and so for a long Time they might have continued, if from their own Mistakes, and the bad Use they made of their Power and Riches, they had not excited other Nations to a Resolution of taking, at all Events, this rich Commerce out of their Hands; a Point that it will become every Nation to consider, that finds itself in the like Circumstances; for Trade is not to be constrained or monopolized: And though the contrary of this may, for some Time, appear true, yet sooner or later every Nation that acts as the *Portuguese* did, will be sensible of the same Effects which happened to them in the *Indies*.

27. It was towards the latter End of the sixteenth Century that the *English* and *Dutch* began, as we have before shewn, to interfere with the *Portuguese* in these Parts, but they very soon, by the Assistance of the Natives, took from them the most considerable Places they possessed, and some of them they abandoned themselves. It would take up a great deal of Room, and perhaps answer the Purpose but indifferently, if we should attempt to give a large History of the Manner in which these Places were reduced, and therefore we shall rather take them in the Course of their Situation, by which the Reader will clearly perceive how the Empire of this Nation in the East was broken and dissolved.

We have already shewn how the *Portuguese* became Masters of *Ormuz* on the Coast of *Perseus*; which Settlement they greatly improved, though the Island itself is one of the most uncomfortable Places in the World, the Country being without Water, and situated in a Climate where the Heats are in a manner intolerable: Yet in spite of all these Difficulties the *Portuguese* built there a very fine Town, in which the Streets were straight and regular, their Houses very high, finely adorned without, and within richly furnished, their Exchange rich and beautiful, their Churches splendid, and their Castle regular, well fortified, and excellently provided with Artillery. *Shah Abbas*, when Monarch of *Perseus*, had an earnest Desire to rid himself of those ill Neighbours; but he wanted a maritime Force sufficient to accomplish his Design, and therefore he applied himself to the *English*, who had likewise suffered much by the Pride and Avarice of the *Portuguese*, and by their Assistance Part of his Forces were transported into the Island of *Ormuz*, which was attacked both by Land and Sea on the 20th of January 1622. The Defendants behaved with great Bravery, and good Conduct, and made a noble Resistance; but the *English* having destroyed their Fleet, which consisted of five Gallies and twenty-five Frigates, and having also sprung a Mine which opened a fair Passage into the Castle, the Garrison thought fit, about the Middle of April, to surrender; which let all the neighbouring Coasts at Liberty, and destroyed the Power of the *Portuguese* on that Side.

The rich City of *Surat*, formerly a Place of the greatest Trade in the *Indies*, suffered severely from the *Portuguese*, who burnt it down to the Ground on purpose to favour the Commerce of their own City of *Diu*, which stands at the Entry of the Gulph of *Cambaya*, and which they had ordered one of the strongest and finest Places in the East, keeping the Monarch of that Country in the most absolute

28. If we had pursued a third chronological Method in relating the Loss of the Settlements made by this Nation in the *East-Indies*, we must have started from one Part of this Country to another, which would have occasioned great Confusion, without yielding any considerable Advantage: whereas the Method we have now taken by proceeding from West to East, will show the Reader, as he goes along, how these Settlements were lost in the very same Order in which we have before shewn they were acquired.

Subjection. But notwithstanding their Policy in this respect, and that they still remained Masters of *Diu*, yet the *Indian* Princes in the Neighbourhood trade freely with all *Europeans*, and *Surat*, which they took so much Pains to destroy in 1520, is now in as flourishing a Condition as ever, and the *Portuguese* are almost the only Nation that are not benefited by its Traffick. On this Coast they were possessed of several strong Places, and is a Place of pretty good Trade. *Bagaim* is lately fallen into the Hands of the *Indians*. *Bombay* they yielded to the *English* on the Marriage of *Queen Catherine* with *King Charles II.* and has continued in our Hands ever since. From *Goa* to *Cape Comorin* they had also very considerable Settlements, of most of which they have been dispossessed by the *Dutch*, who in the Year 1663 becoming Masters of *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, and *Caulan*, soon after deprived them of *Cannor*, which was the first Place they had settled at; and thus we see the State of their Power greatly reduced on the Coast of *Malabar*. Doubling this famous Cape, and proceeding along the Coast of *Coromandel*, we meet first with the Port and Forts of *Nagapatan*, which, when the *Portuguese* came first into the *Indies*, was no more than a Village; but they considering the Importance of the Place, fortified it with great Care, and rendered it in every respect very considerable; but after the *Dutch* had deprived them of the Island of *Ceylon*, they did not long let them rest here, but by the Assistance of an *Indian* Prince, besieged and became Masters of that Place in 1655.

From thence all along the Coast, quite up to *Bengal*, the *Portuguese* have lost all Power; and as for Settlements they had none of any great Consequence to lose, having in the Time of their greatest Power contented themselves with a small Establishment at *Meliapour*, or *St. Thomas*, restraining all the rest of the Coast by their Squadrons, which were continually cruising in the Bay of *Bengal*. On the opposite Side of the Gulph the *Portuguese* had once very great Power in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, in consequence of their assisting the Monarch of that Country against the King of *Siam*, who had invaded his Territories, and would very probably have made him his Tributary, if a Body of *Portuguese* had not come to his Assistance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himself effectually against his Enemy, but even to pursue him into his own Country.

It is very easy to discern what mighty Advantages might have accrued to the *Portuguese* from this favourable Turn, if they had known how to improve it; but we learn from a late Author, that what might have turned so much to their Benefit, proved, by their own ill Management, the Cause of their Ruin, and that in a very short Space of Time. The King of *Pegu*, it seems, was so sensible of the Service they had done him, in driving the King of *Siam* out of his Country, that in pure Gratitude, he made one *Señor Thomas Pereira*, who commanded the *Portuguese* in the War, Generalissimo of all his Forces, which Preterment made the *Portuguese* so insolent, that in a few Years they became intolerable to all Ranks and Degrees of Persons in *Pegu*. Both Kings grew tired of War, but both were too proud to make Advances towards Peace, so that for many Years they had Skirmishes with small Parties, though not set Battles; and where ever the *Portuguese* Arms went, they had Victory to accompany them. The King of *Pegu*, to have his Forces nearer the Borders of *Siam*, settled his Court at *Martaban*, and kept the *Portuguese* near him, to be ready upon all Occasions, either to repel or assault the *Siam* Forces, as Opportunity served; and *Thomas Pereira* was the great Favourite at Court: He had his Elephants of State, and a Guard of his own Countrymen to attend him.

¹ This City of *Diu* stands in the Latitude of 21° 20', and is by many supposed to be the *Barygaza* of the Ancients. It is about a League in Length, and not a third Part of a League in Breadth. The Country about it abounds with Salt, and the City itself is as well built, and as well fortified, as any in the *Indies*. It is very famous for the Siege it sustained, which is before given some Account. At present it is in a worse Condition than formerly, both with regard to Wealth and Strength. In some measure, it is in less Danger of being attacked.

² It is very remarkable, that the *Portuguese* are best respected in those Countries where they had no Fortresses, which themselves, as well without them. There are a great Number of *Portuguese*, or rather Descendants of *Portuguese*, settled in those Countries, but poor, and are treated with great Indignity, both by the Natives and by other *Europeans*, which can be attributed to their having lived so long in the *Indies*, as to have lost all Spirit, and to become as degenerate as the *Siam* themselves. who are as yet a People as a yonder Sea.

One Day, as he was coming from Court in State, on a large Elephant, towards his own Palace, he happened to hear Musick in a Burgher's House, whose Daughter being a very beautiful Virgin, had been married that Morning to a young Man of that Neighbourhood. The General went to the House, wished them Joy, and desired to see the Bride. The Parents took the General's Visit for a great Honour done them, and brought their Daughter to his Elephant's Side. He being furnished with his Beasts, ordered his Guard to seize her, and carry her to his House. His Orders were but too readily obeyed, and the poor Bridegroom, not able to bear his Loss, cut his own Throat; and the disconsolate Parents rent their Clothes, and went crying through the Streets towards the King's Palace, imploring their Countrymen to avenge the insolent *Portuguese*, the common Oppressor of their Country. Crowds of People came from all Parts of the City to hear and see the Tragedy; their Numbers grew so great that the Streets were hardly large enough for them, and their Noise so loud that it reached the King's Ears, who sent to know the Cause of their Uproar. The Messenger returning, acquainted the King with what had been transacted, and he, to appease the Tumult, sent them Word, that he would punish the Criminal, and accordingly sent for his General: But he made an Excuse, that he was so much out of Order that he could not wait on his Majesty till he was better; which Answer provoked the King, that he ordered the whole Nation to take up Arms, and to make a general Massacre of the *Portuguese*, wherever they should be found, in City or Country. The King's Orders were put in Execution so speedily, that in a few Hours all the *Portuguese* were slaughtered, and the guilty Criminal was taken alive, and miserably tortured. Heels to an Elephant's Feet, which dragged him through the Streets till there was no Skin nor Flesh left to cover his Bones; which Spectacle appeared the strange Place. There were only three *Portuguese* left, who were accidentally in the Suburbs, near the River, who hid themselves till Night favoured their Escape in a small Boat, in which they coasted along the Shore, till a what the Woods and Rocks afforded them, and then arrived at *Malacca*, to give an Account of this amazing Transaction.

The Kingdom, or as some called it, the Empire of *Siam*, lies next to *Pegu*, and is a Country of vast Extent, the Monarch of which was too powerful for the *Portuguese* to think of making any great Comprehensions in its Frontiers, and therefore they chose to live with him upon good Terms, for the sake of the vast Trade carried on in his Dominions, which are extremely well situated for Commerce, having on one Side the Kingdoms of *Lan*, *Cochin*, and *Cochin China*, and on the other, the Countries bordering on the Gulph of *Bengal*. Besides, there usually resorted thither a Fleet of Merchant Ships from *China*, laden with all the rich Goods of that Empire. They continued to hold a fair Correspondence with the Monarch and his Subjects as long as their Power subsisted in the *Indies*; but by Degrees the *Dutch* have in a great Measure excluded them from their Influence here, since 1613 when they erected their Factory here, and have since wrought themselves so effectually into the Confidence of this Prince, that he has granted them an exclusive Privilege of purchasing all the Tin in his Dominions, which is a Branch of Commerce of prodigious Importance; yet the *Portuguese* are not wholly ejected, though their Trade is much fallen from what it was. There are several small Principalities on the Isthmus, that were formerly under the Power of the *Portuguese*.

their retaining still a Mixture of that Language with their own. The chief of these Principalities are those of *Ligor* on one Side, and *Qyadab* on the other; but the People are so barbarous and perfidious, that the *Europeans* carry on scarce any Trade on their Coasts.

The great Peninsula of *Malacca*, at the Time the *Portugueze* came thither, was subject to the King of *Jobora*, and by what Means the *Viceroys* of the Crown of *Portugal* were led to attack, and make themselves Masters of that City, we have already shewn. After it came into their Hands, it changed its Condition entirely, and from being a Place of small Account, in a short Time became famous all over *India* and *Europe*, lying almost in the Centre of Trade, brought thither by Shipping from the rich Kingdoms of *Japan*, *China*, *Formosa*, *Luconia*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, *Cambodia*, and *Siam*, besides what *Jobora* produced, and *Sunatra*, *Java*, *Borneo*, *Macassar*, *Banda*, *Amboina*, and *Ternate* Islands, that abound in valuable Commodities. After *Goa* and *Ormuz* this was by very far the richest City in the *Indies*, and a great Market for all the different Commodities that these Countries produced. It was the Seat of a Bishop, and the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* was extremely fine. They had besides five other Parish-Churches, and a noble College for the *Jesuits*, together with a Seminary, in which all new Converts to the Faith were instructed. The Whole was encompassed with a strong stone Wall, regularly fortified with Bastions, the Place extremely well peopled, and the Garrison numerous, and well supplied, because the *Portugueze* considered it as the Eastern Frontier of their Dominions.

In 1605, the *Dutch*, who were then become very potent in the *Indies*, attacked and destroyed the Fleet of the *Portugueze* here, consisting of thirty-four Sail, on board of which were three thousand Men; but they were not able to take the Place. The next Year the King of *Jobora* invested it with an Army of sixty thousand Men, in Revenge of what the *Portugueze* had done against him three Years before, when they took and destroyed his Capital; but, however, he was obliged to raise the Siege with great Loss. But the *Dutch*, well knowing the Importance of the Place, and the vast Advantages accruing to the *Portugueze* from its Situation and Commerce, the former affording them an Opportunity of levying 10 per Cent. upon all Vessels passing through the Streets, and the latter producing annually a large Revenue, they attacked it in the Year 1640 so vigorously, that they became Masters of it after a Siege of six Months. The Walls and Fortifications they preserved, as also the Church of *St. Paul*, but most of the other Churches they have destroyed, and the great Hospital they have turned into a Warehouse. The Language spoken here is esteemed the most copious and polite in the *Indies*, and therefore serves as a kind of general Tongue through all the Islands and Provinces farther towards the East. In the Kingdom of *Cambodia*, or *Cambaya*, the *Portugueze* have still a considerable Trade, and they are likewise well received in *Tonquin*. As to their Settlements in the several Islands of the *East-Indies*, in *China*, and in the Empire of *Japan*, we have spoke of them sufficiently already under the Head of Discoveries, and there is therefore no need of our insiting farther upon them here, as our View, at present, is no more than to shew how their principal Settlements were lost, and to whom, which having done, it may not be amiss to say somewhat of the Wars carried on against them in these Parts by the *Dutch*, and the Pretences they made use of for carrying them on.

28. The Troubles in the Low Countries, which produced a War between the Crown of *Spain* and the Republick of the United Provinces, began about 1570, and

England interposing in Favour of the States, their Power increased to such a Degree, that they were not only able to defend themselves against *Spain* by Land, but to give that potent Monarchy inexpressible Trouble by Sea. But this War seems to have no Relation to *Portugal*, and we do not hear of their attacking any but the *Portugueze* Settlements in the *East-Indies*. In order to resolve this Difficulty we must remember, that the Crown of *Portugal* was united to that of *Spain* in 1579, by which Means Philip II. became Master of both the *Indies*, and consequently the States of the United Provinces were as much at War with the *Portugueze*, who were Subjects to the King of *Spain*, as with any of the rest of his Subjects; and consequently this gave them a Right to attack the *Portugueze* Settlements both in the *East* and *West-Indies*; which they prosecuted with such Vigour, that they bid fair for becoming Masters of all that the *Portugueze* had possessed in either *Indies*.

We have seen what mighty Acquisitions they made in the East; but it is necessary to our Subject to observe likewise, that their *West-India* Company became in that Space of Time so powerful, as to make almost an intire Conquest of *Brazil*. It is very evident from hence, that nothing but the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* could have afforded the *Dutch* either a Pretence for attacking, or an Opportunity of reducing these Countries, both of which in a singular Degree they from this Accident obtained. For as on the one hand, his Catholic Majesty had enough to do in defending his hereditary Dominions before this Accession of the Territories of *Portugal*, so he was tempted to apply the Revenues of that Crown to the immediate Wants of the *Spanish* Government, which we may conclude were very great, since on his Death-bed he owned, that the Wars of the Low-Countries had cost him five hundred and sixty-four Millions of Ducats, which is upwards of one hundred and twelve Millions of our Money; whence it is easy to perceive, that he could not spare as much as was requisite for the Defence of the *Portugueze* Territories. On the other hand, the *Portugueze* themselves, though they had been always distinguished for their Loyalty to their natural Princes, were far enough from shewing so much Zeal in the Service of the King of *Spain*; and it is very natural, when the Minds of private Men are entirely despoiled of publick Spirit, for the Affairs of the State to fall into Confusion.

But one would have imagined, that after the Separation of *Portugal* from *Spain*, which happened in the Year 1640, Things would have taken another Turn; because, with King *John IV.* the *Dutch* had no Pretence of making War. To give the Reader a clear Idea of this Matter we must remember, that the *Dutch* had taken *Brazil* from the King of *Spain*, or rather from the *Portugueze*, while they were his Subjects; but afterwards that Nation considering this as an Injury not to be borne, attempted to drive the *Dutch* out, notwithstanding the Treaty concluded between the States and the King of *Portugal* in 1641, which, to lay the Truth, had been but indifferently observed on both Sides; that is to say, the *Dutch* had encroached upon the *Portugueze* in the *East-Indies*, and they, on the other hand, gave the *Dutch* little or no Respite in *Brazil*, out of which, in ten Years Time, they drove them entirely.

About this Time died King *John IV.* and left his Son *Alphonso VI.* a Minor, which Advantage the *Dutch* took to declare War against the Crown of *Portugal*, from a Persuasion that this Opportunity of regaining what they had lost in the West, and prosecuted their Conquests in the *East-Indies*, was not to be lost, the rather, because *Portugal* was at that Time engaged in a dangerous War with *Spain*, and the *Dutch* had lately concluded a Peace with that Crown. It was in consequence of this new War that

* At the Time the *Portugueze* delivered themselves from the *Spanish* Yoke, the *Dutch* were employed, as we have already shewn, in reducing the Island of *Ceylon*, and made use of Abundance of Artifices, in order to prosecute the Advantages they had gained, notwithstanding the Peace concluded between the States General and the Crown of *Portugal* in *Europe*; neither did they desert from their Hostilities, even after the Peace was proclaimed in the *Indies*, but continued to give the *Portugueze* almost as much Trouble as while the War continued. Thus they did, under Pretence of being Allies, or Auxiliaries to such *Indian* Princes as were at War with the *Portugueze*; and where this Pretence was wanting, they took Care by their Familiarities to stir up new Wars, and under Pretence of restoring the *Indians* to their Freedom, contrived Things to as to engage them in long and bloody Wars, which had no other End than to oblige them to change their Masters, with this Difference only, that whereas the *Portugueze* endeavoured to keep large Countries, and to oblige the *Indian* Princes to pay Homage to the King of *Portugal*, the *Dutch* contented themselves with the Sea-Coasts, and forbidding those Princes to trade with any other Nation; so that their Slavery was equally great, though not always equally apparent, which ever Side prevailed.

the Dutch attacked the Portuguese again in the East-Indies, and even endeavoured to deprive them of Goa; but in this they did not succeed: And, on the other hand, the Portuguese found Means to traverse all the Attempts that the Dutch made to establish a Trade in China, as also to raise such a Storm as deprived them of the Island of Formosa, which they had conquered, and which was of prodigious Consequence to them.

But, in the mean time, the great Fleets they sent to the East-Indies enabled them not only to extend their Conquests, but in the Year 1661 to defeat the whole naval Power of the Portuguese in two general Engagements. But while the Publick suffered excessively from the Consequences of this fatal War, some private Merchants in Lisbon and in the East-Indies fitted out so many Privateers, and of such Strength, that the Dutch suffered excessively in their Trade, and therefore both Nations began to be weary of the War, and inclined to a Negotiation. The Crown of Great-Britain interposed its Mediation, in consequence of the Marriage between King Charles II. and the Infanta of Portugal, by which Peace was brought about in the Year 1661, and thereby the Portuguese were left in Possession of Brazil, and the Dutch accepted a Sum of Money as a Satisfaction for their Pretensions.

In the East-Indies Things were to remain as they then stood, and both Parties were to keep what, at the Conclusion of this Peace, should be in their respective Possessions; but the Dutch kept this no better than they did the former Treaty; but, on the contrary, in 1663, attacked all the Places which the Portuguese held on the Coast of Malabar, particularly Cochin, which they had no sooner taken, than they destroyed all the Wild or Bastard Cinnamon, which, after the Loss of Ceylon, had proved an advantageous Branch of Commerce to the Portuguese. There were high Complaints made of this in Europe to the States-General, who were either deceived by the plausible Accounts given them by their East-India Company, or pretended to be deceived, that they might, with a better Grace, protract the Negotiation relating to this Affair, till their Subjects in the East-Indies had so fortified the Places they had taken, as to put it intirely out of the Power of the Portuguese to attempt the Recovery of them.

These Proceedings gave the finishing Blow to the Ruin of the Portuguese, who have never since been able to undertake any thing of Consequence; but, on the contrary, have exhausted much of their remaining Strength in defending themselves against their Indian Neighbours, who encouraged by the Progress of the Dutch, and excited thereto by some of their Agents, have been since endeavouring to tear from them the small Remains of their Possessions in India, and have often kept Goa itself blocked up for many Months together; in which, perhaps, they have as much mistaken their own Interest as prejudiced that of this Nation, the Power of which has already so much broken, as not to afford any just Ground of Jealousy either to Indians or Europeans.

29. We have already, in the Course of this History, pointed out many of the Causes of the Declension of that mighty Power which, in so short a Space of Time, the Crown of Portugal acquired in the East; but as this is perhaps the most useful Part of the present Section, it may not be amiss to add a few farther Observations on this Subject, the rather, because the Portuguese Authors, who have treated so largely of the Conquests made by their Nation, have been, in a great measure, silent on the Means by which they were lost. One great Cause of their Ruin was the Circumstances of their Government at home, where, for many Years together, they were engaged in a long, expensive, and dangerous War against the Crown of Spain,

in Defence of their Independency, which at once employed their whole Force, and exhausted their whole Revenue. It is true indeed, that this was rather the Misfortune than the Fault of the Portuguese, since it was what they could not avoid; but it was, nevertheless, the great Cause of their Losses in the Indies.

We may add to this their sending over Men of too great Quality, as Viceroy's to Goa, with a View rather to better their Fortunes than the publick Service; which is the Reason that, of late Years, we hear nothing more of the Gamas, the Albuquerque's, the Pereyros, or the Gonsalves, but are forced to search for the Names of their Viceroy's in the private Registers of the Palace, instead of the publick Records of History: Besides, as these Men have been, generally speaking, too poor to mind any thing in much as mending their own Estates, so they have been too well allied to be called to any Account on their Return for their Mal-administration in the Indies. Whence their Affairs began first to decline in this Part of the World, it was a common Thing for the Viceroy to bestow not only the Government of Mozambique, which was elected next in Consequence after the Viceroyship, but all the latter Governments in his Power, on whom he pleased. Nay, it has been common for such Viceroy's to make, in the Space of three Years, Five hundred thousand Crowns, from whence we may form some Notion of the Profits of the Viceroy. Now as it is impossible such exorbitant Sums should be made any other Way than by oppressing the Indians, and taking large Sums from the Merchants, we may easily perceive, that all these private Fortunes were made at the Expence of the publick Interest.

The bad Examples of the Governour's had a very bad Effect on all the subordinate Officers; so that Pride, Vanity, Luxury, and a pompous Display of Wealth, attained by illicit Means, took place of that generous Valour, that laudable Ambition, that disinterested publick Spirit, which enabled their Antecessors to lay the Foundation of so large an Empire, with a very inconsideable Part of that Power which was in the Possession of those who sold it. The Clergy too followed the Example of the Laity, and instead of promoting, as at the Beginning, the Conversion of the Natives to the Christian Faith, from the generous View of saving their Souls, they now protracted that Work from the meaner Motive of making themselves servient to their own Purposes, and enabling them to acquire vast Riches. This Corruption proceeded double Degrees, that not only many of the Jesuits at Goa engaged in Trade, contrary to the Rules of their Order, and their Duty as Missionaries, but even defended to now as to disguise themselves in the Habits of Faquirs, or Madamadon Monks, that they might have an Opportunity of visiting the Diamond Mines, and purchasing Stones of an extraordinary Value.

But what most of all contributed to corrupt the Inhabitants of the Portuguese Settlements, was the little Care taken to prevent their leaving all Things to the Care of their Negroes and other Slaves, and their inter-marrying with the People of the Country, Practices which have been and ever will be fatal to all European Establishments, because it not only softens and effeminates the Minds of such as follow this Way of living, but also changes their Views, and makes them lose all Regard for their Country, and induces them to take such Measures as are most likely to preserve them in the Enjoyment of such servile Pleasures. The Portuguese at Goa have been for more than a Century past so much addicted to this gross and sensual kind of Life, and provided they might enjoy their fine Houses in the City, and their Country Palaces in its Neighbourhood, they gave themselves no Pain about what happened elsewhere.

* The Dutch, though their East-India Company gained sufficiently by these Practices, suffered very severely, as a State, from the Jealousies excited in their Neighbours. The English had some Experience of a like Disposition towards them; and thought the French had a just Cause of Complaint in the Indies, yet they were far enough from being pleased with the growth of the Dutch naval Power, and were ready joined in a War to humble them, as they phrased it, which was that of 1672; and how far the Cause of that War was concerned in the Conduct of the Dutch in the Indies, may appear from a Fact charged upon them by Mr. Tavernier, who in his Travels relates, that the Dutch Factory at Gambrin in Persia publicly burnt the Picture of King Charles II. in a Fire, partly made of Cinnamon, when it was considered as that Prince never forgot, and which gave a very bad Impression of the Dutch to the Persians, who laboured all their Lives to hinder it. We owe this Circumstance to the History of Holland, by M. De La Newville, who tells us, that the Dutch being extremely poor, and in Trouble the Jesuits gave them in China, discovered this Practice to the Governour of the Esmond Mines at Siam, who caught them, and ordered the Faquirs, with Stones about them to the Value of twenty five thousand Pounds, which he took from them, and then sold them publicly for profaning the Habit of those holy Men, took such Measures as prevented their carrying on that Trade.

of how great Progress the *Dutch* made in subduing their distant Settlements. The natural Consequence of this was, that when such Settlements were lost, those who were driven from their Habitations, instead of repairing to *Goa*, and taking Arms in the King's Service for the Recovery of any Part of his Dominions, went into the Territories of some *Indian* Prince, and there, for a pitiful Subsistence, entered into his Pay, or accepted of some low Office in his Courts; so that while the Fleets and Armies of *Portugal* grew thin and contemptible, for want of Soldiers and Seamen, there were many thousands of that Nation scattered all over the *Indies*, disgracing their Country by the manner in which they got their Bread, when by a proper Behaviour they might have restored the Affairs of their Prince, as well as their own Fortunes.

One may safely affirm, that all these Mischiefs were at the Bottom owing to the Want of a right Administration in *Portugal*, where, if a Council for the *Indies* had been settled, composed of Men of real Abilities and competent Experience, who had been entrusted with the sole Power of bestowing Places in that Country, and had been charged to look carefully into the Conduct of such as were employed by them, might, before things had gone too far, have restored Discipline in their Colonies, and recalled such as from Diligence or Diligence in their former Governments had taken Refuge in other Places. But their Attention to other things, and more especially to their Settlements in *Brazil*, which have, indeed, accidentally compensated in some measure their Losses on this Side, hindered them from thinking of their Affairs in the East, till they became past all Hopes, as well as past Recovery. In this distressed and dejected State they lie at present, which, however, must not excite us from giving the Reader a View of them even in this Condition, because the *Portugueze* are still considered as having some Interest in the *Indies*, though it be in a manner nothing in Comparison of what it was, and is daily growing from bad to worse, so that they really owe what little they still enjoy to the Want of any Inclination, at least in *European* Nations, to take it from them, which they might otherwise do almost at Pleasure.

The Dominions subject to the *Portugueze* Viceroy of the *Indies* are very easily described. The City of *Goa*, of which we have spoken before, is still the Capital, the Seat of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and the Inquisition, which are heavy Burthens on so exhausted an Establishment. In the Neighbourhood of this City, they preserve the Islands of *Safette*, *Bardes*, *Aguedice*, and some others of no great Consequence, farther than that they supply the City of *Goa* plentifully with Provisions, which is hard to say, whether it be an Advantage to that Place or not; and because this may seem a kind of Paradox, I will explain it. As Rice comes in great Quantities, and very cheap, to *Goa*, it encourages the Citizens to keep a vast Number of Servants, especially Negroes, who are content with one Dish of this Food at Noon, and another at Night. If these were kept for any kind of Labour or Manufactures, there would be no great Objection to it; but almost every House-keeper has six, most of them twelve, some thirty or forty, that have no other Business than carrying their Master's Palankin and Umbrella; so that in Reality they are not kept so much for Service as for State; and thus they rather exhaust than increase the Riches of the Inhabitants.

Diu, which formerly belonged to the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, is the strongest Place they have, and is indeed very well situated for Commerce. It has a very good Port, and while the *Portugueze* had any Fleets of Consequence, they were generally laid up here, and at this City the *Moors* and other Traders in these Seas were obliged to take out their Passports before they proceeded any farther to the East. At present all the Trade, or at least almost all the Trade which was carried on here, is removed to *Surat*, and what little still remains at *Diu*, is in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, is carried on under *Gentil* Colours, that is to say,

the *Portugueze* think themselves safer under them than under the Flag of *Portugal*, formerly so much respected in the *Indies*. The Port of *Daman*, on the Gulph of *Cambaya*, is yet in tolerable good Condition, though nothing in Comparison of what it was, the old Town being in a manner deserted, and the new not near so well peopled as might be expected from its Extent. There are, however, still some Manufactures carried on here, particularly in Silk, with which they furnish the Market of *Goa*, and thereby enable the Merchants settled there to carry on what small Commerce they have left. *Chaul* stands behind the Mountains on the same Coast, and has a very safe and good Port.

These are all the Places that they have on the *Malabar* Coast, and in other Parts of the *Indies* they have few Factories, and no Establishments at all, except it be in the Islands of *Timor* and *Solor*, not far from the *Moluccas*, which they possess jointly with the *Dutch*, and of which we have already given a large Account in the History of Captain *Dampier's* Expedition to the South. Once in two or three Years they send a Ship from *Goa* to these Islands, the chief Commodities of which are *Sandal* Wood, much esteemed in *China*, very good Wax, and a sort of Medicine called *Solor* Stones, which have very little, if at all, inferior to the best *Bezoar*. On the Coast of *China* they have the Island and Port of *Macao*, from whence they carry on a considerable Trade to *China* and the *Philippines*.

All that remains under the *Portugueze* Dominion from the *Cape of Good Hope* in *Africa* to the City of *Macao* in *China* is governed by a Viceroy, with the Title of *Capitain General*, who resides at *Goa*, as the Metropolis of *India*. There are six, and sometimes eight *Delembargadores* or Judges that attend the Government as a Sovereign Court or Council, who wear a Gown down to their Heels over a Caslock of the same Length, the Gown with wide Sleeves down half way their Arms. They wear Golds, and huge Perukes of the *Trench* Fashion. The chief Court these Gown-men sit in is called a *Relacao*, which administers Justice in civil and criminal Cases, having Power over all Ministers, and tries all Appeals brought from all Parts of their Dominions. The Viceroy sits as Chief of this Court, under a Canopy. The Gown-men sit on Benches placed on the plain Floor. The Council *De facada* is like the Court of *Eschequer*, where one of the Gown-men sits as the Viceroy's Deputy. Thus the Pomp and Splendor of this Government is still kept up, though the Extent of it is much lessened, and the Power and Credit of it in a manner decayed. There are still as many Governments as ever, that is, in Title; for otherwise they are of no great Consequence, and those on whom they are bestowed, have the Characters of Generals. There is, for instance, a General of the Gulph of *Ormuz*, who has four Ships under his Command; a General of the North, who directs the small Towns on the Coast of *Malabar*; a General of *Safette*, who has a Territory of about fifteen Miles; a General of *Chaul*, who is, properly speaking, Governor of *Macao*, and an absolute Vassal to the *Chinese*. There is another General in the Islands of *Timor* and *Solor*, to whom even the *Portugueze* there scarce pay any Obedience, and who lives in a miserable Fort, the Guns of which are in no Condition for Service. There is likewise a General of *Goa*, whose Business it is to take Care of the Channels between the Islands, and to restrain Smugglers.

But the best of all the Governments that still belong to the *Indies*, is that of *Mofambique*, which is an Island situated near the Coast of *Africa*, in the Lat. of 15° South, within half a League of the Continent. They have a strong Fort there, with four good Battions, which commands the Channel, and in which there are seventy Pieces of Brass-Cannon; and here there is always kept a good Garrison, and in tolerable Order. The Governor is honoured with the Title of General of the River of *Senna*, where he has his Lieutenant, which Employment was worth to him several hundred thousand Crowns a Year. There

There is a very wide Difference between these total Performances and the Governments formerly in the Gift of the Viceroy of *Goa*, which were five; the first was that of *Mofambique*, which is still in the Hands, and the only one of the old Government that is so; the second was that of *Mafat*, on the *Arabian* Coast, which was of very great Importance, and brought in a large Revenue; the third was that of *Ormuz*, on the Coast of *Persia*; the Capitain General of the Island of *Goa* was the fourth, and the Governor of the important Forts of *Malacca* the fifth. Upon each of these General Governments there depended many others of less Consequence, of which these Generals had the absolute Disposal; but the whole held them were continued in them for no longer than three Years. And it was for this Reason they were guilty of so much Extortion, looking upon their Governments as Leases for so many Years, in which they were to make their Fortune.

are but a few Houses about the Fort, the Inhabitants keeping their Effects on the neighbouring Continent: But notwithstanding the Narrowness of the Place, there are Monasteries of Jesuits, Dominicans of St. *John De Dios*, besides the chief Church and that of the *Misericordia*. The Merchandize brought to this Place by the Ships of the Company are bought at a set Price by the Royal Factory, which afterwards send them to *Cochin*, the Mouth of the River of *Senna* running three hundred Miles along the Coast, in Gallies and small Vessels, because of the Flats from *Cochin*; the Goods are sent up the River, against the Stream, in Almudies or little Boats, which are ten Days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for those who are not well acquainted with the Shallows and Windings of the River. *Cajates*, or *Blacks*, resort to this Port from Provinces and Kingdoms three or four Months Journey distant, to buy or take up Goods upon Trill for so much Gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next Year, unless Death prevents them. This Trade yields above *Cent. per Cent.* so that the *Portuguese* may be said to have another *India in Africa*. *Senna* is a little Town on the Right-hand of the River, inhabited by fifty *Portuguese* Families, who make it populous enough, by the great Number of *Blacks* they keep. There till the Ground, and dig in the Mines, and by that means maintain their Masters, instead of being kept by them.

About fifteen Days Journey from hence lies *Sesala*, where the *Portuguese* have likewise an Establishment, subject however to the General of *Mozambique*, and here a prodigious Trade is driven on, of which the *Portuguese* are, or might be, Masters. It consists chiefly in Gold, of which there are greater Quantities here than in any other Country in the World, since the annual Produce of this Market is computed, by the best Judges, at Forty-six thousand Ounces. There are vast Quantities of *Spanish* and *Canary* Wines, Oils, Silks, Lannens, Cottons, Coral, and other *European* Goods sold here, which are carried by the Inhabitants of the little Kingdom of *Sesala*, through all the great Empire of *Monomotapa*, which the *Portuguese* stile the Empire of Gold, from the prodigious Quantities of that precious Metal which are brought to them from thence. There are, likewise, some other very rich Commodities brought hither by the Negroes, such as the most excellent Ebony in the World; great Quantities of Ivory, abundance of fine Mats, which are much esteemed in the *Indies*, and a great Number of Slaves; so that *Goa*, and all the rest of the *Portuguese* Settlements, are furnished from hence. One may justly wonder that, considering the Value of this Settlement, and its convenient Situation, the *Dutch* had not made themselves Masters of it long ago, as well as of all the other Places belonging to the Crown of *Portugal* on this Coast.

In the Year 1602, they attempted *Mozambique* with very little Success, which, however, did not discourage them; as it must be allowed, that where there is a Prospect of Gain, the *Dutch* are not easily discouraged: And, therefore, in 1605, they attacked it a second Time with greater Force, but with the same Illuck as before, except that they made themselves Masters of a rich *Portuguese* Fleet, which, in some measure, paid the Expence of the Expedition. This new Trade, however, is much fallen off by the *Arahs* making themselves Masters of *Mombaza*, and other Places, which gives them an Opportunity of supplying the *Arahs* with *European* Goods, which they purchase in diverse Part of the *Indies*.

As for the Share which the *Portuguese* still retain, the Gold obtained thereby is sent to *Goa* and to *Diu*, where it is coined into small Pieces, called *St. Thomas's*, which are not worth above Half a Crown of our Money; and it is observed that this Coin is of a white Touch, that is, of a bare Alloy, or an any other in the *Indies*, which is another Sign of a declining Trade; for the *Sarahs*, which were formerly coined at *Orma*, when in the *Portuguese* Hands, were esteemed the best Gold in the *Indies*; but they are now become extremely scarce; and the *St. Thomas's* are said to be coined in less Quantities every Year.

31. Their Possessions are said to produce so little to the King of *Portugal*, that it has been more than once de-

bated in the Council of that Prince, whether it would not be for the Interest of the Crown to abandon them altogether, withdrawing their Artillery and Effects; and we are likewise told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious Motive, that has hindered this Measure from being taken, the Priests having suggested, that in that Case a Multitude of Souls would be lost to the Church. We shall the less wonder at this, if we consider, that such as are best acquainted with the *East India* Trade assure us, that a single Merchant and a single Ship of a reasonable Burthen, may carry on as great a Commerce as what, at present, subsists between *Ision* and *Goa*. This Matter however deserves some Explanation. There are yet a great many Ships employed from *Goa*, *Pin*, and *Panna*, to the Coasts of *Persia*, *Pegu*, *Manila*, and *China*, but they are mostly on the Account of *Indian* Merchants, there being scarce a *Portuguese* Trader at *Goa* able to turn in a Cargo of the Value of Ten thousand Crowns; and it is very much doubted, whether, in the whole of the Trade, they employ above Two hundred the said Crown, so that it is not at all strange, that one Year with another, there are not above two Ships sent directly from *Goa* to *Ision*, and those not a fourth Part so rich as what they annually sent twenty.

Yet there has been a late Regulation made at *Goa* for the Preservation and promoting of Trade, which some who understand that Subject best agree complacently to Ruin. This is an exclusive Company, which has the sole Right to the Commerce of *Mozambique* and *Maury*, which Company has taken upon itself the Payment of the Royal Officers, who are also Two-thirds concerned therein, which has given such a Blow to the natural Commerce of *Goa*, that the best Part of the *Indian* Merchants that were left, are now retired from thence. To say the Truth, it was the great Share the Viceroy, Government, and other Officers, always took in Commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the Merchants from the Violence committed by themselves on such as did not share them to a Share in their Trade, that first destroyed the extensive Commerce they enjoyed. And, upon this Subject, the Wits of the *Indies*, have framed a very pretty Allegory. They say, that when the *Portuguese* came first to this, they had a Sword in one Hand, and a Crucifix in the other; but that they might fill their Pockets with Silver, they quickly dispented with the first, and soon after lost the last, by which they have lost all. But their great Power and their Commerce are to much diminished, that it is as great as ever, inasmuch that they retain the Names of the Country, who are called *Canaries*, the Pay of wearing stockings, though they employ them as Physicians, Lawyers, and Merchants; by which many of them are so rich that they keep a Dozen or Fourteen Servants, and are in much better Circumstances than the *Portuguese* themselves.

The Revenues of the Church have suffered very little by this surprizing Change in the State; there is hardly a Monastery that does not receive four or five thousand Crowns out of the Treasury, at the same time the Soldiers Rave and mutiny for want of Pay, which is so much the harder upon the Government, because the Reverend Fathers know very well how to tax the People themselves, inasmuch that it is affirmed, the Priests at *Goa* have a better Revenue than the Crown of *Portugal*. It is not easy to know what becomes of the Money these Churchmen raise; but it is very evident, that the Wealth they possess, together with the Establishment of the Inhabitation at *Goa*, is such a dead Weight on the Settlement, that it must sooner or later destroy it. The wits of the *Portuguese* in *Europe* understand this very well, and would be glad to see some proper Remedy applied to prevent the Prejudice against the Church or Churchmen, so as not enough from being the Vice of that Nation, but that pure Regard to the Crown, and to the Nation, they would think, that the Clergy themselves, instead of complaining at more, ought to be willing to part with some Propriety of what is already in their Hands, in order to render the State more able to protect them in the Possession of the Remainder. Besides, there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious Houses is directly opposite to the

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 called *Canarins*, the Portuguese
 gh they employ them as Work-
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 Circumstances that the *Portugueze*

Church have suffered very late
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 Houses is directly opposite to

very Scheme of planting, and must always ruin the Settlements where it prevails, and consequently the religious Houses themselves, which is certainly an Argument that ought to prevail even with Popish Princes to lay some Restraint on the Missionaries that are sent abroad, unless they prefer the Reputation of Zeal among such as are no competent Judges, but to Maxims of Policy and good Government, not to the Principles of true Religion. For, if there be any Piety in converting Pagans to the Christian Faith, it follows, that there is still greater Piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the Establishments necessary to support them, which Reason and Experience shews, the building Monasteries, and maintaining Numbers of idle People in them, will not do, but on the contrary will bring on in Time the Destruction of those Colonies, in which this Humour is suffered to prevail.

The very last Advices from this Part of the World inform us, that several Indian Princes were driven from before Goa, which they had blocked up with a numerous Army, by the powerful Succours sent by the present King of Portugal, and by the excellent Conduct of the late Viceroy, who was the Count de *Laurocal*, and who, if I mistake not, was twice in the Indies, and behaved there with great Reputation. Such Expeditions, however, are to be considered as Expedients only, which may for a time preserve that Settlement, but can never restore it, or bring the Affairs of this Nation in these Parts into good Order, so to make them worth the Attention of a Prince, who has the Honour of his Crown, and the Good of his People, at Heart. It may not therefore be amiss, before we conclude this Section, to consider what is like to be the future Fate of the Portugueze in the Indies, in which, if our Conjectures should be justified by Events, they cannot but do Honour to this Performance.

It is morally certain, that the Establishments which the Crown of Portugal still has in the East-Indies might, in the Hands of an active and industrious Nation, turn to considerable Account; for it has been long ago observed by *M. Tavernier*, that the Port of *Diu* is as well situated for Trade, and as capable of Improvement, as any in that Part of the World, or more so; and if put under proper Regulations, that is, if made in some measure a free Port, it must necessarily come in for a large Share of that Commerce now carried on at *Surat*, and, in all probability, retrieve much of the Arabian and Persian Commerce that has been so long left to the Portugueze. On the other hand, as they have still some Factories at *Bisnagar* and other Places on that Coast, it would be no difficult Matter to re-establish their Commerce in the Heart of India, at the same time that the Port of *Masco* would furnish them with the Means of supplying the China Market as cheap or cheaper than any other European Nation, because their Colony at *Mojambique* is so situated, as to leave them for the large Purposes that the Cape of Good Hope does the Dutch, or the Island of *St. Helena* the English.

But all these Advantages signify nothing in the Hands of those who are so far from possessing the Virtues requisite to such Improvements, that, on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but over-run by their Vices, as must unquestionably overturn the best Establishment in the World. It is necessary to support a Charge of this Nature by Facts, that it may not appear to be the Effects of Fancy, Prejudice, or Misinformation. I shall mention but one, which, as it is very singular in its kind, will at once answer my Purpose, and serve to enlighten the Subject. The Portugueze had, in the Close of the last Century, an Officer capable of doing much towards the Execution of such a Plan as this, inasmuch as he was a Man of great Prudence and Virtue; but withal, he had too high a Spirit, which led him to treat the Vices of his Countrymen with such Austerity as drew upon him a disastrous Death, and thereby defeated all the Hopes that had been raised from the great Victories he obtained over the *Shahs* and *Moors*, and that

noble Zeal he had upon all Occasions shewn for the Welfare of his Country.

His sharp Tongue, says my Author, had gair'd him the Ill-will of almost all the Gentry of Goa, and along the Coast; but more particularly of the Family of *Melo*, which was powerful in kindred, and great by Birth. His Affronts becoming insupportable, they conspired, to the Number of fifty, to murder him; and having agreed on the Time, Place, and Manner of executing their Design, they made several Loop-holes in the Houles of the Quarter and Parish of *St. Peter*, that they might shoot him with more Safety. The General, or rather Admiral, persuading himself that Gentlemen could not harbour Thoughts of taking an ungenerous Revenge, tho' warned to be upon his Guard, because there were treacherous Practices against him, would never admit any Soldiers to attend him, and particularly two Captains that were willing to share in his Dangers. Thus being carried in a Palankin alone, only with one Black that carried his Umbrella, a Shot was made at him from a Houle, which giving him a slight Wound, he leaped out of the Palankin, and taking the Staff he held between his Fingers, said, *He is it seu aim at? Trifstan de Melo* at these Words coming out of his Houle, answered, *et you*, and fired a Blunderbuss at him. He, with an undaunted Courage, defended it with his Cloak; and bowing his Body, then drawing his Sword, and falling on his Enemy, he struck him five times, but to no Purpose, because he had on a Coat of Mail; whereupon he cleft his Head, and with a back Stroke cut him over the Face, which made him fall; then taking him by the Hair, he let his Feet upon him, and was going to run his Sword into his Breast, but *Trifstan* begging his Life, he graciously granted it, saying, he would not embroil his Hands in such base Blood. In the mean while out came *Trifstan's* son, and a Mulatto, (so they call those that are got between Blacks and Whites) and these two Blunderbusses, lodged several Bullets in the Admiral's Breast, breaking in Pieces the Cross he wore as a Badge of Knighthood; but *Trifstan* stood and defended himself, when a Slave came up and run him into the side with a Javelin; nor did he go unpunished, for the General, with a back-stroke, ripped open his Belly, whereof he died at Night. *Macacho* being ready to expire, drew near to the Palankin, and setting his Peruke to rights the best he could, laid himself in it. The Murderers fearing he might yet live, one of them, who was a Priest, came with a Blunderbuss in his Hand to make an end of him; but seeing him ready to breathe out his Soul, asked, whether he would make his Confession? The Admiral called him Jew, and bid him go about his Business: Afterwards a Dominican coming to him, he gave Signs of Repentance, and grasping his Hands, died with these Words: The Blood of Christ save me. They found in his Breast about thirty Bullets; whereupon People admiring his Valour, said, he must needs have more vital Spirits than other Mortals, since there must go so much to the killing him?

This Murder, foul and detestable as it was, could never be punished, so powerful was the Family concerned in it, and so weak the Authority of the Viceroy, in Matters relating to Justice. It is true, this strange Fact happened fifty Years ago, but Things are far from being mended since. Assassinations are still common in this Country, and such as would not expose their own Lives for the Preservation of the Colony, are ready, on the slightest Provocation, to command their Slaves to take away the Life of another Man, let his Worth or Dignity be what it will, even at the Altar, and this without the least Apprehension of Justice. We need no clearer Proof than this, that the Affairs of these People are totally enervated and corrupted, and as Cowards, they are cruel and revengeful, which wicked Dispositions arise from a lazy and luxurious Life. We may there-

This gallant Man, Don Antonio Macha, a Priest, was General of the North, and afterwards Admiral of the Gulph of *Omeze*, in which Character he gained immortal Reputation. In the Month of *July*, 1681, he with three Ships only fought fourteen Arabian Vessels of the same Size, in the Bay of *Socatra*, for a whole Day; and when he might have retired safely into the Port of *Diu*, he anchored close by them all Night, in order to have renewed the Pilot next Morning; but the *Arabians* having had Fighting enough the Day before, stole away in the dark, and recovered their own Coast. Several Boats full of *Portugueze*, *French*, and *Dutch* Mercenaries, went from *Surat* to see this Battle, and afterwards complimented the Portugueze Admiral on his Victory, little suspecting, that before the End of that Year, a Man, who had done such eminent Service to the *Portugueze*, would fall, at he did, a Victim to private Revenge.

fore safely predict, that the Continuance even of that slender Power which the *Portuguese* have still left, cannot continue long, and that for these two plain Reasons: First, because it has been long, and is still in a declining Condition, so that its Force being extremely decayed, and at the same time continually employed in resisting the Efforts of its Enemies, it is impossible, in the Nature of Things, that it should subsist for any Time: Secondly, the Manners of the People are entirely ruined, so that there is not the least Probability that any such Reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make such Use of the convenient Ports of which they are still possessed, as is necessary to revive and restore their Commerce in the *Indies*. I venture therefore to pronounce, that in the Compsals of twenty or thirty Years, their Establishments in these Parts will be quite lost, and that in all likelihood, *Goa, Duu,* and *Daman,* will be lost first, which will necessarily draw after them the Desertion of *Macao*, which cannot long subsist by its own Force, and lies at much too great a Distance to receive any effectual Succour or Support from *Portugal* directly.*

It is indeed possible, that Accidents out of the Reach of human Foresight, may prevent, at least for a Time, the Completion of what I have predicted; but without the Intervention of some such Accidents, it will certainly come to pass, and when it does, perhaps it may not be much to the Disadvantage of *Portugal*; for when Colonies contribute little to the Benefit of a State, and are of no Use in promoting its naval Power, the Loss of them cannot be considered as very detrimental, except to such as are settled in them, which is a Consideration well worthy the Attention of every Colony, since it shews that the Relation between it, and its Mother-Country, is the sole Source of the Welfare of both, and cannot therefore be taken away without hazarding the Destruction of the Colony.

§ 3. The History of the Rise, Progress, and Declension of the *Portuguese* Commerce in the *Indies* was never written before, and therefore I hope will appear the more agreeable and entertaining now. We have here, in a very narrow Compals, presented the whole of it to the View of the *English* Reader, with all the Accuracy and Impartiality that lay within the Reach of our Power; and as we have, throughout the whole Section, intermixed our Remarks with the Matters of Fact, we shall be very short in our Observations here. It may not, however, be amiss to suggest, by way of Conclusion, that though this, with respect to the Circumstances attending Facts, is a particular History, yet the intelligent and judicious Reader will very easily perceive, that, at the Bottom, it contains a general View of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of all Commerce and naval Power, which are at first (at least, generally speaking) the Effects of private Virtues, and in other Words, are produced by the extraordinary Abilities and unwearied Labours of particular Men in Seasons proper for such Undertakings, and with due Assistance from that State in which such Genii appear.

* It is very remarkable, that *Vasquez de Gama*, whose Statue is over one of the Gates of *Goa*, was not only the Discoverer of the Passage to the *Indies* by the *Coast of Good Hope*, but lived to see the Establishments made by his Countrymen in those Parts carried to their greatest Height, and at the Time of his Demise the *Portuguese* Empire in the East was in its most flourishing Condition. It is likewise remarkable, that the son of the great Don *Albuanz de Albuquerque*, who was the Conqueror of *Goa*, lived to see the Declension of their Affairs in the *Indies*, and the prodigious Progress of the *Dutch* at their Expence. The whole Circle therefore of the Discoveries, Acquisitions, and Losses of this Nation, take in no greater Compass than two hundred and fifty Years, which is very little in Comparison to the Time this Trade was held by the *Tyrants*, or the *Romans*.

The advantageous Consequences that arise from such Expeditions, beget in the Bosom of a People a Spirit of Industry and Commerce, which, by giving a new Turn to their Genius, and raising at the same a virtuous Emulation, in a short Space, flatter indeed than can be well imagined, create a naval Force, and thereby establish a new maritime Power. But, on the one hand, the Wealth derived from Commerce, and that wonderful Flow of Success which usually attends a Nation powerful at Sea, very often produces Luxury and Indolence, which naturally lead to the Ruin both of Trade and naval Power. I do not mean, by Luxury, the Possession of all the Pleasures and good Things of this Life, but the affecting nothing else. If it were otherwise, we ought not to desire Commerce at all, because it is the certain Source of Riches and Affluence; but there is a great Difference between possessing and using good Things moderately, and being so bewitched with them as to dedicate our whole Time to their Enjoyment; because, if there were no other Argument to prove this wrong, the Thing proves itself, since it is impossible to preserve Pleasure, supposing Happiness to consist therein, if we do not spend a great Part of our Time in thinking of somewhat else.

It was for want of attending to this plain Truth, that the *Portuguese* despised and contemned the *Dutch* on their first Appearance in the *Indies*; they considered their own Force as so much superior to that of their Enemies, that they never reflected on the Means by which that Force was raised; I mean the Valour, Industry, Patience, Prudence, and publick Spirit of the first Adventurers; all which Qualities being now on the Side of their Competitors, and wanting in themselves, ought to have awakened them to a Sense of their Condition, and to a Return to those Virtues which originally procured, and were alone able to preserve, their extensive Possessions. But continuing as they did to provoke on one hand the Natives, and to neglect on the other the necessary Precautions against the *Dutch*, they did the Business of their Enemies, and drew upon themselves that Destruction which could never otherwise have been brought upon them.

I have before observed, that like Causes will, in all Cases, be attended with the like Effects, and therefore there will be no Occasion to repeat these Remarks in the Progress of this Work; though it would have been a great Oversight to have omitted them here, inasmuch as they contribute chiefly to render our Labour useful and important, which otherwise would be no more than an agreeable Amusement. To relieve the Reader, however, from so serious a Course of Study, we have, in the next Section, given him the Travels at large of a very curious Discoverer, and the only one who has given us a tolerable Account of that *Archipelago*, which is the Subject of his Performance.

SECTION XXIV.

The Voyage of Francis Pirard de Laval to the East-Indies; his Shipwreck amongst the Maldives, and his copious Account of that Archipelago.

Translated from the Author's Original Voyage, published by himself in French.

1. *An Account of the Design of this Voyage, and the Author's Embarkation for the East-Indies, May 18, 1601.* 2. *The remarkable Accidents which happened in their Passage till their Arrival at the Island of Anabon.* 3. *They double the Cape of Good Hope, and arrive happily on the Coast of the Island of Madagascar.* 4. *They meet with a dreadful Storm there, and lose a great many Men by the Scurvy and Surfeits.* 5. *Proceed from thence to the Comoro Islands on the Coast of Africa, near Mosambique, where they refresh and rest.* 6. *The Ship on board of which our Author was, wrecked amongst the Maldive-Islands, and himself made Prisoner.* 7. *A general Description of these Islands, their Product, and the People who inhabit them.* 8. *The Division of these Islands into several Provinces, with an Account of the Sea that surrounds them.* 9. *Of the Original Inhabitants of this Country, their Complexions, Stature, Temper, and Manners.* 10. *The vast Fertility of the Maldives, and the Nature of the several kinds of Corn and Fruits produced there.* 11. *Of the Birds, Fowl, Fish, and other sorts of Provisions, and of their prodigious Plenty and excessive Cheapness.* 12. *A very singular Method in use among the Inhabitants for weighing whatever is lost in the Sea.* 13. *Their Language, Religion, Temples, Priests, and Form of publick Worship, with occasional Remarks on them.* 14. *Other Ceremonies of their Religion, together with their Feasts and Fasts, and Diversions at sea.* 15. *A large Account of their Marriages, the Manner of their settling Spenturs, and their frequent and voluntary Divorces.* 16. *Their funeral Ceremonies, Profits accruing thereby to the Priests, and other curious Particulars relating to that Subject.* 17. *A Description of the Dress of Men and Women in those Islands, and of the Laws in relation thereto, and other Circumstances.* 18. *Their Customs in eating and drinking, Laws for prohibiting of Luxury, and generous Concerns for the Poor.* 19. *Superstitious Customs among them in relation to the Killing of Beasts, Use of Baths, Sails, &c. and other Cases.* 20. *An Account of the Diseases which prevail among the Inhabitants; their Skill in Physick, and other Sciences.* 21. *The Virtues and Vices of the Maldivians, with some curious Particulars relating to their Women.* 22. *A large Account of the Nature of their Civil Government, Power of the King, his Privy Council, Judges, &c.* 23. *Criminal Punishments in Use amongst them; together with the Estate of their Military Establishments.* 24. *A Description of the King's Palace, Habit, Manner of Living, and other Circumstances relating to his Court.* 25. *His State when he appears in Publick, the Queen's Court, and the great Respect paid them by their Subjects.* 26. *The Particulars of the Royal Revenue, the Nature of the Coinage here, and of the Value of their Commerce.* 27. *The Manner of the Author's Escape out of this Country, after he had remained a Prisoner there for several Years.* 28. *The Author's Journey to Bengal, and Return out of the Indies.* 29. *Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Particulars.*

THERE are some Voyages and Discoveries which never lose their Value, because never superseded by any thing more excellent in their kind; and this we may truly affirm to be the Case of that Voyage which we now present to the View of the Reader. It contains a very curious, accurate, and circumstantial Account of Countries and People, who tho' they lie at the very Entrance of the Indies, were never described before, nor has any subsequent Account of them appeared capable of entering into any Degree of Comparison with this which we have before us. Our Author appears to have been a Man of good Sense, and great Observation. He was led to travel from a Humour common enough in Youth; I mean a Desire of seeing new and strange Things; but, at the same time, this Humour of his was regulated by a Disposition not very common in young People, which was that of looking to the Bottom of whatever appeared worthy of Notice, and of labouring to acquire whatever Talents were necessary to make a thorough an Inquisition. It was from these Principles that he received that Constancy and Resolution which are so conspicuous in the following Relation.

He was, doubtless, in hopes, when he undertook this Expedition, that all Things would have fallen out favourably, and that he should have been entertained with the Sight of all the Curiosities in the Indies, with little Hazard, and some Gain to himself. But when it fell out otherwise, and he found all these Resolutions overturned by the unlucky Accident of a Shipwreck, he did not lose either his Reason or his Spirits, but, on the contrary, determined to make use of this Accident to further his Design of obtaining a distinct Knowledge of the Places and

People whom it was his Fortune to visit. It was in consequence of these Notions, that he examined carefully, and recorded faithfully whatever came within the Compass of his Notice: And that he might enlarge the Circle of his Understanding, he applied himself with Diligence, first to learn the Tongue of the Country, and next to enter into a free Conversation with regard to their own Affairs of every kind with the People themselves; so that his Judgment always went along with his Curiosity; and we may rest satisfied that he has not reported Things barely as they appeared, but as they were.

After this Account of our Author, it is requisite we should say somewhat of the Time and Manner in which this Voyage was undertaken, and afterwards we shall leave him to speak for himself. The Fame of the East-India Commerce in the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, provoked some French Merchants at *St. Malo, Laval, and Vitré*, to think of sending two ships into that Part of the World, which Project they executed in the Spring of the Year 1601. The biggest of these Vessels was of the Burthen of three hundred Tons, called the *Crossant*; the lesser of two hundred Tons, called the *Corbin*: The former of these was under the Command of the *Sieur de Bardeheve*, the other under that of *Francis Grant*, Countable of *St. Malo*. They sailed from the last-mentioned Port on the Eighteenth of May, 1601, and had not proceeded above ten Leagues out to Sea before their Mizen-Mast split and broke in the Middle, which, says our Author, was the Beginning of our Misfortunes: And their History he continues thus.

2. On the 21st we fell in with nine great Dutch Hoys, each of which saluted us with a Gun, but one of them be-

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 carried to their greatest Height; first at
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 Indies, and the prodigious Progress
 nation, take in no greater Compass than
 Syrians, or the Romans.

ing loaded with Ball, beat the Sail of the *Corbin* to Pieces; upon which the Vice-Admiral fired two Guns on the Rigging of the Ship that had injured him; and the Admiral tacking to the Windward of the *Dutch* Admiral, spread all his Sails, and fired a Gun upon them; the *Dutch* Admiral presently struck, and, having informed himself that the Mischance was occasioned by the Oversight of a Gunner that was in Drink, delivered up the Gunner to the *French* Admiral, in order to condign Punishment, and begged he would pardon the Mistake. Our Admiral finding how the Matter stood, said, he desired no further Satisfaction; and having returned the Gunner, entreated the *Dutch* to vouchsafe him a Pardon. How the *Dutch* treated him afterwards I know not; though I do not much doubt but they hanged him up immediately at the Yard-arm; for the *Dutch* observe an exact Discipline among their Sails, and suffer no Mistakes to pass with Impunity; and from thence it comes to pass, that their Navigation is more successful than the *French*.

June the 3d we departed the *Canary Islands* in 28, 29, and 30° N. Lat. The 12th and 13th we came within Sight of the Islands of *Cape Verde*, which run from 20 to 14° N. Lat. On the 29th we were in 5° Lat. and discovered the South-Star, call'd the *Cross*; at the same time we saw a prodigious Quantity of Flying-Fish, with Wings like those of Bats, which are very plentiful near the Equinoctial Line, whether on the North or South-side. On the 14th of *July* we discovered the unhealthy Coast of *Guinea*, being carried out of our Course in a Calm by the Strength of the Currents. *August* the 24th we crossed the Equator, on both Sides of which, for the Extent of 10 or 8 Degrees, we had very unconstant Weather; the greatest Calms were commonly turned into Thunder and Lightnings (especially when the Sun is near the Equinoxes) and with boisterous Winds, which surprised us so suddenly, that we could scarce get our Sails down in time. The Heat was so great that it melted our Candles and Butter, corrupted our Water, and spoiled our Meat and Fish, though never to well tasted.

We frequently saw great Whirlwinds rising at a Distance, call'd by the Seamen *Dragons*, which shatter and overturn any Ship that falls in their Way. When these appear the Sailors have a superstitious Custom of repairing to the Prow, or the Side that lies next the Storm, and beating naked Swords against one another crosswise, from a vain Apprehension of preventing their Approach by that Means. In this Climate the Rains are very dangerous, for if one is wet and does not immediately shift himself, his Body is soon covered over with Blisters, and his Cloaths with Worms. In the Time of a Calm Ships roll prodigiously in those Seas, but when they run with a fresh Gale they are more steady.

4. August the 20th our Pilot, who was an *Englishman*, discovered Land ten Leagues off; for though we endeavoured to stand one hundred Leagues off to Sea, the Currents drove us towards the Shore. This we found to be the Isle of *Anabon*, possessed by the *Portuguese*, where we took in Fresh Water and Fruit, and the Inhabitants, after a Shew of Civility at first, treacherously slew one of our Men, and took five Prisoners. This Island is governed by a *Portuguese* Lord, who had the Gift of it from the King of *Spain*, the other *Portuguese* who inhabit it being only his Factors and Commissioners. The Natives who are all his Slaves, are Negroes, and go naked, covering their Privities with Cotton. Their Women carry their Children upon their Backs, and suckle them over their Shoulders, their Breasts being very long. The Island is situated in 1° 30' S. Lat. and is five or six Leagues in Circumference. It is high, mountainous, and always green. The Road is on the North West Side, and is very dangerous, by reason of Hills and Rocks. We lay there six or seven Weeks, and, during that Time, it rained every Day, more or less. The Country produces great Plants of Indigo and Cotton, in which all the Revenues to the Lord are paid. Their Fish is extraordinary good and very plentiful. At the Distance of a League and a half from *Anabon*, there is a little torched Island, which appears to be a *Volcano*, but is covered with Fowl call'd *Penguins*, that one cannot walk any where without

treading upon their Eggs. This Fowl is no bigger than a Pidgeon, and the Flesh is black, but eats admirably well.

On the 16th of *October* we put to Sea again, and *November* the 17th we made the Island of *St. Helena*, which lies in 16° S. Lat. at the Distance of six hundred Leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon the Altar of a Chapel in this Island we found several Letters, advising that the *Dutch* had passed that Way. Here we thought to have fitted our Mizen-Mast, but found no Wood fit for the Purpose. The Air, Fruit, Flesh, and Water of that Place are so healthy, that our Men, who were much opprest with the Scurvy, recovered in the Space of Nine Days. On the 26th we set sail, and stood for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and three Days after doubled *Arrolas*, which are a Bank of Shelves upon the Coast of *Brazil*, in 18° S. Lat. and seventy Leagues long. The doubling of these Seas is both difficult and dangerous, and in sailing to the *East-Indies*, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious in keeping to a just Distance from the *Gateway*, which is very unhealthy, and incumbered with Calms and Currents, and, at the same time, standing off from its *Breaks*, for the danger of which there is Sea Room enough, since we reckon a thousand Leagues from the Coast of *Africa* to that of *Brazil*. Having doubled this Cape we continued our Course for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and in a few Days we knew that we approached it by the Appearance of the Reeds call'd *Trombas*, and white speckled Fowls. Having weathered the *Cape of Good Hope*, we came in Sight of that of *Aguillas* or *Needles*, which lies fifteen Leagues farther into the Sea, at 21° S. Lat. This Cape derives its Name from the Observation, that when a Ship comes before it, the Needle of the Compass points directly northward, without declining to the East or West.

We met *January* the 6th, 1702, with a violent Storm, in which one of our Seamen fell overboard, and his Companion would have jumped after him if we had not prevented him; though, after all, I took his Gift to be the Effect of Wine rather than true Affection, for there is but little Friendship among sea-faring Men. During our Course, we steered by the Country of *Nam*, upon the Coast of *Ethiopia*, without any Storm, which was uncommon in those Seas; for between the 3d and 10th there are never, almost, without violent Storms. And, that we mistook our Course, thro' the Ignorance of our Pilot; and, on the 4th of *February*, finding ourselves on the Land-side of *St. Laurence*, tacked about, in order to make the other Side.

4. February the 7th, having passed that Coast, according to our Wishes, we were surpris'd all on a sudden by a violent Storm from the South-West, being thus acquainted with those Seas than the *Portuguese*, who make great Provisions for such Accidents. In the Storm it was so dark at Noon-Day, that we could not see the Heavens, one another; our two Ships were separated, and our Sails were tore to Rags, such was the Force of the Rain and Wind, that they wounded our Faces like to many Strokes of Whiptoad. The Waves swelled so high, and swam upon the Ship, that we could not stand up on the Deck. In this Place we continued four Days, and our Numbers of some of the Men that were on board, applied their Lives to devout Exercises, while the Sailors redoubled their Curses and Blasphemies. Our ancient Pilots and experienced Men, who they never encounter such a Tempest, but the Business was, they never had been in those Seas, swell higher than elsewhere.

On the 11th the Storm being over, we stood on for *St. Laurence*, being much distressed. All our Men were almost half dead, and we had lost a Man or Board, but a Gunner, that had ever been in the *Indies* before. When we came within forty or fifty Leagues of the Island the Sea appeared yellowish and frothy, and was covered with Reeds and floating Fishes, which continued to appear on the 12th till the 14th, that we arrived and call'd *Aschar* in *St. Augustin's Bay*, in 3° 30' South Lat. tide. The Days were very short, and very convenient, having an excellent Ground of Anchorage and Sand. The same Day the *Cross* interposed, and twelve Days Separation, and was more than 1000

to West, we cannot cross directly from Entrance to Entrance, but set out from the East Coast, which is then the Head of the Current, and taking it sideway, steer for the West Entry of the other *Atollon*. In order to return, we set out from the East Entrance, and over-thwarting the Current, make to the West Entry of the other *Atollon*. When the Current changes its Course, we observed the same Contrivance in setting out from the Head of the Current, and entering the other *Atollon* at the Place which lies under the Current of these Entrances. Some are broad, and some narrow, but the widest is not above two hundred Paces over, and some of them are less than thirty; each Entrance hath an Island on each Side, and if Cannon were planted on these Islands, it would be easy to hinder any Ships to enter.

Of the Channels that part the *Atollons*, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great Ships, and frequently visited by Strangers, when the Currents carry them in against their Will. To begin from the North Side, the first of the four washes the *Atollon* called *Malos Madou*, and it was in this that we were cast away. The second, called *Caridou*, has *Male*, the greatest of all these Islands in the middle of it. The third, called *Aldou*, lies to the South of *Male*. The Fourth, called *Souadon*, lies directly under the equinoctial Line, and in regard that it is the broadest of them all, being twenty Leagues over, the Natives do not fall upon it without a Compass, though they never use any in the Channels. Besides these, there is a narrow Channel, which separates *Male* and *Pouilou*, in which the Sea appears as black as Ink, but the Water taken into a Vessel, looks like other Water. That Sea boils like Water over a Fire. It swells into great black Surges, but is not moved from one Side to the other, which renders it very terrible. The *Maldives* lie so near the Equinoctial, on both Sides, that their Climate is extremely hot. Their Day and Night are always equal, and their Nights are very cool and dewy, which renders the Heat of the Sun more tolerable, and nourishes exceedingly their Herbs and Trees. Their Winter commences in *April*, and continues till *October*, at which time the Summer begins, and lasts likewise six Months. In Winter they have perpetual Rains, but no Frost, and the westerly Winds are very boisterous. In Summer their Winds are easterly, with an excessive Heat and no Rain.

It is said, that the *Maldives* were in former Times peopled by the *Cingala*, or Inhabitants of *Ceylon*; but it is observable, that the *Cingalans* are black and ugly, whereas the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* are handsome, well made, and of an Olive Complexion, though, after all, 'tis possible, that the Climate and Length of Time may have altered the Complexion and Shape to their Advantage, besides, that a great many Foreigners being cast away on their Coast, are blended with them by Intermarriages, and by this Means it comes, that those who live about *Male*, between it and the North Cape, where most Shipwrecks happen, are more polished and civilized than those on the South Coast, who are not only blacker, but much coarser in their Language, Customs, and Shape of the Body; nay, many of their Women, especially such as are poor, go naked, with only a small Cover for their Privities. The North Side of the Island is not only richer, and more civilized, as being the common Passage for all Ships; but the Seat of all the Nobility and Men of Fortune, and when the King punishes a Criminal with Banishment, he only sends him to the South Parts. The Soldiers are all raised in the North Parts; but after all this Difference, I must say, that the Inhabitants of the South Parts are naturally as lively and quick witted as those of the North. In general, the *Maldivans* are very ingenious, they apply themselves with great Industry and Success to all sorts of Manufactures, and also to Letters and Sciences, after this Manner, especially to Astrology, which they hold in great Esteem. They are a very wife, industrious People, and very sharp in their Merchandize and Way of Living; they are brave, and well skilled in Arms, and their Policy is very regular.

Their Women are very handsome, abating for their Olive Colour, and some of them as white as the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, which is reckoned a great Or-

nament, and in order to turn it extremely black, several Women keep their Daughters Heads shaved till they are eight or nine Years old, leaving only a little Hair on the Forehead, to distinguish them from Boys, who have none at all: I have seen some Children have half flaxen Hair, which has turned very black by being shaved every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair, but the Women take a Pride in having theirs thick and long, which they wash and dress very frequently. They wash their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that Purpose; after which their Hair hangs dishevel'd in the Wind, till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moist and oily. Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after washing; but tho' they wash their Bodies more than once in a Day, their Hair is not washed above twice or thrice a Week. They may wash their Hair when they please, but they are obliged to do it on *Fridays*, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Festival for the Men. After the Women have washed, rubbed and perfumed, they stretch all the Hair from before backwards, without leaving so much as one straggling Hair, and tie it behind, in a great Tuft, or Knot, which they enlarge by a Perriwig of Man's Hair, made in the Form of a Horse's Tail; nay, some of them have two such Perriwigs; besides which, they add odoriferous Flowers.

As for the Men, none but Gentlemen, and the King's Officers and Soldiers, are allowed to wear long Hair, and these, indeed, wash, perfume, and dress their Hair after the same Manner with the Women, excepting that they make the Tuft not behind, but on the Crown of the Head, or on one Side, and they wear no Perriwigs. Their Hair grows much faster than ours, by reason partly of the Washing and Perfuming, and partly of the excessive Heat which occasions thick and strong Hair, and for the same Reason their Hair is black. They have no Combs, but they have Scissors of cast Copper, and copper Looking-Glasses, which they make use of in shaving themselves, with Steel Razors made after another Fashion than ours. There are no Barbers in the Country, every one therefore shaves himself, excepting the King, and some Lords, who are served by Persons who are proud of that Honour, without any Prospect of Gain; so that in all these Islands both Men and Women are provided with Utensils for shaving, and are very nice in taking off their Hair, when it begins to be uneasy to them.

The Girls have their Heads shaved once a Week, from their Infancy, to the eighth Year of their Age, at which Time their Hair is suffered to grow to its full Length and Dress, for then is the Season here of looking out for Husbands. Before that Age they have no Cloaths, but only a Cloth that hangs down from the Middle to the Knees; and the Occasion of their being clothed afterwards proceeds from the Riting of their Breasts, before which, they are looked upon as Children, and it is not allowable to discourse to them of Love Matters. The Cloth hangs down from their Middle to the Knees as soon as they begin to go, but the Boys have none till they are seven Years old and circumcised. Their Beards are of two sorts; ecclesiastical Persons, and those who have performed Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, wear long Beards, shaving under the Throat, and upon the upper and lower Lips, all round their Mouth. The other sort of People have little Beards, without Mustaches, being shaved round the Mouth, and under the Chin. They are very careful in saving the Parings of their Nails, and the Shavings of their Hair, which they wrap up in Cotton, and bury in their Church-Yards, with a little Water, from a Notion that they being Parts of the Body, require Interment as well as the Whole, and for that Reason many of them chuse to be shaved in the Porch of the Temples, for they would not for any thing in the World either trample upon these Excrements, or see them thrown in the Fire.

In order to give a particular Description of the *Maldives*, we shall begin with their Fertility. It produces great Plenty of *Millet*, called there *Pura*, and another little Grain called *Bimby*, which resembles *Millet*, but is black like Rape-seed. These two sorts of Grain they sow, and reap twice a Year; they make a sort of Meal of them, of

which they make Pottage, with Milk, Cocoa, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters. The Country produces likewise several sorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one called *Nellou*, which grows wild, being round, and as big as one's two Fists. They bruise it upon a rough Stone, and then expose it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white sort of Meal that eats admirably well in Pottage or Cakes, only it must be very fresh, or it is apt to lie heavy upon the Stomach. Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is called *Alas*, which must be sown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh. Some of these sorts of Roots are red, and others white; the Inhabitants boil them several Ways, and make them the most of their Food, keeping them for a whole Year, for they come to Maturity only once a Year, viz. in *September*. They have no Rice but what is exported from the Continent, however they have it pretty cheap, and use much thereof, either boiling it with Water or mixed with Spices, boiled with Milk and Sugar of Cocoa, with Peas, Fish, or turned into Meal after drying and bruising, and then made into Cakes and Fritters, with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and the Butter of Cochoas.

This Country is likewise furnished with Herbs and Trees, some of which bear Fruit, and others not; though the Natives eat their Leaves, they being sweet and well tasted. As for Fruit, they have infinite Plenty of Citrons, Pomegranate, and Oranges of *Bananas*, called by the *Portuguese* *Indian* Figs, and by the *Maldives* *Quella*, which is a large, delicious, and nourishing Fruit, inasmuch that it serves their Children instead of Bread. The most profitable Fruit is the Cocoa, or *Indian* Fruit, called by them *Coal*, which is more plentiful in the *Maldives* than any other Part of the World; so that the Inhabitants know how to manage it better than others. This Tree alone might supply all the Necessaries of Life, for it affords Wine, Honey, Sugar, Milk, and Butter; besides that its Kernel may be eat as Bread, of which they have none in that Country. Further, most of their Utensils are made of the Wood, Bark, Leaves, and Nut-shells of this Tree. In fine, the whole Country is shaded, and refreshed with Trees, many of which serve for no other Use but burning; so that there is no Occasion to buy Fire-wood. Besides that, there are whole Islands covered with Trees, from whence they fetch what Fire-wood they please.

11. It is very remarkable, that though all the thirteen *Attellons* are in the same Climate, and all very fertile, yet they produce such different Commodities that one cannot live without another; for what is plentiful in one, is scarce in another, or, at least, is not so good. This occasions a Necessity of mutual Commerce, and the Inhabitants have likewise divided themselves, that one Province cannot live without another; for the Weavers repair all to one Island, the Goldsmiths to another, and so on. Now, to render the Communication easy, these Artificers have little Boats with Checks, where they work, sleep, and eat, while they are sailing from one Island to another to vend their Manufactures; and sometimes they are a Year out before they return to their fixed Habitation. As for Animals, they have prodigious Numbers of wild Pigeons, which are sold for a Penny a Piece, and the same Price will fetch three Dozen of Eggs; next to Fish, this is the most of their Food. They have a great Plenty of Wild Pigeons, Ducks, Rays, Birds resembling Sparrow-Hawks, black and grey Muskets, living not upon Prey, but upon Fruit, &c. As for domestick Fowl they have none. The Crows are here very troublesome, for they are so numerous and so bold, as to take Things out of their very Houses before the Peoples Faces. Their Bats are as big as Ravens, and their Gnats, or Musketoos, bite more severely than in any other Part of the *Indies*.

But they are most incommoded by Rats, Dormice, Pigmies, and other sorts of Vermin, which over run all their Houses, and spoil their Grain, Provisions, Fruit, and portable Commodities. To obviate this Inconvenience, they build Granaries and Warehouses on Piles, or Stakes in the Sea, at the Distance of two or three hundred Paces from the Land; and most of the King's Magazines are built after the same Manner. They have no poisonous Animals, except Snakes, of which a very dangerous kind

frequent the Sea. Cats, Pole-cats, and Ferrits, are likewise found there; but there are no great Beasts, either wild or tame, save a few Sheep, and some three or four hundred Cows and Bulls in the Island of *Male*, which belong to the King, and of which they never eat but on Festival-Days, and solemn Occasions, for these have been imported from the Continent. They have no Dogs, say they abhor them so much, that when the King of *Portugal* sent two as a Present to the King, he ordered them to be drowned immediately. The Sea affords Plenty of all sorts of Fish, especially between the *Attellons*, where the Sea is shallow and calm; the Fishery is the most constant Exercise of the Natives, who feed mostly upon Fish when fresh, with Rice, or other Meat fried with the Oil of Cochoas, or boiled in Salt water, and dried in the Sun. They send every Day Ships loaded with Fish for *Manila*, *Sidon*, and other Places. Many of the Fishermen are lost Arms and Legs that have been bit off by a sort of great Fish frequent in those Seas. This great Plenty of all Necessaries causes an easy Purchase. Four hundred Cochoas cost but a *Larin*, which is Eight pence; the same Price will purchase five hundred Bananas, a dozen of Fowls, or three hundred Weight of Roots, of a hundred large Fish, &c.

In fine, there is no Part of the *Indies* where a Stranger can get an Estate so soon as here, for it lies only in duty for Trade, and requires but an inconsiderable Charge for Maintenance. The Natives, it is true, do not sow, and that I take to proceed from their idleness and easy Living, which encourages them to Negligence and Idleness. *Male*, the principal Island, gives Name to all the rest, *Dives* signifying a Cluster of Islands. This Island stands almost in the Middle, and is on the East and a half in Circumference; it is the most fertile of all, the Staple-port and Magazine of all the rest, and the Residence of the King and the Court. By this Means it is better peopled, but, at the same time, it is not so happy, for which the Natives give this Reason, viz. The King and the Court having resided there Time out of Mind, and the Corpses of all that died being interred apart, the whole Surface of the Island becomes a continued series of Graves, from whence the perpendicular Rays of the Sun extract pernicious Vapours; and accordingly the War is here so bad, that the King and Persons of great Quality send for Water to other Islands.

12. In all the Islands, even in *Male* itself, there is no such Thing as inclosed Towns, but the Houses scattered here and there, though not without some Order and Distinction of Streets. The common People's Houses are built of Cocoa Wood, and covered with Cocoa Leaves sewed double one within another. Persons of Quality and Fortune have Houses built of Stone taken out of the Mountains under the Plains and Rocks. This sort of Stones are black and white, and somewhat hard to cut, but when wet with Rain, or fresh Water, it becomes as hard as Iron; and if left in the Sun, it becomes all over black. The Murrain, which they draw out of the Sea is very remarkable. There is in that Country a sort of Tree called *Candou*, which is as our Walnut-Tree, and resembles the Apple-tree, having long Leaves and Whiteness, but is extremely bitter, and has no Fruit, and is not proper for burning, yet the Natives saw it into Planks like our Fir-Tree, and which is lighter than Cork. This premised, we observed that they draw out the Stone. Being the expiated substance that can be, they dive under Water, and lay themselves upon a Stone fit for their Purpose, fastening a Cable round it, then they take a Piece of the Cannon wood, and boring it, run it along the Cable quite to the Stone; after this, they run on such a Number of Pieces of Cannon wood as they have Occasion for, till the Light and Boarding is set up along with it, a Stone of 100, 200, or 300 Pounds Weight, it was by this Contrivance the Natives to fix up the Cannon and Anchors of our Ship that was cast away; and it was by the Eye witnesses to their clearing, by the same means, the Space of fifteen Days, the Harbour of *Male*, which was choaked with great Rocks, inasmuch that no Ship could come in. When the Cannon-wood is on the Shore, and Water, it must be dried in the Sun before it is used, otherwise it will not float.

le-cats, and Ferris, are like
are no great Beads, either
heep, and some three or four
in the Island of *Mole*, which
of which they never eat but on

Occasions, for these *Kine* are
nt. They have no Dogs, say,
that when the King of *Portu-*
the King, he ordered them to
The Sea affords Plenty of all
tween the *Atollons*, where the
the Fishery is the most common
who feed mostly upon Fish,
other Meats fried with the Oil
it water, and dried for keeping,
is loaded with Fish for *Maana*,
Many of the Fishermen have
have been but off by a part of
the Seas. This great Plenty of
Purchase; four hundred Co-
cuch is Eight pence, the three
hundred Bananas, a dozen of
Weight of Roots, or a hundred

of the *Indies*, where a Stranger
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per for burning of *Maana*,
like our Fire-Drum. The
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Being the *Agave* grows
nder Water, and is used
for Purport, taken out of
e of the *Candou* wood, and
g the Cable quite up, and
such a Number of *Maana*,
the light and burning Water
e of 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60,
the Natives to look up to *Maana*
p that was called away, and
aring, by the fine sea in
the Harbour of *Mole*, which
cks, inasmuch that no *Maana*
andou-wood is on a *Maana*.
the Sun before it is used, otherwise

Upon other Occasions they take five or six large Pieces
of Wood, and having ranged them all in a Line, raise
Planks on them of the same Wood, to sit upon, and so
pass from one Island to another: and it is by this Con-
trivance they generally manage their Fishery. In the Can-
als that run between the *Atollons* one Man can work
these Instruments of Navigation, though they are not pro-
per for the Sea; for they know how to trim their Deal-
ers so well, that there is no Fear of overfetting; and if
that happens, their Plank will always swim: all the Dan-
ger lies in disjoining the Pieces; and this sort of Float is
called *Candou-patis*, from the Wood of which it consists.
The *Candou*-tree has yet another strange Property, name-
ly, that when one Piece of it is struck against another they
will extract Fire; and this serves them in the Place of
Tinder-boxes.

13. Our Method directs us, in the next Place, to speak
of their Language, which lies in two Channels; the
first is the *Maldivan*, properly so called, which is very
copious; the second is the *Arabick*, of the same Use as
Latin in a Popish Country, being the Language of their
devout Advertisers. I pass over the *Cambaya*, *Cuzaretta*,
and *Portuguese* Tongues, which are derived from their
Commerce, and shall only take Notice that in the Southern
Parts they speak a coarse unpolite Language, which, after
all, is the common Tongue of these Islands. Their Reli-
gion and Ceremonies come next to be considered. All the
Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, and the greatest Part of
the Foreigners, viz. *Arabians*, *Malabars*, and *Sumatrans*,
are the same. Their Temples, or Mosques, are built of
good Stone, well cemented, and have a thick Wall.
They stand in the Middle of a square walled Inclosure,
where they bury their Dead, except those who desire a
separate Sepulchre. Their Temples are square, and face
the West, as pointing to *Mohammed's* Tomb. They have
three Doors, each of which is faced by a broad Wall with
Steps, the Bottom and Sides of which are lined with pol-
ished and flat Stones, the Floor of the Temple being cov-
ered with Mats and Tapestry; whereas the Church-Yard
is nothing but Sand. Their Temples are kept so clean,
that if they want to spit or blow their Nose, they must
either do it in their Handkerchief or get out of Doors.

The Roof or Ceiling of the Temples is of Wood, ad-
mirably well polished, and the Walls are wainscotted, both
of them being firmly joined without Nails, Pegs, or any
other visible Artifice. Upon the Walls of the Temples we
meet with large Tables of Stone, or of Wood, with *Ar-*
abic Inscriptions. They have a particular Place for the
King and his Court, and Galleries for the Guards, and
separate Apartments for certain Dignities, Qualities, and
Ages, inasmuch that any Person who takes up an improp-
er Place, is fined accordingly. They constantly burn
Lamps, for which End certain low Trees are consecrated.
Some of the Islands have more or ten Temples; but that
is which they solemnize a general Festival is built and sup-
ported at the common Charge, under the Name of *Oucura*
Mosque. Each Mosque has its Priest called *Moudin*, and
each Island that has forty Persons above the 15th Year of
their King's Age is dignified with a Curate or Curate, who
acts as Principal at all publick Ex-rates, and governs the
interior Priests. He pronounces the publick Prayers, and
by Sermons and Exhortations explains and recommends the
Law of *Mohammed*; under him the *Moudins* teach Chil-
dren to read and write their Mother Tongue, and that of
Arabic, for which Service their Parents give them a Re-
ward. Every Day in the Week all above fifteen Years of
Age repair, before Break of Day, to the Temple, and de-
clare their Creed, &c. That the World is flat, and not
round, that it is surrounded with a Wall of Brass, which
prevents it being drowned in the Waters that encompass it:
That the Devil, the general Enemy of Mankind, endeav-
ours every Night to break through and undermine this
Wall, and that he is not much short of compassing his
End when the Day-light arrives. Upon this belief they
all join in Prayer, at the Break of Day, to prevent the De-
struction of the World, which, as they believe, would
otherwise ensue.

They repair to the Temple four Times a Day besides,
viz. at Noon, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, at

Sun-set, and at ten o'Clock at Night, remaining each Time
half an Hour. Those that have no mind to go to Church
may say their Prayers at home, or none at all if they please;
but if it be known that any Person neglects their Duty of
Prayer altogether, nobody will eat or converse with him;
from whence it comes to pass, that almost all of them, whe-
ther Tradesmen or others, spend a great Part of their Time
in publick Service. They make use of Beads as well as the
Papists; but they have no Crosses. Before they enter the
Temple they wash their Feet, Hands, Ears, Mouth and
Eyes, observing at the same time certain Ceremonies, and
pronouncing Prayers suitable to the Sin they repent of.
They are so scrupulous, that no Temptation in the World
can oblige them to forbear this solemn Way of washing,
upon the Apprehension that it certainly purges them of all
Sin and Pollution. The greatest Indecency of their Wor-
ship is, that they wash and bathe publickly and promiscu-
ously, and offer their penitential Prayers with a loud Voice,
and so discover to all the World all the secret Transactions
of their Lives. At this Rate all the secret Adventures of
Man and Wife are laid open to the World by the publick
Prayers of both Parties; for the Women pray aloud as
well as the Men, only they do it in their Houses, in regard
that they never go to Church.

14. The Male Children are circumcised when they are
seven Years of Age, and upon that Occasion the Parents
and Relations divert themselves with Musick and publick
Feasting fourteen Days. They have particular Operators
for Circumcisions, who apply themselves to nothing else,
and the Ceremony is after this Manner: For six or seven
Hours before the Circumcision the Child is bathed in the
Sea, in order to make the Yard shrink, and to render the
Skin soft and tender. When the Hour comes the Child is
brought to a Lodge built on purpose, and held by two or
three Moudins or Priests, who in the mean time chant Verses
and Prayers suitable to the Occasion. Then the Operator
having drawn over the Prepuce, and tied it with a String,
cuts it with a Razor, after which he heals it in fifteen
Days; before Circumcision they alledge that the Child is
innocent, and cannot sin, and for the same Reason they do
not cover the Privities of the uncircumcised Children. As
for the Girls, their Circumcision consists in drawing two or
three Drops of Blood, when they are two Years of Age;
but it is attended with no Solemnity. When the Children
are grown up, they pay a profound Deference to the Oper-
ator that circumcised them, and call him Master.

They celebrate several Festivals in the Course of the Year,
particularly every *Friday* with them is a Day of Feasting,
at which all the Males above fifteen Years of Age are pre-
sent, but no Females. On the preceding Eve they pray in
their Houses, some for their Health, others for the dead,
and for that End lend for the Priests to their Houses, where
an Entertainment is provided; and as the Priests have no
Stomach for eating, they chuse rather to be absent, for if
they come they must eat, though against their Appetite. On
Friday Morning the publick Crier goes round the Island,
with a sort of Bell in his Hand, and a Hammer of Wood
to beat it withal: He is assisted by three Trumpeters, who
found often to give the People Notice of their Duty. Upon
this Warning the People throw aside all Work for that
Day, and after washing and bathing, and putting on their
best Cloaths, repair to the Temple. In the mean time the
King's Musicians play before his Palace on divers Instru-
ments, and soon after the King's four Priests, who are Men
of Quality and Learning, and never assist but at publick
Solemnities, ascend an high Stone Edifice adjoining to the
Temple, where they clap their Hands upon their Ears, and
with a loud and fearful Voice cry thrice, *Alla, Alla, Ague-*
bar i. e. Great God, and then they add something of *Mo-*
ammed. This done, they repair to the King's Palace, and
pronounce the same Words after the same manner. Upon
which, if the King has a Mind to be seen, as he commonly
is, he sends a Carpet of Silk to be spread on the Place where
he means to sit. Then the Moudins do the like at the
Curate's House, and he comes and waits upon the King,
who walks in great Magnificence to the Temple, his Head
being covered with a white Veil above a great Turban, so
that he cannot see, but is led by one of the Moudins. The
King comes last to the Church, and immediately says his
Prayers;

Prayers; after which the Caribs being mounted on a raised Place at one end of the Temple, takes a naked Sword in his Hand with the Point downward, and flourishing it about, recites his Prayers. In the mean time the People pray without ceasing, putting themselves in various Postures, and observing several apish Gestures.

The Carib has a new Prayer for every Friday in the Year, and when that Year is expired, makes use of the same Prayers for the next. He repeats all without Book, and it he happens to be out in one Word, Syllable, or Letter, the Moudins reprimand him publicly, and the Feast is thought to be ineffectual. This Service lasts about two Hours, and after it is over, the People saluting one another, and the King returning in great State to his Palace, entertains them at his own Expence. They observe the like Solemnity on the Day of every new Moon, and rejoice when they see it. Upon this Occasion they clean their Houses, Courts and Streets, garning the Entries of the Churches, and the Gates of their Houses with Cocoa Shells cut in the middle, and filed with white Sand, and burning Coals, upon which they burn almost all Night sweet-scented Gums and Woods, at the same time the Infidels of their Houses, and Beds, &c. are perfumed after the same manner.

Though the *Maurians* celebrate every new Moon, yet they observe four beyond the rest. Particularly in December, or thereabouts, they have a Fast called *Kamedan*, which commences at the new Moon, and lasts till the next new Moon. They take their Measures not from the real Change, but from the Appearance of the new Moon; by which Means it so falls out, that some Islands begin the Fast sooner than others. The first Night of the *Kamedan* Fast the Men and Women visit one another apart, and divert themselves with Feasting, Dancing, &c. till it is near Day, having prepared themselves for eating by fasting the preceding Day, in which Custom they are in superstitious, that for that Day they will not only avoid the talking of any, but even the washing their Mouth, or putting their Fingers therein, or swallowing their Spit.

The Prohibition of swallowing their Spit puts them to a great Inconvenience when they are in the Church, because it is not allowed to spit there, and so upon every Turn they are forced to run out of Doors. Nay, such is their Superstition upon the Fast-day, that the Men, who are allowed to bathe, are prohibited to plunge their Heads in the Water, lest some Drop of it should enter their Mouth or Ears, and the Women are forbid to bathe at all. Half an Hour before Sunset, all above fifteen Years of Age repair to the Temple, and in the Space of that half Hour clean their Mouths, and pick their Teeth very nicely, being furnished by the Moudins with Pick-tooths, and other cleaning Instruments made of Cocoa wood. This done, the Moudin makes his Cry three times, and enters the Temple at the Head of the People, who then say their Prayers, the Women at the same time being employed in saying theirs at home. When that Service is over they feast and make merry with one another. During the *Kamedan* the King entertains all the People at several times, inviting only Persons of the same Quality at a time; for they are Eclésiastical Observers of their Quality, that they will not eat with any Person of a different Rank. The Nobles, Courtiers, and their Friends in like manner; and thus do the Men and Boys feast, but the Women, who are not allowed to go to these Feasts, and only Presents at Night one to another.

The Women bathe themselves in the Evening, at which Time the Men are enjoined to avoid Bathing; during the whole Course of the *Kamedan* they fast after the above-mentioned manner in the Day-time, and avoid Sin and Pollution as much as they can. If any one breaks any one of the Rules, he is obliged to fast as many more after the End of the *Kamedan*. In this Month no body will work but they ever labour. The Pandare preaches every Day at Three in the Afternoon in the King's Palace, or in the Church, or in his own House. After the Sermon is over they divert themselves with the Exercise of Arms, and several sorts of Play, particularly at Foot ball. At the same time the Women and Girls visit one another, and have particular sorts of Plays and Diversions suitable to their Sex. Intrigues run larger in this Month than in any other, and

the Courtship consists in sending to one another Songs and Verses, inscribed with Boddkins on Cocoa Leaves, which are as white as Paper.

The Youths likewise present their Mistresses with Girdles of sweet smelling Flowers, and receive in return Presents of Betel nicely dressed. In fine, they take all possible Measures to heighten their Mirth and Diversion. Three Days before it ends the Bellman and the Trumpeter go round the Island, requiring all the Inhabitants, whether Men or Boys, Women or Girls, to send their Names in Writing to the Naybo of their respective *Atollon*, and to pay an Offering of half a Lirin a Head, which the People pay very willingly as a Tribute to God and *Mohammed*. For they imagine that without the paying of this Tribute their Falling would not avail them. In this Tax the Parents pay for the unmarried Children, and for their Servants and Slaves; and if any poor Person has not the Money to lay down, the King, or any rich Person, pays for them very willingly. The Money arising from this Tax is laid in the Hands of four Receivers, one on the Behalf of the King, a second for the Clergy, a third for the new Converts, and a fourth for the Poor. One third of it goes to Ecclesiastical Persons, another to the Pious, and the remaining third to the Poor. About August and September they have a Solemnity of Two Days, in which they feed about to one another boiled Wine, with Honey and Cocoa Milk. This Festival is said to take its Rise from a Miracle that *Mohammed* wrought on that Day.

There remains yet another very solemn Night-Festival called *Maulade*, which happens about the Middle of October, being the Night on which *Mohammed* died. Upon this Occasion they have a huge Houffe, or Ha of Wood, in several Parts of the Island, which is hung with the finest and richest Tapellry, the Floor of which is covered with white Sand, and Mats above it, and the Ceiling adorned with white Cotton Cloth, supported with thick Strings, that run along it like Stripes. In this great Hall hang up to many Lamps, that it is as light as Day, a rare Smell and Smoke of the Perfumes that they burn in the Air. In the middle of the Hall there is a Table covered with several sorts of Meat and mixed Liquors. The Women do not assist at this Solemnity, but the Men repair about eight o'Clock at Night, and sit down in Order according to their respective Stations, there being Officers appointed to rank them. All the Night long the several other Ecclesiastical Persons sing what they call the *Songs of David*. When Midnight approaches, the wood of the Hall fall down flat upon the Ground, as in an Earthquake, some time in that Posture for some time; after which the Carib and the Caribes start up at a sudden, and following their Examples, they all start up, and salute one another as they were men.

The People are served with Beer, which is not drunk, by fifty Persons chosen into that Office, and reckoned very honourable, when the Night is over the Priests give over singing, and say Prayers, at which they all go to the Middle of the Hall, where they sit in Bands, and every one takes a Plate of Meats, and mack Liquors, which they carry home with them, and esteem very much. After their religious Ceremonies are over, they are proper to solemnize the Ceremony of Marriage. Upon a Design of Marriage, they assemble in the Pandare or Naybo, who, after he has seen the Parties, that things really are as they are represented by the Hand, and asks if any one of the Parties is a Woman on the Condition's proposed, which is always being absent, he leaves the Parties to their Consent. If they all agree, he then calls the By-standers to witness their Consent. The Pandare's Company waits upon the Woman, and she is accompanied by the Priest, who is always present. All the Visitors, and the Priest, Feasting, Musick, Dancing, &c. are invited, and makes Presents to the King, and the Priest, who the Bride pays the like Compliments to the King, and other Ladies; both make Presents with the King's Gifts; but when the King is married, he receives Presents from all his Subjects, and the Priest, Turbans, Vittuals, Fruits, &c. and these Presents, which arise to a great Sum, are

new-married Queen, A Man may have three Wives if he can maintain them, but not more; and if all three live in one Island, he is obliged by Law to bestow as many Nights upon one as upon the other. Tho' after all this Law is not observed, and indeed it is a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are so lascivious.

The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wife, and is obliged, not only to be at the Charge of the nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to settle upon her a Jointure equal to what her Mother and other Ancestors had. They are so nice on this last Condition, that if the Priest apprehends the Husband cannot afford such a Jointure, he refuses to marry them, notwithstanding both Parties require it; but after all, the Bride may renounce either whole, or Part of the Jointure, after Marriage, and indeed that is frequently practis'd. Brothers and Sisters, first Cousins, and those who by way of Friendship and Intimacy have used to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, Uncle, Nephew, &c. are prohibited to marry. The Males may marry when they will, but a female Orphan cannot marry till she is fifteen Years of Age; indeed, if her Father be alive (for the Mother has no Power) he marries her at ten or eleven Years of Age, and that to the first Suitor, whether old or young, provided his Quality is in some Measure suitable to hers; for they reckon it a great Sin to keep the Daughters unmarried. A Man may turn away his Wife, but unless she consents to the Separation, he may demand her Jointure: Tho' after all, that Demand is seldom made, as being reckoned a mean Action, and a Sign that the Woman fears that her Merit will never procure her another Husband.

On the other Hand, the Woman cannot part from the Husband without his Consent. This sort of Divorce, which is very frequent, must be attested by Witnesses, or they cannot receive the Benefit of a second Marriage. The Divorced Parties frequently repent of their Separation, and marry again a second, third, or fourth Time; but after that Divorce, such a Remarriage is not allowed; tho' it is the Liberty of the People, that they frequently desire them, and in order to evade the Law, they have a common Trick of getting some profligate Fellow to marry the divorced Woman, and to wish her one Night with her in each Bed; after which he quits her before Wedlock is consummated, and she is married a second time to her former Husband. Such is the Liberty of this Divorce, that a Man shall have a second Wife, and the Woman look upon the Multitude of former Husbands as a Privilege, when she comes to take a new one. When a Woman is separated from her Husband by Death, she must remain four Months and ten Days before she can marry again; and if the Separation be made by Divorce, she must remain three Months single before she is to marry. This Caution is used, lest she should prove with Child by her former Husband.

Their funeral Ceremonies are superstitious to a great Degree; in the last Place, the Corpse is washed by Priests of the female Sex, who buy an Office of the King, and are paid for their Service; then they are wrapped up in Cotton, and covered with fine white Cotton Cloth, which goes afterwards to the Priest, the Right-hand of the deceased Person being laid up in his Hair, and the Left upon his Thigh. This done, the Corpse is laid upon the Right-side in a Coffin of *Candiu* Wood, and carried to the Burying place, by six Relations and Friends, attended by the Women-washers, who cry and howl most hideously. Every Man in his Lifetime provides for his last Burying place, and all the other Necessaries; nay, they are so superstitious, that they will rather starve than touch the Money they have laid up for this Purpose. Besides the principal Mourners, the other Relations and Neighbours are present with our Invention, and upon the March to the House of the deceased Person to the Grave, they carry Shovels for the Benefit of the Poor, to whom they bestow all these Sacks of Rice and Millet, at the same Time they give to the Priest Pieces of Gold and Silver, the Number of which is proportionable to the Estate of the deceased Person, and these Pieces are distributed by the Priest to those who have assisted in praying for the

deceased Person. The Priests sing continually during the whole Course of the Ceremony, and in the Procession a Person of Quality sprinkles the Assistants with Water made of sweet Flowers.

The Grave is covered with a large Piece of Silk, or Cotton, which, on the Interment, goes to the Priests of the Temple. When the Corpse is laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceased Person to the Quarter that faces *Mohammed's* Tomb, and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, sprinkling it with Water. When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following *Friday's* they pray over the Grave, where the Priests sing, eat and pray every Day, till the third *Friday* passes, after which, a general Feast is prepared for the Relations, Friends, and Priests, who pretend, that the Soul of the deceased Person is then conveyed to Paradise. This Feast is prepared every Year, and on *All-Souls* Day they throw fresh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incense: The Grave is surrounded with wooden Pales, for they reckon it a great Sin to walk over it. They never bury two Corpses in the same Place; for they have such a Reverence for the Bones of the Dead, that even the Priests dare not touch them. If a great Lord dies, the Priests sing for him a whole Year, and are entertained every Day with Dishes of Meat and Beer; but if a King or Queen dies, the Ceremony is continued to the Death of the next Successor.

In this Country, the Mourners make no Alteration in their Habit, only they go bare-headed to the Grave, and continue so for a few Days after the Interment. Those who die fighting with Persons of a contrary Religion are buried up in the Spot where they fall, without any Ceremony; and in regard that they are accounted holy and happy, neither the Priests, nor their Friends, pray for them. They never transport Corpses from one Island to another, and even the King himself is buried where he happens to die. If any Person dies at Sea, they wash the Corpse, and put it into a Coffin, which they place upon a Float of *Candiu* Wood; within the Coffin they put Silver, in Proportion to his Circumstances, and a written Paper, describing his Religion, and usually praying those who meet with the Corpse to take the Money, and bury it handsomely.

17. We come near to their Apparel: The Men tie about their Privities a great Swathe of Cloth, which comes round about, to prevent any Discovery in working, or walking about; next that they have a Piece of blue, or red Cotton Cloth that reaches to their Knees, and then a larger Piece of Cotton, or Silk, reaching to their Ancles, and girded with a square Handkerchiefe, embroidered with Gold and Silver, which is spread upon their Backs, and tied before. Above these they have a little Piece of party-coloured Silk, which reaches only to the middle of their Thighs. At last they gird themselves with a great fringed silk Girdle, the Ends of which hang down before; within this Girdle, on the Left-side, they keep their Money and Bezel, and on the Right-side a Knife. These Knives are made of excellent Steel, the Sheaths being of Wood, and the Shirts of Fish-bone, for the Bane of a Land-creature they will not wear. The richer Sort have both their Hats and Sheaths of wrought Silver. Every one wears a Knife, and esteems it much, as being his only Arms, for none but the King's Officers and Soldiers are allowed to wear any other. These, indeed, have a wrought Dagger at their Side, and when they walk along the Street, a drawn Sword in one Hand, with a Buckler, or Jambon, in the other. The *Mullans* place their chief Ornaments in their silver Chains, which hang about their Girdle, and of which every Boy or Girl has more or less, in Proportion to their Means; but 'tis only Persons of Quality and Fortune that show them openly. In these they place their chief Treasure, and commonly they appropriate them for the Charge of their Funeral.

The common People are naked from the Girdle upwards, except on the Festival-Days, on which they wear Cotton and silk Jerkins and Wastcoats with gilt copper Buttons; the Sleeves of their Coats reach only to their Elbow; for they alledge, that if their Wrists were tied up

like ours, they could not have the free Use of their Arms. Persons of Quality commonly wear such Coats, but some have a Custom of covering their Skins from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Paste, made of the Powder of Camphire and Sanders, beaten upon a smooth Stone, and incorporated with the distilled Water of sweet-scented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, &c. with this Paint, and draw various Figures upon them; however, they must not appear with that Piece of Foppery before the King, or be seen in his Palace. The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or party-coloured Turbans, some of which are of Cotton, for the meaner sort of People, and others of Silk, for the Persons of Quality. The King's Officers and Soldiers have frequently embroidered Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which other Subjects are not allowed to wear. Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within Doors they use wooden Sandals, which they pull off when visited by a Person of superior Rank; oftentimes their Legs are likewise naked.

The Women wear a Coat of Cotton, or Silk, which reaches to their Middle to their Ancles; above that they have a long Robe of Taffety, or fine Cotton, reaching to their Feet, without any Slit besides the Neck, where it is fastened with two little gilded Buttons. This Robe they pull quite up to fuddle their Children. Their Arms are loaded from their Wrist to the Elbow with Bracelets of Silver, inasmuch that sometimes they have three or four Pounds of fine Silver upon them, though indeed the poor sort alloy the Silver with Brass. The Women of Quality have many Chains of Gold, or Strings with little Pieces of Gold about their Necks, and rich Pendants in their Ears. They have their Ears pierced when they are young, not only in the Cap, upon which there hangs an Ear-ring, but in twenty four Places up the Gristle, in which they put as many gilded Nails, with precious Stones or Pearls on the Heads of them. When the Women walk in the Streets they cover their Heads with a Veil, and are very cautious in showing their Faces before Men, though in the Presence of Women of superior Rank they take off their Veil. They are not allowed to wear Rings, Ewels, Bracelets, or Ear-rings, or Chains of Gold, till they ask and obtain Leave of the Queen, as the Men do of the King; for the same Privilege, which commonly cost them Money.

The different Quality of the Women is distinguished by the Nature of their Ornaments; for none but Queens and Princesses are allowed to wear Gold Bracelets, or Gold-Rings on their Arms or Legs; besides, the Queen puts Rings on their Fore-finger, the Princesses and Persons of the first Quality upon their Middle-fingers; so that all other Women have their Rings up in the Ring-finger and Little-fingers, and the Men have theirs upon their Thumb only. If a Man's Wife begins to wear richer Ornaments than she used to do in former Times, the Man's Taxes are increased; and he becomes of the King's Officers, or an Infant of the *Mare*, for she is exempted from all Taxes on Apparel; Foreigners and their Wives are also free, for they may wear what they please, as well as the Clergy. The Women place a great Part of Beauty in painting the Nails of their Fingers and Toes, which they effect with the Juice of a certain Tree. In a Word, they are very handsome, and are very careful in setting themselves off with a genteel Habit, and with frequent washing and perfume; Generally speaking, their Complexion is an Olive Colour, though some of them are brown, and others very fair.

18. The People of this Country have many peculiar Customs with reference to eating; they reckon it is very dishonourable for a Person of superior Rank to eat with his Intercourse; and indeed the *vile* (sic) repale one another, unless it be at solemn Festivals. If they mean to compliment a Friend, they send a covered Table with several Dishes of Meat to that Friend's House, who is thereby much honoured; but in their own Houses they are cautious of eating in the Presence of others. Before and after eating, they say Prayers, and their Table is the Floor, covered with a fine Mat, upon which they sit or kneel; they feed to nicely, that they will not drop one Crumb, nay, not so much as a

Drop of Water, though they wash their Mouths before and after. Instead of Table-cloths and Napkins they use Banane-Leaves. Their Dishes are made of Earth, or China Porcelain, which is very common in that Country, gold or silver Vessels being prohibited by Law. They are all round like Boxes, with an earthen Cover, over which they put a Piece of Silk, for the Pisines are there to numerous and troublesome, that it would be impossible to keep Meat without a Cover upon it, and the People are so nice, that they will not taste any Meat that has been touched by a Fly, Pisine, or any Insect or unclean Thing, but give it to the Fowls. As for the Fowls, whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they are to offer them what they will not eat themselves, and entertain them with the best Victuals they have. If they see the least Crack in a Dish, they eat no more out of it, being it polluted.

All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, but would so nicely, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very natural Piece of Decency. If they have Occasion to cough or spit at Time of eating, they rise from the Table, and walk out; they never feed themselves with their Left-hand, because they make use of it in Washing their Privities. They choose to begin their Meals with eating a Cocoa-nut half-ripe, and drinking the Water of it, which they say loosens the Body. While they eat they are all silent, and make quick Dispatch, for with them it is an unmanly Thing to be long eating. They take care for a Piece of Rudeness and Inability to drink before they have done eating, and even then they drink but once, either Water or Cocoa wine fresh drawn. They drink out of Copper-cups well wrought, with Covers to the Rim; after eating and washing, they give up a Piece of Bitter Indulgence of Sweet-meats, for the Fruit is scarce with the Men. They have no set Meal-times, but eat a great Appetite provokes them; and Vices is not only the Women, for the Men despite the Custom of a Cook in such a Manner, that they will not converse with a Man-cook, or admit him to a Share of their Food, but being doomed by his Trade to the Company of the Men.

19. When they kill a Beast for Food, they offer their Faces towards *Mohammet's* Sepulchre, and then spit in a particular Place; after which they begin to wash, and the touching of it till it is quite clean. The washing must be ancient, and the Father of the Nation. When they awake out of their Sleep they prefer to wash their Eyes and Faces, and rub them with Oil, and wash their Lips, Lids and Eye-Brows; for before the Performance of this Duty, they must not speak, or bid anyone else to speak. They are very careful in washing, and are so exact, that to the end that the Body and Arms may be more nicely impressed their red Colour upon them, when they are very fond of. They are always chewing Betel, which they continually carry about with them in a Pouch of their Girdle, and mutually present to each other upon occasional Salutations. They bathe before they enter the Temple, and wash with their Left-hand after natural Evacuations. When they bathe at home, they plunge their Feet three Times under the Water, and afterward that they always bathe and pray in publick, and that the separate Crimes have peculiar Ceremonies calculated for them, every Man's Crimes or Misdemeanors are they expose to the public View; When they set out upon a Voyage, they avoid touching or meeting any body, for the least Accident betrays them, they impute it to the Person that touched them. When they go a-hunting they must not handle any, or bid them *Good-morrow*. This is not done on *Thursday*, till three or four o'Clock; every Morning they suffer nothing to be carried out of their Houses, but receive all that is brought in.

If they fall out one with another, they never rally, for if they did all the World would fall upon them. When crossed at Sea, they address themselves to the King of the Winds (for they do not call him a God), and in every Island there is a detestable Bye place, called *Sin*, where those who have escaped Dinger make Offerings of little Boats and Ships, made on purpose, and loaded with Guns, Perfumes, Flowers, and odoriferous Woods. They burn the Perfumes, and having set fire to the Boats and Ships,

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Guns,
to borderous
Woods. They
put
get fire to
the Boat
and ships

turn them adrift, so that they float upon down till they are quite burnt; and this they take for a Sacrifice that is acceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they cannot easily set their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right afore the Ship they mean to sail in. They likewise pay a superstitious Devotion to the imaginary King of the Sea, and dare not spit to the windward of the Ship, nor look behind them.

All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Prince of the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and clean as Temples. They place a wonderful Virtue in certain Characters called *Catide*, which they wear under their Garments in little Boxes, and sometimes under their Arms, Necks, Girdles, or Feet, according to the Seat of the Distemper; for, their imaginary Virtue is said to consist in curing or easing Diseases, procuring Love, Hatred, Safety, or Danger, &c. These they buy of the Magicians, who are their only Physicians. They impute Death, Sickness, and all Affliction to the Devil, and in order to pacify him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets in a certain Place, where they let them consume, unless some poor Body has the Sense to take them. With the same View they offer him Cocks and Hens, which they kill with their Faces directed toward *Mohammed's Tomb*.

To give a short Account of their most common Distempers; the first is a Fever, which is dangerous to Strangers. An epidemic and contagious Disease called *Carrion*, and not unlike the Small-pox, visits them once in ten Years, and sweeps off a great many. They are liable to Disorders of the Eyes; many of them are quite blind, and most of them have little Eyes. When they have Occasion to be long in the Sun, in the Height of the Day, they sometimes use the right light when the Sun goes down, and for a Cure of that Infirmity, they take the Liver of a Cock boiled, and after the writing of certain Words and incenses upon it, swallow it just before Sunset; by this Remedy both I and my Companions received a considerable Benefit, through we omitted the magical Part. They are very subject to the Itch, which they heal with the Oil of Coccos, and some of them are covered all over with insupportable Letters, which is owing to their feeding mostly upon Salt fish, and their pouring salt Water upon their salt Meat.

In the Winter, as they go barefoot, notwithstanding that it rains continually, a sort of Worm breeding in the Mud seizes upon the Soles of their Feet, and the Intervals of their Toes, where they raise Whists that penetrate into Ulcers, so that they cannot walk; then when the body is likewise infected with these Worms. Commonly their Splens are large, and liable to Obstructions, and their Breasts are apt to swell, and be hard, when they believe proceed from their unhealthy Water. In all external Infirmities, such as Sores, or Aches, they apply Fire, which raises a Scar, and upon that they lay Cotton steeped in Castor Oil, which proves very successful; their Ulcers, which happen chiefly in their Legs, are perfectly cured by the Application of Plates of Copper. As for their Wounds, they cure them very dexterously, by the Application of Ointments, without any Bandages or Tents; they are sometimes troubled with Catarrhs, Dislocations, and Pains in the Bones. Venereal Diseases are frequent among them; however, they cure them with China-wood without Swearing, and those Distempers are communicated to them from the *Euopians*. They are altogether unacquainted with the Venereal, which they owe to continual chewing of Beil, for many of them use Guano. As soon as the Children come into the World, they wash them for a considerable space of Time, sometimes a Day in cold Water, and anoint them with Oil. When they void their Excrement, they wash their Privies with Water. All Mothers, even the Queens themselves, suckle their own Children, and besides the Breast-Milk, feed them with a sort of Papp made of Millet broiled, and steeped in Water, and afterwards mixed in Milk and Sugar of Coccos. I thought they never suckle their Children, yet I never saw any of them do so; they rock them in Hammocks of Cord, or of Little Charms hung up in the Air, which they swing to and fro. At the Age of nine Months the Children begin to go

and when they are nine Years old, they commence the Studies and Exercises of the Country.

Their Studies consist in learning to read and write, to understand the *Acoran*, and to know their Duty. They have three sorts of Letters, *viz.* the *Arabick*, the *Maldivean*, and a third sort, which is commonly made use of in most Parts of the *East-Indies*. Their Lessons are wrote down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and whiten again after they have got their Lessons by Heart; for durable Writings are on Paper made of the Leaf of a Tree called *Marsae Quau*, that Leaf being a Fathom and a half long, and a Foot broad. To teach the Children to write, they make use of no Paper, but make Draughts of Letters with a Bodkin upon smooth, plain Boards of Wood, covered with fine white Sand. The Children have such a profound Veneration for their Masters, that they cannot marry them any more than their own Parents. Some of them, especially the *Moudans*, *Naybys*, and *Cabines*, carry their Studies a great Length, and acquire great Skill in the *Acoran*, and other Treatises of the Law. The Mathematicks are much esteemed in this Country, and especially that Part called Astrology; for they always consult Astrologers, not only upon Nativities and Births, but upon all Undertakings whatsoever, as Travelling, Building, &c.

As for their Exercises, they have Schools for learning the right Use of a Sword and Buckler, of a Bow, of a Gun, and of a Pike; and the Masters who teach them are much respected. They have no sort of Diversions but that of the Foot-ball, which they toils very dextrously. Many of them apply themselves to Manufactures for Household-stuffs and other Commodities, which they make very ingeniously; but the most universal and the most considerable Exercise they have, is that of Fishing, which is so common an Exercise all over the *Maldives*, that there is no such thing as a particular Trade of that Nature; for Gentlemen, and even their Kings, pursue Fishing as we do Hunting in this Part of the World. Every Man there enjoys the natural Liberty of fishing where and for what he pleases. The Fish which are taken in the deep Sea about six or seven Leagues off the Bars of the *Atollons* are large, and of seven or eight sorts, such as *Bonios*, *Abacores*, *Guilt-beads*, &c. which are all much of the same Taste, and have to more Scales than a Mackerel. The Instruments with which they catch them are a Line of a Fathom and an half of great Cotton Thread tied to a Cane, together with its Hook, that in Form resembles the Letter h. The Bait is not fastened upon the Hook, but thrown about into the Sea; for they drag after their Boat a Quantity of small Fish like our Roaches, which are very numerous among the Rocks and Sands, and which are perceived alive in Pursuits of Cotton-thread; and when they come to the deep Sea they call these little Fishes about, and throw in their Line; upon which the great Fishes perceiving an unwonted Quantity of little Fish crowd upon them in Shoals, greedily swallow the whitened Hook, taking it for one of the little Fish. The Fish that swallows the Hook takes off as soon as the Line is brought into the Boat, and so the Line is thrown in again. As this are they will fill their Boat with Fish in three or four Hours Time, and, which is very strange, the Boat is all along under Sail. The Fish thus taken are all black, from whence they are called *Coboly Maff*, i.e. the *Black-fish*. They have another Way of fishing to the Night time upon the Banks that surround the *Atollons*. At every full moon every new Moon they convey themselves to the Banks upon Hurdles, and the Fishing lasts three Days every time. 'Tis performed by Lines of hard, coarse Cotton Thread, some of which are fifty or sixty Fathom long, and are backed over with the Bark of a Tree that serves instead of Pitch, in order to preserve it from Corruption. At the End of this Line they have a Hook with a Bar fastened upon it, after the same manner as is usual among us. By this means they catch a prodigious Quantity of large cod Fish, such as I never saw elsewhere, which catch it dexterously, and is by them called *The King of the Sea*. In time, they have been Plenty of several sorts of Fish, and different Ways of taking them unknown to us, that 'tis impossible to distinguish many; for besides the Lines above-mentioned, they have also sorts of Nets of Cotton, Twine, White, and other Instruments for Fish-

ing. Upon the Flats near the Shore they catch small Fish like Pilchards with Calling-nets.

At the two Equinoxes they have a general Filling, which is very remarkable. At these two Periods of the Year, as the Tides flow beyond their wonted Bounds, so they ebb more than usual, and discover several Rocks and Flats, which at other times continue under Water. Upon this Occasion the *Maldivians* pitch upon several dry Corners, which they encompass with Stones raised like a Wall to a great Height, being forty Paces in Circumference, with a Door or Entrance left that is three Paces wide. This done, thirty or forty of them stretch out, all round the Flats, a large wide Circle of the great Cocoa shells dried, and that supplies the Place of Cork, making the Line float. Now the Fish enclosed within the Circle are so scared with the Shadow of the Floating-line, as if it had a Net underneath it, that instead of making their Escape by swimming, they fly from it, and, by the gradual Contraction of the Line, are brought into the Inclosure, the Entry of which is thereupon stopp'd with all Expedition with Faggots of the Boughs and Leaves of Cocoa compacted together of the Bignets of a Man; after all, the Sea runs out, and leaves the Fish on the dry Land. This Fishery, which continues fifteen Days together, produces commonly ten or twelve thousand Fish. To conclude, I know of no Place in all the *East-Indies* that can vie with the *Maldives* for a rich and plentiful Fishery.

21. After having thus disput'ed the Learning and Exercises of the *Maldivians*, it will now be my Repet to take a View of their Temper and Inclinations. They are a lively, buik, and at the same time a sober and wife People, and very discreet in most of their Actions. They love Arms and Exercise, and are not destitute of Courage. They display a great deal of Industry in Arts and Manufactures, and are polite enough in their Manners. They are religious to a very high degree, and superstitious beyond measure, tho' at the same time they are extremely given to Wantonness and Debauchery. Adultery, Incest, and Sodomy, are their common Actions. Notwithstanding the Severity of their Laws, Fornication is accounted no Crime, and a young Woman sufers no Abroad for obliging a Friend before Marriage. The Impudence of the Women is unparalleled, and the Men are as vicious as they, though indeed they are not so, on the first Spurring of Nature, and would give their whole Estates for a Receipt to corroborate drooping Lust. Their amorous Ecstasies enflam all their Discourses, and their Wives or Wives are their inseparable Companions.

Those they are so addicted to the said Degree, yet the Regard they have for their Parity and Relations shales it in their Presence; and if a Man talks a little jeocularly to a Woman before any of her Relations, they will relect it to her as a reproach, and oblig her to own in Court that she takes room for Persons of Honour, unless he declares he does not know of their Affinity to the Lady. A Man must not enter where a Woman luthes, or is present without her Consent; tho' she never takes off the Cloth that supplies the Place of a Petticoat. When a Man is in Company with a woman, if another Man meets them, he must not ask if she be his Daughter or Wife, but if she be his Kinswoman, and what Degree of Affinity or Contiguity she has to him; for if the Woman be really the Man's Daughter, and the other ask if she be his Wife, he will take it for a Question for an Indication of Incest.

As I am walking with the Women seldom stir abroad in the Days but they make all their Visits at Night, being accompanied with a Man who walks before, and when he sees any one approaching, calls out three *Gas*, i. e. take care. Upon this Notice the Man betakes himself to the entrance of the Court without seeming to see or know the Woman; Nay, if one Woman meets another, she takes to the other Side of the Way, and does not salute her unless she be very intimately acquainted with her; the outer Gate of the Houses being always open till eleven o'Clock at Night, at which Time every body is at home. The Visitors have on Occasion to knock, and indeed the Gates have no Key; but when entering the Outer-gate, and ap-

proaching to the Door of the Houses, which is always open, and spread with Tapellry of Cotton Cloth, or some other Stuff, they cough once, upon which the Post of the House come out. In the Island of *Male* the King's Officers and Soldiers cough frequently, to give Notice to another in the dark Streets, for fear of receiving mortal Wounds from their Arms, which are always raised in their Hands.

22. We shall in the next place take a View of their Government, which is an absolute Monarchy, for the King is feared and revered by all, and every thing is done according to his Pleasure under him. Each *Atollon* has a *Naybe* or Governor, who is a Priest, and Doctor of the Law. The *Naybes* govern the inferior Priests, and are also assistants in the Administration of Justice, and the Management of religious Concerns. The *Cantons* or *Atollons* being divided into many Islands, each of these Islands, which are above forty-one Men, is allotted a Doctor of the Law, who presides there in religious Matters, and is assisted by particular Priests of the *Motques*. All these are employed in instructing the People in the Law, and in opening a certain Portion of Fruits collected from several Islands, and a Salary allowed them by the King, in proportion to their Dignity.

The *Naybes* indeed are likewise employed in the Administration of Justice; nay, they are the only Judges in civil and criminal Cases; and it is for to take Justice, as well as the promoting of Religion, that they make four Circuits in the Year through all Parts within their Jurisdiction. When they go these Circuits they gather their Dues, and receive Presents from a great Number of Persons, to that Circuits furnish by this means a Part of their Incomes. The *Naybes*, or *Naybes*, as they are called under the Direction of a superior called the *Pandare*, and in *Ababek* the Cady, who resides in the Isle of *Maldive*, not only the supreme Judge in all Causes, but also the Head of the national Church. He receives from the *Naybes*, but does not pay a Salary, who, though the Advice of four or five Monarchs, i. e. Doctors of the Law, and divers other Sciences, who are usually honoured and respected, there being only three of the *Maldivians*. The Judgment pronounced by the *Pandare* may be reversed by appealing to the King, who upon such Occasions sits in Justice to the *Naybes*, and the *Pandare* Officers, of whom there are six in each Island.

The *Pandares* make a Circuit once a Year through the Isle of *Male*, as every *Naybe* does in his own Island, and condemns all to be whipped, or to be put to death, and Prayers in the *Arabick* Tongue, at the same time, to the *Maldivians*. When he goes alone, the *Naybes* must not show themselves; but if he is accompanied, he orders their Hair to be shaven, and he shaves the *Naybe*, a Collector of the King's Revenue. Justice is dispensed in the House of the *Naybe*, or the *Pandare's* House in *Male*, and in the same Manner, in the King's Palace. The *Pandare* is accompanied by Sergeants called *Detendants* to assist the *Naybe*, by Virtue of a special Letter of Writ from the *Naybe*; but if he lives out of the *Naybe's* Jurisdiction, he is summoned by Letters from the *Pandare* to come to him to come from any Part of the Realm to the *Male*.

The *Pandare's* Writ is served publickly on the Defendant by the *Calbe*, or Superior, of the *Naybe*, if he does not appear at the Place appointed for the Cause to be communicated, and is excluded from the Cause, and with his Neighbourhood, or coming to Court, he is a Party of Soldiers. If either Plaintiff or Defendant protests the Partiality of the *Naybe*, they lay an Oath to the King, who orders the Cause to be tried by the *Naybe's* Judges. The contending Parties present themselves in the Business of Right of the *Maldivians* by the Law; and in Allegations of Matter of Fact, the Plaintiff must have them attested by three Witnesses. The Defendant's own Oath will bring him out of the Law, and the Evidence is obliged to be taken in the Island, and that not superficially, but to the bottom of the

King without one. The Chambers and inner Apartments are hung with silk Tapettry, and enriched with gold Flowers and Branches of several Colours. The Beds of the Palaces, and those of the great Men, are hung with Cords upon a Beam, supported by two Pillars, and to the Pillon is rocked to Sleep. It is usual among the better Sort of People, to make the Servants rub and chide their Bodies when they lie down, and to give them little Slaps, or gentle Blows, with both their Hands, from an Apprehension that it promotes Sleep, and expels the Splen.

The King is generally clothed in a fine white Robe, or Coat of Cotton, reaching to the Girdle, or a little lower, with white and blue Edgings, and made fast before with many gold Buttons. Then he has a Piece of red emeralded Tapettry reaching from the Girdle to the Heels, and fastened with a long large Girdle of Silk, fringed with Gold, and a great Chain of Gold before, upon which there hangs a large Jewel, as big as one's Fist, composed of the finest precious Stones; he wears likewise a Knife, made after the Fashion of the Country, and it is richer than ordinary. Upon his Head he has a Cloth of Scarlet, that Cloth being to much esteemed in that Country, that none but the King presumes to wear it. This Cap is faced with Gold, and has on the Top of it a great gold Button, with a precious Stone. The Grantees and Soldiers wear their Hair long, but the King has his Head shaved every Week. His Legs are naked, after the Fashion of the Country, and his Feet are covered with Slippers of gilt Copper, imported from *Abaha*, and made like Simials, which none besides are allowed to wear, but the Queen and the Princesses of the Royal Blood.

When the King goes abroad, the chief Mark of his Dignity is a white Umbrella, which none are allowed to use but Strangers, who may have what they will. Upon the same Occasion he has three Pages near his Person, one carry a Fan, another his Sword and Buckler, and a third a Box full of Betel and Arequa, which he chews every Hour. He is likewise attended by a Doctor of Law, who reads in his Presence, and puts him in Mind of Religion. This King does not pursue the Diversions of going Abroad, and Fishing, as his Predecessors were wont to do, but sits himself up in his Palace, and spends his Time in conversing his Queen, giving Audience to his Counselors, and in seeing what any Mechanicks and Artificers work for; he keeps in his Palace Painters, Goldsmiths, Jewellers, Carvers, Joiners, Turners, Armourers, and all sorts of Workmen; nay, he works frequently with his own Hands, and looks on it as a Sin to neglect it. He is a Man of a lively quick Apprehension, and very curious to learn mechanic Trades. He entertains a great number of practick Arts unknown to his People, and makes Enquiry after those that excel in their Way.

When he goes in great Pomp to the Temple, being attended by his Guards, consisting of an hundred Men, and a Company of Officers, with a complete Band of Musick of Drums, and other Instruments. After Service is over, he returns with the same Retinue, the Soldiers leaving all the Way at the sound of March, and blowing their Swords on one another's Backs, and that in such a buccive Manner is to avoid Contusion. He is likewise attended, in all his Proceedings, by all the People of the Island, and carries with him a Prince, Panane, Nyles, Cuttes, Moutche, Guadanes, and a hundred. After Dinner he holds a Court, and with others Justice. These Islands attend on the Hope of a Bark, and therefore the King will be carried in a Chair upon his own Shoulders, which is a business but tedious, for he is a big, and strong Man, and is rather to go in Foot. In going to the King, or Queen, or Princess of the Royal Blood, and especially of them, they have peculiar Expressions, and they do not apply to others, as when they say to another Man, he is worthy to take up of the King, they say, he is worthy of the King.

The Queens wear the same sort of Habits with the other Ladies of the Court, only their Cloaths are richer. The Nobles, and the Plebeians are obliged to wait on the Queens, and to attend them when the Queens go abroad, and to be ready to attend them all the Women in the

Island run to meet them in their respective Districts with Presents of Flowers and Fruits, the Slave-Boys going Notice, at a great Distance before them, for all Men to get out of the Way upon that Occasion. Four great Ladies carry over the Queen's Head a Ven of white silk, reaching to the Ground, to that she is not seen. The Queens bathe frequently in the Sea, as well as other Women, such being the Custom of the Country, which they reckon very conducive to Health. For as soon as they have an Inclosure in the Sea, covered with Cotton-Tree, and upon the Shore a little Houle, with a Fresh-water Bath, which they use as they come out of the Sea. Day-light is never seen in the Queen's Chambers, or those of the Ladies of Quality, for their only Light is Lamp burning continually; and the Place of the Room where they usually retire is blocked up with four or five Rows of Tapettry, the innermost of which neither Man or Woman dares to pull up without coughing or becoming sick, and telling who they are. When they undress, they pull off only their Robe, for neither Men nor Women in the *Maldives* dare to throw off the Cloth that is tied round their Middle.

As for the King's Revenue, he has many Lands, which are Crown Lands, besides a fifth Part of all the Grain and Fruits of the Country, and a Tax on dried Fish, Shell called Bely, and Cords of Cocons, which he lays upon them according to their Circumstances, for he has no Taxes paid him in Money, abating what is paid a Purchase for Titles and Offices, or for Licences to wear one Apparel. He obliges his People to make him every Year as much Cotton Cloth as cloaths his Soldiers, and he gives them Cloaths as well as Pay. This Revenue is somewhat enlarged by his Claim to the Goods imported by Shipping, for a Ship no sooner arrives, than the Owners call to him, and give him an Account of their Cargo, out of which he takes what he pleases, at low Rates, and obliges his Subjects to take them of him again at what price he pleases, by way of Exchange, for such Things as he wants, and often first out Ships laden with the Commodities of his own Country.

All Wrecks found on the Sea-Shore are immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dare keep any; the same is done with Ambergris, especially by the *Maldives* Women, which is more plentiful here than any Part of the *Indies*, and which is so narrowly looked after, that whoever appropriates it to his own Use, dies a hard Death. In a word, whatever the Sea calls upon the Shore is the King's, particularly a sort of Sea-nuts, called *Lana*, are as big as a Man's Head, which they fancy to grow on Trees under Water. The *Portuguese* call them Cocons of the *Maldives*; they are used in Physick, and very dear. Their Money is Silver only, and but of one sort, called *Lana*; however, all Gold and Silver is current here by Weight, and it is all over the *Indies*. Before they take it, it is melted in the Fire, and every Man keeps Weights for that Purpose. There is a sort of Metal called *Calin*, containing very much esteemed in the *Indies*, but not current here. This Money passes to where in the *Indies*, but in the Kingdom of the Prince that comes it, having but one sort of Coins, they are forced to cut it, by which they save a fourth Part. Instead of small Coins they use a sort of small pieces of which make a Larn, and a Larn is worth about eight Shells, being long, like only Eggs, and folded; the King's Name is set upon them, by way of Letters. Their Gold and Silver is all brought home abroad, but in their own Markets they change it for a Ling for another. The *Maldives* are well supplied with Merchants, and the Commodities that are sold are chiefly the Cocons, with which they carry out one hundred Ships yearly. Of this the *Portuguese* have long since discovered all the Ships of *Abaha*, *Maldive*, and other Islands. They make also Oil and Honey of the Leaves of a Tree, which they weave the Leaves of the Tree into a Sort of Mats, and also little Shells, that contain a Quantity of a certain Bignets of the End of one's Finger, which they use in tooth, and glittering. They fish for a certain sort of Moon, and before and after the full Moon, they dig for them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea.

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ing up to their Middle in Water. These go only to *Bengal*, the Inhabitants of which esteem them so much, that I have seen thirty or forty Ships laden, without any other Commodity, bound thither. Though in *Bengal* they have enough of other Metals, yet these Shells pass there as Money, and the King and Noblemen hoard up prodigious Quantities of them, accounting them their Treasure. They give twenty Measures of Rice for a Fardel of Shells, each Fardel containing 12000. They have, besides these, a sort of Tortoise-shell, called *Cambe*, which is black and smooth, and has many natural Figures; it is found no where but there, and in the *Philippines*, and goes off best in *Cambaya*. Here they make fine Red-mats, and Cloths of Cotton and Silk; in Exchange the Merchants export some Cotton and Silk Cloths, a sort of Oil, Arac, Iron, Steel, Pieces of Porcelain, and, in short, all the Necessaries of Life; yet every thing is cheap, because of the Number and Frequency of Ships. They import all their Gold and Silver, which they never lend out again, but lay it up among their Wives Jewels as their chief Treasure.

27. After following our Author through his large Description of the *Maldives*, we are next to recur to his personal Adventures, in order to acquaint the Reader how he recovered his Freedom, and escap'd from thence to the Continent of *India*, from whence he returned to his native Country. The Fact, as he relates it, runs thus: He says, That in the Beginning of the Month of *February*, 1607, he dream'd that he was set at Liberty, and found a Passage home to *Europe*, which made a very great Impression on his Mind, inasmuch that it induc'd him to make a Vow of going in Pilgrimage to the Shrine of *St James of Galicia*, in order to return God Thanks, if this Dream should prove true; at the same time he was exceedingly perplex'd in his Mind, and endeavor'd to discover how this could be brought about. All his Conjectures prov'd vain and fruitless; but two Nights after the Thing discover'd itself, by the unexpected News that the King of *Bengal* was prepar'd to invade the *Maldives* with a Fleet of fifteen Sail of large Gallies. On the first receiving of this Intelligence, the King of *Male* issued his Orders for fitting out, with all imaginable Expedition, the large Ships, and all the Gallies, Barks, and Vessels in his Dominions; but before this could be accomplished, the Enemy's Fleet appear'd in Sight; upon which the King suddenly alter'd his Resolution, and determin'd to fly to the Southern Islands, in Hopes of taking Shelter there, till such Time as he could assemble a Force sufficient to expel the Invaders. His best Goods were immediately embark'd, as also his three Queens, each of whom was carry'd by a Gentleman in his Arms, as if they had been Children, covered with Veils of Taffety of different Colours; as soon as they were on Board the King followed them, leaving his Capital altogether defenceless, and the Streets full of Women, crying and lamenting the Danger to which they were expos'd. The Enemy no sooner arriv'd than they divid'd their Forces, sending eight of their Gallies in Pursuit of the King, with whom the Wind falling, they very speedily came up, engag'd his small Fleet, and having killed the unfortunate Monarch of the *Maldives*, who fought very bravely in his own Defence, and kill'd himself Masters of his Ships, Wives, and Relations. As soon as these People land'd in *Male*, our Author surrendered, and was bound to their Hands, declaring to them in what manner he came thither, and how he had remain'd Prisoner there for several Years. They treat'd him very kindly, as soon as they were satisfied that he was not a *Portuguese*; for had he been of that Nation, they would, without any Ceremony, have put him to Death. The Commodore remain'd about ten Days on the Island, in which time they cur'd on Board this Veil is all the Pleas'd of the King's Palace, with every Thing of Value they could find, particularly one hundred and twenty Pieces of Cannon, and then prepar'd for their Departure, leaving only a Party at Liberty, excepting only the King's Brother-in-Law, whom they carried with them, and our Author, who went off in his own Accord, and with some Difficulty to *Bengal*, where he had Letters to contrive, the Means of finding a Passage back to *Europe*. While he remained in *Bengal*, the *Angul* deserv'dly punish'd that Prince, who completely dispos'd

a prodigious Army, in order to withstand him, amounting, as our Author was inform'd, to several hundred thousand Men, and some thousands of armed Elephants; which military Preparations did not incline him to remain any longer than till he found an Opportunity of withdrawing himself, and this in a short Time he obtained.

28. He retir'd from *Bengal* to the *Malabar Coast*, inhabited at that Time for the most Part by Pirates, from whence he proceeded to *Calicut*, where he remained eight Months, waiting for a *Dutch Ship*; but at last was persuaded by the Jesuits to go to *Cochin*, where, on his first Arrival, he was imprison'd as a Spy, and suffer'd great Hardships. At *Goa* also he was a Prisoner with those who remained of seventeen *English* taken at the *Bay of Surat*. The Jesuits had brought one Master *Nicholas*, and four other *Englishmen*, from the *Mogul's Court*; so the *Hollanders* also were there, and they were all Prisoners together; but the Jesuits undertook for them, and procur'd their Liberty, viz. *Thomas Stevens* an *Englishman*, and Lectur of *Mayson College* in *Saljete*, *Nicolas Triguant* a *Hollander*, *Stephen Cross* a *Frenchman* of *Rouen*, with *G. Juan Alvarez* a *Spaniard*. This *Thomas Stevens* procur'd the Liberty of the *Englishmen* also, four of which became Catholics, and two of them die'd there. Don *Luis Lopez d'Hydrabla* arriv'd at *Goa* with the Title of Viceroy to the People's great Grief, who the more desir'd Don *Andreo Paratado*; Ten Months after his coming four great Gallies arriv'd, each about two thousand Tons; five had departed from a *Lipson*, but they knew not what was become of the sixth, which was separated by a Tempest at the *Cape*, in each were embark'd a thousand Persons, Soldiers, Mariners, Jesuits, and other Churchmen, with Merchants and Gentlemen; but when they arriv'd at *Goa*, there were not above three hundred in each, by reason of the Sicknets and Mirens they endur'd in eight Months at Sea without Sight of Land. These brought an Edict from the King, forbidding the *English, French, or Dutch* Commerce in his Dominions; and if there were any such there, to send them away, upon Pain of their Lives. On the 27th of *December* 1607, he embark'd for *Lipson*, and on the 15th of *March* 1610, they arriv'd at the Isle of *Piogo Rodriguez* in 20°, about forty Leagues East from *Saint Lamerre*. After a cruel Storm there five Days together, they reach'd the *Cape*, *St Helena*, *Braffa*, the *Isore*, the *Bringing*, and having paid his Vow to *St James of Galicia*, he arriv'd at *Kochelle* the 16th of *February* 1611. Thus we have brought this Voyage to a Conclusion without taking in the Author's Travels through the Rest of *India*, which would have swell'd the Section to a great Extent, and would have contriuted little to the Reader's Satisfaction, as containing nothing which may not be met with elsewhere, in as good, or in a better Description, as the Reader will perceive in the next Section, wherein we shall give you of the exactest and best written Voyages to the *East-Indies* that is any where extant. But with regard to the *Maldives*, *Pierard's Account* is beyond a Question preferable to any, for the Readers we have a signed at the Beginning of the Voyage. It may not, however, be amiss to inform our Author went farther one hundred and fifty Years ago, to conclude the present Section with him. Remarks on the State those Islands are now in, that we may give the Reader, as near as possible, a complete View of the Subject at once, without fatiguing him with needless and redundant Repetitions; for want of which Caution, most of our old Collections of Voyages swell to such bulky Volumes, and at the same time are in many material Points extremely defective.

29. One would imagine, from the Account given us by this Writer, that in the Course of so many Years as have elapsed since his being shipwreck'd on those Islands, many of them must have been swallow'd up entirely, and thereby more render'd uninhabitable and desart, when, how very does not appear to be the Case. On the contrary, the Island of *Male*, according to the last Accounts we have, is in a better Condition than ever, and the *Dutch* carry on there a very considerable Commerce, the Natives themselves also trading in their own Vessels to *Ceylon*, where they are well us'd by the *Dutch*, and take a very great Profit of those little Shells which are call'd *Cambe*, *Coin*, and *Eye*, or *Seaman's Coins*; for that there are prodigious Quantities

ties, not only on the Shore of the *Maldives*, washed thither by the Waves of the Sea, but also dug up in the very Heart of some of the Islands, as being very probably left there at the Time these Lands were deserted by the Ocean. As the Measure of Things, which we call Money, is altogether arbitrary, and depends solely on an Agreement amongst Men, that this or that shall stand for and be regarded as a common Measure, so in many Countries, both of *Asia* and *Africa*, these Shells, by a certain tacit Agreement, are fixed as such a common Measure, and are consequently esteemed, and have the Currency of Money. It is that gives them a Value even with such as despise those who trade with and receive them as Money, without reflecting, that Shells are to the full as capable of being constituted Money as either Gold or Silver, and without remembering that they are compelled to practise what they themselves so much condemn, and to take these paltry Shells for Money. At *Bengal* two thousand four hundred Cowries were, in the Year 1740, valued at a Rupee, or about half a Crown of our Money.

But the great Use of them is on the Coasts of *Africa*, and particularly on those of *Guinea*, where the Negroes esteem them to the full as much as Gold and Silver, and where they pass under the Denomination of *Bongies*. We may guess at the vast Contumption of this Commodity or Money, by the *French* Merchants in the Kingdom of *Fiddah*, who give for a Piece of the common Cloth made by the Natives, commonly eighty Pound Weight of Cowries, and so in proportion for the richer Commodities of that Country, such as Wax, Ivory, Gold, &c. The *Dutch* usually furnish other *European* Nations with this kind of Negro Coin, if I may be allowed that Expression, and the Reader will easily conceive from thence how beneficial that Trade is which they drive with the *Maldives*. It might be wondered how this Demand for these Shells is kept up upon the Coast of *Guinea*; but in order to account for this, we are to understand that, like Gold and Silver, these are not only the Measures of Commerce among the Negroes, but likewise the highest Mark of their Finery, since they wear them as Necklaces, Collars, and Bracelets, strung upon Hair or Silk, either in single or double Rows, which indeed make an odd, but at the same time no disagreeable Figure on the Necks and Arms of the Natives, the snowy Whiteness of the Shell appearing to great Advantage, when compared with their jet-black Skins.

Heretofore about twelve thousand Pound Weight of Cowries was sufficient to purchase a Cargo of five or six hundred Negroes, but at present the Market is raised, and the Proportion between Man's Flesh and Baubles is altered, that a Ship Load of Slaves cannot be bought for less than twelve or fourteen Ton of Cowries. As there would be a great deal of Trouble in adjusting Payments made in this kind of Money, the Negroes, though to stupid as to sell themselves for Shells, have invented a kind of Copper Baton of such Size and Shape, as to hold about one hundred and eight Pounds of these Shells, which is a great Ease to the Merchants. We must not, however, imagine, that these Shells are not to be found any where else but in these Islands, since it is certain that they are likewise met with on the Coast of the *Isippines*, but these are of an inferior Nature, and much below the Cowries of the *Maldives* in Whiteness and Lustre. The principal Mart in *Europe* for these Shells is *Amsterdam*, where they have of them large Magazines, and where they are purchased both by *French* and *English* Merchants, for the Convenience of exporting them to *Africa*.

But to return to the Trade of the *Maldives*, which is far from being to be considered as some of our modern Writers would have us believe, and that for no better Reason than that the *Europeans* have not settled amongst them; whereas from this Account, it is most evident, that it is in possible for them to be the most profitable of Realms, which must naturally be so to every judicious Reader. But the chief Motive that has kept a great Trade carried on there, inasmuch that some hundred Sailors are taken annually with the Produce of their Colonies, that is, with the Oil, Honey, Cordage, and Spices made from the kind of Palm Tree, which grows to white either in both Abundance, or to such Perfection, as on these Islands; neither

do they want other valuable Commodities, particularly the finest Tortoise Shells in the World, flamed naturally with very beautiful Figures, and wrought up by them in Cabinets, Combs, and other Curiousities. But what plainly proves the Riches and Industry of the People is, on the one hand, the Cheapness of Cotton, Silk, Oil, Iron, Steel, Spices, and *China* Ware, with other Foreign Goods, which could not be brought about, if their own Manufactures did not enable them to balance the Account with the Foreigners, who import them; and, on the other hand, that Plenty of Gold and Silver which is always visible in those Islands, and which must have been very soon carried away, if ever the Balance of Trade had been against them.

It seems also to be no small Honour to the Country, that neither the Force of the *Portuguese*, the Ambition of the *English* on their first coming into the *Indies*, nor the Frauds of the *Dutch*, have deprived the Inhabitants of these Islands of their Liberty. It is true, that to settle an Account our Author has given, this does not appear to be a very difficult Matter, since the King of *India* was able to make so great an Impression with so few Men; but at the same time we ought to reflect, that the Conqueror thought fit to abandon the Island of *Madagascar* as he had reduced it, which appears to us a very good Proof that he thought it impracticable to keep it, and indeed, where a whole Nation is to be ruled over a great Sea, as well as on Shore, it will be always found a very difficult, if not impossible Matter, to retain it. The great Policy of the Legislator of their Island, however he was, very plainly appears in his adjusting the Liberty he has done, the Nature of their Constitution, the Situation of their Country, and that Course of Life which from thence they are obliged to follow. To this we may justly ascribe the long Continuance of their Liberty, the Freedom of which does not seem to be at all impaired by the Settlements made by the *Europeans* in those Countries; but, on the contrary, the People have creased in Riches, and the King has extended his Power, by increasing his Trade with them, which is more than can be said of any other Country in the *Indies*.

It must, however, be allowed, that very few Voyagers or Voyage-Writers have taken the Pains to search for the *Maldives*; so that if we had not this Account, we should scarce be able to lay any claim to the Discovery of a Reason of which is very easily found, that the People have no Mines, either of rich Metals or precious Stones; nor do they abound with Spices, any of the most valuable Commodities; but it appears very evident, that notwithstanding the Want of these Advantages, they are much more populous, and happy, free, and independent, more Liberty than those People in whose Countries are consequently more esteemed. But as to the Discovery only in the Entrance of the *Indies*, it might be profitable to furnish some Descriptions of the people and the Country mentioned in the foregoing History, by which we might have visited them in Person, and that too with the least Expence of Time as may afford the greatest Light into the History of the *Indies*; from which Consideration we have been led to make Choice rather of Voyages than of Travels, which latter belongs strictly and properly to the History of the *Indies*, in which the most curious and best Observations that have been made of the *Indies* shall be included. At present we have only a general Voyage to the *Indies* by the *French* Commodore, Commander in Chief, who has been distinguished and esteemed more accurate in his Knowledge of the *Indies*, than by that Officer himself, who, like our Author, was capable of performing every thing that was necessary of whom his own Pilot or Landman, who was a most skillful and the most exact Surveyor, and who was whom he was ever a great Admirer, had been a most judicious and was not founded by any other Discoverer. The contrary, was every Way a most judicious and judicious Branches of Science, in that he was a most judicious and the Discovery of a History of the *Indies*, by which we have of carrying his Vessel to the *Indies*.

These singular Properties, and the Liberty which we have not room for a Multitude of Observations, and the Choice of this, which may have instead of it.



ATLANTIC OCEAN

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

CAP VERD ISLANDS

ETHIOPIC OCEAN

SOUTHERN OCEAN

A NEW and CORRECT Map of
AFRICA.
 Drawn upon the latest Approved
 Modern Maps and Charts,
 and corrected by
 John Olfert, and Nathaniel
 Stephens, who also the course
 of the Trade Winds
 Monsoons &c. &c.
 Ritten. Bowen

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which the original Publisher, the celebrated Mr. Thevenot declared he made publick with no other View, than that it might serve as a Model to his Countrymen, not in Point of Science only, but of Method also, esteeming the Author as considerable in that Character as in the Quality of a Commander. This Apology I thought necessary, that the Reader might not suspect me of Partiality, and in the succeeding Sections we shall put that Point farther out of Dispute, by doing the like Justice to English, Dutch, and the eminent Sea-Officers of other Nations, who have not only benefited those they served, but have likewise transmitted Testimonies of their Skill to Posterity.

I cannot dismiss this Subject without observing that it

is to be wished our own Countrymen would be more careful in this Particular, since, as there are not better Seamen, or better Officers in the World, it is very hard their great Actions should not be communicated to the Publick, with all the Advantages that may be derived from Method and Language; both which might be acquired with as little Labour as is requisite to get over the Difficulties in keeping a Sea-Journal; and therefore we may well hope, that in an Age which discovers greater Curiosity in regard to these Subjects, than has been shewn in any other; Gentlemen will have that regard to their own, and their Officers Characters, as not to let them suffer for want of a candid Representation.

SECTION XXV.

The Expedition of Commodore Beaulieu to the East-Indies; containing a curious and accurate Description of the Sea-Coasts and Commerce; as also Abundance of curious Observations on the Manners of the Peple, the Nature of their Governments, and the Means of establishing Colonies amongst them.

Written by M. Beaulieu himself, and published by M. Thevenot, in his large Collection of Voyages.

1. An Introduction to the Voyage, with an historical Account of its Author and his Work. 2. Their Departure Octob. the 2d 1619, and Occurrences in their Voyage to Cape Verd, on the Coast of Africa. 3. Remarkable Accidents and Proceedings at Cape Sierra Lione, where they touch'd for Refreshments. 4. Remarkable Observations in those Seas, with the Sentiments of the Author concerning them. 5. A very curious and accurate Description of Table-Bay, under the Cape of Good-Hope. 6. A very candid and circumstantial Account of the Hottentots, their Customs, &c. 7. An Account of some remarkable Letters found there, and the Author's Resolution on reading of them. 8. A Description of several remarkable Animals, and other Curiosities met with here. 9. A very entertaining Relation of what pass'd between Commodore Beaulieu and the Negroes in the Bay of S. Augustine, during his Stay there. 10. A farther Account of this Matter, and of the Close of his Transactions with those People. 11. A succinct History of the Government, Language, Manners, &c. of this Negro Nation. 12. The Author sails along the Coast of Africa, and observes several notorious Errors in the Sea Charts. 13. A large and curious Description of the Comoro Islands, and their Inhabitants, with his Reception there. 14. Remarkable Occurrences at the Island of Nangalija, and some Remarks on the Arabian Shipping. 15. The Author projects his Voyage for the Cape of Guardafu, and meets with a great Storm in his Passage. 16. An exact Description of this Coast, and of the Difficulties met with in procuring Refreshments. 17. A very singular Method of obtaining fresh Water, which may be of great Use in long Voyages. 18. An Account of the Country about Cape Guardafu, and the Author's Resolution to steer directly for the Coast of Malabar. 19. Their Arrival upon that Coast, and their taking a Moorish Ship richly laden. 20. They double Cape Comorin, and obtain a Pilot, who conducts them to Ticow. 21. Their Arrival there, and the News they received of their Vice-Admiral, and other Transactions. 22. A large Relation of what pass'd during their Stay in that Port, and of the Behaviour of the Inhabitants. 23. A Description of the Country, its Product, and the Nature of the Commerce there, with other Observations. 24. The Author's Arrival at Achen, with a copious Description of that Country and its Commerce. 25. The Author's Audience of the King of Achen, and of what pass'd upon that Occasion. 26. A very curious and exact Account of the State of that Country, the Character of its King and his Subjects. 27. A farther Account of our Author's Proceedings there, and of the many Difficulties he met with. 28. Obtains a Licence to buy Pepper, and yet finds it extremely difficult to procure his Lading. 29. Our Author obtains a Letter from the King of Achen to the King of France, in Answer to one he presented. 30. Other Transactions during the Time of his Stay in that Country, and his Resolution to sail to Queda. 31. Occurrences in his Voyage thither, and his Proceeding there, in order to obtain a Lading of Pepper. 32. A Description of the Island of Pulo Lada, or Pepper-Land, on the Malacca Coast. 33. A very curious and exact Description of the Manner of cultivating Pepper, and of the Value of that Commodity. 34. A succinct History of the Revolutions of Queda, and of the Reduction of that Kingdom by the Monarch of Achen. 35. The Author's Return to that Country, and the Reception he met with there the second Time. 36. A large Account of what happen'd to the Vice-Admiral, and of the Difficulties the French met with in establishing a Trade in these Parts. 37. The Author presents a rich Diamond to the King of Achen, and obtains from him a Licence to trade at Ticow. 38. A Description of the Island of Sumatra, its Climate, Soil and Produce, with other Particulars. 39. The Islands upon the Coast of Sumatra, and their respective Products, together with an Account of the different Kingdoms in Samatra. 40. The Character of the People of Achen, their Government, Customs, Laws, &c. as observed by the Author. 41. The Military State of that Kingdom, and of the Forces and Power of the Monarch then on the Throne. 42. The Nature of his main Establishments, and of the Means made use of by him to support them. 43. Of the Riches of the King of Achen, his Houses, Slaves, Revenues, and several Methods of raising Money. 44. The ancient State of the Kingdom of Achen to the Accession of the reigning King's Grandfather. 45. The civil Wars that hap-

send from that Time, and the dreadful Consequences attending them. 46. The Manner in which the King of Achen mounted the Throne, and his Character. 47. The Author sails for Europe, a Journey with a pleasant Passage as far as the Island of St. Helena. 48. A Description of the Island of Achen, and a further Account of the Voyage to their Arrival at St. Vincent. 49. An exact Description of the Island, its Climates, Soil, Products, and other Particulars. 50. Continuation of the Voyage, and the Author's safe Arrival at Havre de Grace, Dec. the 17. 1622. 51. Some further Memoirs of Commodore Beaulieu, to the Time of his Decese.

THE following Voyage was not only undertaken, but written also by one of the best Officers that ever was in the French Service, of whole Character and Adventures we shall say somewhat at present, and supply the rest at the Conclusion of the Section. *Augustin de Beaulieu* was descended of a good Family at *Rouen*, which has been always considered as one of the principal Ports in *France*. He addicted himself from his Youth to the Sea, and studied with great Application all the Sciences necessary to make him an able Man in his Profession, and more especially Geography, Astronomy, and Navigation. His first Expedition was to the River *Gambia*, on the Coast of *Africa*, under the Command of the Chevalier de *Bragueville* of *Normandy* in 1712. The Design upon which the went was to erect a Fort, and establish a Colony; but failing unluckily a little too late in the Year, they lost the best Part of the Men before they were able to accomplish any thing, and were therefore obliged to return home, *scilicet*, after a vast Expence, to very little Purpose.

In this Expedition our Author commanded a Sloop, and tho' he got nothing by the Voyage in Point of Profit, yet he improved himself exceedingly, and established a just Reputation for Courage, Diligence and Application. About the Year 1706, the *French* formed the first Notion of trading to the *East-Indies*, and some Merchants at *Paris* and *Rouen* agreed to turn the Joint-Stock for that Purpose. They fitted out two good Ships, the Command of the biggest of which, with the Title of General, was given to Captain *de Nis*, who at that Time served the King in the Marine. The latter Ship was bestowed upon our Author, who had no other Recommendation than his Merit. The Voyage was in all Respects fortunate, and well conducted, though in the End it did not turn to any great Account; for the Dutch President in the *Indies* having published an Order, requiring all the Subjects of the States General that were on board those Ships to quit them immediately, which Order they obeyed, the two Captains found themselves out of their Power to bring home both the Vessels, and therefore that which had been commanded by Captain *Beaulieu* was sold to a little Prince of the Island of *Java*, and all their Effects brought home on Board the largest, notwithstanding which Misfortune, and the great Expence with which this Undertaking was attended, they managed so prudently, as to make a saving Voyage.

It was his Care and Diligence in this Expedition, that recommended him to that Command of which he has written the following Account. He was extremely careful in the Choice of his Men, that he might not run the risque of failing in this, as he had done in his former Voyage; and that Poverty might be the better for the Pays he was bound to make, he provided, before he left *France*, that the Officers and Soldiers of Navigation in the highest Degree of the Army, and constantly observed the Variation of the Needle every Morning and Evening, on four or five different Compasses, that he might be the less liable to Mistake, and that his Return home, he not only translated into French, but which is still preserved, but computed likewise the following History of the Voyage from his Papers, with a Design to have committed them to the Press, but by some unforeseen Accidents, and by his premature Death, of which more shall be said hereafter, this was prevented, and the Papers remained for twenty Years in a dusty and private Place, till such Time as the famous M. *Delisle*, a *Hereset* turned his noble Design of publishing a curious Collection of the best Voyages, when these Papers were put into his Hands by M. *Doin*, to whom they had been committed by the Relations of the

That great Man was charmed with the Preface, and so Wonder, since he seriously professes it appeared to him as perfect a Performance as ever came to his Notice, notwithstanding the Multitude of Particulars, *English* and *Dutch* Memoirs that he had occasion to see, while employed in making that curious and excellent Collection. The principal Reason of his valuing it so much, was the high Character the Author had born in point of Integrity, as well as Abilities; so that as he related every thing that was worth relating in the Course of his long Expedition, all he relates may be very safely depended upon, as being exactly agreeable to Truth, and to the Lights which he received. One may safely affirm, that the Work might circulate along with it enough to justify all that has been said in its Favour, since there are so many who have Masses of the Writer's Sincerity, in those Passages which regard his own Conduct, that the most scrupulous Critic could be obliged to confess, there is not the least Room to suspect he could entertain any Design of deceiving his Reader. The Variety of Events, the variety of Circumstances, the just and weighty Remarks with which they are interspersed, and the elegant and judicious Manner in which they are presented, enhance the Value of this Relation, and therefore we have given the Reader a just Idea of it, and must at the same Time own, that it would be very difficult to make Choice of better, than this which is so fully suited to his Subject; and he relates it with so much Modesty and Freedom, that it is not possible to determine whether his Memoirs are more a Pleasure or a Warning.

2. I sailed *Oct. 21. 1629*, from *Havre de Grace* with three Ships; the *Montourney* of 450 Tons carrying 20 Men, 22 Guns, and 20 Patroes; the *Albatros* of 200 Tons, 17 Men, 20 Guns, and 20 Patroes; and the *Herminette*, an Advice-Boat, of 70 Tons, 12 Men, 10 Guns, and 8 Patroes, all victualled for six Months, and an half. The seventeenth we came in Sight of *Madagascar*, and at Night its western Point lay about 10 Leagues off to the S. E. and a quarter East. The next day we set South with the Wind at East, expecting by that way to delect the Island of *Palma*. *Madera* lies very near to the Weather was, as it is commonly, so I gave out that could scarce delect it. The Commodore's Ship being so laden, and embarrassed with an unwieldy crew, that two or three Men could scarce manage, we resolved to make the best of our Way to *Cape Verde*, in order to see a new one made, or to put the old one to rights, which was encumbered with too much Wood.

On the first of *November* we made the Coast of *Senegal*, between the River *Senegal* and *Cape Verde*, where the Sea was very low, running N. E. and S. W. a little to the S. E. a sandy Sea. Next Day, about Eight in the Morning, we doubled *Cape Verde*, and coasted some time to the N. E. to get into *Ruffique Roads*, at which Place, at 11 o'clock in the Afternoon, we saw three *French* Ships at Anchor, and a small Bark, which had Captain *Drac's* Voyage to the *Indies*, and lay off of that Place waiting for the *French* Fleet, being I call Anchor within a Cannon Shot of the *French* Fleet, for the Wind being contrary, I could not get near them, and the rainy Season in that Country had set in, and over

On the fifteenth, having resolved to send the *Albatros* to the *Island*, to buy up Provisions, I sent the *Albatros*, with a Kallade and Knives, which were prepared for the *French* Fleet, and reinforced his Complement with *French* Men, *Neger* and six Soldiers, ordering Captain *Drac* to command the *Albatros*, not to treat with the *Natives* about Hostages, and without not to stay there more than ten Days at most, but to come with all possible Expedition to rejoin us at *Tegon*. When the *Albatros* parted from us, we were

the Lat. of 10° 30'. From the Time we pass'd Cape Verd, we had but little Wind, and the Tides run against us W. N. W.

The nineteenth about Noon, we descried the Idol Islands, about eight Leagues off to the E. N. E. and our own Pinnace making into the Shore. These Islands lie in 10° 30' N. L. They are covered with Wood, and bating *Tegrin*, are the highest Land between Cape Verd and Cape Sierra Liõna. *Great Idol* being the largest and most fruitful of those Islands, affords Water, and several Sorts of Fruits and Fowls; but its Inhabitants, who are very numerous, are not to be dealt with without Hostages. The *Lesser Idol* affords likewise Water: Besides these two, there are other smaller Islands, which are so inconsiderable, that they are not distinguished by any Name. The Names of these two are taken from a River to called in the Continent, the Mouth of which lies opposite to them about three or four Leagues off. The King of this Country resides up that River; the Natives are Negroes, Idolaters, great Hunters, and Eaters of Elephants. They have no Commerce with the Continent, and it is hard to get ashore upon them, because their Coast lies very high: I believe they put off their Elephants Teeth in the River of *Tegrin*. At Night we lost Sight of these Islands, which are distant 27 Leagues from Cape *Sierra Liõna*, or *Tegrin*. Next Day we lay, about a Quarter of a League off, several Spouts, or Guts of Wind, whirling about upon the Sea, and forcing up the Water with great Violence, two of which were very formidable. As soon as we perceived them, we forced all our Sails, for fear of any Mischiefs from them.

We arriv'd November the 23d at Cape *Sierra Liõna*, and call Anchor at *Tegrin*, where several Negroes coming on Board, gave me to understand, that there was an *Englsh* Vessel about four Leagues off at *Safina*, the Residence of the King of *Tegrin*. On the 25th I cauled the Rudder to be taken off the Stern post, and hauled ashore, where having posted a strong Guard, and fortified the Place with felled Trees, I set the Carpenters to work. Having walked a little further into the Country, I found it very pleasant. At the Bottom of the Creek there was a small Brook of sweet and clear Water, the Banks of which towards the Sea were decked with great Quantities of Citron Trees, Willows, and pretty thick Woods. I likewise found some Plants good for Pasture; but the Soil is nothing but Stone, or Iron coloured Rock. Their Houles are infinitely better than those at Cape Verd. The Natives, who are Negroes, worship little horrible Images resembling Devils, and small Lumps of black Earth in the Form of Sugar Becons, which Understood to be the Nests of Ants. To these they offer Fruits, the Heads of Monkeys, Baboons, and other beasts.

They call the Idols *Gigins*, which Name I take to be derived from the *French*; for they commonly falute one another in these Words, *Tout, Haut*; but when they falute a White, they cry, *Tu*. As Men, they are a much better sort of People than the other Negroes, though they begin now to improve their Cunning, by converting with the People of several Nations that touch there. The Place where we lay being the third Creek from Cape *Sierra Liõna*, is very convenient for taking in Water, Wood, Citrons, Oranges, and Hoops for Water-Casks, which are all to be had for little or nothing. There we had very good Rice in Exchange for equal Quantities of Salt. It affords no Fish unless Pulletts, which are very scarce, and has little Accommodation for Hunting; but all its Creeks are well stored with several sorts of Fish.

The Cape lies in 8° of North-Latitude, and the Needle varies there 2° 45' North East. One of our Trumpeters that could not swim was unfortunately drowned in a little River near this Place, which was nine or ten Feet deep. 'Tis presumed he was deceived by the extream Clearness of the Water, which represented the Bottom of the River to be nearer the Surface than it was, and that thereupon going to wash himself, but not meeting with the expected Ground, was so frightened with the Surprise, that he neglected taking hold of the Banks of the River, which was not above ten Foot broad. December the 3d two Negroes came on Board, one of whom was armed with a Bow, Arrows, Sword, and Knife; the other, who was the Interpreter, told me, that he who bore the Arms was sent by the King to

acquaint me that the *Portuguezze* up the River had murdered the Captain and the whole Crew of a *St. Malo's* Bark: That his Master was sorry such a thing should happen near his Territories, and that if I had a mind to relent it, he would furnish me with Negroes to conduct me to the Place where the *Portuguezze* had lodged the Bark. This I understood to be about seven or eight Leagues above the *Safina*, whether the *St. Malo's* Captain had gone to buy a fort of Wood not unlike that of *St. Mariba*, which in *France* might be worth eight or nine Livres a hundred Weight.

When I first heard the News, I suspected, that the *Portuguezze*, understanding that my Rudder and many of my Men were ashore, had contrived the Message to induce me to send a Detachment out of the Land Guard, and to give them an Opportunity of possessing themselves of the Rudder and Water-Casks that were ashore; but upon second Thoughts, calling to mind the Humour of the *Portuguezze* in that Country, and the Weakness of the *St. Malo's* Ship, I concluded the Account not improbable, and withal saw that the fighting such Intelligence might lessen the Reputation of the *French* in that County. At last, having resolved to send out a Detachment, pursuant to the King's Messag, the Interpreter with several other Negroes offered to go along with my Men to the Place, saying, they would go any where to have an Opportunity of killing *Portuguezze*. To carry on this Affair with more Security, I ordered the Rudder to be brought aboard, for the Carpenter's Work being then finished, there wanted nothing but the Iron work, which might be done on Board, by setting up a Forge in the Ship.

I reinforced the Land Guard with ten Men, ordering them to plant Barricades of Water-Casks before the principal Avenues of the Place where they lay, and to suffer neither white nor black to come near them in the Night-time, and got Captain *Pile* to accompany my Men in the Expedition. Accordingly, the next Day I sent up the River our Sloop, with an Addition of ten Men to her Complement, together with Captain *Pile's* Bark manned with his own Men, and the *Hope's* Long-boat, with twenty Men and four Patereroes, all under the Command of Monsieur *Montevier*. December the 5th Captain *Datel* of *Dieppe* arriv'd in the Bay, and told me, that at the Isle of *St. Vincent* he met a *Dutch* Ship of four hundred Tons, manned with *Dutch* and *Englsh*, bound for *Buntam*, in order to convey thither the News of the Agreement between those two Nations. At Three of the Clock in the Afternoon M. *Montevier* returned with the *Hope's* Long-boat, and Captain *Pile's* Bark, our Pinnace not being able to keep up with their Oars, and reported that he had been ten or twelve Leagues up the River, where, finding the River very narrow and rocky, inasmuch that the Bark struck several times, and having no Commission from me to venture the Lots of the Bark, he returned back without meeting any *Portuguezze*, or then Vessels.

On the 31st we were in 3° 25' North-Latitude; after our Departure from *Tegrin* the Weather was various, sometimes stormy, and sometimes very calm, as it used to be in those Seas, and we found our Rudder much more serviceable than before. January 1st, 1620, at Sun-rising we found the Needle 3° 30' North-East, and the Latitude 3° 5' North. The orb we crossed the Equinoctial Line, and celebrated the usual Custom of the wing Sea-Water upon those who had never padd it. From the third of this Month we had the Wind at South-East and South-South-East, and sailed close to the Wind, in order to ride the South Pole, pursuant to the common Courie of Navigation. The 24th we were under the Tropic of Capricorn, and the Needle varied 13° to the North-East from our passing the Line; we had the Wind at East and East-South-East. On the 1st of February we began to have the westerly and other variable Winds, being then in 13° South Latitude, and the Needle varying 13° 25' North East.

The 3d, being becalmed, I observed at the Sun-rising that the Needle was 13° N. E. whereas at my last Observation, when I was almost a Degree farther from the antarctic Pole, it was 13° 30'; so that instead of increasing it decreased, upon which I concluded its Variation to be irregular, and that it is not fixed on two Meridians cutting the World in four Parts, as the *Portuguezze* and others imagined. During

During this Calm we saw two great Fish with long Snouts, or Beaks, which seem'd to be of that sort that are known to pierce lined Ships. I could scarce have credited the Story of their penetrating through Ships, if the Governor of *Dieppe* had not shew'd me a Piece of the Beak or Horn of such a Fish found in the Side of a *Dieppe* Ship, when it was laid up to be caulk'd after an *East-India* Voyage; the Captain of which had found something strike against his Ship, as he sail'd from the Coast of *Brazil* to the *Cape*, but did not know what it was till that Discovery happen'd. This Piece of Horn resembled the Tooth of a Sea-Horse, only it was straight all along, and of the Colour of Ivory. Its Thickness was an Inch and a half Diameter. It had run five Inches into the Wood, and was broke off where the Lining join'd the Wood, probably by the struggling of the Fish, which could not recover it without breaking. Several Persons have met with the same Adventure in their Voyages: But I shall only mention one more of a *Dieppe* Captain, who upon a Voyage to those Parts had his Boat flung to Pieces by a Blow from one of these Fishes; for the Fish endeavour'd to withdraw its Horn, disjointed all the Planks. Those which I saw on this Occasion seem'd to be of the smallest sort, one of them that came just under me appear'd to be ten Foot long, besides its Beak. It was a fleshy Fish, though not so big proportionably to its Length as a Porpoise. Its Colour was a dark blue, and its Fins and Tail, which were very large, represented a bright Azure in the Sea. It had a pretty high Lump upon its Back, resembling that of a Rechen, or *Indian* Sea-Cat, which four times rises above Water. Its Head was not unlike a Porpoise, only it was longer, and instead of a Snout had this Horn, or Bill, which was very sharp at the Point, and almost two Foot long, and as thick as a Boy's Wrists. It is a very stiff and swift Fish, for I have seen it fly at Bonitoes, with which it wages continual War. I have often observed Bonitoes and Albacores wounded by this sort of Fish, and the Sea muddied with the Blood. I am certain there are some of this sort much greater than those I saw this Day, which attack the Whales, and probably it is their mistaking a Ship for a Whale that occasions their encountering with a Ship. However, I doubt not but a great Ship may be endangered by the splitting and gashing of its Planks, occasioned by this Fish endeavouring to withdraw its Horn after it has struck.

While the Calm and the excessive Heat continued, we saw a certain white thing about the Bigness of an Ostrich-Egg floating upon the Water, which sunk when the Ship came within fifty or sixty Paces of it; our Pinnace's Crew said they saw a great many of them. It resembled a Man's Head without Hair, and some say they observed two black Eyes and a Mouth upon it. We likewise saw a strange sort of Fish, about as large as an ordinary Lamprey, and equally round, with a large Fin or Crest, which seem'd to be above a Foot high over its Head, and sloped in a continued Series down to its Tail. It swims upon one Side, so that the Fin, together with the Body, represents a large Fish in a triangular Form, and it makes its Way by shutting from one Side to the other; but when it catches its Prey, the Fin is straight, and appears above the Water to be of an ashy Colour, though the Body of the Fish is as white and as round as a Tallow-candle.

5. On the Tenth we were in $31^{\circ} 45'$ S. Lat. the Needle varying $12^{\circ} 20'$ N. E. The Twentieth our Lat. was 24° , and the Variation $9^{\circ} 30'$. Here we saw a great deal of Wreck, or Sea-grass, of a reddish Colour, which some say comes from the *Tribian de Aunns-Ilands*. The next Day there happen'd a violent Storm, the Wind at West, which had almost broke down our Masts, our Topmast-Sails being then out. Such Storms are common, and very violent in those Seas in Winter; but it was then Summer there, and the Autumn was just approaching. On the 5th of *March* our Lat. was 31° , and the Variation no more than $20'$, which I took for a certain Sign that we were not above Seventy or seventy-six Leagues off of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The 11th we saw Tramps, or Sea-weeds, about three or four Fathoms long, Cormorants, Sea-Bears, and the Jew-stailed by the *Portuguese* Alcatraz, which are white

all over, only the Tips of their Wings are black; and these were certain Signs of our approaching to the Land. We likewise saw innumerable Shoals of Porpoises, and a great many Whales; towards Night we discovered Land, and found the common Navigation to be very good, being then in 33° Lat. which is over against the Bay of *St. daigna*. We resolv'd to steer our Course towards the Land, which lay from us about twenty Leagues S. E. at 34° Lat. in order to take in fresh-Water: but the Wind being contrary, that is, S. and the Tides being N. N. W. we did not arrive at the *Table Bay* till the 15th at Night at which Time we cast Anchor there, having lost only one Boy in the Voyage. The next Day I sent fifty Men on Shore with Sails to make Tents of; when the Boat return'd, they told me they had found several Corpses of dead Men and others fasten'd up and down, on a small Fortification of Earth, which we guess'd to be built by the *Danes*, for one of the Natives that spoke a sort of Jargon or broken *English*, gave us to understand, though more by his Signs than his Language, that five Ships had sail'd from thence to the Eastward about three Months before.

The 17th it continued to be very stormy, with a North East Wind. Some Mulquetters, whom we had sent in Quest of a Soldier who had straggled from us, report, that they had pass'd along the South Side of an Island Mountain, joining to the *Table* Mountain, where they saw an Infinity of very large Baboons and Monkeys; and from thence continued their Course along the declining Part of the Mountains that bound the Western Shore, till they descend'd the Sea about half a League off, when they to be another Bay between this and the *Cape of Good Hope*, thence they turned back, and when they were upon the Mountains, descried the Sea to the Southward, and came thence to the Eastward of the *Cape of Good Hope*. That they had a plain View of other Mountains, between which and these they were upon, there lay an open Plain about ten or twelve Leagues broad, the Soil of which was very good, and capable of producing several Fruits, the Mountains terminating upon the Sea, without any Mountains between *Cape Falso* and the *Cape of Good Hope*. First at the Foot of the Western Mountains they met with Woods and large Trees, like Apple-trees, which bore no Fruit, but were very hard Woods; and in the same Place were very pleasant Pastures, and some Cattle, and excellent clear Water.

This Report inspir'd me with a Curiosity to see the Country: accordingly, the next Day, I walk'd out by the Back of the *Table* Mountain, and when I was got ten Leagues into the Country, observed very good Greens, sprinkled with Grains and pleasant Flowers, with a small Rivulet of fresh Water gliding along the Plain, and being itself in the Sea at the Foot of the Bay, at a Place where there is no great Confluence of Water, which we call the River. This Rivulet rises out of the Mountains that lie between the Point of the *Cape* and this Bay, and serve for Boundaries to the Western Sea. I likewise observ'd that this Rivulet makes several Fens to the Southward, along the Downs or Banks of the Land, that terminate the Bay and to that Place which we call the River, where Banks of fifty or sixty Tun may enter at high Water. I earned along the Mountain, and at the Foot of the *Table* Mountain to the Southward, met with a great many Trees, some of which afford Planks a Foot broad, and eighteen or twenty Foot long, their Trunks being straight like that of a Pear-tree, their Leaves whitish and finally their Bark about two Inches thick and reddish; the Heart of the Wood white and hard, and the whole Tree full of Sap.

I likewise observ'd Herbs of the same Nature with those in our Country, such as Sorrel, Fern, Broom, &c. From this Mountain I saw *Cape Falso*, and the Sea that washes the East Side of the *Cape*, which forms a large Bay as far as the *Cape*, where a great many Rocks shoot out into the Sea, that must needs be dangerous to Ships on a Southern Wind. Upon the Side of the Mountains of *Cape Falso* there runs either a great River, or an Arm of the Sea, that shoals very far up; and I observ'd the like upon the inland Side of the Mountains upon the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon all these Mountains there are great Quantities of Goats Follow Deer as big as Hares, Partridges, and all sorts of Fowls; Baboons, Monkeys, Lions, white Wolves, Foxes,

their Wings are black; and as our approaching to the Land, the Shoals of Porpoises, and at Night we discovered Land, our Navigation to be very long, over against the Bay of Bantam, our Course to the Point of the Leagues South of the Bay, but the Wind being contrary, we being N. N. W. would not be able to go on till the 15th at Night at which Time we lost only one Boy in the Boat, fifty Men of our own, and the Boat returned, they for the most part of dead Men and others a small Fortification of Earth, built by the *Daves*, for one of the Jargon or broken *Englisb*, gave us some by his Signs than his Language, from thence to the Bay before.

The Bay was very stormy, with a North West Wind, whom we had seen in the Bay, and from us, reported to be the South Side of an Island, the *Table Mountain*, where they were the *Biskoons* and *Monkeys*, and our Course along the declining Side of the Western Shore, till we had a League off, which was this and the *Cape of Good Hope*, and when they were upon the Point of the Southward, which is the *Cape of Good Hope*. That they were Mountains, between which there lay an open Plain about ten Leagues long, the Soil of which was very fertile, producing several Fruits, but without any Mountains between the *Cape of Good Hope*. That at the Foot of the Mountains they met with Woods and large Rivers, which bore no Fruit, but were the same Place were very fertile and excellent clear Water. We were with a Curiosity to see the Bay, the next Day, I walked out to the Point, and when I was got there, I observed very good Greens, and several Flowers, with a small Plain along the Plain, and being out of the Bay, at a Place where there was a great quantity of Water, which we call the *Table Mountain*, that the Cape and this Bay, and the Western Sea. Thus we observed several Rivers to the southward, and some of them, that terminate the Bay, and call the River, which is Banks of Water, at high Water, I counted about the Foot of the *Table Mountain*, with a great many Trees, some of them broad, and eighteen or twenty being straight like that of a Pear, and finally, their Bark about two Leagues, the Heart of the Wood white, and the Tree full of Sap.

The Mountains of the same Nature with those of the *Table*, Fern, Broom, &c. From the *Table*, and the Sea that washes the Foot of it, which forms a large Bay, as far as the many Rocks shoot out into the Sea, dangerous to Ships on a Southward, or an Arm of the Sea, that is observed the like upon the Mountains upon the *Cape of Good Hope*. There are great Quantities of *Harts*, *Partridges*, and all other Birds, *Lions*, white *Wolves*, *Foxes*, &c.

Porcupines, *Ostriches*, and other Animals, unknown to me. In this Day's Journey I saw one of the Natives, they having retired for fear of us.

6. Those who lived towards the Point of the Cape, are the most miserable Savages yet discovered, for they neither sow nor cultivate the Ground: neither do they fish, or venture themselves two Steps into the Sea. They are of a very low Stature, especially their Women, and are so meagre, that they always look as if they were dying for Hunger. Their common Food is some white Roots, about the Bigness of Chestnuts, which have a Stalk like a Leek, only a little narrower, and not indented, that bear a white Flower. If they find any Cockle-fish, or Whales, or any other dead Fish upon the Shore, tho' never so much putrid, they throw them upon a Fire, and then feed heartily upon them; nay, when the very Skins, Heads, and Entrails of the Sea-Bears and Penguins, which our Men fed upon, were thrown out of the Tents, and had lain for seven or eight Days, till their Stench obliged our Men to remove their Tents, and scared the Wolves and other wild Beasts from touching them, even then, I say, the Savages would take them up; and after having put them upon the Ashes, and squeezed them between two Stones, would eat up every Bit of them.

When they meet an *European*, the first Thing they do is to shew their Stomach, which they throw into their Body, so that it makes a Hollow, or great Pit upon their Breast. They have Wars one with another, probably upon account of their Cattle, which they do not eat, unless they are ready to die through Leanness, Age, or any other Accident. They cover their Privities with Sheep's Tails, and wear the Skin of a Sheep, or some other Animal, over one Shoulder, like a Scarf. The better sort have dried Tripe about their Necks, upon which there hangs a little Knife, shaped like a Lance, in a wooden Sheath; and this I take to be the Instrument with which they cut off one of their Testicles at ten or twelve Years of Age, that being a Custom among them, perhaps to qualify themselves for running, in which Exercise they outdo all the Nations that ever I saw.

Some hang upon their Necks a Plate of Copper, as thin as a Teitoon, and about a Hand long, and four or five Inches broad; others wear Bracelets, being Pieces of Copper or Iron, with a Hole in the Middle. Those who seem to have some Command over the rest, have commonly a Stick in their Hands, with a Fox's Tail at the End of it. I could not perceive any Religion among them. They marry indeed, and dance, and their common Salutation to us is dancing to a Song, which, from the Beginning to the End, is nothing else but *Hautiou*. Their Arms are an *Aslagay*, with a weak sort of a Bow and a Quiver, which they hide under some Bushes when they come to our Tents. They are very apt to steal any thing of Iron or Copper, but Linen or Cloaths they do not covet.

They are Negroes, and have frizzled Hair, as well as those in *Guinea*; but they wear no Ornament upon it. They have no Cottages to live in that I could perceive; but in the Night-Time they shelter themselves, with their Wives and Children, with Bushes, and have some Skins, stretched like an Umbrella, upon two Sticks laid across, with one in the Middle to fasten it in the Ground, under which they lie buried in the Sand quite up to their Belly. They are altogether ignorant of Agriculture, and the making of Canoes; whereas could they but tack some Pieces of Wood together to convey them to the Islands just by the Continent, they would find vast Quantities of Penguins and Sea-Bears which to them are most delicious Food, not only for their own Solenance, but for Sale among their Neighbours.

This *Table-Bay* lies in 33° Lat. the Needle varying 1° 45' N. W. Its Air is very wholesome. Sometimes you may treat here with the Natives for Beef and Mutton, but that is very uncertain. It is a secure Road to anchor in, and has about six or eight Fathom Water: There is more Rain and Wind in the Bay than ahoze, for the high Mountains stop the Clouds and Vapours, which being driven by the Wind, break and fall down in Hurricanes upon

the Bay. The Height of the *Table-Mountain*, from the Sea: Side to the Top, is 1350 Foot perpendicular.

7. Some of our Men going ahoze, happened to light upon a great Stone, with two little Packs of pitched Canvas, underneath which we afterwards found some *Dutch* Letters. When we opened them, we found, first, a Piece of pitched Canvas, then a Plate of Lead wrapped round the Packet, under that two Pieces of fresh Cloth, then a Piece of red Frize, all wrapped round a Bag of coarse Linen, in which were the Letters very safe and dry. They contained an Account of several Ships that had passed by that Way, particularly of an *Englisb* Advice-Boat that was gone to *England* to acquaint the Company with the Injuries the *Dutch* had done them in the *East-Indies*. They also gave Notice to all Ships that passed that Way, to take care of the Natives who had murdered several of their Crew, and stole some of their Water-casks. Farther, they contained Advice that the *Dutch* had besieged *Bantam* with thirty-five Ships, and that the *Englisb* were forced to abandon it for want of Provisions; that the King of *Bantam* and the *Dutch* committed several Acts of Hostilities, and many other Things too long to be inferted.

Having read this Letter, I was at a Loss whether I should go to *Bantam* or not, for I readily imagined that *Bantam* being blocked up by the *Dutch*, they would not suffer us to enter, and far less to traffick there, since they always endeavoured there to keep the Trade out of our Hands: Besides, I was apprehensive they might carry the Place, in regard that Prince *Matarau*, who called himself Emperor of all *Java*, and alledges, that the King of *Bantam* revolted from him, would readily join with the *Dutch* in reducing the Rebel King. Upon these Considerations I resolved to steer my Course to the Coast of *Coromandel*, to put off some Goods that were proper for that Coast, and buy up others that should be saleable at *Achen*, and upon the Coasts of *Sumatra* and *Java*; and, after all, to take in at *Java* a Ship's Loading of Pepper; after which, if the Siege continued, to leave there a Factory with the Pinnace to trade up and down the Coast; but, if the Siege was raised, I designed not to settle any Factory at *Achen*, but to send one of the Ships back to *France*, and the other, together with the Pinnace, to *Bantam*, where we might get two or three hundred per Cent. upon the Coast-Goods, and there to load the Ship, and leave a Factory, together with the Pinnace.

In the mean time I called to mind that the Directors intended I should go straight to *Bantam*, and send at least one of their Ships back to *France* that Year, which I could not do if I touched upon the Coast of *Coromandel*: Besides, if the Siege should happen to be raised, I was apprehensive the Company would blame me for not following their Orders; but even that Consideration was counterpoised by this, that I could not at any rate send back one of their Ships that Year, since I could not reach the Coast of *Sunda* till *August*, nor get out from thence till *October* or *November*, by reason of contrary Winds, and upon that Score I should be obliged to spend the whole Year without doing any thing, and eat up all my Provisions, which in that Country are so scarce, that the *Englisb* are forced to spread themselves along the Coast to be supplied; not to mention that I should be exposed to the Discretion of the *Dutch*, who never meant us well. Having maturely weighed all these Considerations, I asked Advice of the principal Deputies, some of which said they would submit to my Judgment, and others told me, that since I had a positive Commission for *Bantam*, and since *Bantam* was a Place of too great Importance to the *Dutch* to be long at Variance with the King, I had best steer my Course thither. These different Opinions put me upon another Expedient of sending the *Hope* to *Bantam*, and giving her Captain, Mr. *Grave*, an ample Commission.

8. On the 3d of *April* we weighed Anchor, and being becalmed, about two Leagues off from the Bay, were driven by the great Waves coming from the South, and the Tides running North upon a little Island, and cast Anchor within a League of it in twenty Fathom Water, the Ground being muddy Sand. The Isle lay from us North one Quar-



into the Country, and the Sea on the opposite Side cuts to deep within the Land, that the Isle is very near divided into two, there being only a small Isthmus of a hundred and twenty Fathoms left, by which it is joined together. The lesser Part of the Isle, wherein is the Castle of *Ambona*, contains about a hundred and twenty small Towns, and the greater but four Towns and about seven Villages. The Inhabitants were heretofore Savages and Cannibals, and applied themselves to no kind of Agriculture, which made the Country appear a Wilderness; but of late Years they have applied themselves to cultivating the Ground, which being very fertile produces great Plenty of Oranges, Lemons, Coconuts, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, besides Cloves. They continue still to be ignorant People, the only Skill they shew being in the Management of a Dart, which they use with so much Dexterity, that at sixty Paces Distance they will hit a Crow's-piece. They are famed for their Cakes made of Rice, Almonds, and Sugar, which the Inhabitants of the adjacent Islands take against the

which, contrary to their Agreement, were carrying Paper to *Mecca* and *Persia*, they came again to *Haiti*, &c. The King of *Decan* is famous for his great Artillery, he has more than any of the *Indian* Princes; and amongst the rest one great Piece of Brass Cannon, the Ball would weigh eight hundred Weight, and requires five hundred and forty Pounds of fine Powder. The Engineer who built it was an *Italian*.

7. But to return to our Voyage, early in the Morning, *January* the 7th, we came before the City of *Goa*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, where we found some Fleets in expectation of a certain *Jesus* we were to carry to *India*, but he not coming, we continued our Course, but were long got a League before we saw a *Portuguese* Frigate come after us; we backed our Sails till she came near us, and found her to be a Vessel that came on purpose to go along with us under *English* Colours, for fear of being interrupted by the *Dutch*, she brought us some Presents, viz. three Oxen, some Sheep, Oranges, Citrons, and Bread from the Governor. The 9th we tided with another Wind by the Isles of *Bandera* and *Bombay*, which stretched along the Coast from *Bacem* to *Vishapour*; the latter has a good Road for Anchorage, and is of a pretty large Extent. On the 10th we tided by *Rassapour* within twenty one Leagues of *Goa*, and in the Afternoon by the City of *Vingaria*, where the *Dutch* have a Settlement four Leagues from *Goa*, and in the Evening came in Sight of the Isles about *Goa*, and of two Isles that secure the Harbour. On the 11th we came to an Anchor under the Fort de *Guarda*, which lies not above a Mile from the City of *Goa*; we saw six Gallies and a Cruizer in the Haven: soon after came aboard us a *Portuguese* Captain to compliment the *English* President in the *Viceroy's* Name, and immediately after the Commodore of the Gallies. The Harbour of *Goa* was then blocked up by twelve *Dutch* Ships, notwithstanding which we saw coming to a *Caravan*, consisting of three hundred small Coasting Vessels, laden with Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Sugar, Rice, Fruits, and Preserves, besides Abundance of Provisions.

come to the River is very late riding for Ships, though the Road, in the Bay of *Zanzizara*, four Leagues thence, is incomparably better. The Harbour of *Cetapour*, the most excellent on all that Coast, lies twelve Leagues thence, the Vessel being sheltered here by an adjacent Island against all Winds. It lies in 17° 10', and twenty Leagues from *Goa*. Three Leagues from the said Harbour lies the City of *Rassapour*, one of the best maritime Towns of the Kingdom of *Decan*; and nineteen Leagues thence is the Bay of *Wingaria*, a very convenient Haven. It lies three Leagues from the *Isle* *Quemada*. We will now come to its Inhabitants, which are either *Banjans* or *Mohammedans*.

The chief Trade of the City of *Dabul* is in Salt and Pepper brought thither from *Oranubammara*. They used formerly to drive a considerable Traffick to *Persia*, and the *Red-Sea*; but they send but few Ships thither now. The ordinary Custom paid here is 3l. 10s. per Cent. but the *Dutch* pay only one Moyer of it. Though the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Decan* or *Cuncan* are *Banjans*, yet are they not so averse to Flesh as the others in the *Indies*, for they will feed upon any Flesh, except that of an Ox, Cow, Buffalo, and Swine; for the last they have an absolute Abomination, and the Ox and Cow are in great Veneration with them. In their Life and Conversation, Marriages, Purifications, and other Ceremonies, they follow the Footsteps of the other *Banjans*.

Their Habitations are only Cottages of Straw, the Doors being so low that one cannot go in without stooping. Their Furniture amounts to no more than a Mat to sleep upon, and in the midst of the Hut you see a Hole in the Ground, wherein they beat the Rice. They do not differ in their Habit from the other *Banjans*, except that they wear mostly wooden Shoes tied up over the Insteps with Leather Straps; but their Children go naked till they are seven or eight Years of Age. Their Arms are the same with the *Indojans*; most of them are Goldsmiths by Trade, though some also profess Physick and Surgery; they have also some Carpenters, Malons, and Barbers among them.

The chief Commerce of the Kingdom of *Decan* consists in Pepper and Provisions. The first is transported thence

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Gold, and Pezary, which Stone breeds in a Maw of a Sheep, or Goat, within the Substance of which is also found a Tuft of Grass. It is smooth, inclining to a greenish Colour, its Goodness being to be tried by its Weight. In the Country of *Pan*, near *Malacca*, is a certain smooth and slippery Stone found in the Gall of certain Hogs, of a reddish Colour and bitterish Taste, which being steeped only in cold Water affords a most effectual Remedy against all Poison and infectious Distempers. The Isle of *Borneo* furnishes also Diamonds, Sapan-wood, used by the Dyers, Brazil-wood, Wax, Pepper, Frankincense, Mastich, and divers other Gums. The Isle is not destitute of good Harbours, among which that of *Borneo*, at the Mouth of a very good River, is the largest and most commodious. Their Cities are not very populous, and their wooden Houles so slightly built that they remove them at Pleasure. They are accounted very ingenious, but will rather live by Piracy than Industry, unto which they are so much addicted that their Vessels are seen upon the Coast of *Pegu* four hundred Leagues thence. They use Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Darts, and

merce, set upon five *Dutch* Vessels in the Port of *Banda*, but being repulsed with Loss, revenged their Disgrace upon the *Ambonyans*, who were suspected to favour the *Dutch* in those Parts. *Stephen Verboegen*, two Years after, viz. on the 21st of *February* 1603, landed a certain Number of Soldiers near *Ambonya*, in order to attack the Castle; but whilst he was landing his Artillery the *Portuguese* Governor, not daring to stand the Shock, surrendered the Place without a Cannon being shot, though the Garrison consisted of six hundred Men. Before *Mohammedanism* was introduced in the Isles of *Java*, *Ambonya*, and the *Moluccas*, by the *Persians* and *Arabians* trading thither, they were all *Pagans*; some of them continue to still; others, though circumcised, yet persevere in their *Pagan* Superstitions.

Nothing is more frequent here than to worship the Devil, though they are not able to tell you what he is. They affirm him to be an Aereal Demon; whence they give him the Name of *Lanithe*, i. e. Air, yet make him subordinate to another called *Lanikila*, as well as to him they call *Tatay*, who is a Degree lower than *Lanikila*. They give him the general Name of *Tito*, i. e. Evil Spirits, &c.

become both fairer and larger than the first. They lay
have also the best white Sand-wood, and those Birds
called *Paseras del Cielo* by the *Spaniards*, and by us Birds
of *Paradise*. After they have caught them, they cut off
first the Feathers to the Body, so that when the Flesh dries
the Skin and Feathers join indifferently together, so that many
have been of Opinion these Birds are without Feet.

The *Dutch* are Masters of *Malaya*, a well fortified
Town of *Ternate*, as also of the Fort of *Taiuco*, and that
of *Murice* and *Lidar*, of the Fort *de neveld* in *Bachiam*,
and three more in the Isle of *Machiam*, at *Taffao*, *Lau-
caie*, and *Geshpua*; they have also a Stone-Fort in *Moor*.
The King of *Malayam*, which is governed by its own
Sovereign, being so well stocked with *Sago* that the Inhi-
bitants have sufficient wherewith to subsist without Labour,
has made them so idle and careless, that they are scarce able
to raise 200 fighting Men. The Isle of *Machiam*, which
is subject to the King of *Ternate*, is about seven Leagues
in Circumference; the *Dutch* made the *Dutch* Masters of

China, and vast Numbers of the same. They visit
their every Year for the Convenience of *Trade*, and
from *Pe-cho* to *April* you may see in the *Harbour*
is defended by two wooden Forts, and
Japan. This Place is also much frequented by
Japan, but not in near so great Number as
China. Notwithstanding which, the *Spaniards*
most jealous of the rest than the last.

The *Japan* is composed of many Parts, and
several Arms of the Sea, extending from the
to *Long Pleurs* scarce ten, or thirteenth
Wealth. On the East Side it hath *Nippon*,
North *Tartary*, on the West *China*, and
South, with Part of the *Terra Australis*.
Empire consists of sixty six lesser Kingdoms, and
fifty-three whereof are comprehend'd in the two
Kingdoms of *Meca* and *Amagance*, and the
great Kingdom of *Yma*, and the remaining
According to the *Japanese*

it is so shallow, that in a dry Season there is not above two
Foot Water.

The Island of *Goa* is so barren, that it produces nothing
fit for the Subsistence of Men or Beasts, except a few Fruits
in the Gardens, and a slender Share of Grains for Lambs
and Goats; notwithstanding which, they are so plentifully
furnished with Provisions from the two before-mentioned
Islands, and the Continent, that in Sight of the Blockade
of the *Dutch*, a Hog was then sold for a Crown, six suck-
ling Pigs, ten Pullets, or eight Wild-ducks, for the same
Price; but Beef and Mutton is a great Rarity here. There
is a Fountain representing *Lucretia*, out of whose Wound
issues forth as much fresh Water as supplies the whole City.
The Ships provide themselves with fresh Water out of a
Rivulet, which coming out of a Rock falls into the other
River near the Castle. The City has no other Defence
but the River, having neither Gates nor Walls; the Build-
ings are generally very handsome, and Persons of Note
show a great deal of Magnificence here both in their Build-
ings and Furniture.

The Inhabitants are of two Sorts, either *Cassizes*, or
Melizes; the first are such as are born here of *Portuguese*
Father and Mother; the second, those who were begotten
by a *Portuguese* and an *Indian*. The last are inclining to an
olive Colour, and in the third Generation becomes as black
as the Natives of the Country, which is also observable in
the fourth Generation of the *Melizes*, though there is not
the least Mixture among them. The *Portuguese* are distin-
guished into several Ranks; *Tituladoes* are those in pub-
lick Employments; *Tidalgoes da casa del Rey*, are Gentlemen
in ordinary to the King's Household; *Mocas Fidalgoes* are
the Sons of the *Tituladoes*, admitted to Gentility by the
King; the *Cavaleros Fidalgoes*, and *Escuderos Fidalgoes*,
are simple Gentlemen; those called *Mocas da Camra*, or
Grooms of the King's Chamber, paid also for Gentlemen.
All the rest are *Homeres*, *Honrados*, and *Soldados*; the first
of which are Merchants, and appear as well as any Gentle-
men, there being scarce any thing here, except Tailors
and Shoemakers, but what are served by Slaves; no Person
of Quality ever goes on Foot, but either on Horseback, in

night to Mid-day, but do not reach above ten Leagues into
the Sea; whereas the Sea-Winds coming from the West
(call *Viracons*) blow all the rest of the Day.

This so sudden Change of the Seasons, as well as that
Variation of the Winds, prove the Occasion of many dis-
tempers, especially that called *Mordexen*, which is not
without Delay, besides Fevers and Bloody Fluxes, that
Remedy against which here is *Blasphemy*. The Remedy
is not so much as known in the *East*; but the *Portu-
guese* use a great Number, and above all an ointment called
Remedies against this Dilemper, yet the *Indians* use
twixt the Sexes are so strong and violent, that they
will afford themselves a proper Time for the Cure of this
Disease, which is thus propagated by the *Portu-
guese*. The Women in these Parts have an excessive Beauty
white Men, and are always kept in great Captivity; they
will venture very hard to encompass their Liberty, so
to pursue this End, frequently make use of the Herb *Datura*,
Datura, or *Datura* (as it is called by the *Portuguese*) to supply
their Husband's Senses to get an Opportunity of fleeing
what they so much delight in. This Herb, called by the
Turks and *Persians* *Datura*, is a kind of Scorpion, and ac-
cording to the *Portuguese* and *Indians* being
somewhat like our Bear's Foot, and grows in the *East*
shady Places; of this they extract the Juice, which is
green, or only take the Seed beaten to Powder, and mix
it either with Preserves, or in the Juice of *Orange*; they
tend to stupidity, which it does effectually to destroy in
Hours after he has taken it, being deprived of all Sense or
Motion, though with his Eyes open, and his face red
Water be applied to the Soles of his Feet, which revives
him, as it were, out of a sound Sleep.

Scarce any *Portuguese* or *Melize* Women are seen to
walk in the Streets; but if they go abroad upon necessary
Occasions, they are carried in Palanquins, or Litters, and
so closely guarded, that it is impossible to speak to them.
They appear abroad richly dressed, in Velvets, Silks, and
Brocades, adorned with Jewels, though at the same time

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Fruit the eighth Year, and lasts one hundred Years. The
Fruit of it is gathered but once every other Year, because
the Inhabitants break off the Buds the first, that they may
have a more plentiful Crop the second Year. The Fruit
is ripe from *August* to *January*. This Tree affords no
Gum, by reason of its excellent Heart, the Fruit being too
dry that the Inhabitants, to increase its Weight, put a
Pitcher with Water, within ten Feet of their Clove-Bigs,
which is ticked up within two or three Days Time. The
Chinese do the same with their raw Silk.

As the *Meluccas* yield more Cloves than any other
Islands hereabouts, this has misled some to affirm that they
grow only here, it being certain they yield yearly Six
thousand Barrels of Cloves, allowing Five hundred and
an Half to a Barrel; though, at the same time, the Isles
of *Ires*, *Moyarna*, *Cavaly*, *Sabugo*, *Maringon*, *Gamoco-
nora*, *Ambeyna*, but especially the Isle of *Faranula*, pro-
duce considerable Quantities, but not so good as those of
the *Meluccas*. In the Middle of the Island of *Ternate* is
a Mountain full of Palms and other Trees,

about seventy-two more, subject to the King of *Ternate*,
from *Mindanao* on the North Side, and *Bina* and *Coron* on
the South, and between the Continent of *New-Guinea* to
the East.

14. The *Philippine* Islands, which lie to the North of
the *Meluccas*, were discovered by *Ferdinand Magellan*
in 1520, but no Establishment was made there till 1565,
when they got the Name of *Philippines* from *Philip II.*
then King of *Spain*. The first Settlement of the *Spaniards*
was made in the Isle of *Zebu*, and about six Years after that
in the Isle of *Manila*, now called *Manilla*, from its chief City,
which is situate in an Isle made by an Arm of the Sea, in
the most Southern Part of the Isle, the whole Compass of
which is three hundred and fifty Leagues, it is twenty
Leagues from *China* to the North, and two hundred and
seventy Leagues to the North-East from *Japan* to the East;
it is encompassed by the Ocean, and to the South of the
great *Archipelago*, which is divided into five Seas, and
stocked with a vast Number of Islands. The People of
the Soil, joined to the Industry of its Inhabitants, makes

publick Cook's Shop, it being their Custom to make their good Cheer in their Houses, where, among other things, they entertain one another with their Musick, the chief of which is a kind of Lute, with four silk Strings, which they strike with a Peg of Ivory. Their Wine, or rather Hydromell, is made of Rice, Sugar, and Honey, and is as strong as any Wine whatever. Their Marriages are contracted in consequence of the Agreement of the Relations. The Bride and Bridegroom being not permitted to see one another till it is to be consummated, those of a common Rank may soon be divorced, and if they dislike the Wife, lend her back to her Relations; but People of Quality, notwithstanding any Disagreement, maintain them in their Houses.

Their Children they educate with all imaginable Mildness, without any beating, as well at home as at School, whether they are not sent till they be seven or eight Years of Age, and when they come to Man's Estate, the Father allows to his Son a certain Part of the Houle, and of his

of the *Indians*, as the *Indians*, and the *Indians* of *Sumatra*, or *Indians* of *Cananor* and *Calicut*. The *Nayers* are the Gentlemen of the Country, who by their Brackets and Rings are distinguished from the *Peña's*, or vulgar Sort, the latter being obliged to go out of their Way, and pay them a peculiar Respect as they pass by. I was told, that at the Time of the first Settlement of the *Portuguese* in those Parts, the *Nayers* pretended to have the same Honours from the *Portuguese*, which these (who were no less proud than the other) refusing to comply with, it was agreed, the Difference should be decided by a single Combat between a *Portuguese* and a *Nayer*, in which the latter having got the better, the *Nayers* ever since pay the same Respect to the *Portuguese* as the *Peña's* do to them.

They have among other Privileges this, that they may freely enter the Houses of their Comrades, and please themselves with their Wives and Daughters, the Signal being to leave their Swords and Buckler at the Door; when a *Nayer* comes to his, not even the Master of the House, will enter to disturb them; but a *Nayer* will never degrade himself so far as to have any Commerce with the Wife of a *Peña*. The *Muabars* use Barkins, with which they write upon the Bark of Cocoa trees, their Characters being quite different from those of the other *Indians*, are understood only by the *Indians*. The King of *Calicut* never eats or drinks any thing but what has been presented before to his *Pagod*, or *Idol*. The Inheritance to the Crown does not fall to the Son, but his Sister's Son, since, as the *Brahmins* here have the first-fruits of the Bride's Virginity, the Children are supposed to be begotten by them. As to the City of *Cocoin*, Notice must be taken, that there are two of that Name in the same Kingdom of *Cochin*, one where I was inhabited by *Muabars*, and lies upon a great River, the last, of which we now speak, lies upon the Coast, and is under the Subjection of the *Portuguese*, having the Sea to the West, and being surrounded on the East side with a Forest of certain black Trees, which the Inhabitants burn out, and make Boats of, and will go with them as far as *Goa*.

The Entrance of the Harbour is rocky and dangerous. The Rivers of the Water Season, which swell the neigh-

bouring Rivers, as the *Indians*, and the *Indians* of *Sumatra*, or *Indians* of *Cananor* and *Calicut*. The *Nayers* are the Gentlemen of the Country, who by their Brackets and Rings are distinguished from the *Peña's*, or vulgar Sort, the latter being obliged to go out of their Way, and pay them a peculiar Respect as they pass by. I was told, that at the Time of the first Settlement of the *Portuguese* in those Parts, the *Nayers* pretended to have the same Honours from the *Portuguese*, which these (who were no less proud than the other) refusing to comply with, it was agreed, the Difference should be decided by a single Combat between a *Portuguese* and a *Nayer*, in which the latter having got the better, the *Nayers* ever since pay the same Respect to the *Portuguese* as the *Peña's* do to them.

The 20th we came within Sight of the *Malabar* at the very Point of which we were bound. It was the 20th of the Month of *June*. This Isle extends from the South North-East, between the two Capes of *Comagapan*, about ten Leagues from the Coast. Its Length being sixty Leagues, and its Breadth being Circumference two hundred and fifty; and in the Report of the Inhabitants, its Commodities are greater before the Violence of the Sea carried a Part of Land on the Side toward *Comagapan*, which is the most fertile of all the *Indian* Islands, I suppose to be the *Tapobana* of the *Antients*. I am not ignorant that some of our moderns make it the Isle of *Sumatra*, of which I am not so did not with out Reason call the Isle of *Comagapan* and most fertile of all the *Indian* Islands, it is not able that it has not only great Plenty of the other Islands produce, but, besides, this *Orange*, *Leimon*, and *Cinnamon* tree, which has a fragrant Smell at a great Distance into the Air, that there is no precious Stone but what is found there; Diamonds; Pearls they take there in abundance; together to fine as those of *Babarum*; and which it affords the finest Ivory in the World. The Discovery of it is owing to the *Portuguese* *Laurence*, Son of *Francisco Almeida*, who was one of the Kings of the Island, into which he took Care to fortify themselves in the Fort, but were chased thence, and consequently the Island, by the *Dutch*, in 1607.

The *Dutch* did not trade here till the 17th of the *Regn* of *Femila Perma Sarada*, King of *Comagapan*, most potent, and in a manner the only Lord of the whole Island, who a century ago, in a very extraordinary manner; for the Throne being become vacant by the Death of

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Marriage is punished here with the utmost Cruelty; so that if a Husband finds his Wife locked up in a Room with another Man, he may, without any farther Enquiry, kill them both. The better to allay the Heat of Youth, and the Danger arising from thence in respect of Adultery, they have in the Cities, nay, even in most of the Inns upon the Road, certain Prostitutes, who are most of them Slaves, and expose themselves to Travellers for Money; and if a Man is to stay for any Time in a Place, he may hire one of these Concubines from their Masters at a certain easy Rate, and keep her for his own Use.

As for their Devotion, it may be said, that they have scarce any at all, the most devout among them seldom praying in publick above once a Month before their *Klols*, which stand in their Temples; near them are their Sepulchres covered with great Tomb-stones two or three Feet high, and those of Persons of Quality have a little Pillar erected near them, containing their Names, and certain other Inscriptions, in the Nature of an Epitaph. The Ecclesiasticks are divided into twelve different Sects, eleven

Family, than break his Promise to his Friends, the Reason most of their Delinquents will rather endure most exquisite Tortures than discover their Accusers. The *Japanese* having such vast Quantities of Commodities, seldom deal in any foreign Commodities, but confine their Commerce to Strangers, especially to the *Chinese*, thither the Product and Manufactures of their Country, though ever since the ancient good Correspondence between those two Empires has been interrupted, they are forbidden by their Kings to send Goods into Europe, and therefore are obliged to carry on this Commerce in the Pretence of transporting their Commodities to the Parts of the *Indies*, unto which they are encouraged by the vast Hopes of Gain. All Commodities imported or exported out of *Japan*, passing thro' the hands of the *Chinese*, paying the least Duty or Custom.

The whole Empire of *Japan* uses but one Language, which is quite different from the *Chinese*, as well as their Characters; as they always use but one Pen, they write every thing with Pencils in certain

... have Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead, Lead
own, as well as Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Silk, and
... of Provisions in great Plenty. Their Ports
... have singular Reputation as to their Medicines; but
... gery is uncommon among them as yet. They make
... Use of China Root and Rhubarb, which, as well
... of their other Medicines, they make use of
... *Peru* and *Spaniards* found it no bad Matter to
... themselves in *Japan*, and their religious Ceremonies
... well with the Inhabitants, that they were permitted
... build divers Churches in the Kingdom, but the
... not being able to contain them, were obliged
... of Modesty, their domineering Temper, and
... Jealousy and Aversion from the *Japanese*, that they
... them, burnt their Ships, and, in 1611, obliged
... them the Island under Pain of Death. For *Dutch*
... to trade there in 1611. Some of the Relations
... the City of *Macao* to be twenty-one Leagues

... on this Side the *Ganges*. The next Morning the
... made a Shew as if they intended to
... with us, but a Volley of Shots was
... sent them a going, so that we
... m.
... 20th we came within Sight of the
... very Point of which we were
... s. This Isle extends from the
... Fali, between the two Capes of
... N, about ten Leagues from the
... being fifty Leagues, and its
... inference two hundred and fifty
... Report of the Inhabitants, its
... before the Violence of the Sea
... of Land on the Side toward
... and most fertile of all the
... to be the *Tipobans* of the
... ignorant that some of our
... the Isle of *Sumatra*, of which
... or with it Read in call the
... most fertile of all the *Indian*
... that it has not only great
... Islands produce, but, besides,
... ge, I enon, and Cinnamon trees,
... ant Smell at a great Distance
... there is no precious Stone but
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... it affords the finest Ivory in
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... n of *Amala Derma Surada*, King
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... the whole Island, who a
... extraordinary manner; for
... become vacant by the Death

... of the Flesh of which is a great
... Creature, not unlike our Bears, but of a very large
... the Skin of which is much esteemed in those Parts,
... Their Grounds are very fertile, but neglected, which
... make them very fertile, and, what they have, not very
... grateful to the Palate. It produces also some Ginger and
... Cassava, and, as the *Chinese* relate, Gold and Silver;
... to the *Dutch* have hitherto found none of these Mines
... worth being after. The Places in which the *Dutch* have
... Settlements are, for the most part, along the Sea-
...
... Its Inhabitants appear like Savages, being of a more than
... ordinary Size, black and hairy all over their Bodies, but in
... their Conversation obliging, honest, and good-natured;
... ter Women are not so strong and lit, but inclining to
... Hands, and yet not ill shaped. They wear a sort of Garment
... round the Middle; but when they bathe themselves
... as they commonly do twice a day in warm Water)
... as well as the Men, strip themselves stark naked,

... *Nipando*, they began to establish themselves there, and at
... all accomplished it by taking of *Celombo* from the *Portu-*
... *guese*. The King of *Candy* is the most potent and most
... potent of all the other Princes in the Isle of *Ceylon*. He
... takes great Delight, as well in the *European* Way of
... Building, as in their Fortifications. The Kingdom is situated
... along upon that River, upon which lies the City of
... *Polonnaruwa*, which serves for an Harbour to the King's Ships.
... The Inhabitants resemble the *Malabars*, but that they are
... asque to black. They wear long hair, except that
... some of the *Portuguese* Doctors. They all wear Pendants
... in their Ears and Points at their Sides. The Women
... likewise go with their Breasts uncovered; but for the rest,
... they are very modest both in their Clothing and Conver-
... sation, dressing their Heads much like the *European* Wo-
... men, with their Hair close behind, and tied in Tresses.
... They appear in gold and silver Garments with Rings up in
... their Hands, Feet, and Legs, set with precious Stones.
... They live conveniently enough in their Houses, their
... Wives being good Housewives, and especially well skilled
... in Cookery. The *Gingivale* are so much addicted to an idle
... Life and Effeminacy, that they are neither fit for War nor
... any thing else.
... 7. *Ceylon* is, as I said before, beyond all Dispute, the
... most plentiful Isle of all the *Indies*; nothing can be named
... either of Provisions or Fruits, but what is very cheap here;
... though they are *Pagans* they eat of every thing in general,
... even Pork (abstaining only from the Flesh of an Ox or
... Cow). The *Mohammedans* enjoy a full Liberty among them;
... and the *Pagan* Inhabitants abstain from Wine as well as
... they. They have a great Veneration for their Brahmans; they
... marry their Maids at ten or twelve Years of Age, and burn
... their Dead. *Fimala Derma*, whom we spoke of before,
... had got as much Christianity as could be expected among
... the *Indian* *Portuguese*, which he soon laid aside; so that
... his Successors continued in their Idolatry. Some of the
... Inhabitants worship the Head of an Elephant cut in Wood
... or Stone, who, they say, out-do Mankind in Judgment,
... and therefore pray for Wilkom to them.
... They lay up every Day a certain Share of their Provi-
... sions in a Basket kept for that Purpose for their Pagods,

... When one Village happens to be at War with another,
... they first declare it openly against one another, which
... being the Signal to be upon their Guard, they do not attack
... by open Force, but dividing themselves into small Troops,
... perhaps of twenty-five or thirty Men, lie in Ambush near
... the Village; they intend to attack till Night, when they lie
... upon the Hills, which lie dispersed in the open Country,
... till perhaps they can light upon an aged Man: They kill
... him, cut off his Head, Hands, and Feet; nay, if they
... have Time enough, cut the whole Body into small Pieces,
... that every one of them may take home a Piece of it along
... with him as a Mark of his Bravery; but if the next Vil-
... lage happens to take the Alarm, they are glad to be con-
... tented with the Head alone, or perhaps a good Lock of
... the Hair, which they carry home in Triumph, as an un-
... doubted Sign of their Victory; when they intend to make a
... very bold Attack, they enter the Village by Night, force open
... a House, kill all they meet with, and to betake themselves
... to their Beds, for fear of being pursued. When they en-

... some *Jesuits*, who were on Board us, and had spent most of
... their Days in the *Indies*, concerning those Parts I had not
... seen, according to whose Relation I thought fit to insert
... the following Account. Near the Cape of *Comorin*, along
... the Coast of *Malabar*, for a Tract of near an hundred and
... forty Leagues by Sea, extended the Isles, by some account-
... ed One thousand, called *Maldives* by the *Portuguese*, lying
... along the Cape to the North. Some of which being very low
... that they are often fit to be inundated, are not inhabi-
... ted, others are. The *Malabars* are of Opinion that they
... were torn from the Continent by the Violence of the tem-
... petuous Waves of the Sea, which, in four Places, is at
... so slender a Distance from the Continent, that a bank ac-
... tive Fellow might leap over it. The capital City, which
... has given its Name of *Maldiva* to all the Islands, is built
... upon four small Isles, being the Residence of the King,
... who commands over all the rest, and a Place of good
... Trade, though they produce naturally scarce any thing
... but Coconuts, but the Industry of the Inhabitants supplies,
... in some measure, the Defect of Nature here, there being
... not any Nation in the *Indies* more ingenious in making
... Garments of Silk and Thread than they. The Coast of
... *Coromandel* being in the most Eastern Part of the *Indies*
... on this Side of the *Ganges*, is divided from the *Malabar* Coast
... by the Mountains of *Balagatta*, its Extent being one hun-
... dred Leagues along the Coast from *Cape Comorin*, or ra-
... ther the Point of *Negapatam*, as far as the River *Nizand*
... and the Town of *Mysapatan*, which, as it has excellent Har-
... bours, and the best Roads for Anchorage in the *Indies*, so
... it serves for a safe Retreat for such Vessels as are by the
... tempestuous Winter-season forced from the Coast of *Ca-*
... *zzerat* thither, where the Climate and Weather is very clean
... at that Time.
... The *Portuguese* are Masters of the Town of *St. Thomaz*.
... On this Coast, they say, that when they first discovered
... themselves of *Celanon* and *Cranganor*, the Inhabitants of this
... Coast, who were Christians of the *Greek* Religion, implor'd
... the Protection of the King of *Portugal*. To back this
... Tradition, they affirm, that *St. Thomas*, one of the twelve
... Apostles, after he had taught the Gospel in the Kingdom of
... *Nosfogga*, petitioned the King to give him Leave to build a
... Chape.

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Chap. II. through the greatest Part of the EAST-INDIES. 703

... than break his Promise to his Friends, which is
... in most of their Delinquents will rather endure the
... misse Tortures than discover their Accomplices.
... *Chinese* having such vast Quantities of all things,
... deal in any foreign Commodities, but leave that
... to Strangers, especially to the *Chinese*, who bring
... the Product and Manufactures of their Country;
... never face the ancient good Correspondence be-
... tween these two Empires has been interrupted, the *Chinese*
... laden by their Kings to send Goods into *Japan*,
... are obliged to carry on this Commerce, in order
... of transporting their Commodities to some other
... the *Indies*, unto which they are the more inclin'd
... the vast Hopes of Gain. All Commodities, either
... or exported out of *Japan*, passing free, without
... the least Duty or Custom.
... whole Empire of *Japan* uses but one and the same
... which is quite different from the *Chinese*, in
... their Characters; as they always use but few Words
... to every thing with Pencils in certain flourish'd

... consider as Part of the Blood and the Receiptacle of the
... Souls of Beasts. They will not feed upon the Flesh of
... any Beasts, but are great Lovers of all sorts of Wild-
... Fowl and Venison. Their Cedars are so big here that they
... make Mills of them for Ships. The Complexion of the
... Natives is inclining to brown; and for the rest, they are
... litly and strong limbed, hardy, and patient to undergo any
... Labour, as well as the Injury of the Seasons, never changing
... their Cloaths either Winter or Summer, and very mode-
... rate in their Diet. The *Japanese* are distinguished into five
... several Ranks; the first is that of the Prince, Lords, and
... great Officers, both Civil and Military; the second of the
... Clergy; the third of the Gentlemen and Merchants; the
... fourth of Tradefmen and Seamen; and the fifth of La-
... bourers. Once in five Years the Emperor of *Japan* has
... an Interview with the Dairō at *Macao*, which is very re-
... markable for its Magnificence, and the great Pretens made
... to the Dairō, an ample Account of which being to be
... found in the *Dutch* Relation of the Director of the said
... Company in *Japan*, we will pass by the Particulars of it
... here, our Intention being only to give the Reader a short

... being very docile in any thing they apply themselves to.
... Though their Grounds be very fertile, and able to produce
... much more than they do, they are contented to live up-
... on their small Quantity of Rice, which is raised by the
... Industry of their Wives, who, instead of Ploughs, culti-
... vate and dig the Ground with Spades, transplant and cut
... the Rice, and after having dried as much of it every
... Night in the Chimney-Corner as will suffice the Family
... the next Day, heat it early in the Morning in a Mortar;
... the Mens Minds being wholly taken up with hunting, ef-
... specially till they are forty Years of Age, before which
... Time they seldom mind any thing relating to Agri-
... culture.
... They sow also three sorts of Fruits, called by them
... *Ptingh*, *Quack*, and *Taragan*, not unlike Millet; and a cer-
... tain sort of Pulse, resembling our French bean; some
... Roots they have likewise, which might serve them instead
... of Bread, if they were not furnished sufficiently in that
... respect with Rice. Besides this, they have Ginger, Cin-
... namon, Sugar-canes, Bananas, Lemons, and a great Store
... of Arca, not to mention several sorts of other Fruits.

Men to improve a Nation, they ought not to suffer
 upon a Government, or make any Con-
 quist, but with Reason it is, that, to avoid an O. all in
 of Council with the Members, the *Chinese* are bound to go
 out of the Kingdom without Leave from the Emperor, or
 the Governor of the Province where they dwell.

The *Chinese* are always forced, the Father in the Throne,
 the yettself *Son* having received an Appenage, with
 the Title of King, allowed them, but have not the full
 State of the Administration of the Government, being
 under the Jurisdiction of other Officers of the Govern-
 ment of the Province where they dwell, who pays them their
 Allowance quarterly. The great Council of State consists
 of twelve Officers, at a Publick; however, with three
 or four more of the great Officers, by Commandment. The
 bill for the Administration of Justice, is prepared by the
 Lawyers, the same to be presented to the Senate for

the City of *Amoy*, who have a great number of
 their respective Members. They make
 and keep to their Confut. Matt is a
 the Monks in *Harpe*. The *Chinese* *Monks*
nefe are not permitted to enter into resolu-
 tions, which may upon them in Publick, and
 all the rest who have embraced a non-
 their Funeral Rites, the *Chinese* walk
 them in a Cabin of Sweet Wood, which
 them upon a Table like in Days, during
 Finally, who come there to buy, and
 we treated with Wine and Food, and
 after them after the Equitation of the
 is commonly done in the Country, and
 that it is to be found, except one or
 Mourning is very close, in some Coun-
 try.

their Probation, and many widowers they think
 Each Temple has a kind of a Convent to it, for the En-
 tertainment of a certain Number of Priests who attend the
 Service every Day Morning and Evening.

They live for the most part upon Alms, like our Men-
 dicant Friars. They have also a kind of religious old
 Women, but these are not bound by any particular Disci-
 pline. They believe one Creator of the Universe, who
 governs the World by divers inferior Gods. They say
 that the Soul is immortal, and after it is purified by passing
 through several Bodies, is either condemned to eternal
 Torments, or enjoys Beatitude. They tell you, that this
 has been transmitted to them by Tradition, Time out of
 Mind; for the rest, they hold that good Deeds, and espe-
 cially Charity, are the chief Means to attain Salvation,
 which is the Reason they extend their Charity even to the
 Beasts, such as Birds and Fish, which they buy to set
 them at Liberty, as believing the Transmigration of the
 Soul. This is the Reason why they never condemn any
 other Religion, or dispute with them: But their Ecclesi-
 asticks preach without Intermision against the old Custom
 of invoking the Devil, which is still retained among the
 vulgar Sort. They have abundance of Lamps hanging
 before their Idols in the Time of Service. These they set
 out with Garlands of Flowers, and in some of them they
 have certain Days, each Quarter of the Moon, appointed
 for their general Devotions, and a Lent of three Months.

Their dead Corps they have, wash and perfume, and
 afterwards burn them near a Temple, where the Ashes
 are buried under a Tomb, or Pyramid. The Relations
 mourn for their Friends by shaving themselves, by giving
 Alms and Benevolences to the Priests, to pray for them at
 their Obsequies. The Corpse is attended with Musick and
 Fireworks. The *Siamese* are strong limbed, and well pro-
 portioned, but thir Courage is not answerable to it, which
 makes them use their Victims with a great deal of In-
 tolerance. They are base, and very crafty in their Dealings.
 They are so much addicted to Idleness, that they leave all
 Tools to their Wives and Slaves. They wear a painted
 Piece of Callico from the Middle down to the Knees, tho'
 the Men have also Shirts with Sleeves hanging down to
 the Elbows. The Women cover their Breasts with a Piece

Stones, Gold, Benjamin, Wax, Copper, Lead, Iron,
 Calamba-wood, Bialil Wood, Cotton, and Deer-Skin,
 of which they export fifty thousand every Year to *Japan*,
 and their Rice is transported in vast Quantities to the
 neighbouring Countries. The King himself is a Monarch
 here, and has his Factories at *Pegu*, *Poa*, *Jangama*, and the
 Coast of *Coromandel*, and in *China* itself. The Money is
 very good, being of three different sorts, viz. *Miao*,
Majas, and *Teanges*; two *Teanges* make a *Miao*, and ten
Majas a *Tical*, which is equivalent to a *Trelo* Hat-
 Crown, four of these *Ticals* go to a *Tical*, twenty of which
 make a *Cattia* in Silver. Their smallest Silver Money is
 the *Teang*; but Provisions being very cheap, they
 make use of certain Shells brought thither from *Manila*,
 eight or nine hundred of which go to a *Teang*.

The *Portuguese* being sufficiently sensible what pro-
 gious Advantage they were able to reap from this Kingdom
 for supporting their Traffick to the *Moluccas* and *Indies*
fine Isles, the Viceroys of *Goa* were always very careful
 cultivate a good Correspondence with the King of *Siam*,
 who in Return granted them many Privileges, in fact
 time that the *Dutch* got Footing there at the Beginning
 of this Age. The *Portuguese* were so alarmed hereat,
 that they not only obstructed the Trade of the same to
St. Thomas and *Negapatan*, but also attacked a *Dutch* Ve-
 sel in the River *Mecum*, which, with some other Obstruc-
 tions, served only to incense the King of *Siam* against them, who
 ever after encouraged the *Dutch* in their Settlement and
 Commerce, which is very advantageous to them in respect
 of the Isles of *Java* and *Sumatra*, of which they are now
 in Possession.

The Kingdom of *Cambodia* borders to the North-
 West upon the Kingdom of *Siam*, being inclosed by the
 Sea on the other Side; the capital City is seated upon a
 River sixty Leagues from the Sea-shore, which rises out
 of a Lake, as do all the other Rivers of this Kingdom.
 That which runs by *Cambodia* overflows every Year like
 the *Nile*; its first Rise is in the Beginning of *June*, increas-
 ing by degrees to ten or twelve Feet, and in *July* of *Aug*
 it overflows the Country to that degree, that it is quite
 unnavigable, for which Reason it is that the City of *Can-*
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wear Silk. The Women are very magnificent in their
 Apparel, and wear Abundance of Jewels and Pearls. They
 are very remarkable for their little Feet. They seldom
 appear abroad; and whenever they visit their Relations,
 it is done in close *Palanquins*, or Litters. The *Chinese* are
 so quick, not only in all sorts of Manufactures, but also
 in their Way of Trading, that scarce any body is able to
 over reach them. Their Money is Gold and Silver, which
 passes altogether by Weight. They are so careful in pro-
 viding for the Poor, that in each City a Judge is appointed
 to provide for the Relief of such as are unable to provide
 for themselves, and set to work such as are in a Capacity
 to get their Bread.

As there are Books extant in *China*, which have been
 printed above seven hundred Years ago, it is certain that
 they invented the Myllery of Printing before us, since it
 was not discovered in *Europe* till 1470. Their Characters
 are rather Figures signifying certain Words, than Letters,
 which they write from the Top downward, not with
 Pens, but with Pensils, and that on one Side only, their
 Books, who have made out the Part of *Rombee* Cases, being

an Account of their Transactions, make a faithful Report
 to the King, who changes the Officers of the Province
 every three Years, with this Circumspection, that he
 never any Officer of Note is sent, but into a Province remote
 from the Place of his Birth. Debtors are punished by most
 cruel Drubbings, which makes them rather choose to
 themselves to their Creditors, than to undergo this
 Punishment.

The Prisons, wherewith all the great Cities are provided,
 are very nicely kept, but at the same time want many
 Conveniencies, such as Courts, Gardens, Pots, Windows,
 &c. for the Divertisement of the Prisoners, and Dining-
 houses and Cooks-shops for their Conveniencies. No
 Sentence of Death is executed without a Warrant from the
 Emperor, and this must be done in the Presence of the
 Judges, who are so nice in this Point, that they allow
 very considerable Time betwixt the Condemnation and
 Execution, to make divers Visits to the Prisoners, and ex-
 amine them whether they have any thing to allege in their
 Behalf; by which Delays it happens, that many of the
 Prisoners die in Prison than are executed. Their execution

Anchor at seven Fathom Water.

10. This Cape of the Continent of *Africa*, extending to the South into the Sea, in 29° beyond the Line, received the Name of *Cabo de Boa Esperanza* in 1487, from *John H. King of Portugal*, when the *Portuguese* first went in Quest of the Passage by Sea to the *Indies*, lying as it were at a nearer Distance of about 250 Leagues, betwixt *Europe* and the most Eastern Coasts of the *Indies*; ever since which Time this has been the Place where Ships bound to those Parts take in their Refreshments, Water being very excellent here, and Cattle very cheap, their Oxen being very large, with Branches on their Backs like those of the *Indies*, and their Sheep very good, with long hanging Ears, and Tails as big and weighty as a good Quarter of Mutton: Neither do they want Wild Fowl, Deer, Wild Beasts, Fattypigs, Quans, and, among the rest, a kind of Geese, with Stumps instead of Wings,

that feeding our Ship was not in a Month to come; that the Voyage to *England* without mankind had been made into the Isle of *Madagascar*: Pursuant to this Resolution we tacked about at Two in the Afternoon, the Weather, and a very rough Sea, which continued till next Day till about Noon. *June* the 1st we were 200 Leagues in twenty four Hours, with a West Wind blowing our Course to the East. The 2d. about 12 o'clock at Night, the Wind veering about to the S.W. by the Wind we could wish for the Protection of our Voyage to *England*, we resolved to return to the Coast of *India*, and to take in fresh Water at the Isle of *Madagascar*: The third we got with the same Wind to the Coast of *India*, the Abundance of Birds, called *Mox*, *Tomias*, and *Canes*, floating upon the Sea, gave us Hopes that we were not far from the Coast.

small Heads, having four round Leaves, each Head produces five Flowers in a Cluster, the fifth being exactly in the Middle; they are as white as Snow, of the Bigness of an Orange flower, and blow in the Twinkling of an Eye, as soon as the Sun is set; and when it rises again the next Morning, the Flowers, which have continued all Night, drop in an Instant. Thus the Tree continues till Sun-set again, when it opens, and produces the Flowers in the same manner as before, and casts them again at the first Appearance of that Planet, which invigorates all other Vegetables. The Coconuts, of which there are four Kinds, are very common in this Island. The Tree which bears the Coconuts grows very high, but not above a Foot Diameter in Bulk. It has not a Branch but at the Top, where it spreads like a Date-tree, and these don't produce the Fruits, which grow ten or twelve in a Cluster out of the Body of the Tree. The Flower resembles that of a Chestnut. This Tree is of universal Use in the *Indies*. In the *Maldives* Islands they build whole Ships without any thing but what is furnished by the Cocoa-tree; the outward Rind affording them a kind of Hemp for their Cordage and Cables, and the Leaves with Materials for Sails, and the Covering of their Houfes; besides that, they use them for the making of Umbrella's, Fans, Tents, Mats and Hats. The Fruit is of the Bigness of an Ostrich's Egg, and the outward Rind, which resembles that of our Walnuts when dried, affords the Hemp we spoke of before. If they gather it before the Nut is come to full Maturity, it affords about a Quart of very pleasant Liqueur, which, if kept in the Shell, by degrees turns to a kind of a Kernel, which becomes yellow, and is of a very good Taste, and exceeding wholesome.

Their Toddy, or Palm Wine, they draw from the Tree whilst it is in Blossom, and, pulling off the Flower, they tatten it to an Earthen Vessel well stopp'd, into which runs a Liqueur, resembling in Taste and Colour our Whey: This when boiled is called Toddy, and, set in the Sun, turns to Vinegar immediately; and, if distilled, makes a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*. The Pith of the Tree, as it is very white, furnishes the *Indians* with Paper. The second Kind is called by the *Portuguese* *Arrequeira*, from the *Araucaria* it pro-

duces, commonly called *Arrequeira*, which grows in the Wrong of it when he called it the Epitome of the World; it being certain that there is no Animal, Plant, Metal, or Drug, but what is found here in greater Plenty than in any Part of the Universe.

The Inhabitants deduce their Origin from the *Chuji* and, to speak Truth, their large Foreheads and Brows, and little Eyes, resemble much that Nation. Each Town or Note in *Java* has its peculiar Prince, and now they are all Sovereigns independent one of another. The Kings of *Bantam* and *Pallambum* are at present the most potent, the latter of which has given the Name to the Strait that divides the Isles of *Java* and *Bala*. Ten Leagues to the North is the City of *Panarucan*, near which is a burning Mountain. The King of *Panarucan* and *Palambum* are *Pagans*; but the King of the City of *Passaracan*, six Leagues from *Panarucan*, is a *Mohammedan*. Ten Leagues to the West is the City of *Joardam*, noted for its convenient Harbour upon a River, where the Ships going from the *Moluccas* to *Bantam* commonly touch, to take in fresh Water and Provisions. Upon the same River lies the City of *Giriati*. The City of *Surabara* has its proper King, under whose Jurisdiction is also the City of *Brandam*, six Leagues thence to the West. He keeps his Court at *Sidaya*, which is well fortified, but destitute of a safe Harbour. Ten Leagues more to the West lies the City of *Taboan*, next to *Bantam* the most considerable of the Isle, and five Leagues farther to the North-West the City of *Cajaw*. *Mandalicao* is inhabited only by Fishermen. Five Leagues farther to the West is the City of *Japara*, upon a Neck of Land, which runs out three Leagues into the Sea. Twenty five Leagues hence, and forty-five from *Bantam*, lies *Matram*, or *Mataravan*, a great City, and the Residence of a powerful King, who once pretended to the Sovereignty over all the rest of the Island, and still styles himself Emperor of *Java*.

Five Leagues to the West of *Japara* lies the City of *Pata*, and three Leagues farther that of *Dauwa*, both under the Jurisdiction of the King of *Matram*, as well as that of *Tagal* in the same Bay. The next is the fair and strong City of *Charabon*, seated upon a River, by which you pass to the Cities of *Dauwa* and *Muccador*, and so thro' the

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ance of Black-Birds, with a small Spot of white on their Breasts: These, according to the Opinion of the *English* Seamen, always forebode a Tempest, which proved true; for, before Night, a Storm arose from the W. N. W. with a very rough Sea, which took our Carpenter from the Deck, but he was saved by means of a Rope. The Ground which stuck to the Plummet being black at eight Fathom Depth, we concluded we were not far from the *Cape d'Agulhas*, which is sixty Leagues distant from that of *Good Hope*. The 20th the Tempest increasing in 30° 20' beyond the Line, we were in great Danger of being lost, being forced by the Currents towards the Shore; but the Tempest being somewhat allayed, we escaped the Danger, but were soon after threatened by another, occasioned by a Lamp in the President's Room, which had set Fire to the Waincot. The 20th the Storm continued till two in the Afternoon, when the Pelicupereos coming in great Numbers about our Ships, were the Forerunners of fair Weather, and the N. W. Wind which ensued. On the 27th, in the Morning, it was calm; but, in the Afternoon, we made two Leagues an Hour with a N. W. Wind, taking

The Inhabitants are savage, uncouth, and ill-shap'd: They grease their Bodies with Train-Oil, and eat their Flesh raw; nay, they seldom kill any Beast, but feed upon them when they die of any Disease. Both Men and Women go naked, covering their privy Parts only with a Piece of Skin fastened round their Waist with a Leather-Girdle, some wrap a Lion's Skin or Ox's Hide round their Buttocks, drawing their Tail between their Legs, some wear them over their Shoulders down to their Waist only, exposing all the rest to publick View, and disfiguring their Arms, Thighs, and Legs, by making Characters upon them by way of Incision. The Women adorn themselves with Legs with broad Rings of Iron or Brass. Those living farther up in the Country are no less savage than the rest, with this Difference only, that they live a little nearer the Sea-side living upon Oysters, Fish, and especially Whales; for they know not what it is to sow, though their Grounds are excellent. They live in rude Huts with their Cattle, and scarce ever come to the shore, except when upon the Arrival of some Ship, they are to truck their Commodities, which are the

Year driven upon that Coast by Distress of Weather, sent a certain African Negro, who had some Knowledge of their Language, to signify unto them, that he was come thither to settle a good Correspondence and Commerce with them. They seemed to approve of this Proposal, but were no sooner got at some Distance from the *Pestuguez*, than they fell upon the *Moors*, with Intention to kill him, which they had certainly done if the *Portuguez* had not discharged their Fire-Arms upon them, which obliged them to leave the Negro, and to betake themselves to their Heels, leaving several of their Companions dead upon the Spot.

Perera sailed thence to another Place upon the same Coast, where having surpris'd one of their Princes, he carried him on Board, and gave him such kind Entertainment, that in Requital for his Courtesy, he offered to shew him a very good Harbour, accordingly he conducted them

bought, August the 19th, of Prince Augustus, and other neighbouring Lords, twenty-five Oxen and a hundred Sheep, we embarked our Baggage the 21st, and the 21st fell out of the Bay of *Saint Augustine* with a South-west Wind, which proving favourable all that Night we soon lost Sight of *Madagafcar*.

The 22d being rejoined by the Monsoon, or Wind of the Season, which happened sooner than ordinary, we briskly pursued our Course to West-South West, and the 23d the Wind blowing a brisk Gale from the East in our Stern, we sail'd briskly a little more to the South, with an Intention to avoid the *Cape of Good Hope*. The 25th and 26th the Wind was not so brisk, but being croic'd by a fresh Gale, the 26th we advanced bravely, and found ourselves that Day in 27° 27' Latitude, and on the 28th in 28° 12'. The 29th we were surpris'd by the *Travados*, or Whirlwinds, in 31° 15'; but they did not con-

Plenty, but are not easy to be catch'd, by reason of the Unpassableness of the Woods, and the Unskillfulness of the *Javanese* in the Use of Fire-Arms. The Rivers feed also Abundance of Crocodiles; the *Chinese* tame, fat, and eat them for a peculiar Dainty. Their Civet is not so white nor well scented as that of *Guangy*. They have two sorts of tame Fowls, one like those of *Europe*, the other of the *Indian* Breed, wild and furious; some have black Flesh, but notwithstanding this they are very good Food. The *Rhinoceros* is in the same Esteem with them now-a-days, as the Unicorn was with the Ancients, his Flesh, Horn, Blood, and Teeth, may even his Dung, being applied to medicinal Uses.

They have also Ants here of a much larger Size than ours, they spoil every thing they come at. They have a certain kind of these Creatures reddish, and of the Length of a Man's Finger, but these live in the Fields upon the Barks of Trees. Among the Fruit trees of *Java* the *Arrequeco*, which bears the *Cocoa*, but less in Bulk, and with narrower Leaves. The Fruit resembles a Date inclosed in a Husk, which falls off when it ripens; it is without Taste, but taints the Lips and Teeth of a black Colour. The *Indians*, after they have mix'd it with a little Lime, wrap it up in a Petal Leaf, and so chew it, looking upon it as a good Remedy against the Scurvy. It will cause in such as are not used to it a Dizziness in the Head, but it soon passes over. The *Mango* is a Fruit growing upon a Tree not unlike our Walnut-trees; it is something like our Peaches in Bigness and Colour, being of a grateful Taste when roasted in the Ashes; they pickle them whillt green, and they are accounted a good Remedy against the Worms and Looisels; the wild ones are rank Poison, which kill without a present Antidote.

The *Ananas* grow on a Shrub with Leaves like a *Semper-vivum*; is green at first, but when ripe turns to the Orange Colour. Its Shape is like a Pine-apple, yellow within, but they are dangerous if used in excess, tho' the Taste is very pleasant; they are not much larger than a good Lemon. The Stalk is like a Thistle, every one bearing but one at the

upon a Tree not unlike the Pepper, and in *Patavia*. The *Javanese* hold them in such Esteem that they will not sell them unbruis'd, nor will allow so much as one Plant to be transported into other Places. The *Magda* is one of the Taste of our Sloes, and grows wild in the High ways of *Java*, and the *Heib-Jalaffe*, bearing many round nor Fruit, is used green in Sauces, it is used to fortify the Stomach. The Fruit *Java* is of the *Bigness* of a *Citrus*, having a rough Rind, without which are some Nuts, the Kernels thereof being roas'ted, is a pleasant Remedy against a Looisels. It is observable that the Fruit often changes its Taste, sometimes it resembles a Melon, sometimes a Peach, and at other Times a good Lemon. The Nut is as big as a Date, but is not to be used raw, because it occasions vomiting and griping of the Guts; but roas'ted, it is both pleasant and good, and reckoned a great Restorative.

On the Side of the Island towards the Strait of *Sunda*, you meet with Abundance of wild Cinnamon, but it is never transported into foreign Parts. The *Carecap* are a sort of *Indian* Cherries, white, dark, red, and of a Greenish Colour; the Trees and Fruit are like those in *Europe*. The *Cajus Indicus*, called *Packo* by the *Malays*, resembles in every respect, both in Height and Flower, the *European* Elder-tree, wherewith the *Perfians* and *Arabs* drive a considerable Trade, as they do also with the *Cinnamon Aromaticus*. There is a yellow and spongy Mast in its Stalk, which some Women make use of to stopple Firs. The *Zerumbet*, called *Canla* by the *Malays*, is like Ginger, except that it has somewhat larger Leaves, it is preserved or dried like Ginger, but valued above it. Of *Galanga* there are two Kinds, the lesser is brought from *China*, and is preferable to that of *Java*. The Herb grows wild, about two Feet high, with a white Flower and pointed Leaves; the *Javanese* use both the Root and Herb in their Salads; the first are knotted like Cress, and of a biting Taste, and good Scent. *Benjamin* is a Gum of a Tree resembling a Lemon-tree; whilst they are young, the Gum is white, but as they grow old it changes black. It is by the *Moors* called *Levan* *Java* is the

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to our Tent, unto one of whom the President presented one of my Shirts, desiring her to wear it for my Sake. She made not the least Difficulty to receive it, and wore it two Days, after which, she tore it to Pieces, for some other Use. Their Men are brave, addicted to martial Exercises, and very dextrous in the Management of their Lances, Darts, and Pikes, which always lie near them, even when they are at work in the Field, being trained up to the Use of Arms in their Infancy; Persons of Note seldom stir abroad without having twenty-five or thirty Darts, or small Pikes, carried after them, tied up in a Bundle. Their Bows are four or five Feet long, and the Strings loose. They have a Sleight of Shooting with great Strength and Activity; and as to their Javelins, they dart them with so miraculous a Dexterity, that they will hit a Bird at forty Paces Distance.

They are divided into several Tribes or Clans, of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred, each under his own Lord, whom they call *Jebick*. Two of these had their Residence in a Wood not far from our Tent. Their Wars among themselves are commonly occasioned by the

ants, desiring them to return to their Habitations, the Occasion of their coming thither being only to settle a good Correspondence with them. Upon this mozt of them returned, and as a Mark of their Good-will, presented *Perera* with fifty Oxen and twenty Goats; but being nevertheless willing to be rid of the Strangers, they tempted the Captain with the Hopes of great Riches, which they said he might meet with in the Port of *Matatona*; which was so well approved by him, that he was preparing to go thither, but one of his Ships being soon after forced upon the Coast of the Isle, he retired with the other to *Mazambique*: Another Ship of the same Fleet being driven by tempestuous Weather into the Port of *Matatona*, a Boat of the Country came immediately aboard them, in which the Captain sent the Master of the Vessel, who was well versed in the *African* Language.

The *Moors* making more than ordinary Haste to get ashore with the Master, and the *Portuguez* conceiving some Jealousy at their Behaviour, they pursued them with eighty Men in their Shallop, but too late, the Negroes having reached the Shore before them. However, after they were landed, they got Sight again of the *Moku-*

unto which they are so much addicted that their Veiells
are seen upon the Coast of *Pegu* four hundred Leagues
thence. They use Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Darts, and
Pikes. The King and most of the Inhabitants near the
Sea-side are *Mohammedans*, but deeper in the Island they
are *Pagans*. They are black, and well let, wear Calico
wrapped about their Loins, like most of the other *Indians*,
and Turbans on their Heads.

The Isle of *Celbes* lies betwixt that of *Borneo* and
Mauecas, under the Equinoctial Lane. *Mercator* would
have it to be one of these Islands called *Sindus* by *Ptolemy*.
Its capital City is called *Macassar*, which lies in the most
Southern Part of the whole Isle, 5° 17' beyond the Lane.
The Inhabitants are so industrious, that they leave not an
Inch of Ground unmanured, and sow with Rice what they
stand not in Need of for their Cattle and Cocoa-trees. It is
not long since they embraced *Mohammedism*. They
much resemble the *Siamese* and those of *Pegu*, especially in
their Faces, and are of a comely Stature. The Women
dress their Heads like those of *Malacca*, and in the Street
have their Breasts open, and Breches reaching down to
the Knees. The North-west Winds, which blow here
from *November* to *March*, make the Shore very unsafe
during that Time, and the continual Rains overflow the
flat Country, which is the Reason that most of their Houses
are built upon Piles, nine or ten Feet above the Ground.
There are two Kings more, viz. one of *Telbo*, and the
other of *Battergoa*, in this Island.

The Isle of *Gilolo*, by the *Portuguese* called *Bato China*
de Moro, produces Plenty of Rice and *Sagu*, Tortoises,
&c. The Inhabitants are very well limbed, but barbarous,
and not many Years ago were *Cambals*. The Island of
Ambuyna is near the *Moluccas* that some have accounted
it among their Number; its Circuit is twenty-four Leagues.
The chief City lies to the North-west of it a very fair Bay
of six Leagues, where there is safe Anchorage, and good
Shelter for Ships against the Winds; the Bay enters so deep
into the Country, and the Sea on the opposite Side cuts to
creep within the Land, that the Isle is very near divided
into two, there being only a small Isthmus of a hundred
and twenty Fathom left, by which it is joined together.
The lesser Part of the Isle, wherein is the Cattle of
Ambuyna, contains about a hundred and twenty small
Towns, and the greater but four Towns and about seven
Villages. The Inhabitants were heretofore Savages and
Cannibals, and applied themselves to no kind of Agriculture,
which made the Country appear a Wilderness; but of late
Years they have applied themselves to cultivating the
Ground, which being very fertile produces great Plenty of
Oranges, Lemons, Cocons, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, besides
Cloves. They continue still to be ignorant People, the
only Skill they shew being in the Management of a Dart,
which they use with so much Dexterity, that at sixty Paces
Distance they will hit a Crown-piece. They are famed
for their Cakes made of Rice, Almonds, and Sugar, which
the Inhabitants of the adjacent Islands take against the
Bloody-flux; for their Rice-Bread, made in the Shape of
our Sugar-Loaves; and for their small Gallies, which
in swiftness exceed any in *Europe*.

It was first discovered by the *Portuguese* in the Year
1513; but the *Dutch* having afterwards also got Footing
there, the *Portuguese* being resolved to spoil their Com-

me the Name of *Lankila*, i. e. Evil, yet make him subordinate
to another called *Lankila*, as well as to him they call *Ta-
tay*, who is a Degree lower than *Lankila*. They give
them one general Name, viz. *Tito*, i. e. Evil Spirits, and say
that they appear to them in human Shape, when they are to
produce their Oracles, and reveal unknown Things to them.
To do this twenty or thirty of them assemble, and by the
Help of a small Drum called *Tifa*, some Wax Candles, and
certain Conjurations, as also a Sacrifice of Meat and Drink,
make them appear before them. As they are of Opinion
that what ill befalls them comes from the Devil, they are
very careful not to neglect his Worship; for which Pur-
poses they have Wax Candles lighted in their Houses, where
they sacrifice Meat and Drink to these phantastick Beings.

Their Circumcision is also different from that of the
Jews or *Mohammedans*; for instead of cutting off the Pre-
puce, they only slit it, and that not till they are twelve or
thirteen Years of Age. Their Marriages are soon made,
and as soon dissolved; for every thing being agreed upon
they use no farther Ceremonies, except that the Bride-
groom's Father gives a small Present to the Bride, in lieu
of which her Father makes the Wedding Feast, where
they have their Musick and Dancing. If a Wife have a
mind to part from her Husband, she has no more to do
than restore the Present; which done, she puts Water
on her Husband's Feet, to intimate, that thereby they are
both cleansed from all Impurities they have contracted dur-
ing their Marriage, which is thence dissolved, and either
Party at liberty to provide themselves another Spouse as soon
as they please. When they are to take a solemn Oath
Water is put into a Dish, into which having cast Salt,
Earth, and a Leaven Brier, they dip into it the Extre-
mity of a Turkey-Barrel, the Point of a Halberd, Sword,
Knife, &c. some other Weapon, and to give the Dish with
Water unto him who is to take the Oath, to put him in re-
mord that all which has been cast or dipped into the Water,
will be instrumental to his Destruction if he forswear him-
self. They have among them a certain Gang, who under
Pretence of Witchcraft do Mischief to their Neighbours,
either by Poison or other Means; they are called *Witch-
craft*; but whenever they are found out, they are sure to meet
with very severe Punishment.

The Natives of *Ambuyna* are naturally shy, laborious,
and void of Understanding; they commonly bury their
Riches for fear of being robbed; and such is their simplici-
ty that they are not to be brought up to any Trade. They
are so far from any Knowledge that they have not so much
as any Characters among them. All they apply themselves
to is Fishing, and cultivating their Gardens, upon the Fruit
of which they live very moderately, though it is observable
that they are generally strong and well-proportioned. The
Dutch have three Forts in this Isle, viz. the Fort *Cantona*
or *Villora*, and those of *Hiten* and *Laura*.

The Isle of *Banda*, which is three Leagues in Length
and one in Breadth, lies twenty-four Leagues from *Ambuyna*,
extending from North to South. It has some new Towns,
the chief of which is *Nira*. The Inhabitants are very ferocious
Mohammedans; as they are always at War with some
of their Neighbours, so they keep a constant Guard along
their Coasts. Their Arms are a Seyntar and wooden
Buckler, four Feet long, in the managing of which they
are very expert, as being trained up to it in their Youth.

formerly to drive a considerable Traffick to *Perfa*, and the
Red-Sea; but they send but few Ships thither now. The
ordinary Custom paid here is 4l. 10s. per Cent. but the
English pay only one Moiety of it. Though the greatest Part
of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Deccan* or *Cannom* are
Banjans, yet are they not so averse to Flesh as the others
in the *India*; for they will feed upon any Flesh, except
that of an Ox, Cow, Buffalo, and Swine; for the last
they have an absolute Abomination, and the Ox and Cow
are in great Veneration with them. In their Life and Con-
versation, Marriages, Purifications, and other Ceremonies,
they follow the Footsteps of the other *Banjans*.

Their Habitations are only Cottages of Straw, the Doors
being so low that one cannot go in without stooping. Their
Furniture amounts to no more than a Mat to sleep upon,
and in the middle of the Hut you see a Hole in the Ground,
wherein they beat the Rice. They do not differ in their
Habit from the other *Banjans*, except that they wear
nearly wooden Slaves tied up over the Shoulders with Leather
Straps; but their Children go naked till they are seven or

get a League before we saw a *Portuguese* Vessel, which
alter us; we backed our Sails till the came near us, and found
her to be a Vessel that came on purpose to us, sailing with
us under *English* Colours, for fear of being interrupted by
the *Dutch*, she brought us some Presents, viz. three Ovens,
some Sheep, Oranges, Citrons, and Bread from the Governor.
The 9th we sailed with a southerly Wind to the Isles of
Bandera and *Bombay*, which stretched along the Coast from
Bacoum to *Vishapour*; the last has a good Road for Anchor-
age, and is of a pretty large extent. On the 10th we sailed
by *Rohapour* within twenty one Leagues of *Goa*, and in the
Afternoon by the City of *Vingorli*, where the *Dutch* have
a Settlement four Leagues from *Goa*, and in the Evening
came in Sight of the Isles about *Goa*, and of two Isles that
fence the Harbour. On the 11th we came to an Anchor
under the Fort de *Guarda*, which lies not above a Mile from
the City of *Goa*; we saw six Gallies in a Creek in the
Haven; soon after came aboard us a *Portuguese* Captain to
complement the *English* President in the *Viceroy's* Name,
and immediately after the Commodore of the Gallies.
The Harbour of *Goa* was then backed up by twelve

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 ... re found out, they are sure to meet
 ... ishment.
 ... *Ambeyna* are naturally stupid, without
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 ... *la*, which is three Leagues in Length,
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covered with Calicoe, the Men first, and the Women follow-
 ing it; after it is buried, they return to the House of
 the deceased, where they feast together, order Incense to
 be burnt over the Grave for twenty-four Hours, and set up
 a burning Lamp at Night in a Hut made for that Purpose.
 The Men lead a very idle Life, leaving all Business to the
 Management of the Women, who are employed in break-
 ing the Nutmeg-shells, and drying the Nut and Mace,
 the chief Thing they rely on for their Maintenance. As
 far as ever I could learn, the most excellent Spice grows
 no where but in the Isle of *Banda*, and the six following
 adjacent Islands, which make up the Archipelago called
Banda, by the Inhabitants, viz. *Gunaxi*, *Pera*, and *Lan-
 tar* (which is the best Road for Vessels), *Puloway*, *Palam*,
 and *Bayfingin*.
 It is next to a Paradox to believe that these six small Islands
 should be able to produce such prodigious Quantities of
 Nutmegs as are sufficient for the whole World, unless it be
 considered, that besides a few Durions, Bananas, Oranges,
 and Cocoa-trees, the Islands are covered all over with them.
 The one continued Forest, the Trees of which are loaded
 with Flowers and Fruits, which are gathered three times a
 Year, viz. in *April*, *August*, and *December*; but the best
 are gathered in *April*. The Tree itself resembles our Peach-
 tree, the Leaves whereof are somewhat leis and round.
 The Fruit is enclosed within a Husk as thick as that of our
 Walnuts, which, being opened, you see a Leaf very thin
 upon a hard Shell, which may be discovered through it.
 This Leaf is the Flower of Nutmeg or Mace; and to
 come to the Fruit, you must break the Shell. While the
 Nut is green, the Flower is of a Carnation Colour, which,
 after it is parted from the Shell, turns to an Orange Col-
 our. It makes a most excellent Preserve, if done with
 Salt and Sugar. The Inhabitants make a good stomachick
 Ointment of Nutmegs or Mace, powdered and mixed
 with the Oil of Roses. The Inhabitants don't amount to
 above 12000 in all, amongst them not above 500 fit to
 bear Arms; yet are they so mutinous and stubborn, that
 to bridle them the *Dutch* have two Forts here, called *Naf-
 ja* and *Belgica*, where Vessels may anchor at nine or ten
 Fathom Water within Musket-shot, and that without the
 least Danger.
 The *Moluccas*, properly so called, are no more than
 five in Number, viz. the Isles of *Ternate*, *Tidor*, *Mol-
 tel*, *Mabiam*, and *Bachiam*, known to the ancient *Pagans*
 by the Names of *Cape*, *Douco*, *Mentil*, *Muca*, and *Sa-
 que*, and situated all together within the Space of 25
 Leagues. The Sun-beams are so penetrating here that
 they render the Earth as dry as a Pumice-stone, which not
 only sucks in all the Rains that fall, but also swallows the
 very Torrents near their Sources; but as they are not able
 to penetrate through the thick Forests, to the Ground here
 produces both Trees and Herbs; whence it is that those
 Islands are sufficiently stored with Bananas, Coconuts, Lem-
 mons, Oranges, Sandal, and Callamba, besides Spices of
 all sorts; but they produce neither Rice, nor any other sort
 of Grain; the Defect of which is supplied by the Tree,
 called by the Natives *Laudan*, and *sequiro* by the *Por-
 tugez*, the Pith of which furnishes them with a kind of
 Meal for Bread, as the Leaves, when come to their full
 Growth, serve them for the Covering of their Houses,
 and the better Vents for Rattlers, as the lesser make good

Liquor called Thorack, which tastes like Wine.
 The Islanders, though not destitute of Cattle, yet live,
 for the most part, upon Fish. They have no Gold, Silver,
 or any other Mines, being furnished with Iron from the
 Island of *Ambeyna*. They are generally black, though the
 Women not so black as the Men, with black shining
 Hair, large Eyes and Eyebrows, and strong Limbs. They
 soon become grey, yet live to a great Age; are active ra-
 ther than laborious, and very sociable in Conversation, but
 somewhat inclining to Boldness and Insolence, and in their
 Dealings crafty and deceitful: The Men wear generally
 Turbans, like the *Turks*, covered with Plumes. The
 King is distinguished from his Subjects by a kind of Mitre,
 clad in Drawers only of Blue, red, green, or yellow Sar-
 tin. Some of these Islanders make use of a close-bodied
 Coat, fastened round the Shoulders, and cut below like
 the military Garment of the ancient *Romans*. The Wo-
 men wear no Head-dresses, but lay their Hair smooth over
 their Heads, which they tie behind, and cover it with
 Plumes, or Flowers. Their Garments are of *China* Silk;
 but their chief Ornaments are their Bracelets, Rings, and
 Necklaces of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeralds.
 The *Chinese* were the first that made themselves Masters of
 those Islands, and after the *Persians* and *Arabians*, who
 introduced *Mohammedism* here. Their ancient Customs
 are their only Law: They allow Polygamy, yet don't
 punish Adultery; but Stealing is a capital Crime.
 At Break of Day certain Persons who are appointed for
 that Purpose, beat the Drum about the Streets to excite the
 People to the Performance of their matrimonial Duty.
 They use generally the *Malayan* Language, though every
 one of these Islands has its peculiar Tongue, which shews
 them to be descended from divers Nations. The Isle of
Ternate, the biggest of the *Moluccas*, is situated in 45
 23 Leagues from the Isle of *Banda*. Its Compa's is
 about eight Leagues. It affords but little Provisions, ex-
 cept Goats and some Poultry; but the Almonds here
 are most excellent, the Shells being so hard that the Smiths
 use them instead of Coal. It produces also some Tob-
 acco, but much inferior in Goodness to that brought
 from the *West-Indies*. The Town of *Gamma Lamma*,
 the Capital of the whole Island, consists only of one Street,
 2,500 Paces long, built along the Sea-side, the Houses be-
 ing all of Cane or Timber; the Road is not fit for An-
 chorage, the Bottom being all rocky, which makes the
Dutch Vessels always lie at Anchor near the Village of
Tellingamma, within two Miles of *Malay*, betwixt the
 Islands of *Ternate* and *Tidor*.
 But the chief Product of these Islands is the Clove, call'd
Clavus by the modern *Spaniards*, by reason of its Resem-
 blance to an ordinary Nail. The Tree that bears it is by
 those of the *Moluccas* called *Sigar*, the Leaf *Vacaqua*,
 and the Fruit itself *Chamque*. The Tree resembles the
 Laurel, its Leaves being however somewhat narrower,
 like those of the Almond-tree, shooting forth its Branches
 at the Top, not unlike the Myrtle. The Fruit is white at
 first, grows green by degrees, and brown when it comes
 to Maturity, but does not turn black till it be dried in the
 Sun, which is done in two or three Days. The Tree
 grows naturally without planting or cultivating, bears

... law a Portuguese...
 ... Sails till the came near us, and found
 ... came on purpose to go along with
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 ... d with another Wind by the Merit
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 ... On the 11th we came to an Anchor
 ... *la*, which lies not above a Mile from
 ... w fix Gallies and a Corack at the
 ... board us a Portuguese Captain
 ... b President in the Viceroy's Name,
 ... the Commo'rr of the Gallies,
 ... was then blacked up by twelve

... as well as the Delect. After Dinner we were
 brought into several Chambers to take our Repose, accord-
 ing to the Custom of the Country; after which we pass'd
 into another spacious Hall, where we had the Diversion of
 Dancing, by certain *Indian* Children brought up in the
 Roman Catholick Religion; there were among other Shews
 an Entry made by fifteen Persons, having in their Hands
 some Pieces of a broken Pillar, and covers Garlands of
 Flowers, wherewith they adorned the Pillar, after they had
 with exact Observance of the Cadence, each in their several
 Turns put it together; and soon after we saw at the Top
 of the Pillar came out a Tulp, which opening of itself by
 Doors, produced the Image of the Blessed Virgin, with
 our Saviour in her Arms; besides which, the Pillar opened
 in several other Places, and call forth perfum'd Waters;
 after which the Dancers took the Pillar to Pieces again, and
 carried it off dancing as they had brought it in. We had
 another Entry of twelve young Lads, each playing upon a
 peculiar Instrument, some Morris-dancers, and the Ball
 was concluded with another Entry of twelve Boys dressed
 like Apes, who imitated those Creatures in their Actions

the Fathers came to our Lodgings to shew us the Hospital
 which is under the Inspection of the Jesuits. It is a very
 large and noble Structure, containing as many Chambers,
 Halls, and Galleries as will conveniently lodge and accom-
 modate one thousand sick Persons; each Bed is marked
 with a particular Number, and such as are not taken up are
 distinguished by a particular Mark. The Kitchen and
 Apothecary's Shop are well worth Observation. I found
 the chief Distempers of the Sick here to be the Bloody-flux
 and the Pox. They have this Custom, that as soon as any
 Patient is past all Hopes of Recovery, he is shut up in a
 private Room with a Priest, that the rest may not be dis-
 turbed by the Groans of the dying Person.
 Hence we went to the Convent of our Lady belonging
 to the *Augustinians*, which, being built upon rising Ground,
 makes a most glorious Shew at a Distance. I delivered to
 them the Letters of Recommendation I had received from
 their Brethren at *Ispahan*, which made them treat me with
 more than ordinary Civilities, shewing me all the rich
 Capes and Vestments belonging to the Monasteries, and
 offering me all other things that they had

of *Ires*, *Meyana*, *Cavaly*, *Mangeron*, *Gamaconora*, *Ambenna*, but especially the Isle of *Furanulo*, produce considerable Quantities, but not so good as those of the *Moluccas*. In the Middle of the Island of *Ternate* is a very high Mountain, full of Palms and other Trees, which has a most miraculous Well on the Top, which is so deep that 500 Fathom of Rope did not reach the Bottom, but to a very fair Spring, the Water of which no Body hitherto has ventured to taste, by reason of the sulphurous Exhalations, which, especially about the Equinoxes, issue from the Mountain, and sometimes cast red Stones at twenty Leagues Distance. This Mountain is covered with Wood near half its Height, but afterwards is excessive cold, having on the Top a very cold Spring, and a Lake of fresh Water, surrounded by Trees. They know not of any certain Difference of Season in these Islands, except that it generally rains more with the North than with the South Wind.

Serpents they have of thirty Feet long, but not venomous, living for the most part upon Fish. This Island has also a peculiar Creature, called by the Inhabitants *Cafes*, which, as it feeds on Fruits, so it is always seen upon the Trees, its Tail being of such Strength, that it will hang by it to a Branch of the Tree, the better to come at the Fruit; it is in Shape not unlike our Rabbits; its Colour betwixt a Grey and a Red, with thick, curling, and soft Hair, round and hence Eyes, and very small Feet. As they have scarce any domestic Bird except the Parrot, so their Forests are full of wild ones. The *Moluccas* produce a certain Wood which burns, sparkles, and flames like common Wood, but contains not, though you may rub it to Powder with your Fingers. Not far from the Fort of *Ternate* grows a certain Sarub, called *Caopa* by the Inhabitants, from which falls a Leaf, which, by degrees, is supposed to turn to a Butterfly. The Isle of *Tider* is at least as large and fruitful as *Ternate*, the Inhabitants here being so industrious as to improve the Fruit of the Clove-tree, by pruning and watering it, which, by this means, becomes both larger and larger than the rest. Here they have also the best white Sandal-wood, and those Birds called *Paseras del Cielo* by the *Spaniards*, and by us Birds of *Paradise*. After they have caught them, they cut off near Foot close to the Body, so that when the Flesh dries the Skin and Feathers run indelibly together, so that many have been of Opinion these Birds are without Feet.

The *Dutch* are Masters of *Malaya*, a well fortified Town of *Ternate*, as also of the Fort of *Tauco*, and that of *Morice* and *Tider*, of the Fort *Sanneville* in *Bachram*, and three more in the Isle of *Machram*, at *Tassaco*, *Auracana*, and *Gehama*, they have also a Stone-Cast in *Maur*. The King born of *Maciam*, which is governed by its own Sovereign, being so well stocked with Sapo that the Inhabitants have sufficient where with to subsist without Labour, has made them so idle and careless, that they are scarce able to raise 200 fighting Men. The Isle of *Machram*, which is subject to the King of *Ternate*, is about seven Leagues in Circumference; the *Dutch* made themselves Masters of it in 1601, since which Time they have erected three Forts, the first at *Gueghuan*, situate upon an Eminence, and strengthened by four Ballions of Stone; as is also the Fort of *Tassaco* built likewise upon an Mount at an hundred and fifty Leagues from the Sea shore; it is bigger than the first. The Fort of *Tobambah* Bay only two Ballions. Besides these three Forts, properly called the *Moluccas*, there are

seventy Leagues to the North-East from *Japan* to the East, it is encompassed by the Ocean, and to the South by the great *Archipelago*, which is divided into five Seas, and stocked with a vast Number of Islands. The People of the Soil, joined to the Industry of its Inhabitants, makes this Island abound in Corn, Rice, Fruits of all sorts, and Drugs; as likewise in Beef, Buffaloes, Deer, Goats, and Hogs. Their Cocoa Wine they keep till it ferments as strong as *Spanish* Wine; their Lemons, Oranges, Peas, and Pears, are the best in the World, and they abound both in domestic and wild Fowl, and Birds. They have a peculiar Way here of killing the Crocodiles, to wit, they have great Numbers: He who is to engage with this Creature, gantlets his left Arm to his Elbow, having in the same Hand a Truncheon of a Foot long, placed at both Ends, with a Dagger in the other: Thus armed, he goes into the Water up to the Waist, and while the Crocodile is making at him with his Jaws open, he thrusts his left Hand down his Throat, so as to keep them from shutting, and in the mean while stabs him with the Dagger in the Throat, till he drops down dead.

The *Philippine* Islands produce more Tygers, Lions, Bears, and such-like wild Beasts, than *Africa* does, and abound in Algalia, which are the Creatures that produce Milk, and Civet Cats. The *Chinese* dive with Trunks, this Country with the *Spaniards*, who buy fine Cloths, Silks, Porcelain, Gun-powder, Sulphur, Iron, Quick-silver, Copper, Meal, Nuts, &c. and carry them to the *Indies*, where these Things are sold at a very dear rate. In the City of *Manilla* resides a *Spanish* Archbishop, who has three Bishops under his Jurisdiction, for the Spanish Government of the *Philippine* Islands; and he is assisted in the Management of all publick Affairs, in Consilium, by the King's Council appointed in that City, who is very large, and its Houses built of Stone, with a very good Way. Within and about it live above 200,000 *Chinese*, and vast Numbers of the same Nation, who gather every Year for the Convenience of Trade, 8000 Sail from *Peking* to *April* you may see in the Harbour, which is bordered by two wooden Forts, one for the *Chinese* and *Japanese* Junks. This Place is also much frequented by *Japanese*, but not in near so great Numbers as the *Chinese*: Notwithstanding which, the *Spaniards* are more jealous of the first than the last.

The *Japan* is composed of many Islands, with a several Army of the Sea, extended from one to the other in some Places scarce ten, in others very large, and in Wealth. On the East Side it hath Neighbourhood with *Tartary*, on the West *China*, and to the South, with Part of the *Terra Australis*. The whole Empire consists of sixty-six lesser Kingdoms, and Province, fifty-three whereof are comprehended within the two Kingdoms of *Meca* and *Amagance*, the other within the great Kingdom of *Miwo*, and the remaining Part of the called *Xiowm*. According to the *Japanese*, they are uncertain, whether the whole Empire be an Island annexed to the Continent, inasmuch as in the Province of *Quanto* to the Borders of the Province of *Long*, it is a twenty-seven Days Journey to the East of *Tadama*, then they cross an Arm of the Sea of 1000 Leagues, which brings them into the Province of *Quanto*.

Rivulet, which coming out of a Rock falls into the other River near the Castle. The City has no other Defence but the River, having neither Gates nor Walls; the Buildings are generally very handsome, and Persons of Note shew a great deal of Magnificence here both in their Buildings and Furniture.

The Inhabitants are of two Sorts, either *Castizes*, or *Melizes*; the first are such as are born here of *Portuguese* Father and Mother; the second, who were begotten by a *Portuguese*, or an *Indian*. The last are inclining to a olive Colour, and in the third Generation becomes as black as the Natives of the Country, which is also observable in the fourth Generation of the *Melizes*, though there is not the least mixture among them. The *Portuguese* are distinguished into several ranks; *Titulados* are those in publick Employments; *Fidalgos da casa del Rey*, are Gentlemen in ordinary to the King's Household; *Mocas Fidalgos* are the Sons of the *Titulados*, admitted to Gentility by the King; the *Cavaleiros Fidalgos*, and *Escuderos Fidalgos*, are simply Gentlemen; those called *Mocas da Camra*, or

worst afford themselves a poor Education, which is thus propagated by the *Portuguese* Women in these Parts, who are extremely fond of white Men, and are always kept in great constraint, they will venture very hard to encompass their Liberty, and to pursue this End, frequently make use of the most filthy *Dauby*, or *Datura* (as it is called by the *Portuguese*) to supply their Husband's Senses to get an Opportunity of escaping what they so much delight in. This Herbs, called *Bybit*, *Turks* and *Persians* *Datura*, is a kind of *Stramonium*, according to the *Geoplin* *de Herbo*, and *Cur Joseph de Herbo*, being somewhat like our Bear's Foot, and grows in the Parts in shady Places; of this they extract the Juice, which is green, or only take the Seed beaten to Powder, and mix it either with Preserves, or in the Juice of *Peber* they pretend to sludy, which it does effectually to wit, in 24 Hours after he has taken it, being deprived of all Sense of Motion, though with his Eyes open, unless some cold Water be applied to the Soles of his Feet, which revives him, as it were, out of a sound Sleep.

...Ocean, and to the South, the
...is divided into five Seas, and
...ber of Islands. The People of
...Industry of its Inhabitants, makes
...orn, Rice, Fruits of all sorts, and
...Beef, Buffaloes, Deer, Goats, and
...Wine they keep till it becomes
...; their Lemons, Oranges, Pine
...d in the World, and their most
...wild Fowl, and Birds. They have
...F killing the Crocodiles, in which
...ers: He who is to engage with the
...s right Arm to his Elbow, having a
...ion of a Foot long, picks a hole
...the other: Thus armed, he goes
...the Wall, and while the Crocodile
...his Jaws open, he thrusts his leg
...so, as to keep them from shutting,
...stabs him with the Dagger in the
...down dead.

...ands produce more Tygers, Lions,
...wild Beasts, than *Africa*, and
...which are the Creatures that produce

The *Chinese* drive vast Herds of
Spaniards, who buy their Calves,
...powder, Sulphur, Iron, Cloves,
...&c. and carry them to the *Indies*.
...ings are sold at a very dear rate. In
...lands a *Spaniard* will follow who has
...Jurisdiction, for he is obliged to
...ffine Islands, and that is the
...these ignorant Wretches, that they
...without any Punishment. The
...cestry of these Islands, as to their
...Publick Affairs, in Consequence
...pointed in that City, who have
...a built of Stone, and is not
...about it live above ground,
...members of the same Nation, for the
...Convenience of Trade. So that
...you may see in the Houses of the
...wooden Posts, and covered with
...near is also touch'd with
...near to great Numbers, and
...ing which, the *Spaniards* are
...t than the last.

...posed of many Families, who
...ea, extended from the North
...e ten, in others they have
...all Side it hath *Nine* or
...the West *Climax*, and the
...by the *Years* *And* the
...sixty-six lesser Kingdoms, or Provinces,
...e comprehended under the two
...and *Amalgance*, and others, and
...imo, and the remaining that are
...ding to the *Japane*, they are
...ent, for as much as in the Private
...ffers of the Province of *Yong*,
...omany of the *Ind* *N* *ad*,
...m of the Sea of Japan, and
...into the Province of *Yong*.

...to amount twenty Foot, and two
...the Emperor is able to raise an Army of three hun-
...dred and sixty-eight thousand Foot, and thirty eight thou-
...sind eight hundred Horse; besides the hundred thousand
...Foot and twenty thousand Horse he keeps up as a standing
...Force, which is so much the less to be admired at, since
...some of these Lords have such vast annual Revenues, that,
...according to the before-mentioned Proportion, they are
...obliged to furnish one thousand two hundred Foot, and a
...hundred and twenty Horse.

All the great Lords of *Japan* have three Names, *viz.*
...their proper Name, that of the Family, and a Surname,
...which they commonly take from the Province, City, or
...Castle they govern. They have also a Custom of chang-
...ing their Names twice in their Life-time, the first, given
...men in their Infancy, being altered at the Age of twenty-
...six, and that again at fifty or sixty Years of Age. They
...have another Custom in *Japan* for the Slaves to offer them-
...selves a voluntary Sacrifice to their Masters whenever they
...die, which is done by a solemn Engagement, and con-
...firmed by a Bottle of Wine. As this is chiefly done by
...those Slaves, to put an End to the Miseries they endure in
...their Life-time, so there have been some who have desired
...their Masters to bury them under the Foundation they
...were going to lay for some considerable Edifice. Their
...Pagods or Temples are of Wood, about seven or eight
...Fathom square, and raised three or four Feet from the
...Ground. They have small Turrets, with Lights in them
...on all Sides, and within certain Statues, unto whom they
...address their Prayers. The King and great Lords have
...many fair Castles belonging to them, among which those
...that are fortified are garrisoned by the Emperor; but their
...Cities are generally without any Fortifications, and if some
...few of them have any, they are only single Walls. Their
...Cities are built after the same manner, each Street having
...two Gates, which are shut up, and guarded in the Night-
...time. They have no Revenues belonging to them, neither
...pay they any Impositions, except a very inconsiderable Rent
...for their Dwellings to the Governor, for whose Use they
...are also obliged to keep a man at work at certain Times;
...but this does not happen very often. The Governors having
...certain Demesnes allotted them for their Revenues, and
...among others the Advantage of Fishing, especially of the
...Whale, of which there are taken yearly near three hundred
...upon the Coast of *Japan*; but they are neither so big, nor
...so fat as those in the Northern Parts.

Every *Japane*, of what Condition he is, is absolute
...Master of the Fate of his slave. They are so cruel in their
...Punishments, that the least Trespass is punished with Death,
...Gambling for Money, or killing any Person, though in his
...own Defence, is capital, and so is Theft, though it were
...but for a Penny; and in Offences of a more heinous Na-
...ture, the Fathers, Brethren, and Children, are put to
...Death for the Crime of a single Person; nay, the Wives
...and Daughters, though ever so innocent, are also involved
...in the same Misfortune; for they are made Slaves, and
...their whole Substance is confiscated. Thieves are fastened
...with a Rope of Straw to a Cross, and then the Executioner
...runs a Pike into the right Side up to the left Shoulder, and
...again from the left Side up to the right Shoulder; other
...Malefactors are fastened only to a Post, with their Hands
...stretched out, and held up by two Persons, and so the
...Executioner runs them with a Pike through the Neck

...five Millions of Rooksins, and five Millions
...more for his Governors and military Officers. His ordinary
...Residence is in the Castle of *Yeddo*, which is two Leagues in
...Circumference, and strengthened with a triple Wall, and
...as many Mounts all of Free-stone. The Gates are covered
...with strong Iron Bars, and Lodges over them, which con-
...tain three hundred Soldiers, for a Guard to each Gate; his
...own Palace, with the Apartments for the Women, stand
...in the Centre, and round about it the Houses of the Princes,
...and other great Lords, all richly gilt, and sumptuously fur-
...nished, their chief Emulation being to outvie one another
...in this kind of Magnificence, which is amongst them
...looked upon as the greatest Mark of Respect they can pay
...the Emperor, who never stirs abroad but in the Company
...of a great Number of those Lords, and their young Kin-
...dred, who are the Guard of his Body; and by applying
...themselves to Music, Payick, Writing, Painting, or the
...Management of publick Affairs, render themselves qual-
...ified for higher Employments. They are all clad in Luck,
...and as they march along the Streets, do not to much as
...utter a Word.

As the Revenues of the Emperor of *Japan* are so great,
...that his ordinary Income of two Months is sufficient to de-
...fray his whole Year's Expence, his Treasure must be im-
...mense, most of which consisting in Gold and Silver, is laid
...up in vast Chests, inclosed in several Towers belonging to
...the Castle, besides what is disposed of in the Country. Their
...Horse are armed with Croquets, Fire-lock, not much
...longer than our Pistols, with Pikes, Bows, Arrows, and
...Cyments. The Foot have only Head Pieces, two Cymentars,
...each a Mucker, Pike, Half-pik, and broad Knives:
...Each Company consists of fifty Soldiers, a Captain, a Lieut-
...enant, and ten Corporals; five of these Companies make a
...Battalion, commanded by a peculiar Officer, and ten bat-
...talions a Brigade.

The Emperor of *Japan* has a numerous Council, tho'
...only four are charged with the Management of all impor-
...tant Affairs, and are to attend daily at Court: Some of
...these have two Millions of Crowns, others three or four hun-
...dred thousand Crowns, others four or five hundred thousand
...Crowns yearly Revenue; but their Expences are propor-
...tionable to their Revenues, being obliged to live at least
...half the Year at Court in vast Splendor, maintaining per-
...haps a Retinue of three hundred Persons, and above a thou-
...sand in their Families, and that in a Place where Provi-
...sions are excessive dear; not to mention the vast Expences
...they are at in their Buildings, and the Entertainments they
...are obliged to give the Emperor whenever he is pleased
...to honour them with a Present, perhaps of a Crane, which
...he has taken in Hunting. As great Persons are not to
...marry any Wife but what is presented to them by the Em-
...peror himself, so they are put to vast Charge in giving
...them all the magnificent Entertainment, and all the Entertain-
...ments they can, except their Liberty, which they must
...relinquish to their Husbands, and are not permitted to go
...abroad above once a Year to visit their nearest Relations;
...notwithstanding the Wives in *Japan* have the Reputation
...of great Reverendness, and being, beyond all others faith-
...ful to their Husbands, of which many Instances might be
...alleged, which for Brevity's sake I omit. There are,
...however, those who ascribe this Reverendness rather to the
...Severity of their Laws, than their Inclinations, it being
...certain, that even the least Suspicion of Dishonesty after
...Marriage

...propagated here. About
...ways have an excellent sense, and
...ways kept in the constant
...to compare their Light, and to
...is made use of the *Ind* *D* *ist*
...is called by the *Japane* *Ind* *D* *ist*
...to get an Opportunity of
...it. This Herd, once by the
...is a kind of *Spaniard*, and the
...is *Ceryphes de de de de de*
...Foot, and grows in the *Ind* *D* *ist*
...they extract the Juice, which is
...is used beaten to Powder, and mix-
...or in the Dish of *Ind* *D* *ist*
...it does effectually to try
...is, being deprived of all benefit
...his Eyes open, and his face red-
...the soles of his Feet, when he
...a round Sleep.

...any hurt or Custom. They have also a Way of entering
...the Commodities they buy at *Goa* under the Seller's Name,
...and to the pay Custom free.

The Vice-roy was there at our Time was one *Don*
Pedro de Silva, who was of no great Ability, but was for
...the self served in the same Office as a King. This Office is
...never continued above three Years in one Person, which is
...sufficient to enrich him even to a very high Degree; for
...he has the Management of the King's whole Revenue, is
...at the Charge of keeping his Court, and in the Provinces
...he makes once a Year, for sixty or eighty Leagues round,
...he receives vast Presents from the neighbouring Princes
...and Governors; for though he has his Council of State,
...and Courts of Law and Equity, yet is he the sole Judge
...of all civil Causes, unless they be of very great Con-
...sequence, when an Appeal lies to the King; but in criminal
...Cases no Appeal is admitted, if the Person be of a
...Degree of a Gentleman; for these must be put under
...Information brought against them to *Portugal*. The Vice-
...roy at his Arrival always first sits in the *Ind* *D* *ist*
...from whence he sends his Deputies to his Provinces.

...They keep them at a very easy Rate, their
...bed being inferable, and their Cloathing being only a
...piece of Calico to cover their private Parts. The In-
...habitants of the neighbouring Country are *Pagans*, and
...generally *Barbans*, who dwell in Straw Huts, with Fele
...Bows, which serve also for Windows. Their whole Fur-
...niture consists of little Mats made of Rushes, which serve
...for Beds and Tables, a Drinking-Cup and Pitcher
...made of Fig-leaves, their daily Food being Rice. They
...are superstitious, that if after they have laid their Prayers,
...they go abroad and meet with a Crow, they return home,
...to be more abroad that Day. Upon the Roads
...the *Portuguese* connive at, their Inquisition going no far-
...ther than to Christians, or such as have been so.

Their Ceremonies and Manner of Living are the same
...with those of *Decca*. One Thing is remarkable among
...them, that their Physicians are in so great a Reem at *Goa*,
...that they are generally preferred before the *Portuguese*
...Physicians, and are permitted to have their Umbrella's

and note of Persons of Quality have been erected near them, containing their Names, and certain other Inscriptions, in the Nature of an Epitaph. The Ecclesiasticks are divided into twelve different Sects, eleven of which obtain from living Creatures, and from Women. If they break their Vow they are punished with Death. Those of the twelfth Sect are allowed to marry, and eat all sorts of Provisions; the Chief of this Sect is the Head of all their Clergy, and their Temples are endowed with many Privileges and settled Revenues; whereas those of the other Sects are maintained only by Alms. Some among the *Japanese* believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Punishments of another Life for ever; but the most have so little sense of Religion that they meet in their Temples to drink, and commit other Delinquencies; whence it is also, that never any such thing is heard of as Controversy about Religion, though they are such irreconcilable Enemies to the *Christians*, that finding Death not to be sufficient to shake their Constancy, they invented many cruel Methods to make them renounce their Faith, which, however, at last they were not satisfied with, unless they could discover another *Christian* to release them from their Torments, which are so various, as would almost fill a Volume.

Their Houses are slightly built, and seldom above one Story high, because the Country is much subject to Earthquakes; they are raised three or four Feet from the Ground, and convenient enough within, being divided into several Apartments, some of which are for the Men, the rest only for the Use of the Women, where the best Part of the Furniture is bestowed; they are also very nice in their Gardens and Orchards; they are very obliging in their Conversation, especially in their Visits, when they present their Guests with Tobacco, Tiffue, or Tea, and with Wine, of the last of which they will take a very plentiful Share; but are sure never to quarrel over their Liquors. Except at the Inns, for the Convenience of Travellers, no Drinking-houses are allowed in *Japan*; nay, not so much as a publick Cook's Shop, it being their Custom to make their good Cheer in their Houses, where, among other things, they entertain one another with their Musick, the chief of which is a kind of Lute, with four silk Strings, which they strike with a Peg of Ivory. Their Wine, or rather Hydromell, is made of Rice, Sugar, and Honey, and is as strong as any Wine whatever. Their Marriages are contracted in consequence of the Agreement of the Relations. The Bride and Bridegroom being not permitted to see one another till it is to be consummated, those of a common Rank may soon be divorced, and if they dislike the Wife, send her back to her Relations; but People of Quality, notwithstanding any Disagreement, maintain them in their Houses.

Their Children they educate with all imaginable Mildness, without any beating, as well at home as at School, wether they are not sent till they be seven or eight Years of Age, and when they come to Man's Estate, the Father assigns to his Son a certain Part of the Houles, and of his Employment, nay, perhaps the whole, reserving only a certain Allowance for his Subsistence to himself; but their Daughters have neither Dowry, nor the least Share in their Father's Estates. They are so nice in Point of Honour, that they will rather die than receive an Inch from it; and a *Japanese* will rather run the Hazard of the Ruin of his

Language, which is quite different from the *Chinese*, as well as their Characters; as they always use but few Words, they write every thing with Pencils in certain short-hand Notes in a very little time, their Accounts they keep by the means of certain small Beads, which they thread upon little Stocks like a square Board. They are not defensible of Books nor Libraries, the *Dairo* (who formerly was the Sovereign of the Country, and still retains the Supremacy over the Clergy) keeps the publick Accounts, and writes the Chronicles of the Country; neither are any other Persons, except the Gentlemen of his Houle, and such Lords and Ladies as are descended from his Family, allowed to write Books, which makes them constantly apply themselves to Learning. They have but one kind of Money, fair Gold is of the best kind, but their Silver none of the finest. Of Gold Coin they have three Sorts, one where tis valued at forty-eight Taals, each of which being worth five Crowns Sterling, amounts to twelve Pounds Sterling. The second sort are worth each one Taal, and a fifth Part, and the third one Taal, and a sixth Part. Their Silver Coin goes by Weight, being in the Form of Ingots, to be divided, and each Piece commonly amounts to fifty Taals. They have also a lesser Silver Coin made in the Shape of a French Escu, which goes likewise by Weight.

The *Japanese* do not geld any Creature, wether they be well stored with all sorts of Cattle, as well as Horses, and small Birds. They also abound in mineral and hot Waters: There is a certain hot Spring here which issues from its Waters duly twice every twenty four Hours, without Violence, that though the Water rises above the Surface, which are laid on the Top of the Hills to the height of twenty or twenty-four Feet, it is so hot that it raises the Heat of boiling Water, and burns every thing it touches at its first coming out; but being conveyed by certain Pipes into the adjacent Houles, it is used to such a Degree of Heat, that it is convenient for Bathing. These Mineral Waters are sufficient Proofs that there is a great deal of good Mines of all Sorts; and Experience convinces us for they have Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, and Lead of their own, as well as Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Silk, and all manner of Provisions in great Plenty. Their Physicians have singular Reputation as to their Ability, but Chirurgery is uncommon among them as yet. They make frequent Use of China Root and Rhubarb, which, as well as most of their other Medicines, they make use of. The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* found it no hard Matter to settle themselves in *Japan*, and their religious enterprises took so well with the Inhabitants, that they were permitted to build divers Churches in the Kingdom, but the *Spaniards* not being able to contain themselves within the Bounds of Modesty, their domineering Temper cost them such a Jealousy and Aversion in the *Japanese*, that they set upon them, burnt their Ships, and, in 1639, banished them the Island under Pain of Death. The *Japans* began to trade there in 1611. Some of their Relations affirm the City of *Miaco* to be twenty-one Leagues in Compass, and that the City of *Offack* and *Burao* are but their Wealth not inferior to any of the *Indies*.

The Air of *Japan* is very moderate and healthy, but changing rather to Cold than Heat. They sow in *May*, but do not reap till *September*. They have neither Oil nor Butter, and have an Aversion to Milk, which they

to their

They have among other Privileges this, that they may freely enter the Houses of their Comrades, and please themselves with their Wives and Daughters, the Signal being, to leave their Sword and Buckler at the Door; wether it be to buy, not even the Master of the House, will enter to disturb them; but a *Nayer* will never degrade himself so far as to have any Commerce with the Wife of a *Page*. The *Malabars* use Baskins, with which they write upon the Bark of Cocoa trees, their Characters being quite different from those of the other *Indians*, are understood only by the *Bramans*. The King of *Cabint* never eats or drinks any thing but what has been presented before to his Paged, or Idol. The Inheritance to the Crown does not pass to the Son, but his Sister's Son, since, as the *Bramans* here have the First-fruits of the Bride's Virginity, the Children are supposed to be begotten by them. As to the City of *Cabint*, Notice must be taken, that there are two of that Name in the same Kingdom of *Cochin*, one where tis inhabited by *Malabars*, and lies upon a great

greater before the Violence of the Sea cuts off a great Part of Land on the Side towards *Cambay*. The *Indians* are rich and most fertile of all the *Indian* Countries, and suppose to be the *Tapobans* of the *Antients*. They are not ignorant that some of our modern Philosophers make it the Isle of *Sumatra*, of which it is said that it did not with our Reason call the Isle of *Sumatra*, and most fertile of all the *Indian* Islands, is so considerable that it has not only great Plenty of all sorts of other Islands produce, but, besides, this wether it be Orange, Lemon, and Cinnamon trees, which it has a fragrant Smell at a great Distance into the Sea. It is said that, there is no precious Stone but what it has, wether Diamonds: Pearls they take there in abundance, and altogether so fine as those of *Babaron*, a Kingdom in the East, which it affords the finest Ivory in the World. The Discovery of it is owing to the *Portuguese* Captain *Alfonso* *Laurence*, Son of *Francisco* *Limca*, made in the Year 1512, one of the Kings of the Island, here which *Laurence* took Care to fortify themselves in the Year 1512.

different from the *Cem*, as
as they always use but few Words,
with Pencils in certain short-hand
one; their Accounts they keep by
all Beads, which they thread upon
Board. They are not destitute of
Daira (who formerly was the *Serao*)
and still retains the *Sapienter* over
public Accounts, and writes the
try; neither are any other Letters
of his House, and such Letters and
from his Family, allowed to write
them constantly app; themselves to
but one kind of Money, that is
but their Silver none of the first it
three Sorts, one where is valued
of which being worth five Crowns
elve Pounds Sterling. The second
Taal, and a fifth Part, and the third
Part. Their Silver Coins goes by
orm of Ingots, to divide, that can
to fifty Taals. They live no
de in the Shape of a *Frona* Bell,
Weight.
geld any Creature, so that there's
of Cattle, as well as *Fowls*, and
o abound in mineral and *Plants*.
hot Spring here which produces
very twenty four Hours, and the
the Water rises and falls the *Six*,
Top of the Hill to the Height of
Feet, it is to hot that it scalds
Water, and furs every thing that
ning out; but being covered by
adjacent Houses, is so use to
that it is convenient for *Baths*,
are sufficient Proofs that *Spices* and
Sorts; and Experience teaches us
ver, Copper, Tin, Iron and Lead
s Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Silk, and
ons in great Plenty. Their *Plants*
putation as to their *Medicines*, that
on among them as yet. They make
Root and *Rhubarb*, which, as well
Medicines, they make into *Oil*.
Spaniards found it no hard Matter to
Japan, and their religion is *Catholic*.
Inhabitants, that they were *Painters*
churches in the Kingdom, but the
ole to contain themselves within
their domineering Temper, and
Aversion in the *Japans*, that they
their Ships, and, in it, to
under Pain of Death. The *Portuguese*
in 1611. Some of their Relations
to be twenty-one Leagues from
the City of *Offack* and *Burg* are
rior to any of the *Indies*.
is very moderate and healthy, but
than Heat. They sow in *May*,
September. They have neither *Ox*
an Aversion to Milk, which they

to the *China*, the *Company* Account of which being to be
to the *Dutch* Relation of the Director of the said
Company in *Japan*, we will pass by the Particulars of it
here, our Intention being only to give the Reader a short
Reason of what we have received from very good Hands,
and leaving the rest to be completed by those who have
since had the Opportunity of taking a View in Person of
that Country.
16. After the Banishment of the *Japans* out of *China*,
the *Clungs*, to avoid the Penalties inflicted on such as
should trade with them, made use of the Isle of *Yayo-*
yang, whether they carried their Commodities, in order
to continue their Commerce with those of *Japan*. The
Dutch being excluded from the Commerce of *China*, fol-
lowed their Foot-steps, and, in 1632, settled themselves
in the said Island, as the most convenient Place in all the
Isles for carrying on Trade both with *China* and *Japan*,
there being a free Passage here all the Year, without being
obliged to stay for the Months, which in most other
Places last for six Months. The *Dutch*, I say, being sensible
of this Convenience, built immediately a Stone-Port
of four Battions on the Downs, within half a League of
the great Isle of *Formosa*, which is divided from this Isle
by a Channel only, which, though not very deep, yet at-
tacks a safe Harbour for Ships against any Winds.
For the better Defence of the Entrance of this Channel,
the *Dutch* have built a strong Redoubt called *Zesland*.
The Isle of *Formosa* itself is about thirty-two Leagues
long in the River of *Chinchen*, and the *Chinese* Island
called *Phueny*, extending from S. W. to the N. E. in
Compass are hundred and thirty Leagues. It is full of Vil-
lages and Inhabitants, which are not governed by any
single Lord, but such as they choose themselves for their
Magistrates. It has many Rivers full of the best Fish;
their Fields are well stocked with Wild-Fowl and Veni-
son, and their Meadows with Cattle, besides Deer, Wild-
bores, Hares, and Rabbits. Their Forests produce a kind
of Hides, with Hams like a Deer, called *Olawang* in their
language, the Flesh of which is a great Delicacy; as also
another Creature, not unlike our Bears, but of a very large
Size, the Skin of which is much esteemed in those Parts.
Their Grounds are very fertile, but neglected, which
make them very scarce, and, what they have, not very
granted to the Plate. It produces also some Ginger and
Ginseng, and, as the *Chinese* relate, Gold and Silver;
but the *Dutch* have hitherto found none of these Mines
worth looking after. The Places in which the *Dutch* have
their Settlements are, for the most part, along the Sea-
coast.
The Inhabitants appear like Savages, being of a more than
ordinary Size, black and hairy all over their Bodies, but in
their Conversation obliging, honest, and good-natured;
their Women are not so strong and fit, but much inclined to
Laziness, and yet not ill shaped. They wear a sort of Gar-
ment round the Middle; but when they bathe themselves
as they commonly do twice a day in warm Water)
as well as the Men, strip themselves stark naked,
and make no great Account whether they are seen by one
sex or not; for the rest, they are very constant Friends,
and religiously observe the Axioms that they make
with Strangers, Fraternity being a Thing abundant
among them. They neither want Industry or Memory,

of Bread, if they were not furnished sufficiently in that
respect with Rice. Besides this, they have Ginger, Cin-
namon, Sugar-canes, Bananas, Lemons, and a great Store
of Areca, not to mention several sorts of Fruits and Pul'e
not known in *Europe*. Instead of Cocoa-Wine, of which
they are destitute, they make a certain Mixture of Rice,
which, being soaked in warm Water, they beat it in a
Mortar till reduced to a Paste; this they mix with Rice-
meal chewed instead of Leaven; and having put it into an
earthen Vessel, fill it up with Water, which, after it has
fermented and stood two Months, affords a very pleasant
Liquor, which is stronger or weaker, according as it is
kept, and the older the sweeter it is, and may be kept
good thirty or thirty-five Years. When they go abroad a
hunting they make use of Snares, small Pikes, Bows, and
Arrows; their Nets they spread in the open Fields, or
cross the Highways, and then drive the Wild-Beasts into
them.
Sometimes the Inhabitants of several Villages make a
Hunting-Match, and dividing themselves into divers Par-
ties, armed with Staff-pikes and Lances, send their Dogs
into the Woods; by which means having forced the Wild-
Beasts into the Fields, they encompass them on all Sides,
sometimes for a whole League, and so with their Pikes
kill all those that come within the Ring. These Lances, or
rather Darts, are of Cane, six or seven Feet long, with fe-
veral Hooks, which, being fastened into the Flesh of the
Beasts, are not to be pulled out; but as the Iron is not well
fastened to the Wood, but that with the running of the
Beasts through the Bashes it comes off, a Cord is tied to
both, and a little Bell to the Iron, so that the Lance annoys
the Beast, and the Bell discovers its Passage wherever it
runs. By this means they catch vast Numbers of Deer,
the Skins of which they exchange with the *Chinese* for
their Commodities, they seldom relieving any thing for
their own Use but the Umbles and the Entrails, which
they file and carver corrupted, being not cleaned of the
Flesh before they were salted.
When one Village happens to be at War with another,
they first declare it openly against one another, which
being the Signal to be upon their Guard, they do not attack
by open Force, but dividing themselves into small Troops,
perhaps of twenty-five or thirty Men, lie in Ambush near
the Village they intend to attack till Night, when they rise
upon the Hills, which lie dispersed in the open Country,
till perhaps they can light upon an aged Man; they kill
him, cut off his Head, Hands, and Feet; nay, if they
have Time enough, cut the whole Body into small Pieces,
that every one of them may take home a Piece of it along
with him as a Mink of his Bravery; but if the next Vil-
lage happens to take the Alarm, they are glad to be con-
tented with the Head alone, or perhaps a good Lock of
the Hair, which they carry home in Triumph, as an un-
doubted Sign of their Victory; when they intend to make a
very bold Attack, they enter the Village by Night, force open
a House, kill all they meet with, and to betake themselves
to their Heels, for fear of being pushed. When they en-
gage in the open Field, their chief Aim is to draw one an-
other into an Ambush; but the Death of one Man com-
monly decides the Quarrel, that Side which has lost him
returning immediately. Their Arms are Pikes, but without
Hooks, their Backs are so large, that they shelter their

ence of the Sea
Side toward
e of all the *Indies*
pobana of the *An*
some of our most
waters of which
n call the Isle of
the *Indian* Island
only great Plenty
but, besides, this
Cinnamon trees, which
great Distance into the
ous Stone but what
they take there in a
hole of *Babaron*; in
finest Ivory in the World
ing to the *Portuguese*
on *Amoy* is, much
the Island, the which
themselves in the

ton, dressing their Heads much like the *European* Wo-
men, with their Hair close behind, and tied in Tresses.
They appear in gold and silver Garments with Rings up in
their Hands, Feet, and Legs, set with precious Stones.
They live conveniently enough in their Houses, their
Wives being good Housewives, and especially well skilled
in Cookery. The *Gingangs* are so much a Dicted to an idle
Life and Effeminacy, that they are neither fit for War nor
any thing else.
The *Ceylon* is, as I said before, beyond all Dispute, the
most fruitful Isle of all the *Indies*; nothing can be named
either of Provisions or Fruits, but what is very cheap here;
though they are *Pagans* they eat of every thing in general,
even Pork (abstaining only from the Flesh of an Ox or
Cow). The *Mohammellans* enjoy a full Liberty among them;
and the *Pagan* Inhabitants obtain from Wine as well as
they. They have a great Veneration for their Banians; they
bury their Muds at ten or twelve Years of Age, and burn
their Dead. *Finala Derma*, whom we spoke of before,
has got as much Christianity as could be expected among

has given its Name of *Madives* to all the Islands, is built
upon four small Isles, being the Residence of the King,
who commands over all the rest, and a Place of good
Trade, though they produce naturally scarce any thing
but Cocones, but the Industry of the Inhabitants supplies,
in some measure, the Defect of Nature here, there being
not any Nation in the *Indies* more ingenious in making
Garments of Silk and Thread than they. The Coast of
Ceylon being in the most Eastern Part of the *Indies* on
this Side of the *Ganges*, is divided from the *Malabar* Coast
by the Mountains of *Balagatta*, its Extent being one hun-
dred Leagues along the Coast from *Cape Comoron*, or ra-
ther the Point of *Negapatana*, as far as the River *Nagand*
and the Town of *Mishapatan*, which, as it has excellent Har-
bours, and the best Roads for Anchorage in the *Indies*, so
it serves for a safe Retreat for such Vessels as are by the
tempestuous Winter-season forced from the Coast of *Ca-*
zerat thither, where the Climate and Weather is very good
at that Time.
The *Portuguese* are Masters of the Town of *St. Thomas*

my's Head, or perhaps only a Lock of his Hair, or a Pike, they carry it in Triumph, as a Sign of their Victory, appoint a pulbeck Thank-giving-day, sing Hymns, and offer Sacrifices to their Gods. He who has done the Expedition, is looked upon ever after as an extraordinary Man, has particular Reverence paid him by all the rest, and he receives the Head, or Pike of his Enemy, as a most precious Relick in his Family, which they value beyond any Gold or Silver. Nobody here claims any Preference above another more than what is allowed to Age. Each Village being governed by twelve Senators, chosen every two Years out of the most aged Persons, who are not invested with any other Power or Authority, than that of calling together the whole Village in one of their Temples, and proposing to them what they think necessary to be done, making use of all their Eloquence (in which they have sufficient Share bestowed upon them by Nature, to persuade the Chiefs of the Families there present to a Compliance with what has been proposed to them, which they are at Liberty to accept of or reject according as they think fit.

The only Power these Senators are invested with, consists in this, that they see the Commands of their female Priests put in Execution, take care that Satisfaction may be given to such as are injured, not by any corporal Punishments, but by enjoining them to give a Piece of Cloth, Deer skin, some Rice, or Perhaps a Pot of strong Liquor, as an Atonement to their Adversaries; for those Magistrates have no Power to punish Murder, Theft, or Adultery. In the last case the Matter is commonly composed by the Mediation of the Relations on both Sides. If any can be robbed, he goes, accompanied by his Friends, to the House of him who has Robbed his Goods, and with their Assistance forces him to make an immediate Reparation; and what is agreed upon betwixt them, he carries away with him to his own House. In case of Adultery, the injured Husband goes, without any farther Ceremony, to the Deceased's place, and with his Wife's Consent, takes from him two or three Eggs, in Satisfaction of the Affront put upon him. We read you might, that there is no Difference of Condition among them, which is so absolutely true, that the very Names of Masters and Servants are not to be used among them. All the Respect they pay one to another is, that the old Age, which is in so high Esteem among them, that a young Man merrily an old one, goes about on his Knees, and turns his Back to him to show his respect, which is the Respect the young People show to their Parents, that they will not salute them easily in the ordinary way, though it should be to go three or four Days more in their Baniets. Men are forbid to marry till they are twenty Years of Age. They do not let their Hair grow below their Ears till after twenty, and instead of Scissors, or Razors, make use of a Camp-sword, with which they cut it upon a Piece of Wood, the Hair of their Beards they draw out with their Fingers.

Men always let their Hair grow, and may marry as soon as they will. The Courtship is performed by the young Man's Relations, or Friends, to show them what interest they willow upon his Mistress, which if it is accepted of, the Match is made, and he may continue

his's House, in the Evening he stays till he is weary, and never see one another by Day, unless he happens to beat Home alone, or else in the Field. The Women are obliged not to bring any Children into the World, they are thirty-five, or thirty-six Years of Age, but before their Children in the Womb, by causing one of their Priestesses to kneel upon their Bellies till they cause an Abortion.

As their Marriages are soon made, so they are soon dissolved; for if they grow weary of one another, they may divorce; which Liberty is equally allowed to both Parties, with this Difference only, that if the Husband sends away his Wife without any Cause, she loses the Presents he has given her before Marriage; but if the Wife, or any other Affront offered to her, she is obliged to make Restitution. No Marriages are contracted among them within the fourth Degree of Contanguity or Affinity. Their Houses are generally large, and better built than is common in the Indies, with four Doors to each Quarter of the Havens: Some have two Doors on a Side; they are commonly raised five or six Feet from the Ground, and three or four Stories high. Their Furniture consists in some wild Boars and Deers Heads, some other Relicks taken from their Enemies, which are the chief Ornaments; the rest consists in Deer-skins, which serve instead of Feather-beds, certain Stuffs with which they cover themselves, a Spade, Pike, Bow, Arrows, with a Trough instead of our Dishes, or wooden Plates, and a Pot to hold their Rice in, which is their chief Food, and this is all. Though they have many Priests appointed for Devotion, yet they meet together to make good Cheer, especially every Quarter of a Year, where the Women also appear, and wear a wreath made of Dog's Hair; for here, as in the West Indies, they pull off the Dog's Hair once a Year, and then they pull it off, and make certain Stuffs of it, which they value as much as we do our own Fan Veils.

Their Ceremonies after the Death of their Parents are scarce to be paralleled in the World, for neither bury our dead, but by Bat of Drum, near the trunk of a great Tree, they give Notice thereof to the People upon which all the People repair, and sing a psalm of the deceased, and among the rest, they give notice that they have plentifully drunk of Arrack, and then they sit very slowly, upon great empty Chells, with their heads to the North, to expect their sorrow at the Departure of their deceased Friend. Eight or ten Women of the same kind for some Time, with their Backs to the deceased, and they give Way to others, who continue till the deceased's Soul falls in all two Hours. The next Ceremony is made for the Funeral Rites, which are performed by burying, or burning the Corpse, as is usual among them, but by drying it in the following Manner. They erect a Scaffold of Canes, five or six Feet high, upon which they fasten the Body by the Hands and Feet, and then they lay a good Fire round about it, and continue it whole Days, during which Time they sing psalms, and feast upon the Flesh, with all the Fat, and Bones. After the Expiration of the first Day, they erect another Scaffold, wrapped in Canes, and lay the Corpse there, where it remains till the third Year, when they pull it out of the Bones, and bury them in the same Place.

Kingdom, and territories at *Norsinga*. The Kingdom of *Coromandel* lies above the Town of *Muslipatan*, extending from the River of the same Name to that of *Guenga*, the *States* include this in the Coast of *Coromandel*. *Muslipatan* and *Guenda* are its two chief Cities; the first is celebrated for its Commerce, the last for being the ordinary Residence of its Kings. It produces abundance of Salt, and some Diamonds, among which all that weigh above five Carats belong to the King. To the North of *Orissa* lies the Kingdom of *Bengal*, whence the Gulph, known to the Ancients by the *Sinus Gangeticus*, has got its Name. The chief Traffick is Rice, Sugar, Cottons, Calicoes, but especially in Saks, which for Goodness exceeds all others of the Indies. Hence also are brought the finest Canes; and they have another sort of Canes, out of which they make Drinking vessels, and being lacquered, will hold any Liquid as well as Cups of Metal. Here grows a certain Herb, the Stick of which is of the Thickness of a Man's Thumb, laying on the Top a large Button like a Fattel, round upon one end, and furnishes Materials for an excellent kind

Magnificence. The second, called *Sapan*, is a kind of Wood, valued in Honour of the Statues in the Kingdom; and is also the third, called *Sapan Gratoma*, is a kind of Wood, called *Sapan Duple*, is celebrated by the King's Court, by calling Role-water at one another, but the fourth, called *Sapan Donon*, is a kind of Race of Beasts, upon which is the Preference of the King and Queen.

When the King dies, they join two Baniets together, and putting a Table in the Middle of one, they lay upon it upon the Table, under which they mixe a kind of Wine of Wood, Storax, Benjamin, and other sweet smelling Oils, and Gumy, which being lent down the Streets, the King attending, rejoice and sing, till the Flesh is consumed, which they mix with Milk into a Pattle, and then they carry it to the Sea at the Mouth of the River, but the King's Wife preferre and lay up in a Chapel built for that purpose. The Priests carry an empty Bottle at their sides, and wear red Vestments, coming down to their Heels, and a Cloak reaching to their Hams, and wear a Hat which they themselves against the Sun-beams, that they may not

and their Figures signifying certain Vices, that signify, which they write from the Top downward, not with Pens, but with Pencils, and that on one Side only, their Paper, which they make of the Bark of *Bambee* Canes, being very thin. The Emperor maintains at his own Charge many Schools and Academies, the Oversight of which is committed to Visitors, who at certain Times not only examine the Professors and Scholars, and expel such as are not qualified for Studies, but also promote such as have made a sufficient Progress in Learning to the Degree of a *Ludia*, a Dignity like our Doctors. They are very ceremonious and obsequious in their Conversation, in which Point they are so nice, that the first Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths are certain Books of Compliments. Their Entertainments are very magnificent, in which Point they are so nice, that the first Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths are certain Books of Compliments. Their Entertainments are very magnificent, in which Point they are so nice, that the first Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths are certain Books of Compliments. Their Entertainments are very magnificent, in which Point they are so nice, that the first Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths are certain Books of Compliments.

They allow Polygamy, but punish severely the first, which is forbidden in a direct Line to Infinity, and in the Collateral Line to Sisters and Nieces. The first, however, is the only lawful Wife, whose eldest Son inherits half of the Estate of his Father, but on his Demise, the eldest Son of the next Wife has the same Pre-eminency. Adultery, though it be a capital Crime here, yet is seldom heard of, partly by reason of the great Restraint the Women are kept under, partly because the *Chingee* are so wary, as rather to make the best of such an Adventure, by an advantageous Agreement, than to expose themselves, by pushing their own Dignities. Though the Government of *China* be not only monarchical, but also despotic, yet it is so wisely, that even rude Nations who esteem the greatest Degree of Liberty in *Europe*, are much more fastened with Taxes than the *Chingee*, when every Province from this fundamental Maxim imprinted in their Kings, that as Wars are destructive, and the chief Means to impoverish a Nation, they ought not to enter upon them, in order to extend the Limits, or make any Conquests, or when Reason it self, that to avoid all Objection of Contest with Foreigners, the *Chingee* are forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without Licence from the Emperor, or the Governor of the Province where they dwell.

The eldest Son always succeeds to the Father in the Throne, the youngest Sons having only certain Appointments, with the Title of Kings allowed them, but have not the least Share in the Administration of the Government, being under the Jurisdiction or rather Inspection of the Governor of the Province where they reside, who pays to him their Allowance quarterly. The great Council of the Councils consists of twelve Counsellors, and a President, besides which there are a number of the great Cities by Commissions. The first is for the Administration of Justice, the second for the Revenue, the third for the Ceremonies, the fourth for Foreign Affairs, the fifth for surveying the publick Treasure, and the last for criminal Cases. To prevent the Mismanagement of the Governour, and the Corruption of Justice, every Officer of the King's Court, every three Years is obliged to retire to his Family, and to continue therein

three or four Years, and to be recalled by the Emperor, to determine them whether they have any thing to do in the Emperor's Behalf; by which Delays it happens, that most of the Affairs in the Prison than are executed. Their chief Punishments are Hanging, Impaling, and Banishment, the last is only in Cases of High Treason. They commonly lay upon their Bellies with their Hands tied, and commonly the Executioners beat them with Canes moisten'd with Water upon the Call of their Legs with their Hands, which they frequently expire under their Hands.

The *Chingee* are *Pagans*, though some have taken a great deal of Pains to persuade the Westerners to find some Remnants of Christianity, as if they were introduced there by the Apostles. They acknowledge the Heavens for the Cause of the Governor of the Universe, which is more properly the great Spirit called *Tayzean Tzantey*, unto whom they pay the greatest Veneration next to the Sun. They also pay to the Gods called *Camoy*, unto whom they attribute the Cause of all sublunary Things. They ascribe to the Gods as many great Miracles, viz. *Tangwan*, who presides over the Air, *Yeynam*, whose Business is to preserve the Generation of Men, and all living Creatures, and the Products of the Earth; and *Tzangwan* the God of the Sea. They have also three famous Saints, the first is called *Yehba*, Founder of all the religions Orders, the other two are Females, called *Yezna* and *Yehba*. The *Chingee* are also much addicted to the Worship of the Devil. They believe the Demons to be a Spirit, which is communicated to it by Heat, and is either enjoy eternal Felicity or Torment, according to good or bad Actions done in this World, but it is that they assign a certain Place of Abode for the Purgatory for the Soul, after its Departure from the Body. There it is purged from its Sins, and after that its Relations and Friends, may be certain of the Salvation of the Soul, which they desire to be done.

Their Orders of religious Men have their chief Seat in the City of *Yanton*, who has under his Jurisdiction the Monks, and these under them the Superiors of their respective Monasteries. They make a great deal of Money, and keep to their custom Mattias and *Orde*, the Monks in *Europe*. The eldest Sons of the *Chingee* are not permitted to enter into any of these Orders, but all the rest who have embraced a monastic Life, at their Funeral Rites, the *Chingee* walk round about them in a Car of sweet Wood walk round about them upon a Table like in *Days*, during which the Priests, who come there to help, pray for them, and are feasted with Wine and Food, and then they enter them after the Expiration of their Lives, which is commonly done in the Country near *Yanton*, that he not to be found, they put one of their Feet in Mourning, a very close, in course Country, and then a Cord tied about their Middle, suspended from the top of a Tree, and the other End fasten'd upon a post, and so they hang till they are dead.

The first Law the *Chingee* have is that they shall not build a Wall within a City, when they build a Wall, they shall build all the Country, and to be ready to receive the

Charity, are the chief Means to attain Salvation, which is the Reason they extend their Charity even to the Beasts, such as Birds and Fish, which they buy to set them at Liberty, as believing the Transmigration of the Soul. This is the Reason why they never condemn any other Religion, or dispute with them: But their Ecclesiasticks preach without Intermision against the old Custom of invoking the Devil, which is still retained among the vulgar Sort. They have abundance of Lamps hanging before their Idols in the Time of Service. These they set out with Garland's of Flowers, and in some of them they have certain Days, each Quarter of the Moon, appointed for their general Devotions, and a Lent of three Months.

Their dead Corpses they shave, wash and perfume, and afterwards burn them near a Temple, where the Ashes are buried under a Tomb, or Pyramid. The Relations mourn for their Friends by shaving themselves, by giving Alms and Benevolences to the Priests, to pray for them at their Obsequies. The Corpse is attended with Music and Fireworks. The *Siamese* are stronglimbed, and well pro-

vide me id certain South Ocean Islands, which go to a *Tuan*, eight or nine hundred of which go to a *Tuan*.

The *Portuguese* being sufficiently sensible what prodigious Advantage they were able to reap from this Kingdom for supporting their Traffick to the *Molucca* and *Tappene* Isles, the Viceroy's of *Goa* were always very desirous to cultivate a good Correspondence with the King of *Siam*, who in Return granted them many Privileges, till at last the *Dutch* got Footing there at the beginning of this Age. The *Portuguese* were so alarmed thereby, that they not only obstructed the Trade of the *Siam* to *St. Thomas* and *Negapatan*, but also attacked a *Dutch* Vessel in the River *Menam*, which, with some other Outrages, served only to incense the King of *Siam* against them, who ever after encouraged the *Dutch* in their Settlement and Commerce, which is very advantageous to them in respect of the Isles of *Java* and *Sumatra*, of which they are now in Possession.

The Kingdom of *Cambodia* borders to the North- West upon the Kingdom of *Siam*, being inclosed by the

have any thing to do with it, it happens, that some of them are executed. Their names are Insulating, and Baran, who are of High Treason. They are put into their Hands to be carried to them with Cans of Wine, and their Legs with Red Wax, and under their Heads.

18. We told you how we were becalmed in the Sight of the Isle of Ceylon, where we continued till the 20th of February, when the North-West Wind obliged us to steer our Course to the South-East. We found ourselves then 1° beyond the Equinoctial Line. I took this Opportunity to ask the Master of the Ship, whether (according to the vulgar Opinion) I might discover both the Poles here; but he sufficiently convinced me, that the Arctick Pole was not to be seen till about six Degrees, and the Antarctic not till eight beyond the Line, and that when you come to 8 or 10° the North-West Wind reigns there constantly for six Months, as the South-East does the other Months of the Year. We saw abundance of Birds, some white like Pigeons, others like wild Ducks, and vast Quantities of certain Birds, called by the Portuguese *Garys*, being black and white, but larger than our Magpies. Their Tails are divided like a Pair of Taylor's Sheers: All these live upon the flying Fish, who, to avoid the Pursuit of the *Alicores*, *Bonitos*, and *Dorados*, betake themselves to the Air. The *Alicores* are white, and without Scales, and loose the *Bonitos*; but the first exceed the others in Bigness, and have but one Bone from the Head to the Tail, but are not extraordinary Meat. The *Dorado* is like a Salmon, but more delicious, and has smaller Scales. We also took a Sea-Hog (so called from its Snout, which is like that of a Pig) which are seen in great Shoals near the Vessel, and are looked upon by the Seamen as the Forerunners of a Storm, which may naturally be accounted for.

The *Dutch*, in their first Voyage into these Parts, opened one of these Fish, and found a great deal of Fat, and a young Pig in the Belly of it. There is another great Fish in those Seas called *Lager* by the *Dutch*, and Shark by the *English*; their Teeth are very close and sharp, and as they delight in Man's Flesh, it often happens that they snatch a Lamb of an unwary Seaman. Their Mouth being below their Heads, they lie upon their Backs when they are to catch a Prey. That we took had the Heart in the Head, and lived a good while after it was taken. Their Flesh is not fit to be eaten. There are also abundance of that sort of Fish hereabouts called by the Portuguese *Paspaparo*, because they make a Noise like Pigs, and are of the Bigness of a Bream. Tortoises (the Meat of which is as fine as Veal) are in such Plenty here, that the Seamen draw them at Pleasure into the Ship with Hooks. February the 21st we found ourselves in 19° 20' of the Line, with very rainy and unconstant Weather, which is common hereabouts. On the 23d one of our Seamen died of the Pox; the 24th we were becalmed; but the next Night there arose a Tempest, which made us continually upon our Guard, for fear of the *Travados*, or Whirlwinds, which are so sudden here, that the Seamen have scarce Leisure to lurl their Sails. We could not make any Observation by the Sun till the 5th of *March*, when we were in 8° 6' Lat. and the 10th in 10° 12', the Wind West.

The 11th and 13th it blew a great Storm, with Thunder and Lightning; but what most surprized us was, that though we were in 13°, we found not the least Effects of the Moonsoon, or ordinary Wind of the Season, which is

Winds, two Leagues an Hour, which continued the 23d, 24th, and 25th. On the 26th the Wind fell still fair; but, for fear of a Change, and Want of fresh Water, we resolv'd to direct our Course to *Maurice* Island, to take in Refreshments there. We discovered the same Night the Isle of *Diego Rodriguez* in 20° 48', which lies sixty Leagues from the said Island of *Maurice*, so called by the *Dutch* from the Prince of *Orange*, who was Admiral of the United Provinces at the Time of their first Voyage to the *Indies*. Its Harbour is very spacious, being able to contain fifty large Vessels, and commodious by reason of its Depth, which is a hundred Fathom at the Entrance. The high Mountains, which are covered with Trees, may be seen at a great Distance at Sea. The Vallies produce some Fruit, and Abundance of other Trees, some of which are those that afford the best Ebony in the World, black, red, and yellow; but the two last are in the greatest Esteem, and the Sea abounds in Fish. The *Dutch* in their Relations speak of a Thornback they catch'd near this Isle, which found two good Meals for the whole Ship, and Tortoises of such a Bigness, that ten Men might sit on one Shell. The Isle was quite destitute of Inhabitants at that time; but since 1040, the *Dutch* have erected a Fort there. It abounds in Birds; but is destitute of four-footed Beasts; but as for Fruits and Water, it affords sufficient Refreshment to Ships that are passing that Way.

The Wind continuing fair, when we came within Sight of this Island a Council was call'd, in which it was agreed not to lose any Time by putting into this Island, but to continue our Voyage with all possible Speed to the *Cape of Good Hope*, to avoid the Danger of being obliged to winter in the Island of *Madagascar*. Accordingly we lost Sight of this Isle the same Day, and call'd the Tropic of Capricorn *March* the 30th, steering our Course West-South-West. April the 1st we found ourselves in 26° 3', and after having made forty Leagues, were becalmed before Night. We saw the next Day divers Whales; and the Weather becoming very stormy, carried us to the West-South-West, our Business being to steer to the South, and consequently to the *Cape of Good Hope*. On the 5th the Compsals still varying, we held our Course still to the West, and though we had not much Wind, made seventy-three Leagues in three two Days. From the 9th (when we were about three hundred Leagues from the *Cape*) we advanced tolerably well, but the 15th it blew very hard, and those Birds called by the Portuguese *Pintados*, which keep within forty Leagues of the Land, and several other Birds, came near our Ship. On the sixteenth these Signs persuaded our Seamen that we were not far from the Shore; the 17th we continued our Voyage with a fresh Gale; but the 18th and 19th we had scarce any Wind, through the Roughness of the Sea, which proved an insupportable Omen of the Tempest that overtook us the same Night from the South-West in 35° Latitude. As these Storms are unavoidable about the *Cape of Good Hope*, we took in our Sails.

On the 20th, perceiving the Water somewhat more inclinable to white than before, and a great many Sea-weeds, called *Mingas de Valados* by the Portuguese, round our Ships, we concluded that there was Ground within an hundred, or an hundred and fifty Fathom, and, upon Trial, found it at eighty Fathom. We saw also the same Day Abun-

of which go to a Town, sufficiently fertile what produce were able to export from this Kingdom. Traffick to the *Malacca* is a Trade of God were always very dependent upon the King of *Siam*, and them many Privileges, which not Footing here at the Beginning, Portuguese were so alarmed, that they refused the Trade of the *Indies* to *Siam*, but also attacked a *Dutch* Vessel, which, with some other Outrages, the King of *Siam* against them, who the *Dutch* in their Settlement and cry advantageous to them in respect *Sumatra*, of which they are now

and the *Iles de Noes* for the Vessels of a middle Size; the small Barks may enter the River. In the City of *Malacca*, its Suburbs, and adjacent Towns, under the Jurisdiction of the Portuguese, are computed to be about 1200 Inhabitants, and, among them, not above 300 fighting Men, and scarce 200 Portuguese, the rest being either *Mellicers* or *Malayans*. The Portuguese are in Possession only of the City of *Malacca*, and its Suburbs, to the Town of *Sijora Solora de Guadalupe*, five Leagues thence upon the same River, the Territories of the King of *Jolore* beginning half a League thence. This City being so commodiously situated for the Trade of *China* and the *Moluccas*, the Portuguese had, in all Probability, made this one of the chief trading Places in the *Indies*; if the *Dutch*, who possessed it in 1606, and laid great Part of it desolate, had not prevented them; and being by their Settlements in *China* and *Java* become Masters of these Seas, quite closed the Commerce of the Portuguese to *China* and the *Moluccas*. The Kingdom of *Portuguese* is a Kingdom of *Sumatra*, which is the chief Town of the *Malayans*, that they learn to cultivate them. The *Malacca*, or *Malayan* Language, as it is the most elegant of any in the *Indies*, so it has gained as much Reputation there, and is generally used, as the *French* is in *Europe*; and having no Inflections in either Nouns or Verbs, it is not very difficult to learn.

11. We will now look over the Continent to the Isle of *Sumatra*, ten Leagues distant from the *Malacca* Shore; it extends from about 5° on this Side to 6° beyond the Line, containing 165 Leagues in Length, and about 60 in Breadth; so that those who inhabit the Middle of the Island have the Equinoctial Line just over their Heads; whence it may be easily conjectured, that the Heats are excessive here, which, together with the vast Multitude of Lakes, makes the Air very unwholesome: This Defect is recompened by its vast Riches in Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, and Brals (whereof they make as good Artillery here as in any Part of *Europe*) besides Rice, Millet, and Fruits in prodigious Quantities, even in the very Forests. Add to this its Wealth in Diamonds and other precious Stones, and its Trade of Silk, Silver, Wax, Honey,

...and scarce ever...
...on the Arrival of...
...Commodities, which a...
...ers skins, and O...
...shells, Nails, Ham...
...not what Reason...
...equally beyond...
...e ready to fet...
...roving contrary...
...a N. E. Wind, f...
...Wind varying...
...Compass we cou...
...at Night were...
...till the 17th...
...ch ado to refit...
...the Fury of the...
...50° 40', where...
...us back 25 or...
...of *G. d. Hope*...
...ful Hurricane...
...y the contrary...
...uch better; an...
...though we hop...
...which happe...
...e 2d, when the...
...of the Winds...
...e to the Well...
...ealm in 54 g...
...ing our eyes...
...t between *Ca...
...Tempell's...
...we were forc...
...nd held till...
...The 23d the...
...N. Wind to...
...e made all...
...ing the Wind...
...a most viol...
...s; not on the...
...was not in...
...nd without...
...gulfars: Pur...
...Two in the...
...rough Sea...
...oon. *Jan*...
...at Hours, w...
...East. The...
...ering about...
...for the Prot...
...to return to...
...Water at the...
...ame Wind...
...s, called *M...
...blating upon...
...not far from...
...calmed at...
...three Fath...
...was N. W. b...
...t, turned to...
...Mahaglay, w...**

...ship being much...
...The first of *July*...
...and the fame...
...that we were...
...Night, for...
...which is very...
...of the life, o...
...to make the...
...The second...
...there is no...
...we cast An...
...The Day...
...terour Arr...
...redoubled...
...an *Engli*...
...called the...
...Burthen 14...
...Tons, comm...
...by *Captain*...
...bound for...
...The third...
...the Captai...
...to consult...
...by the In...
...in the Tru...
...which they...
...and accord...
...these Com...
...being prod...
...and comm...
...to the Man...
...the three...
...bought, or...
...every Day...
...for forty...
...of brafs B...
...a Sheep for...
...and for a...
...brass Brace...
...worth six...
...seven Poun...
...in *Englan*...
...The fourth...
...the Presid...
...and the tw...
...Captains...
...went up t...
...to discover...
...what Cattle...
...was coming...
...down towa...
...the Bay. The...
...sixth the...
...President...
...the two C...
...and all the...
...Officers of...
...the three...
...Ships abo...
...ours, and...
...Captain...
...did the sa...
...some Days...
...after. The...
...14th *Captain*...
...profecuted...
...his Voyage...
...to the *East*...
...Indies, as...
...Captain...
...did two...
...Days after...
...for *Englan*...
...having sup...
...pled us with...
...what we...
...found in...
...need of...
...for the Prot...
...of our Voy...
...The twenty...
...first a cert...
...Tent with...
...Huts being...
...set up for...
...the Presid...
...ent and Sol...
...diers near...
...the Sea-si...
...de, he took...
...up his Lodg...
...ings there...
...About four...
...Leagues...
...from the...
...Harbour...
...lived a cert...
...Lord, who...
...had three...
...Sons, the...
...Eld of wh...
...m was nam...
...ed *Maffar*...
...They cam...
...all three...
...to pay us...
...a *Vafir*, w...
...ith a Reti...
...ue of one...
...hundred...
...Perions, w...
...ell arm'd...
...with Javel...
...ins, bring...
...ing along...
...with them...
...three hundred...
...Oxen, be...
...sides some...
...Sneep, Go...
...ats, Poul...
...try, Cit...
...rus, and...
...Oranges...
...in order...
...to exchan...
...ge them...
...for some...
...of our...
...Tows. After...
...having ma...
...de a litt...
...le *Halt*, the...
...eldest of...
...the three...
...Brothers...
...present'd...
...the Presi...
...dent with...
...twelve...
...cups, and...
...his two...
...Wives...
...each with...
...a fat Cap...
...on; in re...
...turn of...
...which, the...
...President...
...made a...
...Present of...
...three...
...Stings of...
...glaf-Coral...
...to himf...
...self, two...
...to each...
...Brother, and...
...a Bracelet...
...to each...
...of his...
...Wives, which...
...they...
...feined to...
...value at...
...a great...
...Rate. After...
...having...
...fix'd a...
...great...
...Pile of...
...the...
...Ground, as...
...a Token...
...of the...
...Army they...
...intended...
...to prefer...
...ve with...
...us, which...
...they...
...refus'd...
...us to...
...maintain...
...all on...
...our...
...Side, they...
...told us...
...of their...
...defeat...
...tuck'd...
...with us...
...for ten...
...fat Oxen...
...some...
...Sheep, and...
...Poultry...
...; and am...
...ongst the...
...rest, we...
...had a...
...fat Sheep...
...the...
...Hail of...
...which...
...weigh'd...
...twenty...
...or twenty...
...four...
...Pounds...
...for seven...
...or eight...
...Grains...
...of Coral...
...or Agat...
...and a...
...Capon...
...for three...
...or four...
...Grains...
...of counter...
...feit Coral...
...We...
...had...
...here...
...six...
...Weeks...
...which...
...were...
...spent...
...for the...
...most...
...part...
...in...
...shoot...
...ing at...
...Pits, an...
...a...
...Haul...
...ing with...
...Angle-rod...
...s. We...
...had...
...great...
...Store...
...of...
...Fish, and...
...among...
...the...
...rest...
...Oylers...
...as...
...large...
...and...
...thick...
...as...
...any...
...in...
...England...
...From...
...the...
...fifth...
...to the...
...eighth...
...of...
...1750...
...with...
...two

...like the *Brazil*...
...Wood, of...
...which they...
...make their...
...Darts and...
...Lances. These...
...Trees...
...shelter...
...vast...
...Numbers...
...of...
...Apes...
...and...
...Birds, and...
...among...
...the...
...rest, a...
...kind...
...of...
...Poultry...
...resembling...
...our...
...Turkeys...
...being...
...black...
...all...
...over...
...the...
...Bodies...
...with...
...little...
...white...
...Spots...
...Their...
...Heads...
...are...
...of...
...a...
...Mixture...
...of...
...blue...
...and...
...red, with...
...yellow...
...Horns...
...on...
...their...
...Foreheads...
...They...
...feed...
...by...
...hundreds...
...together...
...in...
...the...
...Woods...
...Here...
...you...
...meet...
...also...
...with...
...that...
...Gum...
...called...
...Dragon's...
...Blood...
...which...
...they...
...draw...
...out...
...of...
...the...
...Flower...
...of...
...a...
...Tree...
...no...
...bigger...
...than...
...our...
...common...
...Pear-trees...
...but...
...more...
...branchy...
...and...
...not...
...full...
...of...
...Leaves...
...which...
...are...
...longer...
...but...
...not...
...so...
...broad...
...as...
...those...
...of...
...the...
...Laurel...
...This...
...Isle...
...also...
...produces...
...some...
...Alces...
...but...
...not...
...so...
...good...
...as...
...those...
...of...
...the...
...Island...
...of...
...Socotra...
...They...
...have...
...also...
...Cotton...
...and...
...some...
...Indigo...
...but...
...they...
...understand...
...not...
...reducing...
...it...
...into...
...Paste...
...as...
...the...
...Indoians...
...and...
...Jahans...
...do...
...As...
...they...
...do...
...not...
...apply...
...themselves...
...to...
...Fillage...
...except...
...it...
...be...
...for...
...a...
...little...
...Rice...
...Beans...
...Pompions...
...and...
...Melons...
...so...
...they...
...abound...
...in...
...most...
...excellent...
...Pasture...
...and...
...consequently...
...in...
...Cattle...
...in...
...which...
...their...
...chief...
...Riches...
...consist...
...They...
...have...
...also...
...Citron...
...and...
...Orange...
...trees...
...which...
...bear...
...Fruit...
...twice...
...a...
...Year...
...Date-trees...
...Cocoa-trees...
...and...
...Bananas...
...and...
...there...
...is...
...scarce...
...a...
...Houfe...
...but...
...has...
...its...
...own...
...Bee-hives...
...; for...
...though...
...they...
...are...
...ignorant...
...as...
...yet...
...of...
...the...
...Advantages...
...of...
...making...
...Honey...
...and...
...Wax...
...they...
...make...
...a...
...certain...
...Drink...
...of...
...it...
...with...
...the...
...Addition...
...of...
...Rice...
...which...
...serve...
...them...
...instead...
...of...
...Wine...
...It...
...yields...
...also...
...a...
...Salt...
...and...
...Salt-petre...
...and...
...near...
...the...
...Sea...
...side...
...Ambergris...
...Some...
...will...
...have...
...it...
...to...
...be...
...rich...
...in...
...Gold...
...and...
...Silver...
...Mines...
...but...
...as...
...the...
...Inhabitants...
...value...
...Tin...
...beyond...
...those...
...Metals...
...they...
...neglect...
...to...
...search...
...after...
...them...
...The...
...Isle...
...is...
...very...
...full...
...of...
...Inhabitants...
...who...
...are...
...well...
...shaped...
...for...
...the...
...most...
...part...
...Negroes...
...; they...
...wear...
...no...
...other...
...Garments...
...but...
...a...
...Piece...
...of...
...printed...
...Calico...
...which...
...they...
...wrap...
...about...
...their...
...Middle...
...so...
...that...
...one...
...End...
...of...
...it...
...hangs...
...down...
...before...
...to...
...the...
...Knee...
...the...
...other...
...to...
...the...
...Ham...
...Their...
...Hurs...
...except...
...the...
...little...
...Houfes...
...of...
...their...
...Princes...
...which...
...are...
...of...
...Wood...
...are...
...only...
...made...
...of...
...the...
...Branches...
...of...
...Trees...
...wherein...
...they...
...have...
...no...
...other...
...Beds...
...or...
...Quills...
...but...
...some...
...few...
...Mats...
...to...
...lie...
...upon...
...They...
...used...
...to...
...make...
...their...
...Fires...
...round...
...about...
...them...
...to...
...disperse...
...the...
...Vapours...
...which...
...are...
...very...
...pernicious...
...here...
...Their...
...chief...
...Ornaments...
...are...
...certain...
...Strings...
...of...
...Glas-beads...
...of...
...different...
...Colours...
...round...
...the...
...Waist...
...and...
...Bracelets...
...of...
...the...
...same...
...about...
...their...
...Neck...
...Arms...
...and...
...Legs...
...Both...
...Sexes...
...have...
...Holes...
...in...
...their...
...Furs...
...in...
...which...
...they...
...put...
...large...
...Copper...
...or...
...Brass...
...Rings...
...They...
...have...
...all...
...black...
...Hair...
...some...
...very...
...much...
...curled...
...others...
...not...
...but...
...it...
...is...
...feldom...
...very...
...long...
...; notwithstanding...
...which...
...they...
...tie...
...it...
...up...
...in...
...several...
...Tresses...
...There...
...is...
...no...
...considerable...
...Difference...
...between...
...the...
...Cloathing...
...of...
...the...
...Men...
...and...
...Women...
...; the...
...latter...
...wear...
...sometimes...
...a...
...flowery...
...Coat...
...and...
...the...
...Calico...
...which...
...covers...
...their...
...middle...
...Parts...
...is...
...somewhat...
...longer...
...than...
...those...
...of...
...the...
...Men...
...The...
...Women...
...are...
...very...
...timorous...
...for...
...their...
...Fidelity...
...to...
...their...
...Husbands...
...who...
...place...
...a...
...great...
...Value...
...upon...
...them...
...that...
...they...
...will...
...scarce...
...undertake...
...any...
...Thing...
...of...
...Moment...
...without...
...their...
...Advice...
...They...
...have...
...two...
...Wives...
...at...
...least...
...each...
...of...
...which...
...bath...
...her...
...peculiar...
...Hut...
...and...
...though...
...the...
...Husband...
...is...
...very...
...compliant...
...with...
...both...
...the...
...eldest...
...of...
...the...
...two...
...always...
...claims...
...the...
...Preference...
...They...
...purchase...
...their...
...Wives...
...from...
...their...
...Parents...
...or...
...Relations...
...for...
...some...
...Oxen...
...Pigs...
...Darts...
...or...
...other...
...Things...
...Adultery...
...and...
...Fornication...
...are...
...capital...
...Crimes...
...for...
...which...
...there...
...is...
...no...
...Familiarity...
...to...
...great...
...which...
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...are...
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...Some...
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...ated

...an and *Pambuan* are *Javan*; the
...of *Paffaracan*, six Leagues from *P...*
...ndan. Ten Leagues to the West
...noted for its convenient Harbour upon
...ships going from the *Molucca* to *Bat...*
...to take in fresh Water and Provi...
...the River lies the City of *Gond*. It
...its proper King, under whose Juris...
...y of *Brandam*, six Leagues thence to
...his Court at *Sidaya*, which is well for...
...a safe Harbour. Ten Leagues more
...the City of *Taboon*, next to *Bantam* in
...the Isle, and five Leagues farther to
...the City of *Cajam*. *Manduluan* is inhab...
...men. Five Leagues farther to the
...*Papara*, upon a Neck of Land, which
...passes into the Sea. Twenty five Leagues
...from *Bantam*, lies *Mabram*, or *M...*
...and the Residence of a powerful King,
...to the Sovereignty over all the rest of

...they are too tender to en...
...The *Natives* live mostly upon *Fish*. They have no
...other Garments but a Piece of *Calico* wrapped round
...their Loins, except that the better Sort wear a kind of
...hull Camblet Coats, reaching only to their Thighs. They
...are great Lovers of Horses, their Saddles being made like
...our great Saddles. The *Natives* inhabiting the inland
...Countries of *Java* are all *Pigans*, and believing the Trans-
...migration of the Soul, eat neither *Fish* nor *Flesh*. To
...the South there are a few *Mohammedans* of the *Turkish*
...Sect. They have two great Fats, the Chief of which
...is upon the 5th of *August*. There are few among the *Ja-*
...van but what have three or four, nay, sometimes ten or
...twelve Wives, besides their Concubines, who are obliged
...to wait upon the Wives, though their Children have the

...and produce *Rice*, *Pepper*, and *Corn*. Some *Slaves* here
...take their Masters Trees, and other Commodities, at a cer-
...tain Rate, which they sell to the best Advantage they can;
...others walk abroad for their Master's Profit at a set Rate
...per *Diem*. Others maintain themselves, and work alter-
...nately, six Days for their Masters, and as many for them-
...selves. They commonly adulterate their *Pepper* with black
...Gravel, as they do all other Commodities they sell to
...Strangers, being very crafty in their Commerce; though
...very few rich Merchants venture their *Perions* on any long
...Voyage, but traffick, like our *European* Merchants, by the
...Assistance of *Factors*. Bonds and other Securities are
...written upon the Bark of Trees, the Characters being en-
...graven with a sort of *Bodkin*, which is either rolled up af-
...terwards, or laid together four-square, betwixt two Boards,
...which they have a Way to tie neatly together with Pack-
...thread; sometimes they use *Chinese* Paper.
...They have a Language peculiar to themselves, but the
...*Mulayan* is most in Use here, and the *Arabian* is used by the
...*Mohammedans*. The Traffick of the *Persians* that live

hundred, two hundred, or three hundred, each under his own Lord, whom they call *Tjebick*. Two of these had their Residence in a Wood not far from our Tent. Their Wars among themselves are commonly occasioned by the want of Pasture for their Cattle, and the Prince *Maffar* told us, that he had joined with two neighbouring Lords, and that they intended to attack some on the other Side the Mountains with five hundred Men, to drive them from their Pasture Grounds, which they stood in need of for their Cattle. This Dignity is not hereditary, but they govern, whilst they are in the Possession of it, with an absolute Authority. It is not easily determined what Religion they profess. As far as I was able to learn, they believe one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who will reward their good, and punish their bad Actions. I remember I saw one among them, whom I supposed to be their Priest, getting up on a Tree, and making his Oration to the People; but as I had not the least Knowledge of their Language, I could not be satisfied of what he said, neither what Difference there was in the outward Appearance of their Priests and Laicks, except that I observed some of them to carry a Piece of a Cow's Tail at the End of a Cane; and I saw one whose Nails on the two Fore-fingers of his Right-hand were as long as the Talons of an Eagle. Each Tribe has its own Priest, who pretends also to Incantations.

21. The Isle of *Mozambique* is not above half a League from the Continent of *Africa*, and remains in the Possession of the *Portuguese*. This small Island is so beneficial to the Governor thereof, that what with the Trade to *Madagascar*, and that of *Soffalo*, he commonly amasses a Treasure of 150,000 Pounds Sterling during his three Years Government. This Island was first discovered by the *Portuguese* in 1506, when a whole Boat of Negroes coming on board the *Portuguese* Vessels, they were very civilly entertained by the Captain, who also gave them divers little Presents, but they requited his Kindness with a Shower of Arrows as soon as they were got into their Boat, till the Captain by a Volley of small Shot, and some Cannon Ball, made them soon give over that Sport. Another *Portuguese* Captain, named *Rodriguez Pereira*, being in the same Year driven upon that Coast by Distress of Weather, sent a certain *African* Negro, who had some Knowledge of their Language, to signify unto them, that he was come thither to settle a good Correspondence and Commerce with them. They seemed to approve of this Proposal, but were no sooner got at some Distance from the *Portuguese*, than they fell upon the *Moor*, with Intention to kill him, which they had certainly done if the *Portuguese* had not discharged their Fire-Arms upon them, which obliged them to leave the Negro, and to betake themselves to their Heels, leaving several of their Companions dead upon the Spot.

Pereira sailed thence to another Place upon the same Coast, where having surprized one of their Princes, he carried him on Board, and gave him such kind Entertainment, that in Requital for his Courtesy, he offered to shew him a very good Harbour; accordingly he conducted them to a great Bay, at the Entrance of which was a small but populous Island, but the Inhabitants being terrified at the Sight of these Foreigners, fled into another adjacent Island; so that the *Portuguese*, being become Masters of the small Isle without the least Opposition, they sent to the Inhabitants,

alshore with the *Maffar*, and the *Portuguese* concerning some Jealousy at their Behaviour, they pursued them with eighty Men in their Shallop, but too late, the Negroes having reached the Shore before them. However, after they were landed, they got Sight again of the *Maffar*, who told them he had been treated with much Kindness by their Prince, who was desirous to see the Captain himself, in order to enter into a strict Correspondence with him; which the Captain being not unwilling to comply with, went accordingly ashore, where he was kindly received, and magnificently treated by the Prince, according to the Fashion of that Country; but in the Evening, being ready to return aboard in the Shallop, there arose a violent Tempest, that he durst not venture to commit himself to the merciless Waves in so small a Boat, which continued for four Days successively; and there being no Possibility to get on board, his Ship's Crew imagining that he had been mastered by these Barbarians, thought it most advisable to save themselves, and to return to *Mozambique*, which they did accordingly. The Captain finding the ship gone was so discontented that he died not long after, as did eight others of his Retinue. The rest thinking it better to run the Risque of the Sea than to perish without the least Hope of Relief, embarked in the Shallop, and having by good Fortune met with a *Portuguese* Vessel, commanded by *John Tonseca*, he carried them to the next *Portuguese* Port in *Africa*. The first Time of the Landing of the *Dutch* in the Isle of *Madagascar* happened rather by Chance than any Design, for their Seamen being miserably infected with the Scurvy, so that they were no longer able to manage the Ship, they were forced to seek for Reliefment in the Island, but lost seventy Men out of the four Vessels, of which their Fleet consisted, before they could get ashore. These Men were buried in a small Island, which to this Day is called the *Dutch* Church-yard. Some will have the *Madagascanians* to be *Mohammedans*; but certain it is, that in their outward Demeanour they do not shew the least Sign of it.

22. The Winter Season being pretty well over we began to think of our Voyage; for which Purpose having bought, August the 19th, of Prince *Maffar*, and some other neighbouring Lords, twenty five Oxen and a hundred Sheep, we embarked our Baggage the 21st, and the 21st set sail out of the Bay of *Saint Augustine* with a South-west Wind, which proving favourable all that Night we soon lost Sight of *Madagascar*.

The 22d being rejoined by the Monsoon, or Wind of the Season, which happened sooner than ordinary, we briskly pursued our Course to West-South West, and the 23d the Wind blowing a brisk Gale from the East in our Stern, we sailed briskly a little more to the South, with an Intention to avoid the *Cape of Good Hope*. The 24th and 25th the Wind was not so brisk, but being seconded by a fresh Gale, the 26th we advanced bravely, and found ourselves that Day in 27° 27' Latitude, and on the 28th in 28° 12'. The 29th we were surprized by the *Traualos*, or Whirlwinds, in 31° 15'; but they did not continue long. The 30th it blew again; notwithstanding which we made the best of our way, and the 1st of *Sept* found ourselves in 33° 34'. On the 11th of *September* we made fifty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, the Wind blew very hard; and the 2d we got to the 34th

ours, they have every thing they come at. They have a certain kind of these Creatures reddish, and of the Length of a Man's Finger; but these live in the Fields upon the Barks of Trees. Among the Fruit-trees of *Java* the *Striquera*, which bears the *Strera*, is none of the worst; it is a Species of the *Cocoa*, but less in Bulk, and with narrower Leaves. The Fruit resembles a Date included in a Husk, which falls off when it ripens; it is without Taste, but taints the Lips and Teeth of a black Colour. The *Indians*, after they have mixed it with a little Lime, wrap it up in a Betel Leaf, and so chew it, looking upon it as a good Remedy against the Scurvy. It will cause in such as are not used to it a Dizziness in the Head, but it soon passes over. The *Mango* is a Fruit growing upon a Tree not unlike our Walnut-tree; it is something like our Peaches in Bigness and Colour, being of a red and green. The Shell incloses an Almond, which is of a grateful Taste when roasted in the Ashes; they pickle them whilst green, and they are accounted a good Remedy against the *Morue*, and *Luxations*; the wild ones are rank Poison,

London. The best is that which is used raw, because it occasions vomiting and purging the Guts; but roasted, it is both pleasant and good, and reckoned a great Restorative.

On the Side of the Island towards the Strait of *Sunda* you meet with Abundance of wild Cinnamon, which is transported into foreign Parts. The *Carappa* is a kind of *Indian* Cherries, white, dark, red, and of a greenish Colour; the Trees and Fruit are like those in *Europe*. The *Cajus* *Indians*, called *Pakki* by the *Malays*, resembles in every respect, both in Height and Flower, the *European* Elder tree, wherewith the *Peijous* and *Malays* drive a considerable Trade, as they do also with the *Cinnamomum aromaticum*. There is a yellow and spongy Matter in its Stalk, which some Women make use of to appease Fits. The *Zerumbet*, called *Canlar* by the *Malays*, is like Ginger, except that it has somewhat larger Leaves; it is preserved or dried like Ginger, but valued absent. Of *Galanga* there are two Kinds, the lesser is brought from *China*, and is preferable to that of *Java*. The Herb

and the Portuguese concerning Behaviour, they pursued them with Shallop, but too late, the Negroes were before them. However, after they got Sight again of the Ship, they were treated with much Kindness, as desirous to see the Captain himself, into a strict Correspondence with him, being not unwilling to comply with him, where he was kindly received, and led by the Prince, according to the custom; but in the Evening, being ready to depart, there arose a violent tempest, which obliged him to retire to a small Boat, which continued for some time, and there being no Possibility of getting the Crew imagining that he had been killed, the Mariners, thought it most advisable to return to Mozambique, which they did, the Captain finding the Ship gone was obliged to die not long after, as did eight of the Crew. The rest thinking it better to run than to perish without the least Hope in the Shallop, and having by good Fortune a Portuguese Vessel, commanded by a Captain, who carried them to the next Portuguese Port, where the Landing of the Dutch Ship happened rather by Chance than Design, the Seamen being miserably infected with the Plague, they were no longer able to manage the Ship, and were forced to seek for Retirement in some remote Place, where they left only twenty Men out of the four Vessels, of which they were all filled, before they could get to the Land, where they landed in a small Island, which is called *St. Helena*, near the Church-yard. Some will have the Name of this Island to be *St. Mohammedani*; but concerning this, I have no means to enquire, but meanly they do not shew the least

Season being pretty well over we began our Voyage; for which Purpose being on the 19th, of Prince Masfen, and some other Lords, twenty-five Oxen, and a hundred Sheep, were packed our Baggage, and then we departed from the Bay of *Saint Augustine* with a South-Easting favourable all that Night we sailed as fast as we could, and being rejoiced by the Monsoon, or Wind of the East, which happened sooner than ordinary, we proceeded on our Course to West-South West, and the 21st, a brisk Gale from the East in our favour, blew us a little more to the South, with an increase of the *Cape of Good Hope*. The 23rd and 24th we continued to brisk, but being it counted by a Council of War, we advanced bravely, and found ourselves on the 27th, in 27° 27' Latitude, and on the 28th in 28° 15' Latitude, and on the 29th we were surprized by the Trade Winds, in 31° 15'; but they did not continue long, for on the 30th it blew again; notwithstanding which, we continued our Course, and on the 31st, we were in 33° 34'. On the 1st of September we were in twenty-four Hours, from the Cape, and on the 2d we got to the Bay of *St. Helena*.

we were near the *Cape of Aquilas*. The 12th we were forced to make the best of our Way, sometimes with a North-North-West, sometimes with a South-West Wind, which continuing in the Afternoon, we continued our Course to the West-North-West, and in the Evening found a yellow Sand at a hundred and ninety Fathom Water. The 13th, the Wind being at South-East, we continued our Course to the West-North-West, and finding a Whale floating upon the Water in the Latitude of 35°, we believed ourselves to be in the Height of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, where abundance of Whales are commonly seen. The 14th, at Sun-rising, finding the Declination of the Needle 4° 50', we concluded that we had compassed the *Cape of Good-Hope*; the 15th we had a fair Wind and Weather, and found the Declination of the Compass to be 1° 5', and presently after the Declination of it, near the *Cape of Good-Hope*, is 4°, though sometimes it does not decline so much; and as soon as you have passed the *Cape*, you find the Compass to vary to the East. At 33° 15' Lat. lies the Isle of *St. Elizabeth*, not above twenty Leagues on this Side of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, being not above two Leagues from the *African Coast*, on which Side it has a very good Harbour at sixteen Fathom Water.

The whole Coast is but one continued Rock; but the Country is so fertile in several sorts of the best Herbs, that there is sufficient Reason to believe, that if it were cultivated, it would not in its Products be behind the Isle of *St. Helena*, or any other in those Parts. The work is, that it wants fresh Water, except what is supplied by the Skies when it rains, which makes this Isle not to be much frequented; though they have such vast Numbers of Sea-Wolves here, that in a few Days they may catch as many, that the Fat would freight a Vessel of six hundred Tons. They call these Creatures Sea-Wolves, though both in Colour and Shape of their Heads they rather resemble our Bears, except that their Snout is not so sharp. They have only two Paws beneath the Breast, by which means they draw the other Part of their Body after them, and that with so much Swiftness, that the nimblest Man can scarce overtake them. This Beast is very fierce, its Teeth being so close and strong, that it will bite through the Handle of a Partisan. This Isle also produces a kind of Badger, the Flesh whereof is very delicious. The 16th we made the best of our Way with a small Wind at 32°, and the 17th and 18th made sixty-four Leagues with a North-North-West and a South-West Wind, and came the 19th into 29° 16', when with a South-South-West Wind we made forty Leagues to the North-West, and in the Evening found ourselves in 28° Latitude. The 6th of October a South-East Wind carried us fifteen Leagues farther to the Isle of *St. Helens*.

23. The Situation of this Island, called *St. Helens* by the Portuguese, is in 16° 12'. It is distant from the Cape of *Angola* 350 Leagues; from that of *Good-Hope* 550; and from *Brazil* 510. It being very surprizing, that an Island of no more than seven Leagues in Compass should be found at so great a Distance from the Continent. It is so plentiful in most excellent Fruits, and all sorts of Creatures, that it surpasses most of the Provinces of *Europe*. Some were of Opinion, that there were neither to be seen when the Portuguese first discovered it, and that those

Parts, which its vast Distance from the Continent would make it very difficult to keep; whereas its being free would afford a certain Retreat to all Vessels; and those Refreshments, especially of fresh Water, which they would be obliged to seek for as far as the Coast of *Guinea*, where they must be forced to stay for the Rains, to the great Inconvenience of the Seamen, many of whom must in the mean while perish for want of it. The Fertility of the Isle ought chiefly to be attributed to the daily Showers of Rain which fall there, which, being animated by the Sun-Beams, shining presently after by Intervals, incredibly advances the Maturity of Things in a Climate like this. It has also three Places where Ships may provide themselves with fresh Water, *viz.* where the three Rivers, which have their Sources among the Mountains, discharge themselves into the Sea. These produce abundance of Snakes, which are eaten by the Dutch, who prefer them to Eels. At 190 Leagues to the N. W. of the Island of *St. Helens*, you see the Island of *Afcenson*, so called from its being discovered upon *Afcenson-Day* by the Portuguese, lying 8° 30' S. of the Line. It is a very mountainous Island, affording neither fresh Water, nor any other Provisions, except Fish, of which there is great Store on that Coast. October the 17th, the same Wind carried us forty Leagues forward; and the 18th forty-two to the 5th Degree.

The Heats were almost insupportable this Day, and we saw Millions of Flying-fish, and great Numbers of the Birds called *Mangas de Valada*. The 19th, the Wind blowing from the S. E. we made 40 Leagues to 3° 19' Lat. and the 20th the same Wind continued us 40 Leagues farther to 1° 18' Lat. The same Wind carried us the 21st 35 Leagues, when we passed the Equinoctial Line. At 1° beyond the Line, we discovered the *Cape de Lopez Gonzales*, upon the Coast of *Guinea*, which has a safe Harbour for Ships, which sometimes provide themselves with Provisions here. The Isle of *St. Thomas* is situate under the Line, the Air of which is so unwholesome, and the Heats so excessive, that few Europeans live there to fifty Years of Age, though some of the Natives arrive to an hundred. Here is a constant Equality of Day and Night throughout the whole Year, and it never rains, except in *March* and *September*; the Defect of which is supplied by the Dew, which falls constantly every Night, moistens the Ground, and renders it very fruitful. When it was first discovered, a certain kind of Tree was found here, the Branches whereof were exactly Straite. And, formerly, this Isle produced such vast Quantities of Sugar, that above forty Ship Loads might be transported thence every Year; but the Worm, being got among the Canes, has ever since made such Havock among them, that it scarce affords now Loading for six Ships. Besides which, this Island produces Wheat, Wine, Millet, Rye, Barley, Melons, Cucumbers, Figs, Ginger, red Parsnips, Cabbages, Navens, Lettuce, Parsley, and all sorts of Roots, Pulse, and Pot-herbs; and amongst the rest, a certain kind of Must-rooms, the Rind whereof is black, but the Meat white, and shoots forth divers Branches below. The Inhabitants look upon it as a great Dainty, and, when baked in the Embers, eat them as we do Chestnuts, but they have a better Flavour. The Spaniards have planted some Olive, Peach,

occasions vomiting and ... it is both pleasant and ... Island towards the Strait ... of wild Cinnamon, but ... Parts. The *Cassava* is a ... red, and of a ... Fruit are red, and ... *Pachy* by the ... both in Height and Power, ... with the *Persea* and ... made, as they do all ... is a yellow and spongy Matter ... Women make use of to appease ... called *Cambur* by the ... that it has formed a ... like Ginger, but varies ... two Kinds, the lesser is brought ... ble to that of *Java*. The Herb ... white Flour

24. The Herb *Parasita* is cooling, but scarce and *Cera Tomopate* is a Root used against the Inflammation of the Spleen. The *Condura* are poisonous Berries, but are used to weigh Gold and Silver. The *Jasurase* being exasperated by the ill Usage they often received from the Portuguese, would not for a long time permit any Strangers to have any Settlements there, till at last the Hopes of Gain engaged the Kings of *Bantam* and *Jacatra* to let the *English* and *Dutch* let up their Factories there under certain Conditions; which being but disobeyed by the *Indians*, the *Dutch* took this Opportunity of fortifying their Settlements at *Jacatra*, and that with so much Expedition, that the *Indians*, finding themselves not in a Condition to force them thence, engaged with the *English* to assist them in the Expulsion of these bold Strangers. In the first Sea Engagement, *January* the 2d, 1619, near *Bantam*, the *Dutch* had the worst; upon which the King of *Jacatra*, in Conjunction with the *English*, besieged and attacked their Forts for six Months, till the *Dutch* Fleet being reinforced, obliged the *English* to quit both the *Coast*

in small Vessels to the Isle of *Java*. In this Road most Ships bound for the *Moluccas* take in fresh Water and Provisions, which are to be bought here at a very low Rate. They have Iron, Copper, and Gold Mines; but the last are not broke up or wrought, for fear the Fame of their Riches should draw thither some foreign Nation or other that would without Question reap the Fruits of their Labour. Their King, whose Title is *Quilor*, i. e. High-Countable, is in great Veneration among his Subjects, and governs his Dominions by certain Governors appointed for each Province. They persist very obstinately in Paganism, as also in that diabolical Custom of Women burning themselves with their Husbands. The Isle of *Borneo* lies farther North than *Java*, one of the largest in those Seas, extending six Degrees to the North, though its greatest Part lies on this Side of the Equinoctial Line. Some make it four hundred Leagues in Compass; but the *Dutch* with more Probability assign it no more than two hundred and fifty Leagues in Circumference; its chief Places are *Borneo*, *Seridage*, *Sanga*, *Samban*, and *Boro*.

among the principal Orankays, and threatens the Cady, who corrupted to crown him.

In fine, he managed the Intrigue so happily, that he was proclaimed King that very Night, to the great Joy of all the People who had conceived great Hopes of his Liberality, Courtezy, and Familiarity, as well as his Valour. *Paik* being twelve Miles from *Achen*, the King of that Place was quickly acquainted with his Brother's Death, and came the next Day to receive the Investiture of his Patrimony; but as he approached the Castle with a small Retinue, he fell into the Hands of his Nephew the King of *Achen*, who, forgetting his former Favours, kept him a Month Prisoner in the Castle, and then, pretending to send him to a more agreeable Retreat at a Distance from the City, caused his Throat to be cut by the Way. Those who put the Crown upon his Head were not better used; for he began with the Maraja, or Governor of the Castle, who had taken most of his Money, and ended with those that received the least. In a Year's Time they found a great Alteration; for instead of being humane, he was very cruel. Instead of Liberality, he played an extreme Avarice, and his familiar meek Emperor became austere and inexorable.

In fine, he has shed more Blood than his Grandfather did in his whole Reign. He has dispeopled the whole Territory of *Achen*, and drained not only the Natives, but the Foreigners that reside there, of all their Money. It is true, he endeavoured to re-peopel this City with his Conquests, or rather Ravages (properly speaking) for having ruined the Kingdoms of *Jer*, *Debb*, *Paban*, *Queda*, and *Pera*, he transported from thence to *Achen* about twenty-two thousand Persons; but at present there are scarce one thousand five hundred of them left: So that this Policy served rather for an Instance of his Cruelty, than any other Thing; for the People being brought naked to *Achen*, and allowed not a Grain of Rice for their Maintenance, died of Hunger in the Streets. Hitherto this King hath been successful in all his Enterprizes, insomuch that some take him for a Sorcerer.

For my part I regard him as a Man of great Judgment, one that undertakes nothing rashly, or unreasonably, but after a mature Deliberation, and upon very probable Conjectures. He never assaulted one of his Neighbours, but when they were reduced to some Extremity. All his preparatory Measures are incomprehensible, till the Design is put in Execution; for he never asks or receives Advice of any, and being invested with an absolute Authority, his Commands are immediately put in Execution; so that all that may be done without the Assistance of Devils. Besides, I have often heard that Sorcerers are poor, sorry Wretches, but I am certain that this King is by far greater and richer than any of his Neighbours.

27. *February* the 3d we were in Sight of the Island of *Mintaby*; the 4th we came to an inhabited Isle that lies between *Nagay* and *Mintaby*; the 6th we passed between *Nagay* and another Island not marked in the Charts. This Channel is four or five Leagues broad, all these Islands lie very low, whereas the opposite Coast of *Sumatra* is very high and conspicuous. I would advise all Sailors rather to pass to *Sumatra*, than thro' any of these little Islands; for the Harbours are peopled all along the Shore with Persons acquainted with the Conversation of Strangers, whereas the Inhabitants of these are barbarous Savages, that have no Commerce or Dealings with any other People, and consequently not to be trusted.

March the 1st at 4th Latitude, the Needle varying 3rd North-West, withered a In both and uniform, but very great, upon the 1st we flew to Sea, and next Day came to *Table-Island* in Morning, that lasted to the 2nd of *May*; that it was produced by a Cold between *Cape Anguilles* and *Cape Table*, and that it was we came to an Anchor in *Table-Island*, and here Men did not recover at this Place, as I expected, either by reason of that extreme Cold, or because the Air was not so fresh Provizous as I had a Mind to have seen, as in *Paik* Ships in the Bay that I mentioned. I observed the Cold was the great Cause of it, for the *Table-Island* is as cold as mine. The Wind continued West North-West from my first Arrival in this Bay to the 23rd, that I weighed Anchor, and passing

by the North-East, was becalmed within Cannon Shot. The 30th we set Sail, the Wind at South-South-East.

On the 21st of *June* we departed *St. Helena*, about fifteen Leagues West-North-West of us: Next Day I came to an Anchor over-against it, and sent our sick Men on Shore, who were something benefited by the Air. This is a very convenient Place for the refreshing Men, not only in regard to the Temperance of the Air, but by reason of the Plenty of young Kids and Hogs, the Facility of coming at good Water, the Convenience of Fishing in the Road, and upon the Shore, the Abundance of Oranges and Citrons, which are excellent Remedies against the Scurvy, besides several good Herbs, such as Purslain, a sort of Tarragon, in large Quantities, some Fenugreek, Tobacco, and the Herb Mayoe: Not to mention the Partridges, Pigeons, and, as some say, Oxen, that this Island abounds with; for though the Country be mountainous, and very steep, and the Grass withered-like, yet on the Top there is a great deal of Moisture, and there is not a Valley without a Brook or Rivulet, the greatest of which runs in the large Valley, where a large Chapel is built, though it is set above a hundred and fifty Paces broad, and one thousand long. At the End of this Valley there is a ragged Cleit Ridge of Rocks, upon which there falls down a Stream of Water from a very high Mountain, insomuch that it is beat as small as Rain before it falls. This Isle lies in 10° South Latitude, the Needle varying 5th 45 North-East, and always has the Wind South-East.

28. On the 16th of *July*, we saw the Isle of *St. Paul*, about twelve Leagues North East of us. It is very high, and its Anchorage lies over-against a sandy Cove. This Island has neither Wood, nor Fresh-Water, nor any Herbs, being nothing but a hard Rock; yet it affords some Hogs, and a great many Fowls, but it can live without Fresh-Water, upon the Rocks, and in the Road it has Abundance of Fish and Tortoise. Its Circumference may make about eight Leagues, which is as much as that of *St. Helena's*. It lies in 5° S. Lat. After we had crossed the Equinoctial, we had such Calms, and drizzling Rains, that most of our Men were teized with Dropsies and Tumours, upon which there ensued great Mortality in the Ship.

August the 6th the Calms and drizzling Rains continuing, there came a sudden Whirlwind that lasted some Minutes, and broke all our Sails, carrying the Main-Sail quite off. The next Day we saw some Swallow-tail Butterflies, which signified that we were near Land. The 17th we saw an Island to the North, in 1st Lat. we knew to be *Saint Nicholas*, one of the *Caroline* Islands. The 18th we made the Isle of *Saint Paul*, and cast Anchor at five Fathom Water. There I had my sick Men ashore, who were very numerous, in a forty Condition; but, when they came upon Land, they recovered again.

29. The ordinary Anchorage of this Island is in 20° Lat. the Needle varying 2nd 15 N. E. It produces this Season great Plenty of Tortoises, which they call *Tortuises*, and are distinguished from the others, by the Smoothness, Plainness, and great Colour of the Shell, the Largeness of their Body, and the Smallness of their Head, and the Form of their Feet, which resembles the Teeth of a Saw. The Fish that are eaten as well as that of a young Heifer, and part of them are so large that they weigh 300 Pounds. They come out in the Night Time, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, which they bury a Foot deep. The hole which they make to catch them watch them at that Time, and putting a net behind them turn them upon their Back, after which they cannot turn themselves to get upon their Feet, and so they die there till the Morning. Most of them lay, and lay shelled, and as many unshelled in their Bellies, which is very good.

In this Island we met with an Herb that in some measure resembles Spinnage, but it is infinitely better; we used it both in Salad and Soup, and both it and the Tortoise-shell kept our Bellies open, and cured us of great Dropsies, without any other Purgatives, in about Days, which perhaps could not be cured in *France* in 4

ned within Cannon Shot at South-South-East. *St. Helena*, about fifteen Miles: Next Day I came to anchor our sick Men on Shore, by the Air. This is a very strong Men, not only in the Air, but by reason of the Facility of coming at of Fishing in the Road, and of Oranges and Citrons, against the Scurvy, besides Urflain, a sort of Larragon, Suggreek, Tobacco, and the on the Partridges, Pigeons, and this Island abounds with antinous, and very deep, and the Top there is a great deal or a Valley without a Brook which runs in the large Valley, though it is not above a hundred and one thousand long. A ragged Cleft Ridge of Rocks, Stream of Water runs a very at it is but as small as Rain in 17° South Latitude, the North-East, and always has the

we saw the Isle of *St. Paul* East of us. It is very high, against a sandy Creek. This nor Fresh-Water, nor any hard Rock; yet it abounds many Fowls, such as on the Rocks, and in the Road Tortoise. Its Circumference, which is as much as it S. Lat. After we had had Calms, and driving Rain, were seized with Dropsies and ensued great Mortality

s and drizzling Rain, the Windward that had the Sails, carrying the Mast, lay we saw some Swallow that we were near *St. Paul* the North, in 17° Lat. *St. Paul*, one of the Islands of the Isle of *St. Paul*, from Water. The Islands were very numerous, and they came upon *St. Paul*

orage of this Island, in 20° 1', N. E. It was of Tortoises, which they call described from the chestnut shells, Plannets, and the Genets of their Body, and the and the Point of that of a Saw. The Fishes were ang Heiter, and some of them 300 Pounds. They caught by their Eggs upon the South. The hole was in a small at that Time, and getting their Backs, a few would get upon their Feet, and the Moll of them have 200 Eggs in their Bellies, which at th an Herb that in some need but it is inwardly better, we d Soup, and both it and the shells open, and cured out any other Part, that it could not be cured in *St. Paul*

Mountain. It is also well stocked with young Kites, but you are not sure of catching them, unless you have Dogs. We saw no Fruit in it but wild Figs, which were all spoiled with Worms. To the Eastward, under a high Mountain, there are vast Quantities of Porcelain. Commonly the Water of this Isle is brackish; but upon the S.W. Part of the Bay, where the Anchorage is, there is a small Spring, that if it was cleaned and dug deep, would afford pretty good Water.

It is furnished with a considerable Quantity of wild Pines, which may serve for Firing; besides which it has no Wood, except some Shrubs, that cast forth a white milky Juice, that is very dangerous and painful to the Eyes if it touches them. There is very good Fishing; along the Rocks, and especially at a little Rock at the S.W. Part of the Bay, about a Quarter of a League from the Anchorage. In two Hours Time seven or eight may there catch Fish enough for two hundred Men. In fine, it is not inferior to *St. Helena* for a Place of Retirement, except that its Water is not so good. In Compensation of which Defect, it is all over accessible, and furnished with pleasant Walks; whereas the other is the most inaccessible Country I ever saw. This Isle is about nine Leagues in Circumference, and while we were there the Wind was at N. E. it has several pleasant Bays; but that towards the Isle of *St. Anthony* is the best Road for Ships that can be, for we rode at five Fathom Water, on an excellent sandy Ground, and were sheltered from all Winds. We saw neither Men nor Houles, though we travelled over most Part of the Island.

50. After our Departure from *St. Vincent* (which happened September the 14th) we had several violent Storms. October the 10th we defiered the *Scores-Islands*, but it was the 11th before we could weather them. The 14th we had a violent Storm from N. W. that broke our Mizzen-Mast, and obliged us to bring our Main-Top-Mast upon the Deck. The 30th we were 52° Lat. and had several Fathom Water, upon which most of our Pilots agreed that the *Sorlingues-Islands* lay about twenty Leagues to the West of us. November the 3d we defiered the *Lizard-Point* in England; and December the 1st came safe to *Harre de Grace*, having been out thirty-eight Months.

51. The Difficulties our Author met with, and the

Misfortune of losing two of his Ships, did not hinder his making a saving Voyage even of this, which would have proved highly advantageous to his Owners, if the *Hope* had not been lost, since it is computed that five, at the Time of her being burnt, had on Board a Cargo worth twenty-five or thirty thousand Pounds Sterling. There are few Pieces that let us more effectually into the Secret of Trade than this, which shews us perfectly the Methods made use of by the *Dutch* to exclude all other Nations from the Commerce of the *Indies*, and very fully illustrates what we have occasionally delivered upon that Subject. It is really wonderful that the Subjects of the States-General should venture, at that Time of Day, to treat the *French* in such a Manner, to whom they had not only considerable Obligations for the Countenance they had given them in the Infancy of their Commonwealth, but were also in great Danger from their Power in *Europe*. But however this might affect the States, the *East-India Company*, it seems, was themselves very little Concerned about it; which shews how dangerous it is to leave the absolute Administration of their Affairs in these distant Parts of the World to any Company, without having some Check upon them from the State, which must be answerable to other Powers for the Excesses committed by the Agents of such a Company.

As for Commodore *Bombay*, after his Return to France, he was taken into the King's Service, and behaved extremely well in the Affair of the Island of *Rhe*, when the *English*, under the Command of the Duke of *Burlingham*, made a Descent upon that Island, and during the long War against the Protestants. This recommended him to effectually to the famous Cardinal *Richieu*, that he intrusted him with the Command of one of the best Ships employed in the Squadron commanded by the Count de *Harcourt* against the Islands of *St. Margaret*, and *St. Jernat*, in which he likewise behaved with Reputation; as also in the Expedition against *Saravina*, at his Return from which to the Port of *Toulon*, he was unfortunately seized with a burning Fever, which carried him off in the Month of September, 1637, at the Age of 48; so that he may be said to have died in that Season of Life when he was most capable of serving himself and his Country.

SECTION XXVI.

The Remarks and Observations made by John Albert de Mandelstoe, in his Passage from the Kingdom of Persia through several Countries of the Indies.

Translated from the Original, written by himself.

1. An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Design of this Section.
2. His Departure from *Bipahan*, in order to go to *Gambron*, or *Bandar Abull*.
3. A curious Description of the Ruins of the ancient *Persepolis*, now called *Echelmimar*.
4. The Author continues his Journey to *Laar*, and from thence to *Gambron*.
5. His kind Reception, and generous Entertainment, by the *English Merchants* there.
6. A curious Description of the City and Port of *Gambron*, with the Country adjacent.
7. A concise History of the City and Kingdom of *Ormur*, and of the Manner of its being annexed to the Empire of *Persia*.
8. An Account of the Author's Passage from *Gambron* to *Surat*, with Remarks.
9. His Arrival at the last mentioned City, and the Reception he met with there.
10. A factual View of the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*, as they stood at that Time.
11. A Description of the City of *Surat*, with a large Account of the Commerce carried on there.
12. The Author's Journey from thence to *Amadabat*, with his Adventures by the Way.
13. A View of that City, and of the Country adjacent, with various Remarks and Observations.
14. An Account of some memorable Transactions which happened during the Author's stay there.
15. His Passage from thence to *Cambaya*, with a Description of that City, and its Inhabitants.
16. His Journey to *Agra*, with a large Account of that Capital of the *Mogul Empire*.
17. A very full Relation of the *Mogul's Court*, and of the State of the Empire of *Indostan*.
18. The Author's Journey from *Agra* to *Surat*, with many curious Particulars.
19. A factual History and Description of the Kingdom of *Guzrat*, and Provinces adjacent.
20. A complete View of the Religion, Customs, Manners, &c. of the *Banjans*, or native *Indians*.
21. A Continuation of that Account, together with a Description of the various Nations that now inhabit the Indies.
22. Of the Commodities, Manufactures, and Commerce of the various Countries.
23. Of the great Plenty of all Sorts of Provisions, and of the peculiar Manner of Dressing.
24. Of their Ships, their Trade to the Red-Sea, *Persian Gulf*, and Coast of *Malabar*.
25. Remarks upon the foregoing Section.

ain having left Ispahan, ... was sent in Quality of ... to the Duke of ... I had obtained ... for my Journey ... of January 1635, ... of the Shah, he permit- ... His Gate ... of the same Month ... ons, viz. a Chirurgion, a ... Persian Servant, being con- ... myzool, the English Agent, ... Merchants. I took my ... thence, and traveled eight ... Village of Major, where I ... my Journey to Ham- ... contained Walk of the ... The Caravanera I bought ... that wherein I was ... the Village of Marhad, a ... convenient Lodging Room ... Village of Hannath, a ... pleasant Hill. The ... snowy and windy ... called Jurgulian. ... being in the ... of the ... and 2 more, before I could ... we met with a ... with a Horse ... our Horses ... the 22th ... travel 12 Leagues ... w, and that in very ... late at Night, ... of Meled, ... which is within 11 Leagues ... seen within a little ... it being erected upon ... which you may go ... Run has penetrated ... and divers Pillars ... ed by Time. ... Characters, ... Opinion of the ... of Solomon's ... celinas informed me, ... at the Mother of ... Pillars of ... was ... the Name of ... Daughter of ... Selman lived in the Year ... some Persian, and ... Glats, he was to ... he might with ... of the King of ... which being over ... the answer'd, ... to launch ... nature I might ... ly lay ... upon his ... We met her ... the five Leagues ... Mandarb, ... which ... are the ... annat, ... this most ... of his, ... Streets ...

was the general Opinion of the Learned, that this was the Place where the ancient *Persepolis* had stood, and that these were the Ruins of that famous Palace built by *Cyrus*. The Foundation or Ground-Work on which this vast Structure was erected, is raised twenty-two Geometrical Feet, having at each of its four Corners a Pair of Stairs of white Marble of ninety-five Steps, so flat and broad, that twelve Horses may go up together a-breast. Before you come to the main Body of the Structure itself, you pass through a Square, where you see the Ruins of a Wall, and the Remains of two great Gates, each of which have a Horse garnished and faded, after a very antique Manner, carved on one Side, and on the other two Creatures resembling a Horse, except that they have Wings on each Side, and the Head is crowned like that of a Lion.

On the one Side you see the Ruins of nine Pillars of white and black Marble, the least of which are eight, and some ten Bills high, without the Gates; but whether they had been intended for the Support of some large Hall, or were built in the open Air, is not to be distinguished at this Time. The Inhabitants themselves told me, that not many Years before, there were forty of these Pillars standing. As you go on further, you meet with the Ruins of two Rooms indifferently large, as may be judged by the Doors and Windows, but every Thing is of the finest Marble. Several Figures of Men of an extraordinary Size are to be seen on both Sides the Doors, some in a sitting, others in a standing Posture, their Hair falling down carelessly over their Shoulders, and their Garments reaching down to their Heels, with very wide Sleeves, and a Giraffe round their Waists. They had very long Beards, and round Caps on their Heads. Not far from thence are two other Chambers much of the same Bigness with the former, but so ruined, that nothing but the Doors and Cross Bars of the Windows are left.

This Structure seems to have had this in common with most of the Buildings of a modern Date in *Persia*, that it had many Doors, which is done here to give the more free Passage to the Wind to cool the Rooms. Hard by these two last Chambers, you find unknown Characters engraved upon a square Pillar, which have no Resemblance to the Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, or any other Language, being triangular, or rather pyramidal, not unlike Obelisks. There are twelve Lines of them, so well proportioned, and nicely engraven, that they have not the smallest Sign in them of Barbarism. Some believe them to be Teletus, and to contain certain Mysteries; besides these before-mentioned Rooms, there is, upon the same Ground-Work, a large Court of ninety Paces square, with two Gates on each Side, some of which are six, others only three Paces wide. They are of the finest Marble; each of the Pieces are eight Feet long, and three in Breadth; you see also in another Court, very curious carved Work in Marble; Battles, Triumphs, Olympick Games, every thing in its due Proportion.

Upon each of the Gates you find a graceful Person carved sitting with a Globe in the one, and a Scepter in the other Hand, tho' it is certain that the Kings of *Persia* never sat in that Posture. My Curiosity led me to get up on high, where I saw a King represented paying his Devotions to the Sun, Fire, and a Serpent. As the Inhabitants at this Day carry from thence a great Quantity of Marble to carry on their private Buildings thereabouts, tho' with the Length of Time, has to be decayed, or rather gone; this noble Structure, that it is impossible to determine whether its Architecture was of the Ionick, Dorick, or Corinthian Order; notwithstanding which, even its Ruins are so surprising, that they would find Work for a skilful Painter for above six Months.

When we came the ancient *Persian* History, we find, that according to *Elian*, the Grand *Cyrus* had himself the Foundation, and built a most magnificent Palace at *Persepolis*, as *Darius* did at *Susa*. Perhaps the Ruins belong to the famous Palace mentioned by *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, being encompassed with three Walls of Marble, the first Wall was 19, the second 32, and the third 105 Ells high; in the first Gate and Balconies of Brass, all which, together with the inestimable Treasure it contained, was in a few Hours reduced to Ashes by *Alexander* the Great, at

the Request of a Harlot. Having spent a whole Day in viewing these Antiquities, I continued my Journey the 28th of *January*, and travelled that Day ten Leagues to the City of *Schiras*. Here I met with four *Carmelite* Friars, *Italians*, who were possessed of a goodly Monastery, and had the free Exercise of their Religion allowed them. Not many Years before, the *Portuguese* had there likewise a Convent of *Austrian* Monks, but they were forced thence, as well as all the other *Portuguese*, after the taking of the City of *Omuz* by the *Persians*.

Schiras is the Capital City of the Province of *Fars*, situate at the Foot of a most pleasant Mountain, upon the River *Endomer* (heretofore called *Araxes*) which discharges itself into the *Persian* Gulph. This City lies in 29° 36'. It contains about 10,000 Houses; but the Ruins of a great Wall, at two Miles Distance from the City, shew its Extent to have been much larger than it is at this Time. It may be truly said, that whatever Nature is able to produce either for Conveniency or Pleasure, is centered in this Place, and that in great Plenty; as Wheat, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds, Dates, Pistachoes, &c. The Wine which grows hereabouts is the best in all *Persia*; which being transported hence all over the Kingdom, and looked upon as the best Entertainment they can give to their Friends: This makes it to be sold at a dear Rate at *Ispahan*, where you cannot have a Bottle of good *Schiras* Wine under Half-a-Crown. Its Taste is not unlike that of *Canary*, but is more sprightly, and has a more pleasant Flavour; this City being so much celebrated through all *Persia* for Wine and Women.

The *Persians* are wont to say, that if *Mohammed* had been sensible of the Pleasures of *Schiras*, he would have begged of God Almighty to make him immortal there.

The Sheep hereabouts are of an ash-grey Colour, with one white Eye, their Wool curled, and their Tails or fish a Bigness as to weigh sometimes eighteen or twenty Pounds. The Woods hereabouts afford great Store of Muttick, which is gathered in Dishes fastened to the Tree, and is green at first, but afterwards turns brown. After a Stay of eight Days at *Schiras*, I left it the fifth of *February*, and proceeded ten Leagues that Day to a Caravanera: the sixth I traveled seven Leagues, through very bad Roads; but the Prospect I had of the many Villages, and a vast Number of Date-trees, made me some Amends for the Toil of the Day.

The 7th I traveled ten Leagues to the little City of *Schazim*, seated in the Middle of a Date-Wood. The 8th we could make no more than five Leagues, the Ways betwixt the steep Rocks on the one Side, and the Precipices on the other Side, being so rough and narrow that one cannot pass them without great Danger, of which I had an Instance in my Passage, for my Horse's Hoof (which I was leading by the Bridle, being filled with Snow, he slipped and tumbled upon me, which forcing me out of the Way, I had infallibly tumbled down the Precipice, had I not by good Luck caught hold of a wild Almond-tree which stood there. I was forced to take up my Quarters that Night at a Caravanera, where there was not any Provision either for Man or Beast.

The 9th, after I had travelled three Leagues, I came to a Caravanera, where we had the Opportunity of refreshing our Horses, and having gone five Leagues more in the Afternoon, I overtook the *Imman* Caravan; as I in their Company, rode two Leagues farther to the Village of *Berry*, near which I lodged in one of the best Caravanteras I met with in my whole Journey.

The 10th I traveled through several bad Ways, and I came late at Night to the City of *Laur*, situate in a spacious Plain at the Foot of a Mountain. There is no Wine hereabouts, but Dates in abundance. The Air is very wholesome here, and the Water very muddy, which renders it more than drink it certain Worms, betwixt the Kidney and Lungs, of which we shall have Occasion to speak more at large hereafter. They say that this City owes to its Founder *Palas*, the Son of *Scorus*, whose Successor was *Gogran Melick*, the first King of *Laur*, and that the thirty second Successor was one *Abas Khan*, who was deprived of the Kingdom in 1024, by Smith *Abas* King of *Persia*. It contains about 10,000 Houses, and is

baked in the Sun, but is without any Walls or Gates. The Citadel, which is built by the *Perfians* since their Conquest, and advantageously seated upon a steep Rock, is very well fortified with a Rampart of Free-stone, and commands the whole City.

The Garrison at that Time consisted of no more than 100 Men, a sufficient Number to defend it against any sudden Attack. The Way which leads to it being cut out of a Rock, and so narrow, that scarce two Horses can go abreast, but they have a Magazine of Arms for 3000 Men: The walls, that the Water within the Fort being brackish, they must in case of a Siege, live upon Run-Water, which falls plentifully there at certain Seasons, and is preserved in Cisterns. After a Stay of twenty-four Hours at *Luar*, I was going to leave it the twelfth, but was stopped by the Custom-house Officers, who demanded of a *Terrain*, twenty-five Shillings for my Baggage, and having sent my Letter of Recommendation from the *SSS* to the Governor of *Gambren*, or Commandant of the Citadel, he ordered my Departure without paying any thing; and I went that Day no less than fourteen Leagues, which great Day's Journey, together with the muddy Wars I had used, and the excessive Heat, put me into a violent Coughing and Loochings, which made me continue in this idle Village, in hopes of getting a Letter; but no such thing being to be had, I was forced to get upon the Sumpter-Horse, where I had a Convenience made to rest my Back, and so continued my Journey the 13th to a large Village within twelve Leagues of *Gambren*.

The same Evening we met here with two *English* Merchants, one of whom was to succeed the *English* Director at *Ispahan*, who not only recruited my almost lost Spirits with some *Spanish* Wine, and other Refreshments, but also gave me Letters of Recommendation to an *English* Merchant at *Gambren*, desiring him to receive me into the House of their Company there, and to assist me in every Thing that might conduce towards the Prosecution of my Journey to *Surat*. They continued their Journey the same Evening, whereas my Indisposition detained me till the 20th, when I proceeded six Leagues to a Caravan-tera, where having rested myself a little, till the Heat of the Day was somewhat abated, I travelled three Leagues farther to another Caravan-tera, and found myself all that Night almost sleeping; leaving but little to stay for me here, I made the best of my Way to *Gambren*, where we arrived the 23d of *February*.

The *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* there took such special Care of me, that I was cured of my Distemper, which was by this Time grown into a Bloody Flux, and accompanied by a violent Fever, so that I was pretty well restored in four Days, and then went on a Commission to pay a Visit to the Governor, and when I had seen *Shah Seff*'s Letters of Recommendation, he immediately attended my Affairs. He took notice of my Recovery, but he insisted me to Dinner, and continued me very courteously, in Company of several *Dutch* Merchants. The same Evening arrived at *Gambren* a *Voyageur* consist of six hundred Loaves, belonging to the *Company*, and that he should have a certain Passage-Order, Money to the King of *Ormus*, who falling in Love with the *Princess*, his own Sister, would have married her, but the *Princess* refusing to consent to such an unequal Match, she fled to the King, and with her Daughter fled to the King of *Ormus*, and as it was reported, she was married either to the King of *Perfia* himself, or to his eldest Son, or to the King's Son.

The 24th of *February*, being the Nativity of New Year of the *Perfians*, they invited me to Dinner upon this great Festival, with several *English* and *Dutch* Merchants. The next Day returned to *Gambren* Mr. *Comenius*, who had just returned from *Perfia* now Prelate of *Prague*, and was accompanied with him, another *English* Merchant, with whom I had contracted a third Voyage to *Perfia*, and I was extremely pleased to meet him. The 25th of *February*, the *English* outward-bound *Ship* arrived, and I departed our Navigation to *Perfia* the 26th of *February*. I was invited by the *English* Merchant, who was to accompany me, to the Harbour, to see

Mr. *Hale*, an *English* Merchant, arrived at *Gambren* with two hundred and thirty-three Bales of Silk, valued at 150,000 Pistoles, which he had received on Account of the Moiety of the Custom at *Gambren* due to the *English*, of which I shall give a particular Account hereafter.

The same Day my Surgeon died of a Fever, the 13th of whom was no small Affliction to me, he having been a great Traveller, and attained the Knowledge of the *Perfian*, *Indian*, *Pelish*, and some *East-India* Languages. As I was walking abroad one Day to amuse myself a little with the *English*, I met with one of those Trees mentioned by *Curtius*, the Branches of which spring out of the Trunk of the Tree, and by wing down to the Earth, but take Root there, and growing up atreth, had produced a wide fifteen or twenty Foot high, which casting forth of Branches in the same Manner as below, made rather a small Forest than a Tree; that which I saw being two hundred and fourteen Paces in Circumference, and affording Shelter for two thousand Persons. The *Perfians* call it *Al de Rey*, and it is generally known by the Name of the *India Fig-tree*, by reason of its Fruit, which in Bigness, and the Abundance of its Grains, resembles the Fruit; but its Taste is more unfavoury, being of a red Colour; the Leaves of the Tree are like those of Quince Trees.

Near the Head Trunk of this Tree we saw a small Chapel, and within the Sepulchre of a certain *Perfian*, we found the Tomb strewed all over with Beans of various Colours, and several Lumps, which burn Night and Day, hanging over it under a Canopy. These *Banjans* according to the Opinion of *Psychogerat*, that the Souls of the deceased retreat into Beans, which Opinions are received among the *Pagans* both in the *Indes* and in *China*. Of the Religion of these *Banjans* we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter. The Guardian of the Sepulchre treated us with some Almonds, Nuts, and Dates. A *Merchant* from *Shah Seff* being come to *Gambren* to assist the Governor of the Continuance of his Voyage, I in Company with several *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, went to the Purpose by the Khan, saw him go unarm'd a Mile out of the City, where meeting with the said *Merchant*, he showed the King's Letter, the Garment, and Terment, with a great deal of Submission.

The City of *Gambren*, or rather *Bandar*, is by the *Perfians* put at 25°, but erroneously; its true Latitude is 27°, the Computation of the *Hollanders*, who have followed in this Point being 27°, most of the Maps being hitherto very defective, which proceeds from that by placing the *Caspian* Sea too high, so that the Breadth of *Perfia* from North to South, by the Bounds; for they put the City *Rebat* at 40° in 32°, so that the whole Breadth of *Perfia* from *Rebat* to *Rebat* is no more than ten Degrees, whereas the Mistake of *Beteuz*, who makes the Latitude eight Degrees, whereas it according to the Computation we should grant *Ormus* to be 27°, the Breadth of *Perfia* would amount to more than 22 Degrees.

It is not many Years since this City was almost inhabited by a few Fishermen, but since the *Perfians*, *Ormus*, the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Indian* Ships, out of the Convenience of this Harbour, have brought out the Manufactures, which they exchange for *Indian* Commodities. Its Situation is upon a narrow Gulph. The Entrance of the Harbour is naturally ride at Anchor without the Help of any six Fathom Water, being defended by two Islands, and a square Redoubt. The Cattle is bred in several round Pastures, but well provided with Flowers of *Gambren* are of Brick, and of a red Soil, and of a red Clay, and chipped Straw, and the Houses being set one Layer, they cover it with a Layer of Faggots, and to alternate, fill it with a Layer of seven Feet high, then they fit it with a Layer of Brick. Their Mortar is a Compound of Ingredients, mixed with Salt-water, and the very soon becomes as hard as the Dutch Mortar. A Note are the Sultan's Palace, and the

...ant, arrived at Gambron with
...ice Bales of Silk, valued at
...had received on Account of
...at Gambron due to the English
...ular Account hereafter.
...geon died of a Fever, the Lady
...fection to me, he having been
...d the Knowledge of the
...ff-India Languages. As I
...amule myself a husband, I
...of those Trees mentioned
...which spring out of the Earth
...to the Earth had taken
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...that which I saw
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...and it is generally known
...by reason of its
...ance of its Grains, rather
...are unfavourable, but
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...Banyans we shall have
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where the English and Dutch are lodged, which are so near the Sea-side, that at High-Tide the Water comes up to the very Walls of them. The lower Rooms being employed for the laying up of their Merchandize, and the upper for Lodgings, being the most convenient for the free Passage of the Air. The poorer fort cover their Houses only with the Sprigs and Leaves of Date-Trees.

The Streets of this City are very narrow, irregular, and not kept clean, which, together with the excessive Heat of the Climate, and the Changeableness of the Winds, renders the Air very pernicious here: For, in the Morning they are fully sensible of a cold East Wind, which towards Noon changes to the other Extreme, viz. a very hot South Wind. The West Wind, which blows towards Night from the Sides of Arabia, continues the Heat of the Day till Midnight, when a cold North Wind coming from the Mountains, introduces a sudden Alteration. Besides this, it rains so seldom here, that in 1622 they ordered a public Thanksgiving for a plentiful Shower of Rain, after a continual Drought for three Years.

This is the Reason that all about the City you see no Grains, or other Herbs, except what is produced with incredible Labour in some Gardens, where they have Garlick, Onions, Chibbols, Radishes, and Cucumbers; but these must be watered twice or thrice a Day. It is the Nile of *Kimjib* which chiefly furnishes this City with Pulse and Fruits; it lies three Leagues from *Gambron*, being fifteen Leagues in Length, and three in Breadth. In June, and the end of the Summer Months, this Island produces Grapes, Damascins, Peaches, Mangoes, Quinces, Oranges, Lemons, and Pomegranates, both red and white: And in October, Melons, Citrons, Cucumbers, Radishes, Onions, Turneps, Ammons, Pulafrise, Apples, Pears, and divers other Fruits, and that in such Quantities, that they are sold here at an easier Rate than at any other Place in *Perfia*; whence it comes, that the Inhabitants feed for the most part on Pulse, Fruits, and what Fish the neighbouring Sea furnishes them with, the Meat hereabouts being, by reason of the excessive Heat, not very well tasted, and of little Nourishment, though otherwise they have sufficient Store of Cattle, such as Oxen, Cows, Sheep, but especially of Goats, which are sold at the rate of six or eight Shillings apiece. They have here also a kind of Rains with four Horns, but no wild Fowl. Amongst other Fish, Pilcones, Smelts, Oysters and Crabs are catch'd here in vast Quantities. Their ordinary Drink is fair Water, which being brought to the City two Leagues Distance, is very dear and precious; they drink also Arack, or strong Water, made of Rice or Dates.

Reasons of Note, and the best Merchants, have their Counters made after the *Perjian* Manner, but the common People take no more Care than to cover their Privities. The Women look upon it as their chief Ornament to have many Rings of Silver, Brass, or Iron, according to their Richness; and about their Arms and Legs. To their Hair, which hangs down over their Foreheads, they fasten a Knot of Boskin of Silver gilt, or Brass, and wear in their Nostrils of ten Note a gold Ring, with a Turquoise or Garnet, or perhaps only a gold Knob on a milled Ring. Their Pendants are so weighty, as to draw their Heads down, and to strain their Neck. Their winter Season is from *October* to *May*, when the Heats are less; but in the summer chief Trade for trading, when the *Perfians*, *Arabs*, *Banyans*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Portugals*, come to trade with the *Guayans*, which lie out at certain Distances, *Bagdat*, *Appaban*, *Sbiras*, *Labor*, *Helland*, *Alphata*, and the Convoy of certain Guards.

The *Perfians* and *Dutch* commonly come hither by Sea, and carry their ready Money, being divers Commodities brought out of *Europe* and the *Indies*, which they exchange for *Perfian* Capities, raw Silk, Cotton, Rhubarb, and a kind of Role-water, which is made in vast Quantities, either by Infusion, which they call *Guliah*, and which is used as the Tincture, or by Distillation, and this they call *Role-water*; the Sweat of Roles: Both Kinds are brought over the *Indies*, where they mix it with *Perfian* Musk, and they use it to sweeten their Rooms with. Here also the Amusement of Calicoes made in portable Rooms, and the Weaver, taken to a Tree, or some other Place

without the City, and having finished their Day's Work, carry it Home again, without any Trouble, being composed only of Canes fastened to the Woof of the Cloth.

They have here a certain copper Coin which they call *Behorg*, six whereof make a *Pays*, ten *Pays* a *Chay*, which is equivalent to Five pence English; two *Chays* make a *Mamudy*, two whereof make an *Abas*, and three *Abas* a *French Crown*; an hundred *Mamudys* make a *Tumain*, which is worth five French Pistoles; but Spanish Rials and Six-dollars are preferred before all the other Coins in *Perfia*, by reason of the vast Advantage they make of them in melting them down. As to their Weights, a *Man* is six Pounds, a *Mancha* twelve, and the *Manfurats* thirty Pounds.

The Pearl Trade is also one of the greatest in *Gambron*, and is carried on near the Isle of *Babian*, six Leagues from the City. The Fisherman's Head is inclosed in a Bag of oiled Leather, which has a Pipe reaching up above the Water to fetch Breath through; he rakes together all the Shells he can meet with at the Bottom, and having filled his Bag, which hangs about his Neck, at a certain Signal given by him, he is drawn up into the Boat, which is waiting for that Purpose.

The Governour of *Gambron* has the Dignity of a *Sultan* annexed to his Office, and has under him a *Vizier*, or Secretary, and a *Couteval*, or Captain of his Guards; besides these, there is a *Sabandar*, or a Receiver of the Customs; too the *Hollanders*, pursuant to a Privilege granted them by *Shah Abbas*, pay none, and the *English* are so far from paying any Duty here, that they ought to have a *Money* of all that is received, but are forced to be contented with about a tenth Part, the *Perfians* themselves being no Crime to defraud Strangers, especially if they be *Christians*, when their Prince's Interest is concerned. As the *Perfians* here are more generally better than the *Indians*, the *English*, as well as the *Dutch*, pay six Crowns a Tonne for every Horse they export. However, the *English* have the Privilege of transporting twelve Horses yearly, without paying any Custom for them, an insufficient *Perfian* Horse being worth 400 Crowns in the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Gambron* are, generally speaking, *Perfians*, *Arabs*, and *Indians*, who all speak the *Portuguese* Language, which was introduced into these Parts whilst the *Portugals* were Masters of *Ormuz*; tho' ever since the Conquest of it by the *Perfians*, they are not permitted to come to *Gambron*, which is open to all other Nations, *Christians*, *Jews*, *Pagans*, and *Mohometans*, being permitted to trade here, which is the Occasion they live in open Hostility with the *Perfians*; take their ships as Prizes, and frequently land in the neighbouring Islands: Unto one, which is about three Leagues off the Continent, the King of *Spain's* Subjects are permitted to come and traffick, paying certain Duties to the Governour of the Cattle that commands the Island.

The City of *Ormuz* was seated in an Island of the same Name, about two Leagues from the Continent, and five Leagues in Circumference, being composed of nothing but salt Rocks, not producing the least fresh Water, but it was the Advantage and Goodness of its Harbour and Situation, which made it so famous for Commerce, that it was a Proverb among the *Arabians*, that in the World were a Ring, *Ormuz* ought to be considered as the Diamond. According to *Leopold*, *Shah Abbas*, a native of *Araby*, having in the tenth Century made himself Master of the Provinces bordering upon the *Arabian* Gulph, passed over to the Island, where he built the City of *Ormuz*. *Shah Ismail* *Mohammed*, of the Posterity of *Shah Ismail* the sixth King of *Ormus*, died 1228, and he who reigned in 1500, when it was conquered by the *Portugals*, was named *Ismael*, a Tributary to the King of *Perfia*.

For *Albuquerque* having been sent to visit the Coasts of *Araby*, being informed that the People of *Ormus* had been in no good Understanding with the King, by reason of the Mismanagement of his chief Ministers, came the sixth of September before the City, and after having defeated them in Fleet, obliged the King of *Ormus* to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for his Sovereign, to pay a certain Tribute, and permit *Albuquerque* to build a Citadel where he should think it most proper, which was performed accordingly.

of Cattle, such as Camels, and Goats, the Hair of which is our Satyrs are painted. The Governor is called *Yamary*, because a Cannon-shot from the Broad-swords with large Their Poinards, which they use, have Blades of near three but very sharp towards the end and the Management of Firewell; and are very expert in fairs, wherewith they defend themselves. They have no other attomed Fishing-boats. The on the Mountains into the Sea, the Slaps that come into the cities of fresh Water. They are more than other *Mohammedan*, by other publick Places of Pelfly in adorning the Sun even and setting of the Sun, whome times a Day, besides mauling make their Reverence.

We were in 23^o 24, the 10th at 2^o 40; the 11th at 21 30, of a Fever. The 12th at 18 the 20th at 20 30; the 21 and 28, and the 17th arrived safely we cast Anchor with two because the Captain not intending e of the Conveniency of going besides, that from 15 to 20, at Anchor in the Rain, by puffs; whereas on the Eastern Gulph of Bengal, the season is at Time; for, it is now ob- has only three Seasons, *January, April, and May*; and *August, and September*, there is with Thunder and Lightning; *November, December*, are inconsistent with that Climate.

The Captain having sent a vessel of Director of the *English* Company at merchants on board, to be sent on having told me, that there are many Civilities, *January, February*, and so forth, and the on which *great* Festivals are held, to many pleasant Games, and in sum, that the at the Entrance, that is, or eighty Furlongs. We from thence went first to our Camps, and then to or here, that they had what is worth, the Officers, have a Custom, by that they accordingly the Sea, a Diamond about the size of a Nut, but I have succeeded not to find one of those who had it, and, but he would give it him with a Year, *English* Governor, I went to Oxen, I went to the Entrance, and his P... or underfoot *Dutch* language, telling me, that all Christians were another; but that particularly in return, to some of his Court, and the Company, I was here a Collation was ready

we were no sooner sat down, but having underlood my Intention was to return to *Germany* within twelve Months, he invited me very engagingly to stay with him five or six Months, because no more Ships would come into that Road this Year, advising me to spend what Time I had in viewing the Country, and offering his Recommendation to the *English* Merchants living in those Places thro' which I was to pass.

His engaging Expressions obliged me to choose my Chamber in the same House next to that of the Deputy's; in the Evening several Merchants came thither to conduct me to Supper in a spacious Hall, where I found the Minister and about twelve Merchants more. After Supper the Minister brought me into an open Gallery, where we found the Director and his Deputy taking the Benefit of the cool Breezes of the Sea-Air, which was our ordinary Rendezvous after Supper. At Dinner we had commonly sixteen Dishes, besides the Desert. Every thing was ordered on in this House with extraordinary good Order and Decorum. We had Prayers every Day twice, and three Times on *Sundays*. On *Fridays*, after Evening-Prayers, we had a certain Club, where we drank our Wives and Families Healths beyond the Seas in Sack or Punch, being a Mixture of *Aqua Vitæ*, Rose-water, Juice of Citrons and Sugar. At our ordinary Meeting we, as well as the *Dutch*, were entertained with Tea, instead of which the *Perjians* use Coffee.

The *English* have a very fair Garden without the City, where we used to take a Walk on *Sundays* after Sermon, and sometimes on other Days. Our Exercise was Shooting at the Batt; and I made a Shift to get near five Pounds Sterling a Week among them. We seldom went away without a good Collation, and often bathed ourselves in a Cistern which had five Feet Water. My chief Affliction was, that not understanding the *English* Tongue, I could not converse with any of them to my Satisfaction, except with the President, who spoke *Dutch*. But before I proceed to give you any further Account of what I observed at *Surat*, and in my Voyage, it will not be beyond my Scope to give you a short View of the Mogul's Country.

The Country which properly challenges the Name of *India* (called *Indostan* by the *Persians* and *Arabians*) begins on the West-side from the River *Indus* or *Hindu*, and reaches to the River *Ganges*. It was known among the Ancients by the Name of *Cannani*, and it hath a River called *Gudar* in 23^o. The *Persians* and *Indians* themselves have given the Name of *Pangab*, i. e. five Waters, to the River *Indus*, because it is joined by so many Rivers before it discharges itself into the Sea. The first is the River *Jugal* or *Begul*, whose Source is near *Kabul*, and the second is called *Ghamb*, which rises in the Province of *Quera* or *Cashmir*, fifteen Days Journey to the North of *Lahor*; the third is that of *Ravy* or *Ravie*, which rises near *Lahor*, and runs by it; the two others, the Rivers *Sut* and *Quind*, have their Sources at a vast Distance, their Confluence being near *Bakar*, which has an equal Balance betwixt *Lahor* and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this River with that of *Dial*, the fourth is that of *Pein*, the South-Sea; on the North-side it is included by *Nisid*, *Cannas*, and *Great* *Sarany*; and to the South it has the Kingdom of *Deora*, the fifth is that of *Begul*. It comprehends in all thirty-seven Provinces, which anciently were as many Kingdoms; the Province of *Candabar*, which has given its Name to its Capital City, borders upon *Peshawar* the Province of *Cand* has received its Name from its Metropolis, and borders upon *Great Tartary*. Here rises the River *Indus* as I said before.

The Province of *Madhan*, with its chief City of the same Name, extends along the River *Indus* to the East, the Province of *Haca-Cban*, or *Hang-Cban*, has the same River to the West. *Bachar*, or *Bachar*, lies on both Sides of the River *Indus*. The Province of *Tatta* is a Congress of many Islands made by the same River. *Ser* is a small Province extending from the Sea side to the East, as far as the Province of *Guarat*. The Province of *Chandee* is included betwixt the Provinces of *Ser*, *Ba-*

char, and *Tatta*. The Province of *Attach* is seated upon the River *Nibal*, and is by it divided from the Province of *Haca-Cban*; that of *Pangab* is the Chief of all the Kingdoms: Its Capital City is *Labor*. The Province of *Chifmer*, or *Quexmer*, lies upon the River *Bezai*, or *Pad*, which after it has made a vast Number of Islands in this Province, joins its Current with the River *Ganges*. The Province of *Bankiseb* borders to the East upon that of *Chifmer*, and the Province of *Jengopar*, or *Jemipar*, lies between the Cities *Labor* and *Agra*. The hilly Province of *Jenba*, or *Jamba*, borders to the West upon that of *Pangab*. The Province *Delly* lies between that of *Jenba* and *Agra* on the River of *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges*; the Capital City bearing the same Name with the Province, was formerly the Metropolis of all *Indostan*. The Province of *Rando* lies on the West side of the City of *Agra*.

The Province of *Malwa*, or *Malwa*, has for its Capital City *Ratapore*, within half a League of the River *Cepra*, which falls into the Sea in the Gulph of *Cambaja*. The Province of *Chitor* borders to the East upon that of *Candiseb*, and to the South upon that of *Guarat*. It was formerly a very flourishing Kingdom, its Metropolis bearing the same Name with the Province, being sixty Leagues in Compass, which was laid desolate by the Great Mogul *Alabar*, Great-grandfather of *Shah Osrann*. The Province of *Guarat* (called *Cambaja* by the *Portuguese*, from its Capital City) where they drive a considerable Trade, is one of the noblest and most powerful Provinces in all the Mogul's Country. The Province of *Gandiseb*, the Metropolis whereof is *Eurampour*, or *Brampour*, is divided into the Country of the Prince of *Parisapha*, a Vassal of the Great Mogul, by the River *Tebet*, or *Tepie*, which disembogues in the Gulph of *Cambaja*. The Province of *Beera* extends to the South to *Guarat*, and the Mountain of *Rana*.

The Province of *Guator*, or *Guallar*, is famous for the Tower, or Cattle, whither the Mogul commonly sends his Prisoners of State, and lays up part of his Treasure. The Province of *Agra*, and its Metropolis, claims now the Precedency before all the rest. The Province of *Sambel*, or *Sambel*, is divided by the River *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges* from that of *Narwar*. At the Confluence of these two Rivers, near the City of *Halebar*, they make a kind of Isle, which has given the Name of *Doab*, i. e. *inter aquas* to this Province. The Province of *Baker* extends along the western Bank of the *Ganges*, as that of *Narwar* is divided by a very large River, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*. The Province of *Nagaraut*, or *Narkarkut*, is one of the most northern Provinces in the Mogul's Dominions; its chief City bears the same Name, where in a sumptuous Chapel, the Floor covered with Plates of Gold, is kept the Figure of a Monster called *Matta*, unto which the *Indians*, who flock thither from all Parts, offer a little Snip which they cut out of their Tongues. Near the City of *Kalamaka*, belonging to the same Province, issues a certain Spring out of the Rocks, which casts forth Flames, and for that Reason is revered by the *Pilgrims* that come thither from all Parts. The Province of *Sila* is famous for the Source of the River *Ganges*. Both this and the Province of *Markarkut* are very mountainous, as well as that of *Kalanes*, which is divided from *Great Tartary* by the Mountain *Caucasus*.

The Province of *Gor*, which is also very mountainous, gives its Rise from the River *Persjels*, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*, as does the River *Kandak*, which divides the Province of *Pitan*, or *Patan*, bordering upon the West upon that of *Jamba*. The Province of *Kandak*, which, together with that of *Gor*, are the most northern Provinces of the Mogul's Dominions, stands on both Sides of the River *Indarall*, the Province of *Porena* being included between the four Rivers of *Chingee*, *Persjels*, *Cannas*, and *Kandak*, is very fruitful. That of *Jehan* is famous only for its City called *Rajpore*, or *Rajpore*. The Province of *Manar*, a barren Country, extends from the *Ganges* to the East. That of *Laha*, or *Laha*, is the uttermost Province in the East. The Province of *Bengal*, which imparts its Name to the Gulph in which the *Ganges* communicates its Waters, challenges the full Share among all the rest under the Mogul's Jurisdiction.

dition. It is subdivided into several Provinces, the chiefest of which are *Pala*, and *Palan*, which have formerly been dignified with the Title of Kingdoms. *Texeira* mentions a certain Province called *Unat*, but gives us no more than the bare Name; and what he says of the Kingdom of *Coeche*, viz. that lies near *Cambaya* to the North, and is famous for the excellent Breed of Race-horses it produces, can be understood of no other than the Province of *Candisib*.

The whole Extent of the Mogul's Territories is from East to West 600 *French* Leagues, and from North to South 700, its uttermost Frontiers to the South being at 20°, and to the North 43°. The Province of *Guzarat* lies Westward along the Sea-side, in the Form of a Peninsula, having on each Side a Gulph, or Bay, one whereof is eight Leagues broad at the Entrance, and grows narrower and narrower for forty Leagues. Thence it is bounded to the North by the Provinces of *Seret*, *Quisner*, and *Bando*, to the East by those of *Cobtor* and *Bando*, and to the South by the Kingdom of *Deccan*; tho' its Extent was much larger formerly, yet does it comprehend above 20,000 Cities, Towns and Villages, the chiefest whereof lying near the Sea-side, are *Surat*, *Brotisbia*, *Gandee*, *Goga*, *Cambaya*, *Diu*, *Patapatan*, *Mangisor*, *Gondere*, *Nassary*, *Gandzi*, and *Bayera*. It has three noted Rivers, viz. the *Nadabar*, which passes near *Brotisbia*, the *Tapta*, and the *Wafet*; two of the best Harbours of the *Indies*, viz. that of *Surat*, and of *Cambaya*. For Fertility this Province may also challenge the Precedency before any of the *Indies*, most of the adjacent Provinces being supplied thence with Fruits and Provisions. Tho' the great Drought in 1040, and the ensuing Rains did almost lay this Province desolate, which however it has sufficiently recovered since; but it is Time to return to our Relation.

11. The *Persian* Servant, whom I had brought along with me from *Ispahan*, being born of Christian *Georgian* Parents, had given me some Hopes of returning to the Christian Faith, which was the Reason that I treated him with more than ordinary Civility, and allowed him four Crowns Wages per Month; but I was much surpris'd to understand that the young Fellow, in hopes of getting better Preferment by the Assistance of an Uncle of his, who was Master of the Horse to the Great Mogul, was gone to *Agra*, and could not but be persuaded that his Intention of leaving me thus on a sudden, was in part to betray me into the Hands of the *Indians*, he being not ignorant of what had happened betwixt them and our People at *Ispahan*; but I had afterwards great Reason to admire God's Providence in sending him, as it were, on purpose thither to save me; for without him I had certainly been lost at *Agra*, as will appear by the Sequel of this Relation.

In *May* we received News that the Khan of *Candabar* had revolted, and surrendered the Place to the Mogul, who had sent five hundred thousand Crowns as a Reward for him and the Garrison. *June* the 10th we went a hunting with a *Lutch* Merchant, and another *Englishman*, cross the River to a Place called *Reneat*, where the *Dutch* have a Warehouse, and being nobly treated there that Night, went the next day to a Village called *Banick*, where we killed divers wild Ducks, and a Heron, we also saw a great Number of Deer with grey Skins, but chequered all over with white Spots. Their Horns were very fair, and had several Brow Antlers; some were inclining to a dark brown, chequered blew, with white Spots, with very fine Horns, and of the Bigness of our Roe-backs; some are of Opium, that they are of the kind which produce the Bezoar.

All the Field says a small Duke raised about them here to keep in the Water, the Race requiring Abundance of Moisture. Thus we also drank some Liquor they draw out of the Palm-tree, by making an Incision in the Bark on the Top of the Tree, unto which they fasten an Earthen Vessel; to which the Sap or Oil is, it is very sweet, but soon turns sour.

The City of *Surat* lies in 21° 50' upon the River *Tapta*, which arising near *Barampour*, falls into the Sea four Leagues below *Surat*, which is but four Leagues upon the very Banks of the River. It has no Fortifications on the River Side, but is provided with a good Stone Rampart on the Land-side, and the Castle is all of Free-stone. It has three

Gates, one leading to the Village of *Briau*, the second to *Barampour*, and the third to *Nassary*. All the Houses are flat on the Top, and have generally good Gardens. The Castle has no more than one Gate, which looks into the Great Market-place; not far thence is the Governor's Palace, and the Custom-house. The Governor of the Castle has not the least Dependence on the Sultan, whose Business is the Administration of Justice, and to look after the Customs. All Merchandizes exported or imported pay three and an half per Cent. here, except Silver coined or uncoined, which pays no more than two per Cent. Both the *English* and *Dutch* have very fair Houses called Lodges, well provided with Chambers, Halls, and Galleries.

The Harbour of *Surat* is about two Leagues from the City, near the Village of *Subaly*, where Ships are unladen, and Commodities brought thence to *Surat* by Land Carriage. The Haven lies in 21° 50' upon the Coast of North-East and South-West; the Entrance is narrow, and at high Water not above seven Fathom deep, at low but five; the Harbour itself being not above five hundred Paces broad, a sandy Bottom, with sharp and steep Banks, which are almost dry at low Water; it is, however, safe anchoring here, there being no Danger but from the South-West Wind, except from *May* to *September*, when there is no staying here by reason of the furious Tempests. Most of the Inhabitants of *Surat* are either *Banjars*, *Bramans*, or *Moguls*; the last are more respected than the rest, as being *Mohammadians*, and because they always supply themselves to Atms, as on the contrary, the *Banjars* make Traffick their chief Business, and are much addicted to Religion, of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

Besides these, some *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, are Inhabitants here, but the most considerable of all Foreigners here are the *English* and *Dutch*, who have their Settlements, Directors, Merchants, and Clerks; especially the *English*, who have made this the chief Place of their Trade in the *Indies*. All the other factories they have at *Agra*, *Ispahan*, *Mussipatan*, *Cambay*, *Amadabat*, *Brodera*, and *Brotisbia*, having a Dependence on that of *Surat*, and are obliged to be accountable to their chief Director residing in this City; and there is scarce an *English* Ship, which either going or coming into these Parts, does not touch at *Surat*. The Country round about this City is very delightful, being adorned with a vast Number of Gardens and Fruit-trees, and among the rest I observed hereabouts one of those Trees, the Branches of which take Root afresh in the Ground mentioned in the Description of *Gambrou*. Among other things, I saw a large Cistern of Free-stone, eight square, having at each Angle a Pair of Stairs, and in the middle of it a most sumptuous Sepulchre, in which the Founder's hand, this Cistern is so large, that it supplies the whole City with Water.

About the 12th of *September* when the Tempest began to cease, two *English* Ships arrived in the Port of *Surat*, called the *Discovery* and the *Mary*, the first 120 Tons Burthen, 28 Guns, and 190 Men; and the second 120 Tons, carrying 48 Guns. We were very graciously entertained aboard them for eight Days together, our constant Employment being to go ashore every Day a Hunting, and to return on Board at Night. The 24th of the same Month arrived two other Ships, one a *Dutch* man of 100 Tons, bound from *Batavia* to *Holland*, the other an *English* Vessel called the *Swan*. We were likewise very graciously entertained on Board them, the *Lutch* Vessel being both the biggest and the best contrived of any I had ever came out of *Holland*; with these, and being the Provosts, I paid my Time pleasantly until the 1st of *October*: But understanding, it would be several Months before the *English* would be ready for their Departure, I resolved to take the Opportunity of a certain Caravan, sent by the *English* to *Amadabat*, under a Convoy of some *English* Soldiers, to take a View of the Great Mogul's Court.

12. Thinking myself thus sufficiently provided against the *Risquers*, I left *Surat* the last of *September*, and journeying with the Caravan, we took our Way towards *Brotisbia*, crossing the River at the Village of *Briau*. Four Leagues thence, we pass'd by *Cattorena*, and afterwards by *Latrasiffor*, where we killed abundance of wild Ducks,

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about two Leagues from the
ly, where Ships are unladen,
ence to Surat by Land Car-
go upon the Coast of North-
trance is narrow, and at high
in deep, at low but five: The
re five hundred Paces broad,
and deep Banks, which are
it is, however, safe anchoring
er but from the South-West
September, when there is no
turious Tempests. Most of
either Banjars, Bramans, or
spected than the rest, as being
they always apply themselves
y, the Banjars make Traffick
much addicted to Reagion,
ion to say more hereafter
us, Persians, Armenians, Turks,
ere, but the most considerable
the English and Dutch, who
ctors, Merchants, and Clerks;
to have made this the chief
Indies. All the other Facto-
pahan, Muslipatan, Cambay,
isibia, having a Dependence on
ged to be accountable to their
is City; and there is scarce a
going or coming into these
Surat. The Country round
ntiful, being adorned with a vast
fruit-trees, and among the rest,
if those Trees, the Branches of
the Ground mentioned in the
Among other things, I saw a
eight square, having at each
nd in the middle of it a mole,
which the Founder's burial
it supposes the whole City with
ember then the Temples here
arrived in the Port of Surat,
the Mary, the first of the
Men; and the first of the
We were very graciously receiv-
ht Days together, or constant
affairs every Day a Hearing
Night. The 24th of the
ships, one a Dutchman of 11
to Holland, the other an Eng-
We were likewise very gen-
d them, the Dutch Vessel being
bell contrived of any 5000
with these, and how the
I time particularly obliging, as
would bevel of many Streets
for their Pleasure, I receiv-
of a certain Caravan, sent by
der a Convey of some English
of the Great Mogul's Court
thus sufficiently guarded again
of the last of September, and
we took our Way towards Broit-
at the Village of Brien. That
ed by Galleons, and a great
killed abundance of wild Ducks

and other Water-fowl, as also Roe-bucks, Deer, and wild Boars being in such Plenty thereabouts, that one need not be long in want of Provisions, especially at this Time, when we had a good Cook along with us. Before we came to Broitschia we crossed a deep but narrow River, and were no sooner arrived, but the English Secretary invited us to Dinner. The City of Broitschia lies in 21° 12' twelve Leagues from Surat, and eight from the Seaside, upon a River, which coming out of the Mountains, is the common Boundary betwixt the Kingdom of Decan and that of Baldagat.

As it is situate upon a steep Hill, and provided with Walls of Free-stone, it is accounted one of the strongest Fortresses in the Indies. It has two large Gates to the Land-side, and as many lesser ones upon the River. All Merchandizes that pass through it pay two per Cent. It is a very well peopled, but for the most Part with Callicoe Weavers, who make the best here of any in the whole Province. The Fields for six or seven Leagues round the City are very flat, which, as well as the Mountains beyond them to the South-West, called Pindasche, are fertile in Rice, Burley, and Cotton. These Mountains produce Abundance of Agate, which is so celebrated in Europe. Four Leagues below the City the River divideth itself into two Branches, which after they have made an Island of two Miles in Circumference, fall into the Sea by two different Channels, eight Leagues beyond Broitschia. Upon the Way leading to Cambaya is the Village of Jankasfar, or Jambowfar, famous for the great Quantity of Indigo it produces. And in the Way to Amadabat, is to be seen the Sepulchre of a certain Mobammedan Saint, whither they come in Pilgrimage with Padlocks on their Mouths, and Chains on their Arms, till they have performed their Vows.

We left Broitschia in the Evening, and travelled all that Night, and Part of the next Day, till the excessive Heat obliged us to seek Refreshment near a standing Pool, where we passed the Remainder of that Day, and Part of the Night following. The 17th of October we came to Brodra, where the English Merchants that belonged to our Caravan, and myself, were lodged, and most nobly entertained in the English House, and among the Rest, had the Diversion of Women Dancers, who being very curious to see my Cloaths made after the German Fashion, would fain have had me stripped myself naked, offering to do the same, which I refusing to do, they went away discontented at it. The City of Brodra is seated in a large sandy Plain, upon a small River called Wassef, about 15 Leagues from Broitschia. It was built of late Years by Rajab-gy, descended from Sultan Mobammed Bergeran, the last King of Guzarat, out of the Ruins of the old Brodra. It is indifferently well fortified after the old Way, and has five Gates, one whereof is dammed up. The City, but especially the western Suburbs, are for the most Part inhabited by Callicoe Weavers, Dyers, and other Workmen belonging to that Manufacture, which are made somewhat narrower here, and the Pieces shorter than at Broitschia. The Governor of Brodra has no less than 120 Villages under his Jurisdiction, sixty-five of which are assigned for the Payment of the Garrison, and the other 135 allotted for Pensions to certain Officers belonging to the Mogul's Court, and by these Assignments his Officers are maintained.

Among these there is a Village called Sindickra, which produces every Year 25,000 Pounds of Lacque: This Lacque is a red Gum, which comes from a Tree resembling our Plum-tree, which, being dried and beaten to Powder, they give it what Colour they please, and make it into Sticks to seal Letters with, or for lacquering of Cabinets, &c. This Country affords also Abundance of Indigo. I went the same Day to rejoin the Caravan, which I found at a Corner of a Grove of Cocoa-Trees, without the City, and one of the English Merchants of Brodra would needs accompany us as far as Wassef, an old ruined Castle, upon a very high Mountain, where is kept a Garrison of 100 Horse, who are maintained out of the Customs paid there; but we having a Pass from the Mogul, and consequently not thinking ourselves obliged to pay it, this occasioned a Contest between them and us,

which was very likely to have ended in a bloody Engagement; for we forcing our Way, and having crossed the River, where we staid that Night, they would have attacked us, but a Dutch Caravan coming to our Assistance, after the Exchange of some small Shot, the Matter was composed, and the Garrison forced to be contented with a Present of three Crowns. Thence we passed two Leagues and a half further through the Village of Ammenoygi, and three Leagues and a half further through that of Sejuntra, and to the small City of Nirriad, or Nirriand, nine Leagues from Brodra.

13. October the 12th, after we had travelled five Leagues, and passed in our Way by Canis, Basova, and Jassampour, got safe to Amadu; but we were met in a Garden within half a League from that City by Mr. Benjamin Roberts, the chief Merchant of the Factory there, who carried me in his Coach drawn, after the Indian Fashion, by two white Oxen, which were as full of Mettle as the best Horses, into the City, ordering the two English Merchants, that were my Fellow-travellers, to wait there for the coming up of the Caravan. The English Factory is a very fair Structure, in the very Heart of the City, fitted with very convenient Apartments, and several Courts for the Disposal of Merchandize. Mr. Roberts gave me a Collation in his own Chamber, which looked into a Flower-Garden, and was very richly furnished. We supped in a spacious Hall, where the Dutch Head Factor, with some of his Merchants, came to pay us a Visit.

After he was gone, I was conducted by the whole Company into my Lodging-room, which I had chosen myself. Mr. Roberts kept me Company there till Midnight, and to give me all imaginable Diversion, sent for six Women Dancers of the Country, telling me, if I liked any Thing in them besides their Singing and Activity, I might command it; which Civility I refused with a Compliment. They were mightily taken with my Cloaths and Hair, and would scarce be persuaded that I was not a Woman in Disguise. Two Days after my noble Host carried me in his Coach to view the City. The Market-place is called Meydan-shah, or the Royal-market; it is at least 1600 Feet long, and above 800 broad, planted all round with Palm and Date-trees, intermixed with Orange and Citron-trees, of which there is great Plenty in the Streets, the Sight, Smell, and Shadow whereof are very desirable and pleasant. There are, besides these, four Basars, or publick Places for the Sale of Merchandizes. Not far from the Meydan we saw a House built of Brick, which is the King's Palace, the Apartments whereof were sumptuously furnished and adorned with many Pictures, more remarkable for their Diversity of Colours, than any Exactness of Proportion, according to the Indian Way. Over the Gate of this Palace was a large Balcony for the Musick, consisting of Violins, Hautboys, and Bagpipes, to play there three Times a Day, viz. in the Morning, at Noon, and Night, a Custom observed in most of the Mobammedan Countries.

The Walls of the City were tolerably well built, with twelve Gates, and many Towers; but the Ditch, which is 16 Fathom broad, was ruined and dry in several Places. We took also a View of the Castle, which is very large, and built altogether of Free-stone. The chief Temple of the Banjars is one of the finest Structures that ever I saw, it being but lately built, and stands in the Centre of a vast Court, surrounded with a very high Wall of Free-stone, about which are Piazzas, divided into Cells, in each of which stands a Statue, either white or black, representing a naked Woman sitting with her Legs under her, according to the Eastern Fashion. Some of these Cells have three Statues, viz. a great one betwixt two little ones. As soon as you enter the Temple, you see two Elephants of black Marble, done to the Life, and upon one of them the Effigies of the Founder, a rich Banjar Merchant, whose Name is Santider.

The Temple is vaulted, and the Walls adorned with Figures of Men and other living Creatures. There was not the least Thing to be seen within this Edifice, except three Chapels, which were very dark, and were divided only by wooden Rails, wherein were placed Statues of Marble, like those in the Cells, the Middlemost having a

Lamp hanging before it. We saw the Priest busy in receiving from such as were performing their Devotions, and who presented him with Flowers, Oil, Wheat and Salt; with the first he adorned the Images, his Mouth and Nose being covered with a Piece of Callicoe, for fear of profaning the Mystery by the Impurity of his Breath; the Oil was intended for the Lamps; and the Wheat and the Salt for the Sacrifice. He muttered out certain Prayers over the Lamp, and ever and anon put his Hands in the Smoke of the Flame, out of an Opinion they have that Fire having a greater Power of purifying than Water, they may, after this Cleansing, without Offence, lift up their Hands to God.

Amadabat, the Capital City of the Province of *Guzurat*, is seated upon a small River, which, not far from thence, joins its Current with the River *Indus* at $23^{\circ} 32'$, eighteen Leagues from *Cambaya*, and forty-five from *Surat*. It comprehends in its Circuit (including the Suburbs) near seven Leagues. Its Streets are very spacious, its private Buildings and Mosques very noble, especially the Governor's House. The Mogul keeps constantly a good Garrison here to bridle the *Radares*, a sort of People living not above twenty-five Leagues distant thence, who make frequent Incursions into the Country. It may be safely said, that there is scarce any Nation in the World, or any Commodity in *Afia*, but may be seen in this City, where there is also a vast Manufacture of Silk and Callicoes, as also of Gold and Silver Brocades, but they are slight and dear, which is the Reason the Inhabitants consume mostly *China* Silks, which are both finer and cheaper. At the Time of my being here they had invented a new Kind of Stool of Silk and Cotton with gold Flowers, which was sold at five Crowns per Eil. They also deal much here in Satins and Velvets, Taffeties, Carpets, Sugar candied, or in Powder, Cummin, Honey, Lacque, Opium, Botax, Ginger, Myrobalans, or *Indian* Plums dried and preserved, Preserves of all Sorts, Salt Petre, Sal Armoniac, and Indico. They also sell Diamonds here, which are brought thither from *Vishapour*, and *Ambergis* and *Musk*, which they have from *Pegn*, *Fengal*, *Mofambique*, and *Cabo Verde*, and is sold here for eight Crowns per Ounce.

Some would have the *Ambergis* to be the Seed of the Whale congealed, but without the least Probability; others would make it the Product of certain natural Mines like the *Naphte*, but with as little Likelihood of Truth, it being certain it is found no where but by the Sea-side, and grows like our Mushrooms in the Bottom of the Sea, whence it is torn off and cast ashore. *Peter Van Breuk* assures us, that, in his Time, there was found a Piece of *Ambergis* at *Cabo Verde*, near the Mouth of the River *Gambis*, which weighed eighty Pounds, of which he brought a Piece. The *Musk* is, by the joint Opinion of all Naturalists, the Product of a certain Protuberance or Swelling, rising about the Navel of a certain Animal, which some make only of the *Bigness* of a Fox, others like a *Reebuck*. Some call this Creature a *Gazel*. But the greatest Conveniency of Traffick at *Amadabat* is, that the *Bengal* have a general Correspondence in all Parts of *Afia*, even to *Constantinople* itself, which makes Trading, by way of Exchange, both very easy and very advantageous. And, as for the Exception from all Customs of Merchandizes exported or imported, the King's Receiver taking no more than fifteen-pence by way of Present for every Waggon, and the Liberty allowed to all Strangers to sell or buy Commodities they please, except that of the Exportation of Lead and Salt Petre, without the Governor's Licence, is forbidden, which, however, is obtained by a small Present.

The City of *Amadabat* having under its Jurisdiction twenty five large Towns and 2098 Villages, its yearly Revenue amounts to above six Millions of Crowns, which the Governor disposes of in maintaining a certain Number of Troops for the King's Service, and for clearing the Highways, which are very unsafe hereabouts. The Country, or his Deputy, commands under him, and has the Administration, as well of the Government, as of the Courts of Justice, in Consensus with the Kadi, or Judge of the Place. Among rivers and Sepulchres which are near the City, is that of a certain Kadi, built by a King of *Guzurat*, in

the Village *Zirkets*, a League and an half from the City. The whole Structure is of Marble, being sustained by an hundred and forty Pillars thirty Foot high, without which are to be seen the Tombs of three Kings that were buried there: At the Entrance of it is a large Cistern full of Water, the Wall about it having several Windows on all Sides; and about a League thence there is a large Garden and House, the Work of the Mogul, built in Memory of a Victory obtained by him over the last King of *Guzurat*. About a League and an half on the other Side the City, we were shewed another Sepulchre, erected in Memory of a certain *Moor*, a rich Merchant, named *Hajjan Manan*, who, being in Love with his own Daughter, and having by fraudulent Means obtained the Kadi's Consent, would have married his Daughter; but the refusing to comply, he ravished her, for which he had his Head cut off; whence it is called to this Day *Betti Chuit*, i. e. the Daughter's Shame discovered.

A little Way without the City of *Amadabat*, you may discover the vast Mountains of *Marwa*, extending above seventy Leagues towards *Aggra*, and above an hundred towards *Otoyau*, where the Rajah *Rana* had his Residence in the Cattle of *Gurckitto* among the inaccessible Rocks; so that the joint Forces of the Mogul and the King of *Patan* were scarce able to reduce it. The *Pagan Indians* retain still a great Veneration for that Prince, who, as they say, was able to bring 120,000 Horse into the Field. In the Mountain betwixt *Amadabat* and *Trappe* lives such another Prince, who, by reason of the Inaccessibility of the Woods and Mountains, maintains his Sovereignty against the Mogul; and the Rajah *Indar*, tho' he is his Vassal, yet oftentimes refuses to execute his Commands. Among many noble Gardens which are about this City, that of *Shab-bag*, or the King's Gardens in the Suburbs, called *Bogampour*, claims the Precedency, being enclosed with a noble Wall, within which stands a most beautiful Summer-house richly furnished.

I passed thence over a very fine Stone-Bridge, four hundred Paces in Length, into another Garden called *Nicoinechog*, i. e. the Jewel, which, they say, is the Work of a beautiful rich Lady. The House is not so remarkable for its Bigness, as for the most admirable Prospect it has from the Decent on which it lies into a fine champagne Country. It has a very large Fish-pond, which, during the Winter-season, is supplied with Water by the Rains; but, in the Summer, it is filled out of certain deep Wells, the Water of which is drawn up by Engines turned by Oxen. You can scarce ever come into the Garden, but you will find some Ladies bathing themselves there: They would not allow the *Indians* to see them, but gave us the Liberty to come in and talk with them. The whole Country round *Amadabat*, and the City itself, is so full of Gardens and Trees, that at a Distance it resembles a great Forest. There is among other remarkable Things here, a Walk planted with a double Row of *Cecropies* on each Side, which reaches to a Village six Leagues from the City; but that which reaches from *Aggra* to *Barrampour* is an hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, and surpasses this beyond all Comparison.

These vast Numbers of Trees are the Receipts of Multitudes of Apes, some of which are as big as Grey-hounds, yet will rarely assault any body and is provoked. They are generally of a brown Colour, inclining to green, having white long Beards and Eyebrows. They multiply beyond what can be imagined; because the *Bamans*, who are more numerous than the *Mohammedans*, believing the Transmigration of the Soul, and looking upon these Creatures as having the greatest Resemblance in all Respects to Mankind, are so far from killing them, that they cherish them. Hence it is that you shall see the Apes come in great Numbers into Peoples Houses; for at one Time I remember, I counted no less than fifty in the *English* Lodge, and I used to give some Almonds and Dates to two or three of them, which made them duly attend every Morning at my Chamber-door, in Expectation of their Breakfast, which they would take out of my Hand; sometimes I used to catch hold of one, which made the rest snarl till I had let go their Companion.

The Trees also harbour Abundance of Wild Fowl, and an incredible Number of Parrots of all Kinds, the largest

and an half from the City, being suffamed by an y Foot high, within which three Kings that were buried is a large Cistern full of several Windows on all nence there is a fair Garden Mogul, built in Memory of r the last King of *Guzerat*, the other Side the City, we s, erected in Memory of a ent, named *Hajam Manon*, n Daughter, and having by Kadi's Consent, would have refusing to comply, he rais his Head cut off; whence it *Chuit*, i. e. the Daughter's

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of which are called *Indian Crows*, being all white, or of a Cream-colour, with a Tuft of Feathers of a Carnation-colour on the Head: They are so common all over the *Indies*, that they build their Nests under the Eaves of the Houses, as our Swallows do: But the lesser sort of Parrots build their Nests in the Woods on the Extremity of the Top-branches of the Trees; and tho' they do much Mischief to the Fruits and Rice, the *Banjans* look upon it as a Crime to hinder them from eating it. They do the like as to the Wild Ducks, Herons, and Cormorants, of which there are Abundance in the River. Having had occasion to speak of them before, I will only add in this Place, that they swallow Mussels till they open through the Heat of the Stomach, and cast them out again to eat the Fish. This Country likewise abounds in all kinds of Wild-Fowl and Venison, but Fallow-Deer, Roe-Bucks, Wild-Asies, Wild-Bears, and Hares, are in vast Plenty here. And as they are sufficiently stored with tame Creatures, such as Buffaloes, Oxen, Cows, and Sheep, and the River furnishes them with Fish in Abundance, I scarce know any Place in the World where a Man may indulge himself with more Ease than here.

The only Thing they want is Wine, instead of which they generally make use of the Liquor of the Cocoa-tree; and their Water is most excellent; besides that, out of Rice, Sugars, and Dates, they make a kind of *Aqua Vitæ*, which exceeds that made in *Europe*. But as they are sufficiently furnished with beneficial Creatures, so they have their Share of others that are as mischievous. Crocodiles are found here in Abundance, which often surprize Men in the River, where they lie lurking among the high Grass. I am positive; that those in the Ditches of *Pegu* were of above thirty Foot long; they did so much Mischief, that scarce a Day passed but some or other were killed by them; notwithstanding which, the *Banjans*, who believe that such as are devoured by them go straightway to Paradise, will not destroy them. The King having ordered one in particular, which did more Mischief than all the rest, to be killed, they found a Woman with all her Cloaths in his Belly. They lay about thirty Eggs, which they cover in the Sand, where being hatched, they kill most of their young ones, without which they would multiply infinitely.

Jansson tells us, that near *Panama*, in the *West-Indies*, are Crocodiles of an hundred Foot in Length; but I will ingenuously confess, I saw none that were above twelve or fifteen Foot long; the Scales on their Back being Mistle-Proof, they must be wounded in the Belly. This Country produces also Abundance of Serpents and Snakes, and, among the rest, some with two Heads, as they told me, though, I must confess, I never saw any of them, which has induced me to believe that this Error has been introduced by such as have seen Serpents, that, contrary to the Nature of Reptiles, were as big towards the Tail as towards the Head. The Woods are likewise full of Lions, Leopards, Tigers, and Elephants; but the most troublesome Creatures all over the *Indies*, are a certain kind of Bats, as big as our Crows, nay, some of our Hens, which oblige the Country People to keep constant Watch in their Gardens.

The City of *Amadabat* is obliged to maintain out of its Revenues 1200 Horse, and fifty Elephants, under the Command of their Sultan, who has the Quality of *Rajah*, or Prince, annexed to his Dignity. *Arul-Khan*, a Person of fifty Years of Age, was Governor of this City at that Time, and, as I was credibly informed, had amassed a Treasure equal in Value to fifty Millions of Crowns. Not long before my Arrival his Daughter was married to the Mogul's second Son, when her Father, at her Departure, sent her with an Equipage of twenty Elephants, and one thousand Horse to Court, besides six thousand Waggons laden with Riches. His Attendants consisted of five hundred Persians, four hundred of which were his Slaves: The Expence of his House-keeping amounted to five hundred Crowns a Month, not including his Stables, where he maintained constantly five hundred Horses and fifty Elephants for his own Use. The chief of his Attendants were generally sumptuously clad, though himself seldom wore any thing but Calicoe, except when he appear-

ed in publick, when he was carried in a rich Chair of State upon an Elephant, and attended by a Guard of two hundred Men, with many *Persian* Led-Horses, and Standards, and Banners before him.

14. *October* the 15th I went with an *English* Merchant to pay a Visit to the Khan, whom we found in a Tent looking into a Garden. Having understood from the Merchant that Curiosity only had led me into that Country, he asked my Age, and I having told him that I was twenty-four Years old, three of which I had already spent in travelling, he wondered at my going Abroad so young, as well as at my Habit, which I still wore after the *German* Fashion. After an Hour's Discourse, I was entertained with a very noble Dinner, served up after the *Persian* Way, and at parting, he was pleased to tell me in the *Turkish* Language, which I had told him I understood pretty well, *Senni dake kurum*, i. e. *We shall see you again*. Being encouraged by this obliging Invitation, we went the 20th a second Time, when having changed my Cloaths to the Mode of the Country, I found him very well pleased with it. We found him in the same Place, busy in dispatching some Orders, and taking a View of certain Companies of Horse and Foot, which made us take our Leave of him; but he would needs make us stay to Dinner with him.

His Discourse ran much upon *Shah Sefi*, concerning whom he asked me several Questions, and especially whether he still continued his Cruelties? Unto which I having answered, that his Age had moderated much of his youthful extravagant Temper, he replied, that Tyranny and Cruelty was an Inheritance derived from his Grandfather *Abbas*, and that was the only Reason why lately the Khan of *Candabar* had put himself under the Mogul's Protection. He then was for exaggerating the prodigious Wealth of the Mogul, in Comparison with that of *Persia*, asking my Sentiments upon that Score. Unto which I replied, that it must be confessed, that the Wealth I had seen in the Great Mogul's Country was, without Comparison, much greater than what could be expected in *Persia*; but that, on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that *Persia* had one Thing which was to be valued above all the Riches of the World, viz. that great Number of brave *Kisilbachs*, with whose Assistance he might be able to conquer all *Asia*. Knowing the Khan to be a *Kisilbach* by Descent, out of the Province of *Sibirvas*, I said this on Purpose to please his Fancy, which took so well with him, that he not only agreed to what I said, but also told some of his Officers that stood hard by him, I believe this young Gentleman is brave, because he speaks so advantageously of those that are so.

After Dinner we took our Leave of the Khan, who would have staid us, and given us the Entertainment of the Women Dancers; but he being called aside about earnest Business, and we not very eager to see more of what we had seen so often before, we returned his Offers with a Compliment. For the rest, the Governor was a Person of extraordinary Judgment, but very rigorous in his Government. One Day, having invited the two chief Directors of the *English* and *Dutch* Factories to Dinner, and desirous to give them the Diversion of the Women Dancers, they came accordingly, who, according to the Cadence of the Harps and Tambrels, danced with great Activity through Hoops, with great Variety of Postures; which done, he sent for another Band; but these being employed elsewhere in the City, sent an Excuse, that being sick they could not come; but the Khan, not thus contented, sent a second Time, ordering his Servants to bring them along with him, who returning without them, upon the same Pretence, he ordered them to be cudgelled immediately. Their poor Wretches, finding themselves in such Danger, cast themselves at the Khan's Feet, acknowledging, that it was not any Sickness, but the Hopes of Lucre, that had made these Women refuse to obey his Commands, at which he laughed; but instantly sent some of his Guards to fetch them, who no sooner had brought them into the Room, but he ordered their Heads to be cut off immediately, which was executed in an Instant. The Governor, perceiving that the Strangers were startled at his Severity, fell a laughing, and told them, that if he did not

not by such Examples maintain his Authority, he should not be long Governor of *Amadabat*.

15. *October* the 21st I left *Amadabat*, in the Company of a young *English* Merchant, and travelled that Day to the Garden of *Tschibabag*. The 22d we made seven Leagues to the Village of *Sarguntra*; and the 23d five Leagues further to *Cambaya*, where I was very well accommodated at the House of a certain *Mohammedan*, the *English* Head Factor being from home. The City of *Cambaya* lies sixteen Leagues from *Broitschia*, upon sandy Grounds near the River, which makes there a very great Bay, into which the River *May* discharges itself. The Haven is none of the best; for though at high Water there be seven Fathom Depth, yet at low Tide the Ships are almost swallowed up in Sand and Mud. It has a Wall of Free Stone, with twelve Gates, large Houses, strait and very broad Streets, and is ten Leagues in Compass. The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, *Banjans*, and *Rashpoots*, the last of whom apply themselves to the Exercise of Arms, as the *Banjans* do to Commerce. Their chief Trade is at *Athen*, *Dia*, *Goa*, *Mecca*, and into *Persia*.

Taking a Walk out of the City, I saw there, among several other very curious Gardens, one, that for its Situation and Prospect to the Sea, and into the fairest campaign Country that could be to the Land-side, deserves the Precedency of any that ever I saw before. It was surrounded by a very high Wall, which had within its Compass two very fine Structures, and in the midst of the Garden was a Sepulchre of a *Mohammedan*, who was the Founder of it. Whilst I was contemplating the Tomb, some *English* Merchants came in to reprove me for the Alliance I had put upon them, as they interpreted it, of preferring a *Mohammedan* House before theirs to lodge in; and as a Reparator, asked me to go along with them the next Morning to a Place where an *Indian* Widow was to burn herself, her Husband, who was a *Rashpoot*, having been killed two hundred Leagues from thence.

We went accordingly to the Place of this voluntary Execution near the River-side, where we saw the Woman, who was scarce twenty Years of Age, coming up with so cheerful a Countenance as is scarce to be imagined. It is to be observed, that the Governor, who was a *Mohammedan*, and consequently would willingly abolish this barbarous Custom of the *Pagans*, had for a long Time opposed her Resolution, under a Pretence that her Husband's Death might be uncertain at so great a Distance, in hopes that Time might have changed her Resolution; but finding her immovable, he gave at last his Consent. In the Front of the Procession marched the Musick, consisting of Hautboys and Tambrels; these were followed by a great Number of Maids and Women dancing and singing before the Widow, who was dressed in her best Apparel, and had many Rings and Bracelets on her Fingers, Arms and Legs: In the Rear came a confused Multitude of Men, Women, and Children. She had walked herself before in the River, and coming near the Funeral Place, which was made of the Wood of Apricot-trees mixed with some Sanders and Cinamon, she stopped a little, and looking over it with a great deal of Carelessness, took her last Farewel of her Kindred and Friends. I was very near on Horseback, and the perceiving perhaps by my Countenance that I had Compassion of her, she cast me one of her Bracelets, which I keep to this Day, distributing the rest among her Friends. So soon as she had placed herself on the Pile, and perceiving that they had set Fire to it, she poured a Vessel full of perfumed Oil over her Head, which the Fire taking hold of, burnt her to Ashes momentary, without shewing the least Sign of Reluctancy, whilst all these pretent filled the Air with their Shouts and Acclamations.

This Custom, it seems, was first introduced into the *Indes*, to prevent the Jealousy of the Women created by Polygamy, which had this dismal Effect, that they used frequently to poison their Husbands, it having been found by Experience, that in one Year there used to be four Men killed to one Woman; to prevent which, it was thought convenient, that a certain Law should be introduced for all Women that would be accounted honest, to accompany their

Husbands at their Deaths, as the only Way to make them careful of their Lives; yet was no Punishment inflicted upon such as did not think to comply with this rigorous Imposition, except that they were looked upon as infamous ever after.

This Ceremony being over, I paid a Visit to *Mysabeg*, one of the chief *Mohammedan* Merchants in that City, unto whom I delivered the Letter of Recommendation from the Director of the *English* at *Amadabat*. As he understood that Language, so he complimented me with all imaginable Expressions of Civility, endeavouring to persuade me to remain for some time at *Cambaya*, and proferring his Service in every thing that might tend to my Satisfaction. Whilst I was returning his Civilities, came up to us the King's Lieutenant, or Deputy-Governor, who, with a very engaging Air, entreated me to make him a Visit, which I promised to do. I went home, and had scarce eat my Dinner, when the before-mentioned Merchant sent me two Sheep, twelve Capons and Pullets, besides some Fruits, and a fine Vessel of *Agat*. I sent back the Bearer with a small Present, telling him, that I would return my hearty Thanks to his Master the next Day; but I was scarce got out of my Bed, when he came and told me, that the Fear of parting with me without taking his Leave, had made him come so early. I thanked him, and as a Pledge of the good Will I bore him, presented him with a very fine *English* Pocket Pistol, which he at first refused to accept, excusing himself, that it was not handsome to receive a Present from a Stranger, were it not that his Refusal might be misinterpreted by me to his Disadvantage; upon which Score he could not forbear to accept of what I had been pleased to bestow upon him with so much Kindness.

I thought fit to make particular mention in this Place of these Civilities, to convince the World that Barbarism, which the *Indians* are so often branded with by some Authors, is not so deeply rooted among them, but that they understand and practise Civility as well as some other Nations, who challenge the Preference upon that Account before all others, but fall short in that Sincerity which is natural to the *Indostans*, who are as good Friends to those to whom they have promised their Friendships, as they are irreconcilable to their Enemies. I caused a Box of Bees to be presented to the Merchant, a Drug as commonly used in the *Indies*, as Snuff is in *Europe*, of which he having taken a little, took his Leave. Soon after, as I was going to call at the Deputy-Governor's House, I met him in the Street in his Coach, and he no sooner espied me, but he obliged me to go back with him to his House, but in one of the most pleasant Parts of the City; he treated me with some Beetle, and some Palm-Wine, and sent one of his Servants to give Orders at the Gates to let me pass unmolested, without paying any Customs.

I staid not above half an Hour, and immediately proceeded on my Journey; but being pretty late before I could reach *Sarguntra*, the *Banjans*, who burn no Lights for fear of hurting the Flies, or other Insects, would not open the Shops to sell us Forrage for our Beasts, being a certain Paste of Sugar, Meal, and some Butter, which is used here for want of Oats and Hay; but at last were prevailed on to let us have some, because we threatened to break open their Shops. We travelled five Leagues the next Day before Noon to a great Village, where having baited our Beasts, we continued our Journey to the Garden of *Tschibabag*.

This Garden, which we had occasion to mention before, is looked upon as one of the most considerable of all the Empire, not only in respect of its noble Buildings, and the vast Quantity of excellent Fruits, but especially for the Conquest of *Guzarat*, in Memory of which it was founded; and thence has got the Name of *Tschibabag*, i. e. the Garden of Victory. The Walks of this Garden are planted with Fruit-trees, such as Oranges, Citrons, Pomegranates, Dates, Almonds, and Mulberry-trees; besides many of these that bear Mangoes, Coconuts, and some that were unknown to us. Having taken a short View of it whilst our Beasts were baiting, we continued our Journey, and came that Night to *Amadabat*. We were not a little troubled in the Way by Apes, of whom I shot two with my Pistol, which so incensed the rest, that about twenty of the largest

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See pursued us about half a League, and by their odd
looks gave us to understand that they were ready to do us
any Mischief, if they durst approach us.

At *Amadabat* I met with a Caravan of *English* and
Portuguese Merchants bound for *Agra*, and being recommended
them by the Director of the *English* Factory of *Amadabat*,
I set out with them the 28th of *October*. We met in
the Days Journey with no more than one Village worth
mention, called *Pangot*, and came the 6th Day after
our setting out of *Amadabat* to the small City of *Heriath*,
the Leagues thence; it is without Walls or Gates, which
has been destroyed by the famous Conqueror *Tamerlane*,
as well as the adjacent Castle, the Ruins of which are to be
seen near a high Mountain.

Between this City and that of *Dumtigel*, which is fifty
Leagues from *Heriath*, we met a Caravan of *Bengian* Mer-
chants, who told us, that they had been set upon by two
hundred *Rahiboots*, who had forced them to pay a hundred
Ruppes; upon which we ordered our Waggon to be laden
with them, and disposed our Guards in such a manner
as we thought might make them most serviceable; neither
did we mention to them we got sight of any of the same Gang
that were sent without. Question to view us; but finding us
too well guarded, let us go unmolested. We travelled fifty
Leagues farther before we came to the Village of *Suedeck*,
which has a strong old Castle. As we were travelling in a
Barricade of *Rahiboots* surprised some of our Waggoners that
were got about six hundred Paces before the rest, and
wounded two *Bengians*; but two of our Guards being sent
to their Relief, the Robbers were forced to betake them-
selves to their Heels, and to leave the Booty behind them.

After this Rencontre we met with no farther Disaster,
and arrived lately at *Agra*, where I was received with the
same Civility by the *English* as I had been in all other Places
through which I had passed. The City of *Agra* is, with-
out Comparison, the noblest of all *Indostan*, and the ordi-
nary Residence of the Great Mogul. It is seated in 25°
on this Side of the Line, in the Province of *Indostan*, upon
the River *Gemni*, which joins its Waters with the *Ganges*,
upon the Kingdom of *Bengal*. It being twice as big as
Ispahan, a Man can scarce ride round it on Horseback in
a whole Day. Its Fortifications are of red Free-stone, and the
Ditch is above thirty Fathom broad; the Streets are
large and large, there being some vaulted, which are a Mile
in Length, and are furnished with Shops of all Sorts of
Trades, each of which have their peculiar Streets and Quar-
ters assigned them. It contains fifteen Meydans and Bar-
tains, the most spacious of which is before the Castle; in the
middle of it stands a high Pole, where the Mogul himself
sits sometimes at a Wooden Parrot fastened to the Top
of it; his Caravan eras are appointed for the Recep-
tion of Foreign Merchants and their Merchandize; they
are provided with noble Apartments, and convenient
Shops, Vaunts, Stables, and other Conveniences.

As the Mogul and the chiefest of his Court are *Moham-
medans*, so there are a vast Number of Mosques throughout
the City, of which twenty are remarkable for their Splen-
dour, and six of them appointed for their Devotions on
Holidays; these last they call *Masjed-aline*. In one of
them they show you the Sepulchre of a certain Saint named
Savran, of the Posterity of *Ally*, and in another the Tomb
of a Giant Saint, being thirty Feet in Length, and fifteen
in Breadth. This Tomb is surrounded on all Sides with
Iron-Rings, or Flags, as many Tokens of his heroick
Atchievements; where it is, that his Sepulchre is fre-
quently visited by a vast Number of Pilgrims, who bring thither
daily their Offerings, out of which, and the ordinary Re-
venue belonging to it, are maintained such a vast Number
of Paup, that in those Respects, it is not inferior to the Sepul-
chre of *Abuick Sefi* at *Ardebil*.

These Mosques, with their adjacent Courts, are so many
Sinetaries both in criminal and civil Cases, the Mogul

himself never presuming to take any Criminal, though never
so great an Offender, thence, out of a Veneration to the
Mohammedan have for their Saints. In the City of *Agra*
are above eight hundred publick Baths, which pay a con-
siderable Sum yearly to the Mogul, for as Purification is
one of the main Ingredients of the *Mohammedan* Religion,
so these Baths are daily frequented by a vast Number of
People. The great Lords of the Court, who bear the
Title of Rajas, or Princes, have many of them, very fine
magnificent Houses both within and without the City,
where the King also has many Gardens and Summer-houses
to retire to upon Occasion, with the Women Dancers, who
dance before him that risk d.

17. But his Palace, which stands upon the River *Ge-
mni*, and is four Leagues in Compass, surpasses all that I
ever saw of that Kind before or since. It is surrounded
with a Wall of Free-stone, and a broad Ditch, having a
Draw-bridge at each Gate; the Gate at the West Side lead-
ing to the *Bazar* is called *Chebi*; under this Gate is kept the
Court of Judicature, and in an adjoining spacious Hall the
Prime Vizeer, or Lord-Chancellor, dispatches all Mat-
ters relating to Civil Affairs, where the Original Records are
kept. Immediately within this Gate you come into a very
spacious Street, with Shops on both Sides, leading directly
to the Mogul's Palace, the Gate of which is called *Abu-
barke Desjunge*, i. e. King *Abubar's* Gate, through which
all the great Lords of the Court, except the King's Sons,
are obliged to go in on Foot; this being the Quarter where
the dancing and singing Women are lodged.

There is another Gate leading to the River, where the
Mogul every Morning pays his Devours to the Sun at his
Rising. It is on that Side that great Men pay their Re-
spects to the King from a certain Eminency, where the
King can take particular Notice of them. The Com-
manders of Horse also stand on that Side, but at a great
Distance, at a Place where the Mogul sees the Engage-
ments every Day betwixt Lions, Elephants, Bulls, &c.
except *Fridays*, a Day dedicated to their Devotions. There
is also another Gate, which brings you into the Guard-
Hall; through this Hall is a Passage into a paved Court,
at the farther End of which you see a Row of Silver Pil-
lars under a Piazza, where is kept another Guard to prevent
the common People from entering. Here I met with my
Persian Servant who had left me at *Serat*, he offered me
all the Service he was able to do me, and would fain have
brought me within these Pillars, but that the Guards would
not permit it; this being the ready Way to the Mogul's
Apartment, where is a Row of Golden Pillars of a lesser
Size, and within them the Royal Throne of massy Gold,
enriched with Diamonds, Pearls, and precious Stones; and
above it a Gallery, where the Mogul appears every Day at
a certain time to hear and determine the Complaints of his
Subjects: But this Trial is so dangerous, that if you do
not prove the Matter of Fact by undeniable Evidence, you
run the Hazard of your Life.

None but the King's Sons, who fan him, and keep off
the Flies, are admitted within the Compass of those Golden
Pillars; neither is any other Person admitted into the
innermost Parts of the Mogul's Lodgings, except the Eunu-
chs, who being one thousand two hundred in Number,
wait on the Ladies of the Seraglio. There is another
Apartment in the Castle very remarkable for its Tower,
which is covered with Gold, and the Treasure it contains,
having eight large Vaults filled with Gold, Silver, and pre-
cious Stones, the Value of which is incalculable. I had it from
very knowing and very worthy Persons, that *Shah Ocran*,
who reigned in my Time, had a Treasure which amounted
to one thousand five hundred Millions of Crowns. I had
from the same Hands an exact Inventory communicated to
me of the Treasure which was found at the Death of *Shah
Akbar* his Grandfather, which I will faithfully communi-
cate to the Reader.

An Inventory of the Treasure of Achebar (See Achebar in the History of the Mogul Emperors) at the Time of his Decease.

	Crowns.	Pence.
In certain Sorts of Money coined by the special Order of the said Achebar	148,790,000	
In another Kind of Money, called from his Name, Achebar Kapes	50,000,000	
In another Sort of Money, called Paytes, sixty whereof make a Crown	383,333	10
In Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Saphires, Pearls, and other precious Stones	30,026,026	
In Statues of Gold and divers Creatures	9,503,370	30
In Household-stuff, Gold-Plate, as Dishes, Cups, &c.	5,866,895	5
In Bras and Copper Utensils	23,612	30
In Porcelain or China Ware, and other Earthen-Vessels, to the Value of	1,253,973	30
In Brocades, and other Gold and Silver Stufts, and in Silk and Calices	7,654,989	30
In Woollen-Cloths	254,619	
In Tents, Hangings, and Tapestry	4,902,772	
Twenty-four thousand Manuscripts richly bound, valued at	3,231,865	3
In Artillery and Ammunition	4,257,985	30
His Magazine of Small-Arms, Swords, Bucklers, Pikes, Bows, Arrows, &c.	3,777,752	30
In Saddles, Bridles, and other Gold and Silver Accoutrements, to the Value of	1,262,824	
In Covering Cloths for Horses and Elephants, embroidered with Gold, and Silver, and Pearls	2,500,000	
All which together amounts to	274,113,793	15

This, though in itself an immense Sum, yet falls very short of fifteen hundred Millions, which is esteemed the Amount of the Mogul's Treasure at present. Neither is it at all improbable that it may be so, for though it may be true, that the ordinary Revenue of the Crown is not considerably increased, yet by the rich Presents made annually at stated Times by his Grandees, and his being Heir-general to all the Officers in his Service throughout his extensive Empire, there is no Doubt that the gross Amount of his Revenues must be exceedingly augmented since that Time.

As there is no Inheritance of Estates belonging to the Children of great Persons, so they can claim no Share in their Father's Dignity. The Title of Rajah being no more inheritable there than that of the Khans in Persia; the only Advantage they have is, that they are entrusted with lesser Charges by the Mogul, till by their Merits they can raise themselves to the highest Dignity. The chiefest Officers of the Court are the Vizir, or Prime Minister, the chief of the Eunuchs, or Lord High Steward of the Treasury, Principal Secretary of State, General of the Elephants, and Surveyor of the Household-stuff, Tents, and Jewels. There are also Members of the Mogul's Privy Council, and a Council of Ministers called the Chateval, who is chief of the Palace and Court, and a chief of the Mogul's Guards. The Councils consist only six in the Night and four in the Day.

The Mogul pays every Year at Sunnisi, and the Emperor pay their Tribute to him about Noon, when he comes to the Fairing of the wild Beasts, and about Evening when he appears at a certain Place to see the shooting. As for his to the Rail of

the Kingdom, the Provinces of Candahar, Delhi, Bengal, Orissa, and some others, bring in a yearly Revenue of eighty-seven Millions two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns. The Province of Guzerat is able to raise Ninety thousand Horse, Cambaya Twelve thousand, and Cassar as many; Orissa Eighty thousand, and Delhi One hundred and fifty thousand; besides those of the other Provinces, of which I could learn no Certainty. His Majesty is divided into certain Brigades of twelve or fifteen hundred Horse, commanded either by the King's Sons, or the chiefest Lords in the Empire, some of whom have under their Command certain Regiments of 20,000, 30,000, and 4000 Horse. Certain it is, that when the great Mogul went in Person into the Field against Khanahar in 1630, his Army consisted of 144,800 Horse, divided into four Brigades, besides a vast Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Artillery Horses. The Army in their Camp were mostly Bows and Arrows, a Javelin, which they dart with great Dexterity, a Cymia, a Pionard, and Buckler, which hang about their Necks. The Ho-femen use no Fire-arms, but their Infantry use Musquet tolerably well; their Pikenen have Pikes of ten or twelve Feet long, which they dart at the Enemy, instead of opposing the Horse with them as we do in Europe: Some use Coats of Mail, reaching down to their Knees, but are without Head pieces. They use nothing of martial Exercises; the Van or Rear, Front or File, being Things never heard of among them, to say without any Method or Order. Their chief Troops consist of Elephants, on the Backs of which are fixed wooden Towers, carrying three or four Hangings, with as many Men to them, and the Elephants have a great deal of Bulwarks, to hinder the Enemy from bringing in upon them: But the worst is, that their Battalions are terrified by artificial Fire-works, or some other such Means, make a greater Havock among themselves, than the Enemy. They commonly have a great Quantity of Artillery, and some very large Pieces. They use Gunpowder, but not so good as ours. Their Cornets, trumpets and Timbrels make a Noise that is not so pleasant in the Field. Their Armies never march above five Leagues in a Day. As in their Encampments they set up a vast Circumference of Ground, so they observe every good Order in them, every thing being as well regulated there as in a City; and it is observable, that the Mogul and the General of the Army always have their Tents pitched without the Reach of Musquet from the rest.

His ordinary Guard is 12,000 Men, besides those that have the Title of the Guard of his Majesty, and always attending his Person. The Mogul's nobles, who have the Dignity of Rajah or Prince upon them, are those who have the supreme Management of all civil and military Affairs throughout the Kingdom: He is not permitted to take the least Present, but his Clerks are a little covetous in this Point, that for Money a Man may buy any thing that passes through their Hands. The Rajahs and other great Men pay a most profound Veneration to their Monarch; they never approach or speak to him without many Bows and Reverences, and when they are going away they do it backward, bowing their Heads down to the Ground, putting their Hands over their Eyes, and afterwards upon their Breasts, to shew their Humility. The Mogul never stirs abroad out of the City or otherwise without a Guard of ten thousand Men, at the Head of which march one hundred Elephants covered with Scarlet Cloth, and Brocades, each having two Men upon their Backs, one who guides the Beast, the other carries a Bag of Silk; upon seven or eight of the foremo Elephants are mounted Musicians, who play upon the Tambore. The Mogul is either mounted upon a fine Persian Horse, or a Coach drawn by two white Oxen, or carried on a Palanquin. The chief Men of the Court follow immediately after him, after them the Baggages. He commonly is pleased to be in a Field, the better to enjoy the Concoction of cool Air in the Summer, and he is not so warm in the Winter, which is the Reason that he commonly goes to Agra in April, and passes the Months of May, June, and July, at Lahore, or in some other northern Part of

The City of *Agra* is so populous, that it is able to raise two hundred thousand fighting Men. Most of the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, but there is scarce any Nation in the World but what trade exports, and all Commodities, whether imported or exported, pay 10 per Cent. Custom. This City has under its Jurisdiction forty small Cities, and three thousand five hundred Villages, its Territories extending above sixty Leagues about. The adjacent Country is very fertile in Indigo, Cotton, Salt petre, and several other Commodities. The Festival of the Naurus, or New-years's Day, is celebrated in this City with a great deal of Ceremony. Before the King's Palace a Theatre, or Scaffold, richly adorned, is erected, surrounded with small Pillars in the Nature of a Balcony, where the King is seated upon richly embroidered Velvet Cushions, being attended by his seven Ministers of State, the Emperess being not far off in a Gallery where she can see the whole Ceremony, but cannot be seen by any body. Near the King's Scaffold is another erected, painted and embellished with Mother of Pearl, whither the principal Lords come out of their Tents, pitched and furnished with their most precious Moveables, in the innermost Court in the Palace, to pay their Veneration to the King; which done, he leaves the Theatre, and being seated on his Throne, he receives the Presents of his Subjects, and this he continues for eighteen Days successively. Towards the Conclusion of these eighteen Days, the King, in return of the Presents the Lords and others have made him, bestows upon them his Presents, which are certain Employments and Honours proportionable to the Gifts he has received from their Hands.

The Mogul's Birth-day is also celebrated here after a peculiar Manner. The Day is begun with all manner of Diversions, which done, he shews himself to the Queen-Mother, if living, in her own Apartments, where the great Lords are obliged to appear, and to bring along with them considerable Presents. After Dinner he puts on the richest Apparel that can be contrived, laden all over with Gold, and precious Stones. Thus he goes into a Tent, and in the Presence of the chief Lords, weighs himself in a pair of Scales of massy Gold, the Chains whereof being of the same Metal, are set with precious Stones. He is set in one of the Scales, and in the other are put several Bags of Silver, one of Gold, some precious Stones, certain Pieces of Silk, Stuffs, Calicoes, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Wheat, Pulse, and Herbs, and an exact Account is kept of the Difference of his Weight from one Year to the other. This done, the King gives the Money with his own Hands to the Poor *Mohammedans*, and the rest is distributed among certain *Babajans*. Then being seated on his Throne, he orders to be call among the Lords of his Court, Nuss, Pistaches, Almonds, and divers other sorts of Fruit of Gold, but so slightly made, that one thousand of them scarce weigh thirty Crowns, which tho' it may seem incredible, yet it is certain that it has been tried by Experience, that a whole large Basket full of this kind of wrought things, have not amounted to above ten Crowns, and it is computed, that all this great Monarch bestows upon this Occasion, would not amount to above the Value of one hundred Crowns. The Day is concluded with a great Feast at Court, unto which are invited all the principal Lords in waiting, who pass the Night with the Mogul in drinking.

They also celebrate another Festival, which begins ten Days after the New-moon of the Month of *July*. This is celebrated to perpetuate the Memory of two Brothers named *Jamse* and *Jawze*, who being holy Men or Saints, went on Pilgrimage to the Court of *Coromandel*, and were there killed by the *Brahmans*, and other Pagans. They carry Coffins covered with Bows, Arrows, Turbans, Cymtars, and Garments of Silk, through the City, the People following in whole Troops with great Lamentation, some shaking their Arms till the Blood issues forth plentifully. In the Evening they make diversie Figures of Straw representing the Persons who murdered them; at these they show their Arrows, and at last burn them to Ashes. They perform this with so much Amovility, that no *Pagan* dares to appear about that Time in the Streets. The *Mohammedans* also celebrate the Feast of the Sacri-

fice of *Abraham*. It is held in *June*, when they kill a He-goat, which serves them to entertain their Friends with that Day. The Great Mogul deduces his Offspring from the famous *Timur*, or *Tamerlane*, in a direct Line, the said *Tamerlane* being descended from the Family of *Zingis-Khan* of *Tartary*. *Shah Cheram*, who reigned at the Time of my Travels into these Parts, usurped the Crown from his Nephew Prince *Polog*, whom, as we told you, we saw at *Gassnis*.

The Mogul was then about sixty Years of Age. He had three Sons, the eldest was about twenty-five; but his Affections being most for the youngest, he intended to bestow the Crown upon him, and to make the other two contented with the Government of certain Provinces. The Beginning of his Reign had favoured not a little of Cruelty, and even afterwards he could not but betray his Inclination, by putting such as were guilty of High Treason to onheard of Torments; for the rest, he was of a pleasant Humour enough, taking much Delight of Music, and the Women Dancers dance naked before him. Of these I heard the *King's* relate a pleasant Story, that a certain Petion of Note belonging to the Court, in whose Conversation the Mogul took particular Delight, being missing at Court, the Mogul asked the reason of his Absence, and being answered, that he had taken Physick, the Mogul ordered his Woman Dancers to go to his House, to strip themselves naked, and to eat themselves before him. The Gentleman hearing of their coming, and having got some Scent of what their Errand was, asked them immediately after their coming into the Room, what the King had commanded them to do, and being answered, that they were to eat themselves there, he told them, that they might put the King's Commands in Execution as soon as they pleased; but asking them at the same Time, whether they had any further Commands, they having answered no, he bid them have a special Care not to transgress the Orders laid upon them; for, said he, if any of you piss but one Drop, I will have you all soundly whippel, which put them into such a Fright, that not daring to run the Hazard of the Lash, they returned to the Mogul, who understanding by what Invention the Gentleman had diverted them from what they were ordered to do, laughed very heartily at his Ingenuity.

His daily Diversions were to see the Lions, Elephants, Tigers, Leopards, and other wild Beasts fight one with another. He also often delighted in seeing Men engage with those savage Creatures, but never forced them against their Will, there being not wanting those, who in Hopes of obtaining thereby the Mogul's Favour, would hazard their Lives upon that Score. I remember the Mogul on his Son's Birth-day being present at the Combat between a Lion and a Tiger, which were both very much hurt, he ordered Proclamation to be made upon the Spot, that whoever had so much Courage as to fight with one of those Beasts with Sword and Buckler only, should be, if he vanquished, honoured with the Title of *Khan*. It was not long before three *Indians* appeared to accept the Challenge, and having laid by their Coats of Mail, one engaged with a furious Lion, and for some Time made his Party good very courageously, but the Beast pressing very hard upon his left Hand, in which he held his Buckler, the Weight whereof at last forced the Buckler out of his Hand; so that seeing himself in an unavoidable Danger of his Life, he thrust a Dagger which he wore in his Girdle into the Lion's Jaws, who thereupon let go his Hold, and was mauling off; but the *Indian* followed him, and with a Blow cross his Head, laid him dead upon the Ground. The Acclamations of the People were loud upon this Occasion, but the Mogul was so far from being pleased with the Action, that on the contrary, being highly incensed at his having made use of any other Arms except his Sword and Buckler, he commanded the Fellow's Body to be tipped up, and the Body to be exposed to the View of the whole City. The second *Indian* made up with to his Courage than the former, to a Tiger, brought in for that Purpose, but this fierce Creature was so extensive and terrible, as to terrify him by the Throat, and to bite him. The third *Indian*, though a Petion of a mean Estate, and worse Aspect, nothing dismayed at the Misfortune of his

Comrade,

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The Mogul's
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Comrade, engaged the fine Tyger with unspeakable Bravery, who was for playing the same Game with this, that he had done with the other: But as he was going to fasten on the *Indians*'s Throat, he cut off both his Fore-paws at one Blow, and soon after dispatched him; at which the Mogul was so well pleas'd, that he presented this Man (whose Name was *Cazy*) with a Garment of Brocade with his own Hands, and bestowed the Dignity of a *Khan* upon him.

As I should not have left *Agra* so soon, had not an unhappy Accident made me alter my first Resolution; for as I was talking one Day in the Streets with my *Persian* Servant who lent me at *Surat*, an *Indian*, of a very goodly Aspect, came up to me, asking me what I had to do in those Parts? to whom I made Answer, that I was a Native of *Germany*, whom Curiosity had brought thither. He told me, that unless he was very much mistaken, I was the Person that had killed his Kinsman in the Engagement at *Ipaan*, betwixt the *Indians* and *German*s. As I was convinc'd in my Conscience that he spoke Truth, so I was not a little amaz'd at it. But two *English* Merchants that were along with him, pretending that I was lately come from *England* by Sea to *Surat*, made me persist patiently in it, that I had never set Foot in *Persia*. This would, perhaps, however, have hoodwink'd me but in time I clearly had not the same Story declared, and sworn by his *Mohammed* and *Hajetan*, that he knew me, and that I had nothing but Truth: So that with much ado we got rid of the *Indian* at that Time.

But as his Sight was not very agreeable to me, so I made it my Business to take the next Opportunity of leaving *Agra*, which I did accordingly, taking the Advantage of a Caravan that was going thence to *Lahor*, 60 Leagues further into the Country, all which Way we travelled through one continued Visto of Palm, Date, Cocoa, and other Fruit trees, which, with the Company of two *Dutch* Merchants, and some *Banyans*, made this Journey very pleasant, tho' the Heat we met very well pleas'd with the Diversity I took in shooting at the Apes, Parrots, and some other Creatures, and among the rest at a Serpent, a thing never seen by them. The City of *Lahor* is seated upon the River *Raby*, one of those that with four more join their Waters with the *Indus*. It lies in $32^{\circ} 30'$ having many fair Gardens on the River-side, and the Country about it being fertile in Fruits of all sorts, but especially in Wheat and Rice. The Royal Palace, which lies in the middle of the City, is surrounded by a very high Wall, besides that, it contains many other Palaces, belonging to such Persons of Note as generally attend the Mogul, where-ever he goes, and a great many Mosques and publick Baths. I had the Curiosity to go into one of these Baths, which I found to be exactly after the *Persian* Fashion, with several Partitions made half round, within narrow at the Entrance, and wide at the Bottom, each having its peculiar Door, and two Cisterns for receiving the Water, which is let in by brazen Cocks, more or less, according as those who bathe are pleas'd to order it. After bathing, I was oblig'd to lie down upon a Stone seven or eight Feet long, and four broad, where being soundly rubb'd first upon my Belly, and afterwards all along the Back, some, as it was the Side, the Fellow would have rubb'd the soles of my Feet also, with some Sand, which I not being able to endure, he ask'd me immediately whether I was a Christian, and I having told him that I was, he gave me the Hair Cloth to rub them myself.

In this Journey to *Lahor* I rode upon four several Creatures, that is to say, a Camel, a Mule, an Elephant, and an Ox, which were so loaden, that they carried me six or seven Leagues without stopping. Having received Letters from *Agra*, that the *English* Factor was preparing to depart from that Place, I took the Convenience of leaving *Lahor* with some *Merchants*, that were going to *Benares*, where I was sooner arriv'd, but I could not stay there long, thro' the coming of the Caravan of *Benares*, which oblig'd me to return to his Voyage to *Benares*, which I could not make, unless I could find *Surat*, which I could not find, until I was oblig'd to return to *Agra*, where I was oblig'd to stay, until I could find out at the Relinquishment of *Persia*, which was to be performed in a few

Days. Whilst I was at *Amadabat*, I saw the *Mohammedans* celebrate a Feast. All the Windows of the Houses round the great Market-place were filled with Lamps, before which stood glass Vessels full of Water, of all sorts of Colours, which afforded a very delightful Prospect at a Distance, and the Night was concluded with Feasting and fine Fire works, composed of Squibs, Crackers, and many ingenious Inventions of that kind; among the rest, they had fasten'd certain Lamps to Wheels, which being turn'd round with great Violence, made a pleasant Show.

The Caravan of *Agra* was no sooner arriv'd at *Amadabat*, but I prepar'd to go along with them to *Surat*. The first Day we travel'd six Leagues to *Amadabat*, on the next Day the *English* Factor and his Deputy, being oblig'd to be at *Surat*, at the Relinquishment of the chief *Dutch* Factor, myself and another left the Caravan, taking twenty four Soldiers along with us for Guards. We cross'd the *River* *Wafet* with our Banners, a cording to the *Indians* Custom, who like our Corns, carried before them. At Night we took our Quarters in the Fort of *Sisalpur*, where in the Evening with the *English* Factor of *Bordu*, we staid in that Place all the next Day, but continu'd our Journey in the Evening, and were lodg'd next Night in a City, where we proceeded the next Day to a noted City, on the River Water call'd *Sambord*, which being at that Time pass'd by a Troop of Country People, who pretended to quarrel from fetching the Water we had Occasion for, a dispute arose betwixt them and some of our Soldiers, who was at last came to Blows; for whilst our People were drawing up their Water, the Country Fellows w. under the pretence of with their Arrows, which exasperated the rest, they kill'd three of the Country People.

But before next Day appear'd, we met with another Encounter, which was likely to have prov'd fatal to some of us; for the *Dutch* Caravan (which we had overtaken on the Road) going away about Midnight, we follow'd soon after, but were not gone far before we heard one of those Trumpeters, who in the *Indies* commonly run a before the Caravans found his Instrument in an adjacent Wood; as we had been already forewarn'd of the *Rabbits*, who had committed several Robberies, and had covers Persons hereabouts the Day before, so we made the least question, that this was the Signal of our coming given to those Rogues; neither was it long before we found our Guess verified by their coming out of the Wood with Pikes, Bucklers, Bows and Arrows; but tho' we were not they had no Fear-Arms. We had here the same custom put ourselves in a Posture of Defence; but the *Dutch* Merchants and I getting on Horseback, we saw the four *Dutch*locks we had among those of our Company, who were in a Coach, reserving three Cases of Pistol, and our own Ule on Horseback. Our Agreement was that we should all were sure of doing good Execution, and the *Dutch*locks gave us a fair Opportunity to employ our Pistols to the best Advantage; for as they were coming towards us in a very close Body, we discharged our Pistols, which were charged with Iquate Pieces of Iron, and the *Dutch*locks which made three drop at once, but that first of *November*, they pull'd forward, kill'd two of our Soldiers, and an Arrow into the Punnel of my Saddle, and the *Dutch*locks the Turban of the *English* Merchant. Next Day we were near us that I received two Thrusts with a Pistol upon my Buff Collar, which I was oblig'd to receive for my Life at that Time. Nay, two of our *Dutch*locks of my Horse's Saddle, and were just going to kill me, when the *English* Merchant came in very opportunely to my Relief, so that I made shift to kill one of our Enemies Shot, and to get clear of the other. By the assistance of the *Dutch* Caravan, we were oblig'd to stay at *Sisalpur*, and the Caravan itself brought of us some *Dutch*locks, but I did not think it convenient to stay there, but to make the best of my Way to the *English* Factor of their Contrary Rel. Upon the *English* Factor's return, others desperately wounded, who were oblig'd to be carried had only two of our Soldiers kill'd, and one of our *Dutch*locks ed Persons. We expect to see the *English* Factor, and we brand no more of them, and so we are oblig'd to return to *Amadabat* and travel'd eight Leagues

olive or yellowish Complexion, though those to the North are not quite so dark as those living more to the South.

The Men are commonly strong and well made, with large Faces and black Eyes. They have their Heads and Beards, excepting only the *Mustachoes*, like the *Persians*; and the *Mohammedans* are clad after the same Way, except that they plait their Turbans in a different Fashion; and the *Indians* wear the Opening of their Garments under the Left-arm; whereas the *Persians* wear it under the Right. The former tie their Girdle before with the Ends hanging down, and the latter wrap it several Times round the Waist, and twill the Ends within it: To those they fasten their Daggers, which are about a Foot long, broad towards the Handle, and very narrow towards the Point. Some Swords there are worn here, but the Soldiers generally wear Cymtars.

As the *Indian* Horses are not very valuable, and yet very scarce, so their Oxen are frequently used instead of them, which are as swift as Horses; I have seen whole Bodies of these Ox-Treepers. Their Women are short, but well-shaped; they wear their Hair hanging down over their Shoulders, and on their Heads a kind of a Cap of Lawn, interwoven with Gold, the Ends of which come down quite to their Knees. The richer sort are very sumptuous in their Apparel, have Pendants of Pearls and Diamonds in their Ears, and very fine Necklaces of Pearls, which make the fairer Show upon their Necks, which are of a brown Complexion. They sometimes also wear Rings in their Nails. Breeches and Drawers are common to both Sexes, and are generally made of Taffaty or Calicoe, and that of such a Length, as they would cover all the Body, were it not for certain Strings that are fastened to them, that they can draw them together in Plains like Mens Boots, though above the Ham they be close to the Body without any Pads: Over these they wear their Shirts, which, however, reach scarce to the Navel; and over these again a Fetterscoat of Taffaty or Calicoe, but so thin that you may see through it. Their Shoes are flat soled and narrow towards the Toe, and commonly of red *Spanish* Leather. Their Breasts and Arms, as far as their Elbows, are bare, but covered with Bracelets. Women that value their Reputation here, never appear abroad with their Faces uncovered; and those of Quality scarce ever go out of Doors.

The Women of the *Banjans* are clad after a quite different Manner, for they, as they don't have their Heads, so they don't wear their Hair very long, neither do they cover their Faces, but wear Pendants and very rich Jewels, especially in their Ears. Black Teeth are a singular Ornament among them, which is the Reason they call us *Europeans*, in Persian, *Borani*, i. e. Apes. They also wear no Breeches, but, instead of them, a Piece of Silk, reaching down to their Hams, over which they put their Smocks, and over them their upper Garments, which are fastened round their Waist with a kind of Girdle: Some of them wear loose Wallecoats, the Sleeves of which come no farther than the Elbow, being naked from the Breast down to the Navel. During the Summer-season their Shoes are made of Wood, only tapersed with Straps to their Feet; but in the Winter they have shoes of Velvet, Brocade, or silk Leather, the Quarters of which are very low, that they may put them off and on with more Conveniency, when they are going in, or coming out of a Room, the Throat of which is covered with Tapestry. Children of both Sexes are kept naked till they are five Years old. For the rest, the *Banjans* live with a great deal of Circumference, as do the *Mohammedans*, who treat them contemptuously, and much after the same Manner as the *Jews* are looked upon with us, in those Places where they are suffered to live. Notwithstanding which they are more ingenious and crafty than the *Mohammedans*, which is the Reason both the *English* and *Dutch* employ them as their *Bakers*, it being next to an Impossibility that any Stranger should be able to buy out all their Impurities without the Assistance of some of their own Gaug.

Their Children, especially their Daughters, they marry at seven, eight, nine, or ten Years of Age, it being very rare that they delay till the twelfth; for as the *Indians* arrive sooner at Maturity than other Nations, they are of Course, that at a Man's days any Time beyond that Age,

he must be subject to some Infirmity. The Day for the Consummation of the Marriage being come, the Parents of both Parties sit round a good Fire in a spacious Room, the Bride and Bridegroom take three Turns about them, whilst the Braman gives them his Benediction. If a *Banjans* Bridegroom happens to die before he has taken his three Turns thus, the Bride may challenge the Privilege of marrying another, the Widows of the *Banjans* being not allowed a second Marriage upon any Account, though their Husbands should chance to die before the Consummation of the Marriage: So that those who cannot comply with a single Life, associate themselves to the Women-Dancers. The *Banjans* Women are not obliged to burn themselves with their dead Husbands, as the Wives of the *Bramans* and *Rishpoots* are, unless they will do it voluntarily. The Men are permitted not only to marry a second or third Time, but may have two or three Wives at a Time, provided the first or second prove barren; but the first challenges, and retains the Precedency. The Sons only inherit the Father's Estates, but are to maintain the Mother, and are to provide Husbands for the Sisters. As they use neither Baptism or Circumcision, they must be numbered among the *Pagans*. And though they acknowledge one supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of all Things, yet they pay worship to the Devil, for this Reason, because that God having constituted him to govern the World, he ought to be appeased by Offerings.

The Figure under which they adore him, is to be seen in all their Pagodas or Temples, some of Gold and Silver, some of Ivory, Ebony, and Marble, and other of Wood, or common Stone. The Head, which has four Horns, besides a Triple-crown in the Shape of a Crown, or Mitre, with a grim Countenance, and two great Teeth coming out of the Mouth, like the Folds of a Wild Bear, and a great rough Beard all over the Chin. The Arms hang down carelessly on both Sides, and the Breasts are extended as low as the Navel, under which, betwixt his Thighs, you see another Head, with two Horns more deformed than the first, thrusting out of the Mouth a very ugly large Tongue: The Feet are like Paws of ravenous Creatures, and behind a Cow's Tail. This Statue is always fixed upon a Stone-table, which is the Altar where the Offerings are made to the Idol. On the Right side of it stands a Cistern, in which these that come to sacrifice purify themselves beforehand; and on the left-hand a Chest, into which they put their Offerings, which are always made in Money. There is another Vestment far from the Cistern, out of which the Braman, or Priest, takes a certain yellow Mixture, made of Water and several-wood, and therewith marks the Foreheads of such as have performed their Devotions. The Braman's ordinary Place is at the Foot of the Altar, but he sits upon a seat frequently to say his Prayers, and before he goes away, he is sure to purify his Hands, by rubbing them over in the Flame of the Lamps, which are placed before and about the Altar, and furnish their Pagodas with Light, and consequently are kept continually burning, being the chiefest, if not the only Ornaments of these Temples, which look more like Caves and Holes of Darkness than Places of Devotion, there being nothing to be seen on the Walls of them but the Figures of Beasts and Devils. Notwithstanding which these poor Wretches pay their Devotions with more Respect and Zeal than is observed in most Christian Churches.

They are, like the *Mohammedans*, much addicted to corporal Purifications, which they seldom fail to perform Morning before Sun rising. The Braman, who is their Original immediately from their God *Braman*, says that they are the Product of his Head, whereas the rest are caught of his Thighs, Feet, and other more remote Parts. Mr. *Arakam Rogers*, who lived ten Years in the *East*, Service, on the Coast of *Ceramanda*, says, that the *Bramans* acknowledged for their Supreme God, one *Braman*, called *Tamara*, which produced *Braman*, the first of all Men who had Power given him, not only to create the World, but also to settle what Order and Government he thought best. They further say, that this *Braman*, being

firmity. The Day for the
e being come, the Parents
d Five in a spacious Room,
e three Turns about them,
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s of the *Banjans* being not
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The Head, which is four
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like the Tusks of a Wild Boar,
all over the Crown. The
on both Sides, and in Breasts
Navel, under which, between
Head, with two Horns more
rustling out of the Mouth
The Feet are like Taws of a
Cow's Tail. This statue
one-table, which is the Altar
to the Idol. Orange Boughs
in which these that come dis-
forehand; and on the Left
they put their Offerings, which
There is another Vestment
which the *Braman*, or Priest
are, made of Water and Sa-
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tions. The *Braman's* ordinary
Altar, but he sits upon a se-
er, and before he goes any-
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sh their *Pagoras* with Lights
continually burning, being the
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her say, that this *Braman*, being

God's Vicegerent, has distributed the Administration of the
Universe among eight Lieutenants, the chief of whom
they stile *Divendra*, and say he commands all the rest of
the Governours, who govern eight distinct Worlds, such
as cuts are. all which they are of Opinion swim upon the
Surface of the Water like to many Eggs.
They say farther, that there have been divers Worlds
before that which is now in being, and others will be after
it; though, they tell us, that the World we live in, is
to continue a Million of Ages, since that in the Year
1693, there were no more than 4739 Years of the fourth
Age of the World elapsed; and that the first Age had
lasted 17200 Years. That in the first Age of the World
all Men were just and good to such a Degree, that the
Devil, who was then created, had no Power to injure
them; that in the next following Age, the fourth Part
of Mankind became depraved; that in the third there was an
equal Mixture of good and bad; and that in this last Age
of the World, the Number of the good amount only to one
fourth of the whole. But let this suffice concerning the The-
ology of these *Pagans*; we will only add here, that the *Bra-*
mans have, by their Austerity of Life and Abstinence, gained
a great Ascendant over the *Pagans*, who look upon their Ex-
periments of the Mysteries of their Religion as so many fa-
voured Oracles; for which Reason also, generally, they entrust
them with the Education of their Children. They are
distinguished from the other *Banjans* by a peculiar kind of
Linen Cloath; besides that, they never cut their Hair, and
wear three Strings of Packthread next their Skins coming
from their Shoulders cross their Breast to the Waist; and
as this is the Badge of their Order, so they never lay
it aside: They believe the Immortality of the Soul, and
its Transmigration from the Bodies of Men into those of
Beasts, before they can be capable of the Enjoyment of
the Blessings of the other World; for which Reason it is
that the *Banjans* will not allow the killing of any living
Creatures, even down to the Insects; and they are so care-
ful in this Point, that they will not keep any Fire, or
lighted Candles in the Night-time, for fear the Flies should
burn themselves; and when they do at other Times, they
make it in Pots under Ground. Their charitable Inclina-
tions to all living Creatures are so great, that they redeem
ken birds as are catch'd by the *Mohammedans* to be killed;
so, they have certain Hospitals appointed for sick and
wounded Birds.
Among the *Malabars* these *Bramans* are in such Vene-
ration, that they have the Full-trusts of all the Brides,
and by the richer Sort are invited to perform this Task
with very considerable Presents; nay, there is scarce any
Boy of Note there, when he is to be absent from Home
for any Time, but recommends his Family, especially his
Wife, to the Care of a *Braman*, to supply his Place.
The *Banjans* are acointed to have thirty-eight prin-
cipal Caste among them, not to speak here of the lesser
ones, which are not to be numbered; they have four ge-
neral Sects, under which all the rest are included, viz.
the *Conaravars*, *Samarab*, *Bimote*, and *Godgoy*. Those
three first Sects are very precise in the Preservation of
living Creatures, for which reason their *Bramans* have their
Shoes covered with a Piece of Calicoe, for fear any In-
sects should get into and perish in their Mouths; they for-
bear to sleep their Rooms continually, and will
not sit down before they have looked, for fear of sitting
down on any matter they keep any Fire or Candle in
the Houses. They are distinguished from the others by
a white Staff they carry in their Hands, and walk always
bare-footed and bare-headed. Their Cloathing is only a
Piece of Calicoe coming down from the Waist to the
Knee, the upper Part of their Bodies being covered only
with a wollen Cloth. They don't believe an infinite Be-
ing, and the rest do, but attribute the Events of all Things
to Chance, and know of no other good Deeds but Fast-
ing and Giving of Alms. In Consequence of this Op-
inion, they acknowledge in the Sun, Moon, Stars, the
Elements, and Creatures, nay, in Trees, and in Metals, and
in all Things, the inherent Causes of their Production.
They show two Suns, and as many Moons, which they
say move each other alternately every Day. They be-
lieve nothing of Heaven, or any Mansion of the Blessed,

tho' at the same Time they acknowledge the Immortality
of the Soul, and its Transmigration, which they say does,
after the Separation from the first Body, go into another,
either of Man or Beast, according to the Behaviour of the
Deceased in this World; they say it always makes Choice
of a Female, that it may return into the World, tho'
in another Body. Their Temples are all four-square, with
flat Roofs open to the East-side, under which are the
Chapels of their Pagods, or Idols, raised ten Feet from
the Ground, in the Form of a Pyramid, with Stairs leading
up to them, on which you see certain Figures of Wood,
Stone, or Paper, representing some Persons among them,
who have rendered themselves famous by their extraordinary
good Fortune. The chiefest Time of their Devotion is
in *Augst*, when they mortify themselves, especially by
Abstinence, to such a Degree as would pass for fabulous,
were it not that even their professed Enemies in the *Indies*
have unanimously born Testimony to the Truth of it, that
some have been known for the Space of fifteen or twenty-
one Days, nay, some for a Month, or six Weeks, not to take
any other Nourishment than Water mixed with the Shaving
of a certain bitter Wood. In this Month they have their
general Assemblies in their Temples, whither they resort
to hear the *Braman*, who sits in the Center of them, and
reads certain Legends of the Lives of their Saints. Im-
mediately after they come into the Temple they put their
Offerings of Money into a Copper Basin, placed there for
that Purpose, in return of which the *Braman* bestows upon
them the yellow Mark, either on their Foreheads, or Cloaths;
Whilst they are hearkening to the *Braman* they are enter-
tained with Music.
If any aged Person dies, they burn the Carcase; but
Children, which die before they come to three Years of Age,
are buried. Their Wives are not obliged to burn them-
selves with their deceased Husbands, but must live in per-
petual Widowhood, and there is none belonging to this
Sect, but what is capable of being received into Priest-
hood, to reach which he has no more to do, than to change
his Habit, vow Chastity, and follow the same Austerity of
Life prescribed to their Order. Women are not even ex-
cluded from this Function, but they must be above twenty
Years of Age, whereas Males may come in at seven, eight,
or nine Years of Age; nay, if either of the married Couple
embraces Priesthood, the other is engaged to Celibacy for
Life. Some of them make a Vow of Chastity in Mar-
riage, but this is not so well kept as made. This Sect is
an Abomination to the other *Banjans*, to such a Degree,
that they will not eat, drink, or converse with them;
Nay, if they happen to touch them, they are obliged to
a very strict Penance.
The second Sort among the *Banjans*, which consists of
the most Part in Blacksmiths, Farriers, Carpenters, Tay-
lors, and most other sorts of handicraft Men, as also some
Soldiers, Officers, and Clerks, have scarce any thing in com-
mon with the first, except that they allow not the killing
and eating of any living Creature, believing for the rest,
that the Universe owes its Origin to a first Cause, which
also preserves it by certain and unchangeable Rules. They
give the Name of *Permisser* to this Supreme Ruling, and
affirm, that it governs the World by three Deputies; the
first they call *Braman*, and attribute to him the Manage-
ment of Souls according to the Direction of *Permisser*,
in order to their Transmigration into the Body of Men
or Beasts. The second, named *Buffiana*, is appointed to
instruct the World in their Duty to God, and manages the
Wheat, Herbs, and Pulse, in the Fields and Gardens.
The third, called *Alis*, is the chief Manager of the Dead,
being *Permisser's* Secretary, who, after having taken an
Account of the good and bad Actions of the Deceased,
makes a Report of it to his Master, who, according to
every one's Deserts, lends the Soul into the Bodies of cer-
tain Beasts, where they must do more or less Penance,
before they can be purified from their Sins. In this kind
they look upon the Cow as one of the best, having some-
thing divine in it above all the rest. They burn the dead
Bodies of their Friends, except those of their Children
under three Years of Age, whom they bury near some
River or Brook, none of the *Indian* Women accompany-
ing their Husbands with so much Cheerfulness in their

last Journey, as those of the Sect of *Samaritans*: for as they are persuaded, that such as die with their Husbands shall live with them in the other World seven Times as long, and enjoy with him seven Times more Pleasure there, they are ready to forgo all to plentiful a Blessing, of which they have to garner a Share in this World, that they are ready to forsake their Lives in order to attain it.

The Sect of *Bijras* agrees with the two preceding in this Point, that they do not feed upon any thing that hath Life. They are also much addicted to Abstinence, and keep their general Assemblies in their Temples in *Shugul*, where they sing and dance to a Concert of Musick, consisting of Drums, Pipes, and Copper Basons, before their Idol called *Ramoon*, singing Hymns in his Praise.

They represent him with his Wife in Stripes, adorned on their Fetters with Gold Chains, and Coils of Pearl and precious Stones, with many Lamps, and lighted Wax Candles before them. This God acts without any Deputies; they feed upon nothing but Herbs, Pulse, Fresh Butter, Milk and Cream, and are great Admirers of a Pickle made of Ginger, Mangoes, Citrons, Gara K, and Mustard-seed; and their Drink is Water. None but Women or Priests cleanse their Nests, and the House-dung mixed with Straw, and made up into a kind of Fuel instead of Wood, for fear some small Worms, or other Insects, should be burnt with it. Most of this Sect are Merchants, Factors, or Brokers. They have this Custom peculiar to themselves, that they will not permit their Widows to burn themselves with their deceased Husbands, but oblige them to continue Widows. Not many Years ago the younger Brothers among them were obliged to marry their elder Brother's Widows, to raise up Seed to him; but this is now abolished.

They commonly wash themselves every Morning in some Coltery, or River, if any be near them, where they wallow and swim in it, whilst the Braman, who stands hard by, mutters out certain Words, and imparts to them his Benediction, and at their coming out gives them the Mark in their Foreheads, or in some other Place; for which he is paid with Wheat, Rice, or Pulse. Those belonging to the Sect of *Gorgy* are a kind of Hermits, neglecting all public or private Affairs, and dwelling in solitary Places, and tamed Herbs, or Woods, than the Conversation of others, that worship a God whom they call *Biam*, and his seven Angels, but have no particular Temples, or any other publick Buildings, to perform their Devotions in. A Priest is chosen to have any Possessions of their own, they have no money, but a Piece of Calice to cover their Privy, and never speak to any body, or will give an Answer to any, or ask for any thing, though they were in the most distress; but will take what is given them, they maintain theirs all ever with Alms, and especially rice-Hay, which makes them look very strangely. They are of a Veneration among all the other *Banjans*, except the Sect of *Comacath*, who abhor them.

They believe that our God is the Creator of all Things, who has created by his own infinite Power, by which he is able to reduce all to nothing; that he is not to be deceived, nor is any thing capable of a Light, which, as it is the Cause of the Sun, his Brightness is not to be taken by our Eyes. They differ from all the other *Banjans* in this; that they do not believe the Transmigration of Souls; but that they are immortally, after they have left their Bodies, to rise up to a new Body, and united to that in one Light. They are Deists, as to the Ceremonies, that they admit no *Adoration* of their Gods, or adore such of their own as may be considered among the *Nebammelans* and *Cherians*, and do not eaten Meat without a most severe Penance, which is that the six Months together Cow-dung mixed with water and Vinegar can be conceived, more or less, but they are in general; they never stir up before they have paid their Devotions, and in going out of their Houses, they never wish any thing which they look upon as necessary, to yarning, and undertake nothing unless that Duty.

The *Keshrees* are by long reckoned among the Number of *Hermits*, who allow them a Place with those of the Sect of *Comacath*, as believing the Transmigration of the Souls, but differ from other Hermits affirmed and maintained by that Sect, they are of better Opinion, that the Souls of

Men transmigrate particularly into Birds. Their Widows are obliged to burn themselves, unless the contrary be provided for in the Marriage-Contract; for the rest, they are not of that reserved Temper as most of the *Banjans* are, who abhor the Effusion of Blood, even of that of irrational Creatures; whereas these live upon Rapine, and Death, and addeth themselves altogether to warlike Excesses, and as they are a daring Generation, so they are employed by the Mogul in his Armies. Some Compassion is to be shewn to Birds, which they will feed and cherish. They take other *Banjans*, marry their Children very young, which, as I have mentioned before, proceeds from hence; that the *Indians* of both Sexes come sooner to Perfection in respect than any other Nation in the World. There resides these another sort of *Pagans* in *Guzerat* called *Cherians*, descended from the *Persians* of *Fars* and *Armenia*, who left their native Countries in the seventh Century, to avoid the Persecution of the *Nebammelans*. The Jewell of the most part along the Sea-Coast, and live upon parties of Tobacco, and making of Arrack or Aquavit out of Honey, though many of them addit themselves also to Trade. They believe one God, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, who acts by his own Power, but has committed the Administration thereof to his seven Servants, whom they represent thus: The first, named *Hamaing*, has the Government of Men; the second, called *Biam*, the sovereignty over all Beasts and living Creatures; the third, *Arduhosh*, takes care of the Fire; the fourth, named *Cherian*, has the Charge of Metals; the fifth, who is named *Iphawder*, takes care of the Faith, as *Cherian* is of the sixth, doth of the Water; and the seventh, called *Cherian*, hath the Precedency over Fruit trees. He is to be worshipp'd yet under God's Direction, unto whom they are oblig'd for their Transactions.

Besides these seven Head Servants, God has appointed the use of twenty-six others, each of which is oblig'd to the Function assigned him. The Business of the first, to take Possession of the Soul immediately after he is taken out of the Body, which he carries before him, is called *Meer Reses* and *Sares*, who, taking care to have good and evil Works put into two Scales, presents them to the according to their Weight, and delivers the lighter to the good Angels to be carried to Paradise, and the heavier to the evil Spirits to drag them to Hell, where they are committed to the End of the World, which, according to the Opinion, will be renewed in one thousand Years. The fourth, called *Berom*, has the Administration of the Affairs. The fifth, *Carrafals*, is the Spirit of the Wind, and the Water. The seventh, *Meer*, manages the Fire. The eighth, *Maba*, is the Moon. The ninth, called *Rain*. The tenth, named *Gar*, has the Management of Cattle. The eleventh, *Laxwardy*, the Government of the Wind in Paradise. The twelfth, *Sham*, imparts Life to all Mankind. The thirteenth, *Cherian*, is the Spirit of the Winds. *Dien*, the fourteenth, is he who is oblig'd to and to advise unto Mankind the Law of God. The sixteenth, *Apresnick*, is the Giver of Rewards, and the sixteenth, has the Disposal of Unemployment and Memory. The seventeenth, called *Cherian*, is the President of Commerce; and *Gomgat*, the President of the Government of the Earth. The eighteenth, called *Marrigan*, is Goodness itself. And the nineteenth, called *Ameya* the Manager of ready Money. The twentieth, called *Heem*, has the Management of Cattle, and Fruits. The twenty-fourth, called *Dima* and *Bese*, are looked upon as Deputies appointed to watch all Men; and the twenty-fifth, *Depkader*, *Dejbmer*, and *Dipladen*, are their Attendants, who employ them to watch all Men without Distinction. As the *Parsi* are oblig'd to God has left the Administration of the Universe to relate to the Relation to their Deputies, who are oblig'd in case of Necessity. Their Transactions and Administration among them, some of whom employ themselves in Traffick and other Employments.

They have no publick Places of Devotion, but worship the same in their Houses, sitting without any other than their Bodies. They have no particular Worships, but their religious Worships, except that they

that they would starve themselves to preserve them. Most Persons of Note are very careful to build themselves Houses in very handsome Gardens, which serve them and their Families for Sepulchres; these Houses have many small Windows on all Sides. They use the following Ceremonies at their Burials; immediately after the Decease of the Patient, the Kindred with great Lamentations come to ask him what made him die; whether he wanted such and such Conveniences, which they name to him. This done, whilst the Couple is washed and put into a Coffin, the Friends divert their Sorrow by making good Cheer. Three or four *Mollas* remain constantly near the Body (which is wrapped in a perfumed Sheet) to pray for the Soul, till it be carried to the Burial-place, whether the Coffin with the Corpse covered with Callico, Velvet, or some other precious Stuff, is carried by ten or twelve Men, the *Mollas* singing all the while their Hymns, and the Kindred accompanying it to the Grave. Here the Body is laid down upon the Right-side, with the Face to the West, the Feet to the South, and Head to the North, the Coffin being covered with a Board, for fear the Earth should defile the Corpse. It is let down smoothly into the Grave, whilst the Kindred utter out certain Prayers, and to return to the House of the Deceased, where the same *Mollas* continue their Prayers for several Days after, during which Time not a Spark of Fire must be seen in the House. They stile themselves *Muslimans*, or true Believers, looking upon all other Religions as heretical and damnable; but as they have a singular Aversion to Images, to they themselves more Hatred to the *Roman Catholics*, than *Protestants*, on the score of their Images.

They are generally of a good Stature, without any natural Defects. They have all lank black Hair, tho' those they call *Moguls* have a clearer Complexion than the rest. They don't admire flaxen Hair, but hate red-haired People, out of an Opinion they have, that they are leprous, a Distemper very common here; one Reason of which is, that the Pox being seldom cured as it ought to be, by Degrees affects the Blood afresh, and turns to a Leprosy. The *Mollas* let their Beards grow, but all the rest shave their Beards as well as their Heads, leaving only a Lock on the Crown, by which, they say, *Mohammed* is to pull them up to Heaven. There is no Distinction in the Drets of Men and Women. They make their Garments of Callico, Silk, or Brocade, according to the Abilities of those that wear them. They lie close to their Bodies above their Waist, like ours, but grow wider and wider downwards to the Small of their Leg, whereabouts their Breeches, which reach to their Shoes, are gathered by a Strug into many Platts. Their Shoes are of *Spanish* Leather, Silk, or Brocade, with very low Quarters, because they have frequent Occasion to pull them off when they go into Rooms, where the Floors are covered with rich Tapestry. Their Head-dress comes nearer to that of the *Turks* than the *Persians*, being commonly of thin Callico, or Silk, interwoven with gold and silver Thread. They lay it by when they go to Bed. They have over their Garments a kind of Cloak to defend themselves against the Injaries of the Season. Their Garments are tied round their Waist with a silk Girdle wrought with Gold, and over this they have a kind of a Sash of fine Callico. In these, Persons of Quality wear their Daggers, the Handle and Sheath of which are generally of Gold, and set with precious Stones.

Their Houses are but slightly built, the Walls being nothing but Plaster-work made of a Mixture of Tree-bone powdered, some Lime, Gum and Sugar, which being very white and smooth, makes no disagreeable Shew at a Distance. They are also indifferently furnished, especially the Kitchens, where, besides a few Dishes and Stoves, you see very few other Utensils; tho' for the rest, the Houses of Persons of Quality are very large, and divided into convenient Halls, Apartments, Chambers and Closets; in the two last of which the Women take great Delight to let them out with their gold and silver Plate. When they are to receive Visits, they place themselves in the Hall, upon Pieces of Tapestry. They salute each other at their first coming in with their Salam, and an Inclination of the Head, and if the Persons be of greater

Quality, they put their Right-hand to their Heads, to shew their Readiness to submit to them. If they are of an equal Condition, no further Ceremony is observed, but a mutual Inclination with their Bodies. Sometimes they touch one another's Locks, adding these Words, *Grass and meat*, be it to you according to the Prayers of the Poor. He who receives the Visit, never sits in his Place, the Visitors being set on his Right and Left-side. Their Visits are made with a great deal of Reserve, no such thing as the least loud Discourse being to be heard, or any Gestures made with their Hands or Heads. If they whisper to any body, they are sure to hold to their Mouths a Napkin, or some such thing, for fear of offending with their Breath him to whom they speak.

Their greatest Expense is in Cloaths, being all Women; for as by the *Mohammedan* Law they are allowed to pursue their sensual Pleasures to the utmost, as far as may be done without Detriment to their Souls, they indulge themselves in this Point to the utmost of their Power. They keep a numerous Retinue of Servants, each of which hath his Business assigned him; the Footmen have great Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, and two little Bells on their Breasts, as sure tokens, that they will travel fifteen or sixteen Leagues a Day without much Difficulty. They have all their bare Heads, and some Veils, but both are so small, that they scarce keep themselves from starving. The many women the *Mohammedans* marry, are very chargeable to them, together with their hunches, for they are very extravagant in their Cloathing, Jewels, and Furnishing; the Arguments they have for this is, that each Woman can do as by all imaginable Art to gain her Husband's Affection and Enjoyment before the rest, there being nothing to be contrived, but what they will make use of to excite his Voluptuousness. The common handicraft People are in a very poor Condition here, for as every Piece of Work passes through several Hands before it is finished, they can scarce get Six pence a Day, and the work of the Children must be bound to no other Trade than that of their Fathers.

Hence it is that they are forced to Live upon Bread and a little Rice boiled in Water, in the Nature of a Hash-pudding, into which they put a little Salt, and their poor Houses are suitable to their Way of Living. Merchants live here in Plenty enough, and would be sufficiently happy, were it not for the Danger of their Trade, or being seduced by the covetous Toy of a new World, in which they live, under some Pretence of Religion, as they begin to discover their Wealth, they take the easy Way to keep any thing, is to appear to have none.

21. Though all the *Mohammedans* profess the same Religion, yet are they differing into many Sects, such as the *Patans*, *Moguls*, and *Indians*, and several others, which, as well as their different Complexions, arises more from the different Dispositions of the Natures from whence they came, than from any other Account. Thus the *Patans*, or *Padars*, are a very cruel, and barbarous Generation, who with a great Consideration will thrust themselves into any kind of Wars. The *Moguls*, or *Mogulies*, on the other Hand, are of a more pleasant and discreet, which gains them a Reputation among the other *Mohammedans*. The *Indians*, or *Industans*, are somewhat barbarous, and though they are yet are not cratty enough to deceive with their small out. They are the true ancient Inhabitants of the Country, and may be easily distinguished from the other by their Complexion, which is much more the colour of the Sun than the two former.

There is another sort of People in the Province of *Khan*, who, as they are very hardy and bold, they are employed chiefly in carrying Merchandise, and are called *Blottians*, their chief Employment is to buy and sell Camels, and to conduct the Caravans, who are very faithful to much Fidelity, that they would rather let themselves, than suffer any thing to be lost. All over the *Mogul's* Country, as well as in this Province, there is nothing to be seen as publick Inns, except that in the City, and some Villages, are erected certain publick Buildings, which

Charity for the Conveniency of Travellers, and these Caravans have no other Accommodations but four bare Walls and a Covering over Head. They travel with Camels, Horses, Mules, and Oxen. They make use also of a certain kind of Coaches, drawn by Oxen, which will travel ten or twelve Leagues a Day; they are covered with Velvet on the upper Part, but those for the Women are so covered on all Sides. Persons of Quality travel for the most part on the Elephants, or are carried in Palanquins, or Litters, carried by two Men upon their Shoulders, with a Bar. They are very careful in breeding up their Elephants. Hawking and Hunting is their chief Sport. Their Greyhounds are less than ours, but they make use of tame Leopards and Tygers in Hunting, which are the best in the World at surprizing a wild Beast, but never pursue it. They catch Water fowl by the Skin of a wild Duck, filled with Hay, which being tied to the decoy Duck, they swim up the Water till they get insensibly among the rest without frightening them. Their Bows are made of wild Ox Horns, and their Arrows of Cane, and they manage them with so much Dexterity, that they kill Birds flying. Their Games are Chess, and some at Cards. They are great Lovers of Musick, though theirs be so rough; but Judicial Astrology has got such an Ascendant among them, that nothing of Moment is to be undertaken here without first consulting those who profess it. They are not quite destitute of Books. Aristotle's Works, or at least most of them, are to be met with here, translated into the Arabic Tongue, as likewise certain Treatises of Avicenna, who is in great Request with them, as being born at Samarcand, under the Jurisdiction of Timur, or Tamerlane: Their Writings are not despicable, and have something of Rhetorick in them; and their Arithmicks are so well and exactly kept, as to furnish sufficient Matter for a good History.

Though their Language be divided into several Dialects, yet it is to be learnt without much Difficulty; they write from the left-hand to the right; the Persian is the Court Language in *Indostan*, and some have likewise a Taste of the *Arabic*, which is the learned Language. The Bloody-flux and Fevers are the most common Diseases in the *Indies*, against which they use scarce any other Remedy but Abstinence. They don't want Physicians, but have no Surgeons. Their Barbers let Blood, and apply Leeches, which is all the Operations they use. The Winter reigns in *Guzarat* in *June*, and holds till *September*; but the Rains are not as at *Goa*. There are but two Winds which reign on this Coast, viz. the North and South Winds, which blow each for six Months without Interruption. Their greatest Heat is in *April* and *May*, and the Beginning of *June*, but the Sultriness of the Season is somewhat tempered by the frequent Breezes, which, however, bring this Inconveniency along with them, that they raise the Dust to such a Degree, as robs you of the very Sight of the Sun at Noon day.

The chief Commodities at *Guzarat* are Calicoes, and silk Stuffs, as Sattins, Taffeties, Potalas, Comerbands, Orns of Gold and Silver, used for Veils for Women, Brocades, Tapstry, striped Carpets, Quilts, Tents, Bedsteads, and Cabinets, Lacque Beds, Chains, Buttons, and Rings, of Ivory, Amber, Rock Chrytal, and Agate.

A valuable Herb called *Cheribees*, near *Amadabat*, is the best that is made. The Herb is like that of a yellow Parsnip, but somewhat shorter and more bitter. It sprouts forth into Branches like a Reed, and sometimes rises six or seven Feet high. Its Flower is like that of a Thistle, and resembles Penugreek; they sow it in *June*, and it ripens in *November* or *December*. It is sown but once every three Years; the first Year they cut off the Leaves with a Foot of the Ground, and after they have cleared them from the Stalk, dry them in the Sun, and afterwards lay them on a baking in a Stone Trough, which has six or seven Holes for Water in it, stirring it very frequently, till they find the Water has sufficiently extracted all the Colour and Virtue of the Herb; then they draw that Water off into another Vessel, which being well settled all Night, they take it off the next Day, and the Detriment in the Bottom is strained through a coarse Cloth, and dried in the Sun. This is the best Indigo, which is adulterated by the

Inhabitants by the Mixture of a certain Earth of the same Colour, and some Oil, to make it swim upon the Water, the Goodness of this Drug being commonly judged by its Lightness.

The Stalks left the first Year produce Leaves the next; but these are not to be compared in Goodness to those of the first, tho' they exceed those of the wild Indigo. The second Year is that which produces the Seed; the Product is never transported beyond the Seas, but kept by the Country People for their own Dying. The best Indigo, which they call *Anil*, is inclining to a Violet Colour, and has somewhat of that Smell if burnt. They always let the Ground lie fallow after the three Years are expired, for twelve Months.

There is also a great deal of Salt-petre vend'd at *Sarat*, which is made at *Ajmer*, sixty Leagues from *Ajgra*, out of the barren Ground. After it has lain fallow for a considerable Time they dig certain Trenches, which after they have filled with salt Earth, they let in as much Water as is sufficient to reduce into the Consistency of thick Mud, and to soak it the better, they frequently tread it with their Feet. When they judge the Water has dissolved all the saline Substance that was in the Earth, they draw up the Water into another Trench, where in some time it thickens, when they boil it like Salt, skimming it continually, and afterwards put it into earthen Pots, where the Dregs settle to the Bottom; they take it out again, and dry it to a hard Substance in the Sun. Borax, well known for its Usefulness in refining of Gold and Silver, is found near a Mountain in the Province of *Parbet*, upon the Borders of *Great Tartary*, which Country also produces Spikenard, Quicksilver, Mulk, and Copper, and a certain Colour which dyes the most beautiful Brown in the World. The Borax grows like Coral, in the Bottom of the River *Zanckenkar*, which coming down from the Mountain, joins its Stream with the River *Majnuor*, which passes through the said Province, and furnishes it with this Drug. The *Indians* call it *Zanckenkar*, from the best-mentioned River, and keep it for its Preservation in Bags, made of Sheep-skins, filled with Oil.

The greatest Part of our *Alliacetida* is brought from *Persia*; but that which is brought from the Province of *Utrad*, in the *Indes*, is preferred before it. There are two kinds of this Plant; one grows like a Shrub, with small Leaves like Rue, the other has Leaves as big as Turnips, and in Colour resembling Fig-tree Leaves. It grows commonly in sandy and stony Ground. Its Gum comes forth in the latter End of Summer, and is gathered in Autumn. The *Banjans* in *Guzarat* are such Admirers of it, that they use it in their Sauces, and rob their eating and drinking Vessels with it. There is abundance of Amphion, or Opium, brought from *Caro* into *Europe*; that which comes from the Province of *Gualer* in *Indostan*, and is vend'd all over the *Indies*, is only the coagulated Juice of Poppy, which is gathered by making an Incision therein, when it begins to be ripe. All the Eastern Nations are so addicted to the Use of it, that those who cannot come at the Juice, will make and use the Decoction of Poppy. The *Persians* boast themselves to be the first Inventors of it. They take every Day the Quantity of a small Pea of it, made up into a little Pill, not so much with an Intention to make themselves sleep, as to raise Vigour in them, more especially in the Exercise of venereal Acts, for which Purpose it is chiefly used by the *Indians*. They use themselves to it by taking a little and a little by Degrees, without attending to which it is mortal. It draws this Inconvenience after it, that it quite stupefies the Senses, unless they continue it for ever.

Of Lacque we have said something before, and shall say more hereafter. The Province of *Guzarat* produces abundance of Cummin, Ginger, and Mustards, which they preserve with brown Sugar, besides which they have several physical Drugs. Diamonds are likewise one of the chief Drugs of this Province, but not many, yet they have abundance of Pearls, Emeralds, Garnets, Yvres, Malbatter, red Marble, and Jasper Stone, which a better polished here than any where else.

They use but one kind of Weight all over *Guzarat*, which is called *Mien*, and contains forty *Cera*, in the

right-hand to their Heads, to omit to them. If they are of Ceremonies is observed, but their Bodies. Sometimes they adding these Words, *Gras* according to the Prayers of the Visit, never this from his Right and Left hand, a great deal of Refuse, and Dificourts being to be heard, their Heads or Hade. If they are sure to hold to the such things, for the sake of whom this Law they are... Pleasures to the... Detriment to the... this Point to... numerous... Buffets... of Feathers... Breasts, a... sixteen Leagues... have all their... to small, that they... living. The many Women... very chargeable to them, for they are very extravagant and Futurist... each Woman... all her Husband's... there being... make use of... handkerchiefs... e, for as every... lands before it... Day, and the... to no other... are forced to live upon... Water, in the... they put a little... suitable to their... gently enough, and... not for the... covetous... some... their Wealth... to appear to have... *Abanmedan*,... are they... *Moguls*, and... as well as their... erent Dispositions... one, than from... or *Padars*, are... generation, who... themselves into... es, on the other... tives of *Great*... which gains... *medans*. The... barbarous, and... to deceive with... ancient Inhabitants... nglished from... much more... People is the... very hardy and... carrying... and employment... the Caravans, which... they would rather... to be lost. All... s in this Province... ns, except that in the... ed certain publick...

whole thirty Pounds and an half, at the Rate of sixteen Ounces in the Pound, a *Cer* containing ten *Peyjes*, a kind of Brats Money weighing twelve Ounces. Their Ells are of two kinds, the lesser amounts to no more than half a French Ell, and a sixteenth Part, and nineteen of their large Ells make thirteen Ells and three Quarters of the true Measure. They have also no more than two sorts of Money, viz. the *Mammedies*, and *Roupees*; the *Mammedies* being coined of Silver, of a base Alloy, go no farther than *Surat*, *Brodra*, *Brotsjena*, *Cambaya*, and those Parts, and are worth about one Shilling Sterling; but the *Roupees Chagans*, which are worth about a French Half-Crown, and made of very good Silver, pass current all over the *Indies*. The *Peyjes* we spoke of are their Copper Money, twenty-six of which make a *Mamondy*, and forty-five a *Roupee*. They count also with Almonds, thirty-six whereof make a *Peyje*, and with certain Shells, found by the Sea-side, eighty whereof make a *Peyje*. They account Spanish Pieces of Eight and Rixdollars equivalent to five *Mammedies*, because they make great Advantage of them in their Mints. The *Persian Larris*, which are very good Silver, are also much esteemed here. They have a golden Coin called *Xaraphins*, worth about thirteen *Roupees*. The *Chequins* and *Levantine Ducats* are current here, and were reckoned to be worth eight and a half, or nine *Roupees*, according to the Rising or the Falling of the Change.

As there is abundance of counterfeit Money here, and all over the *Indies*, so scarce any Sum is received but in the Shops of the Chargers called *Xaraphas*, which are at the Corners of every Street. These secure the Receipt of the Money for a small Matter, and are so expert, that no counterfeit Money can escape their Hands undiscovered. Their Way of computing Sums is by *Lacs*, which consist of a *Roupee*, and two of these *Lacs* make a *Crore*, or *Carea*, and ten *Careas* an *Arab*; a *Theal* of Silver makes eleven, twelve, or thirteen *Roupees*, one *Maffas* and an half a *Theal* of Silver, and ten of these a *Theal* of Gold. No Coin, whether Gold, Silver, or Brats, must be exported out of the Kingdom, on pain of Death. Besides what we have said of the Products of *Guzarat*, it is very fertile in Wheat, Rice, Pease, Beans, Barley, Millet, Tasty Wheat, Flax, Mustard-seed, Oil, Butter and Cheese, the last of which is fit in what salt and dry. Their Wheat is larger than ours. They don't bake their Bread in Ovens, but upon iron Plates, and the *Benjamins* in Frying-pans.

Their Beans and Pease are less, but much more delicate than ours, especially their red Chiches, where with in many Places they feed their Horses, Oxen, and Buffaloes, instead of Oats, a Grain not much used in the Eastern Parts. They sow in May, and their Harvest is in September and November: They cut no Grass, but consume it green. As the Nigral is the sole Proprietor of all the Lands in his Empire, so the Peasants, when Seeding-time appears, must make their Application to the Governor of the Province, and agree with him for so much Ground as he thinks fit to sow for that Year, for the Use of which he pays a third Part, and sometimes an half, whereas the Reason that most of the Grounds lie fallow, is because but few that think it worth their while to make them, do so at so expensive a Rate. Their Gardens are well stocked with Pot-herbs of all sorts, as Lettuce, Succory, Parsley, Radishes, Cabbages, Cucumbers, Cress, Garlick, Onions, Parsnips, and above all, with the most delicious Melons in the World.

They don't value their Flowers here so much for their sweet and fair Colour, the Rose only excepted, the Scent of which is much admired. The Flowers called Mogaci and Scamper, have also a very agreeable Smell; notwithstanding which they are admired by the Women for their colour, the first being a delicious white, and the latter yellow. They not fall the Year round, as does the Grals here, unless it be dried up by the excessive Heat of the Summer-tide. Besides their Lemons, Citrons, Pomegranates, and other Trees, which are known in *Europe*, they have those called *Anana*, *Bananees*, *Jacobs*, *Cocos*, and *Indian Fig* trees. They have also a kind of Vines about *Surat*, the Grapes of which are not so big as those of *Persia*, and are sold at a dear Rate.

Their Forests in these Parts harbour, among other Creatures, a kind of wild Dogs called *Javals*; no body dares hurt them no more than any other Beasts that are white or black, under Pain of Death, they being reserved to the King's Spoil, or the Governour's of the Province. The *Indian Horses* are in no wise comparable to those of *Persia* and *Arabia*, yet they are very careful in keeping them; they commonly feed them with that which they call *Chiches*, which they bruise and boil every Morning and Evening, and give them a Palle made of two Parts of Barley-meal, half a Pound of Butter, and as much Sugar.

Their Oxen are not different from ours in any respect that they have a large Bunch betwixt their Ears. The poorer sort of *Mohammedans* eat about a Quarter and Motion; but the better sort feed upon what is first roused with a Pudding of Rice, Almonds, and Dates in the Belly, or stew them with Barley-meal. They also have *Persian Sheep* with fat Tails, which are very rare and used seldom; but at great Feasts, which they have Fowls, Capons, Geese, wild Ducks, Quails, Teal, Partridges, Pigeons, Sparrows, and many more, they add Eagles, Falcons, Hawks, and other Birds of prey. They are not destitute of River-fish, such as *Sardines*, &c. but their Salt-fish is extraordinary good, except there, because the *Mohammedans* prohibit the eating of it, and the *Pagans* don't eat it at all. They have also Fishes, Crabs, and Prawns. It is observable that whereas in *Europe* all sorts of Shell-fish are better than in *India*, here they are best at the New-moon, and worst at the Full-moon.

Their Vessels are generally light, and hold their great Guns kept above Deck. They sail no farther than *Java* and *Sumatra*, or farther than *Mocha* upon the Red-Sea, whither they go to receive a Number of Pilgrims in the Beginning of May, and return not till the Middle of September, for that time they sail, which from June till that Month are very much in demand, whereas otherwise this Voyage might be performed in two Months. They carry to the Coast of the *Callicoes*, *Indico*, *Camphire*, *Tolacco*, *Amber*, *Benjamin*, *Pepper*, and many other Spices, *Musk*, and many other Preserves; in lieu of which they bring back Coral, Amber, a certain red Dyestuff, Coffee-berries and Opium, but their best Return is ready Cash.

Their Coasting Vessels, which go to *Cambaya* and *Brotsjena*, and sometimes to *Persia*, go away in January and February, and return in April or May, bringing with them Brocades, Silk, Stuffs, Velvet, and other Pearls, Almonds, Raisins, Nuts and Dates, especially Rose-water. Their Ships that go to the Coast of *Sumatra*, are of two or three hundred Tons, and carry thither the Products of the Coast, some of which they bring back Bismolne, Borneo, *Camphire*, *Porcelain*, *Tin*, and *Pepper*: They return in October or November. The *Muzars* carry a good quantity of Bark of *Coco*-trees, which is used for making Cordage, the Pith of the same Tree, *Arizac*, and a kind of Wool which dyes Red, called *Wool of the Harpus*, which they use for caulking their Ships, and Rice and other Provisions. Their Voyages to *India*, *Opium*, *Satiron*, *Coal*, *Calices*, and many others, they come to the Coast of *Surat* in December, and return in April. Formerly the *Portugueses* ruled over the Masters of the Trade of *Guzarat*, by means of their Posts at *Daman*, *Diu*, and *Goa*; but since the *Dutch* have made their Settlement in these Parts, they have been forced to confine their Trade to *India*.

These Travels and Voyages will be very useful to the Character we have given of the Nature of the Country at the same time that they will bring a great deal of Light in affording a clear, instructive, and interesting Description of one of the finest Countries in *Asia*, as well as the several Nations that inhabit it. I have been obliged to Plagiate in our Author's Style, that is, to borrow from, to they are the furest and most reasonable of Truth, which, in Works of this Nature, is the

arts harbour, among other Crabs
called Jaalls; no body dees
any other Bealls that are
Death, they being reserved for
the Governor's of the Province
no wife comparable to those of
they are very careful in keeping
red them with their claws they
bruise and boil every Month
a Palle made of two Pound
Pound of Butter, and is much

different from ours in some
the Bunch betwixt the
Ammedans eat abundance of
better sort of apples, and
of Rice, Almonds, and
them with Butter, and
sheep with fat Lamb, they are
om; but at great distances
as, Geese, wild Ducks, Partridges,
as, Sparrows, and other night
Lawks, and other sorts of
River-birds, but especially
is extraordinarily good
Ammedans prefer the
it at all. They grow
is observable that water in
the hills are full in the
the New-moon, and empty at the

generally high water in their
Deck. They have a large
and *Sumatra*, or the
whether they grow in
Beginning of the
Septemner, for four or five
that Month are very
le this Voyage might
they carry to the Coast of
phire, Tobacco, Am
many other Species
rves; in lieu of which
a certain red Dy
um, but their best

ffels, which go to
mes to *Perja*,
in in *April* or *May*,
Silk, Stuffs, Ve
lins, Nuts and Dates
Ships that go to
o or three hundred
educts of the
e *Braffione*, *Braffone*, *Campan*
epper: They
Alabar can also
d *Brattje*, and
which is used
Tree, *Arcebut*,
Red, called
re for caulk
visions. Lack
al, Calcutt, and
1 *Sarat* in *Perja*,
Portugue called
Guzarat, by
1 *Guz*; Calcutt
eir Settlement
fine their
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infructuive, and
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Value than any other Quality whatever. As the Writer often refers to the ancient History of India, and the Customs of the People before they were at all intermixed with Foreigners, the former Part of this Work will enable even the unlearned Reader to understand all these Things perfectly, and to reap a new Pleasure from perusing this Performance, as we have placed it, since he is already possessed of all the Lights that are necessary to illustrate it. By comparing the historical Passages that occur in relation to the Mogul Empire with the succinct History we have already given of that Government, these Travels will become a Supplement to that Reign in which the Author visited *Indostan*.

We cannot have a better Account of the general Situation of Trade, or of the particular Circumstances of the fe-

veral European Nations concerned in the Commerce of the Indies, for the Time in which he wrote, than our Author has given; and, therefore, as his Work is elucidated by what is contained in the preceding Sections, so his Accounts will serve to throw Light upon the following Sections, and deliver the Reader from the Toil of running through a dry Discussion of Facts, which, though tedious in itself, would otherwise make a necessary Part of this Performance. As to the References that occur in these and in the subsequent Relation to our Author's Travels through *Persia*, they will be cleared up by recurring to those Travels in the subsequent Volume. At present we shall proceed with his Voyages through and Remarks on the Rest of the Indies, which will be found no less curious and improving than those we have already perused.

SECTION XXVII.

The remaining Voyages of John Albert de Mandelloe through the Indies, including, his Descriptions of Countries, historical Remarks upon several Nations, and his Observations on the Commerce of the Portuguese, English, and Dutch at that Time.

Translated from the Author's original Voyage, written by himself.

1. An introductory Account of the Design of this Section.
2. The Author's Departure from Surat in the Year 1679.
3. He arrives in the Port of Goa, and gives us a particular Account of that City, and of the Reception he met with there.
4. A complete View of the Government, Manners, Customs, and Commerce of the Portuguese.
5. Continuation of his Voyage, including an Account of the Malabar Coast, and its Inhabitants.
6. A succinct History of the Island of Ceylon.
7. A particular Description of that Island, and the Commodities it produces.
8. The Informations he received from the Portuguese Jesuits as to the Countries he did not visit.
9. A very large and particular Description of the Coast of Coromandel, together with the Kingdoms of Pegu and Siam.
10. The Kingdoms of Cambodia, Malacca, Patapan, and Johore described.
11. A View of the great Island of Sumatra, and its Inhabitants.
12. A distinct Account of the Island of Java, its several Principalities and their Inhabitants.
13. Of the Islands of Celebes and Amboyna; together with an Account of the Spice-Islands, and their Commerce.
14. An Account of the Philippines, and of the Spanish Government there.
15. The History of Japan, and the adjacent Islands, as delivered to the Author by the Missionaries.
16. A very singular Description of the Island of Formosa, and its Inhabitants.
17. A succinct Account of the mighty Empire of China.
18. The Author's Voyage to the Cape of Good-Hope.
19. Observations made there, and in his Passage to Madagascar.
20. A very full Relation of the Island of Madagascar, and its Inhabitants.
21. An Account of the Portuguese Settlement in the Island of Motambique.
22. The Author prosecutes his Voyage to the Island of St. Helena.
23. The Author's Observations upon that Island, the Island of St. Thomas, and other adjacent Islands.
24. An historical Account, together with the Author's Remarks on the Portuguese Settlements in Africa.
25. That Subject continued, with a succinct Description of these Colonies at that Time.
26. An Account of Cape Verd and the adjacent Islands.
27. Remarks on the Azores, Madeira, and Canary-Islands.
28. Occurrences in their Voyage from the Azores to the Port of London.
29. Observations made by the Author during his stay in England.
30. His Return through Holland to Holstein.
31. Remarks and Observations on the before-mentioned Voyages.

THE great Kindness and many Civilities shewn to Mr. Mandelloe by the chief Director of the English Commerce at Surat, naturally inclined him to lay hold of the Offer that Gentleman made him of returning to Europe in an English Ship, which he more readily accepted, because it put it in his Power to execute his Commission fully of gaining the best Intelligence he could as to the Commerce of the East. The English Director was to make a trading Voyage, which particularly required his visiting the Portuguese Ports, where he had many Affairs to settle; and this could not but be agreeable to a Man who travelled from such Views as our Author had, inasmuch as it gave him an Opportunity of seeing whatever he wished to behold, and afforded at the same time the fairest Occasions for examining all he saw. We shall discern, from the subsequent Section, that he improved these Advantages to the utmost, and that he carried back with him to his Master the clearest and most circumstantial Account of the Indies that had till that Time appeared in Europe.

I cannot but observe, with respect to this Detail of Facts, that he is, of all Writers, the most unsuspected, and therefore the most worthy of Credit. An English, a French,

or a Dutch Writer, can never divest himself entirely of the Prejudices imparted to him by his Country; but this Gentleman could have none of those Prejudices, and therefore we may safely rely upon what he says of any, or of all these Nations. He had not only an Inclination, but an Interest also in pursuing Truth. It was this, and this only, that could recommend him to his Master, and therefore of this he never lost Sight. The German Probity appears nowhere with greater Lustre than in his Writings; and it was the singular Felicity of this great Traveller, that with a Capacity equal to his Undertaking, he joined a Candour altogether unblemished. Let us then resume the Thread of his Narration, and after travelling with him through *Indostan*, embark with him at Surat for the Voyage of the Indies.

2. The English chief Director having taken Leave of the Governor of Surat the First of January 1679, who received him with extraordinary Civility, and presented him with a Garment of Brocade, besides many other Rarities; and having spent two Days more in taking our Leaves of our Friends, we went on board the Third, in Company with the new President, and all the other English Merchants, where we tarried for three Days, and at



last sailed the Fifth in the *Mary*, and came the same Night in Sight of the City of *Daman*, where we met with one of our Ships that had sailed for a Portuguese Vessel that was to go with us to *Goa*. The Governor of the City sent us a large Vessel with Wine, and divers Refreshments; for though the City was then besieged by the King of *Decan*, yet the Harbour being open, they had sufficient Supplies brought them by Sea. The Kingdom of *Decan*, or *Cannam*, by some called *Vishapour*, from its capital City, extends all along that Coast from *Indediva*, which is within twelve Leagues of *Goa* to the South, as far as *Siffardo*. The chief maritime Places belonging to it are *Gasapour*, *Rossapour*, *Carrapatar*, and *Dabul*; but *Vishapour*, the capital City, lies eighty Leagues from *Dabul*, and eighty-four from *Goa*. This City is about eight Leagues in Circumference, being encompassed with a very high Wall of Freestone, and a broad Ditch, and many Out-works, provided with a thousand Pieces of Iron and Brass Cannon. The Royal Palace is in the very Centre of the City, three thousand five hundred Paces in Compass, being divided from the Body of the City by two Walls, and as many Ditches. The City has no less than five Suburbs, where most of the Merchants live; and in the Suburb *Champour* most of the Jewellers have their Habitations. The Inhabitants are for the most part Natives of the Kingdom of *Decan*, the rest are *Banjans*, *Moguls*, and *Gentiles*.

The City of *Dabul* is seated on the River *Helweacko*, in $17^{\circ} 40'$ on this Side of the Line, being one of the most ancient Cities in the Kingdom of *Decan*; but is without either Gates or Walls, defended only on the River side by two Batteries. As you enter the River, you see to the left Hand a Wood, and near it a Castle, as also a white Tower, which serves for a Pagod; but is a good Direction for Pilots. Its Entrance being none of the best, by reason of a long Sand Bank at the very Mouth of it, which at low Water is quite dry, the only safe Way to escape it is to keep to the South Side; there, at low Water, you have five or six Fathom Water, though at the very Mouth you have not above twelve or fourteen Feet; within a League before you come to the River is very safe riding for Ships, though the Road, in the Bay of *Zanquizaro*, four Leagues thence, is incomparably better. The Harbour of *Gasapour*, the most excellent on all that Coast, lies twelve Leagues thence, the Vessel being sheltered here by an adjacent Island against all Winds. It lies in $17^{\circ} 10'$, and twenty Leagues from *Goa*. Three Leagues from the said Harbour lies the City of *Rossapour*, one of the best maritime Towns of the Kingdom of *Decan*; and nineteen Leagues thence is the Bay of *Wingarla*, a very convenient Haven. It lies three Leagues from the *Istet Quemedas*. We will now come to its Inhabitants, which are either *Banjans* or *Mohammedans*.

The chief Trade of the City of *Dabul* is in Salt and Pepper brought thither from *Oranubammara*. They used formerly to drive a considerable Traffick to *Persia*, and the *Red-Sea*; but they send but few Ships thither now. The ordinary Custom paid here is $1/2$ *per Cent*. but the *English* pay only one Moiety of it. Though the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Decan* or *Cannam* are *Banjans*, yet are they not so averse to Flesh as the others in the *Indies*, for they will feed upon any Flesh, except that of an Ox, Cow, Buffalo, and Swine; for the last they have an absolute Abomination, and the Ox and Cow are in great Veneration with them. In their Life and Conversation, Marriages, Purifications, and other Ceremonies, they follow the Footsteps of the other *Banjans*.

Their Habitations are only Cottages of Straw, the Doors being so low that one cannot go in without stooping. Their Furniture amounts to no more than a Mat to sleep upon, and in the most of the Hut you see a Hole in the Ground, wherein they beat the Rice. They do not differ in their Habit from the other *Banjans*, except that they wear mostly wooden Shoes tied up over the Insteps with Leather Straps; but their Children go naked till they are seven or eight Years of Age. Their Arms are the same with the *Indians*; most of them are Godsmiths by Trade, though some also profess Physick and Surgery; they have also some Carpenters, Masons, and Barbers among them.

The chief Commerce of the Kingdom of *Decan* consists in Pepper and Cloves. The first is transported thence

into *Persia*, *Surat*, and *Europe*, as also Abundance of Callico; with the latter they furnish the Provinces of *Assam*, *Colconda*, and *Ceromanlel*, who fetch good Quantities of Stuffs there. In the Mountains of *Balagatta* much Lacque is made, but does not approach in Goodness to that of *Guzerat*. At *Vishapour* are Abundance of Jewellers that deal in Pearls; but they are not so cheap here as in some other Places. The Portuguese have a considerable Trade in this Kingdom, its Frontiers reaching within four Leagues of *Goa*. There are a Sort of People called *Venjars* in *Decan*, whose chief Business is to buy up vast Quantities of Wheat and Rice here, and then carry it in great Caravans of one thousand Beasts at a time to *Indostan*, and other neighbouring Countries. They carry their Families along with them, their Wives being to expert in managing of the Bow, that they serve them for a Guard against the *Rajpouts*, and other Robbers.

Two Sorts of Money are current in *Decan*, the *Laris*, or *Laris*, which come from *Persia*, and the *Pagodas*; eight of the first make a *Pagod*, which is equivalent to ten *Laris* of *Dabul*; their Copper Coin is called *Barbarimans*, and whereof go to a *Piece*, and eighteen of these to a *Laris*; besides which, each City, nay, each Village (of Note) has its peculiar Coin, which, together with the common *Laris* Coin, breeds no small Confusion. Their Weights are the same with those of *Guzerat*, except that twenty *Maens* at *Surat* make twenty-seven in *Decan*, the ordinary *Maens* consisting of forty *Cerres*, and one *Cerres* make twenty-seven Pounds, each of which has two Marks; they have a particular Weight for Pepper called *Geom*, weighing twelve *Maens*, four of which make an hundred Weight, and twenty a *Quintary*.

The King of *Decan*, or *Vishapour*, is tributary to the Great Mogul, though it be supposed he cannot number hundred thousand Men; and these Kings have had considerable Wars with the Portuguese, from whom they took twice the City of *Goa* in 1586; but at last, finding the War destructive to their Commerce, came to a Composition with them, which lasted till 1638, when the Portuguese having seized some of the King of *Decan's* Ships, which, contrary to their Agreement, were carrying Pepper to *Mecca* and *Persia*, they came again to Hostilities. The King of *Decan* is famous for his great Artillery, so much he has more than any of the *Indian* Princes; and amongst the rest one great Piece of Brass Cannon, the Ball whereof weigheth eight hundred Weight, and requires five hundred and forty Pounds of Fine Powder. The Engineer who call it was an *Italian*.

3. But to return to our Voyage, early in the Morning, *January* the 7th, we came before the City of *Goa*, belonging to the Portuguese, where we found some Letters of Expectation of a certain Jesuit we were bound to *Goa*; but he not coming, we continued our Course; but were here got a League before we saw a Portuguese Frigate come after us; we backed our Sails till she came near us, and found her to be a Vessel that came on purpose to go along with us under *English* Colours, for fear of being interrupted by the *Dutch*; she brought us some Presents, such as three Oxen, some sheep, Oranges, Citrons, and Bread from the Governor. The 9th we sailed with another Wind by the Isles of *Bandera* and *Bombay*, which I treaded along, for I sail from *Bacon* to *Vishapour*; the last has a good Road for Anchorage, and is of a pretty large Extent. On the 10th we sailed by *Rossapour* within twenty one Leagues of *Goa*, and in the Afternoon by the City of *Vingarla*, where the *Dutch* have a Settlement four Leagues from *Goa*, and in the Evening came in Sight of the Isles about *Goa*, and of two Isles that secure the Harbour. On the 11th we came to an Anchor under the Fort de *Gaonda*, which lies not above a Mile from the City of *Goa*; we saw six Gallions in a Carrack in the Haven; soon after came aboard us a Portuguese Captain to compliment the *English* President in the *Viceroy's* Name, and immediately after the Commode of the Gallion. The Harbour of *Goa* was then blocked up by twelve *Dutch* Ships, notwithstanding which we saw coming in a Caravan, consisting of three hundred and eighty Vessels, laden with Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Sugar, Raisins, and I Presumes, besides Abundance of Fish, and

as also Abundance of Cal
with the Provinces of *Goa*
y, who fetch good Quantities
Mountains of *Balagatta* near
approach in Goodness to that
Abundance of Jewellers that
not so cheap here as in some
e have a considerable Trade
reaching within four Leagues
of People called *Peneiros* in
to buy up vast Quantities
then carry it in great Caravans
to *Indochina*, and other
to carry their Families along
to expect in managing of the
for a Guard against the *Raja*.

current in *Decan*, the *Lana*,
Perfia, and the *Pagoda*; eight
which is equivalent to ten *Lana*
is called *Barlanique*, and
eighteen of these to a *Lana*;
y, each Village of *Nora*, has
together with the count next
tion. Their Weights are the
except the twenty *Mam* (i.
of *Decan*, the ordinary *Mam* is
and one *Coppeja* make twenty-
has two Marks; they have a
upper called *Gram*, which
ch make an hundred Weight.

Vishnour, is tributary to the
supported he can raise two hun-
these Kings have had confider-
guezze, from whom they took
1586; but at last, finding the
committee, came to a Comprom-
ed till 1638, when the *Prin-*
of the King of *Deccan* Steps
agreement, were carrying *Bagge*
came again to *Malacca*. He
for his great Artillery, of which
Indian Princes; and amongst
brais Cannon, the Ball wanted
eight, and requires five hundred
weight. The Engineer would

Voyage, early in the Morning
before the City *Pan* was
ere we found some *Hindus* in
we were to carry to *Goa*; but
ged our Course, but were later
law a *Portuguese* Frigate come
s till the came near us, and found
he on purpose to go along with
for fear of being interrupted by
some *Portuguese* Frigate, and in the
ons, and Break from the *Galleys*
th another Wind by the Isles of
It stretched along the Coast from
all has a good Road for *Vishnour*
Extent. On the 17th we sailed
by one *League* or more, and in the
Pingorta, where the *Deccan* have
s in *Goa*, and in the Evening
about *Goa*, and of two Isles that
the 17th we came to an Anchor
which lies not above a Mile from
six *Galleons* in *Portuguese* the
board us a *Portuguese* Captain
President in the *Viceroy's* Name
he Command of the *Galleons*
was then blocked up by twelve
along which we lay, consisting of
three hundred in all consisting
Ginger, *Cinnamon*, *Spice*, *Rice*,
hills Abundance of *Plum*.

The *English* President, whose Business here was chiefly
with the Director of the *Exchequer*, went to pay him a
Visit, his Trumpets sounding all the Way as he went up
the River, who received him with great Demonstrations
of Friendship, because they had known one another long
before; being carried thence to his Lodgings, he desired
and had Audience given him immediately by the *Viceroy*.
His Palace lying on the River-side, we found divers of his
Gentlemen there to receive and conduct us into the Hall of
Audience, in the Anti-chamber of which Palace we saw his
Guards standing in two Files. The *Viceroy* himself was
dressed in black, and so were all his Courtiers, and at the
coming in of the President rose out of his Chair till the other
was sat down; After some Stay the President was re-con-
ducted to the Water-side by the same Gentleman that
brought us thither; as we passed along we were shewn
twelve of the *Viceroy's* Horses, richly accoutred, and a
Battel, a Creature much about the Bigness and Colour of a
Rein-deer. Its Head like an Horse, its Mane like an
Ass, with black cloven Feet, and two black Horns on his
Head.

We had since dined when we were crowded with *Visi-*
ants, most of the Persons of Quality among the *Portu-*
guezze, and the Deputies of all the Monasteries coming to
compliment us, the ten Days we staid at *Goa* being spent
in nothing but Feasts and Visits. The most magnificent
Entertainment of all we received from a certain *Portuguese*
Lord, who was then Governor of *Mozambique*; each Course
consisted of four Dishes, but we had so many of them, and
such Variety of Meats, Fruits, and Preserves, that I scarce
ever saw the like in my Life; and to add to the rest, we
were served at the Table by four very handsome *Malacca*
Maids. The 16th we were invited to the professed Hou-
se of the *Jesuits*; it consisted of an hundred-and-fifty Fathers,
and as many Students; but the Structure, which was four
Story high, and very spacious, could have contained a
much greater Number. We passed through the Hall,
where we found Tables set all along the Walls with *Trench-*
ers, Drinking-Cups, and Earthen Pots. In the midst of
the Hall we saw another square Table, intended for such
of their Society as were bound over to Penance, upon the
Account of some Delinquency or other. Towards the
Entry stood a Pillar, from whence issued out a Spout of
Water for the Convenience of washing their Hands; we
were thence conducted into a noble Apartment, richly fur-
nished, and adorned with *Tapettry*, where a Table stood
ready prepared for us in the midst of the Room, covered
with Fruits and Bread in *Porcelain* Dishes, which is here
preferred before *Silver*.

The Father Provincial having placed the *English* Presi-
dent on his right Hand, let down, and so did the Rest of
the Company; so that betwixt every two sat two *Jesuits* to
entertain us. The Meat was likewise served up in *Porce-*
lain Vessels, as well as the Dessert. After Dinner we were
brought into several Chambers to take our Repose, accord-
ing to the Custom of the Country; after which we passed
into another spacious Hall, where we had the Diversion of
Dancing, by certain *Indian* Children brought up in the *Rom-*
an Catholic Religion; there were among other Shews
an Entry made by fifteen Persons, having in their Hands
some Pieces of a broken Pillar, and divers Garlands of
Flowers, wherewith they adorned the Pillar, after they had
with exact Observance of the Cadence, each in their several
Turnings put it together; and soon after we saw at the Top
of the Pillar came out a Tulip, which opening of Itself by
Door, produced the Image of the Blessed *Virgin*, with
our Saviour in her Arms: besides which, the Pillar opened
in several other Places, and cast forth perfumed Waters;
after which the Dancers took the Pillar to Pieces again, and
danced it off dancing as they had brought it in. We had
another Entry of twelve young Lads, each playing upon a
peculiar Instrument, some *Morris*-dancers, and the Ball
was concluded with another Entry of twelve Boys dressed
like *Aper*, who imitated those Creatures in their Leapings
and Gestures to the Life. They farther told us, that they
desired these Incitements to bring over the *Pagans* and *Moham-*
medans to the Church, and to divert their Displeas'd
their Studies.

January the 18th we dined with the *Jesuits* at their Col-
lege called *Bon Jesus*. The first Thing we observed in their
Halls were the Pictures of many Princes and Persons of
Quality that had been of this Society, and the History of
their Martyrs; among whom we found those of that Fra-
ternity that were engaged in the Gunpowder Plot in *Eng-*
land; upon which Account they made us an ample Re-
lation of the Sufferings of their Brethren in *Japan*, and the
unheard-of Cruelties exercised against them, as well as the
Japanese Christians. Thence they brought us into their
Church, which for its Greatness and Sumptuousness may,
without all Comparison, challenge the Preference before any
Church the *Jesuits* are Masters of in *Asia*. The high Altar
was one of the most magnificent that ever I beheld of that
kind; but that which was dedicated to *Saint Francis Xavier*,
whom they stile the Apostle of the *Indies*, exceeds the other
in Riches.

Here we saw his Image drawn to the Life upon Wood;
and they were pleased to tell us, that his Body was yet to be
seen in the same Church as intire as it was the first Minute
after his Death; nay, they farther told us, that the Body of
this *Saint* being hid in the Isle of *Ceylon*, was discovered by
its odoriferous Scent, which was perceived many Leagues at
Sea; in which the good Fathers were not a little deceived,
since the Scent, which is smelled at a great Distance from
the Island of *Ceylon*, proceeds from the vast Number of
Cinnamon-Trees which are all over that Island. Besides,
that this Story does not agree with what *Maffeus*, one of
their Authors, tells us concerning this *Saint*, viz. that
having preached the Gospel in the *Indes*, he came to
Uzina, where he died immediately after his Landing; and
that the Master of the Vessel having put his Body into un-
flacked Lime, in order to carry his Bones away, this cor-
roding Matter did not exert its Virtue upon it, but the
Body remained entire and uncorrupted, and had a very
odoriferous Smell; whereupon it was resolved to carry it
to *Goa*, which was done accordingly. As we were going
from the Church to the Relectory, they forgot not to en-
tertain us with the Miracles of this *Saint*, of his raising the
Dead, commanding the Sea and Winds, as well as the
Sun, the last of which he brought back an Hour after
Sun-set.

We saw in the Hall here Tables for above two hundred
Persons, but only the most considerable dined with us, the
rest waited: Our Entertainment was much the same as in
the other College, but we had most excellent Canary given
us; and though these Fathers have the Reputation of ex-
traordinary Sobriety, yet out of Complaisance to our Com-
pany, they were not backward in making the Cup go
round when they perceived we liked the Wine. They also
carried us up into the Steeple, whence we had a full View
of all the City, the Sea, the River, and the adjacent Coun-
try, as far as the Mountains. The next Morning two of
the Fathers came to our Lodgings to shew us the Hospital
which is under the Inspection of the *Jesuits*. It is a very
large and noble Structure, containing as many Chambers,
Halls, and Galleries as will conveniently lodge and accom-
modate one thousand sick Persons; each Bed is marked
with a particular Number, and such as are not taken up are
distinguished by a particular Mark. The Kitchen and
Apothecary's Shop are well worth Observation. I found
the chief Distempers of the Sick here to be the Bloody-flux
and the Pox. They have this Custom, that as soon as any
Patient is past all Hopes of Recovery, he is shut up in a
private Room with a Priest, that the rest may not be dis-
turbed by the Groans of the dying Person.

Hence we went to the Convent of our Lady belonging
to the *Augustinians*, which, being built upon rising Ground,
makes a most glorious Shew at a Distance. I delivered to
them the Letters of Recommendation I had received from
their Brethren at *Ispahan*, which made them treat me with
more than ordinary Civilities, shewing me all the rich
Capes and Vestments belonging to the Monasteries, and
offering me all that lay in their Power for my Service.
The President having by this Time received nine thousand
Pounds due, and a Promise of the Payment of the Rest to
such of the *English* Merchants as were to fly behind at
Goa, he gave a splendid Entertainment to all such as had
shewed

showed us any Civilities, and after having taken his Leave, the Governor and Commodore of the Galeons sent him a Present of Cinnamon, Canary, Sheep, Fruits, and among the rest a Bottle of Oil made of the Flowers of Cinnamon.

4. On the 20th we left *Goa*, and upon the River met with an hundred small Vessels which came from the Coast of *Malabar*; we were no sooner got out of the River, but we made it our Course to the *Portuguese* Fleet, and went aboard the Flag Galeon called *San Jesus*, carrying sixty-four Guns, and six hundred Men; she was a very noble Ship, and we were entertained with extraordinary Civility by the Commodore, who showed us likewise all the other Ships; at parting we had the usual Salute from the whole *Portuguese* Fleet, as also from the Fort de *Guarda*. As soon as the President was come on board, he returned them twenty Guns, which the Commodore answered with as many, and so came to an Anchor in the Road betwixt the *Portuguese* and the *Dutch*.

But before we take our Leave of *Goa*, it will not be amiss to say something of what we found most remarkable in a Place which is the Capital of all belonging to the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*. It lies in the Kingdom of *Decan*, 15° on this Side the Line, in an Island of the same Name, which is divided from the Continent only by a River. The *Portuguese* conquered it the 14th of *February* 1510, but lost it again the 30th of *May* following, and regained it once more the 12th of *November* in the same Year, when they took it by Storm. It was at that Time a very considerable Place of Trade, though it has much increased since the *Portuguese* have been Masters of it. On the South Side is the Island of *Salsette*, likewise divided from the Continent by a small River, as is the Isle of *Bardes* to the North, where there is safe Anchorage for Ships with all Winds. The Fort de *Guarda* is built at the Foot of a Rock, upon which is erected a Tower in Form of a Redoubt, which in the Night-time serves for a Beacon to Mariners; from the Mouth of the River to the Harbour is about two Leagues, but it has the same Breadth all along, though in some Places it is so shallow, that in a dry Season there is not above two Foot Water.

The Island of *Goa* is so barren, that it produces nothing fit for the Substance of Men or Beasts, except a few Fruits in the Gardens, and a slender Share of Grains for Lambs and Goats; notwithstanding which, they are so plentifully furnished with Provisions from the two before-mentioned Islands, and the Continent, that in Spight of the Blockade of the *Dutch*, a Hog was then sold for a Crown, six sucking Pigs, ten Pullets, or eight Wild-ducks, for the same Price; but Beef and Mutton is a great Rarity here. There is a Fountain representing *Lucretia*, out of whose Wound issues forth as much fresh Water as supplies the whole City. The Ships provide themselves with fresh Water out of a Rivolet, which coming out of a Rock falls into the other River near the Cattle. The City has no other Defence but the River, having neither Gates nor Walls; the Buildings are generally very handsome, and Persons of Note bring a great deal of Magnificence here both in their Buildings and Furniture.

The Inhabitants are of two Sorts, either *Castiles*, or *Mestizes*; the first are such as are born here of *Portuguese* Father and Mother; the second, those who were begotten by a *Portuguese*, or an *Indian*. The last are inclining to an olive Colour, and in the third Generation becomes as black as the Natives of the Country, which is also observable in the fourth Generation of the *Mestizes*, though there is not the least Mixture among them. The *Portuguese* are distinguished into several Ranks; *Titulados* are those in publick Employments, *Idalgos da Casa del Rey*, are Gentlemen in ordinary to the King's Household; *Mocas Idalgos* are the Sons of the *Titulados*, admitted to Gentility by the King; the *Cavaleros Idalgos*, and *Esfueros Idalgos*, are simply Gentlemen; those called *Mocas da Camra*, or Grooms of the King's Chamber, pass also for Gentlemen. All the rest are *Hombres*, *Honrados*, and *Soldados*; the first or which are Merchants, and appear as well as any Gentlemen, there being scarce any thing here, except Tailors and Shoemakers, but what are served by Slaves; no Person of Quality ever goes on Foot, but either on Horseback, in

a Litter, or Gondola, one Slave among the rest constantly attending him with an Umbrella.

The *Portuguese* have always had the Reputation of being a very proud Nation; but those of *Goa* are so to such an Excess both in their Gestures and Actions, as is scarce to be expressed; however, they are very courteous to one another, to such a Point, that if, for Instance, in a Visit any thing should be omitted that is judged customary, and belonging to the Person that requires it, such a Person could not be wiped off without a Cudgeling, or Blood-fight; with the first they are very liberal towards a free Person, if they think them to have been wanting in Respect due to those of a better Rank.

The South-west Winds, which begin to blow here towards the End of *June*, bring the Winter Season along with them, which continues for four Months all along the Coast, from *Diu* as far as the *Cape Comorin*, at which Time the frequent Tempests make the Sea so turbulent, that there are but few Havens where Ships can ride with Safety. This is the more to be admired, inasmuch as in the same Months the Coasts of *Coremandel*, which extend along the same Peninsula on the other Side, and lies under the same Degree of Latitude, nay, in some Places are not above twenty Leagues distant from the Coast of *Malabar*, are filled with the most pleasant Season of all the Year.

This is manifest to those who travel from *Goa* by Land to *St. Thomas*, when they must cross the Mountain of *Taligatta*, which divides this *Demarcation* (as the *Portuguese* call *Italy*) and no sooner come to the Top of the Mountain, but they see on one Side a most clear and serene Sky, and the Country on the other Side covered with a thick and continual Rains and Fogs. The *Portuguese* from *Ormuz* to the Cape of *Keppelgate* have made great Observations; for no sooner have they pulled the Anchor, but the Weather that has attended them thither changes so suddenly into dreadful Tempests, so that it is scarce that there are but two Seasons in this Country, and the East and West Winds rule alternately once a Day; for the first six, or Land-winds coming from the East, blow from Mid-night to Mid-day, but do not reach above ten Leagues to the Sea; whereas the Sea-Winds coming from the West (call *Virafons*) blow all the rest of the Day.

This so sudden Change of the Season, as well as the Variation of the Winds, prove the Occasion of many Distempers, especially that called *Morleya*, which kills without Delay, besides Fevers and Bloody Flux, for the Remedy against which here is Bleeding. The Plague is not so much as known in the *Indies*; but the *Portuguese* bring a great Number, and above all in the *Portuguese*; for though the Country here is full of many Remedies against this Distemper, yet the Inhabitants betwixt the Sexes are so strong, and so hot tempered, that they will afford themselves a proper Time to cure themselves of this Disease, which is thus propagated beyond all Bounds. As the Women in these Parts have an exceeding Inclination to white Men, and are always kept under Constraint, they will venture very hard to contravert their Liberty, in order to pursue this End, frequently make use of the *Phylidone*, *Datura*, or *Datura* (as it is called by the *Indians*) to supply their Husband's Senses to see an Opportunity of doing what they so much desire in. This Herbs is a kind of *Turkey* and *Perfians* *Datura*, is a kind of *Sagittaria*, and being sown to the *Goats* of *India*, and *Cis* *Joseph* *de* *India*, being somewhat like our Bear's Foot, and grows in the *Indies* in shady Places; of this they extract the Juice, which is green, or only take the Seed beaten to Powder, and mix it either with Preterives, or in the Juice of *Oranges*; they pretend to sludy, which it does effectually in twenty or thirty Hours after he has taken it, being deprived of all Sense of Motion, though with his Eyes open, and his Tongue out; Water be applied to the soles of his Feet, was recovered him, as it were, out of a sound Sleep.

Scarce any *Portuguese* or *Mestize* Women are seen to walk in the Streets; but if they go abroad upon necessary Occasions, they are carried in Palanquins or Litters, and so closely guarded, that it is impossible to speak to them. They appear abroad richly dressed, in Velvet, Silks, and Brocades, adorned with Jewels, though at the same Time

he would, but we lost Sight of them by Night. On the 23d we had Sight of them again, and supposed that they steered their Course towards *Ceylon*, to assist the King against the *Portuguese*. About Noon we found ourselves out of Sight of the Land, in 13° Lat. We intended to steer for the Coast of *Malabar*, upon Information that an *English* Ship, richly Laden, coming from *Bantam*, was taken by force, after a brave Defence, in which it had blown up above 1200 of the *Moors*, after they were entered the Ship. Our Intent was to redeem the Master and the Mate, with fourteen Prisoners that were taken aboard her; but coming to an Anchor the same Night in the Harbour of *Cananor*, we found three *English* Ships, the *Dragon*, the *Chickens*, and the *Sonsour*, commanded by Captain *Hodde*, a very experienced Sea Officer, who had served at the taking of *Ormu*, by whom being informed, that most of those Prisoners were set at Liberty, we resolved to leave the Coast of *Malabar*. The City of *Cananor* is inhabited by *Malabars*, a People that inhabit that Coast from the City of *Goa* as far as the Cape of *Comorin*, but the *Portuguese* have a good Fleet at *Cananor*.

As that Tract of Land is very fertile in Spices, but especially in Pepper, which is esteemed better even than that which is brought from *Sumatra* and *Java*. They go for the most part naked, except that they cover their privy Parts, have Holes in their Laps, and are like the *African* *Moors*, except that their Laps are not quite so thick. Their Hair they tie in a Knot upon the Crown of their Heads, and let the Beard grow without any trimming, which makes them appear more like Monsters than Men; neither is their internal Disposition unalterable to their external Appearance, being in effect a very uncivilized and brutish Generation, and making for the most part Protection either of Pravity or Solitary. They are rather fierce than brave, handle their Bows and Arrows, and use of Swords and Bucklers, with sufficient Dexterity. They have their particular King, who being of the Sect of the *Isamans*, is another high Priest, and rules himself *Zonari*, or Emperor of *Cananor* and *Calicut*. The *Nayers* are the Gentlemen of the Country, who by their Brackets and Rings are distinguished from the *Pehals*, or vulgar Sort, the last being obliged to go out of their Way, and pay them a pecuniar Respect as they pass by. I was told, that at the Time of the first Settlement of the *Portuguese* in those Parts, the *Nayers* pretended to have the same Honours from the *Portuguese*, which their (who were no less proud than the other) refusing to comply with, it was agreed, the Difference should be decided by a single Combat between a *Portuguese* and a *Nayer*, in which the last having got the better, the *Nayers* ever since pay the same Respect to the *Portuguese* as the *Pehals* do to them.

They have among other Privileges this, that they may freely enter the Houses of their Comrades, and please themselves with their Wives and Daughters, the Signal being to have their Sword and Buckler at the Door; which is not to be done, not even the Master of the House, will enter to disturb them, but a *Nayer* will never degrade himself so far as to have any Commerce with the Wife of a *Pehal*. The *Malabars* use Botkins, with which they write upon the Bark of Cocoa trees; their Characters being quite different from those of the other *Indians*, are understood only by the *franciscans*. The King of *Calicut* never eats or drinks any thing but what has been presented before to his Page, or Fool. The Inheritance to the Crown does not fall to the Son, but his Sister's Son, since, as the *Bramans* here have the First-fruits of the Bride's Virginity, the Children are supposed to be begotten by them. As to the City of *Goa*, Notice must be taken, that there are two of that Name in the same Kingdom of *Cochin*, one whereof is situated by *Malabars*, and lies upon a great River, the last of which we now speak, lies upon the Coast, and is under the Protection of the *Portuguese*, having the Sea to the West, and being surrounded on the East-side with a Forest of certain black Trees, which the *Indians* call *Goa*, and make Boats of, and will go with the Rays of *Goa*.

The Entrance of the Harbour is rocky and dangerous. The Coast of the Water Season, which twell the neigh-

bouring Brooks, force so much Earth during the Time into the Mouth of the Harbour, that it is stopped up and quite unpassable, till the Wind, which changes with the Season, carries the same into the Sea. The *Portuguese* buy the Pepper here from the King at a certain Rate, who is one of the most potent Princes of all those Parts, being able to bring into the Field 100,000 Men, mostly *Nayers*, who are obliged to appear in Arms at their own Charge. His Subjects are something more civilized than the other *Malabars*, but observe the same Rule in their Marriages concerning the *Bramans*, and consequently in respect of their Succession. The chief Trade of *Cochin* is in Pepper, Ginger, and Cinnamon. The *Malabars* had formerly but one King, till *Sarima Perimal*, who after commanded on all that Coast from *Goa* to *Comorin*, having embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, and reigned upwards of his Days near the Sepulchre of the Prophet, divided his Dominions among his new-found Friends, to wit, the *Coast* that the Kings of *Cananor*, *Cochin*, and *Comorin* should pay Homage to the King of *Calicut*, upon which they that Reason he bestowed the Title of *Zamora*, or Emperor, but notwithstanding this the King of *Cochin* is more potent than he.

On the 26th we left *Cananor*, and the next Day we covered eighteen Sail of Ships, which making up towards us, we began to suspect them for Pirates, as indeed they proved. We had just Time enough to put ourselves in a Posture of Defence, when they began to come pretty near us, but did not think fit to attack us till Morning, when the Moon shining very bright, they launched out on all Sides, but were to warmly received, that we killed two and disabled three or four more, who were almost sick of retreating. We passed that Night at anchor in the Fort of *Cochin*, and the 27th saw a Fleet of thirteen of these Pirates following us at a Distance; we continued our Course with a fair Gale in Sight of the Cape of *Comorin*, to the S. E. of us, being the most southern Part of the *Indies*, known among the Ancients by the Name of *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*. The next Morning the *Malabars* made a Shew as if they intended to attack us, but the other British with us, but a Volley of Shot, that sent out Bullets, sent them a going, so that we were free of them.

The 29th we came within Sight of the Island of *Cochin*, at the very Point of which we were being chased three Weeks. This Isle extends from the South to the North-East, between the two Capes of *Comorin* and *Mogapatin*, about ten Leagues from the Coast, its Length being sixty Leagues, and its Breadth about Circumference two hundred and fifty, and according to the Report of the Inhabitants, its Commerce was much greater before the Violence of the Sea carried away a great Part of Land on the Side towards *Comorin*, which is the richest and most fertile of all the *Indian* Islands, and is supposed to be the *Tropics* of the Ancients, though I am not ignorant that some of our modern Travellers make it the Isle of *Sumatra*, of which it is not far distant, did not with us Reason call the Isle of *Cochin* the richest and most fertile of all the *Indian* Islands, it is not reasonable that it has not only great Plenty of various other Islands produce, but, besides, that which is the Orange, Lemon, and Cinnamon trees, which send forth a fragrant Smell at a great Distance into the Sea, that that there is no precious Stone but what it affords, Diamonds; Pearls they take there in abundance, and altogether to fine as those of *Babarum*; and Reason, which it affords the finest Ivory in the World, the Discovery of it is owing to the *Portuguese*, who *Lawrence*, Son of *Franco* *Almeida*, in the first Voyage, was one of the Kings of the Island, since which the Dutch took Care to fortify themselves in the Island, and were chafed thence, and consequently left the Island, by the *Dutch*, in 1637.

The *Dutch* did not trade here till the Death of the Regent of *Tomala Perma Sarada*, King of *Comorin*, the most potent, and in a manner the only potent Prince of the whole Island, who a century ago died in a very extraordinary manner, for the Effects of his being become vacant by the Death of a young Prince,

from a Bastard, was advanced to that high Dignity, the *Portuguese* took this Opportunity to establish themselves in *Ceylon*; but *Fimala Derma Suriada*, Son of one of the chief Men in the Kingdom, who had been educated among the *Portuguese* and baptized, and by their Interest advanced to the Dignity of High-Constable, disliking the Encroachments of a Nation whom he knew would be in a little Time for grasping at all, had so gained the Affection of the Soldiery, that he prevailed with them to kill all the *Portuguese* in the Town of *Candy*, and to declare open War against them; which being done, he was by the *Cingalese* declared King. The *Portuguese* had among them a certain Prince, the next Heir to the Crown, who was baptized, and named *Catharina*. *Pedro Lopez de Sousa* being the General of *Malacca* for the *Portuguese*, resolving to enter the Country with a good Army, strengthening his Interest, brought the said *D. Catharina* along with him, and having caused her to be declared lawful Heiress to the Kingdom of *Candy*, made himself Master of the capital City of the same Name; but being closely blocked up by *Fimala Derma*, who intercepted his Foragers, and cut off his Provisions, found himself constrained to come to a Battle in 1505, in which he was put to the Rout, himself killed upon the spot, and *D. Catharina* taken Prisoner by *Fimala*; who afterwards, to strengthen his Title to the Crown, married her. Four Years after the *Portuguese* made a second Attempt against *Candy*, but not with much better Success; for though they were not absolutely routed, yet were they so harried that they did not think fit any longer to continue the War with him.

The *Dutch*, at their first Settlement, had not much better Fortune; for though the King received in the Year 1602 their Admiral with a great deal of Civility, yet in the next following Year, having commanded their Vice-Admiral with fifty of his Men to be put to Death, the *Dutch* laid aside their Design of trading there, till having found an Opportunity of gaining the Fort of *Punto de Gallo* from the *Portuguese*, and fortifying the Harbour of *Negambo*, they began to establish themselves there, and at last accomplished it by taking of *Colombo* from the *Portuguese*. The King of *Candy* is the most potent and most absolute of all the other Princes in the Isle of *Ceylon*. He takes great Delight, as well in the *European* Way of Building, as in their Fortifications. The Kingdom is situated all along upon that River, upon which the City of *Joanna*, which serves for an Harbour to the King's Ships. The Inhabitants resemble the *Malabars*, but that they are not quite so black. They generally go naked, except that some use *Portuguese* Doublets. They all wear Pendants in their Ears and Pontils at their Sides. The Women likewise go with their Breasts uncovered; but for the rest, they are very modest both in their Clothing and Conversation, dressing their Heads much like the *European* Women, with their Hair close behind, and tied in Tresses. They appear in Gold and silver Garments with Rings upon their Hands, Feet, and Legs, set with precious Stones. They live conveniently enough in their Houses, their Ways being good Housetwives, and especially well skilled in Cookery. The *Gingayes* are so much addicted to an idle Life and Inefficiency, that they are neither fit for War nor any thing else.

Ceylon is, as I said before, beyond all Dispute, the most plentiful Isle of all the *Indies*, nothing can be named either of Provisions or Fruits, but what is very cheap here; though they are *Pagans* they eat of every thing in general, even Pork (abstaining only from the Flesh of an Ox or Cow). The *Mohammadians* enjoy a full Liberty among them; and the *Pagan* Inhabitants abstain from Wine as well as they. They have a great Veneration for their Brahmans; they marry their Males at ten or twelve Years of Age, and burn their Dead. *Fimala Derma*, whom we spoke of before, had got it as much Christianity as could be expected among the *Indian Portuguese*, which he soon laid aside; so that his Successors continued in their Idolatry. Some of the Inhabitants worship the Head of an Elephant cut in Wood or Stone, who, they say, out-do Mankind in Judgment, and therefore pray for Willdom to them.

They lay up every Day a certain Share of their Provisions in a Basket kept for that Purpose for their Pagods,

and hold it as a Point of Faith, that the World will not perish as long as their grand Temples, which may be discovered at a great Distance at Sea betwixt *Punto de Gallo* and *Monte Callo*, shall remain standing. They have another Opinion concerning a certain Mountain in this Island, named *Pico d'Adam*, where they say the first Man was created, and that the Spring on the Top of the Mountain arose from the Tears that *Eve* shed for *Abel*; and that the Isle of *Ceylon* was the terrestrial Paradise. This Tincture of Christianity gives us sufficient Hopes, that among a People, docile enough in themselves, the Christian Religion might be established, if People were as forward in the Work of Salvation as to gain Riches. There is scarce any other King in the Isle of *Ceylon*, except him of *Candy*, but what pays some small Tribute by way of Acknowledgment to the *Portuguese*, of which the King of *Matucala* pays no more than fifty Ducats per Annum.

Ceylon affords very good Pepper, but their staple Commodity is Cinnamon. The Kingdom of *Flaply* hath certainly both Gold and Silver Mines, but are not wrought by an express Inhibition from the King; neither must their precious Stones be sold to any but the King; but, as they have such Plenty of them that they are found among the Gravel that is washed down from the adjacent Mountains, and carried along with the Current of the Water; so it is impossible to prevent their being sold underhand to Strangers. This Isle also furnishes sufficient Store of Timber and Stone for Building; of Corn, Oil, and Wine, if they would take the Pains to cultivate the Vines, Cotton, divers Roots for the Use of Dyers, Ginger, Cardamum, Mircobolans, Corcoona, Nutmegs, and divers medicinal Drugs, and of Rice they have such Store that they furnish the whole Coast of *Coromandel* with that Commodity. The *Dutch* buy the Cinnamon here at the rate of an hundred and twenty-eight Livres the Hundred Weigh.

8. While we were becalmed near this Isle, I had the Opportunity of making an Enquiry of our President and some Jesuits, who were on Board us, and had spent most of their Days in the *Indies*, concerning those Parts I had not seen, according to whole Relation I thought fit to insert the following Account. Near the Cape of *Comorin*, along the Coast of *Malabar*, for a Tract of near an hundred and fifty Leagues by Sea, extended the Isles (by some accounted One thousand) called *Maldives* by the *Portuguese*, having the Cape to the North. Some of which being by my Law that they are often full of Inhabitants are not inhabited, others are. The *Malabars* are of Opinion that they were torn from the Continent by the Violence of the tempestuous Waves of the Sea, which, in some Places, is at so slender a Distance from the Continent, that a bulk active Fellow might leap over it. The capital City, which has given its Name of *Maldives* to all the Islands, is built upon four small Isles, being the Residence of the King, who commands over all the rest, and a Place of good Trade, though they produce naturally scarce any thing but Coconos, but the Industry of the Inhabitants supplies, in some measure, the Defect of Nature here, there being not any Nation in the *Indies* more ingenious in making Garments of Silk and Thread than they. The Coast of *Coromandel* being in the most Eastern Part of the *Indies* on this Side of the *Ganges*, is divided from the *Malabar* Coast by the Mountains of *Balagatta*, its Extent being one hundred Leagues along the Coast from *Cape Comorin*, or rather the Point of *Negapatan*, as far as the River *Nagard* and the Town of *Mullapatan*, which, as it has excellent Harbours, and the best Roads for Anchorage in the *Indies*, so it serves for a late Retreat for such Vessels as are by the tempestuous Winter-season forced from the Coast of *Angeratz* thither, where the Climate and Weather is very good at that Time.

The *Portuguese* are Masters of the Town of *St. Thomas*. On this Coast, they say, that went by the *Indies* themselves of *Ceylon* and *Cranganor*, the Inhabitants of this Coast, who were Christians of the *Church* Kingdom, expelled the Protection of the King of *Portugal*. To each this Tradition, they affirm, that *St. Thomas*, one of the twelve Apostles, after he had taught the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Nabonga*, petitioned the King to give him Leave to build a

Chapel for the performing of Devotion, which being strongly opposed by the *Pagan* Priests, it happened that a prodigious Piece of Timber being lodged at the very Entrance of the Harbour of the City of *Mahapour*, which hindered the free Passage of all the Ships, a Trial was made by Elephants, and all other Ways, even by consulting the Magicians themselves, to remove it thence, but in vain; whereupon the King issued his Proclamation, by which he offered a considerable Reward to such as would undertake to clear the Harbour. *St. Thomas* offered his Service, reserving to himself no other Reward than the Piece of Timber. The Day appointed for this Purpose being come, and the Saint appearing without any other Instrument to effect it than his Girdle, which he fastened to the Beam, all there present laughed at his Endeavours; but he no sooner began to pull, than the vast Piece of Timber, which could not be moved before by the Strength of so many Elephants, followed without the least Difficulty; at which the King being surprized to the highest Degree, permitted him to build the Chapel according to his Request; which to incen'd the *Brahmins*, that they set certain People to murder him whilst he was at his Devotions in the said Chapel. *Maffeus* says, that by the special Command of *John* King of *Portugal*, the Bones of this Saint were searched for, and found on the Coast of *Coromandel*, and thence transferred to *Goa*, where a very fine Church was erected to his Memory.

On the other hand, both *Rufinus* and *Socrates* affirm, that *St. Thomas* suffered Martyrdom at *Malissa* in *Megopotamia*, and that they used to go on Pilgrimage to his Sepulchre there. The Town of *St. Thomas*, though none of the biggest, yet is well built, most of the Houses being of Stone. The Church has no Steeple; it contains about six or seven hundred Inhabitants, *Portuguese*, and *Melizes*, and some *Armenian* Merchants; the *Indians*, *Pagans*, and *Mohammedans* living at a Place called *Mahapour*, seated upon a Rivulet two Leagues to the North of *St. Thomas*, which was formerly the capital City of the Kingdom, but is now reduced to a very indifferent Condition.

From *April* to *September*, whilst the S. and S. W. Winds blow upon this Coast, the Road here is very safe, but all the remaining Part of the Year small Vessels are obliged to shelter themselves within the River of *Palaicaste*, and the greater in the Harbour of *Negapatian*; there is five Fathom Water within Cannon-shot of the Town, but makes a very good Landing-place, by reason of the Roughness of the Sea. The *Dutch* have considerable Traffick on this Coast, but especially at *Pelapouli*, or *Negapatian*, and at *Palaicaste*, where they have the Fort *Gutharia*. This whole Country was formerly divided into three separate Kingdoms, *i. e.* of *Coromandel*, *Narfinga*, and *Bijnagar*, which is now subject to one Prince, whose Residence is at *Aranga*, and sometimes at *Narfinga*. The Kingdom of *Orissa* lies above the Town of *Muslipatan*, extending to the River of the same Name to that of *Guenga*; the *Dutch* include this in the Coast of *Coromandel*. *Muslipatan* and *Gowenda* are its two chief Cities; the first is considerable for its Commerce, the last for being the ordinary Residence of its Kings. It produces abundance of Salt, and some Diamonds, among which all that weigh above five Carats belong to the King. To the North of *Orissa* lies the Kingdom of *Bengal*, whence the Gulph, known to the Ancients by the *Sinus Gangeticus*, has got its Name. The chief Traffick is Rice, Sugar, Cottons, Calicoes, but especially in Silk, which for Goodness exceeds all other in the Indies. Hence also are brought the finest Canes; and they have another sort of Canes out of which they make Drinking vessels, and being lacquered, will hold any Liquid as well as cups of Metal. Here grows a certain Herb, the Stalk of which is of the Thickness of a Man's Thumb, having on the Top a large Button like a Tassel, that ripens out, and furnishes Materials for an excellent kind of Sugar, much esteemed by the *Portuguese*, who call this *Saccharum de Bengala*.

The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, leading a very barbarous Kind of Life, Thieving and Adultery being their ordinary Vices, though severely punished. They worship the *Genies*, out of an Opinion that its Water cleanses them from all their Iniquities, which is the Reason that the King

of *Narfinga* sends for the Water he washes himself with from that River. The Kingdom of *Pegu* borders to the East upon *Bengal*, owing its Name to its Metropolis; there the King keeps his constant Residence. *Gaspard Balbi* tells us Wonders of this Kingdom, which I had not the Opportunity to see; and since others also have given us an Account of what they themselves have observed, I will only add, that the City is divided into two Parts, *viz.* the new and old City; the first of which is inhabited by Merchants, the second is properly the Residence of the King and his Court, which is exactly four square, surrounded with a broad Moat, in which Crocodiles are kept for its better Security. The Palace Royal is far taller than *Venice*, and separated from the City by its regular Fortifications, which have no more than two Gates; the King keeps above eight hundred Elephants within the City, among which those for his own Use pay him Ransom, being trained to it.

If we may rely on *Balbi's* Testimony, the King is next to the Emperor of *China* the most potent upon Earth, being able to bring 1,300,000 Men into the Field, eight hundred Elephants, who are for the most part employed at the Charge of his Lords. Among other Curiosities in their Temples, there is one of nearly Golden, and placed within the Palace, with a Crown set with precious Stones on his Head, and one only of the Bigness of a Palm on his Forehead, with Pendants of an immense Value, as Ears, a Scarf about the Waist, and a Crown on each Shoulder, and under the left Arm a Chain of small Diamonds, and other precious Stones. The Chapel has two Silver Idols of the same Shape, but two Inches higher than the former, with Crowns set with Gems, and a fourth, which exceeds all the rest, besides a five or six Copper and Brass, valued at more than the other two. *Pegu* affords more Elephants than all the rest of the East; they are taken by means of the Females, who catch them out of the Woods into the Stables, where they live until that hold but one of these Beasts, while they are kept till they are tamed. The Arms of the *Peguans* are generally Half-pikes made of Canes, short and broad Swords and Bucklers, and Helmets made of bodd Leather, lacquered, and gummed over with a certain Gum called *Aharan*. The People are *Pagans*, believe one supreme God, whom a great many Vicegerents under him, whom they acknowledge for Gods, and that they are the Authors of all Good that happens to Mankind; as on the other side the Devil is the Author of all Evil, whom they adore in many worship, to appease his Wrath. The Day on which they hold their Devotions is *Monday*; they celebrate New Year in a Year, called by them *Sapan*. The first, called *Sapan Graceli*, is celebrated by a Pilgrimage, by the King and whole Court, twelve Leagues out of Town, with great Magnificence. The second, called *Sapan Graceli*, is celebrated in Honour of the Statues in the Royal Court, and is also the third, called *Sapan Graceli*, is celebrated by the King and Court, by eating Rote-water at one another, and the third, called *Sapan Donon*, is a kind of Race of Boats upon the River in the Presence of the King and Queen.

When the King dies, they join two Boats together, and putting a Table in the Middle of one, they lay themselves upon the Table, under which they make a Fire of Wood, Storax, Benzoin, and other sweet-smelling Woods and Gums, which being lent down the River, the King attending, rejoice and sing, till the Boats are burnt, which they mix with Milk into a Paste, and cast it into the Sea at the Mouth of the River; after this they preserve and lay up in a Chapel built to that purpose. The Priests carry an empty Battle at their Heads, and in red Vellments, coming down to their Heads, a Cloak reaching to their Hams, and wear their Hairs about themselves against the Sun-beams, their Heads being shaved. They go bare-footed, live by Mischance, and Mendicant Prayers, eat Fuz once a Day, and sleep in the Forests in hanging Mats fastened to the Branches of Trees. They lead a very exemplary Life, and in many Mornings early go about to visit the People, and to exhort them, and in their Sermons they exhort their Auditors to Modesty. They have no Aversion to their women, who are

Water he washes himself with
glom of Pegu borders to the
Name to its Metropolis;
contant Residence. *Cappo*
Kingdom, which I had not
since others also have given
themselves have observed
is divided into two Parts,
the first of which is habited
properly the Residence of the
is exactly four square, in
in which Crocodiles are kept
Palace Royal is had there is
from the City by two regular
no more than two or three
Elephants within the Castle,
own Ute pay him Revenue,

s Testimony, this King is the
most potent upon Earth being
Ten into the Sea, the Light
is for the most part maintained

Among other things, as we
of nearly God in the World
crown set with precious stones
of the Bigness of a Diamond
of an mettled Vulture as
Balk, and a Crown on the right
left Arm a Chrysolite of
ous Stones. The most Chapel
ume Shape, but with the higher
owns set with pearls and
he rest, besides a diamond set
at more than three hundred
ts than all the rest of the World;
the Females, who are the most
Stables, where they have Prins
Beats, who are they are kept
ms of the *Peguans* are generally
thort and broad Swains and
le of boiled Leathie in a Jug,
ertain Gum called *Ahorn*. In
one supreme God, whom a
under him, whom they worship
that they are the Ancestors
kind; as on the other side the
evil, whom they call *Rey* or
rath. The Day on which they
nday, they celebrate the Feast
Sapan. The first, called *Sapan*
a Pilgrimage, by which they
ies out of Lower, with the
rd, called *Sapan*, is a
Statues in the Royal Palace,
an *Gratom* regimen, which are
elaborated by the King's Court,
one another, in the Palace
Race of Beasts upon the Water
ng and Queen.

They join two Bats together, and
iddle of one, they say the same
which they make a Pair of
and another will be the same
ent down the stream, the
s, till the flesh be all gone,
k into a Palle, and they
the River, cut the flesh
a Chapel built for that purpose
Battle at the City of
g down to their Houses
ams, and we are to see that
Sun-beams, that they are
rooted, live by a
at once a Day, and repeat
fallen to the Bottom of the
ary Late, and on Monday
the People to see, and
y about their Ancestors, to
crition to their own Children

ans, but exclaim against the worshipping the Devil, a Cuf-
tom so deeply rooted among the *Peguans*, that with all
their Arguments they are not able to dissuade them
from it.

They are in great Veneration among the most sensible
Men of the Nation. Their Corpses are burnt like their
Kings, with sweet Woods, the Ashes cast into the River,
and their Bones preserved. *Pegu* has no other Corn but
Rice, which it produces in such Plenty, that great Part
of it is sent to the neighbouring Provinces. Sodomy was
heretofore grown so general here, that one of the Queens
of *Pegu*, to obviate this Vice, ordered a small Pin to be
fastened betwixt the Skin and the Flesh, by way of Inci-
sion; she commanded also, that all the Boys, whilst young,
should be painted of a blue Colour on their Posteriors,
thereby to create an Aversion to them; as, on the other
Side, the Women take all imaginable Pains to provoke the
Men to Venery. Men and Women delight in black Teeth.
The King is sole Heir to all that leave no Children behind
them, and even One-third Part of the Estates of those that
have Children belongs to him. *Pegu* affords no other Spice
but Ginger, and scarce any other Commodity is exported,
except Rice and Silver, in Exchange for which they bring
other Stuffs and Callicoes, Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs,
Opium, and sandal Wood. They will pledge their Child-
ren to borrow Money; but if the Creditor enjoys them
annually, they are free, and the Debt is paid.

Siam, one of the next considerable States in the *Indies*,
termines to the North upon *Pegu* and *Ava*, to the West
upon *Bengal*, to the East upon *Pana*; whence the Coast
(in which I comprehend the Gulf of *Siam*) runs North to
13° 30', and turning to the South to twelve Degrees, ex-
tends at a great Distance from the Sea, making a Semi-
circle of four hundred and fifty Leagues. The Country is
both very woody and mountainous, except towards the
Sea-side, where it is very fertile, and has several convenient
Rivers and Harbours, besides some Islands in the Gulphs.
The River *Menam* may vie for Largeness with any other
River of the *Indies*; for though its Breadth is not very
great, its Length is such, that hitherto its Source has re-
mained undiscovered. It runs from North to South through
the Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Ava*, and afterwards through
Siam, where it falls by three several Channels into the Gulf
of *Siam*: It yearly, like the *Nile*, overflows the adjacent
Country for five Months, which renders the Rice-fields
very fruitful. Its Eastern Channel, which lies in 13° 30'
Latitude, is most proper for Navigation, were it not for a
Shelf a League in Length, which lying just at the Entrance
of it, has five or six Feet Water at low Tide; but at
high Water, fifteen or sixteen; and in *September*, *October*,
and *November*, seventeen or eighteen Feet; for which
Reason it is that Vessels of any Burthen anchor in the Road
two Leagues from the Shelf; but such as may venture
over the Shelf with a high Tide, may go freely up the
River as far as the Castle of *Banckock*, six Leagues from
the Sea, and thence as far as the City of *Judda*, twenty-
four Leagues from the Mouth of the River, except in
the before-mentioned Months, when the River is unna-
vigable.

This Kingdom is very populous, especially those Pro-
vinces bordering upon the Seas. The most considerable
Cities are *Judda*, or *Ody*, the Metropolis of the whole
Kingdom; next *Cambaya*, *Camsad*, *Sincapura*, *Pitelouck*,
Ligor, *Bordalong*, and *Tanaserim*, where the *Portugueze*
drive a considerable Trade; *Banckock*, *Pippy*, *Mertgy*, &c.
The City of *Judda* is built upon an Island in the River
Manam. It is the ordinary Residence of the King of *Siam*,
having several very fair Streets, with spacious Chanels regularly
cut. The Suburbs are on both Sides of the River, which,
as well as the City itself, are adorned with many Temples
and Palaces; of the first of which there are above three
hundred within the City, distinguished by their gilt Stee-
ples, or rather Pyramids, and afford a glorious Prospect
at a Distance. The Houses are, as all over the *Indies*, but
indifferently built, and covered with Tiles: The royal
Palace is equal to a large City. *Ferdinando Mendez Pinto*
makes the Number of Inhabitants of this City amount, im-
probably, to 400,000 Families. It is looked upon as im-
pregnable, by reason of the Overflowing of the River at

six Months End. The King of *Siam*, who takes amongst
his other Titles that of *Precan Salsu*, i. e. sacred Member
of God, has this to boast of, that, next to the Mogul, he
can deduce his Descent from more Kings than any other
in the *Indies*. He is absolute, his Privy Counsellors, call-
ed *Mandarins*, being chosen and deposed barely at his
Pleasure. When he appears in Publick, it is done with
so much Pomp and Magnificence as is scarce to be imag-
ined, which draws such a Veneration to his Person from
the common People, that even in the Streets, as he passes
by, they give him god-like Titles and Worship. He mar-
ries no more than One Wife at a time, but has an infi-
nite Number of Concubines. He feeds very high, but his
Drink is Water only, the Use of strong Liquors being
severely forbidden, by their Ecclesiastical Law, to Persons
of Quality in *Siam*. As the Thirds of all the Estates of
the Kingdom fall to his Exchequer, so his Riches must be
very great; but what makes them almost immense is, that
he is the chief Merchant in the Kingdom, having his
Factors in all Places of Trade, to sell Rice, Copper, Lead,
Salt-petre, &c. to Foreigners. *Mendez Pinto* makes his
yearly Revenue rise to twelve Millions of Ducats, the
greatest Part of which being laid up in his Treasury, must
needs swell to an Infinity in Process of Time.

Each City has its peculiar Court of Justice, from whence
an Appeal lies to the chief Court in the City of *Judda*,
consisting of a Lord Chief Justice and twelve Judges, and
sometimes to the Privy Council itself, if the Parties will
be at the Charge of it. They have their Counsellors, At-
tornies, and Solicitors, and the Causes are pleaded in the
Presence of both Parties. In criminal Cases they proceed
much after the *French* Way; for, upon an Information
given, the Party accused is committed and examined after-
wards, and for want of sufficient Evidence put to the
Rack, if there be very strong Circumstances; after which
the Judges, either upon Confession of the Fact, or suffi-
cient Evidence, give Sentence, which is confirmed by the
King, unless he is pleased to pardon the Offender. Their
Punishments are so severe, or rather cruel, that such as are
used among us are not so much as known here, for the
slightest Crime is thought to deserve Banishment. Theft
is punished with the Amputation of Hands or Feet. The
common Way of executing Criminals, is to cast them alive
into boiling Oil.

They have three Sorts of Trials for want of sufficient
Evidence, by Fire, Water, and Oil. In the Water Trial
both Parties are let down to the Bottom of the River,
along a great Pole, and he who can stay longest under
Water obtains thereby his Justification, as does he who
can hold his Head longest in boiling Oil, in the Trial of
Oil. In the fiery Trial they are to make five or six Steps
through a great Fire, very slowly, two Men leaning very
hard upon their Shoulders. But that which they look
upon as the most dreadful of all is, when, in order to their
Justification, they take a Pill of Rice only, over which
the Priest has pronounced a certain Malediction: If the
Culprit swallow it without spitting, he clears himself to all
Intents and Purposes, and his Friends carry him off in
Triumph.

The Forces of *Siam* consist chiefly of the Militia of the
Country, all Subjects being obliged to take Arms when
called upon; so that as Occasion requires, he can summon
the 100th, the 20th, the 30th, the 40th, or 5th Man,
who, as well as the Noblemen with their Attendants, serve
at their own Charge as long as the War lasts. The Infantry
are pretty well disciplined, but want the Use of Fire-
Arms, being provided only with Bows, Arrows, Swords,
Pikes, and Bucklers; their Horse are also but indifferently
mounted. Their chief Strength consists in their Elephants,
which are very well trained to the Wars, and carry each
three armed Men. They are not destitute of Cannon, but
have but little Skill to manage them to the best Advan-
tage. They have also great Numbers of Frigates and Gal-
lies, well provided with Guns, but the Gunners and Ma-
rines are so unexpert in the Management of them, that
they cannot encounter any *European* Fleet with the least
Hopes of Advantage; for which Reason, since of late
Years the *Siamese* have lived in continual Enmity with the
Portugueze, they have highly courted the Friendship of

the *Dutch*, who were always ready to give them Assistance against their Enemies. The King of *Siam*, knowing that his chief Strength consists in his Elephants, keeps a greater Number than any other *Indian* Prince, the Elephants of *Siam* being both for their Strength and Quickness of Apprehension esteemed above all the rest. They take them after the same Manner as they do in *Pegu*, by sending divers Females into the Forests, who decoy them into the Stables, where they are tamed, either by putting them into Pens exactly fitted to the Bunks of their Bodies, or by tying their Legs to three or four tame Elephants.

It is to be observed, that sometimes they meet with white Elephants in *Siam*, but they are so rare, and so much admired in those Parts, that in 1668, the King of *Pegu* being informed that the King of *Siam* had two white Elephants, he sent an Ambassador to desire he might have one of them, at what Price he would be pleased to set upon it; which the King of *Siam* refusing to accept, the King of *Pegu* entered *Siam* with a vast Army, and conquered it, making the King his Tributary, tho' with the Loss of no less than 500,000 Men. The *Siamese* call the white ones the Kings of the Elephants, and attribute to them something of Divinity, for which Reason also the King of *Siam*, when he meets with one, causes him to be served in Vessels of Gold, allows him a good Attendance, and a Canopy to be borne over his Body. The King and his Subjects are Pagans, and have an infinite Number of Idols, of Gold, Silver, Stone, Wood, and other Materials, some twenty, some thirty, and others forty Feet high. Their Temples have got Towers, or Pyramids. Their Ecclesiasticks are composed of a kind of Hierarchy, under the Direction of a High-Priest, residing in the City of *Tuada*, where are at least 30,000 Ecclesiasticks, that wear Garments of yellow Callico, and have their Crowns shaved. The most learned among them are chosen for Priests to preach in their Temples, and to sacrifice. They are under a Vow of Chastity, upon Pain of Death, but may change their Professions, and marry whenever they think fit. Each Temple has a kind of a Convent to it, for the Entertainment of a certain Number of Priests who attend the Service every Day Morning and Evening.

They live for the most part upon Alms, like our Mendicant Friars. They have also a kind of religious old Women, but these are not bound by any particular Discipline. They believe one Creator of the Universe, who governs the World by divers inferior Gods. They say that the Soul is immortal, and after it is purified by passing through several Bashes, is either condemned to eternal Torments, or enjoys Beatitude. They tell you, that this has been transmitted to them by Tradition, 'Time out of Mind'; but the rest, they hold that good Deeds, and especially Charity, are the chief Means to attain Salvation, which is the Reason they extend their Charity even to the Beasts, such as Birds and Fish, which they buy to set them at Liberty, as believing the Transmigration of the Soul. This is the Reason why they never condemn any other Religion, or dispute with them: But their Ecclesiasticks preach without Intermision against the old Custom of invoking the Devil, which is still retained among the vulgar sort. They have abundance of Lamps hanging before their Idols in the Time of Service. These they set out with Garland of Flowers, and in some of them they have certain Days, each Quarter of the Moon, appointed for their general Devotions, and a Lent of three Months.

Their dead Corpses they shave, wash and perfume, and afterwards bury them near a Temple, where the Athes are buried under a Tomb, or Pyramid. The Relations mourn for their Friends by shaving themselves, by giving Alms and Benevolences to the Priests, to pray for them at their Obsequies. The Corpses are attended with Musick and Fireworks. The *Siamese* are strong limbed, and well proportioned, but their Courage is not answerable to it, which makes them use their Victims with a great deal of Intolerance. They are so much addicted to Idleness, that they leave all Toils to their Wives and Slaves. They wear a painted Piece of Callico from the Middle down to the Knees, tho' the Men have also Shirts with Sleeves hanging down to the Elbows. The Women cover their Breasts with a Piece

of Callico fastened about their Necks; there is so little Difference in the Cloathing of the People of Quality and those of the inferior Rank, that they are not to be distinguished but by their Train of Slaves. Their Houses are built either of Timber, or Canes, covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-tree, and raised three or four Feet from the Ground; each Apartment has several Windows for the more commodious Passage of the Air; they know of no other Furniture but what is absolutely necessary for their Conveniency in the Chambers and Kitchen.

They feed commonly upon Rice, Fish, and Pulse; their ordinary Drink is Water; but they don't abuse strong Liquors, if they are invited to them. Penitents of any Condition here make no use of Priests for the Confirmation of their Marriages, which, after the Parents Consent is obtained, and Agreement made, they consummate, and live together as long as they like one another; and in case of Separation, all the Goods and Children are divided between them, and both Parties are at liberty to marry again; but the Concubines are tied to the Pleasure of their Masters, who consider them no other wise than as Slaves, their Children having but a slender Share of their Fathers Estates, when, since their Death, are divided into three Parts; one goes to the King, the second to the Priests, who are to bear the funeral Charges, which are very great, and the third to the Children, who have an equal Share, except that the eldest is allowed some small Advantage. People of an inferior Rank purchase their Wives, notwithstanding which, both Parties are at liberty to be divorced. They don't take the least Care for the Education of their Children, and they are six Years old, when they put them to their Ecclesiasticks to be instructed in Reading and Writing, afterwards breed them either to manual Arts, Commerce, or the Court.

The Peasants lead a miserable Life, by reason that Provisions are so cheap here, that they can't gain any thing by their Labour. The chief Trade of the City of *Judda* lies in Stuffs, brought thither from *Sumat* and the Coast of *Coromandel*, in all sorts of China Commodities, precious Stones, Gold, Benjamin, Wax, Copper, Lead, Indigo, Calamba-Wood, Brasil Wood, Cotton, and Deer-Skins, of which they export fifty thousand every Year to *Japan*; and their Rice is transported in vast Quantities to all the neighbouring Countries. The King himself is a Merchant here, and has his Factors at *Pegu*, *Java*, *Japan*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, and in *China* itself. The Money is a very good, being of three different sorts, viz. *Maes*, *Majas*, and *Teangs*; two *Teangs* make a *Maja*, and four *Majas* a *Tical*, which is equivalent to a *British* Half-Crown; four of these *Ticals* go to a *Nuel*, twenty of which make a *Catta* in Silver. Their smallest Silver Money is the *Teang*; but Provisions being to very cheap, they make use of certain Shells brought thither from *Malacca*, eight or nine hundred of which go to a *Teang*.

The *Portuguese* being sufficiently sensible what prodigious Advantage they were able to reap from this Kingdom for supporting their Traffick to the *Moluccas*, *Tempone* Isles, the Viceroy of *Goa* were always very careful to cultivate a good Correspondence with the King of *Siam*, who in Return granted them many Privileges, till such time that the *Dutch* got Footing there at the Beginning of this Age. The *Portuguese* were so alarmed hereat, that they not only obstructed the Trade of the *Siamese* to *St. Thomas* and *Negapatan*, but also attacked a *Dutch* Vessel in the River *Menam*, which, with some other Outrages, served only to incense the King of *Siam* against them, who ever after encouraged the *Dutch* in their settlement and Commerce, which is very advantageous to them in respect of the Isles of *Java* and *Sumatra*, of which they are now in Possession.

The Kingdom of *Cambodia* borders to the North-West upon the Kingdom of *Siam*, being inclosed by the Sea on the other Side; the capital City is seated upon a River sixty Leagues from the Sea-Shore, which rises out of a Lake, as do all the other Rivers of this Kingdom. That which runs by *Cambodia* overflows every Year like the *Nile*; its first Rise is in the Beginning of *June*, increasing by degrees to ten or twelve Feet, and in *July* or *August* it overflows the Country to that degree, that it is quite unavigable, for which Reason it is that the City of *Cam-*

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 The King himself is a Monarch
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India is built upon a rising Ground, having but one large
 Street. The Trade of the *Portugueze* here consists chiefly
 in *Malacca* Stuffs, which they exchange for Benjamin,
 Lacquer, Wax, Rice, Brafs Vessels, and Bars of *China*
 Iron.
 The King of *Cambodia* is only a Vassal of the King of
Siam, being not able to bring above thirty-five thousand
 Men into the Field. The Nobility or Officers of the
 Court are divided into four several Ranks, viz. into *Ocki-*
na, Tenimas, Tenimms, and *Nampres*; the first of which
 are the only Men of Consideration, they being admitted
 into the King's Prefence, and he confers with them con-
 cerning the Management of public Affairs. The *Portu-*
guese are so firmly settled here, that the *Dutch* have never
 been able to get any Footing. Provisions of all sorts, Veni-
 son, Beef, Pork, Goats, Kids, Hares, Cranes, Herons,
 and, in short, all manner of Poultry, as likewise Oranges,
 Citrons, Mangoes, and Cocones, are sold excessively cheap;
 there being such Plenty here of every thing, and especially
 of Rice, that those of *Quinam* alone export yearly two
 thousand Copans of Rice, five of which make eight Tons,
 a seventeen or eighteen *Taels* the Copang.
 That Neck of Land which extends in the Form of a
 Peninsula, from the Kingdom of *Siam* to the S. E. to the
 N. W. of the Equinoctial Line, betwixt the Gulf of *Bengal*
 and *Siam*, is called the Isthmus of *Malacca*, and contains
 the Kingdoms of *Jobore* and *Patapan*. This Country was
 first discovered by the *Portugueze* in 1511, who established
 themselves there to that degree that nobody hath been
 able hitherto to dislodge them. The City of *Malacca* is
 situated upon the Straite which separates the Isle of *Suma-*
tra from the Continent, at two Degrees thirty Minutes
 on this Side of the Line, at the Foot of a Mountain, which
 is wholly taken up by the Town, and is about 1800 Paces
 in Compass, 600 whereof extend along the Sea-Coast, forti-
 fied with a good Wall, as likewise to the River-side,
 which incloses another third Part of the Town, being
 strengthened to the Land-side by four regular-Bastions;
 that of *St. Domingo* on the Point of the River side, that
 of *St. Joao* on the Sea-shore, and those called *Madre de*
Dau, and of *Eleven thousand Virgins*. Betwixt those two
 the *Jesuits* College, called *St. Paul's*, stands upon the Hill,
 and upon rising Ground, in the Plain without the City, a
 Convent of *Jacobins*. The River runs N. W. is very
 broad, and brackish at High-water, but fresh at Low-
 Tide, there is a Bridge over it.
 It rains constantly here two or three Times a Week, ex-
 cept in the Months of *January, February* and *March*; the
 Shore is so muddy that there is no landing at Low-water.
 The two Isles called *Illa de Noos* and *Illa de Pedra* lie
 one much above a Cannon-shot from the City, the Chan-
 nel betwixt these two Islands affording a safe Harbour for
 the Gallions and bigger Vessels, as that betwixt the City
 and the *Illa de Noos* for the Vessels of a middle Size;
 but small Barks may enter the River. In the City of *Ma-*
laca, its Suburbs, and adjacent Towns, under the Juris-
 diction of the *Portugueze*, are computed to be about 1200
 Inhabitants, and, among them, not above 100 fighting Men,
 and scarce 200 *Portugueze*, the rest being either *Mestizes*
 or *Malayans*. The *Portugueze* are in Possession only of
 the City of *Malacca*, and its Suburbs, to the Town of
Ngira Senhora de Guadalupe, five Leagues thence upon
 the same River, the Territories of the King of *Jobore* be-
 ginning half a League thence. This City being so con-
 veniently situated for the Trade of *China* and the *Moluc-*
cas, the *Portugueze* had, in all Probability, made this one of
 the chief trading Places in the *Indies*, if the *Dutch*, who
 dislodge it in 1606, and laid great Part of it desolate, had
 not prevented them; and being by their Settlements in
Pegu and *Java* become Masters of these Seas, quite
 ruined the Commerce of the *Portugueze* to *China* and the
Malaccas.
 The Kingdom of *Patapan* is not of so large an Extent,
 but much more populous than that of *Jobore*, the King of
Patapan being, according to the Computation of the *Hollan-*
ders, able to raise 180,000 Men; the capital City bearing
 the same Name, is seated upon the Sea-side, though its Har-
 bour be above 2000 Paces thence. The Houses are hand-
 some enough, being built of Timber and Canes. The Royal

Palace is fortified only with Palisadoes, their great Temples
 are of Brick. The City is able to raise 10,000 fighting
 Men. The Inhabitants are rather inclining to a brown than
 olive Colour, generally well shaped, and proud in their
 outward Deportment, but obliging enough in their Con-
 versation with their Friends. The Natives are, for the
 most part, employed in Husbandry and Fishing, and
 drink nothing but Water; Wine, and strong Laqu
 being odious to them. The only Pleasure they delight in
 is that of Women; so that each Man, besides four or five
 Wives, maintains as many Concubines as he is able. As
 they look upon Fornication as a slender Trespass, so they
 punish Adultery with the utmost Severity, though nothing
 be more common among them than this Crime.
 Their chief Wealth consists in their Slaves, whom they
 feed at a small Charge upon Rice and Fish. The Foreign-
 ers are the only People here who apply themselves to Traf-
 fick and Navigation. The Air of *Patapan*, though ex-
 ceeding hot, as lying near the Equinoctial, yet is not un-
 wholesome. They have but three Months Winter, viz.
November, December, and *January*, when it rains without
 Intermision: The rest, from *February* to *October*, is their
 Summer. They sow nothing but Rice, and all the Ground
 with Buffaloes. Fruits are here in such Plenty that every
 Month produces a new kind. Hens lay twice a-day; and
 Provisions are in such Quantities as cannot be imagined, as
 Rice, Oxen, Goats, Deer, Geese, Ducks, Hens, Capons,
 Peacocks, Hares, and all sorts of Venison. Hogs they
 breed none; but the Forests are full of Wild-Boars, and
 though they eat them nor, they kill them, because they are
 so pernicious to the Rice. The Tigers, and great
 Apes, which are in the Forests here, do also considerable
 Mischief; but the wild Elephants do no Damage at all;
 they hunt them with tame Elephants, and whilst they are
 engaged with them, find Means to tie their hinder Feet
 together, and afterwards tame them by Hunger.
 The King of *Patapan* is a Vassal to the King of *Siam*.
Jobore is the utmost Point of Land of that Peninsula called
 by the Ancients *Aura Chersonesus*, reaching to the Straights
 of *Sincopura*. Its chief Towns are *Linga, Bintam*, and
Carymon, and its Metropolis is named *Batusabar*, which
 is however divided into two Cities, situate upon the River
Jobore, six Leagues from the Sea, the first of which is
 called *Batusabar*; the second *Cottasabrang*; one having
 about 1300 Paces, the other 500 in Compass. As the
 Houses are all built of Free-stone along the River-side, and
 raised on Piles eight or ten Feet from the Ground, they
 make a glorious Prospect as you come up the River; for
 this City contains at least 4000 Inhabitants fit for Service
 in the Army. The King of *Jobore* is Proprietor of all
 the Grounds, which he bestows on any that desire them, to
 be manured: But tho' the Grounds are extremely fertile,
 such is the Slothfulness of the *Malayans*, that they seldom
 cultivate them. The *Malacca*, or *Malayan* Language, as
 it is the most elegant of any in the *Indies*, so it has gained
 as much Reputation there, and is as generally used, as
 the *French* is in *Europe*; and having no Inflections in ei-
 ther Nouns or Verbs, it is not very difficult to learn.
 11. We will now look over the Continent to the Isle of
Sumatra, ten Leagues distant from the *Malacca* Shore;
 it extends from about 5° on this Side to 6° beyond the
 Line, containing 165 Leagues in Length, and about 60
 in Breadth; so that those who inhabit the Middle of the
 Island have the Equinoctial Line just over their Heads;
 whence it may be easily conjectured, that the Heats are
 excessive here, which, together with the vast Multitude of
 Lakes, makes the Air very unwholesome: This Defect is
 recompensed by its vast Riches in Gold, Silver, Copper,
 Iron, and Brafs (whereof they make as good Artillery
 here as in any Part of *Europe*) besides Rice, Millet, and
 Fruits in prodigious Quantities, even in the very Forests.
 Add to this its Wealth in Diamonds and other precious
 Stones, and its Product of Silk, Spices, Wax, Honey,
 Cotton, Camphire, Cassia, and divers other medicinal
 Drugs. Of white Sandal they have whole Woods, and in
 the Centre of the Isle is a burning Mountain, like that of
Vesuvius, which they say is constantly supplied by a River
 of Pitch.

The whole Island is divided into ten Kingdoms, of which those of *Atben*, *Peder*, *Pacem*, *Camparam*, *Zande*, and *Manambe*, lying on the Sea-side on this Side the Line, are only known to Foreigners. Those who have travelled thither, more for Profit than Curiosity, having made but little Search into its inland Provinces, of which the *Portuguese* give us an Account only of two, viz. that of *Andigidan* and *Arunan*. The *Dutch* have also discovered the Kingdom of *Polydam* beyond the Line, where they have settled themselves at present. The Kings of *Atben* are also Masters of *Peder* and *Pacem*, which includes all the Northern Coasts of the Isle. The City of *Atben* is seated in a spacious Plain, upon a broad but shallow River, being scarce passable by small Boats. It has neither Fortification nor Gates; their Houses are built upon Piles, and covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-trees. The Royal Palace stands in the Centre of the City, which, being well palisaded and flanked, commands the whole Town, and has seven Gates. The Natives are of an olive Colour, and very flat faced; their Garments are only a Callico Gown, a Silk Shirt, and a Turban on their Heads of the same Stoff. The King is served by Women and Eunuchs, and is a *Mohammedan*, as well as all the rest of the Inhabitants near the Coast of *Sumatra*. They begin their *Leis* at the New-moon in the twelfth Month, which ends at the same Time in the next. They have no Corn, but Rice in great Plenty, as also Beeves, Buffaloes, Goats, and Sheep; the last of which nobody has the Privilege to breed except the King. They also abound in Oranges, Lemons, Bananas, Tamarinds, Batatas, Radishes, Spinnage, and Lettuces. Their ordinary Drink is Water, but they make a kind of *Aqua Vita*, or Arrack of Coconuts.

The Isle of *Sumatra* produces a peculiar Tree called *Singadi* by the *Malayans*, and *Arbor tripe de Dio* by the *Portuguese*. It is full of Branches with Knots, and sprouts forth two Leaves like Plum leaves, except that they are small like Sage, and are covered with a whitish Down: Each of these Leaves hath its Bud, which thrusts forth small Heads, having four round Leaves; each Head produces five Flowers in a Cluster, the fifth being exactly in the Middle; they are as white as Snow, of the Bigness of an Orange flower, and blow in the Twinkling of an Eye, as soon as the Sun is set; and when it rises again the next Morning, the Flowers, which have continued all Night, drop in an Instant. Thus the Tree continues till Sun-set again, when it opens, and produces the Flowers in the same manner as before, and casts them again at the first Appearance of that Planet, which invigorates all other Vegetables. The Coconuts, of which there are four Kinds, are very common in this Island. The Tree which bears the Coconuts grows very high, but not above a Foot Diameter in Bulk. It has not a Branch but at the Top, where it spreads like a Date-tree, and these don't produce the Fruits, which grow ten or twelve in a Cluster out of the Body of the Tree. The Flower resembles that of a Chestnut. This Tree is of universal Use in the *Indies*. In the *Maldives* Islands they build whole Ships without any thing but what is furnished by the Cocoa-tree; the outward Rind affording them a kind of Hemp for their Cordage and Cables, and the Leaves with Materials for Sails, and the Covering of their Houses; besides that, they use them for the making of Umbrella's, Fans, Tents, Mats and Hats. The Fruit is of the Bigness of an Ostrich's Egg, and the outward Rind, which resembles that of our Walnuts when dried, affords the Hemp we spoke of before. If they gather it before the Nut is come to full Maturity, it affords about a Quart of very pleasant Liquor, which, if kept in the Shell, by degrees turns to a kind of a Kernel, which becomes yellow, and is of a very good Taste, and exceeding wholesome.

Their Toddy, or Palm Wine, they draw from the Tree whilst it is in Blossom, and, pulling off the Flower, they fasten it to an Earthen Vessel well stopp'd, into which runs a Liquor, resembling in Taste and Colour our Whey: This when boiled is called Toddy, and, set in the Sun, turns to Vinegar immediately; and, if distilled, makes a kind of *Aqua Vita*. The Pith of the Tree, as it is very white, furnishes the *Indians* with Paper. The second Kind is called by the *Portuguese* *Arrequeira*, from the *Araca* it pro-

duces. The Bananas, or *Indian* Fig-tree, is also very common in this Isle; it may rather be called a Shrub than a Tree, as having no Body, but grows to a Man's Height. It brings forth Leaves before it comes to a Foot high, but these wither and fall, and others sprout forth in their stead, till such time the Plant arrives at its full Growth, and the Fruit to its Maturity, which is in Shape and Colour like our Figs, being of a yellow green, which being gathered, and hung on a Nail, will ripen in four or five Days. In the Middle of the Leaves comes a Flower of a Violet Colour, of the Bigness of an Ostrich's Egg, whence sprouts forth a kind of a Branch not unlike a Cabbage-Stalk, laden with a Bunch of Figs: One Stalk produces no more than one Bunch (but of near an hundred Figs) at a Time; but being cut close to the Ground, another springs out, and bears Fruit in one Month, and continues to do so through the whole Year. The Leaves of the Tree are six Feet long, and a Foot and a half broad, and the Fruit seven or eight Inches long, and as big as a good Cucumber; the Figs are inclosed in Husks, which are very nourishing, and eat instead of Bread.

The Pepper of *Sumatra* is, next to that of *Cashin*, the best of all the *Indies*; it is commonly planted at the Root of Trees, or propped up with Canes as we do our Hops; the Leaves are not unlike that of the Orange-tree, but somewhat less. The Fruit grows in little Bunches like Juniper-berries. It is green whilst upon the Tree, but grows black after it is dried, which is done in *December* and *January*. The white Pepper does not grow in such abundance here, and *Bengal* is the only County that produces long Pepper. It is certain there is more Pepper consumed in the *Indies* than in *Europe*, because the *Indians* put Handfuls of it in their Sauces, but not beaten or ground.

The Island of *Java Major* is divided from *Sumatra* to the South-East only by the narrow Strait of *Sunda*. Its Length is fifty Leagues, and some fancied it Part of the Continent which extends to the Straights of *Magellan*, commonly called *Terra Australis*. *Julius Scaliger* was once in the Wrong of it when he called it the Epitome of the World; it being certain that there is no Animal, Fruit, Metal, or Drug, but what is found here in greater Plenty than in any Part of the Universe.

The Inhabitants deduce their Origin from the *Chinese*, and, to speak Truth, their large Foreheads and Brows, and little Eyes, resemble much that Nation. Each Town or Note in *Java* has its peculiar Prince, and now they are all Sovereigns independent one of another. The Kings of *Bantam* and *Pallambum* are at present the most potent, the last of which has given the Name to the Strait that divides the Isles of *Java* and *Bala*. Ten Leagues to the North is the City of *Panarucan*, near which is a burning Mountain. The King of *Panarucan* and *Pallambum* are *Pagans*; but the King of the City of *Passaracan*, six Leagues from *Panarucan*, is a *Mohammedan*. Ten Leagues to the West is the City of *Jartam*, noted for its convenient Harbour upon a River, where the Ships going from the *Moluccas* to *Bantam* commonly touch, to take in fresh Water and Provisions. Upon the same River lies the City of *Gorin*. The City of *Surabaca* has its proper King, under whose Jurisdiction is also the City of *Brandam*, six Leagues thence to the West. He keeps his Court at *Sidayu*, which is well fortified, but destitute of a safe Harbour. Ten Leagues more to the West lies the City of *Jabaan*, next to *Bantam* the most considerable of the Isle, and five Leagues farther to the North-West the City of *Cajam*. *Manduluan* is inhabited only by Fishermen. Five Leagues farther to the West is the City of *Japara*, upon a Neck of Land, which runs out three Leagues into the Sea. Twenty-five Leagues hence, and forty-five from *Bantam*, lies *Matram*, or *Martavam*, a great City, and the Residence of a powerful King, who once pretended to the Sovereignty over all the rest of the Island, and still styles himself Emperor of *Java*.

Five Leagues to the West of *Japara* lies the City of *Pata*, and three Leagues farther that of *Dauma*, both under the Jurisdiction of the King of *Matram*, as well as that of *Yagal* in the same Bay. The next is the fair and strong City of *Charabson*, seated upon a River, by which you pass to the Cities of *Daungeo* and *Momacaton*, and so thro' the

Indian Fig-tree, is also very common, rather be called a Shrub than a Tree, but grows to a Man's Height, before it comes to a Foot high, but others sprout forth in their stead, arrives at its full Growth, and the which is in Shape and Colour like a green, which being gathered, ripens in four or five Days. It comes a Flower of a Violet or an Ostrich's Egg, whence sprouts, which not unlike a Cabbage-Stalk, grows: One Stalk produces no more than an hundred Figs; at a Time, it grows on a hundred Springs out, and continues to do so through the Leaves of the Tree are six Feet long, and half broad, and the Fruit seven or eight times as big as a good Cucumber; the which are very nourishing, and

is next to that of *Cashin*, the which is commonly planted at the Root with Canes as we do our Hops, like that of the Orange-tree, but which grows in little Bunches like green whist upon the Tree, but dried, which is done in *December*, the Pepper does not grow in such a manner as in *Sumatra*, which is the only Country that produces certain there is more Pepper common in *Europe*, because the *Indians* use their Sauces, but not beaten or

Sumatra Major is divided from *Sumatra Minor* by the narrow Streight of *Sunda*, and some fancied it Part of the Straits to the Straights of *Magellan*, *Australia*. *Julius Scaliger* was called in he called it the Epitome of the World, that there is no Animal, Fruit, or Plant that is found here in greater Plenty than in *Sumatra*.

their Origin from the *Chinese*, their large Foreheads and Brows, and each that Nation. Each Town of peculiar Prince, and now they are all one of another. The Kings of *Bantam* at present the most potent, the last Name to the Streight that divides *Sumatra*. Ten Leagues to the North in which is a burning Mountain, and *Palambuan* are *Pagans*; but *Passaracan*, six Leagues from *Palambuan*. Ten Leagues to the West is called for its convenient Harbour upon which is going from the *Moluccas* to *Batavia* to take in fresh Water and Provisions. The River lies the City of *Gorin*. The proper King, under whose Jurisdiction *Brandam*, six Leagues thence to the Court at *Sidaya*, which is well fortified safe Harbour. Ten Leagues more to the City of *Tabaan*, next to *Bantam* the same Isle, and five Leagues farther to the City of *Cajam*. *Manduluan* is inhabited. Five Leagues farther to the City of *Nara*, upon a Neck of Land, which is open into the Sea. Twenty-five Leagues from *Bantam*, lies *Matram*, or *Mataram*, the Residence of a powerful King, who has the Sovereignty over all the rest of the Country, himself Emperor of *Java*. To the West of *Japara* lies the City of *Dama*, farther than that of *Dama*, both under the Jurisdiction of the King of *Matram*, as well as that of *Sumatra*.

The next is the River, by which you pass to *Sumatra* and *Moucadon*, and so to the Village

Village of *Gaeon* to the City of *Jacatra*, and thence to *Bantam*, the most considerable in the whole Island, seated at the Foot of a Mountain about twenty-five Leagues from the opposite Coast of the Island of *Sumatra*. Three Rivers rise out of this Mountain, two surrounding its Walls, and the third passing through the Middle of it. The Houses are miserably built, and the Walls very wretched, as well as the Gates, though at every hundred Paces provided with a great Piece of Cannon, which are of little Use in a Place where the Curtains are not defensible, and have, instead of Towers, only Scaffolds. The whole City has only three principal Streets, which are not paved, but sandy, the Channels which run through them being very stinking and foul, which send forth a very nauseous Smell all over the City. At each Corner of the Streets stand Guards, as also at the Prison Gate near the Palace, and each Person of Note keeps a Guard of ten or twelve, for his own Security, in his House. Their Houses are meanly built upon Piles; they are commonly of Reeds and Canes, and the Partitions all of Bamboos, or Canes slit very thin. All the Foreigners here live without the City, and the Merchants meet daily in one or other of the three great Market-places belonging to this City.

The Bazar, or Exchange, is chiefly frequented by Foreigners, who meet there at Break of Day, and continue till Nine of the Clock. The second Market-place faces the grand Mosque, where the Women buy and sell Pepper, Betel, Areca, Bananas, Melons, Chiches, &c. and white and yellow Sandal wood. The Armourers, who sell Arms, Guns, Pistols, Swords, &c. standing higher up to the Right; and to the Left the Confectioners with their Sweetmeats: Near them is the Place where they sell all sorts of Beans; and next to that the Onion Market, where the Cloth-sellers and Uffurers have their Meeting. Hard by this you see the Poulterers, who deal in Geese, Kids, Pigeons, Parrots, and all sorts of tame Fowl. Thence you see three several Ways, one leading to the *Chinese* Shops, the second to the Herb-market, the third to the Shambles. Among the *Chinese*, to the Right, the Jewellers, who deal in precious Stones, have their Station; and the *Bengalians* with their Toy-shops on the Left. The Site of all these Things lasts only till Nine o'Clock, when the Markets for all sorts of Provisions are opened before the Palace, and about Noon the *Chinese* Market begins. The City of *Taban*, or *Tabatan*, challenges the next Place after *Bantam* in the Isle of *Java*, being stronger than all the rest, and though not so large yet better built than *Bantam*. Its Palace is very spacious, and remarkable for the many Apartments made here for divers sorts of Beasts that are kept with more than ordinary Care; such as Elephants, Fighting-cocks, and Parrots, the last of which are much more beautiful than those transported into *Europe*, because they are too tender to endure the Fatigues of so long a Voyage. Their chief Traffick lies in Pepper, which they exchange in the Isle of *Baly* for Calico, Cotton, and Silk, and carry those Commodities to *Banda*, *Ternate*, and the *Philippine* Isles, to truck for Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegs.

The Natives live mostly upon Fish. They have no other Arms but a Piece of Calico wrapped round their Loins, except that the better Sort wear a kind of loose Camblet Coats, reaching only to their Thighs. They are great Lovers of Horses, their Saddles being made like our great Saddles. The Natives inhabiting the inland Countries of *Java* are all *Pagans*, and believing the Transmigration of the Soul, eat neither Fish nor Flesh. To the South there are a few *Mohammedans* of the *Turkish* Sect. They have two great Fairs, the Chief of which is upon the 5th of *August*. There are few among the *Javans* but what have three or four, nay, sometimes ten or twelve Wives, besides their Concubines, who are obliged to wait upon the Wives, though their Children have the same Prerogative as the legitimate Offspring. Their Children go naked, the Girls having only a Plate of Silver or Gold to cover their Privities. They marry at eight, nine, or ten Years of Age. In their Marriages they use but few Ceremonies; certain Poles are stuck on the Wedding-Day before the House of the Bride and Bridegroom, with Taffels of white and red Cotton, and

after Dinner the Bridegroom goes on Horseback through the Town, where the Slaves, who are Part of his Dowry, go to meet him, and bring him some Presents.

Women of Fashion are kept under such Restraint that they are not permitted so much as to see their own Sons in their Chambers; neither does a Man speak, or approach a Woman of Rank when she goes abroad, but every body gives her Way, even the King himself. They are known only by their Retinue, being for the rest clad after the common Fashion, viz in a kind of Calico or silk Petticoat, reaching down from the Breast to the Middle of the Leg. They wear neither Stockings nor Head Ornaments, but tie their Hair upon the Crown, except it be at Weddings, or any other Solemnity, when they have Coronets on their Heads, and Rings and Bracelets upon their Fingers, and about their Arms. They are so much addicted to Cleanliness, that they never do any thing without washing and bathing themselves, which is one of their chief Employments, and which they look upon as a proper Means to entice their Husbands to Venerie, in which they strive to outvie one another.

In their Courts of Judicature, the Plaintiff and Defendant are obliged to plead both their own Causes. Their Punishment of Criminals is to tie them to a Post, and stab them with a Dagger. Foreigners have this Advantage, that provided they can make their Peace with the Party complaining, they may redeem themselves from Death, except in the Case of premeditated Murder. The King's Council, which consists sometimes of five hundred Persons, meet by Moon-light under a great Tree, where they continue till the Moon sets. The King, when present, sits in the Middle. The Natives of *Java* are a proud, perfidious, and cruel Generation, and so stubborn, that such as know they have deserved Death will rather be killed than taken. Their Hair, which is very long, is generally of a Chestnut Colour. They have broad flat Faces, and large Jaw-bones and Eye-brows, little Eyes and thin Beards, are for the rest middle-sized, but very strong Limbs. They seem not to want Courage were they bred up to all the Advantages of our modern Arms, but they are contented with their Pike, Battle-ax, Broad-swords, and a Dagger. Their Bucklers are of Wood, and sometimes of boiled Leather. They wear also Armour, the Pieces of which are joined together with iron Rings. Their Soldiers receive no Pay in Time of Peace. They have a Way of blowing small poisoned Arrows through Trunks, by which the Wound is made incurable.

But those inhabiting upon the Strait of *Sunda*, being transplanted thither from *Passaracan*, and living under their own King, are much more honest and open-hearted. The Grounds of *Java* are either farmed out by the King, or Lords, to certain free People, or cultivated by Slaves, and produce Rice, Pepper, and Cocoa. Some Slaves here take their Masters Trees, and other Commodities, at a certain Rate, which they sell to the best Advantage they can; others walk abroad for their Master's Profit at a set Rate per Diem. Others maintain themselves, and work alternately, six Days for their Masters, and as many for themselves. They commonly adulterate their Pepper with black Gravel, as they do all other Commodities they sell to Strangers, being very crafty in their Commerce; though very few rich Merchants venture their Persons on any long Voyage, but traffick, like our *European* Merchants, by the Assistance of Factors. Bonds and other Securities are written upon the Bark of Trees, the Characters being engraven with a sort of Bodkin, which is either rolled up afterwards, or laid together four-square, betwix two Boards, which they have a Way to tie neatly together with Pack-thread; sometimes they use *Chinese* Paper.

They have a Language peculiar to themselves, but the *Malayan* is most in Use here, and the *Arabian* is used by the *Mohammedans*. The Traffick of the *Persians* that live here is precious Stones, Stuffs, and Drugs, and the *Arabians* and *Banjans* exchange their Commodities chiefly for *China* Ware. Those of *Guzerat* live for the most Part upon Fishing; all those Foreigners are clad after the same Fashion, in a Calico Garment, with a Turban of the same Stuff. At their Arrival they purchase a Woman, who is to serve for all Uses. At their Departure they dis-

pose of her again, but must make Provision for the Children, if they leave any behind. But the *Chinese* are of all Foreigners here the most industrious in their Trading, being looked upon in the same Light as the *Jews* in *Europe*. Their main Business is to forestal and buy up the Pepper in the Country, against the coming of their Fleet to *Bantam* (which consists commonly in ten Ships of 50 Tuns each) in *January*. These bring in a sort of wretched Money called *Piy* by the *Javanese*, and *Cas* in the *Malayan* Language, being a Mixture of Lead and Brass, so brittle, that if they fall upon the Ground they certainly break. They are made in the City of *Chincoo* in *China*, having each a four square Hole in the Middle, through which they string them upon Straw. It passed at first very current in *Java*, but since this Business has been discovered it goes at a very low Rate. The *Chinese* sell their Purcellan here at cheap Rates, and bring also Silk, Sattin, and Damasks of their own Manufactory, which they exchange for Pepper, Lacque, Indigo, Sandal Wood, Nutmegs, Cloves, Tortoiseshells, and Ivory. They have neither Temples nor Priests at *Bantam*, but they have both at *Panapaean*.

Java abounds both in wild and tame Beasts. The Forests are filled with Elephants, Rhinoceroses, Leopards, and Tygers, which make them very unsafe, and is the Reason why Frankincense, Mastic, Myrrh, and Benjamin (which is better here than in any other Place) are not gathered in so great Quantities, the before-mentioned Beasts, as well as the Serpents, Lizards, and Salamanders, making the Forests to very dangerous to pass. The Hogs here are without Bristles, but their Bellies hang down to the Ground. The Rivers are very well stocked with Fish, there having been Oysters seen in those Parts that weighed 300 Pounds, which would seem incredible if there were not to be seen to this Day two Oyker-shells in the Duke of *Holslein* *Gottorp's* Cabinet, which *Olearius*, in 1675, bought of a Sea-Captain's Wife at *Embuisen*, and weighed 462 Pounds. Deer, wild Goats, and Boars, are likewise here in vast Plenty, but are not easily to be taken, by reason of the Unpassableness of the Woods, and the Unskillfulness of the *Javanese* in the Use of Fire-arms. The Rivers feed also Abundance of Crocodiles; the *Chinese* tame, fat, and eat them for a peculiar Dainty. Their Civet is not so white nor well scented as that of *Guinea*. They have two sorts of tame Fowls, one like those of *Europe*, the other of the *Indian* Breed, wild and furious; some have black Flesh, but notwithstanding this they are very good Food: The Rhinoceros is in the same Esteem with them now-a-days, as the Unicorn was with the Ancients, his Flesh, Horn, Blood, and Teeth, may even his Dung, being applied to medicinal Uses.

They have also Ants here of a much larger Size than ours, they spoil every thing they come at. They have a certain kind of these Creatures reddish, and of the Length of a Man's Finger; but these live in the Fields upon the Barks of Trees. Among the Fruit-trees of *Java* the *Arrequea*, which bears the *Araca*, is none of the worst; it is a Species of the Cocoa, but less in Bulk, and with narrower Leaves. The Fruit resembles a Date inclosed in a Husk, which falls off when it ripens; it is without Taste, but taints the Lips and Teeth of a black Colour. The *Indians*, after they have mixed it with a little Lime, wrap it up in a Betel Leaf, and so chew it, looking upon it as a good Remedy against the Scurvy. It will cause in such as are not used to it a Dizziness in the Head, but it soon passes over. The *Mango* is a Fruit growing upon a Tree not unlike our Walnut-trees; it is something like our Peaches in bigness and Colour, being of a red and green. The Shell incloses an Almond, which is of a grateful Taste when roasted in the Ashes; they pickle them whitt green, and they are accounted a good Remedy against the Worms and Lutenels; the wild ones are rank Poison, which kill without a present Antidote.

The *Ananas* grow on a Shrub with Leaves like a *Semper-vivum*; is green at first, but when ripe turns to the Orange Colour. Its Shape is like a Pine-apple, yellow within, but they are dangerous if used in Excess, tho' the Taste is very pleasant; they are not much larger than a good Lemon. The Stalk is like a Thistle, every one bearing but one at the

Top; it is very apt to over-heat, and occasion Fevers. The Fruit called *Samaca* is also of the bigness of a Citron, juicy and tart, with black Kernels; the Leaves, which are like to but something less than the Lemon-tree, pickled with Salt and Sugar, are accounted a good Remedy in Fevers and Inflammations, as we do our *Tamarinds*, which also grow in great Plenty here. The *Tabasir*, i. e. a white frozen Liquor, is found in the Knots of certain Canes, of the bigness of a Poplar, with flat Branches and Leaves not unlike those of the Olive-tree, but somewhat longer; it is like Starch, and in such Esteem with the *Persians* and *Arabians* for the Virtues they attribute to it in the Cure of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, that they buy it at a very dear Rate. These Canes are so big that the *Indians* cleave them asunder, and make Boats of them, leaving a Knot on each End. The Isle of *Java* produces also another Fruit called *Durians*, not to be met with any where except here and in the *Moluccas*.

The Tree called *Batum* is of the Size of our Apple-tree; the Blossom of a pale yellow Colour, the Leaves half a Foot long, and three Inches broad, of a very lively green on the inside. The Fruit, both for its Colour, bigness, and outward Division, resembles our Melons, but within is divided into four Partitions, which being again subdivided into two or three lesser Cells, contain the Fruit, which is as big as a Puller's Egg, and of the most delicious Taste in the World. Its Stone is rough, and as big as that of a Peach. It will not keep, and therefore must be used as soon as the outward Husk opens. One thing is very observable, that if you lay but a few Betel Leaves near a whole Room full of *Durians*, they will all rot immediately; and if you have surfeited yourself with the excessive eating of this Fruit, two or three Betel Leaves applied to your Breast, or one of the same Leaves eaten, will give you Ease, and you may digest them without any farther Danger. A *Lanor* Tree, another Species of Coconuts, has Leaves five or six Feet long, and so smooth that the *Javanese* use them instead of Paper. *Cocoas* are found no where in the *Indies* but in the Isle of *Java*. They grow upon a Tree not unlike the Pepper, and in Bundles. The *Javanese* hold them in such Esteem that they will not sell them unboiled, nor will allow to much as one Plant to be transported into other Places. The *Mogiana's* much of the Taste of our Stoes, and grows wild in the Highways of *Java*; and the Herb *Zalasse*, bearing neither Flower nor Fruit, is used green in Sauces, its Virtue being to fortify the Stomach: The Fruit *Java* is of the bigness of a *Citrus*, having a rough Rind, within which are certain Nuts, the Kernels thereof being roasted, are a perfect Remedy against a Lutenel. It is observable that this Fruit often changes its Taste; sometimes it resembles a Melon, sometimes a Peach, and at other Times a sweet Lemon. The Nut is as big as a Date, but is not to be used raw, because it occasions vomiting and griping in the Guts; but roasted, it is both pleasant and good, and reckoned a great Restorative.

On the Side of the Island towards the Strait of *Sunda*, you meet with Abundance of wild Cinnamon, but it is never transported into foreign Parts. The *Caracapa* are a kind of *Indian* Cherries, white, dark, red, and of a Citron Colour; the Trees and Fruit are like those in *Europe*. The *Cofus Indicus*, called *Puko* by the *Moluccans*, resembles in every respect, both in Height and Flower, the *European* Elder-tree, wherewith the *Persians* and *Indians* drive a considerable Trade, as they do also with the *Calanus Aromaticus*. There is a yellow and spungy Market in its Stalk, which some Women make use of to appease Fits. The *Zerumbet*, called *Cantur* by the *Moluccans*, is like Ginger, except that it has somewhat larger Leaves; it is preserved or dried like Ginger, but valued above it. Of *Galanga* there are two Kinds, the lesser is brought from *China*, and is preferable to that of *Java*. The Herb grows wild, about two Feet high, with a white Flower and pointed Leaves; the *Javanese* use both the Root and Herb in their Salads; the first are knotted like Ceres, and of a biting Taste, and good Scent. *Penjamm* is a Gum of a Tree resembling a Lemon-tree, whilst they are young, the Gum is white, but as they grow old it changes black. It is by the *Moores* called *Lazar* (*Java* i. e. the

Gold, and Pearls, which Stone breeds in a Maw of a Sheep, or Goat, within the Substance of which is also found a Tuft of Grass. It is smooth, inclining to a greenish Colour, its Goodness being to be tried by its Weight. In the Country of *Pan*, near *Malacca*, is a certain smooth and slippery Stone found in the Gall of certain Hogs, of a reddish Colour and bitterish Taste, which being steeped only in Cold Water affords a most effectual Remedy against all Poison and infectious Distempers. The Isle of *Borneo* furnishes also Diamonds, Sapan-wood, used by the Dyers, Brazil-wood, Wax, Pepper, Frankincense, Mastich, and divers other Gums. The Isle is not destitute of good Harbours, among which that of *Borneo*, at the Mouth of a very good River, is the largest and most commodious. Their Cities are not very populous, and their wooden Houses so slightly built that they remove them at Pleasure. They are accounted very ingenious, but will rather live by Piracy than Industry, unto which they are so much addicted that their Vessels are seen upon the Coast of *Pegu* four hundred Leagues thence. They use Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Darts, and Pike. The King and most of the Inhabitants near the Sea-side are *Mohammedans*, but deeper in the Island they are *Pagans*. They are black, and well set, wear Calico wrapped about their Loin, like most of the other *Indians*, and Turbans on their Heads.

The Isle of *Celebes* lies betwixt that of *Borneo* and *Moluccas*, under the Equinoctial Line. *Mercator* would have it to be one of these Islands called *Sindus* by *Ptolemy*. Its capital City is called *Macassar*, which lies in the most Southern Part of the whole Isle, $5^{\circ} 17'$ beyond the Line. The Inhabitants are so indolent, that they leave not an Inch of Ground unmanured, and sow with Rice what they stand not in Need of for their Cattle and Cocoa-trees. It is not long since they embraced *Mohammedism*. They much resemble the *Siamese* and those of *Pegu*, especially in their Faces, and are of a comely Stature. The Women dress their Heads like those of *Malacca*, and in the Street have their Breasts open, and Breches reaching down to their Knees. The North-west Winds, which blow here from *November* to *March*, make the Shore very unsafe during that Time, and the continual Rains overflow the flat Country, which is the Reason that most of their Houses are built upon Piles, nine or ten Feet above the Ground. There are two Kings more, viz. one of *Telle*, and the other of *Battergon*, in this Island.

The Isle of *Gilolo*, by the *Portuguese* called *Bato Clara de Moro*, produces Plenty of Rice and *Sagu*, Tortoises, &c. The Inhabitants are very well limbed, but barbarous, and not many Years ago were Cannibals. The Island of *Ambony* is to near the *Moluccas* that some have accounted it among their Number, its Circuit is twenty-four Leagues. The chief City has to the North-west of it a very fair Bay of six Leagues, where there is safe Anchorage, and good Shelter for Ships against the Wind; the Bay enters so deep into the Country, and the Sea on the opposite Side cuts so deep within the Land, that the Isle is very near divided into two, there being only a small Isthmus of a hundred and twenty Fathom left, by which it is joined together. The lesser Part of the Isle, wherein is the Castle of *Ambony*, contains about a hundred and twenty small Towns, and the greater but four Towns and about seven Villages. The Inhabitants were heretofore Savages and Cannibals, and applied themselves to no kind of Agriculture, which made the Country appear a Wilderness; but of late Years they have applied themselves to cultivating the Ground, which being very fertile produces great Plenty of Oranges, Lemons, Cocons, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, besides Cloves. They continue still to be ignorant People, the only Skill they show being in the Management of a Dart, which they use with so much Dexterity, that at sixty Paces Distance they will hit a Crown-piece. They are famed for their Cakes made of Rice, Almonds, and Sugar, which the Inhabitants of the adjacent Islands take against the Bloody Flux; for their Rice-Bread, made in the Shape of our Sugar-Loaves; and for their small Gallies, which in Swiftnets exceed any in *Europe*.

It was first discovered by the *Portuguese* in the Year 1511; but the *Dutch* having afterwards also got Footing there, the *Portuguese* being retolved to spoil their Coun-

merce, set upon five *Dutch* Vessels in the Port of *Banda*; but being repulsed with Loss, revenged their Disgrace upon the *Ambonyans*, who were suspected to favour the *Dutch* in those Parts. *Stephen Farbgren*, two Years after, viz. on the 21st of *February* 1603, landed a certain Number of Soldiers near *Ambony*, in order to attack the Castle; but whilst he was landing his Artillery the *Portuguese* Governor, not daring to stand the Shock, surrendered the Place without a Cannon being shot, though the Garrison consisted of six hundred Men. Before *Mohammedism* was introduced in the Isles of *Java*, *Ambony*, and the *Moluccas*, by the *Persians* and *Arabians* trading thither, they were all *Pagans*; some of them continue to this; others, though circumcised, yet persevere in their *Pagan* Superstitions.

Nothing is more frequent here than to worship the Devil, though they are not able to tell you what he is. They affirm him to be an Aerial Demon, whence they give him the Name of *Lanibé*, i. e. Air, yet make him subordinate to another called *Lanibula*, as well as to him they call *Tatay*, who is a Degree lower than *Lanibula*. They give them one general Name, viz. *Tito*, i. e. Evil Spirits, and say that they appear to them in human Shape, when they are to produce their Oracles, and reveal unknown Things to them. To do this twenty or thirty of them assemble, and by the Help of a small Drum called *Tifa*, some Wax Candles, and certain Conjurings, as also a Sacrifice of Meat and Drink, make them appear before them. As they are of Opinion that what Ill befalls them comes from the Devil, they are very careful not to neglect his Worship; for which Purposes they have Wax Candles lighted in their Houses, where they sacrifice Meat and Drink to these phantastick Beings.

Their Circumcision is also different from that of the *Jews* or *Mohammedans*; for instead of cutting off the Prepuce, they only slit it, and that not till they are twelve or thirteen Years of Age. Their Marriages are soon made, and as soon dissolved; for every thing being agreed upon they use no farther Ceremonies, except that the Bridegroom's Father gives a small Present to the Bride, in lieu of which her Father makes the Wedding Feast, where they have their Music and Dancing. If a Wife have a mind to part from her Husband, she has no more to do than restore the Present; which done, she pours Water on her Husband's Feet, to intimate, that thereby they are both cleansed from all Impurities they have contracted during their Marriage, which is then dissolved, and either Party at Liberty to provide themselves another Spouse as they please. When they are to take a solemn Oath Water is put into a Dish, into which having cast Gun, Earth, and a Leaden Bullet, they dip into it the Point of a Halbert, Sword, Knife, or some other Weapon, and jogge the Dish with Water unto him who is to take the Oath, to put some in mind that all which has been cast or dipped into the Water, will be instrumental to his Destruction if he forswear himself. They have among them a certain Gang, who under Pretence of Witchcraft do Mischief to their Neighbours, either by Poison or other Means; they are called *Swang*; but whenever they are found out, they are sure to meet with very severe Punishment.

The Natives of *Ambony* are naturally itty, covetous, and void of Understanding; they commonly bury their Riches for fear of being robbed; and such their Supersticity that they are not to be brought up to any Trade. They are so far from any Knowledge that they have a notion such as any Characters among them. All they apply themselves to is Fishing, and cultivating their Gardens, upon the Fruit of which they live very miserably, though it is observable that they are generally strong and well-proportioned. The *Dutch* have three Ports in this Isle, viz. the Port *Cantora* or *Victoria*, and those of *Hiten* and *Laura*.

The Isle of *Banda*, which is three Leagues in Length and one in Breadth, lies twenty-four Leagues from *Ambony*, extending from North to South. It has some new Towns, the chief of which is *Nero*. The Inhabitants are very zealous *Mohammedans*; as they are always at War with some of their Neighbours, so they keep a constant Guard along their Coasts. Their Arms are a Scymitar and wooden Buckler, four Feet long, in the managing of which they are very expert, as being trained up to it in their Infancy.

Vessels in the Port of *Londa*, revenged their Disgrace upon Spectators to favour the *Dutch* in *gen*, two Years after, viz. on a certain Number of Soldiers to attack the Castle, but whilst the *Portuguese* Governor, not rendered the Place without a Garrison consisted of six hundred, was introduced in the *Moluccas*, by the *Persians* they were all *Pagans*; some others, though circumcised, Superstitious.

here than to worship the Deity, to tell you what he is. They believe in a Demon, whence they give him Air, yet make him subordinate as well as to him they call *Tar* than *Lantikila*. They give to *Tito*, i. e. Evil Spirits, and say them in human Shape, when they are to reveal unknown Things to them. Some of them assemble, and by the use of *Tifa*, some Wax Candles, and a Sacrifice of Meat and Drink, perform their Rites. As they are of Opinion comes from the Devil, they are his Worship; for which Purposes lighted in their Houses, where they think to these phantasmal Beings, also different from that of the Devil, or instead of cutting off the Prepuce, that not till they are twelve or thirteen their Marriages are soon made, every thing being agreed upon by the Women, except that the Bride shall Present to the Bride, in which she makes the Wedding Feast, where and Dancing. If a Wife have a husband, she has no more to do than which done, she pours Water into intimate, that thereby they are punished they have contracted with is then by dissolved, and each of themselves another Spouse as soon as they are to take a solemn Oath, into which having cast Gold, Silver, they dip into it the Extremity of a Halberd, Sword, Rapier, and give the Dish with which to take the Oaths, to put them in a golden cast or dipped into the Water, is Destruction if the former form them a certain Gang, who under the name of *Mitchel* to their Neighbours. Means; they are called *Mangas* found out, they are sure to meet their end.

Moluccas are naturally stupid, without any Religion; they commonly bury their dead, and such is their Superstition brought up to any Iride. They have no knowledge that they have not such of them. All they apply themselves to is in tending their Gardens, upon the Fruit of which they live, though it is observable that they are strong and well-proportioned. The most famous is, viz. the Port *Cannara*, *Uten* and *Lauro*.

There are three Leagues in Length, and twenty-four Leagues in *Ambon*, and South. It has some new Towns, viz. *Ta*. The Inhabitants are very idle; they are always at War with some of their Neighbours, and they keep a constant Guard, they are a Scythian and wooden, in the managing of which they are trained up to it in their Youth.

They make use also sometimes of Fire-arms, but what they put their chief Trust in is the Lance, being eight or ten Feet long, which they cast with such Dexterity and Strength, that they will run a Man through with it: Of these they commonly have two, which, after they have cast, they betake themselves to their Swords. They make use of a kind of light Gallies, having on each Side, just above the Surface of the Water, two Seats like Wings, where the Slaves are set to row. There are two allotted for each Seat, every one with his Oar, which being made like a hollow wooden Shovel, they thrust it as far as they can into the Sea, and in drawing it back, turn it about their Heads with such a Slight and Swiftness, that there are but few Ships that can overtake them with all the Sail they can make.

The Natives of *Banda* live very often to one hundred and twenty Years of Age. When they inter their Corps they are carried by twelve Persons upon a Bier or Coffin, covered with Calicoe, the Men first, and the Women following it; after it is buried, they return to the House of the deceased, where they feast together, order Incense to be burnt over the Grave for twenty-four Hours, and set up a burning Lamp at Night in a Hut made for that Purpose. The Men lead a very idle Life, leaving all Business to the Management of the Women, who are employed in breaking the Nutmeg-shells, and drying the Nut and Mace, the chief Thing they rely on for their Maintenance. As far as ever I could learn, the most excellent Spice grows no where but in the Isle of *Banda*, and the six following adjacent Islands, which make up the Archipelago called *Banda*, by the Inhabitants, viz. *Gunasi*, *Pera*, and *Lanter* (which is the best Road for Vessels), *Falowo*, *Pulam*, and *Basyngin*.

It is next to a Paradox to believe that these six small Islands should be able to produce such prodigious Quantities of Nutmegs as are sufficient for the whole World, unless it be considered, that besides a few Durians, Bananas, Oranges, and Cocoa-trees, the Islands are covered all over with them in one continued Forest, the Trees of which are loaded with Flowers and Fruits, which are gathered three times a Year, viz. in *April*, *August*, and *December*; but the best is gathered in *April*. The Tree itself resembles our Peach-tree, the Leaves whereof are somewhat lets and round. The Fruit is enclosed within a Husk as thick as that of our Walnuts, which, being opened, you see a Leaf very thin upon a hard Shell, which may be discovered through it. This Leaf is the Flower of Nutmeg or Mace; and to come to the Fruit, you must break the Shell. While the Nut is green, the Flower is of a Carnation Colour, which, after it is parted from the Shell, turns to an Orange Colour. It makes a most excellent Preserve, if done with Salt and Sugar. The Inhabitants make a good stomachick Ointment of Nutmegs or Mace, powdered and mixed with the Oil of Roses. The Inhabitants don't amount to above 12000 in all, amongst them not above 500 fit to bear Arms; yet are they so mucous and stubborn, that to bridle them the *Dutch* have two Forts here, called *Nafsu* and *Belgica*, where Vessels may anchor at nine or ten Fathom Water within Musket-shot, and that without the least Danger.

The *Moluccas*, properly so called, are no more than five in Number, viz. the Isles of *Ternate*, *Tidor*, *Motel*, *Mubiam*, and *Rachiam*, known to the ancient *Pagans* by the Names of *Cape*, *Douco*, *Montal*, *Maca*, and *Sague*, and situated all together within the Space of 25 Leagues. The Sun-beams are to penetrating here that they render the Earth as dry as a Pumice-stone, which not only sucks in all the Rains that fall, but also swallows the very Torrents near their Sources; but as they are not able to penetrate through the thick Forests, to the Ground here produces both Trees and Herbs; whence it is that those Islands are sufficiently stored with Bananas, Coconuts, Lemons, Oranges, Sandal, and Callumba, besides Spices of all sorts; but they produce neither Rice, nor any other sort of Grain; the Defect of which is supplied by the Tree, called by the Natives *Laudan*, and *Seguico* by the *Portuguese*, the Pith of which furnishes them with a kind of Meal for Bread, as the Leaves, when come to their full Growth, serve them for the Covering of their Houses, and the bigger Veins for Rattlers, as the lesser make good

Cordage: While these Leaves are young, they are covered with a Kind of woolly Substance, which affords Materials for Stuffs. They are not unlike the Cocoa-leaves, the Tree which bears them being commonly twenty Feet high, and the Trunk a Fathom in Compass; but being composed only of the Bark and Pith, is easily cut down, the first not exceeding one Inch in Thickness. The Pith is very white, and may be eaten without any farther Preparation, after the Strings of the Wood, which are mixed with it, are removed; but if they intend to make Meal of it, they beat the Pith to Powder, put it in a Sieve, made of the Bark of the same Tree, over a Tub, made of its Leaves, and by pouring a sufficient Quantity of Water upon it, separate the Strings from the mealy Part, which settles to the Bottom of the Tub, and being separated from the Water and dried, affords the Meal they call *Saga*. This they bake in certain Moulds of Earth, made red-hot, with incredible Dispatch. This Tree, which grows also in *Ambon* and some other Places, affords also a certain Liquor called *Thorack*, which tastes like Wine.

The Islanders, though not destitute of Cattle, yet live, for the most part, upon Fish. They have no Gold, Silver, or any other Mines, being furnished with Iron from the Island of *Ambon*. They are generally black, though the Women not so black as the Men, with black shining Hair, large Eyes and Eyebrows, and strong Limbs. They soon become grey, yet live to a great Age; are active rather than laborious, and very sociable in Conversation, but somewhat inclining to Boldness and Insolence, and in their Dealings crafty and deceitful: The Men wear generally Turbans, like the *Turks*, covered with Plumes. The King is distinguished from his Subjects by a kind of Mitre, clad in Drawers only of Blue, red, green, or yellow Sirtin. Some of these Islanders make use of a close-bodied Coat, fastened round the Shoulders, and cut below like the military Garment of the ancient *Romans*. The Women wear no Head-dresses, but lay their Hair smooth over their Heads, which they tie behind, and cover it with Plumes, or Flowers. Their Garments are of *China* Silk; but their chief Ornaments are their Bracelets, Rings, and Necklaces of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and Emerals. The *Chinese* were the first that made themselves Masters of those Islands, and after, the *Persians* and *Arabians*, who introduced *Mohammedanism* here. Their ancient Customs are their only Law: They allow Polygamy, yet don't punish Adultery; but Stealing is a capital Crime.

At Break of Day certain Persons who are appointed for that Purpose, beat the Drum about the Streets to excite the People to the Performance of their matrimonial Duty. They use generally the *Malayan* Language, though every one of these Islands has its peculiar Tongue, which shews them to be defended from divers Nations. The Isle of *Ternate*, the biggest of the *Moluccas*, is situated in 489 25 Leagues from the Isle of *Banda*. Its Compass is about eight Leagues. It affords but little Provisions, except Goats and some Poultry; but the Almonds here are most excellent, the Shells being so hard that the Smiths use them instead of Coal. It produces also some Tobacco, but much inferior in Goodness to that brought from the *West-Indies*. The Town of *Ganma Lamna*, the Capital of the whole Island, consists only of one Street, 2500 Paces long, built along the Sea-side, the Houses being all of Cane or Timber; the Road is not fit for Anchorage, the Bottom being all rocky, which makes the *Dutch* Vessels always lie at Anchor near the Village of *Tellingamma*, within two Miles of *Malay*, betwixt the Islands of *Ternate* and *Tidor*.

But the chief Product of these Islands is the Clove, called *Clavus* by the modern *Spaniards*, by reason of its Resemblance to an ordinary Nail. The Tree that bears it is by those of the *Moluccas* called *Sigar*, the Leaf *Vacaqua*, and the Fruit itself *Chamque*. The Tree resembles the Laurel, its Leaves being however somewhat narrower, like those of the Almond-tree, shooting forth its Branches at the Top, not unlike the Myrtle. The Fruit is white at first, grows green by degrees, and brown when it comes to Maturity, but does not turn black till it be dried in the Sun, which is done in two or three Days. The Tree grows naturally without planting or cultivating, bears

Fruit the eighth Year, and lasts one hundred Years. The Fruit of it is gathered but once every other Year, because the Inhabitants break off the Buds the first, that they may have a more plentiful Crop the second Year. The Fruit is ripe from August to January. This Tree affords no Gum, by reason of its excessive Heat, the Fruit being so dry that the Inhabitants, to increase its Weight, put a Pitcher with Water, within ten Feet of their Clove-Bags, which is ticked up within two or three Days Time. The Chinese do the same with their raw Silk.

As the *Moluccas* yield more Cloves than any other Islands herabouts, this has misled some to affirm that they grow only here, it being certain they yield yearly Six thousand Barrels of Cloves, allowing Five hundred and an Half to a Barrel; though, at the same time, the Isles of *Ires*, *Moytarna*, *Cavaly*, *Sabugo*, *Margeron*, *Gamocora*, *Ambeyna*, but especially the Isle of *Varanula*, produce considerable Quantities, but not so good as those of the *Moluccas*. In the Midst of the Island of *Ternate* is a very high Mountain, full of Palms and other Trees, which has a most miraculous Well on the Top, which is so deep that 500 Fathom of Rope did not reach the Bottom, but to a very fair Spring, the Water of which no Body hitherto has ventured to taste, by reason of the sulphurous Exhalations, which, especially about the Equinoxes, issue from the Mountain, and sometimes cast red Stones at twenty Leagues Distance. This Mountain is covered with Wood near half its Height, but afterwards is excessive cold, having on the Top a very cold Spring, and a Lake of fresh Water, surrounded by Trees. They know not of any certain Difference of Season in these Islands, except that it generally rains more with the North than with the South Wind.

Serpents they have of thirty Feet long, but not venomous, living for the most part upon Fish. This Island has also a peculiar Creature, called by the Inhabitants *Cages*, which, as it feeds on Fruits, so it is always seen upon the Trees, its Tail being of such Strength, that it will hang by it to a Branch of the Tree, the better to come at the Fruit; it is in Shape not unlike our Rabbits; its Colour betwixt a Grey and a Red, with thick, curling, and soft Hair, round and serene Eyes, and very small Feet. As they have scarce any domestick Bird except the Parrot, so their Fowls are full of wild ones. The *Moluccas* produce a certain Wood when Lumps, sparkles, and flames like common Wood, but consumes not, though you may rub it to Powder with your Fingers. Not far from the Port of *Ternate* grows a certain Sorub, called *Calopa* by the Inhabitants, from which falls a Leaf, which, by degrees, is supposed to turn to a Butterfly. The Isle of *Tidor* is at least as large and fruitful as *Ternate*, the Inhabitants here being so industrious as to improve the Fruit of the Clove-tree, by pruning and watering it, which, by this means, becomes both rarer and larger than the rest. Here they have also the best white Saual-wood, and those Birds called *Paveras del Catio* by the *Spaniards*, and by us Brit's of *Paradise*. After they have caught them, they cut off their Feet close to the Body, so that when the Flesh dries the Skin and Feathers join indissolubly together, so that many have been of Opinion these Birds are without Feet.

The *Dutch* are Masters of *Malaya*, a well fortified Town of *Ternate*, as also of the Port of *Tanuco*, and that of *Mertas* on *Har*, of the Port *Baneculd* in *Bachiam*, and three more in the Isle of *Machiam*, at *Tassaco*, *Tavaco*, and *Goghata*; they have also a Strong-Fort in *Mohr*. The Kingdom of *Machiam*, which is governed by its own Sovereign, being so well stocked with Sago that the Inhabitants have sufficient wherewith to subsist without Labour, has made them so idle and careless, that they are scarce able to raise 200 fighting Men. The Isle of *Machiam*, which is subject to the King of *Ternate*, is about seven Leagues in Circumference; the *Dutch* made their first Voyages in it in the year 1606, which Time they have raised three Forts, the first at *Guethpas*, situate upon an Eminence, and the second at *Tour* Ballows of Stone; as is also the Fort of *Tassaco* Fort situated upon an Akrot at an hundred and fifty Leagues from the South shore, it is bigger than the first. The Fort of *Baneculd* has only two Battions. Besides these three, there are properly called the *Moluccas*, there are

about seventy-two more, subject to the King of *Ternate*, from *Abindano* on the North Side, and *Bina* and *Cerao* on the South, and between the Continent of *New-Guinea* to the East.

14. The *Philippine* Islands, which lie to the North of the *Moluccas*, were discovered by *Ferdinand Magallanes* in 1520, but no Establishment was made there till 1565, when they got the Name of *Philippines* from *Philip II.* then King of *Spain*. The first Settlement of the *Spaniards* was made in the Isle of *Zebu*, and about six Years after that in the Isle of *Lucon*, now called *Manilla*, from its chief City, which is situate in an Isle made by an Arm of the sea in the most Southern Part of the Isle, the whole Circuit of which is three hundred and fifty Leagues; it is seven Leagues from *China* to the North, and two hundred and seventy Leagues to the North-East from *Japan* to the East; it is encompassed by the Ocean, and to the South of it a great Archipelago, which is divided into five Seas, and floored with a vast Number of Islands. The Fertility of the Soil, joined to the Industry of its Inhabitants, makes this Island abound in Corn, Rice, Fruits of all sorts, and Drugs; as likewise in Beef, Swiffoes, Peat, Goats, and Hogs. Their Cocoa Wine they keep till it becomes as strong as *Spanish* Wine; their Lemons, Oranges, Figs, and Peas, are the best in the World, and they breed both in domestick and wild Fowl, and Birds. They have a peculiar Way here of killing the Crocodiles, which they have great Numbers: He who is to engage with this Creature, gantlets his left Arm to his Elbow, having in the same Hand a Truncheon of a Foot long, play at both Ends, with a Dagger in the other: Thus armed he goes into the Water up to the Waist, and while the Crocodile is making at him with his Jaws open, he thrusts his left Hand down his Throat, so as to keep them from shutting, and in the mean while stabs him with the Dagger in the Throat, till he drops down dead.

The *Philippine* Islands produce more Tygers, Lions, Bears, and such-like wild Beasts, than *Africa* does; and abounds in *Algalias*, which are the Creatures that produce Musk, and Civet Cats. The *Chinese* drive a vast Trade this Country with the *Spaniards*, who buy their Cloves, Silks, Porcelain, Gun-powder, Sulphur, Iron, Steel, Copper, Meal, Nuts, &c. and carry them to the *Indies*, where these Things are sold at a very dear Rate. In the City of *Manilla* resides a *Spanish* Archbishop, who has three Bishops under his Jurisdiction, for the better Government of the *Philippine* Islands; and these Bishops, since they have over these ignorant Wilds, that they keep them in Subjection without any Punishment. The Archbishop is also Viceroy of those Islands, and has the Management of all publick Affairs, in Consultation with the King's Council appointed in that City, who is very large, and its Houses built of Stone, as are the most of the Way. Within and about it live above a hundred thousand *Chinese*, and vast Numbers of the same Nation, who come there every Year for the Convenience of Trade. From *December* to *April* you may see in the Harbour which is defended by two wooden Forts, several *Japanese* and *Chinese* Junks. This Place is also much frequented by the *Japanese*, but not in near so great Numbers as *Manilla*. *Manilla* is notwithstanding which, the *Spaniards* are very much more jealous of the first than the last.

15. *Japan* is composed of many Islands, and is a very large Army of the Sea, extended to a great Distance in some Places scarce ten, in others thirty Leagues in Breadth. On the East Side it hath Neighbourhood to the North *Tartary*, on the West *China*, and to the South, with Part of the *Terris Australis*. The present Empire consists of sixty-six lesser Kingdoms, and of two hundred and fifty-three whereof are comprehended under the two Kingdoms of *Meca* and *Amagance*, and of the seven great Kingdoms of *Mimo*, and the remaining Part in that called *Xinonm*. According to the *Japanese*, they are not sure Day uncertain, whether the whole Empire be an Island annexed to the Continent, so far as it is in the Province of *Quanto* to the Borders of the Province of *Tsingin*, a twenty-seven Days Journey to the East North East, and then they cross an Arm of the Sea of eleven Leagues, which brings them into the Province of *Yamato*.

to the King of Ternate, Bido, and Coroon, continent of New-Guinea.

which lie to the North of I by Ferdinand Magellanus was made there till 1606, Philippines from Philip II. Settlement of the Spaniards and about six Years after that Manila, from use of a City, by an Arm of the Sea, the whole Country is thirty Leagues, it is twenty-fourth, and two hundred East from Japan to the East, and to the South, the divided into five Sorts, and of Islands, the King of try of its Inhabitants, makes Rice, Fruits of all sorts, and Buffaloes, Peac, Geat, and they keep till it becomes as Lemons, Oranges, Fish, the World, and the, and Fowl, and Birds. They have the Crucifixes, it was he who is to cry go with him to his Elbow, saying the a Foot long, plain both other: Thus and he goes faint, and while the mouth is aw open, he thrusts his hat is to keep them from striking him with the Dagger in the dead.

produce more Tygers, Hirs, Belts, than Africa, and are the Creatures that produce the Chinese drive vast Islands, who buy the Camber, Sulphur, Iron, Cloves, and carry them to the are sold at a very dear rate, by a Spanish Arch-bishop, who is a fiction, but he is the of Islands, and has the of War, that he not any thing else. The of those Islands, and the Affairs, in certain, and in that City, where a of Store, and the live above the of the same Nation, the veniency of Trade, that may be in the Harbour, a Ports, are very, also much, to great Numbers, which, the Spaniards, in the last

of many Part, extended from a, in others they, it hath not, it hath not, Terr: And the lesser Kingdoms, pretend of what the two Magance, and the and the remaining that to the Spaniards, they the whole Empire be an, forasmuch as in the Province of the Province of Ternate, by to the East, and the Sea of even, the Province of

by inaccessible Mountains, that nobody hitherto has been able to discover the Extent of them. The whole Empire of Japan being divided into many Provinces, the same are committed to the Government of many Princes and Lords, who have their Secretaries assigned them by the Emperor himself, whole Business it is to have a watchful Eye over them, and to give an Account of their Transactions, and especially concerning their Revenues, which are very great, and according to the Computation of the Japanese, amount yearly to eighteen Millions four hundred thousand Kockins, each of which make four French Crowns, out of which they are obliged to maintain a certain Number of Forces, both Horse and Foot, for the Emperor's Service, in proportion to their Revenues, which consist chiefly in Lordships and Demesnes. They have Mines of all Sorts, &c. so that he who has a thousand Kockins per Annum is obliged to maintain twenty Foot, and two Horsemen; by which means the Emperor is able to raise an Army of three hundred and sixty-eight thousand Foot, and thirty eight thousand eight hundred Horse; besides the hundred thousand Foot and twenty thousand Horse he keeps up as a standing Force, which is to much the less to be admired at, since some of these Lords have such vast annual Revenues, that, according to the before-mentioned Proportion, they are obliged to furnish one thousand two hundred Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horse.

All the great Lords of Japan have three Names, viz. their proper Name, that of the Family, and a Surname, which they commonly take from the Province, City, or Castle they govern. They have also a Custom of changing their Names twice in their Life-time, the first, given them in their Infancy, being altered at the Age of twenty-six, and that again at fifty or sixty Years of Age. They have another Custom in Japan for the Slaves to offer themselves a voluntary Sacrifice to their Masters whenever they die, which is done by a solemn Engagement, and confirmed by a Bottle of Wine. As this is chiefly done by those Slaves, to put an End to the Miseries they endure in their Life-time, to there have been some who have desired their Masters to bury them under the Foundation they were going to lay for some considerable Edifice. Their Pagods or Temples are of Wood, about seven or eight Fathom square, and raised three or four Feet from the Ground. They have small Towers, with Lights in them on all Sides, and within certain Statues, unto whom they address their Prayers. The King and great Lords have many fair Castles belonging to them, among which those that are fortified are garrisoned by the Emperor; but their Cities are generally without any Fortifications, and if some few of them have any, they are only single Walls. Their Cities are built after the same manner, each Street having two Gates, which are shut up, and guarded in the Night-time. They have no Revenues belonging to them, neither pay they any Impostions, except a very inconsiderable Rent for their Dwellings to the Governor, for whose Use they are also obliged to keep a man at work at certain Times; but this does not happen very often. The Governors having certain Demesnes allotted them for their Revenues, and among others the Advantage of Fishing, especially of the Whale, of which there are taken yearly near three hundred upon the Coast of Japan; but they are neither so big, nor so fat as those in the Northern Parts.

Every Japanese, of what Condition soever, is absolute Master of the Life of his Slave. They are so cruel in their Punishments, that the least Trespass is punished with Death. Gaming for Money, or killing any Person, though in his own Defence, is capital, and so is Theft, though it were but for a Penny; and in Offences of a more heinous Nature, the Fathers, Brethren, and Children, are put to Death for the Crime of a single Person; nay, the Wives and Daughters, though ever so innocent, are also involved in the same Misfortune; for they are made Slaves, and their whole Substance is confiscated. Thieves are fastened with a Rope of Straw to a Cross, and then the Executioner runs a Pike into the right Side up to the left Shoulder, and again from the left Side up to the right Shoulder; other Malefactors are fastened only to a Post, with their Hands stretched out, and held up by two Persons, and so the Executioner runs them with a Pike through the Neck

into the Heart. These Crimes which involve the whole Family in the same Punishment, are Extortion, Coning, Firing of Houses, willful Murder, and Ravishing of Women, and are punished by crucifying with the Head downwards, by boiling in Oil or Water, tearing them to Pieces by four Horses, &c. Lying is also capital here, especially if told before a Judge.

Their Princes and great Lords, if guilty of any Crimes, are banished into the Isle of *Yatsen Sma*, lying four or five Leagues from the Province of *Yeddo*. It is all Rocks, without any Road or Harbour, producing nothing but Mulberry-trees and Silk-worms, which furnish those miserable Prisoners with Materials for the making of Stuffs, in which they employ their Lives, and are relieved from time to time with most miserable Food. It is computed that the Expence the Emperor of Japan is at yearly in his Court, amounts to four Millions of Kockins, and five Millions more for his Governors and military Officers. His ordinary Residence is in the Castle of *Yeddo*, which is two Leagues in Circumference, and strengthened with a triple Wall, and as many Mounts all of Free-stone. The Gates are covered with strong Iron Bars, and Lodges over them, which contain three hundred Soldiers, for a Guard to each Gate; his own Palace, with the Apartments for the Women, stand in the Centre, and round about it the Houses of the Princes, and other great Lords, all richly gilt, and sumptuously furnished, their chief Emulation being to outvie one another in this kind of Magnificence, which is amongst them looked upon as the greatest Mark of Respect they can pay the Emperor, who never flies abroad but in the Company of a great Number of those Lords, and their young Kinred, who are the Guard of his Body; and by applying themselves to Music, Play, Writing, Painting, or the Management of publick Affairs, render themselves qualified for higher Employments. They are all clad in Black, and as they march along the Streets, do not to much as utter a Word.

As the Revenues of the Emperor of Japan are so great, that the ordinary Income of two Months is sufficient to defray his whole Year's Expence, his Treasure must be immense, most of which consisting in Gold and Silver, is laid up in vast Chests, inclosed in several Towers belonging to the Castle, besides what is disposed of in the Country. Their Horse are armed with Croffets, Fire-locks, not much longer than our Pistols, with Pikes, Bows, Arrows, and Cymars. The Foot have only Head Pieces, and Cymars, each a Musket, Pike, Half-pik, and broad Simitar: Each Company consists of fifty Soldiers, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and ten Corporals; five of these Companies make a Battalion, commanded by a peculiar Officer, and ten Battalions a Brigade.

The Emperor of Japan has a numerous Council, tho' only four are charged with the Management of all important Affairs, and are to attend daily at Court: Some of these have two Millions of Crowns, others three or four hundred thousand Crowns, others four or five hundred thousand Crowns yearly Revenue; but their Expences are proportionable to their Revenues, being obliged to live at least half the Year at Court in vast Splendor, maintaining perhaps a Retinue of three hundred Persons, and above a thousand in their Families, and that in a Place where Provisions are excessive dear; not to mention the vast Expences they are at in their Buildings, and the Entertainments they are obliged to give the Emperor whenever he is pleased to honour them with a Present, perhaps of a Crane, which he has taken in Hunting. As great Persons are not to marry any Wife but what is presented to them by the Emperor himself, so they are put to vast Charge in giving them all the magnificent Entertainment, and all the Equipments they can, except their Liberty, which they must resign to their Husbands, and are not permitted to go abroad above once a Year to visit their nearest Relations; notwithstanding the Wives in Japan have the Reputation of great Retervedness, and being, beyond all others faithful to their Husbands, of which many Instances might be alledged, which for Brevity's sake I omit. There are, however, those who ascribe this Retervedness rather to the Severity of their Laws, than their Inclinations, it being certain, that even the least Suspicion of Dishonesty or Marriage

Marriage is punished here with the utmost Cruelty; so that if a Husband finds his Wife locked up in a Room with another Man, he may, without any farther Enquiry, kill them both. The better to allay the Heat of Youth, and the Danger arising from thence in respect of Adultery, they have in the Cities, nay, even in most of the Inns upon the Road, certain Prostitutes, who are most of them Slaves, and expose themselves to Travellers for Money; and if a Man is to stay for any Time in a Place, he may hire one of these Concubines from their Masters at a certain easy Rate, and keep her for his own Use.

As for their Devotion, it may be said, that they have scarce any at all, the most devout among them seldom praying in publick above once a Month before their Idols, which stand in their Temples; near them are their Sepulchres covered with great Tomb-stones two or three Feet high, and those of Persons of Quality have a little Pillar erected near them, containing their Names, and certain other Inscriptions, in the Nature of an Epitaph. The Ecclesiasticks are divided into twelve different Sects, eleven of which obtain from living Creatures, and from Women. If they break their Vow they are punished with Death. Those of the twelfth Sect are allowed to marry, and eat all sorts of Provisions; the Chief of this Sect is the Head of all their Clergy, and their Temples are endowed with many Privileges and settled Revenues; whereas those of the other Sects are maintained only by Alms. Some among the *Japanese* believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Punishments of another Life for ever; but the most have so little sense of Religion that they meet in their Temples to drink, and commit other Debaucheries; whence it is also, that never any such thing is heard of as Controversy about Religion, though they are such irreconcilable Enemies to the *Christians*, that finding Death not to be sufficient to shake their Constancy, they invented many cruel Methods to make them renounce their Faith, which, however, at last they were not satisfied with, unless they could discover another *Christian* to release them from their Torments, which are so various, as would almost fill a Volume.

Their Houses are slightly built, and seldom above one Story high, because the Country is much subject to Earthquakes; they are raised three or four Feet from the Ground, and convenient enough within, being divided into several Apartments, some of which are for the Men, the rest only for the Use of the Women, where the best Part of the Furniture is bestowed; they are also very nice in their Gardens and Orchards; they are very obliging in their Conversation, especially in their Visits, when they present their Guests with Tobacco, Tissue, or Tea, and with Wine, of the last of which they will take a very plentiful Share; but are sure never to quarrel over their Liquors. Except at the Inns, for the Convenience of Travellers, no Drinking-houses are allowed in *Japan*; nay, not so much as a publick Cook's Shop, it being their Custom to make their good Cheer in their Houses, where, among other things, they entertain one another with their Musick, the chief of which is a kind of Lute, with four silk Strings, which they strike with a Peg of Ivory. Their Wine, or rather Hydromell, is made of Rice, Sugar, and Honey, and is as strong as any Wine whatever. Their Marriages are contracted in consequence of the Agreement of the Relations. The Bride and Bridegroom being not permitted to see one another till it is to be consummated, those of a common Rank may soon be divorced, and if they dislike the Wife, send her back to her Relations; but People of Quality, notwithstanding any Disagreement, maintain them in their Houses.

Their Children they educate with all imaginable Mildness, without any beating, as well at home as at School, wouther they are not sent till they be seven or eight Years of Age, and when they come to Man's Estate, the Father assigns to his Son a certain Part of the Houle, and of his Employment, nay, perhaps the whole, relieving only a certain Allowance for his Subsistence to himself; but their Daughters have neither Dowry, nor the least Share in their Father's Estate. They are to meet in Point of Honour, that they will rather die than receive an Inch from it; and a *Japanese* will rather run the Hazard of the Ruin of his

Family, than break his Promise to his Friends, which is the Reason most of their Delinquents will rather endure the most exquisite Tortures than discover their Accomplish. The *Japanese* having such vast Quantities of all things, seldom deal in any foreign Commodities, but leave that Commerce to Strangers, especially to the *Chinese*, who bring thither the Product and Manufactures of their Country; though ever since the ancient good Correspondence between those two Empires has been interrupted, the *Chinese* are forbidden by their Kings to send Goods into *Japan*, and therefore are obliged to carry on this Commerce, under Pretence of transporting their Commodities to some other Parts of the *Indies*, unto which they are the more encouraged by the vast Hopes of Gain. All Commodities, either imported or exported out of *Japan*, passing free, without paying the least Duty or Custom.

The whole Empire of *Japan* uses but one and the same Language, which is quite different from the *Chinese*, as well as their Characters; as they always use but few Words, they write every thing with Pencils in certain short-hand Notes in a very little time; their Accounts they keep by the means of certain small Beads, which they thread upon little Sticks like a square Board. They are not deficient of Books nor Libraries, the *Dairo* (who formerly was the Sovereign of the Country, and still retains the Supremacy over the Clergy) keeps the publick Accounts, and writes the Chronicles of the Country; neither are any other Lords, except the Gentlemen of his Houle, and such Lords and Ladies as are descended from his Family, allowed to write Books, which makes them constantly apply themselves to Learning. They have but one kind of Money; our Gold is of the best kind, but their Silver none of the best; Of Gold Coin they have three Sorts, one where is valued at forty-eight Taals, each of which being worth five Crowns Sterling, amounts to twelve Pounds Sterling. The second sort are worth each one Taal, and a fifth Part, and the third one Taal, and a sixth Part. Their Silver Coin goes by Weight, being in the Form of Ingots, to divide a certain Piece commonly amounts to fifty Taals. They have also a lesser Silver Coin made in the Shape of a *Trom*, but which goes likewise by Weight.

The *Japanese* do not geld any Creature, so that there are well stored with all sorts of Cattle, as well as horses and small birds. They also abound in mineral and hot Waters: There is a certain hot Spring here which issues into its Waters duly twice every twenty four Hours, without Violence, that though the Water rises and falls several times, which are laid on the Top of the Hole to the height of twenty or twenty-four Feet, it is so hot that it will burn the Heat of boiling Water, and burns every man it touches at its first coming out; but being received into certain Pipes into the adjacent Houses, it is reduced to such a Degree of Heat, that it is convenient for Bathing. These Mineral Waters are sufficient Proofs that there are great stores of good Mines of all Sorts; and Experience has shewn, that for they have Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, and Lead of their own, as well as Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Silk, and all manner of Provisions in great Plenty. Their Physicians have singular Reputation as to their Ability in Chirurgery is uncommon among them as yet. They make frequent Use of *China* Root and Rhubarb, which, as well as most of their other Medicines, they make into Pills. The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* found it no hard Matter to settle themselves in *Japan*, and their religious opinions took so well with the Inhabitants, that they were permitted to build divers Churches in the Kingdom, but the *Spaniards* not being able to contain themselves within the Bounds of Modesty, their domineering Temper, and such a Jealousy and Aversion in the *Japanese*, that they set upon them, burnt their Ships, and, in it, banished them the Island under Pain of Death. The *Dutch* began to trade there in 1611. Some of their Relations affirm the City of *Macao* to be twenty-one Leagues from *Compa*, and that the City of *Offack* and *Burg* are but their Wealth not inferior to any of the *Indies*.

The Air of *Japan* is very moderate and healthy, but changing rather to Cold than Heat. They sow in *May*, but do not reap till *September*. They have neither Oil nor Butter, and have an Aversion to Milk, which they

life to his Friends, which his
 quents will rather endure the
 discover their Accomplish-
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consider as Part of the Blood and the Receptacle of the
 Souls of Beasts. They will not feed upon the Flesh of
 any Beasts, but are great Lovers of all sorts of Wild-
 Fowl and Venison. Their Cedars are so big here that they
 make Masts of them for Ships. The Complexion of the
 Natives is inclining to brown; and for the rest, they are
 lily and strong limbed, hardy, and patient to undergo any
 Labour, as well as the Injury of the Seasons, never changing
 their Cloaths either Winter or Summer, and very mode-
 rate in their Diet. The *Japanese* are distinguished into five
 several Ranks; the first is that of the Prince, Lords, and
 great Officers, both Civil and Military; the second of the
 Clergy; the third of the Gentlemen and Merchants; the
 fourth of the Tradesmen and Seamen; and the fifth of La-
 bourers. Once in five Years the Emperor of *Japan* has
 an Interview with the Dairi at *Mezco*, which is very re-
 markable for its Magnificence, and the great Presents made
 to the Dairi, an ample Account of which being to be
 found in the *Dutch* Relation of the Director of the said
 Company in *Japan*, we will pass by the Particulars of it
 here, our Intention being only to give the Reader a short
 Relation of what we have received from very good Hands,
 and leaving the rest to be completed by those who have
 since had the Opportunity of taking a View in Person of
 that Country.

16. After the Banishment of the *Japanese* out of *China*,
 the *Chinese*, to avoid the Penalties inflicted on such as
 should trade with them, made use of the Isle of *Yayo-*
oyang, whether they carried their Commodities, in order
 to continue their Commerce with those of *Japan*. The
Dutch being excluded from the Commerce of *China*, fol-
 lowed their Foot-Steps, and, in 1632, settled themselves
 in the said Island, as the most convenient Place in all the
Indes for carrying on Trade both with *China* and *Japan*,
 there being a free Passage here all the Year, without being
 obliged to stay for the Monsoons, which in most other
 Places last for six Months. The *Dutch*, to lay, being sen-
 sible of this Convenience, built immediately a Stone-Fort
 of four Battions on the Downs, within half a League of
 the great Isle of *Formosa*, which is divided from this Isle
 by a Channel only, which, though not very deep, yet af-
 fords a safe Harbour for Ships against any Winds.

For the better Defence of the Entrance of this Channel,
 the *Dutch* have built a strong Redoubt called *Zeeland*.
 The Isle of *Formosa* itself is about thirty-two Leagues
 distant from the River of *Canton*, and the *Chinese* Island
 called *Phoenix*, extending from S. W. to the N. E. in
 Compass an hundred and thirty Leagues. It is full of Vil-
 lages and Inhabitants, which are not governed by any
 single Prince, but such as they choose themselves for their
 Magistrates. It has many Rivers full of the best Fish;
 their Forests are well stocked with Wild-Fowl and Veni-
 son, and their Meadows with Cattle, besides Deer, Wild-
 Boar, Hares, and Rabbits. Their Forests produce a kind
 of Horfes, with Hams like a Deer, called *Obawang* in their
 Language, the Flesh of which is a great Delicacy; as also
 another Creature, not unlike our Bears, but of a very large
 Size, the Skin of which is much esteemed in those Parts.
 Their Grounds are very fertile, but neglected, which
 make Fruit very scarce, and what they have, not very
 grateful to the Taste. It produces also some Ginger and
 Creamer, and, as the *Chinese* relate, Gold and Silver;
 but the *Dutch* have hitherto found none of these Mines
 worth working after. The Places in which the *Dutch* have
 their Settlements are, for the most part, along the Sea-
 shore.

The Inhabitants appear like Savages, being of a more than
 ordinary Size, black and hairy all over their Bodies, but in
 their Conversation obliging, honest, and good-natured;
 their Women are not so strong an Hair, but inclining to
 Ruffs, and yet not ill shaped. They wear a sort of Gar-
 ment round the Middle; but when they bathe themselves
 which they commonly do twice a day in warm Water)
 they, as well as the Men, strip themselves stark naked,
 and make no great Account whether they are seen by one
 or not; for the rest, they are very constant Friends,
 and religiously observe the Arguments that they make
 with Strangers, Treachery being a Thing abominable
 among them. They neither want Industry or Money,

being very docile in any thing they apply themselves to.
 Though their Grounds be very fertile, and able to produce
 much more than they do, they are contented to live up-
 on their small Quantity of Rice, which is raised by the
 Industry of their Wives, who, instead of Ploughs, culti-
 vate and dig the Ground with Spades, transplant and cut
 the Rice, and after having dried as much of it every
 Night in the Chimney-Corner as will suffice the Family
 the next Day, heat it early in the Morning in a Mortar;
 the Mens Minds being wholly taken up with hunting, es-
 pecially till they are forty Years of Age, before which
 Time they seldom mind any thing relating to Agri-
 culture.

They sow also three sorts of Fruits, called by them
Pingb, *Quach*, and *Taraun*, not unlike Millet; and a cer-
 tain sort of Pulse, resembling our French bean; some
 Roots they have likewise, which might serve them instead
 of Bread, if they were not furnished sufficiently in that
 respect with Rice. Besides this, they have Ginger, Cin-
 namon, Sugar-canes, Bananas, Lemons, and a great Store
 of Areca, not to mention several sorts of Fruits and Pulse
 not known in *Europe*. Instead of Cocoa-Wine, of which
 they are destitute, they make a certain Mixture of Rice,
 which, being soaked in warm Water, they beat it in a
 Mortar till reduced to a Paste; this they mix with Rice-
 meal chewed instead of Leaven; and having put it into an
 earthen Vessel, fill it up with Water, which, after it has
 fermented and stood two Months, affords a very pleasant
 Liquor, which is stronger or weaker, according as it is
 kept, and the older the sweeter it is, and may be kept
 good thirty or thirty-five Years. When they go abroad a
 hunting they make use of Snares, small Pikes, Bows, and
 Arrows; their Nets they spread in the open Fields, or
 cross the Highways, and then drive the Wild-Beasts into
 them.

Sometimes the Inhabitants of several Villages make a
 Hunting-Match, and dividing themselves into divers Par-
 ties, armed with Half-pikes and Lances, send their Dogs
 into the Woods; by which means having forced the Wild-
 Beasts into the Fields, they encompass them on all Sides,
 sometimes for a whole League, and so with their Pikes
 kill all those that come within the Ring. These Lances, or
 rather Darts, are of Cane, six or seven Feet long, with se-
 veral Hooks, which, being fastened into the Flesh of the
 Beasts, are not to be pulled out; but as the Iron is not well
 fastened to the Wood, but that with the running of the
 Beasts through the Bashes it comes off, a Cord is tied to
 both, and a little Bell to the Iron, so that the Lance annoys
 the Beast, and the Bell discovers its Passage wherever it
 runs. By this means they catch vast Numbers of Deer,
 the Skins of which they exchange with the *Chinese* for
 their Commodities, they seldom relerving any thing for
 their own Use but the Umbles and the Entrails, which
 they eat and eat half corrupted, being not cleaned of the
 Filth before they were tasted.

When one Village happens to be at War with another,
 they first declare it openly against one another, which
 being the Signal to be upon their Guard, they do not attack
 by open Force, but dividing themselves into small Troops,
 perhaps of twenty-five or thirty Men, lie in Ambush near
 the Village they intend to attack till Night, when they fit
 upon the Houses, which lie dispersed in the open Country,
 till perhaps they can light upon an aged Man; they kill
 him, cut off his Head, Hands, and Feet; nay, if they
 have Time enough, cut the whole Body into small Pieces,
 that every one of them may take home a Piece of it along
 with him as a Mark of his Bravery; but if the next Vil-
 lage happens to take the Alarm, they are glad to be con-
 tented with the Head alone, or perhaps a good Lock of
 the Hair, which they carry home in Triumph, as an un-
 doubted Sign of their Victory; when they intend to make a
 very bold Attack, they enter the Village by Night, force open
 a House, kill all they meet with, and to betake themselves
 to their Heels, for fear of being pursued. When they en-
 gage in the open Field, their chief Aim is to draw one an-
 other into an Ambush; but the Death of one Man com-
 monly decides the Quarrel, that Side which has lost him
 retreating immediately. Their Arms are Pikes, but without
 Hooks; their Backs are so large, that they shelter their
 whole

whole Body; but their Swords short and broad. Besides which, they also make use of Knives, or Bayonets, like those of the *Japaneſe*. Sometimes certain Villages enter into a Confederacy againſt divers other Villages, in which caſe they do not chooſe a General, or any Commander in Chief, but ſuch among them as have acquired ſome Reputation of Courage, by having cut off ſome of their Enemies Heads, are followed by a certain Number of Volunteers, who go abroad in Parties, and ſurprize their Enemies.

They commonly engage in War againſt the Island of *Saſon*; the Inhabitants thereof are ſo ſuſpicious, that they will not let a Foreigner or others ſet a Foot on Shore, not the *Chonge* themſelves, who come thither to trade with them, but are forced to remain on board their Veſſels, whither the Planters come to exchange Commodities with them. If they are fo happy as to carry off an Enemy's Head, or perhaps only a Lock of his Hair, or a Pike, they carry it in Triumph, as a Sign of their Victory, appoint a publick Thankſgiving-day, ſing Hymns, and offer Sacrifices to their Gods. He who has done the Expedition, is looked upon ever after as an extraordinary Man, has particular Reverence paid him by all the reſt, and he receives the Head, or Pike of his Enemy, as a moſt precious Relick in his Family, which they value beyond any Gold or Silver. No body here claims any Preference above another more than what is allowed to Age. Each Village being governed by twelve Senators, choſen every two Years out of the moſt aged Perſons, who are not inveſted with any other Power or Authority, than that of calling together the whole Village in one of their Temples, and propoſing to them what they think neceſſary to be done, making uſe of all their Eloquence (or which they have ſufficient Share beſtowed upon them by Nature) to perſuade the Choice of the Fanatics there preſent to a Compliance with what has been propoſed to them, which they are at Liberty to accept of or reject according as they think fit.

The only Power thoſe Senators are inveſted with, conſiſts in this, that they ſee the Commands of their female Preſts put in Execution, take care that Satisfaction may be given to ſuch as are injured, not by any corporal Punishments, but by enjoining them to give a Piece of Cloth, Deer ſkin, ſome Rice, or Perhaps a Pot of Brong Liquor, as an Attonement to their Adverſaries; for thoſe Magiſtrates have no Power to puniſh Murder, Theft, or Adultery. In the laſt caſe the Matter is commonly compoſed by the Mediation of the Relations on both Sides. If any can be robbed, he muſt, accompanied by his Friends, to the Houſe of him who has ſtole his Goods, and with their Aſſiſtance forces him to make an immediate Reparation; and what is agreed upon betwixt them, he carries away with him to his own Houſe. In caſe of Adultery, the injured Husband goes, without any farther Ceremony, to the Houſe of the guilty Man's Caſe, takes from him two or three Eggs, in the ſection of the Affront put upon him. We may ſay here, that there is no Difference of Conſcience among them, which is ſo abſolutely true, that the very Names of Maſters and Servants are not to much as known among them. All the Reſpect they pay one to another is owing to old Age, which is in ſo high Eſteem among them, that a young Man meeting an old one, goes out of his Way, and turns his Back to him till he is paſt by; ſuch is the Reſpect the young People ſhow to their Elders, that they will not reſuſe them calling and ſaying to them, though it ſhould be to go three or four Leagues, to their Hairnets. Men are forbid to marry till they are at leaſt twenty Years of Age. They do not let their Hair grow below their Ears till after beards are grown; and inſtead of Sciffes, or Razors, make uſe of a Crooked Knife, with which they cut it upon a Piece of Wood. The Hair of their Bards they draw out with their Fingers.

Men always let their Hair grow, and may marry as ſoon as they pleaſe. The Courtſhip is performed by the young Man's ſending Relations, whom he lends to the young Woman's Relations, or Friends, to ſhow them ſome little Preſent, ſuch as willow upon his Mother, which if it is accepted of, the Match is made, and he may confe-

mate the Marriage the next Day if he pleaſe. The Preſents commonly offered to the Bride conſiſt in ſome Silk or Callico Scarfs the Women wear round the Waſte ſome Waitcoats, Bracelets of Cane, ten or twelve Rings of Deers Horn, four or five coarſe Cloth Garters, ſome little Veilments made of Dog's Hair, ſome *Chonge* Garments, a Bag of Dog's Hair, and four or five pair of Stockings of Deer-ſkin, amounting perhaps in all to about 140 Crowns; the poorer Sort are content with a Prefent of a few Bracelets, and two or three Garments, not amounting to above three or four Crowns. When the Marriage is to be conſummed, the Bridegroom gets into his Mother's Father's Houſe by ſtealth at Night, and without being ſeen by any body, and ſo creeps into her Bed. He continues thus for many Years after, always coming into the Houſe at Night, and going thence in the Morning before Day-light, the Wife living all this while in the Father's Houſe, till her Husband be forty Years of Age, and never ſee one another by Day, unleſs ſhe happens to be at Home alone, or elſe in the Field. The Women are obliged not to bring any Children into the World, if they are thirty-five, or thirty-fix Years of Age, but deliver their Children in the Womb, by calling the Mother Preſticeſs to kneel upon their Belies till they come in Abortion.

As their Marriages are ſoon made, ſo they are ſoon diſſolved; for if they grow weary of one another, they may divorce; which Liberty is equally uſed by both Parties, with this Difference only, that if the Husband lends away his Wife without any Cause, he muſt give the Preſents he has given her before Marriage; but if the Wife, or any other Affront offered to her, ſhe is obliged to make Reſtitution. No Marriages are contracted among them within the fourth Degree of Conſanguinity, or Affinity. Their Houſes are generally large, and ſteter than is common in the *Indies*, with four Doors to each Quarter of the Heavens: Some have two Doors on a Side; they are commonly raiſed five or fix Feet from the Ground, and three or four Stories high. Their Furniture conſiſts in ſome wild Boars and Deers Hides, or ſome other Relicks taken from their Enemies, which are the chief Ornaments; the reſt conſiſts in Deer-ſkins, which are uſed inſtead of Feather-beds, certain Stuffs with which they cover themſelves, a Spade, Pike, Bow, Arrows, a wooden Trough inſtead of our Dishes, or a wooden Tray, and a Pot to boil their Rice in, with ſome other ſmall Food, and this is all. Though they have no Clergy appointed for Divinity, yet they make uſe of ſome to make good Cheer, eſpecially every Morning in their Temples, where the Women alſo appear, and ſome of them made of Dog's Hair; for here, as in the *Indies*, they cut off the Dog's Hair once a Year, or ſometimes twice, if it red, make certain Stuffs of it, which they value as much as we do our curling Veils.

Their Ceremonies uſed after the Death of their Friends are ſcarce to be paralleled in the World, for if there be any one dead, but by Beat of Drums, marching round a great Tree, they give Notice thereof to the People upon which all the People repair, ſome to ſee the Houſe of the deceaſed, and among the reſt ſome who ſay that they have plentifully drunk of Arrack, they ſit very ſlowly, upon great empty Chetſes, with their heads full of Noſe, to expreſs their ſorrow at the Death of their deceaſed Friend. Eight or ten Women ſit round for ſome Time, with their Belies turned to the dead, they ſay ſome Way, to others, who continue ſitting ſuch ſits in all two Hours. The next Ceremony is made for the Funeral Rites, which are performed by burying, or burning the Corpſe, as ſometimes is done; but by drying it in the following Manner. They take it of a Scaffold of Cane, five or fix Feet high, where they ſuſtain the Body by the Hands and Feet, and ſuſtain it, by making a good Fire round about it, ſo that it may be dried in whole Days, during which Time, they ſit round about it, and eat upon the Fleſh, when they are ſatisfied. After the Expiration of the nine Days, they take it of another Scaffold, wrapped in a Mat, and ſuſtain it where it remains till the third Year, when they take the Bones, and bury them in the ſame Manner.

face of their Friends, who make merry again with Feasting and Dancing.

They have scarce any Religion; for as they can neither write nor read, whatever they have of this kind is founded merely upon Tradition; hence it is that they believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Immortality of the Soul, which they affirm shall find Good or Evil in the latter Life, according to their Merits in this. What Actions are accounted amongst us the most criminal, are taken for slender Treppasses among them, viz. Murder, Theft, and Adultery; for as for Fornication, it is not so much as looked upon as a Sin; and if a young Man can get a Favour of his Neighbour's Wife, it is considered but as a very slight Offence, because they are not permitted to marry till they are twenty, or twenty-one Years of Age. The greatest Crimes among them, and of which the Magistrates take Notice, are to cover their privy Parts, at certain Times of the Year, when they should not; to wear at certain Times silk Garments, when only Callico are allowed them, and not to destroy the Fruit in the Mother's Womb, before she arrives to the Age of thirty-five. Among several Deities, they have two that have the Pre-eminency over the rest, viz. one *Tamigafinbach*, and the other called *Sarialjingb*. The first, whose Residence they place in the South, is the Giver of all good and profitable Things to Mankind; the other, unto whom they ascribe the North, they say, destroys all what the former is pleased to bestow on Man; for which Reason they worship both one for doing them Good, the other, that he may do them no Harm.

They have amongst others two Gods named *Zahshlas* and *Yapucupe*, who, as they are accounted the Patrons of Warriors, are adored only by those Men. They have the Peculiar, that their religious Ceremonies are performed by Women, when they call *Jurac*. Their Worship consists in Prayers and Sacrifices of Hogs, Atoci, Deer and Wild-Boars Heads, as also some of their Liquors. After they have feasted very well, the Priestess's wife, and muttering certain Prayers, turn up their eyes, as if at last laid to the Ground, with dreadful Cries. Sometimes after they lie immovable, like one in a Trance, for an Hour; during which Time, they say, they have an Interview with their Gods. This being over, they climb up to the Top of the Temple, walk from one End to the other, and after they have said their Prayers again, strip themselves naked, and expose their naked Bodies, and wash them in the Presence of all the standers by, of both Sexes, to which but few Men assist at this kind of Devotion, and the Women have generally taken to much strong Liquor, that they scarce perceive what passes. Their *Juracs* do pretend to banish Devils to come, and to banish the evil Spirits. For the rest, each House has a peculiar Place for the private Devotions of the Family, which are performed for the most Part by Women, who make Offerings to their Gods of what is spent every Day in the House, as they do upon certain Altars erected for that Purpose upon the great Roads.

17. The Chinese Empire being of so vast an Extent, that a moderate Account of it would take up a large Volume, we will content ourselves to give only a Scheme of it here, leaving a more ample Description to those who of late Years have had the Opportunity of taking a full View of it. It is certain, that this vast Kingdom of *China* (called *Cathay* by the *Tartars*, and *Chin, ben, or Chouque*, in a middle Kingdom, by the *Chinese*) is the utmost Province of all *Asia* to the East, having beyond it no other Borders but the Sea, for this Reason called by the *Chinese* *Tang, the* of the East. To the North its Frontiers extend along the *Great Tartary*, from which it is divided by a Range of great Mountains; a Tiber that falls, by the famous *Chinese* Wall, which begins upon the Confines of the Province of *Leautung*, and extends to the yellow Sea upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Tibet*, 3000 Chinese Leagues in Length to the West. Its Borders upon the East touch of *Kiane* and *Bongai*, and to the S. and S.W. touch *Cakou-Chi-a*, and the Sea, comprehending more Length all the Southern Parts betwixt the 130th and the 170th, making 4000 Spanish Leagues in Length, and two thousand in Com- p-
18. It is divided into fifteen great Provinces, among which, six, viz. those of *Peking, Nancung, Kiangnan, or Nanking, Chekian, Tokien, and Quantung*, extend along the Sea side, the other nine being inland Provinces, five of which, viz. those of *Quangfi, Kwangfi, Huquing, Honan, he* to the East, *Xamfi, Szechuan, Yucoban, and Juannan*, to the West. The Provinces of *Leautung* and *Cerea*, which are on the East-side, do not properly belong to *China*; all which contain one hundred and forty-five great Cities, and 1263 others, which would pass for considerable Cities elsewhere. Their Cities are for the most Part built after the same Fashion, square, with two large Streets, dividing the whole into four Quarters, like a perfect Cross; so that from the Centre of each Place you may view the four Gates of it. They are fortified with broad brick Walls, and flanked with Towers, after the ancient *Roman* Fashion, plastered over with the fine Earth they make their Porcelain of, which in Time grows as hard as Stone, and they always the Walls against the Impire of the Air. It has been supposed that some of them have stood 500 Years, without any considerable Change. Their Houses are very neatly and conveniently built, with Gardens, Orchards, Groves, Fountains, and all other Conveniences and Ornaments, their Architecture exceeding that of the best Masters of *Europe*. They are, of all Nations of the World, the most careful in Paving, and keeping their Highways, and providing all Necessaries for the Accommodation of Travellers throughout.

The whole Empire is of so vast an Extent, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *Quantung*, lying on the Torrid Zone, are as black as the *African Moors*; whereas those of the Province of *Peking*, which is most northerly, are as white as the *Germans*; which Difference is also observable in their Fruits, the southern Provinces producing all such Fruits as the *Indies* afford; whereas the more northerly Parts have Plenty of *European* Fruits. Besides this, *China* abounds in Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Muls, Silk, Salt, rich Gums, and Drugs, Rice, and Corn, for most of which they are beholden to Nature, yet must it be withal confessed, that the Industry of the Inhabitants, and the easy Government they live under, is a vast Addition to what they are obliged to Nature for, there being not a Fen, Marsh, Bay, nor a Mountain, but what is planted, cultivated, or put to some Use or other, no Count being more heinous in *China* than Idleness. The Country of *China* does not only produce all sorts of living Creatures, but also all the Fruits and Simples we have in *Europe*, but much better, and in greater Plenty, and consequently sold at a very cheap Rate, so that Spices are so cheap here, that you may buy a hundred of these Rings for a Crown, and two Pounds of the best *China* Crown; and the vast Quantities of Silk produced may be gathered in from what is exported to the most remote Countries. As the Country is full of Fish, so they abound in Fish, which they catch by the Help of 400000 rants, of which they have vast Numbers. They tie a String round their Necks above their shoulders; so that after they have filled their Bags, which hang under their Throats, with Fish, they are forced to disgorge what they have taken into the Boat unto which they are fastened.

They have also a peculiar Way of breeding Ducks in prodigious Quantities, of these they keep three or four thousand in Cages of Canes, set at the Stears of great Boats, and let them out every Day to go ashore, and pick the Weeds from amongst the Rice, and towards Evening call them to their Cages by a Whistle, the Sound of which brings them back to the very Boat unto which they belong. Their Duck Eggs they hatch in Dung, and afterwards put the young ones under the Wings of the old Duck in the Cages: This Way of Breeding makes them so cheap, that they sell five or six for Two pence.

The *Chinese* Women are generally well proportioned of a good Size; but the Men are the most ugly with large Faces, small Eyes, and very little on their Heads. They do not either their Hair, or their Noses, as the *Tartars* do. Their Clothing is altogether of the same Kind with this Difference only, that in the northern Provinces they use Furs; whereas in the southern they use Cotton.

war Silk. The Women are very magnificent in their Apparel, and wear Abundance of Jewels and Pearls. They are very remarkable for their little Feet. They seldom appear abroad; and whenever they visit their Relations, they are in cloths of *Palangours*, or Linens. The *Chinese* are especially not only in all sorts of Manufactures, but also in their Way of Trading, that scarce any body is able to overmatch them. Their Money is Gold and Silver, which is usually sold by Weight. They are so careful in providing for the Poor, that in each City a Judge is appointed to provide for the Relief of such as are unable to provide for themselves, and let to work such as are in a Capacity to get their Bread.

As there are Books extant in *China*, which have been printed above even hundred Years ago, it is certain that they invented the Mystery of Printing before us, since it was not discovered in *Europe* till 1476. Their Characters are rather Figures signifying certain Words, than Letters, which they write from the Top downward, not with Pen, but with Pencil, and that on one Side only, their Paper, which they make of the Bark of *Bambee* Canes, being very thin. The Emperor maintains at his own Charge many Schools and Academies, the Oversight of which is committed to Visitors, who at certain Times not only examine the Professors and Scholars, and expel such as are not qualified for Studies, but also promote such as have made a sufficient Progress in Learning to the Degree of a *Tutor*, a Dignity like our Doctors. They are very ceremonious and occupying in their Conversation, in which Point they are to note, that the first Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths are certain Books of Compliments. Their Entertainments are very magnificent, in which they have this Peculiar, that they set as many Tables as they have Guests. Their Meats are served up either in Plates, or Porcelain. They have small Cups, because they drink often, but no Napkins, and they frequently lend home to their Guests what Meats are left untouched upon the Tables, and are especially careful in entertaining Ambassadors with more than ordinary Respect.

They allow Polygamy, but punish severely Excess, which is forbidden by a direct Law to Immunity, and in the Collateral Laws to Inters and Noces. The Fall, however, is the only legal War, whose eldest Son inherits half of the Estate of his Father; but on his Death, the eldest Son of the next Wife has the same Privilege. A very singular Custom is a capital Crime here, yet is seldom punished, partly by reason of the great Restraint the Women are kept under, partly because the *Chinese* are so wary, as rather to make the best of such an Accident, than to advantage themselves, or to expose themselves, by pulling down their own Dignity. Though the Government of *China* be not only in a monarchial, but also in a despotic, yet it is to be noted, that even these Nations who are by the great Degree of Liberty in *Europe*, are not more fastened with Taxes than the *Chinese*, who every year send from this Imperial Majesty in printed Letters Kings, that as Wars are destructive, and the chief Means to impoverish a Nation, they ought not to enter upon them, in order to extend their Frontiers, or make any Conquests, for which Reason it is that, to avoid all Occasion of Contest with their Neighbours, the *Chinese* are forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without Licence from the Emperor, or the Governor of the Province where they dwell.

The eldest Son always succeeds the Father in the Throne, the youngest Son having some certain Appanage, with the Title of King, showed that they have not the least Share in the Administration of the Government, being under the Jurisdiction of either the Emperor, or the Governor of the Province where they dwell, who pay them their Appanage quarterly. The chief Council of the Councils of twelve Counsellors, and the President, besides which, there are a number of the great Council, by Council Officers. The first is for the Administration of Justice, the second for the Revenue, the third for the Ordnance, the fourth for the War, the fifth for the Affairs of the Publick Structures, and the last for criminal Causes. To prevent the Abuse of the Government, and the Corruption of Justice, the Officers of the great Council every three Years send a Viceroy into the Provinces, who, after having taken

an Account of their Transactions, make a solemn Report to the King, who changes the Officers of the Province every three Years, with this Circumposition, that there is never any Officer of Note is sent, but into a Province whose cruel Drubbings, which makes them rather to cast themselves to their Creditors, than to undergo this Punishment.

The Prisons, wherewith all the great Cities are provided, are very nicely kept, but at the same time want many Conveniences, such as Courts, Gardens, Parks, Walks, &c. for the Divertement of the Prisoners, and Dining-houses and Cooks-shops for their Convenience. No Sentence of Death is executed without a Warrant from the Emperor, and this must be done in the Presence of the Judges, who are to nice in this Point, that they allow a very considerable Time betwixt the Condemnation and Execution, make divers Visits to the Prisoners, to determine them whether they have any thing to say for their Behalf; by which Delays it happens, that more die in Prison than are executed. Their chief punishments are Hanging, Impaling, and Burning, and the last is only in Cases of High Treason. These may lay upon their Belies with their Hands tied back, and the Executioners beat them with Canes in the same Water upon the Call of their Legs with a Yellow Flag, that they frequently expire under their Harsh.

The *Chinese* are *Pagans*, though some Authors have taken a great deal of Pains to persuade the Westerners they found some Remains of Christianity, and that some of them they lay were introduced there by the Apostles. They acknowledge the Heavens to be the Dwelling-Place of the Governor of the Universe, who is named by the Emperor, a great Reverence next to the Sun. They have a God called *Canyay*, unto whom they attribute the Cause of all salutary Things. They ascribe to the same Deities as many great Ministers, *viz. Yarnan*, who presides over the Air, *Yeziam*, whose Business is to watch over the Generation of Men, and all living Creatures, and the Products of the Earth, and *Yeziam* the God of the Sea. They have also three famous Saints, called *Indis*, Founder of all the Religions of the World, of which there are great Numbers, and of which other two are Females, called *Quana* and *Yan*. The *Chinese* are also much addicted to the Religion of the Devil. They believe the Demons to be those which is communicated to it by Hell, and that they either enjoy eternal Felicity or Torment, according to good or bad Actions done in this World. They think it is that they assign a certain Place of Abode for the Pagatory to the Soul, after its Departure from the Body. Here it is purged from its Sins, and is admitted into its Relations and Friends, may be either saved or damned. Many of them also ascribe to the Opinion of the Transmigration of the Soul, which they derive from the Pagans.

Their Orders of religious Men have a great Name in the City of *Antion*, who have entered into a Society of Nuns, and these under them the Superior, who have their respective Monasteries. They make a great Account, and keep to their constant Mattos and Orders, and the Monks in *Europe*. The chief Superior of the *Chinese* are not permitted to enter into any other Order, but such as have may quit their present Order, and enter into any other, which they have established a number of Years ago. Their Funeral Rites, the *Chinese* walk with their Feet in a Cloud of Sweet Wood with their Feet, and sit upon a Table till it is dark, and then they eat and drink, and pray, and are called with Wine and Food, and then they enter them after the Expatriation of the Soul, which is commonly done in the Country near a Mountain, that he set to be found, they put one of the Mountains is very high, in some Countries, they have a good deal of their Mountains, some of which are 1000 Years, and the other Rites are proportionable to the same.

The last Item the *Chinese* have a great Wall wall in every what it is that they have built all the Country, and it is very high, and is built

when they were not only forced from thence, but also obliged to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Emperor of China. About the Year 1600, seven powerful Colonies of the Tartars were joined into one Kingdom under the Name of *Niube*, whose King entered China, in 1616, with a powerful Army. Many bloody Engagements happened among the Chinese and Tartars, especially in 1618, 1619, 1620, 1625, 1627, till at last in 1630 the Tartars were once more forced to quit the Possession of China, and to content themselves with making Incursions, as they found Opportunity. But in 1641 no less than eight Armies of Robbers appearing at once in the Chinese Empire, and the Granules being divided into Factions, some of them called in the Tartars to their Aid, and at last betrayed the capital City and the Emperor to them, who was strangled in 1644. Upon which the Tartars, having spent some Years in reducing other Provinces, made themselves absolute Masters of the whole Empire, by the Conquest of the City of *Quangbeu*, in the Province of *Quangfi*, Nov. 14. 1650. But it is now Time to proceed with our Voyage regularly and circumstantially.

18. We told you how we were becalmed in the Sight of the Isle of *Ceylon*, where we continued till the 20th of February, when the North-West Wind obliged us to steer our Course to the South-East. We found ourselves then 2° beyond the Equinoctial Line. I took this Opportunity to ask the Master of the Ship, whether (according to the vulgar Opinion) I might discover both the Poles here; but he sufficiently convinced me, that the Arctic Pole was not to be seen till about six Degrees, and the Antarctic not till eight beyond the Line, and that when you come to 8 or 10° the North-West Wind reigns there constantly for six Months, as the South-East does the other Months of the Year. We saw abundance of Birds, some white like Pigeons, others like wild Ducks, and vast Quantities of certain Birds, called by the Portuguese *Gaiyas*, being black and white, but larger than our Magpies. Their Tails are divided like a Pair of Taylor's Sheers: All these live upon the flying Fish, who, to avoid the Pursuit of the *Albicores*, *Bonitos*, and *Dorados*, break themselves to the Air. The *Albicores* are white, and without Scales, and so are the *Bonitos*; but the first exceed the others in Bigness, and have but one Bone from the Head to the Tail, but are not extraordinary Meat. The *Dorado* is like a Salmon, but more luscious, and has smaller Scales. We also took a Sea-Hog (so called from its Snout, which is like that of a Pig) which are seen in great Shoals near the Vessel, and are looked upon by the Seamen as the Forerunners of a Storm, which may naturally be accounted for.

The *Dutch*, in their first Voyage into these Parts, opened one of these Fish, and found a great deal of Fat, and a young Pig in the Belly of it. There is another great Fish in these Seas called *Hayer* by the *Dutch*, and *Snark* by the *English*; their Teeth are very close and sharp, and as they delight in Man's Flesh, it often happens that they snatch a Lamb of an unwary Seaman. Their Mouth being below their Heads, they lie upon their Backs when they are to catch a Prey. That we took had the Heart in the Head, and lived a good while after it was taken. Their Flesh is not fit to be eaten. There are also abundance of that sort of Fish hereabouts called by the Portuguese *Pisseguares*, because they make a Noise like Pigs, and are of the Bigness of a Bream. Tortoises (the Meat of which is as fine as Veal) are in such Plenty here, that the Seamen draw them at Pleasure into the Ship with Hooks. February the 21st we found ourselves in 1° 20' of the Line, with very rainy and unconstant Weather, which is common hereabouts. On the 23d one of our Seamen died of the Pox; the 25th we were becalmed; but the next Night there arose a Tempest, which made us continually upon our Guard, for fear of the *Travados*, or Whirlwinds, which are so sudden here, that the Seamen have scarce Leisure to furl their Sails. We could not make any Observation by the Sun till the 5th of March, when we were in 8° 6' Lat. and the 10th in 10° 14', the Wind West.

The 14th and 15th it blew a great Storm, with Thunder and Lightning; but what most surprized us was, that though we were in 13°, we found not the least Effects of the Moon, or ordinary Wind of the Season, which is

commonly perceived at 8 or 9°, the South Wind blowing so hard, that we were in fear of being forced back to the *Indian Coast*. It was not till March the 15th that we found the Wind changed to the South; when putting out all our Sail, we made two Leagues in an Hour, and took several Dolphins that swam near our Ship. On the 20th we were becalmed in 16°, where we found the Compsals declin'd 30° to the West, and so it continued till the 24th; but as soon as the *Cape of Good Hope* doubled, the Loadstone draws towards the East. As we were floating thus up and down, the 21st of March our Ship took Fire, by the Carelessness of the Butler, who set Fire to a Barrel of *Aqua Vitæ* as he was removing it. Our fresh Water beginning to be scarce, we made use of an Engine to draw fresh Water out of the Sea; but its Taste being somewhat naukous, it served only for the dressing of Meat.

On the 22d we made, by the Help of the Moonsoon Winds, two Leagues an Hour, which continued the 23d, 24th, and 25th. On the 26th the Wind held still fair; but, for fear of a Change, and Want of fresh Water, we resolv'd to direct our Course to *Maurice Island*, to take in Refreshments there. We discovered the same Night the Isle of *Diego Rodriguez* in 20° 48', which lies sixty Leagues from the said Island of *Maurice*, so called by the *Dutch* from the Prince of *Orange*, who was Admiral of the United Provinces at the Time of their first Voyage to the *Indies*. Its Harbour is very spacious, being able to contain fifty large Vessels, and commodious by reason of its Depth, which is a hundred Fathom at the Entrance. The high Mountains, which are covered with Trees, may be seen at a great Distance at Sea. The Vallies produce some Fruit, and abundance of other Trees, some of which are those that afford the best Ebony in the World, black, red, and yellow; but the two last are in the greatest Esteem, and the Sea abounds in Fish. The *Dutch* in their Relations speak of a Thornback they caught near this Isle, which found two good Meals for the whole Ship, and Tortoises of such a Bigness, that ten Men might sit on one Shell. The Isle was quite destitute of Inhabitants at that time; but since 1640, the *Dutch* have erected a Fort there. It abounds in Birds; but is destitute of four-footed Beasts; but as for Fruits and Water, it affords sufficient Refreshment to Ships that are passing that Way.

The Wind continuing fair, when we came within Sight of this Island a Council was called, in which it was agreed not to lose any Time by putting into this Island, but to continue our Voyage with all possible Speed to the *Cape of Good Hope*, to avoid the Danger of being obliged to winter in the Island of *Madagascar*. Accordingly we lost Sight of this Isle the same Day, and pass'd the Tropick of Capricorn March the 30th, bearing our Course West-South-West. April the 1st we found ourselves in 20° 3', and after having made forty Leagues, were becalmed before Night. We saw the next Day divers Whales; and the Weather becoming very stormy, carried us to the West-South-West, our Business being to steer to the South, and consequently to the *Cape of Good Hope*. On the 5th the Compsals still varying, we held our Course still to the West, and though we had not much Wind, made seventy-three Leagues in these two Days. From the 9th (when we were about three hundred Leagues from the *Cape*) we advanced tolerably well, but the 15th it blew very hard, and those Birds called by the Portuguese *Pintados*, which keep within forty Leagues of the Land, and several other Birds, came near our Ship. On the sixteenth these Signs persuaded our Seamen that we were not far from the Shore; the 17th we continued our Voyage with a fresh Gale; but the 18th and 19th we had scarce any Wind, through the Roughness of the Sea, which proved an infallible Omen of the Tempest that overtook us the same Night from the South-West in 35° Latitude. As these Storms are unavoidable about the *Cape of Good Hope*, we took in our Sails.

On the 20th, perceiving the Water somewhat more inclinable to white than before, and a great many Sea-weeds, called *Mangas de Paludos* by the Portuguese, round our Ships, we concluded that there was Ground within an hundred, or an hundred and fifty Fathom, and, upon Trial, found it at eighty Fathom. We saw also the same Day Abundance

ance of Black-Birds, with a small Spot of white on their Breasts: These, according to the Opinion of the *English* Seamen, always forebode a Tempest, which proved true; for, before Night, a Storm arose from the W. N. W. with a very rough Sea, which took our Carpenter from the Deck, but he was saved by means of a Rope. The Ground which stuck to the Plummet being black at eight Fathom Depth, we concluded we were not far from the *Cape d'Agulhas*, which is sixty Leagues distant from that of *Good Hope*. The 25th the Tempest increasing in 30° 20' beyond the Lane, we were in great Danger of being lost, being forced by the Currents towards the Shore; but the Tempest being somewhat allayed, we escaped the Danger, but were soon after threatened by another, occasioned by a Lamp in the President's Room, which had set Fire to the Wanton. The 26th the Storm continued till two in the Afternoon, when the Pelcepuetes coming in great Numbers about our Ships, were the Fore-runners of fair Weather, and the N. W. Wind which ensued. On the 27th, in the Morning, it was calm; but, in the Afternoon, we made two Leagues an Hour with a N. W. Wind, taking our Course to the N. N. W. As we saw that Day abundance of Trombas, or a kind of Canes, three or four Feet long, and of the Bignets of a Man's Arm, which float upon the Water, and are met with no where but near this Cape, we concluded that we were not far from the *Cape of Good Hope*; and the 28th discovering the Coast from N. to W. some thought it had been the Cape; but finding Ground at forty Fathom, and in 30° 40', we were soon convinced it must be the *Cape d'Agulhas*.

The 29th the Wind turning S. E. we steered our Course N. W. along the Coast, and the Wind turning to the N. W. we could advance but a little: We then found ourselves in 34° 27', and consequently twenty-four Leagues from *Cape d'Agulhas*. On the 30th the Wind continued against us, but the next Day the Wind turning to the N. E. by E. we sailed along the Coast, and at last discovered the high Shore known by the Name of *Cabo Falso* (because it resembles a Promontory) within seven Leagues of the *Cape of Good Hope*. May the 2d the N. E. Wind continued, we got Sight of the *Cape of Good Hope*; but soon after turning about to the N. W. we could not get into the Bay, so were forced to stand out to Sea, steering our Course to the South. The 3d the Wind fell at N. W. brought along with it a most furious Tempest, notwithstanding which we made the best of our Way to the Coast; the 4th double'd one of the Points of the *Cape of Good Hope*. Ten Leagues distant from the Bay we discovered the Mountain, called by the *Dutch* the *Sable Mountain*, from its Flatness and square Figure, in 34° 22', within fifteen Leagues of the Cape. Our Intention was to have got in there, but the Wind proving contrary we kept along the Coast as well as we could: But the 5th, at Sun rising, we were out of Sight of the Shore, which made us change our Course to the N. E. so that we discovered Land again about Noon, and in two Hours after, by passing the Isle of *St. Elizabeth*, got into the Bay by Night, where we cast Anchor at seven Fathom Water.

16. This Cape of the Continent of *Africa*, extending to the South into the Sea, in 30° beyond the Lane, received the Name of *Cabo de Boa Esperanza* in 1482, from *John II. King of Portugal*, when the *Portuguese* first went in Quest of the Passage by Sea to the *Indies*, lying as it were at a nearer Distance of about 250 Leagues, betwixt *Europe* and the most Eastern Coast of the *Indies*; ever since which Time this has been the Place where Ships bound to those Parts take in their Refreshments, Water being very excellent here, and Cattle very cheap, their Oxen being very large, with Bunches on their Backs like those of the *Indies*, and their Sheep very good, with long hanging Ears, and Tails as big and weighty as a good Quarter of Mutton: Neither do they want Wild-Fowl, Deer, Wild-Birds, Fat-Turkeys, Quans, and, among the rest, a kind of Oxe, with Stumps instead of Hoofs, but their Fleish is not eatable. They have also Dogs, or rather Sea Bears, Cats, Tigers, Lions, and Leasvs. The *Dutch* are oblig'd to leave Letters here under a certain Stone near the Harbour, a sprouting their Countrymen that come after them with all the remarkable Passages in their Voyages, and some of these Letters are as follows.

The Inhabitants are savage, uncouth, and ill-fav'd: They graze their Bodies with Train-Oil, and eat their Fleish raw; nay, they seldom kill any Beast, but eat upon them when they die of any Disease. Both Men and Women go naked, covering their privy Parts only with a Piece of Skin fasten'd round their Waist with a Leather-Girdle, some wrap a Lion's Skin or Ox's Hide round their Buttocks, drawing their Tail between their Legs: They wear them over their Shoulders down to their Waist, exposing all the rest to publick View, and disbanding their Arms, Thighs, and Legs, by making Cnarrats, or Bands, by way of Incision. The Women adorn their Anks with Legs with broad Rings of Iron or Bras. They live farther up in the Country are no less savage than they, with this Difference only, that they live a little better, those near the Sea-side living upon Oysters, Fish, especially Whales; for they know not what Herbs are, though their Grounds are excellent. They live in small Huts with their Cattle, and scarce ever come to the Shore, except when upon the Arrival of a Ship, which they are to truck their Commodities, which are Oxen, Lions, Leopards, Tigers, Skins, and Ostriches Feathers, for Knives, Looking Glasses, Nails, Hammers, and other Tools of Iron. They know not what Reason is, and God and the Devil being equally beyond their Conception.

On the 10th we were ready to set sail again for the Bay; but the Wind proving contrary we could not get to Sea till the 12th, with a N. E. Wind, steering our Course to the West; but the Wind varying that Day through most of the Points of the Compass we could not get out of Sight of the Coast, and at Night were surpris'd by a Tempest, which continued till the 17th with a Violence that our Ship had much ado to resist it. From that Day began to clear up, and the Fury of the Wind abating, we found ourselves in 30° 40'; whence we sail'd out of the Tempest had forced us back 25 or 30 Leagues to the *Cape Falso* and the *Cape of Good Hope*. The 18th a Storm there arose such a dreadful Hurricane that we were forced to stand over for lost, being by the contrary Winds driven to Sea. The 19th were not much better; and the 20th the same, but little Alteration, though we hoped for some Change of the Moon, which happen'd that Day, but the Storm continued till the 22d, when the Rain abated, and what abated the Fury of the Winds, we made our Way to Sea, steering our Course to the West, as was our Intention. On the 23d we were becalm'd in Sight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, N. E. of us, and finding ourselves in 37° 20' we sail'd out ourselves on the Coast between *Cabo Falso* and the *Cape d'Agulhas*; but another Tempest arising the 24th we were driven from the W. N. W. we were forced back again to Sea.

The 24th the Wind held till 3 o'clock, when it was most tempestuous at Night. The 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th we were out of the S. W. Wind to the S. The 29th the Wind blowing N. E. we made all the Sail we could to the W. but in the Evening the Wind turning to the N. W. we were brought along with it a most violent Storm, which continued the 29th and 30th; so on the 31st we were out of that being our Sail was not in a Condition to give us the Voyage to *England* with our intended Passage, we went into the Isle of *Madagascar*: Pursuant to a Letter we were tacked about at Two in the Afternoon, by reason of the Weather, and a very rough Sea, which continued the next Day till about Noon. June the 1d we sail'd out of the Bay in twenty-four Hours, with a West Wind, steering our Course to the East. The 2d, at about 10 o'clock at Night, the Wind veering about to the S. S. E. we could not get on for the Protection of our selves, and of *England*, we resolv'd to return to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and to take in fresh Water at the Isle of *St. Elizabeth*: The 3d we got with the same Wind to the *Cape of Good Hope*, the Abundance of Birds, called *Mans*, being very great, Trombas or Canes, floating upon the Water, and the Hopes that we were not far from the *Cape of Good Hope*. The 4th we were becalm'd at forty fathom Water, and the Evening the Wind was N. W. but the 5th it veer'd to the W. which, by Night, turned to the S. W. and continued the 6th till Midnight, when it veer'd to the N. W. to the Coast of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Winds being much abated, we found ourselves in 33° 30'; but in the Afternoon, we were surprized by another Tempest, which putting us in imminent Danger of running upon the Shore, the Matter of the Ship, who hitherto had been the chief Instrument of our turning this Way, seeing himself under the Necessity of changing his Resolution, declared that there was no other Way left to save the Ship, than to endeavour to put in at *Madagascar*; accordingly we changed our Course the 11th with fair Weather; but about Midnight were overtaken with another dreadful Storm, which lasted the 12th, 13th, and 14th. It ceased the 15th, and the Wind being W. N. W. we sailed 33 Leagues in 24 Hours, to the N. E. The 23d at Break of Day we descried an *English* Vessel, found to be the *East-Indies*, Captain *Hall* Commander, Burthen 500 Tuns, and it was resolv'd that we should make jointly all the Sail we could for *Madagascar*, Captain *Hall's* Ship being much less than ours, with a S. E. Wind.

The first of July he was got out of Sight, and the same Evening we discovered the Coast of *Madagascar*, so that we were forced to keep continual Watch all the Night, for fear we might come too near the Coast, which is very rocky and dangerous, especially on the Point of the Isle, or might go beyond it, it being almost impossible to make the Bay if you pass beyond the true Altitude. The second we arriv'd in the Bay of *St. Augustin*, where there is no Bottom till within a Mile of the Shore, where we cast Anchor at twenty-five Fathom Water. The Day after our Arrival, having escap'd many Dangers, our Joy was redoubled by meeting here, besides Captain *Hall's* Ship, an *English East-Indiaman*, called the *London*, Burthen 1400 Tuns, command'd by Captain *Wiles*, bound for *England*. The third the Captains of these Ships came on board ours, to consult the best Methods to prevent the being impos'd upon by the Inhabitants, in the Trucking of what Commodities they had, for their Cattle; accordingly, these Commodities being produced by joint Consent, and committed to the Management of the three Super cargoes, they bought, or rather exchanged every Day four Oxen for forty Pair of brass Bracelets, a Sheep for two, and a Cal for three Pair; and for a brass Ring of ten or twelve Inches about, a fat Ox, worth six or seven Pounds in *England*. The fourth the President and the two Captains went up the River to discover what Cattle was coming down towards the Bay. The sixth the President treated the two Captains and all the Officers of the three Ships aboard ours, and Captain *Wiles* did the same some Days after. The 14th Captain *Hall* profecuted his Voyage to the *East Indies*, as Captain *Wiles* did two Days after for *England*, having supplied us with what we stood in need of for the Prosecution of our Voyage.

The twenty-first a certain Tent with Huts being set up for the President and Soldiers near the Sea side, he took up his Lodgings there. About four Leagues from the Harbour lived a certain Lord, who had three Sons, the eldest of whom was named *Maffar*: They came all three to pay us a Visit, with a Retinue of one hundred Persons, well arm'd with Javelins, bringing along with them three hundred Oxen, besides some Sheep, Goats, Poultry, Citrons, and Oranges, in order to exchange them for some of our Toys. After having made a little Halt, the eldest of the three Brothers present'd the President with twelve Oxen, and his two Wives each with a fat Capon; in return of which, the President made a Present of three Strings of glass Coral to himself, two to each Brother, and a Bracelet to each of his Wives, which they esteem'd to value at a great Rate. After having fix'd a great Pile of the Ground, as a Token of the Amity they intended to preserve with us, which they desired us to maintain all from our Side, they told us, or rather truck'd with us for ten fat Oxen, some Sheep, and Poultry; and amongst the rest, we had a fat Sheep, the Head of which weigh'd twenty, or twenty four Pounds, for seven or eight Grains of Coral, or Agat, and a Capon for three or four Grains of counterfeit Coral. We staid here six Weeks, which were spent for the most part in shooting at Pigs, and Fishing with Angle-rods. We had great Store of Fish, and among the rest Oyfters, as large and delicious as any in *England*. From the fifth to the eighth of July, we saw

such prodigious Numbers of Grasshoppers as darkened the Skies, but one small Shower of Rain dispersed them all. The Inhabitants eat them.

The Isle of *Madagascar*, called the Isle of *St. Laurence* by the *French*, lies in the torrid Zone, extending from North to South from the 10° to the 26°. its Length being one hundred and fifty, and Breadth one hundred and eighty Leagues, and consequently one of the greatest Islands in the World. It has the Conveniency of divers good Harbours, such as the Bay of *St. Augustin*, where we lay at Anchor, *St. Jago*, *Anton*, *Gil*, *Ant-pera*, *St. Julian's*, *St. Mary's*, *St. Sebastian*, *St. Romanus*, and *Manatengi*. Most of their Mountains are covered with Orange and Citron Trees, and the Rocks themselves are a pure white Marble, from whence spring the clearest Fountains in the known World. They have also Ebony, and Date Trees, and a certain Kind not unlike the *Brazil* Wood, of which they make their Darts and Lances. These Trees shelter vast Numbers of Apes and Birds, and among the rest, a kind of Poultry, resembling our Turkeys, being black all over the Bodies, with little white Spots. Their Heads are of a Mixture of blue and red, with yellow Horns on their Foreheads. They feed by hundreds together in the Woods. Here you meet also with that Gum call'd *Dragon's Blood*, which they draw out of the Flower of a Tree no bigger than our common Pear-trees, but more branching, and not so full of Leaves, which are longer, but not so broad as those of the Laurel.

This Isle also produces some Alces, but not so good as those of the Island of *Secetra*. They have also Cotton, and some Indigo, but they underland not reducing it into Paste, as the *Indians* and *Indians* do. As they do not apply themselves to Tillage, except it be for a little Rice, Beans, Pumpions, and Melons, to they abound in most excellent Pasture, and consequently in Cattle, in which their chief Riches consist. They have also Citron and Orange trees, which bear Fruit twice a Year, Date-trees, Cocoa-trees, and Bananas; and there is scarce a House but has its own Bee-hives; for though they are ignorant as yet of the Advantages of making Honey and Wax, they make a certain Drink of it, with the Addition of Rice, which serve them instead of Wine. It yields also a Sale and Salt-petre, and near the Sea side Ambergris. Some will have it to be rich in Gold and Silver Mines, but as the Inhabitants value Tin beyond those Metals, they neglect to search after them.

The Isle is very full of Inhabitants, who are well shaped, for the most part Negroes; they wear no other Garments but a Piece of printed Calico, which they wrap about their Middle, so that one End of it hangs down before to the knee, the other to the Ham. Their Hairs, except the little Boutes of their Princes, which are of Wood, are only made of the Branches of Trees, wherein they have no other Beds or Quilts, but some few Mats to lie upon. They used to make their Fires round about them, to disperse the Vapours which are very pernicious here. Their chief Ornaments are certain Strings of Glass-beads of different Colours round the Waist, and Bracelets of the same about their Necks, Arms, and Legs. Both Sexes have Hoops in their Ears, in which they put large Copper or Brass Rings. They have all Black Hair, some very much curled, others not, but it is seldom very long; notwithstanding which they dress it up in several Trifles. There is no considerable Difference betwixt the Cloathing of the Men and Women; the last wear sometimes a fleecy Coat, and the Calico which covers their middle Parts is somewhat longer than those of the Men.

The Women are very famous for their Fidelity to their Husbands, who place to great a Value upon them, that they will scarce undertake any Thing of Moment without their Advice. They have two Wives at least, each of which hath her peculiar Hut, and though the Husband is very compliant with both, the eldest of the two always claims the Preference. They purchase their Wives from their Parents, or Relations, for ten Oxen, Pigs, Dates, or other Am's. Adultery and Fornication are capital Crimes, but as there is no Familiarity to great which is able to create a Jealousy in them, these Things are frequently heard of. Some of the younger Women are very remarkably

to our Tent, unto one of whom the President presented one of my Shirts, desiring her to wear it for my Sake. She made not the least Difficulty to receive it, and wore it two Days, after which, she tore it to Pieces, for some other Use. Their Men are brave, addicted to martial Exercises, and very dextrous in the Management of their Lances, Darts, and Pikes, which always lie near them, even when they are at work in the Field, being trained up to the Use of Arms in their Infancy; Persons of Note seldom stir abroad without having twenty-five or thirty Darts, or small Pikes, carried after them, tied up in a Bundle. Their Bows are four or five Feet long, and the Strings loose. They have a Sleight of Shooting with great Strength and Activity; and as to their Javelins, they dart them with so miraculous a Dexterity, that they will hit a Bird at forty Paces Distance.

They are divided into several Tribes or Clans, of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred, each under his own Lord, whom they call *Tjebick*. Two of these had their Residence in a Wood not far from our Tent. Their Wars among themselves are commonly occasioned by the want of Pasturage for their Cattle, and the Prince *Maffar* told us, that he had joined with two neighbouring Lords, and that they intended to attack some on the other Side the Mountains with five hundred Men, to drive them from their Pasture Grounds, which they stood in need of for their Cattle. This Dignity is not hereditary, but they govern, whilst they are in the Possession of it, with an absolute Authority. It is not easily determined what Religion they profess. As far as I was able to learn, they believe one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who will reward their good, and punish their bad Actions. I remember I saw one among them, whom I supposed to be their Priest, getting up on a Tree, and making his Oration to the People; but as I had not the least Knowledge of their Language, I could not be satisfied of what he said, neither what Difference there was in the outward Appearance of their Priests and Laicks, except that I observed some of them to carry a Piece of a Cow's Tail at the End of a Cane; and I saw one whose Nails on the two Fore-fingers of his Right-hand were as long as the Talons of an Eagle. Each Tribe has its own Priest, who pretends also to Incantations.

21. The Isle of *Mozambique* is not above half a League from the Continent of *Africa*, and remains in the Possession of the *Portuguese*. This small Island is so beneficial to the Governor thereof, that what with the Trade to *Madagascar*, and that of *Soffala*, he commonly amasses a Treasure of 150,000 Pounds Sterling during his three Years Government. This Island was first discovered by the *Portuguese* in 1508, when a whole Boat of Negroes coming on board the *Portuguese* Vessels, they were very civilly entertained by the Captain, who also gave them divers little Presents, but they requited his Kindness with a Shower of Arrows as soon as they were got into their Boat, till the Captain by a Volley of small Shot, and some Cannon Ball, made them soon give over that Sport. Another *Portuguese* Captain, named *Rodriguez Perera*, being in the same Year driven upon that Coast by Distress of Weather, sent a certain *African* Negro, who had some Knowledge of their Language, to signify unto them, that he was come thither to settle a good Correspondence and Commerce with them. They seemed to approve of this Proposal, but were no sooner got at some Distance from the *Portuguese*, than they fell upon the *Moors*, with Intention to kill him, which they had certainly done if the *Portuguese* had not discharged their Fire-Arms upon them, which obliged them to leave the Negro, and to betake themselves to their Heels, leaving several of their Companions dead upon the Spot.

Perera sailed thence to another Place upon the same Coast, where having surprized one of their Princes, he carried him on Board, and gave him such kind Entertainment, that in Requital for his Courtly, he offered to shew him a very good Harbour; accordingly he conducted them to a great Bay, at the Entrance of which was a small but populous Island, but the Inhabitants being terrified at the Sight of their Foreigners, fled into another adjacent Island; so that the *Portuguese*, being become Masters of the small Isle without the least Opposition, they sent to the Inhabitants,

desiring them to return to their Habitations, the Occasion of their coming thither being only to settle a good Correspondence with them. Upon this most of them returned, and as a Mark of their Good-will, presented *Perera* with fifty Oxen and twenty Goats; but being nevertheless willing to be rid of the Strangers, they tempted the Captain with the Hopes of great Riches, which they said he might meet with in the Port of *Matatana*, which was so well approved by him, that he was preparing to go thither, but one of his Ships being soon after forced upon the Coast of the Isle, he retired with the other to *Mozambique*: Another Ship of the same Fleet being driven by tempestuous Weather into the Port of *Matatana*, a Boat of the Country came immediately aboard them, in which the Captain sent the Master of the Vessel, who was well versed in the *African* Language.

The *Moors* making more than ordinary Haste to get ashore with the Master, and the *Portuguese* conceiving some Jealousy at their Behaviour, they pursued them with eighty Men in their Shallop, but too late, the Negroes having reached the Shore before them. However, after they were landed, they got Sight again of the Master, who told them he had been treated with much Kindness by their Prince, who was desirous to see the Captain himself, in order to enter into a strict Correspondence with him, which the Captain being not unwilling to comply with, went accordingly ashore, where he was kindly received, and magnificently treated by the Prince, according to the Fashion of that Country; but in the Evening, being ready to return aboard in the Shallop, there arose a violent Tempest, that he durst not venture to commit himself to the merciless Waves in so small a Boat, which continued for four Days successively; and there being no Possibility to get on board, his Ship's Crew imagining that he had been mastered by these Barbarians, thought it most adviseable to save themselves, and to return to *Mozambique*, which they did accordingly. The Captain finding the Ship gone was so discontented that he did not long after, as did eight others of his Retinue. The rest thinking it better to run the Risk of the Sea than to perish without the least Hope of Relief, embarked in the Shallop, and having by good Fortune met with a *Portuguese* Vessel, commanded by *John Tonjeca*, he carried them to the next *Portuguese* Port in *Africa*. The first Time of the Landing of the *Dutch* in the Isle of *Madagascar* happened rather by Chance than any Design, for their Seamen being miserably infected with the Scurvy, so that they were no longer able to manage the Ship, they were forced to seek for Refreshment in the Island, but lost seventy Men out of the four Vessels, of which their Fleet consisted, before they could get ashore. These Men were buried in a small Island, which to this Day is called the *Dutch Church-yard*. Some will have *Madagascanians* to be *Mohammedans*; but certain it is, that in their outward Demeanour they do not shew the least Sign of it.

22. The Winter Season being pretty well over we began to think of our Voyage; for which Purpose having bought, *August* the 19th, of Prince *Misfar*, and some other neighbouring Lords, twenty-five Oxen and a hundred Sheep, we embarked our Baggage the 21st and the 21st fell out of the Bay of *Saint Augustine* with a South-west Wind, which proving favourable all that Night we soon lost Sight of *Madagascar*.

The 22d being rejoined by the Monsoon, or Wind of the Season, which happened sooner than ordinary, we briskly pursued our Course to West-South West, and the 23d the Wind blowing a brisk Gale from the East in our Stern, we sailed briskly a little more to the South, with an Intention to avoid the *Cape of Good Hope*. The 24th and 25th the Wind was not so brisk, but being recoiled by a fresh Gale, the 26th we advanced bravely, and found ourselves that Day in 27° 27' Latitude, and on the 28th in 28° 12'. The 29th we were surprized by the *Travaldos*, or Whirlwinds, in 31° 15'; but they did not continue long. The 30th it blew again; notwithstanding which we made the best of our way, and the last of *August* found ourselves in 33° 34'. On the 11th of September we made fifty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, and the Wind blew very hard; and the 2d we got to the 11th of September.

to their Habitations, the other being only to fetch a good Upon this most of them prefer Good-will, preferred Plenty Goats; but being never the Strangers, they tempted of great Riches, which they the Port of *Matatana*; which, that he was preparing to go being soon after forced upon ed with the other to *Mozambique* Fleet being driven by the Port of *Matatana*, a Boat lately aboard them, in which of the Vessel, who was well

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ther, with a South-west Wind. The 3d being becalmed, we killed a Cow we bought at *Madagascar*, and a Goat. In the Belly of the first we found three Calves, and in the last four Kids, from which a Judgment may be made of the Fruitfulness of this Country. On the 6th we were terribly shaken by a most dreadful Tempest, so that our Ship beginning to be leaky, we were forced to pump without Intermission. We found ourselves in 35° Latitude. On the 7th the Wind being tolerably fair, we steered our Course to the West-North-West; though the Sea continued very rough. The 8th and 9th we had abundance of Rain, with a South-West Wind, with which we made four Leagues with a moderate Gale, and seeing many of the Birds called *Mangas de Valudo*, concluded that we were not far from the *Cape of Aquilas*.

The 11th the East Wind hindered us from making any considerable Progress, and finding a sandy Bottom at twelve Fathom of Water, we were more and more persuaded that we were near the *Cape of Aquilas*. The 12th we were forced to make the best of our Way, sometimes with a North-North-West, sometimes with a South-West Wind, which continuing in the Afternoon, we continued our Course to the West-North-West, and in the Evening found a yellow Sand at a hundred and ninety Fathom Water. The 13th, the Wind being at South-East, we continued our Course to the West-North-West, and finding a Whale floating upon the Water in the Latitude of 35°, we believed ourselves to be in the Height of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, where abundance of Whales are commonly seen. The 14th, at Sun-rising, finding the Declination of the Needle 4° 50', we concluded that we had compassed the *Cape of Good-Hope*; the 15th we had a fair Wind and Weather, and found the Declination of the Compass to be 1° 5', and presently after the Declination of it, near the *Cape of Good-Hope*, is 4°, though sometimes it does not decline so much; and as soon as you have passed the *Cape*, you find the Compass to vary to the East. At 33° 15' Lat. lies the Isle of *St. Elizabeth*, not above twenty Leagues on this Side of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, being not above two Leagues from the *African Coast*, on which Side it has a very good Harbour at sixteen Fathom Water.

The whole Coast is but one continued Rock; but the Country is so fertile in several sorts of the best Herbs, that there is sufficient Reason to believe, that if it were cultivated, it would not in its Products be behind the Isle of *St. Helens*, or any other in those Parts. The worst is, that it wants fresh Water, except what is supplied by the Skies when it rains, which makes this Isle not to be much frequented; though they have such vast Numbers of Sea-Wolves here, that in a few Days they may catch as many, that the Fat would freight a Vessel of six hundred Tons. They call these Creatures Sea-Wolves, though both in Colour and Shape of their Heads they rather resemble our Bears, except that their Snout is not so sharp. They have only two Paws beneath the Breast, by which means they draw the other Part of their Body after them, and that with so much Swiftness, that the nimblest Man can scarce overtake them. This Beast is very fierce, its Teeth being so close and strong, that it will bite through the Handle of a Partisan. This Isle also produces a kind of Badger, the Flesh whereof is very delicious. The 16th we made the best of our Way with a small Wind at 32°, and the 17th and 18th made sixty-four Leagues with a North-North-West and a South-West Wind, and came the 19th into 29° 16', when with a South-South-West Wind we made forty Leagues to the North-West, and in the Evening found ourselves in 28° Latitude. The 6th of *October* a South-East Wind carried us fifteen Leagues farther to the Isle of *St. Helens*.

23. The Situation of this Island, called *St. Helens* by the *Portuguese*, is in 16° 12'. It is distant from the *Cape of Angola* 350 Leagues; from that of *Good-Hope* 550; from *Brazil* 510. It being very surprizing, that an Island of no more than seven Leagues in Compass should be found at so great a Distance from the Continent. It is so plentiful in most excellent Fruits, and all sorts of Creatures, that it surpasses most of the Provinces of *Europe*. Some were of Opinion, that there were neither to be seen when the *Portuguese* first discovered it, and that those

few Trees and Cattle they brought thither, have received such vast Improvements from the natural good Constitution of the Ground, that, at present, it is able to supply whole Fleets with Refreshments. Figs, Pomegranates, Citrons, Oranges, Goats, Hogs, *Barbary Hens*, Pheasants, Partridges, Quails, Peacocks, and Pigeons, being to be had here at all the Seasons of the Year; not to mention the Fish which are found here in vast Quantities, and Salt sufficient for the Curing them. The Ground naturally produces so many wholesome Herbs, that the *Portuguese* frequently leave there their sick Men, which are sure to recover against their coming back again that Way the next Year.

The Mountains of this Isle are so high, that they are discovered fourteen Leagues off at Sea. The *Portuguese* thought it a Piece of Prudence not to make any Establishment in this Island, considering the Jealousy which its Possession might raise in other Nations trading into these Parts, which its vast Distance from the Continent would make it very difficult to keep; whereas its being free would afford a certain Retreat to all Vessels; and those Refreshments, especially of fresh Water, which they would be obliged to seek for as far as the Coast of *Guinea*, where they must be forced to stay for the Rains, to the great Inconvenience of the Seamen, many of whom must in the mean while perish for want of it. The Fertility of the Isle ought chiefly to be attributed to the daily Showers of Rain which fall there, which, being animated by the Sun-Beams, shining presently after by Intervals, incredibly advances the Maturity of Things in a Climate like this. It has also three Places where Ships may provide themselves with fresh Water, viz. where the three Rivers, which have their Sources among the Mountains, discharge themselves into the Sea. These produce abundance of Snakes, which are eaten by the *Dutch*, who prefer them to Eels. At 190 Leagues to the N. W. of the Island of *St. Helens*, you see the Island of *Ascension*, so called from its being discovered upon *Ascension-Day* by the *Portuguese*, lying 8° 30' S. of the Line. It is a very mountainous Island, affording neither fresh Water, nor any other Provisions, except Fish, of which there is great Store on that Coast. *October* the 17th, the same Wind carried us forty Leagues forward; and the 18th forty-two to the 5th Degree.

The Heats were almost insupportable this Day, and we saw Millions of Flying-fish, and great Numbers of the Birds called *Mangas de Valudo*. The 19th, the Wind blowing from the S. E. we made 40 Leagues to 3° 19' Lat. and the 20th the same Wind continued us 40 Leagues farther to 1° 18' Lat. The same Wind carried us the 21st 35 Leagues, when we passed the Equinoctial Line. At 1° beyond the Line, we discovered the *Cape de Lopez Gonzales*, upon the Coast of *Guinea*, which has a fine Harbour for Ships, which sometimes provide themselves with Provisions here. The Isle of *St. Thomas* is situate under the Line, the Air of which is so unwholesome, and the Heats so excessive, that few *Europeans* live there to fifty Years of Age, though some of the Natives arrive to an hundred. Here is a constant Equality of Day and Night throughout the whole Year, and it never rains, except in *March* and *September*; the Defect of which is supplied by the Dew, which falls constantly every Night, moistens the Ground, and renders it very fruitful. When it was first discovered, a certain kind of Tree was found here, the Branches whereof were exactly straight. And, formerly, this Isle produced such vast Quantities of Sugar, that above forty Ship Loads might be transported thence every Year; but the Worm, being got among the Canes, has ever since made such Havock among them, that it scarce affords now Loading for six Ships. Besides which, this Island produces Wheat, Wine, Millet, Rye, Barley, Melons, Cucumbers, Figs, Ginger, red Parsnips, Cabbages, Nawses, Lettuce, Parsley, and all sorts of Roots, Pulse, and Pot-herbs; and amongst the rest, a certain kind of Must-rooms, the Rind whereof is black, but the Meat white, and shoots forth divers Branches below. The Inhabitants look upon it as a great Dainty, and, when baked in the Embers, eat them as we do Chestnuts, but they have a better Flavour. The *Spaniards* have planted some Olive, Peach,

and Almond-trees here: They thrive well enough, but bear no Fruit.

This Isle also affords a sort of Land Crabs, which live under Ground, and work like Moles; Partridges, Quails, Black-birds, Parrots, and other Birds in abundance. The Sea produces vast Quantities of most excellent Fish, and, among the rest, Whales of a vast Bulk. In the very Centre of the Isle is a Mountain, covered on the Top with a Cloud, which furnishes Water sufficient for the constant watering the Sugar-Canes; and what is most observable is, that the higher the Sun comes above the Horizon, the more Water falls from the Cloud. The Natives are Negroes, but such Foreigners as settle there continue their natural Colour to the third and fourth Generation. They affirm, that Lice and Fleas, wherewith the Negroes are much pestered, never afflict any Stranger. At thirty five Leagues Distance from the Island of *St. Thomas* to the South, you see another Island, called *Rolles* Isle by the *Portuguese*. It produces such Plenty of Oranges, Citrons, Bananas, Ananas, Ginger, Poultry, Hogs, and other fresh Provisions, that it is one of the most convenient Places for Ships to refresh themselves in; its Haven being very commodious at ten Fathom Water.

The Isle of *Caryfo* lies close to the Continent, and affords nothing but fresh Water. The 25th a S. E. Wind advanced us thirty-two Leagues on our Course to the N. N. W. It was very rainy, and we were frequently troubled with the *Travados*, or Whirlwinds, which are so often met with on the Coast of *Guinea*, from whence we might be an hundred and fifty Leagues distant. The 26th the Wind continued the same, and we made twenty-five Leagues to the 7° Lat. N. We observed here the Heats to be more intense than we had felt them on the other Side of the Equinoctial, notwithstanding the Sun was 10° farther from our Hemisphere, the Reason of which I conceived to be, that the Sun-beams, which had so lately warmed the Septentrional Hemisphere, had not had sufficient Time to produce the same Effect in the Meridional. The 27th the Wind changing to the N. and by E. we were also obliged to alter our Course, and made only thirteen Leagues that Day. About Noon we found ourselves at 7° 50' Latitude, and it was observable, that the further we steered from the Coast of *Guinea*, the less we were troubled with bad Weather, which had sufficiently afflicted us for some Days past. The 28th the Wind turned to the N. E. which is the ordinary Wind between the 10 and 20°, which afterwards changes, as it does in our Seas. We made thirty Leagues that Day; and on the 29th thirty Leagues more with the same Wind, in 10 Lat. about Noon. On the 30th we made twenty-eight Leagues with the same Wind and Course to 11° 13' Lat. and the 31st twenty-three Leagues with the same Wind, and rainy Weather.

On the 1st of *November* the Wind continued the same, and carried us twenty-six Leagues forward; the 2d we made twenty-four Leagues with the same Wind, steering our Course to the N. W. The 3d we continued our Course with the same Wind, which brought us about Noon to 12° 41', and consequently near the *Cape Verde*, being a Point of Land stretching out into the Sea from the *African* Continent between the Rivers of *Gambia* and *Senega*: *Senega* calls it *Promontorium Arfarium*. The Inhabitants here are *Moor*, large sized, and not ill shaped, but very malicious and treacherous. They are *Pagans*, worshipping the Moon and the Devil; some among them call themselves *Mohammedans*; but setting aside Circumcision, they have no Marks of that Religion, or any other. They are cultivated in continual Wars with their Neighbours, and very good Horsemen, their Horses, which are very swift, being brought thither from *Barbary*. Their Arms are only Bows and Arrows, and a kind of Lance or Pike, which they manage with marvellous Dexterity. The Privy-Parts of their Enemies are the Trophies they most esteem; those they present to their Wives, who make Necklaces of them, and wear them as the greatest Ornament. They show Polygamy, and their Wives are forced to do all their Work, both at home and abroad.

When the Husband is in his Hat he is attended by his Wives, and then goes a hunting, or about some other Sport, at his own Pleasure. Their Women are very hardy; they

are no sooner delivered, but they wash their Children themselves in the Sea or next River. The Men are generally addicted to Drunkenness to such a Degree, that some of them will take off a whole Quart of *Aqua Vita* at a Draught. Their chief Times of Merriment are at the Funerals of their Friends and Relations, where they drink and howl by Turns, and that for four or five Days together, to the Sound of the Drum and Pipe. They believe the Resurrection of the Dead, and say they shall then be white, like the *Europeans*. They have a considerable Trade with the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*, in Ox-Hides, Buffaloes, Ekes, Elephants Teeth, Wax, Rice, and Ambergris, which is to be found in its Perfection; for here one *Mr. Peter Van Brouck*, a *Dutch* Merchant, bought 1600 Pieces of Ambergris of eighty Pound Weight.

The Discovery of this Coast is likewise owing to the *Portuguese* in the Year 1482; but this first Voyage means; but with indifferent Success, *Anthony Goncalves*, in 1482, having discovered the *Cape del Cavellero*, caused one certain Negroes, who being sent by the Infant of *Portugal* to Pope *Martin V.* he was willing enough, under the specious Pretence of planting Christianity in those Parts, to grant him all what he should discover on the *African* Coast, under Condition, that after his Death it should be annexed to the Crown of *Portugal*. The Infant having already discovered the whole Coast betwixt *Cabo de Nago*, and 100 Leagues beyond the *Cabo Verde*, happened to die in 1483; but King *Alphonso*, in 1487, granted all those Conquests to *D. Ferand*, Duke of *Viseo*, Heir apparent of the Infant, and in 1461, ordered a Fort to be built in the Isle of *Argosin*, for the Security of Commerce. It was in the same Year farmed out to one *Fernand Gomes*, under Condition that he should be obliged to discover every Year one hundred Leagues on this Coast; by which means the *Portuguese* had in 1497 discovered the *Isle of Fernando del Po*, *St. Thomas*, *Anno Bueno*, that of *del Principe*, and the *Cape of St. Katharine's*. King *Joh. II.* was no sooner come to the Crown, but he sent, in 1481, *Diego d'Azambuja*, who, on the 19th of *January* 1482, made the first Discovery of *Mina*, calling Anchor near a Place called *Aldea de dos Portes*, then under the Command of a certain Prince named *Coramansa*.

This Place, unto which the *Portuguese* gave the Name of *Mina*, from the great Quantity of Gold found there, is situate upon the Coast of *Guinea*, in 5° 30' S. of the Equinoctial Line, between the two Rivers of *Nago* and *Cara*, bordering to the N. W. upon *Camara*, and the N. E. upon *Ayto*, small Countries under the Jurisdiction of those of *Abramides*. Hereabouts too, is within the Compass of fifty Leagues, is made the chief Trade of all this Coast. They have built a Fort here, upon an Akent, on a Point of Land, which runs out into the Sea, like a *Denil* Isle, having on one Side access to the North, the *Ethiopian* Sea, and to the South, the *Nago* River. The Town, which is situate but below the Fort of the Fort, has about 800 Inhabitants, and its Strength is such, that 150 Men may maintain it against a considerable Force, being leeny all about, and without whom the Inhabitants are forced to be supplied with Provisions from *Camara* and *Afate*. The Natives here are indigenous enough, and much more pliable than the Negroes, but are extremely ignorant in Matters of Religion; for they adore every thing they see, that is the least resembling to them. At that Time they offered their wives sacrifices of Water and Meit by their Piety to a certain Tree, of an extraordinary Bigness, inclosed in a Temple with a high Wall. They adored the Bones of a Whale, and paid Divine Worship to a certain Rock, because it exceeded all the rest in Height. They are extremely addicted to Divination, and therefore it was of Effect upon those who professed themselves Sorcerers, but in Effect are nothing else but Charats, who make use of the Weakness of those ignorant Wretches to their Advantage. They are the most religious People in the World in the Observance of their Oaths, it being their Opinion, that such as violate them, will be treated as if by a sudden Death. And hence it is, that their Lives and Souls are determined in a few Hours, upon a breach of the Oath, or Denial of either of the Parties. *AMC*

they wash their Children
River. The Men are gene-
to such a Degree, that some
le Quart of *Aqua Vita* in a
es of Mercurium are at the
Relations, where they drink
or four or five Days together,
Pipe. They believe the Relics
they shall then be white, like
considerable Trade with the
in Ox-Hides, Buffaloes, Elks,
ce, and Ambergris, which is
; for here one Mr. *Parr*
tant, bought 1606 Pieces of
Weight.

It is like wife owing to the Pe-
out this first Voyage made;
Anthony Gonfalo, a *Portu-
del Cavallero*, carried on gen-
by the Infant of *Portugal*
a willing enough, under the
ing Christianity in those Parts,
ould discover on the *Coast*
at after his Death it should be
Portugal. The Infant having
e Coast betwixt *Cara de Niem*,
Cabo Verde, happened to die
so, in 1477, granted all those
Duke of *Viseo*, His parent
ordered a Fort to be built in
e Security of Commerce. It
d out to one *Fernand Alon-
s*, should be obliged to discover
agues on this Coast, by which
in 1497 discovered the *Vies of
mas*, *Avao Bueno*, those of *del
St. Katharine's*. King *Joh. II.*
e Crown, but he sent, in 1498,
on the 19th of *January* 1498,
of *Minna*, calling Anchor near a
Cartes, then under the Command
Coramanfa.

The *Portuguese* gave the Name
Quantity of Gold found there,
of *Guinea*, in 5000 S of
the two Kingdoms of *Ben-
e N. W.* upon *Camara*, and
small Countries under the
Cambras. Hereabouts too, is
fifty Leagues, is marvellous
Coast. They have built a Fort
a Point of Land, which is
like, having on one side the
an Sea, and to the South is
h is scarce full below the
no Inhabitants, and as *St. Paul*
may maintain it against a
y all about, and what is
forced to be supplied with
afuto. The Natives here
much more pliable than the
ignorant in Matters of Religion
they see, that is the least
time they offered their
least by their Priests to certain
Bignets, included in a
They adored the Bears
Worship to a certain *Rock*
rest in Height. They
ation, and therefore they
to profess themselves *Son-
ing the but Chats, who
ignorant Wretche to the
e most religious People
ce of their Oaths, it
place them, will be
and hence it is, that their
a few Hours, upon a
ther of the Parties. *Al-
10**

even capital ones, may be commuted with Money, unless
the same be reiterated several Times by the same Person.
They have no other Cloathing but a Piece of Cloth, or
an Ape's Skin, wherewith they cover their Privy Parts,
all the rest of their Bodies being naked. For Ornament
like they wear Bracelets of Gold about their Arms and
Legs, and twilt their Hair and Beards with golden
Chains. They constantly rob their Bodies with Oil, or
Fat, to make them shine. Their Wars are no more than
confused Skirmishes, without the least Order or Disci-
pline. They make use of Darts and short Lances; and
for their Defence cover themselves with the Skins of
Tygers, Lions, or Leopards. Their *Hidalgo's*, or chief
Men, are attended by two Pages when they are going to
the Wars, and one carries the Buckler, the other a Stool
for his Master to rest himself upon, as Occasion serves.
They marry as many Wives as they are able to buy and
maintain, the Purchase of a Wife being commonly ten
Rials, which paid, the Marriage is consummated without
any further Ceremony, except that they get heartily drunk.
The *Dutch* have erected a Fort called *Beavris*, within four
Leagues of *Minna*, besides which they have their Factories
at *Cara*, *Caramantin*, and *Aldea del Puerto*, whence they
return vast Quantities of Gold yearly, having much un-
dermined the *Portuguese* Traffick with the *Ethiopians*, by
their mild Way of Dealing, and being contented with a
much less Profit than the other.

25. King *Joh. the 11th of Portugal*, having refused the
Offer made him by *Christophor Columbus*, of discovering
the *West-Indies*, bent all his Thoughts upon the Conquests
of the *East*; for which Purpose he sent *Diego Can*, and
Juan Alonso de Aviero, to those Parts. The first, direct-
ing his Course towards *Minna*, came to the *Cape Lopez
Gonfalo*; and having afterwards doubled the *Cape of St.
Catherine*, entered the River *Zaire*, in 7° S. of the Line
into the Kingdom of *Congo*, this Kingdom extending from
the *Cape of St. Catherine* to the South of the *Cape de
Lelo*, is inclosed on the West Side by the *Ethiopian Sea*,
to the South by the Mountains of the Moon, and the
Cape, as it is to the East by *Alantaria*, and borders to
the North upon the Kingdom of *Beny*, reaching in Length
from 20° to the 13° beyond the Line, and consequent-
ly near 160 Leagues. It is divided into six great Pro-
vinces, *viz.* *Bamba*, *Seango*, *Sunda*, *Pango*, *Betta*, and
Pamba. The Province of *Bamba* extends along the Sea-
side betwixt the two Rivers of *Ambrixi* and *Coanfo*, its
chief City bearing the same Name of the Province, lying
twenty Leagues from the Sea-side, betwixt the Rivers of
Lopani and *Ambrixi*. The Province of *Seango* is inclosed be-
twixt the two Rivers of *Zaire* and *Seango*, reaching from
the River *Ambrixi* to the Foot of the Mountains, which
separates it from the Kingdom of *Seango*.

The Province of *Sunda* is only eight Leagues in Com-
pass, comprehending all the Country about the City of
Congo, named *St. Salvador* by the *Portuguese*, to the River
Zaire. Its Metropolis has given its Name to the Pro-
vince. The Province of *Pango*, formerly under the Ju-
ridiction of its own Kings, borders to the North upon
the Island of *Sunda*, and to the South upon that of *Batta*;
to the West it has the City of *Congo*, and on the East side
is surrounded by the Mountain of the Sun. The Province
of *Batta* lies to the North-East, betwixt that of *Pango*
and the River *Barbella*, extending to the burnt Mountains.
The Province of *Pamba* has for its Metropolis the City of
Cago, which is built upon a Mountain, at least fifty
Leagues from the Sea-side. Another Mountain belong-
ing to this Province, which is above six Leagues in length,
is so well stocked with Villages, that its Inhabitants are
computed to amount to near one hundred thousand Per-
sons. *Dante Lopez*, who lived several Years in those
Parts, declares, that the Climate here is as agreeable in
Winter, as it is in *Italy* in *October*; and that the greatest
inconvenience they are subject to here, are the hot Rains
which fall every Day two Hours before, and as many
Hours in the Afternoon, during the Months of *April*,
May, *June*, *July*, and *August*, being their Winter, which
begins the 15th of *March*, and ends the 15th of *Septem-
ber*. The Days and Nights here are of a Length, both
Winter and Summer.

The River *Zaire* arises out of the same Lake whence
the *Nile* derives its Rise; it is beyond all Question the
largest River in all *Africa*; for being joined with the Rivers
Fambo and *Barbella*, as it passes through the Country, it
is at the Mouth, where it disembogues into the Sea, at least
twenty-eight Leagues broad. The River *Gouaze* is the
common Boundary betwixt the two Kingdoms of *Congo*
and *Angola*, and the River *Lelonda* abounds in Crocodiles
and Sea-horses. This Creature is of a dusky Colour, with
very little Hair; its Head is without Ears, broad Nostrils,
and in his Jaw two Teeth like the Tulks of a wild Boar;
its Hoof has the Shape of a three-leaved Grass; it neighs
like a Horse, and will run a great Pace. The hot Rains,
which fall in the wet Season, rendering the Grounds very
fertile, they produce Herbs, Corn, and Fruit, in prodigi-
ous Quantities. The Province of *Pamba* has divers Gold
Mines. All the Forests are full of Elephants of an extra-
ordinary Size, the Teeth having been found to weigh two
hundred Pound Weight. They produce also a peculiar
Creature called *Zebra*, in Shape not unlike a Mule, but is
capable of engendering; it is marked with three Lists
round the Back, reaching down to the Belly, of about three
Fingers Breadth; of which one is black, the other white,
and the third yellow. This Beast is famous for its mar-
vellous Swiftnes. They have also a kind of Oxen called
Empalenges, but somewhat less than ours. Wolves, Foxes,
Wild-Buffaloes, Wild-Goats, Deer, and Rabbits, being
never fought after here, they are seen in prodigious Quan-
tities, the only Thing they hunt being the Civet-Cat, by
reason of the great Advantages it affords to the Owner.
They abound also with Birds, such as Pheasants, Partridge,
Hens, Turkeys, Ducks, Geese, Turtles, Pigeons, Hawks
of all sorts, and Eagles. Serpents they have of fifteen Feet
long, which will swallow a Sheep at once; and some am-
phibious Creatures, the Flesh of which is eaten by the In-
habitants; whereas some others are so venomous, that such
as are bitten by them intalibly die within twenty-four
Hours.

The Mountains of *Pamba* are abundantly productive of
Citrons, Oranges, Bananas, and divers other Fruits, as
plentifully as in most Parts of the *Indies*; and the Vallies
produce a kind of Wheat called *Seuco*, not much bigger
than Mustard-seed, which makes better Bread than any com-
mon Wheat, and is reserved for the Use of the better sort,
the Poor being here fed with Rice, and *Turky* Wheat.
Of *Cocoa*-Trees they have two sorts; some are Date-Trees,
the other produce *Cocoas*, and a certain Juice, which is
accounted an extraordinary Cleaver of the Reins, and con-
sequently a sovereign Remedy against the Gravel. Their
Fruits, as well as Pulse and Herbs, are, without Compa-
rison, more excellent here than in other Countries. Their
Mountains, which for the most part are covered with Fruit-
Trees, are green all the Year round; and the Rocks pro-
duce white Marble, Alabaster, Jasper, Porphyry, and some-
times Hyacinths.

The Inhabitants are black; but the Women are not so
dark as the Men; they have neither such thick Lips, nor
flat Noses, as commonly the Negroes have, and their Hair
curls naturally. Those of *Bombay* are famous for their
Strength. As every Man here is his own Architect and
Physician, to their Houses are small, low, and slightly
built; they cure Fevers with Powder of Sandal Wood, and
Head-ach by Bleeding; and when they are to procure an
Evacuation by Purging, they do it with a certain Bark of
a Tree beat to Powder; they generally appear bare-headed,
but such as do not, wear a kind of Hats made of the Barks
of Trees, or Nut-shells. Some have a Way of listening
with Pack thread Plumes to their Hair, and both Sexes
have Holes in their Ears, in which hang very weighty
Rings of Gold set with Stones. About their Arms and
Legs they wear Rings, or rather Plates of Iron, Tin, or
Brass; but the better sort are clad after the *Portuguese* fa-
shion. They sleep and eat upon Mats spread upon the
Ground. Besides the vast Wealth in Gold, Silver, Copper,
Crystal, Iron, and other Metals this Country produces, a
great Traffick is carried on here in Ivory, Civet, and
Slaves, whom the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* employ in
their Mines and Sugar Mills of *Brazil*. They use certain
Snells, which they fish out of the Sea near the Isle of
Lwonda.

Lunda, instead of Money, there being a particular Governor appointed there for that Purpose, who has the Oversight of it.

The King of *Congo* governs with an arbitrary and uncontrollable Power, both the Lives and Estates of his Subjects being at his own Disposal; the Provinces are under the Jurisdiction of certain Governors, among whom the *Batta* is the head and constant chief Minister of State, being of the Blood-Royal, which is the Reason he sometimes eats at the King's Table (a Thing not allowed even to the King's Sons) but never sits down, but stands all the Time. He has alone the Privilege of having the same Pipers and Musicians the King has, and of the Use of the Fire-arms for his Guard, of whom he keeps a good Number, to bridle the Insolence of a certain People living upon the *Nile*, called *Giaquer*, who make frequent Inroads into the Territories, of which Notice is given into the Country by the discharging of a Musket. The Province of *Bombay*, however, is accounted the Bulwark of this Kingdom; for though the Province of *Batta* is able to raise above seventy thousand fighting Men, whereas that of *Bombay* is only able to raise 40,000, yet are the first not to be compared to the last. They use great broad Swords like the *Scuffs*, and handle them with as much Activity as we do our Rapiers. They make use also of Darts, and Bucklers, the last of which are made of the Barks of Trees. They have no Cavalry; their Armies, which are divided into Brigades, consist only of Foot, who engage all at a Time. The General keeps in the Centre, and by the Help of their warlike Instruments, called *Manjio*, gives the Signals to the Commanders when to attack, to retreat, to close, or to open. Their Trumpets are of Wood, and make a most dreadful Noise. Their Drums are made of the Barks of Trees, and are covered with Skin, and are beat with great Ivory Sticks; besides these, they have another kind of Instrument, being only an iron Plate of a triangular Form, which they beat with Sticks; they have also a Way of hollowing the Elephant's Teeth, and then blow them as we do our Bugle Horns; with those Instruments the Commanders of the Army answer the Signal given them by the General.

The Portuguese were the first who introduced the Christian Religion here, under the Reign of *John II.* the King, who, as we told you, sent *Diego Can* and *John Alonso d'Avoro* into those Parts. It was about that Time that *Caramanjo*, King of *Congo*, sent *Casua* his Ambassador to the King of *Portugal*, who, being baptized there, was sent back with three Portuguese Ships, commanded by *Gonjo de Senjo*; but in touching at *Cape de Verde*, both died there of the Plague. *Roy de Senjo*, who succeeded in the Command, being forced into the Port of *Lunda*, in the Province of *Songo*, the Governor of the Place, who was Uncle to the King of *Congo*, was baptized with all his Family, whose Footsteps were followed by the King and Queen, being named *John* and *Elianer*. *Immanuel*, King of *Portugal*, sent another Squadron thither in 1504; but, soon after, the Discovery of the *Indies*, and Prospect of greater Advantages to be reaped from thence, occasioned the Discontinuance of those Voyages to the African Coast; the Foundations of Religion were also neglected by the Portuguese, which the *Dutch* improving to their Advantage, introduced their Traffick, and with it the Protestant Religion.

We told you before, that *Diego Can* discovered *Congo*; let us now see what became of his Comrade *John Alonso d'Avoro*. He, about the same Time, made a Discovery of the Kingdom of *Bony*, betwixt *Mina* and *Congo*. Its Length is eighty Leagues, and its Breadth forty. The City of *Angate* is at twelve Leagues Distance from the Sea, and somewhat further in the Country, upon the River called *Rio Tomoso* by the Portuguese, its capital City bearing the same Name with the Kingdom. The King of *Bony*, having engaged in a Treaty with *Alonso*, was also baptized; but this Conversion being not founded upon any real Knowledge of the Principles of the Christian Religion, was of no longer Continuance than the Traffick of the Portuguese in those Parts, which was neglected as soon as they had made a Discovery of the Passage by Sea to the *Indies*.

26. *Cape de Verde* is by *Ptolemy* called *Promontorium Abyssinarum*, and put in $10^{\circ} 40'$ on this Side of the Line; whereas, by our own Observation, we can positively affirm it to be in $14^{\circ} 20'$, betwixt the two Rivers of *Senega* and *Gambra*, or *Gambia*, called by *Ptolemy* *Durago*, and *Staburis*, and which, according to his Opinion, are very small ones, the Sources of which are unknown; whereas it is beyond all Question, that they arise out of two Lakes, one of which is by the said *Ptolemy* called *Palus Chelonae*, now the Lake of *Goaga*, and the other that of *Naba*, though some of the Inhabitants are of Opinion, that they have their Rise from the *Nile*. It is called the *Cape de Verde* from the many Trees near it, and their constant Verdure. *Ptolemy* also mentions nothing of these two Rivers falling into the Sea; whereas it has been found since, that the River *Senega*, after being joined by the Waters of divers other Rivers in the Province of *Mandiga*, discharges into the Ocean in $13^{\circ} 30'$, and that the River *Senega* running due East to West falls in $15^{\circ} 30'$ into the River *Goaga*, which has imparted its Name to that Country we call *Cape Verde*. It is certain that *Ptolemy* had no Knowledge of the Inhabitants betwixt those two Rivers, so we must resort to the Credit of those modern Authors, who have given us their Relations concerning them.

They tell us, that a certain People called the *Bambos* inhabit the Eastern Part of it as far as the *Cape de Verde*. The *Fosles* and *Berbecines* they place deeper in the Country, upon the River *Banaga* to the North of the former, some of which are subject to the *Fosles*, others to the *Berbecines*. It is a plain Country, producing abundance of Cattle, Wine, Cotton, Wild-Fowl, Ivory, and Hides; Gold and Silver they have none, but Iron in vast Quantities: The Air is accounted very wholesome, and the Inhabitants near the *Cape de Verde* good Horticulturists. They are *Pagans*, and very famous for admittling Justice in publick Affairs, with a great deal of Equity, Justice, and Secrecy, those that are admitted into the Council, or Courts of Judicature, being generally chosen by their Age and Experience. Though they are ignorant what belongs to martial Discipline, such as is practised in *Europe*, yet is their Manner of disposing and ordering their Forces not to be passed by in Silence; for they are not able to bear Arms, being divided into certain Regiments under their respective Commanders, having a considerable Number of Divisions or Quarters allotted them, and in case of Necessity, their Orders for appearing to fight, and being dispatched from one Division to another, being ready in a little Time to be at the Rendezvous appointed, without the Trouble of any new Levies, the Sons succeeding constantly in their Father's Places, if they do not die, so that their Number is always complete. They are not altogether ignorant of the Degree of Nobility of the Peasantry; for their Grandees they call *Thos*, whom they pay more than ordinary Respects, and are being always chosen out of their Number, and are of thirty Years of Age at least.

Not long after the Discovery of the Country of *Senega* by the Portuguese, one *Benjo* was chosen King, but being got into the Throne by force, was afterwards taken by most of his Subjects, brought to *Alonso*, King of *Portugal*, who had him instructed in the Christian Religion, and baptized, and sent him with a good Squadron of Ships, under the Command of *Faz de Coanha*, who had positive Orders to penetrate to the Entrance of the River *Senega*, to search for Penetration deeper into the Country. *Faz* did so accordingly, but was by the said *Benjo* killed, and his Son is unknownly demolished again, and the Country upbraided upon this Account by King *Alonso*, who sent him with his own Hands, and a great Squadron of Ships, where he was never to return an Account of his Proceedings.

Those Islands which the Portuguese call the *Ilhas de Verde*, yet to that the nearest of them is only about the most remote one hundred and fifty Leagues from the Continent, which makes me imagine that they who would have them to be the *Gorgendes* of *Ptolemy*, were under a Mistake, since it is not very probable that

was so terribly shaken by an Earthquake, on the 16th of June 1628, that at some small Distance from the Shore, the Sea opened in a Place where was 150 Fathom Water, and thence thrust forth a small Isle of a League and an half in Length, at least 60 Fathom above the Water. These two Islands have also certain hot Springs, whence, and at some Distance from them, arise sulphurous Vapours. About three Leagues from *Angra*, is a Spring which turns Wood to Stone, as is evidently to be seen by a certain Tree, the Root whereof, as far it hath been under Water, is absolutely petrified, whereas the Trunk, and all the rest, are not the least changed. The Isle of *Pico* has a peculiar sort of Wood as hard as Iron, red as Scarlet, in which, when cut, appear certain Veins like the Watering of a Camblet, of which are made very fine Cabinets, which are highly esteemed in *Portugal*. Cedar is so common among them, that they do not only use it for their ordinary household Stuffs, but also for Fuel; nay, they make whole Waggon and Boats of it. They have hence any Commodities except Provisions, which they sell to the Ships that touch here to take in Refreshments, as they are going to the *East-Indies*.

The Isle of *St. Michael* is about 20 Leagues long, lying 28 Leagues S. E. from that of *Tercera*. Its capital City is called *Punta Delgada*, its Soil very fruitful, producing more Wheat than they are able to consume. The worst is, that they have no safe Road for Ships to ride in. The Isle of *St. Mary*, being not above twelve Leagues in Compass, lies twelve Leagues South from that of *St. Michael*, its Products are Provisions and Porters Earth. The Isle of *Gratia* lies seven or eight Leagues N. E. from that of *Tercera*, its Compass being not above five or six Leagues. It has got its Name from its Pleasants, and vast Plenty of all sorts of Fruits. The Isle of *St. George*, which is twelve Leagues long and broad, lies eight or nine Leagues to the N. W. from that of *Tercera*. It is well stocked with Provisions, though it be full of Mountains, which furnish them with vast Store of Cedar, which they sell to those of *Tercera*, where it is made into Joiners and Cabinet-makers Works, and transported thence to other Places.

The Isle of *Laysa*, being at least seventeen or eighteen Leagues in Circumference, lies seven Leagues to the S. W. out of that of *St. George*, being the best of all the *Isles* next to that of *Tercera* and *St. Michael*. Its capital City is called *Punta Delgada*, inhabited chiefly by the Posterity of the *Spaniards* we had Occasion to mention before. They have hence abundance of Provisions, but especially Fish to the other Islands. The Isle of *Pico* has its Name from the high Peak or Neighbourly mountain called *Pico*, supposed to be as high as the Peak of the great *Canary Island*, of which I shall here to speak. It lies included betwixt the Isles of *Laysa*, whence it is distant three Leagues to the S. E. of *St. George* and *Tercera*, from the first of which it lies four Leagues to the S. W. and from the latter twelve Leagues to the W. S. W. Their Lands are accounted more fertile here than those of any of the other Isles.

The Isle of *Laysa*, as we told you, we got Sight of the 20th of November, being seventy Leagues to the West of *Tercera*. *Laysa* is twenty Leagues in Circumference, and the Isle of *Gratia* is no more than two Leagues Distance to the North. They are both under the *Portuguese*, but their Distance from the *Isles* thence them not to be of their Number. As the *Laysa* are very convenient for the Refreshment of the *Portuguese* Ships bound to the *East-Indies* and *Brazil*, they are very careful of their Protection; whence it is they will allow no Foreigners to view the Coast of the Isle of *Tercera*, for fear they should, by its Weakness, be invited to land and settle there. The Air is very clear and wholesome, but without very sharp, so that it cools of Iron, and several times in a few Years, which is the Reason they use Flint Stones in their Buildings, which having lain for a considerable Time under Water near the Sea-side, are better quenched than other Stones to resist the Sharpness of the Air.

But before we leave the *African* Coast, it will not be amiss to say some thing of the *Canary Islands* which lie upon the Coast opposite to *Calcutta*. The Wind-blown seeds of the Air, and the Heat of the Sun, procured them the Name of the *Islands of Fortuna* among the *Ancients*, though one

of them is also called *Canaria* by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Philemy*, which contradicts the Opinion of those who affirm that those who discovered them in the Year 1482 gave them the Name of *Canaries*, from the many *Canaries* there. They are seven in Number, viz. *Lanzarotta*, *Puntaventura*, the great *Canary*, *Teneriffa*, *Gomera*, and *Pico*, extending from East to West, in a manner in a direct Line. *Lewis* Count *Clermont* having, in 1248, got a Grant from the Pope of these Islands, sent out a Fleet to endeavour the Conquest of them, which was perfected accordingly under the Protection of the King of *Aragon*; but the same being afterwards relinquished by *D. Lewis de la Cerda*, the *Spaniards* and *Andalusians* having lent out some Vessels to invade the Isle of *Lanzarotta*, whence they brought back some Wealth, that the King of *Castile* then reigned upon the Conquest of these Islands, which, doubtless, he would have effected, had not the more pressing Wars he was engaged in with his Neighbours diverted him from that Purpose.

Not many Years after, a *French* Gentleman, named *John de Bethuncourt*, having obtained a Commission from *Henry III.* then King of *Spain*, to conquer the *Islands*, under the Condition that he and his Posterity should acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Crown of *Castile*, he was so fortunate as to make himself soon Master of the lesser Islands, but could not bring the two great ones under Subjection. However, the King of *Castile*, being dead, having sent thither a Bishop, this occasioned such a Difference between him and *Bethuncourt's* Nephew, who succeeded his Uncle, that the King of *Castile* was obliged to send thither one *Peira Barba*, who having married the *Frenchman's* daughter, gave the Islands, as a *Dowry* to his Daughter, to one *Perera*, who assuming the Name of King of the *Canaries*, left no Stone unturned to make himself Master of them all by the Conquest of them in England; but finding his Endeavours to prove fruitless, he sold the right of these Islands to *Ferdinand*, who named the *Canaries* King of *Aragon*, reserving to himself only that of *Almeria*, with the Quality of an Earl. King *Ferdinand* had no good Fortune to reduce the two great Islands also, which he gave, as well as the rest, have remained under the *Spanish* Possession.

The great *Canary* Isle is computed to contain above a thousand Inhabitants, being the Residence of the Bishop, Inquisitor, and Great Council, was made the chief Seat of Affairs of all the other Isles. Besides that, it is famous for its well known and esteemed in *Europe*, it produces Corn, Barley, Honey, Wax, and Sugar-Cane, and that they have a great number of Cattle makes them trade in Commerce with the *Spaniards*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, who furnish, in their Voyages to the *West-Indies*, with some of the best Provisions in here. The Isle of *Pico* is famous for its Mountain called *El Pico*, being accounted the highest in the World, to that it may be discovered above a year, and seen at Sea, and on the Top a Man may see the whole of the *Canary Islands*, though some of them are very high, and distant from this; but it requires three Day's Journey to go to it, which must be either in July or August, if it be not covered with Snow all the rest of the Year, though it is not so high as any of those Islands.

The Isle of *Teneriffa* claims the next Place to that of *Teneriffa*, among the *Canary Islands*; it has got a Name from the Drought of the Ground, which being without Water, seems to be of Iron; For, except a few Springs near the shore, this whole Island is without a Rivulet, Brook, Well, or Spring, again which Default prevent Nature has blessed this Island with a certain Tree, whose Wood is so like the resemblance to any other I ever saw, either in *Europe*, or the *Indies*, and stands in the very Centre of the Island; its Leaves are very long, but narrow, and never or seldom green, neither in Winter or Summer. Betwixt the *Islands* and *Clouds*, which are never dispelled, but are constantly dissolved in a liquid Substance, when hanging to the Clouds, fall from thence as clear as Water into the *Canaries*; and are made under the Tree on purpose to receive it, and in such great Quantities, that they are not only sufficient to provide sufficient Quantities to supply each Man's Burden.

It is the Opinion of the Inhabitants, and is also frequently said in these Parts, that a hundred Years ago, West of the *Canaries* there lay a certain Island, which

called *St. Borondon*, very pleasant and fruitful, and inhabited by Christians; but are not able to tell you how it came to be peopled, and what Language is in Use there. The Spaniards inhabiting the *Canaries* have made several Attempts to find it out; but whether the thick Fogs which surround it, or the Current of the Sea, which keeps Ships from the Shore, is the Occasion that it has not been discovered, certain it is, that nobody hitherto has been able to give a satisfactory Account of it.

28. But to return to our Voyage; the Wind turning to the South the 29th of *November*, we took our Course to the North, leaving the *Ile of Flores* to the East of us, and soon lost Sight of that as well as of the *Ile of Corvo*. The 30th of *November* we made thirty-one Leagues to the North with a South-South-west Wind, and at Noon found ourselves in 40° 32' Latitude. *December* the 3d we made thirty-four Leagues with the same Wind and Course; and the 4th, a North-east Wind advanced us twenty-seven Leagues to East-North-east. The 5th the Wind coming to the South-west, we continued the same Course, and got thirty seven Leagues. It was this Day exactly eleven Months since we had been tossed up and down the Sea, though our Voyage had been tolerable enough ever since our Departure from *Madagascar*. The 6th it blew a Storm out of the East, but the Wind being for us, we advanced five Leagues. It is observable, that as soon as you are past the *Azores* Islands, you may assure yourself of a West Wind, let it be what Season of the Year it will, till you come to the Coast of *England*; it being very well known that it turns either directly to the South or North, the 7th it may change a few Points to the Comers.

The 8th the Wind turning to the West, we made thirteenth Leagues to the East-North-east. The 9th we made thirty-seven Leagues, with a very brisk Gale to the South-east, keeping the same Course; and the 10th, with a South-South-west Wind, made thirty-one Leagues to the North-North-east. We found ourselves in 49° 18', the Weather being very cold, and a lanly white Bottom of forty-eight Fathom, and in the Evening sounding again, found but fifty-three Fathom, the Sand not so pure as in the Morning. The Wind hopping about to the North-East in the Night, was directly 1400 Feet all the night about Noon, when coming to the South-west we made twenty-two Leagues. The 11th we elapsed at Break of Day, two English Ships, an hour or two after, that Point of Cornwall called the *Land's End*, we endeavour'd to double the Point, the Wind being contrary, and with much ado made three Leagues. The 12th, the Wind being fall against us, we continued lowering, and at a Distance we saw another English Vessel, but could not come near it. The 13th the Wind being at South-west and South-South-west, we steer'd our Course to the East-South-east, and to the East, with a Point to the South. We made sixty-four Leagues to 49° Latitude the 14th, after having chosen our Course to the East-North-east, in order to make the Channel which divides *England* from *France*.

We saw two Dutch Vessels and a *Dunkirk* not far from us, but the Roaring of the Sea prevented our hearing one another. The 15th we steer'd the same Course, and met with three Dutch Ships bound for *Brussels*, not far from the *Ile of Wight*, which lies in 50° 20' Latitude, and 19° 4' Longitude. The 16th, by Ten in the Morning, we pull'd in Sight of *Dover* Castle, and about Noon came to an Anchor in the *Desons*, and this completed our Voyage in the 12th Month after our Departure from *Sarat*. We saw there near a hundred Ships riding at Anchor, in Expectation of the Weather, it being so boisterous, that for two Days we could not stir out of our Ship. The English Admiral, who was then with some Men of War in the *Bay*, invited the 19th (when the Wind was somewhat abated) the President to Dinner, who taking me along with him, I had my share in the Entertainment, which was to consist both for Meat, and the great Quantity of Plate, that the King's Table could scarce have been better served in *London*.

As we were extremely well pleas'd with our Entertainment, it was near Night before we got out of our Boat, but I shou'd not have a Member of the Admiralty's Boat to better were we got into it, than a broken Storm

forced us to Sea, the Waves continually coming over our Boat, so that we were oblig'd to make the best Shift we could to call out the Water, without Intermision, with our Hats. We now began to reflect, how that, alter we had surmounted so many Dangers during this tedious Voyage, we should at last be shipwrecked in Sight of our dear Country, and in that very Part whither we were come with so much Danger to seek for Safety; but, to be short, we were for four Hours thus betwixt Hope and Despair, when at last we got Sight of a small Veisel, but so miserably torn by the Tempest, that it had lost all its Anchors but one, which was not strong enough to keep it from being forced out to Sea. However, we betook ourselves to our Oars, sitting up to our Waists in Water, and with much ado reached the Veisel, in which in effect we were not much safer than in our Boat, as being in Danger to be flayed against a dangerous Sand-bank, which was not far off; but the Cold we had endur'd in the Ship had so disabled us in all respects, that we were not apprehensive of our Condition, being in a manner half-dead the next Day, when we were brought to our Veisel, where they had given us over for lost, and bewail'd our Death.

On the 24th another Tempest arose, which was so violent, that twenty four Ships were forced to cut their Masts, among the Number of which was also our Veisel, not to much by the Tempest, as for two Men of War being forced from their Anchors, which would else have run foul upon us. The 26th we got at last to the long-with-dar *English* Shore, and by the same Night at *Conterbury*, the Cathedral of which claims the Pre-erence before any other in *England*, and is not inferior to some of the best Structures in the World. The 27th we came to *Gravesend*, and the 28th to *London*, being met in our Way by certain Directors of the *East India* Company, who paid for the President's coming at *Blackwall*, with eight Coaches.

29. On the 30th I view'd the *English* House, and took that Opportunity to return Thanks to the Directors for the many Civilities I had receiv'd at the President's Hands; and they having made a splendid Entertainment for him that Day, I was also invited. The 31st, and the 1st of *January*, we were splendidly treated by some English Merchants, and the 2d by Sir *Edmund Wright*, the then Lord-Mayor of *London*. As he was much delighted in the Relation of the many Adventures that had befallen us during our Voyage, so he would needs invite the President and me again the next Day, our Discourse running upon the many Dangers we had escap'd.

The Lord Mayor, to shew us that Sea-faring People were subject to such, and often escap'd much greater Danger, related to us a Story of a certain Dutch Seaman, who, being taken by some Cruisers condemn'd to Death, his Punishment was chang'd into that of Banishment into the *Ile of St. Helena*, near which they were, which was done accordingly. This poor Wretch, thinking this Solitude insupportable to him, resolv'd rather to hazard his Life at any Rate, than to endure it; and having met with a Coffin, in which a Sea Officer had been interred the Day before, he, without more ado, took out the dead Corpse, and having cut out the upper Board of the Coffin, made a kind of Rudder, put himself into it, and to went out to Sea: A good Chance would have it, the Ship unto which he had belonged, was become at a League and an half Distance from the Shore; and the Ship's Crew obliging to odd a kind of Veisel floating on the Surface of the Water, thought it had been an Apparition, till coming nearer and seeing the Ship they stood amazed at this unaccountable Boldness of the Man, who had ventured to far in two or three Pieces of Boards, without being assur'd whether he should be received or not. It being put to the Question, it was at last resolv'd he should be taken on board, which was done accordingly; and he return'd to *London*, where he liv'd afterwards in the Town of *Horn*.

He gave us another Instance of this kind, of an Englishman, who, being taken by a French Privateer in the *Parquet* Boat going from *England* to *Dublin*, was held from the Privateer by a sudden Storm, which put them, but soon after (for the *Parquet* Boat) to admit a Rack on the Coast of *Scotland*, oblig'd to that of *Isle-ard*. The Englishman, with another of the Crew, happen'd to be cast away

away upon the Rocks, where they made a Shift to erect a Hut out of some Boards belonging to their Ship. They lived upon the Sea-mews they caught, which they dried in the Sun, and so they eat them raw; as also upon certain Eggs they found in the Crevices of the Rocks, which kept them from starving: But their greatest Want was fresh Water, of which they had none but what the Rain helped them to. They continued in this Condition six Weeks; at the Expiration of which the *Englishman*, waking in the Morning, missed his Companion (whom he supposed to be fallen from the Rock through Carelessness) the only Comfort of his Life. In this Solitude, which almost threw him into Despair, especially when the approaching Winter made every thing appear with a more doleful Aspect than before, his Hut being covered with Snow, he made the hardest Shift in the World to sustain himself, till after a miserable Life of eleven Months, some Seamen belonging to a *Flemish* Ship, commanded by Captain *Peckman*, famous for his Art in getting out the great Guns of the *Spanish Armada*, forced upon the Coast of *Scotland* and *Ireland* in 1588, by Tempest, as they were looking for Eggs, discovered this poor Wretch, whom, at last, with many Entreaties, they took into their Vessel, being all black, hairy, and meagre, more like a Spectre than a Man; and having given him what Refreshments the Ship afforded, set him down at *Derry* in *Ireland*, from whence he afterwards returned to *England*.

A third Relation he was pleased to give us of a most singular Resolution of four Seamen, who, being taken by the *Algerines*, and one of them being a Carpenter, they resolved to make a small Boat, and venture in it in the open Sea, in order to their Deliverance; accordingly, having made what Preparation they could for the Execution of this Design, they took off five Boards from the Fore-Room, two whereof were employed for the Bottom of the Boat, two more for the Sides, and the fifth for the Prow and Poop, their Quill serving for Tow. The Boat being well pitched, and the appointed Time come, they found that their Boat was so little as not to contain above two, so that two of the Confederates were obliged to stay behind, the other two, being an *Englishman* and a *Dutchman*, persisting in their Resolution to go forward, let it cost what it would: accordingly, having found Means to provide a Pair of Oars, a Piece of a Sail, and a slender Portion of Bread and fresh Water, they boldly put to Sea, having neither Compass nor Astrolabe, so that being overtaken by a Storm, they were forced to go where the Wind would carry them, their chief Business being to cut out the Water which continually came into the Boat, and soon spoiled what little Bread they had; which, together with the Want of Rest, had brought them to low, that they were scarce able to stand on their Legs. In this miserable Condition Chance brought them to the Coast of *Barbary*, where lighting on some Wood, that served them to rest and enlarge their Boat, which they did no sooner done, but being in manifest Danger of being killed by the Inhabitants, were forced to climb the main Mast, from whence, at last, after being rolled up and down in the Sea ten Days, were cast upon the *Spanish* Coast near the Cape of *St. Martin*, between *Alicanti* and *Valencia*, where, being civilly entertained by the Inhabitants, they afterwards returned to *England*.

On the 11th I lay the King of *England* touch many Privileges that were adhered with the *ETA*, and the Ceremony being over, my Lord *Strafford* did me the Honour to introduce me to his Majesty to kiss his Hand, and afterwards to the Queens; both their Majesties, at several Times, were pleased to bestow some Time in hearing my Relations of my Travels, especially of those into *Peria* and *Mugely*. During my Stay of three Months in *England*, I spent Part of my Time at Court, and the rest in taking a View of what was most worthy of Observation in *London*, and the adjacent Places, such as *White Hall*, *St. James's*, *Hampton Court*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the *Abbey*, *Greenwich*, the *Tower*, &c. And having by this Time honestly recovered myself of the Fatigue of a tedious Voyage, and received the Money I expected from my native Country, I left *London* on the 20th of *March*, and taking Water for *Gravesend*, went

thence for *Rocheſter*, and coming the 24th to *Deer*, embarked the 28th for *Dunkirk*, where I arrived the same Day. The 26th I continued my Journey thence to *Newport*, where I stayed that Night, and came the next Day to *Bruges*, and the 29th to *Ghent*, where I stayed only to the 21st of *April*, when I prosecuted my Journey to *Brussels*, the Capital City of the Province of *Brabant*. After a Stay of two Days at *Brussels*, I came the 5th to *Louvain*, and travelled the same Day four Leagues farther to *Middelburg*; thence I prosecuted my Journey the 6th to *Antwerp*, where I stayed two Days, and the 9th and 10th travelled to *Breda*, where, having spent the Remainder of that Day, I made five Leagues the next Day to *Bassendun*, or *Bilddun*.

The 12th I set forward again for *Gravendam*, whence I took Boat the same Day for *Rotterdam*, where I arrived the 13th, and continued my Journey the same Day for *Delft*, and so farther through the *Hague*, by the Way of *Leiden* to *Harlem*. This City, which is the biggest next to *Amsterdam* in the Province of *Holland*, discharged the Glory of the Invention of the Mystery of Printing by one of its Inhabitants, named *Laurence Costar*, who, in the Year 1420, first made the Characters of Black-wood, and afterwards having also found out the Ink that to this Day is used by Printers, he changed the wooden Characters into leaden ones; and having at last made them of Tin, he brought the whole to Perfection in 1474, a Memory of which the Senate of *Harlem* have caused the following Inscription to be set over the House of his

Memorie Sacrum, Typographia, Ars Inventionis, Inventrix, nunc primum inventa circa annum 1474.

Leaving *Harlem* in the Evening, I came the same Night to *Amsterdam*, of which Place having heard so much in the *Indies*, I resolved to spend some Time in taking a View of it. The first Thing that surpris'd me the next Morning was, that vast Number of People whom I found the Streets, that a Man could very hardly pass; that when I came to the Port, I stood amazed at the prodigious Number of Ships, which appeared at a Distance, as if more than one continued Foreill, especially when I was informed how many Ships were abroad at that Time, and to all Parts of the World; and that I saw every Day a considerable Number go to their own, and to other distant Coasts. The vast Stores brought thither every Year from the most remote Parts of the World, especially at the House of the *East India* Company, made me imagine, that I was in the Globe, was centered in this Place, and that such prodigious Quantities of Spices, only to be found here, that *China*, and all the rest of the *Indies*, were so exhausted their Store-houses, to lay them up in this City.

It was in the Year 1595, that the *Dutch*, by the encouragement of a certain Merchant, whose Name was *Willemus Houtman*, and who had lived a considerable Time in *Portugal*, undertook the first Voyage to the *Indies* along the *African* Coast; their Design of finding out the Northern Passage having proved abortive. Their Voyage did not answer the Expectation of the Merchants, who had flattered themselves they had discovered a new Passage, and 1597, they sent another Squadron, and by the 1602, to that, for fear of destroying this too powerful Company, a Charter was granted to all the Persons concerned therein for twenty Years, and six Chambers erected at *Amsterdam*, consisting of twenty Directors, *Amsterdam* and *Zealand*, twelve Directors at *Delft*, and *Rotterdam*, *Maaſſe*, at *Horn*, and *Enkhuysen* for *Holland*; and a fourth last consisting each of Seven Directors. According to the same Charter the City of *Amsterdam* was to be the Hall of all the Charges, and to send eight Deputies to the general Meetings, and those of the *Maaſſe* and *Zealand* and one Half Quarter each, and to lend the Company

their original Stock amounted to 600,000 *Florins*, which was improved to that Degree, that in the Year 1613 the Persons concerned had gained 300,000 *Florins* and sixty upon the hundred, and the next Year Profits were more considerable. The Regulation

Streets and Water-channels, and the Neatness and Splendor of the Bridges and Houses of *Amsterdam* is not to be imagined, except by those who have been Eye-witnesses of it, especially those in the new Town, and many of which ought rather to be called Palaces than the Houses of private Persons. Among the publick Structures the old and new Churches are worth Observation, and if the Town-houle be completed, according to the Draught I saw of it, it will, beyond Question, vie with any of the noblest Structures in the World, and the Exchange of *Amsterdam* surpasses that of *London*, in the Number of People that daily resort thither, as it does that of *Antwerp* in Magnificence; not to mention here the Gates of the City, and its three Sluices, which cannot be matched in the World, the publick School, College, Arsenal, a Play-houle, Anatomy-hall, and other publick Edifices, which deserve the Travellers peculiar Observation. But to come to a Conclusion of my Voyage; after a Stay of eight Days at *Amsterdam*, I took Shipping for *Hamburg* the 23d of *April*, where I arrived safely the 28th, and after I had rested myself there for one Day and Night, continued my Journey to *Gottorp*, which I reached the 1st of *May*, and had the Honour to be admitted to their Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of *Holstein*, unto whom I gave a short Account of the Success of my long and toilsome Travels.

31. The Observations published by our Author are of a mixed Nature, Part of them from his own Knowledge, and Part from Information. It may be necessary therefore to say somewhat as to the Reasons which induced us to prefer these Observations to those of other Men, who might be Eye-witnesses of all they wrote. In the first place, let it be considered, that it is necessary to give the Reader the most Matter possible in the least Room, and therefore concise and well-wrote Voyage answers this End better than several, and at the same time avoids useless and tedious Repetitions. The merit of the Writer was another great Consideration. It is manifest from the Commission with which he was intrusted, that he was a Man of Abilities, or otherwise he would not have been chosen. It appears from the foregoing Part of his Travels, that his Conduct justified their Choice, and that he made it his Business to bring back into *Germany* the clearest and best Intelligence that could be had, with regard to the Design which his Master had then in View and that was the Opening a new Channel of Trade between *Europe* and the *Indies*. The same Reasons therefore that recommended him to, and procured him the Approbation of, his Master, gave his Works a Title to a place in this Collection, notwithstanding the Objections to which they may seem liable at the first Sight. But farther still; he was not only a Man of great Judgment himself, but of great Experience also; and as he was very capable of distinguishing upon Information what was fit for him to report, and what not, so he was no less careful in seeking his Information from such as had it most in their Power to instruct, and at the same time were least likely to impose upon him. The Advantage he had of consulting the *English* President upon what he was told by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* must have been of infinite Service, by enabling him to correct and explain whatever he received from them; therefore taking all these Advantages together, we may very safely conclude, that there hardly ever was a Voyage Writer better qualified to deliver what was fit for the Publick to see than our Author.

It remains to give some Account of that Prince by whose Direction these Voyages were undertaken, the Views he had in causing them to be undertaken, and the Consequences of such extraordinary and hazardous Undertakings so well and happily performed. *Frederick* the third, Duke of *Holsten Gottorp*, was the Son of *John Frederick*, Sovereign of that Country, and the Princess *Augusta*, Daughter to *Frederick* the second, King of *Denmark*. He succeeded his Father in his Dominions in the Year 1610, and having spent a great Part of his Time in improving his Country, setting new Manufactures there, and opening a free Commerce to *Sweden*, *Poland*, and *Russia*, he began about the Year 1630 to think of putting in Execution a Project which had long employed his Thoughts, by which he hoped to begeth a new City, and greatly to enrich his new City of *Frederickshadt*. He was led to this by the Increment of

some Merchants whom he had drawn to settle in his Country by the great Encouragements he gave them, and who suggested the Possibility of bringing into and settling the Silk Trade in his Dominions. At first Sight this must appear a very strange and almost impracticable Project; but when attentively considered it will appear in quite another Light.

We must in the first place consider, that the Northern Countries of *Europe* were at that Time entirely supplied with all Kinds of Silk Manufactures from the Southern Countries, and these at the greatest Distance from them, which was attended with many and great Inconveniences; besides the capital Mischief of sending annually vast Sums of Money in return for those Manufactures. The only Remedy that could be applied to these Mischiefs was the establishing this Commodity in the North by breeding and managing Silk-worms there, which was indeed a tedious, hazardous, and in all human Appearance, impracticable Undertaking, or else to sink a Step lower, and be content to import the Silk in the most reasonable Method, and at the lowest Price, so that the manufacturing it might prove sufficiently profitable to the People engaged therein. This Design too, though less difficult than the other, seemed hard enough to compass, since a Voyage from the *Baltick* to the *Mediterranean*, which was the only means whereby either *French*, *Spanish*, or *Italian* Silks could be brought to *Holstein*, had been necessarily attended with such an Expence, and the Silks imported would have come at so dear a Rate, that it would have been impossible, for many Years at least, to have manufactured them to any Advantage. The Commerce of the *Levant*, and the importing Silk from *Alippo*, or *Smyrna*, must have been attended with still greater Difficulties and Expence, so that on this Side there seemed to be no Hopes of compassing such a Design.

But *Philip Crusius*, who first engaged the Duke to think of this Scheme, immediately obviated these Objections by shewing that the *Persian* Silks might be had sooner, and at a cheaper Rate in *Holstein* than in any of the Countries where they were then manufactured. The Way he proposed was through *Muscovy*, the Frontiers of which are divided from those of *Persia* by the *Caspian* Sea, the Silk Provinces of *Persia* lying on the Coasts of that Sea; so that the transporting them cross the *Russian* Empire could scarce be esteemed a more laborious or difficult Undertaking than the conveying them by Caravans from *Persia* through the *Turkish* Empire to *Smyrna* or *Alippo*; and consequently, if this Scheme could be executed, the Ports of *Russia*, which were very near, would serve as effectually for the Silk Manufacture in *Holstein*, as the Ports of the *Levant* for the Southern Parts of *Europe*. These were the Principles upon which *Crusius* went, and on which the Embassy, which Duke *Frederick* sent into *Persia*, was undertaken. Our Author's Journey from *Persia* into the *Indies* was, as we have before represented it, an additional Project to this, of establishing a Silk Manufacture; and the Grounds upon which the Duke went in this were likewise very just and reasonable, as in a very few Words we shall be able to shew. He was informed that a great Trade was carried on between *Persia* and *India* by Land, and therefore he very rightly conceived, that if his first Scheme took place, it might be very practicable to bring the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures from *Persia* to the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, and consequently, together with the Silks, through *Russia* into his own Dominions.

This, I say, was that Prince's Design, and I thought it more necessary to insist upon it at large, because there is not a Word dropped about it by our Author; on the contrary, his Observations look all another Way, and he seems to have employed himself chiefly in remarking on the *Portuguese*, *English*, and *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies*; which Observations, as they were fitted to be published to the World, were likewise best suited to conceal the true Design of his Voyages. I must take this Opportunity of remarking, that all the Civilities shewn him by Strangers in those Parts of the World, may be accounted for from hence, I mean from their being morally certain, that the better he was acquainted, and the more thoroughly he was informed of the Nature of their Trade, the more impracticable his Master's Design would appear

of interfering therein, by a direct Navigation to the *Indies*, which they all along apprehended to be the Duke of *Holstein's* Design; and therefore thought, and very justly too, that a better Method than this could not be devised to defeat it. This likewise accounts for the rendering the Ambassadors and our Author's Accounts publick, in which, though all the Transactions are in themselves equally curious and entertaining, yet they make known little or nothing that relates to the Duke's real Project, and are therefore considered in this Light as nothing more than political Amusements.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these fine Schemes, though built upon just Principles, and pursued with great Wisdom and Prudence, proved in the End absolutely ineffectual, which was owing to the Wars and other Confusions that fell out soon after, both in *Germany* and *Russia*; in the first of which the Duke of *Holstein* himself had his Share, so that the Event ought not in the least to prejudice our Opinion against the Duke's Design, which has been since revived by other great Princes, and will be some Time or other effectually executed, and thereby a new Turn given to the Commerce of the *Indies*. The *Czar Alexis Michael*, in the Year 1698, revived this Project, which was then disappointed by the Rebellion of the *Cossacks*, who made themselves Masters of the City of *Astrakhan*, and thereby cut off for a Time the Correspondence between *Russia* and *Persia*. It was with this View also, that

the late *Czar Peter the Great*, who understood all these Points better than any of his Predecessors, and perhaps better than any other Prince of his Time in *Europe*, made himself Master of all the Provinces bordering on his Side the *Caspian* Sea, and thereby laid very fair for engrossing the whole *Silk Trade*, that is, so far as it depends upon *Persia*.

I might here put the Reader in mind, that we too have very lately proceeded upon this Plan, and have very busily begun to establish, by the Means of our *Russian* Company, this very Commerce with *Persia* through the *Mosscovite* Empire, which is more than sufficient to show, that the Duke of *Holstein's* Scheme, though it actually failed by unforeseen and unavoidable Accidents, was in its Nature perfectly just and well founded, since, if it can be rendered useful and practicable to us, it must not only have been more useful, and more practicable to him, who was so near a Neighbour to *Russia*, but all Circumstances considered, the wisest and best laid Scheme for the Improvement of his Dominions that perhaps was within the Compass of the human Understanding to invent or contrive.

Thus I have done all that lies in my Power to render these Voyages intelligible to the *English* Reader in their utmost Extent, by explaining many Things that have hitherto slept in Obscurity, and might possibly have been lost therein for ever, if these Voyages had not been made a Part of this Collection.

SECTION XXVIII.

*A Supplemental Account of the Commodities, Manufactures, and Produce of the several Countries of the Indies, together with Remarks on the Nature and Value of that Trade in respect to Europe.*From the Works of *John Baptist Tavernier*.

1. An Introductory Account of the Contents of the Section. 2. A succinct View of the *Silk*, *Cotton*, *Indigo*, *Spice* and *Drug Trade* in the *Indies*. 3. The Nature of the *Diamond Mines*, the Manner of their working them, and the Value of their Produce. 4. The Mines in the Island of *Borneo*, the Nature of the Stones found there, and an Account of the largest *Diamonds* in the World. 5. Of coloured Stones, such as *Rubies*, *Opals*, *Sapphires*, *Turquoises*, and *Emeralds*. 6. Of the *Pearl Fisheries* in the East and West-Indies, and of the Differences in point of *Size*, *Shape*, and *Colour* of these Jewels. 7. Of *Coral Fisheries*, and of the Value of this Commodity in the *Indies*. 8. Of *Amber*, *Ambergris*, *Musk*, and other *Perfumes*. 9. Of the *Beasts*, such as *Goats*, and *Apes*, their different Virtues and Values, and of the *Porcupine* and *Serpent* dresses. 10. Of the *Gold*, *Silver*, and *Tin Mines* of the *Indies*. 11. A Description of the Kingdom of *Kachemir*, and of the *Paradise* of the *Indies*, and its Produce. 12. Of the Provinces of *Multan*, *Candahar*, *Cabulistan*, and *Lahor*. 13. Of the Provinces of *Haoud* and *Varad*, and of the Fruits and Manufactures which they produce. 14. Of other Provinces of the *Mogul Empire*, and of what is most remarkable in each of them. 15. A Description of the Country of *Bengal*, one of the pleasantest and most fruitful Countries of the *Indies*. 16. Of the rich Kingdom of *Boutan*, its Inhabitants, Commodities, and Manufactures. 17. Of the Power, Splendor, and Magnificence of the Monarch of that Country. 18. Of the Kingdom of *Yupa*, and of the *Gold* and *Silk Trade* carried on there. 19. Of the noble Kingdom of *Alam*, and of the rich Mines in that Country; as also of *Gum Lac* and other valuable Commodities which it produces. 20. Of *Yampin*, and its Products. 21. A concise History of that famous Kingdom.

As we have in the foregoing Sections given great Particulars into the Commerce of the *Indies* from the best acquainted with them, and of the most Reputable, so, by way of Supplement to these, we shall add the Chapters of Mr. *Tavernier's* Travels as are first to be printed at *Delhi*, relieving the Rest of his Work for the present being a Volume, to which it properly belongs. His Character is so well known and established in the World, that it may seem very unnecessary to say any thing of it in this Place, and therefore we shall content ourselves with a very few Observations that seem more immediately requisite, in order to connect what we have taken from him with what we have given before on the same Subject from others. He was not only a Traveller, but a Merchant also, and therefore spoke from a perfect Knowledge and Experience in the Matters of which he writes, and more particularly with regard to the Commodities and

Manufactures of these Countries, in which he dealt for many Years with great Success.

He is more copious, and at the same time more exact than any of the Authors who have attempted to point out the Advantages derived from our Commerce in the *Indies*, by which I mean in general the Commerce of the *Europeans*. We discover in his Writings a greater Compass of Thought, and a more masterly Turn in his Observations, than in almost any other Book of the kind, which is owing to his having considered these things over and over, in consequence of the several Voyages he had made to the *Indies*, and the Pains he had taken to make himself Master of every thing that had any Relation to the Disposition of our Commodities after they were brought to *Europe*. It will be allowed, that this sometimes tempts him to digress a little from his Subject, and run into a general Representation of the State of the same Sort of Commerce in

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Parts of the World; but still this proves so far from being tedious and unpleasant, that we may safely affirm, there are no Passages in his Writings, either more curious or more instructive. It was for this Reason that we judged it requisite to give them entire, without venturing to abridge, or interpolate them, which would only detract the Author's Sense, without answering any good Purpose. After an accurate Account of the State of *Mogulistan*, at the Time he travelled through it, he proceeds thus:

2. *Kasimbajar*, a Village in the Kingdom of *Pengal*, sends abroad every Year twenty-two thousand Bales of Silk, every Bale being a hundred Weight, which are bought up, either by the *Dutch*, or Merchants of *Tartary* and *Mogulistan*, to make up their Carpets; some all Silk, and others mixed with Silver and Gold, which being for the most part made in the Province of *Guzerat*, are sold either at *Amadabat*, or *Surat*. The worst Carpets are made at *Vetapour*, twelve Leagues from *Agra*; Satins, some plain, others streaked with Gold; Taffeties of the same Fashion; Putes, a very thin Silk Stuff, painted with all sorts of Flowers. The raw Silk of *Kasimbajar* is yellowish, as that of *Italy* and that of *Persia* is; but they can whiten it with a Lye made of the Ashes of a Tree called *Adam's* Fig-tree, that it shall be like that of *Palestine*. In the Kingdom of *Golconda* are made the painted Calicoes (Calicots) called *Camizes* by the Merchants, but Calmender by the Natives, because they are painted with a Peircel

There are Chintzes made in *Mogulistan*, but they are all printed, and nothing to line or beautiful as the former. These serve for Coverlets of Beds, Table-cloths, Pillow-bags, Handkerchiefs, but especially for Waistcoats both for Men and Women. The fine Calicut Chintzes made at *Bampour* are used all over *Asia* for Ornaments, or Womens Vests; the *Ballas*, or Calicots, painted red, blue, and black, are carried white to *Agra* and *Amadabat* to be dyed; some they dye like watered Camblets, which increase their Price. The white Calicots are woven in several Places in *Bengal* and *Mogulistan*, and are carried to *Raschary* and *Barcebe* to be whitened, because of the large Meadows and Plains of Lemons that grow thereabouts, for they are never so white as they should be till they are dipped in Lemon-Water: They are of two sorts, wide and narrow, but of various Lengths; some Calicots are made so fine, you can hardly feel them in your Hand, and the Thread when spun is scarce discernible. Cotton twined and untwined comes from the Provinces of *Brampour* and *Guzerat*; but the latter is seldom exported, unless it be to *Ormuz*, *Bassora*, or the *Philippine* Isles.

Indigo comes from several Parts of the *Mogul's* Country, but differs in Quality; the best comes from the Territories of *Barru*, *Amoora*, and *Cosje*, a Day or two's Journey from *Agra*: That which is made far of this sort comes from *Sargueffe*, a Day's Journey from *Surat*: The Indigo which is made in *Golconda* is inferior in Goodness; as also that which is made up at *Barcebe* and *Agra*, although this last is most sought for, because it is made up in half Bales. The worst sort is that made at *Pengal*, *Brampour*, and *Amadabat*. It is made of an Herb much like our Hemp, which is sown every Year at the Rains. They cut it three Times every Year; but the first Cutting makes the best Indigo, and the second better than the third: It is known by the Brilleness of the Colour. When they have cut it, they cast it into Pits half full of Water, which they raise to the Brim, with the Herb put into it, and then pound it about till it becomes as thick as Mud; then they let it settle for some Days, and afterwards drain the Water out of it, which done, they take it up in Baskets, and making it up flat at the Bottom, and sharp at the Top like an Egg, set it in the Sun to dry. Great Quantities of Saltpetre come from *Agra* to *Patna*; but that which is refined is three Times the Value of that which is not.

Cardamum, which is the most excellent of all Spices, grows in the Territories of *Vetapour*, and because there is no great Store of it where it grows, it is only made use of in *India* at the Tables of the greatest Princes. Ginger grows in the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*, and is brought in great Quantities from *Amadabat*, where it

grows more than in any other Part of *Asia*, and it is hardly to be imagined how much is transported candied into other Parts. Pepper is of two Sorts, the small and the great; the small comes from *Bantam*, *Achen*, and some other Parts of the East; it is seldom or never carried out of *Asia*, where it is spent in great Quantities, especially among the *Mohammedans*; for there is double the Grain of this small Pepper in one Pound to what is in the great; besides, it is not to rot in the Mouth. The great Pepper comes from the Coast of *Malabar*, and some from *Vijapour*. Nutmegs come from the *Molucca* Islands, as also from the Islands of *Randa*; but the biggest grow in the Island of *Damne*. It is observable of the Nutmeg-tree, it is never planted; but, when the Nutmegs are ripe, certain Creatures come from the Islands towards the South, and devour them whole, but are forced to throw them up again before they be digested; the Nutmeg then beset with a viscid Matter falling to the Ground, takes Root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive if planted. Cloves grow at *Amborn*, *Elliat*, *Serem*, and *Petava*. Cinnamon comes at present from the Island of *Ceylon*; the Tree that bears it is like a Willow, and has three Barks; the two outermost may be taken off, and is the best Cinnamon; the third must not be meddled with, because when the Tree will die, and therefore great Art must be used to take off the two uppermost, lest the third should be hurt with the Knife. The *Hollanders* are at a vast Expence at *Ceylon* to gather their Cinnamon, because the King lends his Forces upon them when they are gathering to surprize them, and take it from them; so that they are forced to have a Guard upon their Workmen of seven or eight hundred Men; and this makes Cinnamon dearer, and so much the more because the *Dutch* have spoiled the Trade for it from the Countries of the *Rajahs* about *Ceylon*.

The Drugs brought to *Surat* from all Parts of the *Indies* are Sil-Armoniac, Borax, Gum-Lac, Gum-Lac washed, Gum-Lac in Sticks of Wax, Saffron, Cummin, white and black, Arlet, Frankincense, Myrrh, Gilet, and Bolti; Callia, Sugar-Candy, Alfitinat, Anni-seed both great and small, Oupelot, Cointre, Auzorout, Aloes-Succotrine, Lignum-Aloes, some in great and others in small Pieces; Liguorice, Vez Cabouli, out of Gum-Lac the Natives extract that lively Scarlet-Colour with which they paint their Calicoes; and for that end it is carried into *Persia*. That which remains after the Colour is drawn out, is fit only to make Sealing wax of; and the Women of *Surat* get their Living by cleansing and colouring it for that Use. Powdered Sugar is brought in great Quantities from the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and there is a great Trade for it at *Ouzes*, *Patna*, *Dacca*, and other Places. The People of *Bengal* say, that there is no Poison more dangerous than Sugar kept thirty Years. Loaf-Sugar is made at *Amadabat*, where they have the perfect Art of refining it. Opium comes from *Brampour*, where Tobacco also grows in great Quantities, so that the Inhabitants having no Vent for it, let it rot upon the Ground.

3. Diamonds, which are the most precious of all Stones, are found partly in Mines, partly in Rivers. At *Rascoonza*, a Town five Leagues distant from *Golconda*, and eight or nine from *Vijapour*, in the Province of *Cannatica*, is a Diamond-Mine, discovered not above two hundred Years ago: In it are found the cleanest Stones, with the whitest Water; but being forced to fetch them out of the Rocks with a great Iron-leaver and many Blows, they often flaw the Diamonds, and make them look like Crystal: And this is the Reason there are so many flawed Stones found in this Mine, though they make a great Shew. If a Stone be clean, they give it only a Turn or two upon the Wheel, that it may lose as little as possible of the Weight; but if it has any Flaws, Points, or black Specks, they cut it into Facets, and work the Flaw into a Ridge to hide it. The Trade at the Mines is free and just, and transacted without any talking on either Side, the Buyer and Seller expressing themselves by taking each other by the Hands; and so, in the same Place where there are many People, a Parcel of Goods shall be sold seven or eight Times, and no Man know it. At *Gani*, or *Colbar*, seven Days Journey from *Golconda* Eastwards, is another Diamond-Mine: It

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ew of the Silk, Cotton, Indigo, es, the Manner of their Work- orneo, the Nature of the Stones coloured Stones, such as Rubies, the East and West-Indies, and Of Coral Fisheries, and Pearls, and other Pearls. 9. Of and of the Porcupine and Sea Description of the Kingdoms of the Provinces of Multan, Cabul, and of the Fruits and Minerals, and of what is most valuable the plentiful and most profitable Commodity, and Minerals of that Country. 10. Of the Of the noble Kingdom of Mem valuable Commodity and that famous Kingdom.

Countries, in which he dealt his Successes, and at the same time to those who have attempted to part with from our Commerce in the East, the Commerce of the *Indies* in his Writings a greater Compass of Masterly Turn in his Observations, Book of the kind, which will these things over and over again, Voyages he had made to the East, to make him of Masterly Observations to the Disposition of those who were brought to Europe. It sometimes tempts him to digress and run into a general Repetition of the same Sort of Commerce in

lies between the Town and a Mountain, and the nearer they dig to the Mountain, the larger Stones they find; but there is none at the Top.

This Mine was found not above an hundred Years ago by a Countryman, who digging his Ground to sow Millet, found a large Diamond twenty-five Carats Weight: Upon this, the rich Men in the Town fell to digging in the Place, and found, as they do still, bigger Stones than in any other Mines, viz. some above forty Carats, and one of 600, which *Margimola* presented to *Aureug-Zebé*: But the Mischief of these Stones is, they partake of the Quality of the Soil, and are few of them clean; but some are black, and others red, and others green and yellow. Near *Soumeipour*, in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, is a River called *Gouel*, where there are Diamonds found mixed with the Sand. The Way from *Agra* to this Town lies through *Halahas*, *Banarous*, and *Saffaren*, from whence you pass to the Island of *Rhodas*, which is one of the strongest Places in all *Asia*, being seated upon a Mountain, fortified with six Balistons, twenty-five Pieces of Cannon, and three Motes full of Water, in which are good Fish, to *Soumeipour*, which is a great Town, but the Houses are built of Earth, covered with Branches of Cocoa-trees. The Road from the Fort lies through dangerous Woods, because much pestered with Robbers. The Rajah, in whose Jurisdiction it is, lives half a League from the Town in Tents set upon a rising Ground, at the Foot whereof runs the River *Gouel*, where Diamonds are found. This River descends from the Southern Mountains, and being filled with the great Rains, brings down, in *December*, vast Quantities of Sand, which the People in great Multitudes search for fifty Leagues together, and find all those Points which are called natural Points in it, but seldom find any large Stones.

4. In the Island of *Borneo*, which is the largest Island in the World, is another River, called *Succadan*, in the Sand whereof they find Diamonds as hard as any in the other Mines; but the Queen of the Mine will permit none to be carried out of it; so that all that come from thence are conveyed out by Stealth. In this Island it is remarkable that the Queen, and not the King, has the Sovereign Command; as have also the inferior Women the Rule over the Men, for the People are so desirous always to have a lawful Heir upon the Throne, that the Husband not being certain that the Children he bears are his own, they rather chuse to be governed by a Woman, to whom they give the Title of Queen, her Husband being only her Subject, and having no Power but what she permits him.

At the Mine of *Revelenda* they weigh by Mangolins, which are each a Carat and three Quarters, and pay in new Pagods; as they do also at *Coleur*. At the Mine of *Soumeipour*, in *Bengal*, they weigh by Rabs, which are each Seven Eighths of a Carat, and pay in Roupées. The Roads to the Mines, though some fabulous Relations had made them very dangerous, full of Tygers, Lions, and cruel People, are not only free from all wild Beasts, but the People are very loving and courteous. The Price of Diamonds are thus to be known: If it be a thick Stone, well squared, and have all its Corners, and the Water be white and lively, without Specks or Flaw, such a Stone is worth an hundred and fifty Livres, or ten Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling; or of the same Value if it is cut in Facets, which they call a Rose-Diamond, if it be a fair Breadth, and of the same Perfection; and if a Stone weighs more Carats it is rated in Price. Imperfect Diamonds are not above half the Value as perfect. The two biggest Diamonds in the World, for cut Stones, belong, the one to the Mogul, which weighs two hundred and seventy-nine Carats and nine sixteenths of a Carat; and the other to the Duke of *Tuscany*, which weighs an hundred and thirty-nine Carats, both clean and well shaped. The Miners call a Diamond *Iri*, and the *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Arabians*, *Awas*.

5. There are but two Places in all the East where coloured Stones are found, and they are in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and Island of *Ceylon*; the first is a Mountain twelve Days Journey or thereabouts from *Sireri*, towards the N. E. it is called *Capelan*. In this Mine are found great

Quantities of Rubies, and Espenels, or Mothers of Rubies, yellow Topazes, blue and white Saphires, Jacinth, Amethysts, and other Stones of different Colours. Among those Stones which are hard other Stones are found of different Colours, but being soft they are of no Esteem. All these sorts of Stones the Natives call Rubies, and they are the only Commodity of the Country, which makes it very poor. From *Ava*, which is the chief Fort of *Pegu*, you must go by Water to *Sireri*, because the Roads by Land are almost impassable, by reason of the Tygers, Lions, and Elephants, which abound in the adjacent Woods.

The King of *Pegu* keeps all the choice Stones for himself and Subjects, and suffers few of them more than of three Carats Weight, that are clean, to be exported. Rubies are sold by Rabs, and the Payment is made for them in Pagods. A Ruby of above six Rabs Weight is almost invaluable. There are some Rubies, but most of them are Ballies Rubies, and Abundance of Ballard Rubies, Saphires, and Topazes, found in the Mountains that run from *Pegu* to the Kingdom of *Cambaya*. The other Place where Rubies are found is in a River in the Island of *Ceylon*, which descends from certain high Mountains in the Middle of the Island; it swells very high when the Rains fall, and when it becomes low again the People make it their Business to search among the Sands for Rubies, Saphires, and Topazes. All the Stones that are found in this River are generally fairer and clearer than those in *Pegu*. In *Hungary* is a Mine of Opals, a Stone no where to be found in the whole World but there. Turquoises are of two sorts, viz. the old Rocks, and the new, and are only found in *Persia*. The old Rock lies near a great Town called *Micabourg*, and is reserved only for the King's Use, to adorn Hirts of Swords, Knives, and Daggers, instead of enamelling. The new Rock is of a pale Blue, inclining to White, and little esteemed. Emerakds, though said to be Oriental, are not found in any Part of the Eastern Countries, but are brought from *Peru* to the *Philippine* Islands, and to transported into *Europe*.

6. The Fishery for Pearls is in divers Places, as in the *Persian* Gulph, round about the Island of *Bachran*: It belongs to the King of *Persia*, who has a Fort there, and in it a Garrison of three hundred Men. Every one that fishes here pays to the King five Abasis, whether he gets any thing or no; and the Merchants pay at a certain Rate every thousand of Oylers. There is a Pearl-fishery likewise upon the Coast of *Arabia-Felix*, right against *Ezberan*, near the City of *Califa*, which, together with all the Country, is under the Jurisdiction of *Ahas* Prince. The Pearls that are taken here are by the *Indians*, who will give a good Price for all, as they are uneven as round ones. All over *Asia* they distinguish are of a yellowish Water, inclining to white being the pure white; because, they say, they will never change the Colour as the white will, both by Time and constant Wearing. There is a wondrous Pearl in the Possession of *Alonzo Hez*, Prince of *Mascate*, which is the best in the World, not so much for its Bigness, for it weighs not above twelve Carats and one sixteenth, nor for its perfect Roundness, but for its transparent Clearness, for you may see almost through it: The Great Mogul, by a *Banyan*, offered forty thousand Crowns for it, but it was not accepted. There is another Fishery for Pearls in the Sea that washes the Walls of *Manar*, in the Island of *Ceylon*, and the Roundness and Water they are the fairest that are found, but rarely weigh above three or four Carats. There are excellent Pearls of a very good Water, and large, found on the Coast of *Japan*, but are rarely fished for, because Jewels are of no Esteem among the Inhabitants.

In the *West-Indies* there are several Places for Pearl-fishing, viz. all along the Island of *Cubagna*; but the Pearls are small, seldom weighing above five Carats. In the Island of *Margarita*, a League from *Cubagna*, but a larger Island, the Pearls are not found here so plentifully, but are of an excellent Water and very big, some weighing fifty-five Carats. *Camogatte*, near the Continent, *Ro de la Habia*, and *St. Mariba*, produce weighty Pearls, but ill-shaped, and inclining to a Lead Colour. Some Pearls and *Bavarian*, though a Necklace of them is of Value, yet they

penels, or Mothers of Rubies, white Sapphires, Jacintus, And different Colours. Among other Stones are found of soft they are of no Effem. Natives call Rubies, and they the Country, which makes it is the chief Fort of Pegu, and because the Roads by Land of the Pyggs, Lions, and in the adjacent Woods.

All the choice Stones for Gems few of them more than of clean, to be exported. Rubies Payment is made for them in six Rals Weight is almost Rubies, but most of them abundance of Bastard Rubies, and in the Mountains that run of *Cambaya*. The other Place is in a River in the Land of certain high Mountains in it, it swells very high when it becomes low again the People search among the Banks for opazes. All the Stones that are generally fairest and purest than is a Mire of Opas, a Stone the whole World but there, viz. the old Rock and the *Perfa*. The old Rock lies *Micabourg*, and is extract only from Hilts of Swords, Knives, enamelling. The new Rock is to White, and little esteemed. be Oriental, are not found in Countries, but are brought from Lands, and so transported into

is in divers Places, as in the out the Island of *Babran*: It *Asia*, who has a Fort there, and in red Men. Every one that fishes the Aballs, whether he gets any merchants pay at a certain Rate. There is a Pearl-Fishery in *Arabia-Felix*, right against *Babaisa*, which, together with all the Jurisdiction of *Arabia* are taken here and sold at a good Price for all, as is the All over *Asia* they choose a day, inclining to white being the day, they will never change the both by Time and constant Wars. Pearls in the Possession of *China*, which is the best in the World, for it weighs not above twelve, nor for its perfect Roundness, earnest, for you may see small *Logol*, by a *Banjan*, offered forty but it was not accepted. These pearls in the Sea that washes the Island of *Ceylon*, for they are the fairest that are found, three or four Carats. There are good Water, and large, found but are rarely fished for, because among the Inhabitants.

There are several Places for Pearl-fishing and of *Cubagna*; but the Pearls are above five Carats. In the Island of *Cubagna*, but a night found here to plentifully, but are very big, some weighing fifty near the Continent, *Rio de* produce weighty Pearls, but a Lead Colour. Some Pearls and necklace of them is of Value, yet they

they are not to be compared with the *Eastern* or *West-Indian* Pearl. These sorts of Pearl do all grow in an Oyster, like Eggs in the Belly of a Pullet, and there are many in some, but none in many others. They fish in the Eastern Seas twice a Year; the first Time in *March* and *April*, and the second Time in *August* and *September*, and the Fairs are kept in *June*, and *November*. Before they fish in any Place, they measure the Land whether it will turn to any Account by letting five or six Oysters, which are to bring them each a thousand Oysters, which they open, and if the Oyster prove and yield five Laves, or above, as soon will send away, then they know the Fishing will turn to an Account. They fish in twelve Fathoms Water, and five or six Leagues off at Sea: They are pursued by some small Men of War, to defend them from the *Malabars*, to whom every Diver pays eight Piasters for their Attendance. The more Rals fall the more profitable the Fishery generally happens to be.

7. Coral, though of little Esteem in *Europe*, yet is much valued in the other three Parts of the World. There are three Places where they fish for it upon the Coast of *India*, viz. *Agurr*, *Boza*, and the Isle of *St. Peter*. On the Coasts of *Africa* and they fish for it at the Bay of *France*, and *Tabarca*, and on the Coasts of *Syaly*, near *Tepans*, but the Corals small, and of little Value. Near *Cape de Queres*, on the Coast of *Cataluna*, the Coral is large, and of an excellent Colour, but the Bank is shallow. At *Algeria* and *Corsica* there is a Fishery for it. These Places are all in the Mediterranean-Sea, or there is none at all in the Main-Ocean. Some think that Coral is sown in the Sea, but it is really hardy, though it is true, that in certain Months in the Year there is a milky Juice which comes from it, and if it falls upon any hard, produces Coral; and there are certain Worms in the Sea that eat it.

They fish for Coral from the Beginning of *April* to the End of *July*, but never above forty Miles from Land, and that in such swift Burks, that no Gallies can overtake them. In *Japan* they value nothing so much as a good Gram of Coral, wherewith they pull the String that shuts their Putes; and in this they seek to excel one another; for a Piece of Coral as big as an Egg, fair and clean, without any Flaw, will produce as much as a Man can, in reason, ask for it. The *Portuguese* have sold such Pieces for 200 Crowns. All over *Asia*, and especially all over the Northern Parts of the *Moor*'s Dominions, and all along the Mountains, as you go to the Kingdoms of *Chen* and *Castan*, the meaner sort of People wear it for Bracelets and Necklaces.

8. Yellow Amber is only found upon the Coast of *Prussia* in the Baltic Sea, for the Sea throws it upon the Sand, when certain Winds blow. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* lets it out for 20, and sometimes for 2200 Crowns a Year; and the Farmers keep a continual Guard on both Sides of the Sea, that it be not stoln. It is nothing else but a certain Congelation made in the Sea like Gum; for sometimes Flies and Gnats are congealed in it. In *China* it is a Custom for the great Lords, at their Feasts, to command and Magnificence, to set three or four dulle thousands of Persuading Loris on the Table, and to throw into every one of them a vail Quantity of Amber, and the bigger the Pieces the more magnificent is the Entertainment accounted. The Walls of Amber makes it the best Commodity that can be carried into *China*; but the *Belandars* have engrossed it.

As for Ambergris, no Man knows what it is, or where, or how it is produced. It is most probable that it should be in the Eastern Sea, though some have been found on the Coasts of *England*, and other Nations of *Europe*. The greatest Quantity of it is found upon the Coast of *Arabia*, at the Mouth of the *Rio de Sena*. A *Portuguese*, sailing from *Croa* to the *Marianas*, after he had pass'd the Straights of *Yachaca*, found a Piece of thirty-three pound Weight, and a *Malleburgher* a Piece of forty-two pound upon the Coast of the Island of *St. Maurice*.

The best sort, and greatest Quantity of Mulk, comes from the Kingdom of *Aracan*; and from thence it is brought to *Petra*, the chief City of *Bengal*, where the Nawab takes it away with the Merchants for Coral, Yel-

low Amber, and other Commodity, rather than Gold or Silver. It grows in a Bladder on the Belly of a certain Creature, between the Venitals and the Navel, which the People who kill it cut off after it is killed. It looks like clotted Blood when it is new cut off. None of these Creatures have above one Bladder, which is not bigger than an Hen's Egg, and will not yield above half an Ounce of Mulk; and sometimes three or four will not yield an Ounce. The Sense of the Beast is so strong, that it makes one's Hand to come near it. These Creatures multiply very much, so that the Quantity of Mulk that is to be had.

9. Bezoar comes from a Province of *Colenda*, towards the N. E. It is found in the Paunch of a Wild Goat, which breeds in a certain Shrub; and having eaten the Buds or Tops of the Boughs, the Bezoar is produced by turn in the Maw of the Goat, and is of divers Shapes, according to the Form of the Food. The Natives, by feeling on the Belly of the Goat, know how many Stones he has within him. The Excellency of the Bezoar is in the Bigness, although the small have the same Virtue with the large; for five or six Stones weigh an Ounce, they are worth no more than seventeen or eighteen *Frank*; but one Stone weigh an Ounce, it is worth an hundred *Frank*; and one of four Ounces a Man will sell for two hundred Livres. In what Part of the Body the Bezoar is bred, is not known. As well in the *East* as *West-Indies*, there are great Quantities of Bezoars that breed in Cows, and of a greater kind, viz. twelve or eighteen Ounces, but they are little esteemed, for the Grains of the former working more powerfully than thirty of this.

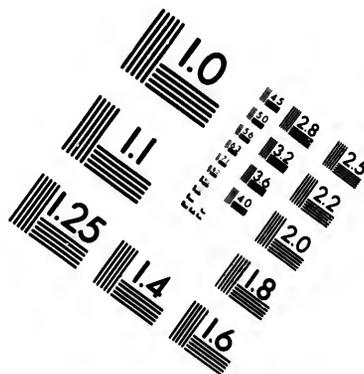
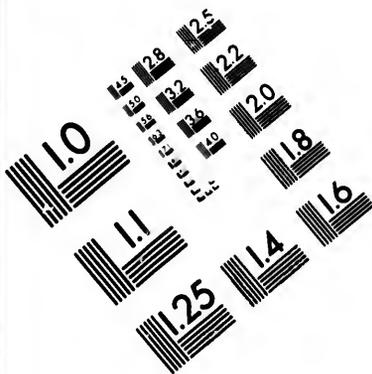
The Bezoar that breeds in Apes is so strong, that two Grains will work as powerfully as six Grains of Goat's Bezoar; but it is very scarce, as being found only in the Apes of the Island of *Malabar*. The Scarcity as well as Strength makes it dear, so that a Piece as big as a Nut is worth a hundred Crowns.

The Porcupine-Stone, which is bred in the Head of that Creature, is more precious than Bezoar against Poison: It is steeped in Water a Quarter of an Hour; it makes the Water as bitter as possible. There is another Stone taken out of the Belly of the same Creature, as good as the other; but being steeped in Water, it loses nothing of its Weight or Bulk, as the other does.

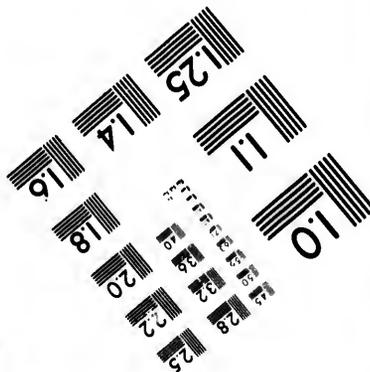
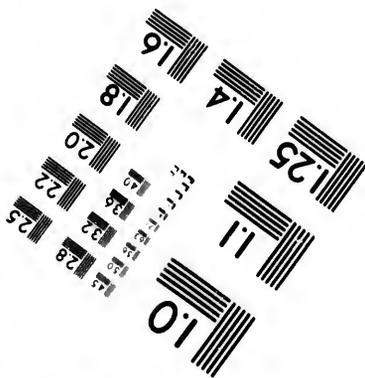
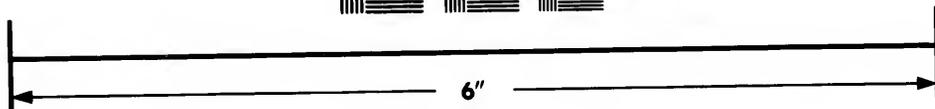
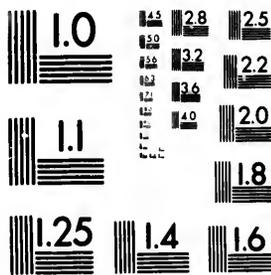
The Serpent-Stone, which is about the Bigness of a Peacock's Egg, is almost oval, thick in the Middle, and thin about the Sides. The *Indians* say, it is bred in the Head of certain Serpents; but it is more probably a Congelation of certain Drois, because they are to be had of the *Arabs* only. But, however it be, it is of excellent Virtue to drive away Venom from such as are bitten with venomous Beasts, for being laid to the Wound, it will not come off till it has drawn out all the Poison; and being steeped in Womens or Cows Milk, it recovers its former Virtue, and cures the Milk like Corruption. There is another Stone, called the Serpent's Stone with the Hood, because that kind of Serpent has an Hood hanging down behind the Head, in which this stone is found. It is often found as big as a Pinks Egg, but it is not found in any less Serpent than of two Foot length: This Stone being rubbed against another Stone, yields a Juice, which, being drunk in Water by the Person that is poisoned, powerfully expels the Venom. These Serpents are found only on the Coasts of *Malinda*; but the Stones are bought of the *Portuguese* Mariners and Soldiers that come from *Malabar*.

10. Gold is found in the greatest Quantities in the Islands of *Japan*, which the *Ballward* of *Ceylon* though some think it is brought from *Ternosa* thither. The *Carve* also has hanging a sort of Gold, produced in that Country, for Silver Weight for Weight, because they, having no Silver Mines, prefer it before Gold, but it is the least of all the Gold. In *Japan*, in the Island of *Cebu*, or *Misoffar*, there is found Gold among the Sand of their Rivers. In *Aracan*, or *Sonata*, after the rainy Season, when the Torrents are washed, they find Plants washed down from the Mountains with Vans of Gold in them; and the Inhabitants of the Wilderness of the same Isle,





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bring the *Dutch*, when they lade their Pepper, great Store of Gold, but as bad, if not worse, than their *China* Gold. Towards *Tibet*, which is the ancient *Caucasus*, in the Territories of a *Rajah*, beyond the Kingdom of *Kacchemire*, there are three Mountains close by each other, one of which produces excellent Gold, the other *Granats*, and the third *Lapis Lazuli*. There is also Gold which comes from *Tippa*, but is as coarse as the *Chinese* Gold; and these are all the Places in *Asia* that yield Gold. In *Africa* Gold is more plentiful than in *Asia*. Out of the Empire of *Monomotapa*, which extends itself as far as *Prester John's* Country, comes the purest Gold in all *Africa*, where they dig it with Ease out of the Earth, not being constrained to dig above two or three Foot deep. And in some Places not inhabited for want of Water, the People find Lumps of Gold upon the Surface of the Earth of an Ounce Weight or more.

The King of the *Abyssins* sent the Mogul a natural Tree all of Gold, two Foot four Inches high, and six Inches about in the Stock, with ten or twelve Branches, some half a Foot long, and an Inch about, and some smaller; In some Branches appeared Bunches like Buds, and the Roots were thick and short. The Province where the River *Sena* has its Head, called *Monkaran*, has a King of its own, and is very healthy: There the People find great Plenty of Gold-Dust in the Rivers that fall into the *Sena*, but it is much coarser than the other. The Cafres also of the other Provinces bring great Store of Gold yearly to *Sofala* and *Ceapen Goura*, which are under the *Portuguese*, to buy such Commodities as they want, when the Ships come. Some Years there are Cafres that come from the *Cape of Good Hope* to *Sofala*, which is four Months Journey, and bring very fine Gold in Pieces, like that of *Monomotapa*, which, they say, they find in the Mountains by digging ten or twelve Foot deep.

They also bring great Quantities of Elephants Teeth; for they abound so in Elephants, that the Palisadoes of their Forts, and Pales of their Parks, are all made of Elephants Teeth. Their usual Diet is Elephants Flesh. In the Kingdom of *Beroe* grows a Root of a yellow Colour, very bitter, and about an Inch thick, which cures all sorts of Fevers by vomiting. There are no Silver-Mines in *Asia*, unless it be in *Japan*. But a few Years since there have been discovered plentiful Mines of Tin at *Deegera*, *Sangora*, *Bordelen*, and *Bata*, which have spiced the Trade of the *English* thither for that Commodity.

11. The great Extent of the vast Empire of the Mogul, as well as the various Temperature and Productions of the Soil and Climate, makes as much Difference between one Province and another, as if they were several Kingdoms; and therefore there can be no way to give an exact Account of all Things remarkable; but, by considering the several Provinces distinctly, and what's peculiarly observable in them. We will begin with the Kingdom of *Kacchemire*, commonly called the *Paradise of Indostan*; a Country, tho' mountainous, yet so fruitful, that you would take it for an ever-green Garden, being full of Trees, and Pastures with all sorts of Cattle, as Cows, Goats, Sheep, Horses, Partridges, Hares, Gazels, and the Musk-Animals. There are Abundance of Bees, but no Serpents, Tygers, Bears and Lions. The Fields produce Rice, Corn, Pulse of divers sorts, Hemp, and Saffron, being intersected with Ditches, Lakes, and Rivulets, to advance their Plenty. Up and down every where also are seen some of our *European* Trees, Flowers, and all sorts of Plants, as Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Nuts, and Vines; and their Gardens are full of Melons, Water-Melons, Skeerets, Beets, Radishes, and all sorts of our Pot-herbs, and some that we have not; But their Fruits are not so many, nor so good as ours.

The People are very industrious as well as intelligent, and make Palletries, Trunks, Baskets, Standishes, Boxes, and Spoons, with many other Pieces of handiome Workmanship, sending them all over the rest of the *Indies*; and to some of these they give such a Varnish, with counterfeited Veins and gold Streaks, that nothing is finer. They make also a kind of a Stuff an Ell and an half long, and about an Ell wide, called *Chalts*, and embroidered at

each End, for about a Foot, so soft and fine, as is inimitable, though it is attempted at *Patna*, *Agra*, and *Lahor*. The *Moguls* and *Indians*, both Men and Women, wear of them in Winter upon their Heads, and bring them over their Shoulders like a Mantle: They are made of their own Wool, which is finer than *Spanish*, or of the Hair taken from the Breck of a wild Goat in *Great Tibet*, called *Touze*: Some of these are sold for a hundred and fifty Ruppes to the great Omrahs.

The People are of a fair Complexion, and especially the Women are very beautiful, and of as fair Faces as in *Europe*. Between *Funbor* and *Kacchemire* are some Mountains that seem to part two Worlds rather than two Provinces; for on the one Side it was scorching and hot, as in the *Terrid Zone*, and full of *Indian* Plants proper to it; on the other Side it enjoys a temperate fresh Air, and the Soil produced Hyssop, Thyme, Marjoram, and *Rodemary*, Oaks, Elms, Pines, and Plane Trees. Between these Rocks are admirable Cascades of Water, and among others one not to be paralleled, which running in a Channel between the Trees, on a sudden precipitates itself into the Bottom of a steep Rock, with a Noise able to make one deaf like a Cataract. In the Month of *May* here is a Fountain that for fifteen Days regularly flows, and stops thrice a Day, viz. at Break of Day, Noon, and Night: Its flowing fills a Square ten or twelve Foot broad, and as many deep, and then it flows by degrees till about the End of the Month, and then quite stops for the rest of the Year. By it the *Gentiles* have a Temple of the Idol *Brara*, and from thence the Fountain is called *Sand Brari*, i. e. the Water of *Brara*, and hither many Pilgrims come to bathe and sanctify themselves.

In the Royal Garden at *Ahazel* in this Province is a Pond, where are Fishes that will come when they are called, and when you call Bread to them; the biggest of which have also Rings in their Noses, with Iron, pins on them. At *Baramoulay* is a Monk, in which is a Tomb of one of their Friars or Saints, where 'tis used the Sock which flock thither every Day are cured, and eleven Moulahs, who one Finger each, hit a huge Stone, which the strongest Man can hardly rattle easily: But the things are miraculous only to the credulous and careles; but the bubbling fountain, which rises gently, and with some little Force, making some small Bubbles, and banging up Sand with it, soon goes away with it again, and the Water becomes still, and to remain awhile without Bubbles, and then rises again in certain. In the Mountains near this Fountain is a Lake that hath Ice in Summer, and looks like an *Icy* Sea, and a little farther is a Place, where making a great Noise will presently cause a Shower of Rain. Among these Mountains live a People which eat no Flesh, counting it unclean, yet they have no Religion.

The City of *Azemer* is famous for the Tomb of *Ogra Mamh*, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, and therefore they come from all Places a Pilgrimage to it. It is a fair Building, with three Courts, paved with Marble, and hath in it a Reservatory of Water, walled about, and in the Province adjoining there is a Beast like a Fox in the Snout, but no bigger than a Hare, of the Colour of a Stag, and Teeth like a Dog: It yields most excellent Milk for at the Belly is a Bladder full of Murr, the corrupt Blood, which is the Milk. They cut off the Bladder for it, but the Beast never lives long after it. There are also Pullets, whose Skin is all over black, as are also their Hens; but the Flesh is white, and their Feathers of another Colour. The Women of this Country are marriageable at eight or nine Years old, and bear Children at ten; the Children go naked, only with a Bit of Cloth round their Privities. The People are mild and uncivil, and are Men great Clowns, and impudent, when they quarrel they make a great bawling, but never come to Blow. There are venomous Scorpions in this Country, and the People have several Remedies to cure the Stinging; but the best of all is Fire; for by applying a burning Coal to it, they draw the Venom out, and perfectly cure it.

The Roas thro' this Country being very heavy, they shut their Oxen, and bridle and saddle them like Horses; and if they be but a little tired, they go as fast as a good Horse, with them also they draw their Carts and Coach.

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their white Oxen are extraordinary dear. The chief Trade of this Province is Saltpetre, for the Soil being black, affords it plentifully. When it is made they carry it to *Surat* to sell it to the *Europeans*, and others, who buy it to ballast their Ships, and sell elsewhere.

12. In the Province of *Sinde*, which was anciently the Kingdom of *Diu*, the Inhabitants are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts, and make abundance of Curiosities, for which they have a great Trade; the finest Pallanquins in *India* are made at *Tata* in this Province, and there is nothing neater, nor more convenient, than the Carriages made here; but their Waggon-Wheels are one Piece of solid Timber, like a Mill-stone.

The Province of *Multan* yields Plenty of Cotton, Sugar, Opium, Brimstone, Galls, Store of Camels, which are transported into *Persia*, and other Parts of the *Indies*. It furnishes also all *India* with the finest Bows that are to be seen in it, and nimblest Dancers; the chief Town of it, of the same Name, is the Rendezvous of the *Banjans*, because of the great Trade managed there, which cannot be carried on without them; for though it is known that they make their Profit of every thing, yet most Merchants chuse rather to use them, than do their Business themselves, because they will buy their Goods much cheaper, and they refuse no Service, be it ever so bale or vile. The Country of *Candabar* produces abundantly all sorts of Provisions that are necessary for human Life, unless it be on the Side next *Persia*, where it is barren. The Inhabitants are great Lovers of Wine, though they are prohibited to drink it; and if any be found drunk, or doing any scandalous Action in Drinking, they are set upon an Ass, with their Face to the Tail, and led about the Town, and attended by the Officer of the Controul, who beats a little Drum, and all the Children follow him, whooping and hallooing. There are many *Persians* in this Province, but they are poor, and employed by the *Mohammedans* in the meanest Offices. The King of *Persia* will not allow the *Gentiles* Wives to burn themselves in that Part of his Dominions.

In the Mountains of *Cabouljian* grow Mirabolans, and many other sorts of Drugs. The Country also is full of aromatick Trees, which turn to a good Account to the Inhabitants; as do also the Mines of a certain sort of Iron fit for all Uses. Out of this Province come most of those large Canes, of which are made Halberds and Lances, for they have many Grounds planted with them. They reckon their Months by Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate a Feast called *Houli*, which lasts two Days, first in praying, and making Oblations, and then in dancing in the Streets in Companies to the Sound of Trumpets, making Bonfires, and destroying the Figure of a Giant. Their Charity consists chiefly in digging Wells, and building little Houses on the Roads for Travellers, and by them is a Place for such as are heavy laden, to put off and take up their Burdens without any body's Help. This Country supplies the whole *Indies* with Physicians, which are all *Banjans*, and some of them very skilful in Medicines, and among other Remedies make great Use of Burning.

In the City of *Labor* the Great Mogul has a Palace, on one Gate of which is a Crucifix, and on the other the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*. Some have thought them Marks of Christianity, which was anciently professed in these Countries; but it is really nothing but a Piece of Flattery and Hypocrisy of the King *Ibrahim Guire*, to oblige the *Portuguese* to be his Friends. There are many *Gentiles* in this City, who have several Pagods all raised seven or eight Steps from the Ground, and some of them are well adorned. This is one of the largest and most fruitful Provinces in the *Indies*, the five Rivers, which make up the River *Indus*, from whence the Moguls call it *Pangab*, making it very fruitful; for it yields all sorts of Provisions necessary for Life, as Rice, Corn, and several sorts of Fruits. The Wines made here are pretty good, and in the Towns are not only all sorts of painted Cloths wrought, but all the other Manufactures usually made in the *Indies*.

13. In the Province of *Aloud*, or *Haoud*, and *Parad*, or *Parad*, there are many Rajahs that own not the Authority of the Mogul: At *Hagazat* in this Province is the Pagod of the Idol *Matta*, to which the *Gentiles* that come to pay their Devotions to her are said to sacrifice always some Part

of their own Bodies. At *Calamac*, where the *Gentiles* have also another famous Pagod, there is a Spring of very cold Water, which issues out of a Rock that continually belches out Flames, and the *Bramins* make great Advantage of the People who come to see the Miracle. In the Province of *Onleser* is the famous Temple of *Jarganate*, where one of the *Brajans* undertook to measure the whole Kingdom of the Mogul with his own Body, and being about to perform it, was loaded with Clarity, and had much Respect given him.

The People of this Country, as well *Mohammedans* as *Gentiles*, are extraordinary voluptuous, have a captious and subtil Wit, and are much addicted to stealing. The Women are very bold and lascivious, and use all Arts to corrupt and debauch young Men, especially Strangers, whom they easily trepan, because they are handsome, and well dressed. In this Province are above twenty thousand Christians, who lived in great Unity under potent Kings; but the Mogul becoming Maller of it, and bringing in *Mohammedism*, a general Disorder and Corruption of Manners invaded them.

The Country is full of Torrents, and the People live in much Ease, because it is very fruitful, producing Corn, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, Long-pepper, Cotton, and Silk, with several other Commodities; as also Fruits, especially Ananas as big as Melons, and pleasant to the Taste, having something of the Flavour of the Apricot. In this Province the Mogul hath a Cattle, whither he sends such Traitors as are condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, and to that End 'tis always strictly guarded.

14. In the Province of *Miloz* are the Territories of *Raja Rana*, who deduces his Pedegree from *Porus*, tho' he is now tributary to the Mogul. *Ratiffore* is the capital City of it, and a Place of great Trade; it stands upon a Mountain, and hath a Cattle belonging to it, to which the Grand Mogul sends such Traitors as are condemned to die. They are kept Prisoners for some Time, and always somebody is present with them, and the Day they are to die they make them drink a great Quantity of Milk, and then throw them down from the Top of the Cattle upon the declining Side of the Hill, which is full of sharp-pointed craggy Stones, that tear the Bodies of the Wretches to Pieces before they can reach the Bottom of the Precipice.

At *Chitor*, once a famous Town, but now almost ruined, are the Remains of an hundred Temples, or Pagods, and many antique Statues, to be seen. In this Country are two kinds of Bats, one like ours in *Europe*, but the other is much different: It is eight Inches long, and the Body is covered with yellowish Hair. The Body round, and as big as a Duck's, the Head and Eyes like a Cat's, a sharp Snout like a Rat, pricked black Ears, without Hair, no Tail, two Teats as big as the End of one's little Finger; under the Wings four Legs, Wings almost two Foot long, and seven or eight Inches broad, of a black Skin, like wet Parchment; the two Fore-Legs end in five Talons, like a Man's Hand, and black, and without Hair; but it has Claws instead of Nails, with which it hangs upon the Branches of the Trees. They fly high, and are said to be good Meats.

The Province of *Candish* is the most plentiful for Cotton of any Part of *Indostan*, and of it the People make abundance of Cloth. They plant some, but the white are most valued for the lovely Mixture of Gold and Silver that is in them; for the Rich make their Veils, Scarfs, Handkerchiefs and Coverings of them, but they are dear. Here is also Plenty of Rice and Indigo growing. In the Country of *Belgate* are a great many Wairs, Mangroves, Bahova, Quitau, Caboul, and other sorts of rare Trees. Here are vast Numbers of Antiques, Hires, Partridges, and towards the Mountains are Merops, or wild Cows. Towards *Nagpata* grow the best Rice in all the *Indies*; for it has an odorous Taste, which that of other Countries has not. Cotton abounds here also, and in many Places they have Sugar-Canes, with Mills and Furnaces to make the Sugar. The Ways here are always safely guarded. The Pagods of *Alera* in this Province are so numerous, and so full of Pillars and Pilasters, and have so many thousand Figures all cut out of the natural Rock, that they may be said to be Works almost surpassing human Force.

In the Province of *Daltabat* are bred the most active Tumblers in the World, who do all the Tricks of ours in *Europe*, and many more; they are as supple as an Eel, and will turn their whole Body into a Bowl, which others may roll about with their Hands; but the most active are Girls, in the Province of *Chitanagar*, which is diversified with Hills and Plains. The Hills afford Iron, of which, at the Town of *Indibear* chiefly, the People make a great many Swords, Daggers, and Lances, which are vended all over the *Indies*. All the Plains are good Ground, some sowed with Rice, and the rest planted with Cotton-Trees, Tamarinds, Warts, Cadjours, Mangiours, Quiesan, and others, and all watered with several Rivers, which turn and wind every Way with fair Tanques, out of which they draw the Water with Oxen; but those Parts are much troubled with Thunder, Lightning, Whirlwinds, Rain, and Hail-stones, as big as Pullets Eggs.

In the Province of *Telenga*, as there are many *Gentiles*, so there are none more superstitious than they. They have abundance of Pagods, with Figures of Monsters, which can excite nothing but Horror instead of Devotion, unless in such deluded Souls. They use frequent Washings; for Men, Women, and Children, as soon as they are out of their Beds in the Morning, go to the River to wash, and the Rich have Water brought them, and so again as often as they eat. Women, who have lost their Husbands, are conducted to the River by their Friends that comfort them, to wash, and so are Women as soon as they were brought to Bed; for in no Country are Women so easily delivered as here. They will eat nothing but what is dressed by themselves, or their own Cast or Tribe, and buy all their Food of the *Banjans*. They drink nothing but Water, wherein they put Tea or Coffee, nor use any Dishes, but Leaves of Trees, for fear any Person of another Religion should have eaten out of it. They eat no Flesh, except it be on a certain Day of the Year, and that very privately; but the *Rajpoots* eat any Fish, or Flesh, except the Cow; they use Fasting very much, their ordinary Fast is twenty-four Hours; and there are a great many that will fast, especially Women, six or seven Days, and some will fast a Month, eating no more than a Handful of Rice a Day, and others will eat nothing at all, only drink Water, in which the Root of Crata has been boiled, which is good for many Distempers, and strengthens the Stomach. When the Fast is at an End, the Bramin goes with a Drum to the House of the Penitent, and gives him or her Leave to eat. Lastly, in the Province of *Baglana*, and also the People on the Seacoast, who are much given to Sea Luring, the *Gentiles* offer many Sacrifices to the Sea, especially when any of their Relations are abroad upon a Voyage. The manner of sacrificing is thus: They make a Vessel of Straw about three Foot long, and cover it with a Veil, and carry it down to the Shore, with a Basket or two of Meat and Fruits; there they throw it to the Sea, and having made some Prayers, leave the Basket on Shore, that the Poor and others may come and eat what it contains.

At the End also of *September*, when the Sea, after the tempestuous Season from *May*, becomes again navigable, they offer another Sacrifice, but with no great Ceremonies; for they only throw Cocoa-nuts into the Sea, and every one throws one, the Boys plunging themselves into the Sea to catch them, and shewing many Tricks in the Water, which are pleasant to behold. In this Province the *Indians* marry their Children very young, and make them cohabit sooner than in any other Part of the *Indies*; they marry them at four, five, and six Years old, and suffer them to bed together when the Boy is ten, and the Girl eight, but they have bearing by thirty, and grow extremely full of Winkles; and therefore in some Parts of the *Indies* they do not marry till fourteen Years of Age. The Women are very fruitful, because they live very long; for, as well as their Husbands, and their Children, at eight or nine Years old, and when they are about two or three Months old, they let them crawl about till they are able to go, and when they are dirty, they wash them; and to they come to be as frant as out, without the Torture of Swallowing Bawls, or Stays.

15. *Bengal* is one of the most fruitful Countries in the World, superior even to *Egypt* itself. It bears Rice in its abundance, that it not only furnishes its Neighbours, but very remote Countries, such as *Ceylon*, and the *Maldives*; it abounds so in Sugar, that it supplies the King of *Goconda* with it, as also *Arabat* and *Mesopotamia*, by the Way of *Araba* and *Bajora*, and *Perfia* itself, by *Babulbassi*. The *Portuguese* make excellent Sweet-meats, with which they crive a great Trade, and the People preserve and candy Pomme Citrons, a Root which is long, *Sariaparilla*, very delicate Ambats, Anards, *Mrotala*, Lemons and Ginger, great Quantities of which are for us in *Europe*. It is true, it does not produce much Gold, because the People tend to much upon Rice; but its products sufficient for their Use, and to accommodate the *Sinns of Europe* with excellent Biscuits very cheap, and four Sorts of Pulse, which, together with Rice, Butter, are the usual Food of the poor People, who should be had almost for nothing; for a Rupee, which is the Half a Crown, you may buy twenty good Pounds more, and Geese and Ducks in Proportion. *Kows* and Sheep are very plentiful; and there is such Store of Potatoes, that the *Portuguese* live on nothing else almost, and the *English* and *Dutch* victual their Ships with it. There is a Plenty of all sorts of Fish, both in the fresh and the Water, and Want of nothing; for this Reason, together with the Liberty that all Men enjoy for the Exercise of their Religion there, all the Christians are fled thither from Ports taken by the *Dutch*; to that in *Alecut*, to which are eight or nine thousand Christians, and in other parts the Kingdom above twenty-five thousand more, in a general Magazine for Cotton Cloths and Silks, for *Indostan*, but all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and *Araba* itself.

The *Hollanders* transport vast Quantities of both the fine, and others coarse, both eyed and white, to *Europe*, and other Places, besides what the *English*, *English*, and other Merchants sell elsewhere: This true Silks are not so fine as those of *Perfia*, *Syria*, *Araba*, *Bampt*; but then they are cheaper, and very good at Price. Saltpetre is found in such Quantities in this Country, that the *English* and *Dutch* load whole Ships to carry it to many Places of the *Indies*, and into *Europe*; from *Bengal* also there comes Iac, Opium, Wax, Cloves, and Long-Pepper; and even their Butter is transported into other Places. The Air, indeed, is not so sweet, especially near the Sea, for Strangers, to that of the *English* and *Dutch* many of them died at their first coming; but now by restraining their Intemperance, and drinking *Burdian* Wine, Canary, or Sherry, they preserve themselves tolerably healthy among them. The whole Country is well watered by Channels cut out of the *Ganges*, which contributes as much to their Corn and Plenty; it is well peopled, and has aundance of a full of *Gentiles*, and the Fields produce, besides Sugar, Corn, and Pulse above-mentioned, Serapunt, *Mulberries* to feed Silk worms, Anards, and other bearing Trees. In the *Ganges* also are many that are filled covered with continual Verdure; but two or three Mouths some of them are abandoned, leaving them much infested by the *Crocods*, and the *Tracods*; so that they have no other Inhabitants but *Pygms*, *Crocods*, and Poultry. Nature in this Country, performs Miracles, as they seem to us far distant. It is common in rainy Seasons to see Rainbows of the Moon at Night, when the Moon is at the full, and in other Seasons the Bathes will be covered to such a height, that they seem to be covered with a great many burning Fires, that they seem almost to be covered with great Flames in great Globes, which the ignorant call as Devils.

16. The Kingdom of *Bentan* is of a hard Soil; it is hard to come to a perfect Knowledge of it, because the Merchants that trade from thence into the *Indies* have not given us a very imperfect Account of it. The *Dutch* have three Months travelling to *Patawa*, being out of it in the Month of *December*, and in eight Days arriving at *Ceylon*, which is the last Town in the Great *Indies*; *Dutch* and there is a heavy Culture of *Sugar*, *Cinnamon*, and

of War. The People are as subject to Wens on their Throats as those of *Boutan*, inasmuch that some of their Women have them hanging down to their Breast, which proceed from the Balbels of the Waters. There is nothing in *Tipra* which is fit for Strangers.

There is a Mine of Gold, but the Metal is very coarse; and there is a sort of coarse Silk, which is all the Revenue the King has, for he exacts no Subsidies from his Subjects. Only they who are not of the prime Nobility work six Days in the Year in the Mine or Silk-Works. He sends his Gold and Silk into *China*, and for them they bring him back Silver, which he coins into Pieces of the Value of eighteen *Sous*, and others of twenty-two *Sous*. In the Language of this Country he is called *Dien-Aragari*, which is stamped upon one Side of the Money, and on the other *Chattermani Roy de Tipoura*; he also makes thin Pieces of Gold, like the *Affers* of *Turky*, of which he has two Sorts, four of one making a Crown, and two of the other.

19. The Kingdom of *Asem* is one of the best Countries in all *Afia*, for it produces all Things necessary for human Subsistence, without any Need of foreign Supply. There are in it Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Lead, Iron, and great Store of Silk, but coarse. There is a Sort of Silk found under the Trees, which is spun by a Creature like our Silk-worms, but rounder, and which lives all the Year long under the Trees. The Stuffs that are made of this Silk glitter very much, but they fret presently. This Country also produces all sorts of Gum-Lac, of which there are two sorts; one grows under the Trees of a red Colour, with which they paint their Linnen and Stuffs; and when they have drawn out the red Juice, the remaining Subtilance serves to varnish Cabinets, and make Wax, being the best Lac in *Afia* for those Uses. As for the Gold, they never suffer it to be transported out of the Kingdom; nor do they make any Money of it, but preserve it in Ingots, which pass in Trade among the Inhabitants; but the Silver the King coins into Money of three Drams four Grains Weight, which make twenty-three *Sous*. Tho' their Country is very plentiful in all Things, yet there is no Flesh they esteem so much as Dogs Flesh, which is the greatest Delicacy at their Feasts, and is sold every Month in every City of the Kingdom upon their Market-Days. They have also great Store of Vines and very good Grapes, but they never make any Wine, but dry their Grapes to make *Aqua Vite*.

They have no Salt but what is artificial, which is made two Ways; first, they raise great Heaps of that green Stuff that swims on the Top of the standing Waters, which the Ducks and Frogs eat; this they dry and burn, and the Ashes thereof being boiled in a Cloth in Water, become very good Salt; but the most usual Way is to take the Leaves of *Adam's Fig-tree*, which, being burnt, the Ashes thereof make a Salt so tart that it is impossible to eat it till the Strength be taken away, which they do by putting the Ashes into the Water, and stirring them up and down ten or twelve Days together, and then they strain the Subtilance through a Cloth and boil it, for, as the Water is dry away, the Bottom thickens, and when the Water is all boiled away, they find at the Bottom very good and white Salt. Of the Ashes of the Fig Leaves they also make a Lye with which they wash their Silks, which makes them as white as Snow; but they have not Leaves enough to whiten half the Silk that grows in their Country.

In the City of *Kemmeres* the King of *Asem* keeps his Court. This King requires no Subsidies of his People, for all the Mines in the Kingdom are his own, and, for his Subjects Land, he has none but Slaves that work in them; so that all the Natives of *Asem* live at their Ease; and every one has his Houle to himself, and in the Middle of his Ground a Fountain encompassed with Trees, and most commonly every one an Elephant to carry their Wives; for they have four Wives, and when they marry them, they lay to them, *I take thee to serve me in such a Thing*, and to another, *I take thee to do such a Business*: So that every one of their Wives knowing what she has to do in the Houle, there is no Difference among them. The Men and Women are generally well complexioned,

only those that live more southerly are swarthy, and subject to Wens in their Throats; nor are they so well feathered, and the Women are something flat nosed. In the Southern Parts the People go stark naked, only covering their Privy-Parts, with a Bonnet upon their Heads like a Blue Cap, hung about with Swines Teeth.

They make large Holes in their Ears, that you may run your Thumb in, and hang in them Pieces of Gold and Silver; Bracelets also of Tortoise-Shells and Sea Shells, as long as an Egg, which they saw into Circles, are in great Esteem among the meaner sort, as Bra-clets of Coral and yellow Amber are among the richer. When they bury a Man, all his Friends and Relations must come to the Burial, and when they lay the Body in the Ground, they all take off their Bracelets from their Arms and Legs, and bury them with the Corpse. In the City of *Azer* are the Tombs of the Kings of *Asem* and all the Royal Family; for though they are Idolaters, they never turn their dead Bodies, but bury them. They believe that the Dead go all of them into another World, and that they that have lived well in this have Plenty of all Things; but they who have been ill Lovers, suffer the Want of all Things, being in a more especial Manner afflicted with Hunger and Drought; and that therefore it is good to bury something with them to serve them in their Necessity. For this Reason their Kings build themselves, in their Life-times, Chapels in the great Pagods to be buried in, wherein they store up great Sums of Gold and Silver, and other Moveables of Value; besides, when they bury any of their Kings, they bury with him likewise whatever he esteemed most precious in his Life-time, whether it be an Idol of Gold or Silver, or whatever else, that being needful in this, is also as they think necessary in the Lite to come.

But that which favours most of Barbarism is this; that when any King dies, all his best-beloved Wives, and the principal Officers of his Houle, poison themselves to be buried with him, and to wait upon him in the other World; and they also bury one Elephant, twelve Camels, six Horses, and a good Number of Hounds, believing that all these Creatures rise again to serve the King. It is thought these were the People that first invented Gun, and Powder, and that the Invention spreading itself into *Pegu*, and then into *China*, it from thence became known in the World, and so the *Chinese* were thought to be the Inventors of them. Their Powder is very small and round, like ours in *Europe*, and very strong. As for the Kingdom of *Siam*, and that of *Macassar*, the Accounts already given of them dispense us from the Necessity of inserting what this Author has written about them. But with regard to that of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, or *Tonquin*, it is so concise and so curious, that it would be unjust to conceal it from the Reader's Notice; and therefore with this Description we shall conclude this Part of the Travels of *Mr. Tavernier*.

20. The Kingdom of *Tonquin* is bounded on the East by *Canton*, a Province of *China*, on the West by the Kingdom of *Brama*, on the North by *Yunan* and *Quina*, two other Provinces of *China*, and on the South by *Chin-China*. The Air is mild and temperate, though it lies in the Torrid Zone, and the Ground is so fertile that there is a continual Spring; Fruit and Snow are never seen here, and the Gout, Stone, and Pestilence are strangers in it. The North and South Winds, which continually blow, and divide the Year between them, serve to moderate the Heats that they are not troubled with, yet, once in seven Years, they have hideous and terrible Tempests, which make strange Detolations, pulling up Trees, and blowing down Houles. Their Earths are thought, by their Astrologers, to proceed from six Mines, as is also believed in *Japan*.

The whole Kingdom is divided into several Provinces, which together contain, as it is said, 20000 Cities and Towns, though many Families, with their Castles, live always upon the Water in Boats, after the Manner of the *Cochin Chinese*. The Country is for the most part level; save that in the North there are some Hills. It is watered with several Rivers, some of which carry Vessels of a good Burthen, and so are commodious for Trade. In all this Country grow neither Corn nor Vines, because they never

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never have any Rain but in *June* and *July*; but Rice is produced in vast Quantities, which supplies the People both with Meat and Drunk: They have also good *Aqua Vita*, or Strong-Waters. Their Fruits are excellent, but all different from ours. Their Palms bear larger Nuts than in any Part of *Affa*; they are as big as a Man's Hand, and shaped like a Cocoa, the Pulp is as white as Snow, and taste like our Almonds, and every one yields a considerable Quantity of Liquor very pleasing to the Palate. The Gogovier, which resembles our Laurel, is of two sorts, the one bears a Plum, green without and red within; but the other a yellower Fruit, which is much more esteemed. The Papager bears a Fruit like a small Melon, and the Taste is very delicious. The Arraga, which grows upright and tall, like the Mast of a Ship, bears Branches only at the Top, and the Fruit is like a Nutmeg; they bruise it with Beesle and Chalk, which they chew to make their Teeth white, Lips vermilion, and breath sweet. They have Figs of two sorts, the one like ours, the other like those called *Adam's* Figs, as long as a Man's Finger. They have a Tree like our Willow, called the Powder-tree, because of the Wood burnt into Charcoal they make Gun-powder. The Janbagels grow very high, and bear a Fruit resembling a Citrus-Cucumber, which has a Pulp like a Pomegranate, and is very pleasant in the hot Seasons. Their Highways are planted with War-trees, which are a great Convenience for Travellers; for some of them are so big that two or three thousand Men might shelter themselves under them, some of their Branches being three hundred Paces long, and supported every twelve Feet with under Branches, which, having taken Root, support them like so many Pillars: the Nuts of them, which are no bigger than a Walnut, have a Kernel like Miller, which serves only for Food for the Rere-Mice, which make their Nests there. They have Bodies as big as a Pullet, and the *Portuguese* prefer them before it. They have a certain sort of Birds-Nests, as big as a Swallow's, which they dissolve in Water for Sauces to all their Delicacies; they give a Flavour above all the Spices of the *East-Indies* put together; they are found only in the four Islands belonging to *Cocchin-China*. The *Tunquin* also catch abundance of Tortoises in their Seas, which they not only esteem excellent Food, and think they cannot treat their Friends as they ought to do without them, but pickle them up, and send them abroad, which causes a Trade among them. *Tunquin* affords a mighty Store of Ananas, and Orange-trees, which are of two sorts, the one no bigger than Apricots, the other bigger than *Portugale* Oranges, both well tasted alike, and plentiful for six Months. Their Citrons, which are both green and yellow, are too tart to be eaten, but the Juice is made use of to cleanse Copper, Tin, and Iron, for gilding, as also to scour Silk, whiten Lincos, and take out Spots. In *Mogadishan* they will make their Calicuts so white with the Juice of these Citrons, as to dazzle your Eyes. Great Quantities of Silk are made in this Country, of which both Rich and Poor in ke their Garments; and the *Hollanders* transport many into *China*. They have but one sweet-smelling Flower, called the Bague, which grows like a Nofegay. They have abundance of Sugar, and eat very much after their Meals for Digestion, but they eat it cut of the Cane, not having the true Art to refine it. In the whole Kingdom there are neither Lions, Alks, nor Sheep, but their Forests are full of Tygers, Harts, and Apes, and their Fields of Oxen, Cows, and Hogs, Hens, Ducks, and Turtles, which are the general Provisions of the People, are numberless. Their Horses are well bred, and the King always keeps five or six hundred of them in his Stables. Their Elephants are of a prodigious Bigness; there are none so tall and nimble in all *Affa*. The King keeps five or six hundred of them for his Service in his Palace, and Wars. They have no Cats, but the Dogs destroy the Rats and Mice, which are very big and mischievous. They have very few Birds, but the Multitudes of Geese, that they are very troublesome to the Kings, as well by their Noise as Stinging; they drive them away by the Smell of Rice Chaff. But the greatest Treasure of the Country are the white Emitts, whose

Biting raises Blisters on the Skin; for their Teeth are so sharp, that they will gnaw a Pull in two in a little Time, and eat a Bale of Silk in twenty-four Hours, as if it were cut in two. They have no Mines of Gold or Silver in *Tunquin*, neither do they coin any Money. The chief Commodities of this Country are, besides the Silk above-mentioned, Lignum-Aloes, of which there are some worth a thousand Crowns the Pound, being oily and good: All the *Mohamedans* use it to perfume their Boards and Rooms at Visits, and therefore the *Portuguese* of *Goa* sent, as a rare Present to the Emperor of *Japan*, a piece of Lignum-Aloes six Foot Long and round, worth 50000 Livres. The *Tunquinese* are very faithful in their Dealings, very unlike their Neighbours the *Chinese*, who will cheat you if they can; and if they are at any Time over-reached, will pay in light Money, for they are blunt and plain. Having no Money, they make use in Trade of Ingots of Gold, and Bars of Silver, which they have from *China* and *Japan* for their Silks. They are worth from three to six hundred Livres, and therefore in small Payments they either cut them in Pieces, or pay in *Spanishe* Reals. The Forces of this King for War is prodigious; his usual Army is 12000 Horse, 2000 Elephants, as well to carry the King's and Nobilities Tents and Baggage as for the Service of the Wars, 300,000 Foot and 300 Gallies, and sometimes the Amount is 500,000 Men. The Constitution of the Soldiers is very tough and laborious; they are always upon the Guard, or attending their Captains in looking after the King's Elephants, and to breeding them that they need not be afraid of Fire, or in building Places of Shelter for the King's Gallies in Winter; yet their Wages are so small that they cannot maintain their Wives and Families, but their Wives are forced to follow some Trade to support them. Their Companies consist of an hundred, or an hundred and thirty Men, and the Soldiers are obliged to keep all their Arms very neat and bright. The People of *Tunquin* are naturally mild and peaceable, submitting easily to Reason, and condemning the Transports of Anger, and other Passions. They esteem the Manufactures of other Countries more than their own, yet love to live at home, and honour the Memories of their Ancestors: Their Speech is soft and pleasing, they have good Memories, and are fluent in their Discourse. They have good Poets among them, and their People generally love Learning; both Men and Women are well proportioned, but of an olive Complexion, and therefore much admire the Whiteness of the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, and they wear it very long, and well combed and tied upon the Crown of their Heads, or about their Necks, to keep it from fluttering in their Eyes. The blackest Teeth, and longest Nails, they account the most beautiful. Their Habit is grave and modest, being a long Robe for both Sexes, girt about with a silken Girdle, mixed with Gold and Silver. The Soldiers wear an upper Garment, which reaches no farther than the Knees, and Breeches that go down to the middle; but have neither Hats nor Shoes. The common People, except where the King's Court is, work three Months at the King's Palace, and two Months for the Mandarins, or great Lords, the rest of the Year is left to work for their Clves and Families. One Day in the Year they are obliged to lop Trees to feed the Elephants. Their Rivers are free from Crocodiles, and other dangerous Animals, which haunt the Waters of the *Nile* and *Ganges*; but yet once a Year they overflow their Banks, after the Rains, with that terrible Violence, that they carry away whole Towns and Villages along with them. The *Tunquinese* cannot marry without the Consent of their Parents; and if they be dead, the Permission of their next Kindred, and the Allowance of the Governour of the Place where the Marriage is made; for which the Man must pay a certain Sum limited by Law. The People are very industrious here, and all the Money the Maids get before Marriage is to buy them two or three handsome Gowns, a Necklace of Coral, or yellow Amber, and Beads to garnish their Locks, and for their Portions. There is no Wedding without a great Feast, the poorer sort for three Days at least, if they are able, and others for nine. The

Laws of the Land permit the Man to divorce his Wife whenever he pleases, which they many times do for slight Causes; but the Woman has not the same Privilege; and if she desires it, obtains it with Difficulty; but the Man is bound to restore the Woman what she brought with her, and keep the Children begotten between them; but now Divorces are not half so frequent as formerly. Adulteresses are punished here very severely, the Offender being cast to an Elephant bred up for that Purpose, who throws them up into the Air, and then tramples them under Feet, till they are dead.

Of all the Eastern People the *Tunquinese* are the most sociable, and most frequently visit each other; generally they make their Visits about Noon, with a Train suitable to their Condition; the Princes and Mandarins ride on Elephants, or are carried on Pallekies, and their Train is of fifty or sixty Persons; the ordinary Gentry, and Officers of the Court, ride on Horseback, and are not allowed above seven or eight Servants to attend them. They chew Beetle continually, where it is to be had, and at their Visits always present their Friends with some at taking Leave; and the richer the Box is, the greater the Present is esteemed. Among the *Tunquinese*, it is a great Dishonour to have the Head bare, for they shave all Criminals, and if any Person be found without Hair, they apprehend him, and carry him to the Governor, who causes him to be nailed to a Cross immediately. They sit cross-legged, as the rest of the *Affairs*; but instead of Carpets, they use Mats made of Reeds, as fine as Thread, and as soft as Velvet, which they lay upon Beds, not on the Ground, as the *Persians* and other *Indians* do. They are not curious in their Diet, but very neat in dressing it.

The common People are contented with Rice boiled in Water, dry Fish and Eggs (for they eat Flesh only at their Festivals) but the great Lords are served every Day with Flesh and Fish; but they know not how to bake any thing. All their Meat is cut in little Pieces, and served up in little lackered Plates less than our Trenchers. They use no Napkins or Table-cloths, Knives, Forks, or Spoons; but only two Sticks to take up their Meat; for they never touch it with their Hands. They wash their Hands, Mouths, and Faces, before they sit down to Meat; but never after their Meals. They are usually silent at Table; but if they have a Mind to Discourse, the eldest begins first; for they pay much Honour to Age. When they would know whether any Person has eaten sufficiently, they ask him whether he has eaten his Rice, meaning thereby the whole Repast, as the Scripture does by Bread. They never ask any Man how he does, but how he eat his Dinner; for the more a Man eats, the better they suppose him to be in Health. They take much Delight in Comedies, which are usually acted upon the new Moon, and last all Night.

They set up their Theatres in great Halls, and adorn their Stages with beautiful Machines and Scenes. They have custom more Actors than eight, either Men or Women, and they are very magnificently clad; they act their Parts perfectly well, and observe an exact Time in their Dancing. Their ordinary Pastimes, and especially for the Lords and Mandarins, are Fishing and Hunting; in the former they take the greater Pleasure, because their Rivers are full of Fish; but they never follow their Sport but upon certain Days, when they may be spared from their Business. The *Tunquinese* are Lovers of Learning, and apply themselves to their Studies with Diligence. Their Learning consists in the Knowledge of the Laws of their Country, Mathematics, and Astronomy. They are Admirers of Poetry and Musick, and are accounted the greatest Artists in them of all the People of the East.

To acquire Nobility by Learning, they study hard for eight Years in the Office of a Notary, Professor, or Advocate; and if upon a strict Examination they are found to understand their Office so well as to answer all Questions about it, their Names are presented to the King, who grants them a Title of the Synde. Having arrived at this Degree, they are ordered to study Musick, Astrology, Poetry, and Mathematics, five Years; and if upon a second Examination they answer all Questions put to them in those Sciences, they are raised to the Dignity of Doucan; after this they must spend four Years more to write and read the *Chinese* Characters to such Number of Words, for

to know or write it fully is almost impossible, it is so copious, and to understand the Laws and Customs of the *Chinese*; and after a strict Examination by all the Mandarins of Learning, and Tanzi's, or Noblemen, for eight Days, if they answer well, they arrive at the Degree of a Tanzi, and are received into the Rank of the Nobility, and the King gives them certain Towns to take the Rents; but to some more, and others less, according to their Merit, or the Prince's Favour; and the King gives them a Vest of Satin.

Then they go to visit their Towns given them by the King, where they are received in a gilded Branguar, with Musick, and they stay three Months for their Recreation, and then they return to Court to instruct them selves in the Affairs of the Kingdom and Palace, and arrive at the Dignity of Mandarin. In the mean time their Names being written under large Tables, are set upon the Gate of the King's Palace eight Days, that all the People may know who are received into the Rank of the Nobility.

The Physicians of *Tunquin* study Books but little, but spend their Youth in searching into the Virtues of Roots and Simples, and how to apply them to every Distemper, which they judge of by the beating of the Pulse, and its Diversity of Measure, as by the Pulse of the Right Hand they guess at the Condition of the Lungs, and by that of the Arm of the Distemper of the Stomach and Kidney; by the Pulse of the left Hand they judge of the Condition of the Heart; and by that of the Arm of the State of the Liver; and by the Pulse of the Temple, both Right and Left, they give a most exquisite Judgment of the Kidneys. They carefully count how many times the Pulse of a sick Person beats in the Space of one Breathing, and according to these several Pulses they will tell you which Part of the Body is particularly distempered, whether the Heart, Liver, or Lungs, or whether it proceeds from any outward Cause. They generally give Decoctions of Herbs and Roots, with a little Ginger. They use *China* Ink to stop a Dysentery, and for the Cure of Wounds, and give Powder of Crabs in Dysenteries and Fevers, often in Water, sometimes in Brandy.

They prescribe Tea, which comes to them from *China* and *Japan*, as an excellent Remedy against the Head-ach and Gravel, and with a little Ginger for the Gripping of the Guts. That is accounted the best Tea which colours the Water green; for that which colours it red is little accounted of. Against the Afflictions which proceed from bad Airs, and cold Wines, they use a Counter-poison mixed with *Aqua Vita*, in which also they dip a Cloth, and rub the Patient well; but in this they boil a little Ginger, and for a more speedy Cure they sweat the Patient in a Cloud of Frankincense; they never use Blood-letting, and in the Purple Fever they use Fire, and sometimes picking every Spot. The Spot being burnt will give a Whirl like a Squaw, which is an infallible Sign that the Venom is gone out of the Body; but the Physician must take Care that it does not enter his own, for then Death certainly follows. If the Spot be prickled to let out the pestiferous Blood, they burn it, and then rub it with Ginger, not permitting the Patient to take the Air in twenty Days, or eat any Flesh or Butter. These Remedies are effectual to a Wonder, and cure in a short Time.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* was anciently a Part of *China*, but has been for six hundred Years governed by its own Kings. The first that assumed the Title of King was a Robber, whose Name was *Din*, who leading a great Number of Malecontents, gained many bloody Battles over the *Chinese*, and seized the Province for his Kingdom. The People did not permit him to reign long in Peace; but rising against him, slew him; though he left two Sons, yet they reigned but a few Years successively, and died without Issue. The Kingdom after their Death was mightily distressed with Civil Wars, till the *Chinese* being called in to assist the weaker Party, brought things to a Settlement, and a Mandarin, of the Family of *Lalouel*, was advanced to the Throne.

He being a valiant and prudent Prince, restored Peace and Order to the Kingdom; and after he was established, built an admirable Palace of Marble of divers Colours, and very large, he left one Daughter to succeed him, and this to secure herself, married a powerful Mandarin, of the House of *Trau*, but she being deposed, and slain by her

It impossible, it is so copious and Customs of the *Chingese*; by all the Mandarins of Clemens, for eight Days, of the Degree of a Tani, and the Nobility, and the King like the Reints; but to some ing to their Merit, or the gives them a Veil of Sattin. Towns given them by the in a gilded Brangiar, with months for their Recreation, to instruct their eyes in the palace, and arrive at the Dagan time their Names being set upon the Gate of the it all the People may know k of the Nobility.

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rebellious Subjects, the *Chinese* again seized the Govern- ment, and held it twenty Years. They set Governors over every Province, and laid heavy Tributes upon the People; so that being weary of the Oppression, they joined under a valiant Captain of the House of *Lee*, and vanquished the *Chingese* in three Battles, seated him on the Throne, and in his Family the Government continued above eighty Years, the last of this Race having given an Affront to a great Lord of the House of *Marr*, which had formerly enjoyed the Scepter, he being assisted by a great Number of Male-contents, fought to regain the Kingdom, and in one bloody Battle became Master of it.

But he enjoyed it not above two Years, being deposed by one of the Family of *Trin*, who refusing to ascend the Throne, restored it to the Family of *Lee*, yet reserving to himself and Family the whole Command of the Army, and Disposal of all the Revenues of the State, and all publick Affairs; so that the King, whom they call *Boua*, has the Name, Title, and State; but the General, whom they call *Cboua*, has the Power. The King hears Causes almost every Day, but makes no publick Edict which is of any Effect, till it is signed by the *Cboua*: He lives shut up in his Palace, and sits not out but upon certain Days; he has generally two thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and keeps sometimes twenty thousand quartered upon his Fron- tiers, especially towards *Cochin-China*, and with them fifty Elephants upon the Rivers also of the Kingdom, where any Enemy can endanger him; he keeps usually one hundred great Gallies, with a vast Company of small Gallies.

The eldest Sons here do not always succeed their Fathers in the Throne, but by the Influence of the *Cboua* and Counsellors, his Creatures, he is obliged to name which of his Sons he will have to reign after him, if he has many, and him they promise to establish, shutting up all the rest in the Palace, as in a Prison, and not suffering them to meddle with Affairs of State; yet four Times a Year they are allowed to go out under an Officer appointed by the *Cboua*, and have Leave to stay out six Days. On the first they are to visit the Temples and Priests, and give them large Alms, the next two Days they hunt, and the three last fish.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* is divided into eight large Pro- vinces, every one of which has its Governor and Magi- strates; but there lies an Appeal from their Sentence to the King, his thirty two Counsellors, and one hundred Assis- tants. Their Nobility attain that Degree by Merit only, viz. by their Valour in the Wars, and Learning; and as these latter go through a long Course of Studies, and strict Examinations, as is before shewn, for the former are instructed in warlike Exercises betimes, viz. to handle their Swords, to aim with their Bows, to fire a Mullet, to ride the great Horse, to shoot running, to manage their Zagays, which are long Staves checked with Iron like a Hall pike, and make all sorts of artificial Fire-works, which they use against Elephants in War; for though some Elephants may be taught not to regard them, though they go off under their Noses or Bellies, yet one in ten cannot be brought to it, so that unless their Governors take great Care, instead of running upon the Enemy, they will turn upon their Friends, and put a whole Army into a dismal Confusion, if not de- stroy it, as they did *Aungzeb's* at the Siege of *Daman*.

21. The Kingdom of *Tunquin* paid a Tribute to the *Chinese* till the Year 1667, when the *Tartars* invaded their Country, and then they concluded a Peace, on Condition that they should send every Year an Embassador to *Pequin* to do Homage to the Emperor of *China*. They observe an exact Order in administering Justice, and regulating Affairs all over the Kingdom; they are very exact in punishing Murder, and none can escape, but such as have killed one that has no Relations to revenge his Death; for the King can pardon no Man for this Crime, and all the Favour he can shew, is to leave him to the Kindred of the Slain.

They take great Care for the publick Good, to repair Bridges and Highways, and every Quarter of a League there is Water and Fire provided for those Travellers who may want them. Though the King has not much Power in his Kingdom, yet he is highly honoured by his Subjects, and keeps a very splendid Court the first and sixteenth Day of every Month: All the Mandarins, except the Ge-

neral, who is allowed to send his Deputy, come in their *Chinese* Habits to kiss the King's Hand, as the inferior Mandarins, who are Governors of Provinces, Justices, and military Officers, do the *Choua's* on the first Day of the Year. All that desire to see the King, are obliged to put on violet Robes, both themselves and their Servants, and if they beg any Favour, must carry a Present. On the first Day of every new Year the King distributes several Largesses and Gifts to his Courtiers, and the Children of such as have done him any important Services, which are Panes of Gold worth six hundred Livres each, and Bars of Silver, which are worth forty-six Livres each; He also releases all Prisoners, both Criminals and Debtors, provided their Crimes do not deserve Death, and the Debts do not exceed two Bars of Silver.

The three last Days of the Year the four Mandarins, who are the chief Counsellors of the State, take Oaths of all the Lords and Officers of the Court, and their Wives, to be faithful to the King, and discover any Treason against his Person and Government, and the Governors of Cities and Countries do the same to the Lords, Gentlemen, Citi- zens, and Inhabitants of their Jurisdictions, and every one that discovers any Treason, never fails of a Reward, accord- ing to his Quality; and mean People are gratified with a Reward of fifty Panes of Gold, and five hundred Bars of Silver, which amounts to 53,000 Livres; but they esteem Nobility above Money. They have a Muster of the Youth every Year, and all such as are found not to be of the Nobility, or not to have learnt a Trade, are immedi- ately enrolled for the King's Service, to be of his Guards, or defend his Frontiers. Some will endeavour to get off by Money; but if they are discovered, both Officers and Soldiers are punished without Mercy; for they hang a little Bell about their Necks, and fetter their Arms, and send them to the General, who presently orders their Heads to be stricken off, or upon Intercession of Friends they are to be hanged, because they are very averse to Bloodshed, and believe the Death most honourable that is free from it. When the King goes at any time out of his Palace to take his Pleasure, he is seated upon a most magnificent Pallan- quin, carried by eight Men, where he is seen by all the People, the Lords and Officers of the Court attending on Foot, if he goes no farther than the City; but if he goes in the Country, he rides on an Elephant, and the Lords attend him on Horseback. When the Queen-Mother, or his first Wife goes abroad, they are likewise carried upon a close Pallanquin, with Lattice Windows, that they may see, and not be seen, and the Maids of Honour follow it on Foot.

The Mandarins, and great Princes, solemnize their Birth-days every Year with great Feasting, Pastimes, Com- edies, and Fire-works, and at the same time give large Alms, especially to poor Widows and Prisoners. When the King dies, and leaves several Sons, he is set up whom the King has appointed his Successor; and on the third Day of his Decale the General, with all the military Mandar- ins, Lords of the Council, and Governors of Provin- ces, repair to the Prince's Apartment, where they present him with a *Chinese* Habit, and mounting him on an Elephant, bring him into one of the great Courts of the Palace, which is covered with Cloth of Gold and Silver as a Tent, and place him upon a magnificent Throne, where being seated, all the Mandarins prostrate themselves to him upon the Earth with their Heads downward; in which Posture, having lain some time, they rise, and closing their Hands together, with their Arms and Eyes lifted up towards Hea- ven, they swear to be faithful to him till Death.

The new King, to requite this Loyalty, orders four Panes of Gold, and six Bars of Silver, to be given to every one; but to the Contable, or General, he gives two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; and to the President of the Council half as many: After these Presents are given, several Pieces of Artillery are fired about the Palace, with some Volleys of small Shot, by the Soldiers then in Arms, which are 30,000 Horse and Foot, the King set upon a magnificent Pallanquin, carried by eight military Mandar- ins, and eight of the Council, the Contable and chief of the Council riding before upon very fine Horses, is carried to the Apartments of the deceased King, when the Lords are retired, the Princesses, Ladies of the Court, and chief

Wives of the Mandarins come to kiss the King's Hand, and congratulate him upon his Advancement to the Throne; which done, the Lords return to a noble Feast prepared for them after the Manner of the Country. Colt's Flesh, and Dogs, are in most Esteem with them; and the Bird's Nests, which give their Meat a Taste of almost all sorts of Spices, are their chief Sauce. The Festival is concluded with Comedies, and Fire-works, which last all Night.

The next Day the 30,000 Soldiers are drawn up in the Field, and the King appearing on his War Elephant, in the midst of his Troops, takes an Oath of Fidelity of all the Officers, and then bestows his Gifts upon them, viz. to every Colonel two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; to every Captain half as much, and to every Soldier a Month's Pay, which being received, the whole Army discharge three Volleys, and then they retreat to their Huts, where they have a Feast prepared, as the King has also, in a wooden Palace erected for the same Purpose; and so they spend the Night in Feasting, Dancing, and letting off Fire-works. This Ceremony being ended, they set on Fire the Palace and Huts, and the King returning to his Palace, bestows his Liberality on the Comedians and Dancers; then he gives Access to all his People by their Commissioners, viz. to the Merchants and Traders, People of *Chees*, who assure him that their City acknowledge him for their King, and will be faithful to him unto Death; and he gives fifty Panes of Gold, and three hundred Bars of Silver, to the Tradesmen, and then to the Commonalty of the whole Kingdom, whom he discharges from Taxes a whole Year, if they have never taken up Arms against their King, and but six Months, if they have; all Prisoners for Debt, after they have compounded with the Creditors for half, he freely paying the rest.

'Tis said, that the King upon this Occasion sends above 100,000 Beasts to the Temples of the false Gods to be sacrificed for him, besides the Value of one Million of Panes of Gold in Tissues and Silks to adorn the Idols, orange-coloured Calicuts for the Bonzes, and blue Calicuts for the Poor that are kept in the Pagods, as Hospitals. Sometimes after the Ceremony is over, the King, at the New of the Moon, goes to give his Deities Thanks for his coming to the Crown, and remains for a Week with the Bonzes, living in common with them, visiting the Hospitals, to see how the Poor, and especially the Ament, are used; and to them he gives new Alms, and orders the building of a new Pagod in some fair Situation, which he dedicates to some Idol. The second Part of the Moon is spent in seeing the Gallies row one against another, the King and Court having Houses built on the Plains by the River for that Purpose; which Diversions being over, the Captains come ashore to kiss the King's Hand, and they that have behaved most Routly and nimbly, receive the Marks of his Bounty, and he gives all the Soldiers two Months Pay extraordinary. During seven Days, there are such vast Numbers of Fire-works thrown about, that you would think the Air and Water all on Fire. Then the King returns to his Palace, and spends the other half of the Month with his Princesses, diversing himself and his Ladies with Fire-works, Comedies, and Mummings.

When the King of *Tunquin* dies, he is presently embalmed, and laid in State sixty-five Days; all which Time his Table is levee as if he were alive; and when the Meat is taken from before the Body, half is given to the Bonzes, and the other half given to the Poor. So soon as the King has breathed out his last Gasp, the Constable gives Notice to the Governors of Provinces, and orders them how long they shall mourn. The military Mandarins mourn generally three Years; the King's Household nine Months; the Nobility six, and meaner sort three; and all the three Years there is a Cessation from Diversions, except those that are used at the King's Elevation to the Throne. All the Meats that are served up to the new King are varnished with black, and his Train is cut off, and his Head covered with a Straw Bonnet, as are also the Heads of all his Princes and Counsellors of State; nor do they leave this Habit till the deceased King's Body is put into the Galley to be carried to the Interment, and the three Bells, which hang in one of the Towers of the Palace, never cease tolling all that Time. The third Day after his Decease all the

Mandarins repair to Court, to testify their Sorrow for the deceased King; and ten Days after all the People are allowed to see the Body lie in State, till it be put into the Galley. During the sixty-five Days which the King's Body lies in State, the Constable prepares for the Funerals, which is thus performed: The King and all the Court march on Foot to the Gallies, which they make seventeen Days March, though it is not really above two Days Journey, and all the Way is spread with Violet-coloured Calicuts, which is the King's Colour. The Order of their March is thus: First go the two Uffers of the King's Bed-chamber, with Maces of Arms, the Heads of them being full of Fire-works; these proclaim the Name of the deceased King; next go twelve Officers of the Gallies drawing a Tomb, whereon the King's Name is written; then proceeded twelve Elephants, of which four carry the King's Standards; four six-armed Men apiece in Turrets; and four of those the King rode on in his Wars: After them rides the Master of the Horse, with two Pages after him on Horseback; then are led twelve Horses richly harnessed, with Bras, Bridles and Saddles; after follows the Mausoleum, or Harie, drawn by eight Stags, trained up for that Service, every one of them being led by a Captain of the Guard; then goes the new King with his Brothers, if he have any, and the Princes of the Blood, all clad in white Sattin, which is their Mourning Colour; they are attended by Musicians, who play upon Hautboys, and other Instruments: After them go six Princesses in white Sattin, carrying Meat and Drink for the deceased King; these are attended by as many Ladies of Honour in purple Garments; then go eight Princes of the Royal Blood in purple Garments, with Straw Hats; next proceed four Governors of the chief Provinces of the Kingdom, carrying on their Shoulders certain Bags full of Gold, and Perfumes hung on Sticks, which are Presents made by their Provinces to be burnt with their King's Body, for his Use in the other World; they follow two Chariots drawn by eight Horses apiece, led by a Groom each, in which are two Coffers full of Panes of Gold, Bars of Silver, rich Tissues, and other Riches, to be buried with the King's Body, for his Use in the other Life. Lastly, come a great Crowd of the King's Officers, and other Nobility, some on Foot, others on Horseback, according to their Offices and Qualities. When the deceased King's Body is put into the Galley, the new King and the Company return home, and the Calicut being taken up, is given to the Bonzes.

The Galley, wherein is the King's Body, is committed to six of the chief Eunuchs, who are sworn never to reveal the Place where the King is buried. It is attended by three other Gallies; one carries the Lords, and another the Ladies, who are to be buried alive with the King to attend him into the other World, and the third carries the Treasure that is to be buried with the King, for his Use. The King is buried in inaccessible Mountains and Deserts. As for the ordinary Funerals of the *Tunquese*, they are more or less pompous, according to the Quality of the Person deceased. At their Interments they use great store of artificial Fire-works, which they use also in their Feast of Joy, as well as Grief. They also set upon the Tables good Store of Victuals, and Sweet-meats, believing that the Deities better for them; and the Priests, who trace blame up to the Error, dispose of them before the next Morning. The *Dutch* Soldiers at *Batavia* robbed the Priests of these Dainties several times, but at length paid dear for their Impiety; for the Priests finding no Redress by complaining to the Governor, poisoned the Meat and Drink, and so destroyed many of them.

The Religion of the *Tunquese* is divided into three Sects; the first is derived from an ancient Philosopher, called *Confucius*, whose Memory is famous over all *China* and the neighbouring Countries. Their Doctrine is, that Men are composed of two Parts, one fine and subtle, and the other material and gross. When a Man dies, the subtle Part vanishesth into the Air, and the gross returns to Earth. They use Sacrifices, and worship the seven Planets. Their chief Idols are *Rouma*, *Reich*, *Kemem*, and *Brama*. The Women chiefly worship the Goddesses *Sattiana*, and the King, Mandarins, and learned Men, adore the Heavens. The second Sect was founded by one *Chia*

testify their Sorrow for the after all the People are alternate, till it be put into the Days which the King's Body prepares for the Funeral, which and all the Court march on they make fourteen Days above two Days Journey, with Violet-coloured Calices, The Order of their March is of the King's Bed-chamber, of them being full of Fire-ame of the deceased King, Gallies drawing a Tomb, is written; then proceeded or carry the King's Standards; Turrets; and four of more: After these rides the Master after him on Horseback, fully harnessed, with Bus, Brins the Mausoleum, or Hearse, d up for that Service, every Captain of the Guard; then Brothers, if he have any, and clad in white Satin, which is attended by Musicians, and other Instruments: After ing Satin, attended Mea and these are carried by as purple Garments; then go eight purple Garments, with Straw Governors of the chief Proving on their Shoulders certain fumes hung on Sticks, which provinces to be burnt with the other World; then follow Horfes apiece, led by a Groom; Horses full of Pans of Gold, Bars of other Riches, to be burnt with the other Life lastly, King's Officers, as other Nobles on Horseback, according to When the deceased King's the new King and the Com- Calicut being taken up, a given

the King's Body, is committed who are two never to several is buried. It is attended by the Lords, and another the d alive with the King attended and the third carries the Tra- the King, to his Use. The Mountains and Delays. As the *Tunquin*, they are more to the Quality of the Kingdoms they are capable of. In their first Day, set upon the *Panagoo* Stone, believing that the Deafest Priest, who made them up to before the next Morning. The ded the Path of their Dangeh paid dear to their Ignor- ing no Redrels by comparing the Meat and Drink, and so

*quin*ese is divided into three from an ancient Philosopher, more is famous over all Countries. Their Deities, that Part, one fine and subtle, and Air, and the gross returns to, and worship the seven *Pan- Kouma, Betek, Kamom, and* by worship the Gods of the Sorc- armins, and learned Men, adore Sect was founded by one *Ch- abent*,

about, an Hermit, and the most of the common People are of this Sect. He taught his Followers the Transmigration of Souls, and enjoined these ten Commands, viz. 1. That they should not kill. 2. That they should not steal. 3. That they should not defile their Bodies. 4. That they should not be unfaithful to their Words. 5. That they should refrain their inordinate Desires. 7. That they should do no Injury to any Man. 8. That they should not be great Talkers. 9. That they should not give Way to their Anger. 10. That they should labour to their utmost to acquire Knowledge.

As for such as design to lead a religious Life, they must renounce the Delights of this Life, be charitable to the Poor, overcome their Passions, and give themselves up to Meditation. He taught also, that, after this Life, there were ten distinct Places of Joy and Torment, and that the Contemners of his Law should feel Torments proportionable to their Offences, without any End. That if they endeavoured to fulfil his Law, and failed in any Point, they should wander in divers Bodies for 3000 Years, before they entered into Happiness; but such as had perfectly fulfilled his Law, should be rewarded without suffering any Change of Body. He says of himself, that he was born ten Times before he came to Bliss, because, in his Youth, he, for want of Knowledge, had sinned. His Impostor's Opinions are spread all over the Kingdom of *Siam*, several Provinces of *Japan*, and all *Tunquin*, where he died. The third Sect is that of *Lambu*, a great Magician: He gave out, that his Mother carried him in her Womb seventy Years without losing her Virginity. That by this Miracle, he might gain Credit to his Impostures, he taught most of *Chaabont's* Doctrine; and, to gain the People's Hearts, enjoined the Grantees to build Hospitals in all Cities where there were none before to look after the Sick in them. The *Tunquin*ese adore three Things in their Houses, viz. the Hearth of their Chimneys, made of three Stones. 2. The Idol *Ticusa*, who is the Patroness of all Handicrafts-Men; and to her they sacrifice when they put a Child to any Trade, that she may infuse an Aptness to learn it. 3. The Idol *Buabin*, to which they pray, and sacrifice when they build an House, that he may not suffer any Misfortune to befall the House they are going to build; but they send for the Bonzes, and they pay to offer it, for whom they make great Preparations.

There are some among them that adore the Heavens, others the Moon, and others the Stars. Some adore the Earth in five Parts, and that in five several Colours, viz. the Northern in black, the Southern in red, the Eastern in green, the West in white, and Middle in yellow; and others sacrifice to Trees, Elephants, Horses, Cows, and almost all other sorts of Animals. They that study the *Cosmo* Characters, sacrifice every five Months to the Souls of the Dead that were never buried, believing that their Understanding shall be more enlightened to apprehend Things. At the Beginning of every Year they have a great Solemnity in Honour of the Dead, who were in their Lives renowned for their noble Actions and Valour, reckoning Rebels among them. They set up several Altars, some for Sacrificers, others for the Names of the Persons they design to honour; and the King, Princes, and Mandarins, are present at them, and make three profound Reverences to the Altars when the Sacrifices are finished; but the King shoots five Times against the Altars where the Rebels Names are; then the great Guns are let off, and the Soldiers give Volleys of small Shot, to put the Souls to Flight. The Altars and Papers made use of at the Sacrifices are burnt, and the Bonzes and Sages go to eat the Meat made use of at the Sacrifice.

The first and fifteenth Days of every Month are more especially Holy-days for the Worship of their Gods, and the Bonzes and Sages redouble their Prayers, and repeat a kind of Charm six Times. The People on these Days bring Meat and Drink to the Sepulchres of their Kindred, to sacrifice for the Good of their Souls, to eat. The Bonzes, when they have paid their Worship, fall to, and what they cannot eat give the Poor; for this Greediness the King and Mandarins make no Account of the Bonzes and Sages, though they lead austere Lives, and to they are in

Credit only with the common People. In *Tunquin* the great Cities have several Pagods, and every Village and Town almost have one: Every Pagod has, at least, two Bonzes and two Sages; but some maintain forty Pagods, and as many Sages, or Sages, who live in common under a Superior, and keep to the Doctrine of *Chaabont*, and a Goat is the Idol which they adore. They wear about their Necks a Necklace of an hundred great Beads made of Wood: They beg for their Living with great Modesty and Humility, taking no more than is needful; and if they have any thing to spare, they give it to the poor Widows and Orphans that cannot get their Living. Their Orders permit them to marry, but then they must leave their Monastery. They assist at the Funerals of great Men, where they make a kind of Oration, sounding their Trumpets and Cornets, while the Bells at their Pagods go at the same time. They have a great Veneration for two Magicians and one Witch.

The first Magician is called *Tay-bow*, who pretends to know the Events of all Things to come; so that when any are about to marry their Children, build an House, buy Land, or undertake any Business of Consequence, they consult him, who, inspecting his Book, makes them believe what he pleases. The other is *Tay-Pou-Theny*, to whom they have Recourse in their Sickness: When he is consulted, after several apish Tricks which he acts before the sick Person, to amuse him, he sometimes affirms that the Distemper comes from the Devil, and then he himself and the sick Person, and his Friends that thought him, do Homage to the Devil; but, if he does not recover, all the Friends and Kindred of the sick Party, with as many Soldiers as they can get, surround the sick Person's House, and shoot off their Muskets three Times to drive the Devil away. If the sick Person be a Waterman, or other Person belonging to the Water, then he tells them it is the God of the Waters that is the Cause of the Distemper, and then he orders him to spread Carpets, and furnish Tables in Huts, with all sorts of Meat, on the Banks of the next River, to invite him to his Habitation.

If these Things fail, he sends him to *Tay-bow*, the chief Magician, to enquire if the Souls of the Dead have caused the Distemper, and if he answers Yes, then the Magician employs his Tricks to get the mischievous Soul into a Bottle, where he keeps it till the Party is cured. The Magicianess is called *Baceti*, she keeps a great Correspondence with the Devil, and to oblige him, offers her own Daughter, if she has one, as soon as she is born. Mothers who have lost their Children, and desire to know the Condition of the Soul, consult her, and thereupon she, by beating of a Drum, pretends to summon the Soul before her, and causes it to tell her the Condition of it. She generally tells them that the Soul is happy, and bids them be of good Cheer. They have innumerable Superstitions, but the most remarkable are these: The more Ruchous People foretel Things that are to come, by looking in a Mirrour. Others sprinkle the Ashes of their dead Ancestors with *Aqua Vite*, and beg of them Health, Honour, and Riches. Others, upon their New-Year's Day, make divers Figures upon the Steps and Thresholds of their Doors to drive away evil Spirits. Others, in travelling, if they freeze but once, will return back, and if they freeze twice, pursue their Journey without Fear of Danger. Some, if at going out of their Houses they meet a Woman, retire again for two or three Hours; but, if a Man, it is a good Omen. The first Fruit which they gather in the Beginning of the Year, is the *Araquer*, and then they position one, and give it to a Child, believing, that in taking away the Child's Life, they shall thrive the better all the Year after.

When the Moon is eclipsed, they try a certain Dragon endeavours to devour her, and, therefore, to assist the Moon, and put the Dragon to Flight, they discharge their Muskets, ring their Bells, beat all their Drums, and make a prodigious Noise till the Eclipse be over, and then they think they have rescued the Moon, and rejoice as much as if they had obtained a great Victory. They divide the natural Day into twelve Hours, and give them the Name of some Beast, as a Tyger, Lion, Bear, Horse, &c. and to the Months and Days have their particular Names. When a Child

Child is born, presently the Father and Kindred go to see the Name of the Beast by which the Hour was called when the Child was born, believing that Animal will prove fatal to it. The present King of *Tanquin* was born in the Hour of the Horie, and he would never give Audience, nor stir out of the House, for fear some Mischief should befall him at that Time. And the same Prince having a Child that died in the fifth Month, which is called by the Name of the Horie, would not suffer him to be buried, but caused him to be burnt, and scattered his Ashes in the Air.

Thus far our Author, whose consummate Knowledge of the Country, People, and Commerce of the *Indies*, enabled him to enter more thoroughly into these Points than it was in the Power of any other Writer to do. His Travels through *Persia*, his several Journeys by Land through the best Part of *Asia*, are no less excellent in themselves, but are reserved to furnish another Part of this Work.

But there remains however a Portion of his Labours, which indisputably claim our Notice here, inasmuch as they contain whatever is necessary towards understanding the Oeconomy of all the Nations that inhabit *India*, their Manner of Living among themselves, and, with respect to others, the Nature of their Manufactures, the Method of the carrying on domestick Commerce, and, above all, that Relation which the Trades of *India* have to each other; the Routes from their great Cities, the Nature of their Carriages and Caravans; and, in a Word, the Detail of that Industry, which, if I may be allowed the Expression, originally established, and has still preserved the Trade of the *Indies*. I know the Phrase is hard, but I know too that it is not in my Power to explain it better; for it is not the natural Wealth alone of these Countries that has rendered them famous, who have in all Ages attracted the Trade of the whole World to them, and thereby made the Commerce of the *Indies* the great Commerce of the Universe.

It is not, I say, the Wealth alone of these Countries, but the Industry, the Labour, and Address of the Inhabitants, by which we must understand the native Inhabitants, now called *Banjians*; for, as to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, they have been so far from contributing thereto, that, in fact, they seem to have made it their Business to oppress and cramp this Spirit, by their tyrannical Government. But, it seems, this Spirit of Industry has been too hard, even for their Cruelty, and still subsists to such a Degree, as to excite the Wonder of the best Judges, as well as in outdo every thing of the same kind in other Parts of the World, *China* only excepted. This will manifestly appear from the subsequent Section, from which we may sufficiently gather what a mighty Figure the *Indians* must have made in ancient Times, before the People were under the Oppression of a foreign Yoke, before their Spirits were broken by the Tyranny of their cruel Masters, and before their Manners were corrupted by the Slavery under which they groan at present.

It is from hence that we are able to distinguish how different a Figure they must have made in those early Times, when their Religion was pure, when their Government, the most exact, and best contrived that ever was established in any Country, was in its full Vigour; when their Laws had their free Courts, and the People were made happy, by a constant Obedience, to an excellent Constitution; when every Monarch considered himself as

the Father of his Subjects, and when Subjects obeyed as Children, from a perfect Sense of their own Happiness, flowing from this Obedience; when, in short, every Principality was no other than one large Family well regulated; and when even the minutest Matters fell under the Notice of the Laws, and under the Care of the Magistrates.

For if even now, when all these Advantages are lost, the Industry of the Inhabitants is so great, their Manufactures so many, and carried on with such Spirit and Diligence, their Trade so extensive and well managed, as not only to employ and enrich themselves, but to draw likewise the Attention of other Nations, and a Concourse of Merchants from the most distant Corners of the World, what must it have been in its former flourishing Condition? What must it have been in the Times before described, when they wrought for themselves, and when their Industry procured Happiness; whereas now it purchases a bare Subsistence? This will sufficiently demonstrate to the intelligent Reader, the Truth of an Observation we have so often made, that however Things may have gone in the rest of the World, and how much soever Man and may have improved elsewhere, they must have necessarily decayed here, and the modern *Indies* must, in the Nature of Things, fall as far short of the *Indies* in the ancient and primitive State, as from the vast Advantages which they enjoy above other Countries, they seem still to exceed the rest of the World.

We may from hence gather, what solid, what mighty Benefits are derived from a wise and well-settled Constitution, since even the Relicks and Remains of it are able to produce such mighty Effects, as we see amongst the *Indians*; and from thence we may be taught that all Dangers ought to be dared, all Hardships undergone, all Fatigues patiently endured to prevent the Ruin, and avert the Fall of such a Constitution. It is true, these Lessons may be learned nearer home, and there is no Necessity to travel to the *Indies*, in order to acquire this useful Knowledge; but, in the mean time, since we have a natural Propensity to travel, since Books of Voyages are so much read, and so justly esteemed, it is surely right to make them as useful as possible, by inculcating these Lessons, which ought to be perpetually in our Minds, because, on our Attention to them, depends our Freedom and Felicity. To what Ends do our Merchants visit the most distant Countries, expose themselves to such a Variety of Dangers, and cheerily undergo such innumerable Fatigues, but that they may bring back sufficient Wealth to live at home in Peace? And, if they act reasonably in this Way, why should we not read to the same Purpose? Why should we not gain, by Experience and Reflection, the true Principles of Patriotism, and a settled Resolution to profit by other Peoples Misfortunes, and avoid, by a timely Consideration of their Miseries, what must, some time or other, make their Case our own. We have, what the *Indians* once had, an excellent Constitution, equally capable of bestowing Freedom and Felicity: It is to this we owe whatever distinguishes us from other Nations, our Liberty, our Industry, our Manufactures at home, our Commerce abroad, and, in short, whatever can render Life desirable, or this World valuable. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that every Opportunity should be sought, or, at least, every Occasion taken for setting these important Points in their proper Light, and thereby recommending, in the strongest Manner possible, inviolable Duty to this our beneficent Constitution.

SECTION XXIX.

An Account of the different Routes to all the great Cities and chief Marts in the Indies, the Manner in which the Domestick Commerce of that Country is carried on, the State of its Manufactures, and other curious Particulars.

Taken from the Works of Mr. Tavernier.

1. The End and Design of this Section explained.
2. A Description of the City and Port of Surat, with a large Account of its Commerce.
3. That Subject continued and concluded.
4. Of the several Methods of travelling in the East-Indies, of Land-Carriage for Merchandize, and the Expences of both.
5. Of the Road from Surat to Agra, by the City of Brampour, with a Description of the last-mentioned City.
6. Of several remarkable Curiosities that lie in the Way.
7. Of the Road from Surat to Agra by Amadabat, and of what is worth Notice on that Road.
8. A compleat Description of Amadabat, and of the Trade carried on there.
9. Of the Road from Candahar to Agra, and of the Jew-Brokers in the Indies.
10. Of the City of Caboul, and the Trade of the Provinces depending thereupon.
11. Of the Royal City of Delhi, and of the Road from thence to Agra.
12. A Description of the last-mentioned City, and of the Trade carried on there.
13. Of the Road from thence to Malabas, once esteemed the Capital of India, including a Description of the River Ganges.
14. The Road from Malabas to Patna and Dacca in the Kingdom of Bengal, with a Description of these Cities.
15. Of the Passage from Surat to Goa, with some Remarks upon the last-mentioned City.
16. Of the noble City of Viliapour, and the Principality of which it was Capital.
17. A large Account of the Royal City of Bagnagar, and of the Country round it.
18. A particular History of the Kingdom of Golkonda.
19. The Road from thence to the Port of Malicapatan, now known by the Name of Fort St. George.
20. A Digression concerning Elephants, which contains many curious Circumstances.
21. A Description of the Kingdom of Carnate, and of the principal Places therein.
22. A Description of the Kingdom of Carnate, and of the principal Places therein.
23. Remarks upon the foregoing Section.

THERE is no Occasion for a long Introduction to this Section, the Subject of it has been already pointed out, and therefore it is only requisite to say, that the Design of the Author therein, was to explain the interior State of the Indies, to shew where Manufactures were settled, how carried on, and after what Manner the domestick and inland Commerce of this Country is managed. In treating of this Subject every Paragraph presents us with something new, and something useful. This Discourse transports us as it were into the very Country itself; and when we have read it, we can no longer consider ourselves as Strangers in the Indies. It would be very happy if we had as clear and as authentic Accounts of every Country in Europe, we should know much more of them than what we do now; we should enter into all the Particulars of their Constitution, and understand perfectly whatever Relations came from thence. It was for this Reason that I judged it proper, before I proceeded to the last Part of this Chapter, the History of the East India Companies, to close with this the Series of Voyages and Travels unto and through this Part of the World, and, it is hoped, this Method will be approved.

Notwithstanding the Indians stretch themselves beyond the Coast of Persia for the Space of above four hundred Leagues together, from the Ocean to Mount Caucasus, or Taurus, yet there are not so many Ways into the Indies out of Persia, as there are of travelling into and out of Turky, because that between Persia and the Indies are nothing but vast Sands and Deserts, where there is no Water to be found; so that you have but two Roads to chuse in going between *Isapahan* to *Agra*, the one by Land through *Candahar*, and the other partly by Land partly by Sea, taking Ships at *Bander Bahli*, or *Cambay*. Both these I have described as far as the Limits of Persia reach, and shall only add concerning this latter, that Sailing is not safe at all Times upon the Indian, as it is upon the European Coast; you must observe the proper Winds, which being past there is no venturing. The Months of *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, are the only Times in the Year to embark for Surat from *Ormuz*, but from *Surat* you must not stir until the end of *February*, for then the Western Winds that blow from *Ram Adig* with them into *India* begin to blow, blowing that four Months there flows a N. E. Wind,

which carries the Ships from *Surat* to *Ormuz* in fifteen or twenty Days; and this Wind veering a little to the North, serves also for those that are bound for *Surat*; but it takes them up thirty, or thirty-five Days for which they are made Amends in *March* and the Beginning of *April*, for then the Western Winds blowing full in their Stern, carry them thither in fourteen or fifteen Days.

The Vessels that sail to *Surat*, which is the only Port in the Empire of the Great Mogul, pass within Sight of *Diu*, and the Point of *St. Jelen*, and come to an Anchor in the Road of *Souali*, which is four Leagues from the Town, and two from the Mouth of the River called the *Bar of Surat*; for the greater Vessels cannot get into the River of *Surat* till they have unladen a great part of the Goods that choke it up; and the Wares so unladen are carried to the Town, either by Waggons or Boats, because the Customs were often stolen when the Ships unladen generally at *Sevali*; therefore there is now a Prohibition that none shall come to anchor there but the *English* and *Dutch* who, indeed, lay many Goods Custom free; yet it is made up by the Vessels that come to the *Bar* from *Persia*, *Arabs*, *Indes*, and all Parts of the *Indies*. When any Commodities are unladen at *Surat* you must carry them to the Custom-house, adjoining to the Fort, where the Merchants pay for all Sorts of Wares from 4 to 5 per Cent. unless it be the *English* and *Dutch*, who indeed pay less, but are forced to make it up in Presents to the Court and Deputations; and lest any valuable Goods should be concealed, they search every Person in the Ship exactly. Gold and Silver pays but two in the Hundred, and when it is brought into the Custom-house, the Master of the Mint comes and takes it, and coins it into the Money of the Country, which, though it be to the Loss of the Merchant, yet cannot be avoided as to the Silver; but the Merchants have many Ways to hide their Gold, that it seldom comes to the Knowledge of the Customers.

If they bring any Money ready coined out of other Countries, as *Pistols*, or *Abolis*, out of *Persia*, they are melted down and refined, to make *Rupies*, because the Silver-Money of the Great Mogul is more than any other. The Indian Money is the Silver *Rupie*, the best Quarter, the sixteenth, and sixteenth Part. The *Rupies* are as big as the *Pistols* of *Persia*, but much thicker; it passes commonly for thirty *Trench Sols*, or 12. 3d. Sterling. This Money is coined every Year, and the new ones destroy the

when Subjects obeyed as of their own Happiness, then, in short, every Pringe Family well regulated; atters fell under the Noble Care of the Magi-

these Advantages are lost, is so great, their Manula- with such Spirit and Dilig- and well managed, as not mselves, but to draw like- tions, and a Concourse of ant Corners of the World, former flourishing Condi- a in the Times before ce- themselves, and when their whereas now it purchases a efficiently demonstrate the of an Observation we have fo ings may have gone in the ch loever Man and may have st have necessarily decreas must, in the Nature of the Indies in the ancient and all Advantages which they they seem still to exert the

r, what solid, what mighty ic and well-settled Constitu- Remains of it are able to pro- see amongst the *Indians*; and that all Dangers ought to be ce, all Fatigues patiently en- and avert the Fall of such a ese Lessons may be learned ecessity to travel to the *Indis*, ul Knowledge; but, in the natural Propensity to travel, so much read, and to justify a make them as useful as pos- sions, which ought to be per- se, on our Attention to them, heity. To what I need do our ant Countries, expole them- angers, and cheerfully under- less, but that they may bring at home in Peace? And, if ay, why should we not read hould we not gain, by Expe- rious Principles of Patriotism, profit by other Peoples Mis- timely Consideration of their ime or other, make their Case e *Indians* once had, an excel- pable of bestowing freedom owe whatever distinguishes us erty, our Industry, our Man- merce abroad, and, in short, rative, or this World valuable. efore, that every Opportunity st, every Occasion taken for s in their proper Light, and be strongest Manner possible, eneficent Constitution.

Year they are coined in, are valued at a *Pecha* more than those of the foregoing Year, because the Coiners pretend that the Silver wears daily. They have also another Silver Coin called *Mahmoudi*, which is ten, or about ten Sols and an half, or eight pence Halfpenny Sterling; but it goes no where but in *Surat*, and in the Province of *Guzerat*. *Abiss* brought out of *Persia* go also in the *Indies*, but for less than in their own Country, viz. at nineteen *Pechas* or sixteen *French Sols*, which is one Shilling and Two-pence. The *Pecha* (of which they have half, double, and four fold) is a Piece of Copper Money as big and thick as a *Rupce*, but in Value about half a *Sous*, or something less than half a Penny *English*. A *Rupce* is worth more or less of those *Pechas*, according as you are nearer or farther from the Copper Mines. At *Agia* and *Gebanabat* they are worth fifty-five or sixty five *Pechas*, and at *Surat* sometimes but forty-six, and sometimes fifty, because it is at a small Distance from the Copper Mines.

Instead of small Money, they use certain Shells, which they call *Ceris*, brought from the *Maldives*, of which they give fifty or more for a *Pecha*, or if they are near the Seashore, where they are brought in, sixty. In the Province of *Guzerat*, and the chief Cities whereof *Guzerat*, *Cambaya*, *Boutra*, and *Amudabat*, *Mahmoudis*, half *Mahmoudis*, and *Almonds*, are accounted current Money: A *Mahmoudi* is about nine Sols, three Deniers, or eight-pence *English* in Value. The *Almonds*, which they call *Baden*, are brought from *Orenaz*, and grow in the Deserts of the Kingdom of *Lar*. They give sixty-eight *Almonds* for a *Pecha*, and twenty *Pechas* for a *Mahmoudi*. There is no fear that the Children should crack these *Almonds*, and so destroy their Money, for they are as bitter as *Colloquintida*. Some Years the *Almond* trees do not bear, and then their Price is much raised; for then you will not have above forty or forty four for a *Pecha*. The *Rupce* of Gold is valued in the Country at fourteen *Rupces* of Silver, and the half and quarter *Rupce* proportionably. Great Sums of Money are reckoned by *Lacks*, *Crores*, or *Couvers*, *Padans*, and *Nils*: 100,000 *Rupces* make a *Lack*, 100,00 *Lacks* a *Courer*, 100,00 *Couvers* a *Padan*, 100,000 *Padans* a *Nil*. If you bring Gold into the *Indies* in Ingots, or *European* Ducats, you shall always have seven and an half Profit, if you can escape paying the Customs; but if you pay them, your Gain is lost.

3. The City of *Surat* lies in twenty-one Degrees and a few Minutes Northern Latitude, and is watered by the River *Tapti*. It is inhabited by three Nations, as they distinguish themselves, viz. *Meers*, under which Name they comprehend all *Mohammedans*, though they differ in their Opinions, being some *Sunnis*, and others *Chians*, viz. *Mohis*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*; 2. *Heathens*, who adore Idols, of whom there are several Sorts; 3. *Perses*, who are also called *Gauis*, or *Atsch-perses*, i. e. Adorers of the Fire, which was the Worship of the ancient *Persians*. These Men retreated into the *Indies* when the Khaliff *Omair* reduced the Kingdom of *Persia* under the Power of *Mohammedans*: Among these, indeed, there are some *Tranks*, and other *Christians*, but they are not accounted among the Inhabitants, because their Number is inconsiderable in Comparison of the other Parts. There are some Merchants in *Surat* vastly rich. One *Pergawia*, a *Banyan*, was reckoned worth at least eight Millions.

The City is not of an indifferently Bigness, and it is hard to know the Number of the Inhabitants, because the Sea-breezes are not unequal. There are a great many of the Yearly Fairs, but in the Time of the Moorfoo, i. e. the Indian New Year, viz. in *January*, *February*, and *March*, it is so full of People that Lodgings can hardly be had either in the City or the Suburbs. The Generality of the House is a sort of Reeds plastered over with Cow-dung, but that there is not above five or ten good Houses, of which the Chamberlains, or that of the Merchants, are two or three, the *English* and *Dutch* have a few of them, and the rest belong to the *Mohammedan* Merchants; but the *Tranks* are only allowed to hire Houses, lest they should have a City of their own, they do not build a House.

The *Capitall* has built them a very convenient Governour, according to the Model of the *Hollanders* *Liege*,

and a fair Church by it; but they purchased the Ground in the Name of one *Chelebie*, a *Maronite* Merchant of *Aleppo*. The Walls of the Town were formerly of Brick, and that very ruinous; but of late they have built them of Brick, a Fathom and an half thick, and fortified them better, to secure it from the Irruptions of the neighbouring *Rajahs*. The Castle is built upon the Side of the River, at the South End of the Town, and is so placed that you must pass by it at your entering into the Town, whether you go by Land or Water; it is a Fort of a regular Bigness, square, and flanked at each Corner with a large Tower. The Ditches on three Sides are filled with Sea-water, and the fourth is washed by the River. There are several Pieces of Cannon; but because there are no Platforms on each Wall, they are planted upon wooden scaffolds. The Governour of it can only command his Soldiers within the Fort; for he has no Power in the City, which has a distinct Governour, who receives the King's Customs, and his Revenues in his Provinces; but he sends them up in the Vessels till they are sent for by express Orders from Court.

The Streets of *Surat* are large and even, but not paved, and there is no considerable Building in it. The *Indians* and *Mohammedans* there commonly eat Cow Meat, not only because it is better, but because it is more plentiful than Ox Beef, their Oxen being almost all employed in Plowing and carrying Burthens. They have also plenty of good Store of Mutton, and Abundance of Pullets, Chickens, Pigeons, Pigs, and all Sorts of wild Fowl. They use two Sorts of Oil with their Food, viz. of *Crocus* and *Saffron*, or wild *Saffron*, and *Seffamum*. This last is very common, but the first much the best. They eat grapes from the Beginning of *February* to the End of *April*; but they have no good Taste, and the Wine made of them is sour. They have several Sorts of strong Waters, which they draw from *Jagery*, and the Bark of the Tree which is steeped in Water. They have two Sorts of Palm-trees, the one called *Cadigour*, and the other the *Coccol-tree*, *Rice*, and *Dates*; but they are not of them so good as *Brandy*. Their Vinegar is made of *Jagery*, and of the *Raisins*, and to their best they put in a little *Tan*, which is the Juice of the *Palm-tree* above-mentioned.

At *Surat* are sold all Sorts of Stuffs and Cottons that are made in the *Indies*: All the Commodities also of *India* and *China*, as *Porcelain*, *Cabinets*, and *Ceramics*, with *Tonquies*, *Agats*, *Cornelians*, *Ivory*, and other Embellishments. Here are also sold *Diamants*, *Rubies*, *Pearls*, and all other precious Stones which are found in the East; as also *Musk*, *Amber*, *Myrrh*, *Incense*, *Mastic*, *Sal Armoniac*, *Lack*, *Quicksilver*, *Indigo*, and other Drugs, which are produced in the *Indies* and the *East*, and are bought up by Foreign Merchants to transport to all Parts of the World. There are several sorts of *Chit* at *Surat*, viz. a *Muti*, who inspects and regulates the Affairs of Religion among the *Mohammedans*, and a *Chit* of all civil Matters, a *Vaca Nevis*, or Secretary, who keeps a Register of all that happens to his Highness, and gives the Great Mogul Notice of all Things that are of Importance, two Governours, or *Nababs*, who command one the City, the other the Castle, and have a Jurisdiction upon each other, nor increase of offices, or Offices of Duties.

The Governour of the Town judges in all Matters commonly renders speedy Justice, but he may be appealed to in all Causes, for they belong to an Officer of the same purpose, called *Cetana*, who is much to be feared in *Soudaish* in *Turky*, and *Doreg* in *Persia*. He is usually to be punished in his Pretences, by *Whipping*, *Imprisoning*, and this he does, either in his own House, or in the Street, near the Place where the *Palace* stands. When he goes abroad, he rides on *Horseback*, and is attended by Officers who attend him, carrying *Bacon*, *Meat*, *Bread*, *Wine*, *Tea*, *Coffee*, &c. before him, but neither of them is allowed to lay a Hand on him, or to put him to Death. The King receives the *Palace* from himself; and therefore when any Matter of Importance is dispatched to know his Pleasure, the Governour is not to put his Orders in Execution, till he has received the Return. The *Capital* goes his Round

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prevent all Disorders, and if he finds any Man abroad at
 unseasonable Times, he commits him to Prison, and rarely
 dismisses him without being bastinadoed or whipped.
 This Officer is to answer for all the Robberies committed
 in the Town; but by their Cunning they usually evade
 it. When any one is robbed this Officer apprehends all
 the People of the House, both young and old, where the
 Robbery has been committed, and causes them to be beaten
 severely. They are stretched out upon their Bellies, and
 two Men lash the Patient with long Whips, till he has
 received two or three hundred Lashes, and is all in a Gore
 Blood. If at first he confesses not the Fact, they whip
 him the next Day, and so for several Days, till he confesses
 all, or the Thing stolen be recovered again; but he never
 touches the Houses or Goods of Robbers.

There is also a *Tearjedar*, or *Provost*, who is bound to
 secure the Country round about the Town, and to answer
 for all the Robberies committed there. The Burying places
 of *Surat* are without the Town, about forty-three Paces
 from the *Barack* Gate. The Catholics have theirs apart,
 and so have the *English* and *Dutch*, as well as some religious
Indians. The *English* and *Dutch* adorn their Graves with
 Pyramids of Brick, whitened over with Lime. The reli-
 gious *Gentiles* make their Tombs square, and of Plaster,
 covering some with a Dome, and others with a Pyramid, a
 little more than three Feet high. The *Bajjans* burn their
 dead Bodies by the River Side, and leave the Ashes there
 to be washed away by it, because they account it sacred.
 They believe that it contrIBUTES much to the Soul's Ease of
 the Deceased, to burn his Body immediately after his Death,
 because they say his Soul suffers after the Separation from
 the Body, unless it be burnt; but they burn not the Bodies
 of Children under two Years old, because they hold them
 innocent; nor of the *Varnis*, or *Jogies*, who are a kind
 of *Dervises*, because they follow the Right of *Madeo*, who
 is one of their great Saints, and who ordered their Bodies
 to be interred.

The Things most observable about *Surat* are a large
 Wall built by a *Banjan*, with divers thin Arches over it,
 to which they go down by certain Stairs; on the Outside
 is a Figure of a red Face, but the Features are not discerni-
 ble. The *Gentiles* say, it is the *Pagod* of *Madeo*, and pay
 great Devotion to it. Towards *Daman-Gate* begins the
 loveliest walk in all the Country, and by it is a great Reser-
 vatory of Water called the *Yank*. It has six Angles, and
 every one of them an hundred Paces long, and it is at least
 a Mullet-shot in Diameter. The Bottom is paved with
 white Free-stone, and there are Steps all round it in Form
 of an Amphitheatre, from the Brim to the Bottom, of
 lovely Free-stone, admirably wrought, brought from
Cambray. It was made at the Charge of a rich *Banjan*,
 whose Name was *Copy*, to catch the Run-water to supply
 the Town, and is certainly a Work worthy of a King, be-
 ing equal to the best of the *Roman* Squaredets made for
 publick Use.

About a Quarter of a League from the Reservoirary is the
 Prince's Garden, so called, because it belongs to the Great
 Mogul's Sister. It is a Large Plantation of Trees of several
 kinds, as Mangares, Pains, Mirobalans, Wares, Maha-
 trees, and many other Plants and Shrubs, some of them
 are set in a direct Line, and it is cut into many long and
 very large Walks. In the midst is a Building, with four
 Rooms, having each of them a *Divan*, and a square *Baton*
 full of Water before it, from whence run several little
 Brooks through the Walks, which make it delightful, but
 when about the Royal Gardens in *Europe*.

About a hundred and fifty Paces from the Garden is a
 Walk, or Tree, which the *Portuguese* call the Tree of
Rays; it is very large, and high, being eighty Paces in
 Diameter; the Branches which have taken Root are to
 be cut out, that one may walk every where under it.
 The *Indians* account it sacred, and the *Banjans* have
 painted Banners on the Top, and higher Branches of it;
 but is a *Pagod*, dedicated to an Idol called *Manneva*,
 which is thought to be *Ive*. The Soil about *Surat* is
 low, and so rich that they never dung it, but low their
 Cattle the Rains in *September*, and reap it in *February*.
 There are also Sugar-Canes, Rice, Mangroers, Palm trees,
 and many other Sorts of Trees, which yield great Profit.

They water their Gardens, but the great Dews yield suf-
 ficient Moisture for their Corn-Land. The River *Tapy*
 is always brackish at *Surat*, so that they use it only for
 washing their Bodies, which they do every Morning, from
 a Principle of Religion.

4. In travelling up and down *India*, there are divers
 Sorts of Carriages both for Merchandize and Travellers,
 and when you leave *Surat*, you must make use of these.
 For Goods, they make use of Oxen, Camels, or Waggon's,
 upon their Oxen they will lay three hundred or three hun-
 dred and fifty Pounds Weight; and it is no wonderful
 thing to see ten or twelve thousand Oxen at a time laden
 with Rice, Corn, and Salt, carrying the Rice to the
 Place where Corn grows, and Corn where the Rice is,
 and Salt to Places where there are none. Those numerous
 Caravans are very inconvenient to Travellers, because when
 they meet them they are forced to stay two or three
 Days till they pass by. This is the most speedy Carriage
 for Merchants Goods, and they commonly make use of it
 when they are in haste to ship them off at *Surat*. They
 that drive those Oxen follow no other Calling, nor have
 any Houses, but carry their Wives and Children along
 with them.

Some of them have an hundred Oxen of their own, and
 they have a Captain of the Caravan, who wears a Chain of
 Pearls about his Neck, and takes as much State upon him
 as a Prince. All that follow this Trade of Carrying, are
 divided into four Tribes, called *Manaris*, and consist each
 of them of an hundred thousand Souls. They live always in
 Tents, and are maintained by transporting of Merchandize
 from Country to Country. The first of them carries no-
 thing but Corn; the second Rice; the third Pulse; and
 the fourth Salt; and they are distinguished by certain
 Marks made by the Priests in the Face of every one of
 three of the Tribes, by a different-coloured Gum, and some
 Grains of the Thing they carry portrayed in it; the fourth
 carries a Bag of Salt about their Necks, of eight or ten
 Pounds, and with it they thump their Breasts every
 Morning before they say their Prayers, in token of Repent-
 ance. They love their Oxen and Cattle as tenderly as
 Children, especially if they have none.

Their Women wear only a Piece of Calicut painted, or
 white, five or six times double, from their Waist down-
 ward, and upwards they cut their Bodies into several Forms
 of Flowers, which they paint in various Colours with
 Grapes. They have Priests that go along with them, who
 every Morning sets up an Image of a Serpent in Wreaths
 upon a Pole six or seven Feet high, and when every one
 has paid his Adoration to it, their Women going three
 times about it, they load it upon an Ox appointed for that
 Purpose for carrying it, and accompany the Caravan; they
 use Camels sometimes, but very rarely, they being appoint-
 ed to carry the Luggage of great Persons. The Caravan,
 or Waggon, seldom exceeds two hundred, and is most
 commonly not above an hundred. Every Waggon is drawn
 by ten or twelve Oxen, and attended by four Soldiers,
 which the *Perion* that owns the Merchandize is obliged to
 pay; two of them march on each Side of the Waggon,
 over which there are two Ropes thrown across, the Ends
 whereof they hold in their Hands, that if the Waggon leans
 too much to either Side in the bad Way, those on the con-
 trary Side may keep it from overturning, by pulling the
 Ropes with all their Strength. The Manner of travelling
 in *India* is upon Oxen instead of Horses, so that if any
 Merchant carries an Horse out of *Perfia*, it is only for show,
 or to walk in his Hand, or to sell to some *Indian* Prince.
 Some of those Oxen will pace as fast as our Horses.

They manage them as Horses; but instead of a Bit,
 they have a Rope drawn through the middle part of the
 Nose, only that in riding them you must take care that the
 Horns be not above a Foot long; for if they be longer,
 when the Horses begin to fling, he will cast, and toss back
 his Horns, and sometimes stick them into the Stomach of
 his Rider. They never thore them out in rough Places,
 where the Stones and Heat are apt to wade and chop the
 Hoofs. They use also little Coaches for travelling, which
 will hold two Persons; but generally they ride but one in
 them, when they carry their necessary Cloak-Bag and Pro-
 visions, for which there is a proper Place under the Coach;
 they

they are drawn by two Oxen, and some of them are so strong, that they will travel upon the Trot twelve or fifteen Leagues a Day, for sixty Days together. When they have got half their Day's Journey, they give them two or three Balls, as big as one of our Twopenny Loaves, of Wheat Flour, kneaded up with Butter and black Sugar.

The Hire of one of these Coaches is a *Rupée* a Day, or a little more; for from *Surat* to *Agra* is forty Days Journey, and you pay for the whole not above forty-five *Rupes*. They, who have more to spend, may make use of a Palanquin for their Ease, wherein they travel very commodiously; it is a little Sort of a Coach, six or seven Feet long, and three broad, with Ballisters round about it. It has a kind of Covering over it, of Satin, or Cloth of Gold, and when the Sun lies upon either Side, there is a Slave goes by the Side to pull down the Covering, and another carries a Targot of Officers, covered with some genteel Stuff, to keep the Traveller from the Heat of the Sun. Three Men, for the most part, apply themselves to each of the Ends, to carry the Palanquin upon their Shoulders, and they go swifter than our Sedan-men, and with more Ease, because they practise it from their Youth: You give to every one four *Rupes* a Month, but if the Journey exceeds sixty Days they will have five.

Whether it be in a Coach, or a Palanquin, he that will travel honourably in the *Indies* must take along with him twenty or thirty armed Men, some with Bows and Arrows, others with Muskets, who have every one the same Pay as those that carry the Palanquin. Sometimes, for more Magnificence, they carry a Banner, as the *English* and *Hollanders* do, for the Honour of their Companies. These Soldiers watch and keep Centinel for your Defence, and are mighty careful to give Content, that they may deserve the good Word of the Chief of the Town where you take them; for he is responsible for their Fidelity, and has two *Rupes* apiece of them for his Recommendation. In the Villages where a *Mohammedan* commands, you may have Mutton, Pullets, or Pigeons; but where there are only *Banyans*, there is nothing to be had but Flour, Rice, Horses, and Milk Meats. In the *Indies*, where the Heats are excessive, it is more commodious to travel by Night than Day; and therefore, when you come into any fortified Town, you must be gone before the Sun be set, if you intend to travel the Night following; for the Rates being shut, the Commander of the Place is to answer for all the Robberies committed within his Jurisdiction, and will suffer you to go out, telling them it is the King's Order, to which he must be obedient. The Measure of Distances in *India* is by Coils, which is a League, and Cos, which is four of our common Leagues.

In traveling from *Surat* to *Agra* there are two Roads, one through *Brampour* and *Seconge*, and the other through *Amnatat*. In the first of these you go through *Barnoby*, a great Borough Town, where you ford a great River; this first Day's Journey lies through a Country somewhat woody, yet having many Fields of Rice and Wheat. From *Barnoby* you travel altogether through Woods to *Babor*, a large Village upon a Lake, about a League in Compass. Three Quarters of a League before you come at this Town you must ford a small River, but with great Difficulty, because it is full of Rocks and Stones, which are ready to overturn the Coach.

From *Babor* the next Stage is through a woody Country to the *Inn* near *Seconge*, because it was built by the Charity of *Bequm Saheb*, the Daughter of the Shah *Behan*, for the Ease of Travellers, who before were forced to travel to *Nasapoura*, which, besides that it was too great a Journey, being upon the Frontiers of those *Raja's* who often revolt from the Great Mogul, the Caravans were generally avoided. This Inn, or Caravanera, is large, and very commodious. In the Road from hence to *Nasapoura* you ford two Rivers.

Nasapoura was a great Town, full of Weavers; but Rice is the greatest Commodity there; for not only the River that runs through the Country makes it very fruitful in that Grain, which requires Moisture, but the Rice that grows there has a peculiar Excellency, for which it is much esteemed. It is, indeed, less by half than the Grain of the common Rice; but when it is boiled new, Snow is not

whiter, and it smells like Musk. This Property makes the *Indian* Graciles fond of it, that they will eat no other, and when they would make an acceptable Present to any one in *Persia*, they send them a Sack of this Rice. From *Nasapoura* you pass through *Nasfarbar*, *Delmedra*, and *Senquera*, to *Tollener*: Here you pass the River that runs through *Barock*, where it grows very large, and empties itself into the Gulph of *Cambaya*.

From *Tollener* your Way lies by *Choupre*, *Senqule*, and *Nabir*, to *Badelpoura*; here the loaded Waggons pay the Duties of *Brampour*, but the Waggons that carry nothing but Passengers pay nothing: And, when this is done, you go on to *Brampour*, which was a great City, but is now very much ruined, and most of the Houles are thatched with Straw. In the midst of it is the Castle, where the Governor lives. The Government of this Province is a very considerable Command, and is only conferred upon the King's Son or Uncle; but, since they have thus lost the Strength of the Province of *Bengal*, which was formerly a Kingdom, that Province is thought the most considerable in all the Mogul's Country at this Day. There is a great Trade in this City, as well as in the Provinces adjoining, in Calcuts, of which there are prodigious Quantities made here, clear and white, which are transported into *Persia*, *Turky*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Armenia*, *Grand Cairo*, and other Places. Some of them are put up with Flowers of various Colours, and the Women use the Veils and Scarfs of them, and of some Coverlets to Beds, and Handkerchiefs. They make another Sort of Cotton, which they never dye, and hath a Stripe of Gold or Silver quite through the whole Piece, and at each End from the Breadth of one Inch to twelve or fifteen, being a Tissue of Gold, Silver, and Silk, intermixed with Linens; both Sides are alike. Some of these Linens are made on Purpose for Sashes, and are called *Cris*, and contain from fifteen to twenty Folds: Some are of two Sorts only, and serve the Ladies of Quality for Veils and Scarfs, and vast Quantities of these Goods are vendid in *India* and *Turky*. They make also other Sorts of Cotton Cloths at *Brampour*, because there is no other Province in the *Indies* which has greater Quantities of Cotton.

Leaving this City there is a small River, which is shallow, is forded, and, if swelled by the Rain, is not always Boats attending to take over Travellers; but when you come to *Perinbelera*, which is an Indian Word, and Hedges, in which are fifty or sixty Huts covered with Straw, where live certain Men and Women that sell Bread, Flour, Butter, and Herbs, and make the People buy the bake Bread, and boil Rice to sell to the Travellers; these Persons cleanse the Hut, take and put up a Bedstead, with Gortils to lay a Mattress of Cotton, which the Travellers usually carry about with them. This is signified by the Word *Sara*, which signifies to touch Places. If any Traveller have a Mind to buy a Piece of Mutton, any *Mohammedan* in the Place will go to the City and buy it for him. From hence you go forward through *Pander*, *Balkijera*, *Conjamba*, *Cherava*, *Cbarava*, and *Bishola* to *Andy*, where you ford a River that falls into the *Ganges*, between *Banazon* and *Andy*, and so take the Way by *Onguenas*, *Angery*, *Angery*, *Nevasera*, *Jebavour*, *Signor*, *Clekuseur*, *Tankur*, *Tankur*, *Teler*, and *Sankaira* to *Seconge*.

This City is large, and most of its Inhabitants are *Jan* Merchants and Handicrafts, the Trade of the Country is from Father to Son; and, for that Reason, there are many Houles of Stone and Brick. Here is also a great Trade for painted Calcuts, called *Chintes*, of which the making of all the meaner Sort of People in *Persia* and *Armenia* are made: And the time are used in other Countries for Coverlets for Beds and Table Napkins. The Calcuts of Calcuty are made in other Countries, but the Calcuts neither so lively nor lasting, but wear out with the washing; whereas those made at *Seconge*, grow the more you wash them. This arises from a peculiar Virtue of the River that runs by the City when the Rain is for the Workmen having made such Prints upon the Cottons as the foreign Merchants give them, they wash the Patterns, dip them into the River often, and then they fix the Colours that they will always hold.

also made at *Secong* a sort of Calicut, so fine, that when a Man puts it on, his Skin shall appear as plainly thro' it as if he was quit naked; but the Merchants are not permitted to transport it, for the Governor is obliged to send it all to the Great Mogul's Seraglio, and the principal Lords of the Court, to make the Sultaneſſes and Noblemens Wives Shifts and Garments for the hot Weather; and the King and the Lords take great Pleasure to behold them in these Shifts, and see them dance with nothing else upon them. From *Secong* you go to *Madalki-ſera*, and passing thro' *Paulki-ſera* and *Chaldalki-ſera*, you come to *Callabas*.

6. There is a great Town, which was the Residence of a Rajah formerly, who paid Tribute to the Mogul; but the late Emperor *Aurengzeb*, when he came to the Crown, not only cut off his Head, but the Heads of many of his Subjects, which he caused to be set up in so many Holes dug in the Ground, about the two Towers which stand upon the High-way near the Town. From hence the Way lies to *Ackmate*, and from thence to *Col'efar*, whose Inhabitants are all Idolaters. Without the Town, upon the High-way, grows a vast Number of great Trees, which they call *Mangues*, and in many Places near the Trees are many Pagods, with every one an Idol at the Door: They belong to the *Banjans*. From this Town you travel through *Sansell* and *Dengry to Gate*. This is a Strait Passage of a Quarter of a League long between the Mountains, and is unavoidable by all that come from the South, as *Surat*; *Goa*, *Vijapur*, *Colenda*, *Milipatan*, and other Places, to *Agra*; for there is no other Road but this. At the Entry of it are the Ruins of two or three old Castles, and the Passage is so narrow that two Waggons can hardly go a-breast: Formerly there was a Gate at each End of the Strait, and at the End, next *Agra*, there are five or six Shops of *Banjans* that sell Flour, Butter, Rice, Herbs, and Pulse. Not far from thence is a Magazine of Rice and Corn, kept by Serpents of thirteen or fourteen Feet long, and of a proportionable Bigness.

The People hereabouts get their Living by Passengers, from whom they extort as much as they can, for shewing them the Way, there being none but them that know it, because it lies through intricate Rocks, till they come at the River, which, being tormented, the Road leads to *Nadar*, which is a great City upon the Declent of a Mountain, upon whose Top there is a Fortrefs, and all the Mountain is encompassed with Walls. The great Part of the Houses, as in all other Cities of *India*, are thatched with Straw, one Story high; but the rich Mens Houses are two Stories high, and terraced. Round about the City are several Ponds to be seen, which were formerly encompassed with hewn Stone, but are now decayed for want of looking after; but there are still very fair Monuments about them. The River which you pass before you come at this City, encompasses the Mountain like a Peninsula, and after a long winding Course, falls into the *Ganges*. At *Nadar* are made a great Number of quilted Coats, some white, others embroidered with Flowers of Gold, Silk, and Satin. From *Nadar* you go to *Bargajera*, and so by *Trie* to *Ceualcor*. This is a great City, but ill built, as all the other *Indian* Cities are. It is built on the Side of a Mountain that lies on the West-side of it, and at the Top is encompassed with Walls and a Tower. In the Inclosure are several Ponds made by the Rains, with which they water their Grounds, sown with Rice, and to raise Corn enough to maintain their Garrison; and, upon that Account, it is esteemed the best in the *Indies*. Upon the Declent of this Hill, which looks towards the North-East, *Cha-Ieban* built an House of Pleasure, from which there is a delightful Prospect all over the City: It is to be contrived that it may serve for a Garrison. Beneath the House are to be seen several Idols, cut out of the Rocks, representing the Shapes of their Gods; and one of them is of an extraordinary Height.

The *Mohammedan* Princes make this Fortrefs of *Goualcor* a Prison for their great Princes and Noblemen that offend them. *Cha-Ieban*, who came to the Crown by foul Play, imprisoned all the Princes and Lords he suspected to be Male contents, in this Castle, but suffered them all to

enjoy their Estates. But *Aureng-Zeb* his Son takes contrary Measures; for when he imprisons any great Lords, he orders them to be poisoned within ten or twelve Days after; that he may be rid of his Enemies, and yet not be thought a cruel Prince for his bloody Executions. Leaving *Ceualcor*, you ford a River called *Lanke*, and come to *Paterki-ſera*, where passing over a Bridge, containing six wide Arches, and which carries you over the River *Quarinado*, you arrive at *Quarraqui-ſera*, and so to *Doipoura*, where there is a River called *Chamel-nadi*, to which there belongs a Ferry-boat. The River falls into the *Gemena*, between *Agra* and *Hallebas*. From hence you pass to *Minasqui-ſera*, where there is a River called *Jogounagi*, but you do not pass it till you come eight Leagues farther, and then there is a long Bridge built with Stone, called *Quaoulcapoul*. Not far from this Bridge they view the Merchants Goods, that when they come to *Agra* they may not be cheated of their Duties; and more particularly observe whether there be any Flasks of Wine among the Casks of pickled Fruits. From this Bridge you come to *Agra*, which, from *Surat*, is 339 Leagues, viz. from *Surat* to *Brampour* 132 Leagues, from thence to *Secong* 101 Leagues, and from thence to *Agra* 100 Leagues. In these two last Stages the Country is full of fine Fields of Corn and Rice, being a lovely Champain, where you meet with very little Wood, and the Villages so thick that you may rest when you please.

7. The other Road from *Surat* to *Agra*, through *Amanabad* lies, first, through a Country full of Corn, Rice, Millet, and Sugar-Canes; where, having ferried over the River which runs to *Cambaya* and falls into the Gulph, you come to *Baroche*, which is a great City, and has a Fortrefs belonging to it, but there is no Use made of it at present. This City is very famous for Trade, on account of the River, which has a peculiar Quality to whiten their Cottons, and which are therefore brought from all Parts of the Mogul's Territories (nether for that End; besides, here are made great Quantities of Baffia, or long and large Pieces of Cotton, very fine and close woven; the Price of them is from four to an hundred *Ruppes*. You must pay Custom at *Baroche* for all Goods carried in and out. The *English* President has a very fair House in this City.

In this City are a sort of Mountebanks, who do strange Tricks, viz. They will heat a Chain red-hot, and wind it about their naked Bodies several Times, and though they make as if they felt a great deal of Pain, yet, in truth, they receive no Harm at all: But, what is more miraculous, they will thrust a dry Stick into the Ground, and, in less than half an Hour's Time, make it a Tree of four or five Foot high, bearing Leaves and Flowers as in the Spring-time. An *English* Minister seeing this Witchcraft, declared it unlawful to be a Spectator of such Delusions, and protested he would not give the Communion to any that should hereafter do it. These Mountebanks wander up and down the Country to shew these Tricks, with their Wives and Children, and get a Livelihood by it.

Those who are curious to see *Cambaya*, leave the direct Road, which goes to *Broadra*, and pass through that City, which is not above four or five Leagues out of the Way, and is the later Road. *Cambaya* is a great City at the Bottom of the Gulph, on the South of it; it lies in the Province of *Guzerat*, and though it be not so popular as *Surat*, it is as big again. It has very fair Walls about it four Fathoms high, and Towers standing at a certain Distance. The Streets of it are large, and have all Gates at each End, which are shut every Night. The Houses are very high, and built of Bricks, dried in the Sun, and were once furnished very richly after the *Portuguese* Manner, but now many of them fall to Decay. It is to be seen that they shape thok fair Agates, that come from *India*, into Cups, Hats of Knives, Beads, and other Workmanship. These Agates are fetched out of a Quarry, by a Village called *Minodra*, four Leagues from *Cambaya*, in Pieces as big as a Man's Fist. The Shops here are stored with aromatick Perfumes, Spices, silken and other Stuffs. Most Part of the Inhabitants are *Banjans* and *Rajpents*. The Castle, where the Governor resides, is large, but not

very beautiful. There are so many Monkeys in the Town, that sometimes the Houses are covered with them, and they often do Mischief in the Streets, by throwing down such Things as they find upon the Roofs. The Outfides of the Town are beautified by a great many fair publick Gardens. Here is a marble Sepulchre, raised by a King of *Guzerate*, in Honour of a Governor of this City, but it is decayed: It contains three Courts, and in one of them are several Porphyry Pillars.

Anciently, in this City, there was an Hospital for sick Beasts, but there are only Ruins of it now. The Suburbs are almost as big as the Town, and in them they make Indigo of the same Nature as that of *Sarquesse*. It was famous for Traffick when the *Portugueze* flourished in *India*, but now the Trade is almost lost, because the Sea, that once came up so near the Town that little Vessels could anchor by it, is now become half a League distant from it, and near the Coast is so shallow, that great Ships can come no nearer than three or four Leagues. There are great Numbers of Peacocks in the *Indies*, especially in the Territories of *Barcelo*, *Cambaya*, and *Breada*; and in the Day-time they walk about the Fields, but at Night roost upon the Trees: The Flesh of the young ones is white, and well-tasted. In those Parts where the *Mohammedans* govern, you may catch them without Difficulty; but in those Places where there are idolatrous Rājās Masters, it is very dangerous to kill them, or any other Bird or Animal; for the *Banjans* count it Sacrilege, and will severely punish any they can seize: They whipped a *Persian* Merchant to Death, and took all his Money, to the Value of 30,000 Rupees, for shooting a Peacock.

From *Cambaya* you go through a little Village, where there is a Pagod, where the *Indian* Courtizans make their Offerings; and amongst divers naked Images, there is one that resembles *Apollo*, with his Privy-parts uncovered. The young Girls, who are trained up to this wicked Art by the old Courtizans, when they are eleven or twelve Years old, surrender themselves up to this Idol, believing that it will bring them good Fortune. And about six Leagues farther you come to *Chidabad*, which is one of the fairest Houses of the Great Mogul, being in a wide Inebdure, wherein he has vast Gardens and large Ponds, with all the Pleasures and Curiosities whereof the Genius of the *Indians* was capable. And from this Place you travel to *Amadabat*, to which City you come from *Breada* by *Neratie*.

Amadabat, which is probably the *Amadarijlo* of *Arrian*, is eighty-two Leagues from *Surat*, and lies in 23 Degrees and some Minutes of N. Lat. It is built in a lovely Plain, watered by a little River, called *Sabrametty*, which is not very deep, but swells prodigiously by the Rains. Without the Town are many large Gardens inclosed with Brick walls, and every one of them have a kind of Pavilion at the Entry: By them there is a Reservoir of Water, which has in the Middle of it a lovely Garden, eighty Paces square, into which one enters over a Bridge of four hundred Paces long; at the End of the Garden are pretty convenient Lodgings. Near these you see many Houses, which make a kind of large Village, and a great many Tombs, indifferently well built. From hence you pass through a Street, which leads you into the Town, which is inclosed with Stone and Brick walls, which, at certain Distances, are flanked with great round Towers and Butlements all over: It hath twelve Gates, and is about a League and an half in Length, if you take in the Suburbs.

All the Streets are wide, and the Meidan is four hundred Paces in Breadth, and seven hundred in Length, with Trees planted on all Sides. The Gate of the Castle is on the West side, and there are six or seven Pieces of Cannon mounted. In the Market-place are the Tribunals for the Civill, or criminal Judges; and in the Middle is a very high Tire, which has a Ball fixed to the Top of it, for those to hit who exercise themselves by shooting with Bows and Arrows. This Castle is walled about with good Walls of Free-Stone, and is as spacious as a little Town. Near the Meidan is a large Palace belonging to the King, which has over the Gate a large Balcony for the *Maharajahs*, who play there every six Hours. The Apart-

ments are adorned with Gold Paintings. The *English* Factory is in the Middle of the Town, is well furnished, and hath very fair Courts. Their Warehouses are commonly full of Cloths from *Labor* and *Deby*, with which they drive a great Trade.

But the Trade of the City is in Silk Stuffs, Hangings of Gold, Silver, and Silk, but with woollen Grounds, *Salt-petre*, Ginger candied and raw; *Lac*, *Cummin*, *Opium*, *Tamarinds*, *Mirabolans*, and flat *Indigo*: There are many Mosques great and small in it, but that which is called *Juma-mesjid*, or *Friday's* Mosque, because all the devout People of the Town flock together on that Day, is the chiefest and fairest. It hath a large square Cloister, two fine Gates, with high Steeples, from whence the *Muezzans*, or Beattles of the Mosques, call the People to Prayers. It hath several Domes, and two Minarets, and it is paved with Marble, so that all together it is a pleasant Sight. It is inhabited by many Heathens, as well as *Mohammedans*, who have their Pagods, or Idol Temples there.

The Pagod of *Santidas* was the chief before *Aurengzeb* converted it into a Mosque. It hath three Courts, paved with Marble, and encompassed with Galleries; and into the third none must enter, till they have pulled off their Shoes; the Inside is adorned with *Mosaic* Work, and Agates of divers Colours. In it are several Sepulchres of the ancient Idolatrous Kings, of *Mosick* Work, which look like little Chapels; but the Tomb of *Chastan*, whom the *Indians* report to have been a Magician, but the *Mohammedans* believe him to have been a great Saint, is most honoured, being daily visited by a great many out of Devotion. The *Banjans* have a great Veneration for Apes, and there are some that breed them up in their Pagods to worship, and if any one kill any of them, count him of it as a great Injustice. There are three or four Hospitals for Cows, Oxen, Camels, Apes, and Birds, and other sick and maimed Beasts, where they are looked after, and well fed. They buy them from *Christians* and *Mers*, to deliver them as they say from the Cruelty of Infidels, and if they are incurable, they keep them there as long as they live; but if they recover, they sell them to *Gentils*, and none else. This is also very remarkable, that every *Tuesday* and *Friday*, all the Apes in the Country adjoining come into the City, and lie upon the Tops of Houses, during the excessive Heats. Upon these Days the People never fail to set ready in their Terraces, Rice, Millet, Sugar canes, and such-like things; for if they do not find Provisions, they will break their Tiles, and do a great deal of Mischief.

About *Amadabat* are a great many Forests, where they catch Panthers, which they tame, and send to the King for his hunting. From hence you go to *Panar*, and thence by the *Mossana* to *Chitpour*, a very good Town, so called from a Sort of painted Calcutts, called *Chinzos*, made and sold here. They have an Art here of taming Lions, by tying them in a large Plain, and making them a Sport to the People. It reabouts it is common to meet the Companies of *Paquars*, or *Mohammedan* Dervises. They have a Superior, and some Assistants, who have some Cloaths better than the rest, viz. some Hills of Calcutt about their Middle, to cover their privy Parts, and a Tyger's Skin about their Shoulders; but the rest have only a Cord for their Girdle, and a little Bit of Calcutt fastened to it to cover their Privities. Their Hair is tied about their Head like a Turbant, and they are armed with Bows, Arrows, and Muskets, Half-pikes, &c. When they travel, they carry their Luggage, which is some Household stuff, and a pretty many *Arabian* and *Persian* Books on Oxen. When they come to any Place, the Superior sends some of his Crew a begging into the Towns and Villages, and what Alms they get is presently distributed equally among them, every one of them taking Care to buy his own Rice, and what is over and above, they give to the Poor in the Evening; for they relieve nothing for next Day. From *Chitpour* you pass through *Balampour*, and to through *Dantear* and *Burgant*.

This Town is in the Territories of a Rājā, to whom you must pay some Duties, and all the Way through these Countries is dangerous to be travelled, because the *Rajahs* live altogether upon Robberies, and therefore unless you

hire many People for a Guard, you will go near to have your Throat cut; for there is no Likelihood of escaping these Free-booters. From thence the Way lies through *Bimal* and *Modra* to *Chalacour*, an ancient Town upon a Mountain, encompassed with Walls, and very difficult to come to. There is a Lake upon the Top of the Mountain, and another below, and between them lies the Road to the Town. From *Chalacour* you pass on to *Cantap*, *Satlana*, *Palavafancy*, and *Pipas*, to *Dantiver*, from whence to *Mirda* is three Days Journey, being a mountainous Country, and belongs to Rajahs, or petty Princes, who pay Tribute to the Great Mogul; but in Recompence of it, the Great Mogul gives them Commands in his Army, which affords them large Appointments. *Mirda* is a great City, but ill built.

This City having offended the King's Sister *Begum*, the Wife of *Cha-Est-Kan*, in not waiting on her, and making her a Present on her Journey through that Place, when she went to marry her Daughter to Sultan *Sujab*, she let loose two hundred Elephants, who tore down their Trees, and did them incredible Mischief. From *Mirda* the Road lies through *Borendo*, *Cotcheil*, *Bandar*, *Sonery*, *Ladona*, *Chajou*, *Nouaii*, and *Hindoo*, to *Baniana*. These two last Towns are famous for Indigo Cake, which is round, and being the best of all the Indigos, is double the Price. *Vetrapour*, a Town famous for weaving Woollen Hangings, is the next Town, and from thence you go directly to *Agra*, to which from *Surat* is four hundred and fifteen Leagues, and thirty-three Days Journey, it they could be equally divided; but because you stay in some Places, it usually takes up thirty-five or forty Days.

From *Candabar* there are two Ways to *Agra*, either through *Caboul* or *Multan*; the latter is the shorter by ten Days Journey; but the Caravan never goes that Way, because it lies almost all through the Desarts, where there is no Water to be met with for three or four Days together, so that their most ordinary and beaten Road is through *Caloul*. Now from *Candabar* to *Caboul* is twenty-four Days Journey, and from thence to *Labor* twenty-two; from *Labor* to *Debby*, or *Gibanabat*, eighteen, and from thence to *Agra* six, which with the sixty Days Journey from *Ispahan* to *Errata*, and twenty from *Errata* to *Candabar*, makes in all from *Ispahan* to *Agra* one hundred and fifty Days Journey; but the Merchants that are in haste ride three or four in a Company upon Horses, and finish it in sixty or sixty-four Days at most.

Multan lies in 29° 40' North Latitude, and is the capital Town of the Province of the same Name, tho' some Geographers place it in the Province of *Sinde*. It hath many Towns dependant upon it, as *Cazdar*, or *Cordar*, *Candavil*, *Sandur*, and others. In this City are made a vast Quantity of Linnen Calicuts, for which heretofore there was a very great Trade, because it not being far from the River *Indus*, they could easily transport them to *Tata*, where the Merchants of several Countries bought them up; but because of late the Channel of the River is spoiled in some Places, and the Mouth is quite stopped up with Sands, they are forced to send all their Goods to *Agra*, and to *Surat*, which so increases the Price by the Carriage, that the Merchants do not care to deal in them; by which means the Trade is much lessened there, and the Workmen have deserted the City, so that the King's Revenues are much lessened in those Provinces: Yet there is a small Trade for Sugar, Opium, Hrimstone, Galls, and Camels, which are transported into *Perfia*, *Gazna*, *Candabar*, and the *Indies*, by *Labor*. It furnishes *Indofan* with the finest Bows that are to be seen in it; and here are bred the great Number of Dancers of both Sexes that spread themselves all over *Perfia*.

The Commander and Officers of this Town are *Mobamedans*, and consequently it may be supposed that most Parts of the Inhabitants are of the same Religion; yet there are a great many *Banyans*, who come to trade, and exercise their Arts, and Brokage, and Utury, in which they much outdo the *Jews*; for they are so watchful and cunning, that no Opportunity of Gain slips them; and they have to wound themselves in all Business, that hardly any body can be without them. They take Commissions of all Kinds, and though it be known that they make a Profit of every

thing, yet the Merchants chuse to make use of them, rather than do their Business themselves; for they will buy cheaper and better than any Man can for himself. They are of a pleasant Humour, and refuse no Service, whether honourable or base, and are always ready to satisfy those that employ them; and therefore every one has his *Banyan* in the *Indies*, and some Persons of Quality intrust them with all they have, though they are no ignorant of their Hypocrisy and Avarice. The richest Merchants of the *Indies* are of this Clais or Tribe. They are commonly very jealous of their Wives, who are fairer than the Men, though of a brown Complexion, and love to paint. They have a particular Law amongst them, which permits them to eat Fowl upon certain Days of the Year, and to have one Wife among two or three Brothers, and the eldest of them is accounted the Father of the Children begotten among them.

9. From *Candabar* you travel to *Charisafar*, and then through *Zealate*, *Retzay*, *Mezzur*, and *Garabat*, to *Chakencouze*, which is a frontier Town of the *Indies*, and the Country about it under the Command of several Princes that acknowledge the *Perfian* Emperor. From this City to *Caboul* is forty Leagues, and in the whole Journey there is but three pitiful Villages, where you can rarely get Bread and Barley for your Horses, and therefore you must carry Provisions for yourself.

In the Months of *July* and *August* there blows an hot Wind in these Parts, that takes away a Man's Breath, and kills him upon the Place. It is the same with that which blows about *Babylon* and *Moufful* at certain Seasons. In this Road dwells a certain People called *Augans*, towards the Mountains of *Balob*; they are a sturdy sort of People, and great Robbers in the Night-time. These People, as the rest of the *Indians*, have a Custom to cleanse and scrape their Tongues every Morning with a crooked Piece of a Root, which causes them to void a great Quantity of Phlegm and Rheum, but not to vomit, as it doth the other *Indians*; nevertheless, when they come to eat, as soon as they have swallowed two or three Bits, their Lungs begin to swell, and they are constrained to go forth and vomit; after which they return again to their Victuals with a very good Appetit; should they not do so, they would not live above thirty Years, and besides would be troubled with a Dropsy.

Caboul is a large City, the Metropolis of the Province of *Caboulijtan*, or *Caboul*, and hath two Castles well fortified; and because several Kings have held their Courts there, and many Princes have had it successively for their Portion, there are a great many Palaces in it. It lies in 33° of North Latitude, the Mountains about it produce Plenty of Mirabolans, which from thence the Eastern People called *Cabouy*, several Sorts of Drugs, and some Spices, with which the Iron Mines in them yield a great Profit to the Inhabitants. In this Town they maintain a great Trade with *Tartary*, the Country of the *Ujbecks*, and the *Indies*. The *Ujbecks* alone sell yearly in this Town above sixty thousand Horses, and the *Perfians* bring hither great Numbers of Sheep, and other Cattle, by which means they are much enriched. Wine is to be had, and Provisions are cheap, though the Country about it is but cold and barren, unless in some Places, which are sheltered by the Mountains, being rendered a little more fruitful, by the two Rivers that water it, and which have their Source in the Mountains.

From this Province especially come the large Canes, of which they make Halberds and Lances, and they have many Grounds planted with them. The Inhabitants of the City and Province are most of them Heathens, and therefore in all Towns and Villages are many Pagods. They reckon the Months by the Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate the Feast called *Houly*, which lasts two Days, at the full Moon in *February*. At this Feast, they are all clothed in a dark red, and after they have prayed in the Temple, and made Oblations, they spend the rest of the Time in Dancing, by Companies, in the Streets, to the Sound of Trumpets, visiting their Friends, and eating together, every Tribe by itself. The Great Mogul's Revenue from this Country is four or five Millions yearly.

From

From *Caboul* the Road lies through *Bariabe*, *Nimela*, *Aibrua*, *Taka*, *Kiamri*, *Chsour*, and *Nozechaar*, to *Ateck*, a City situate upon a Point of Land, where two Rivers meet together. It is one of the best and strongest Garrisons the Great Mogul has, and no stranger is permitted to enter into it without a Passport from the King. From hence you pass to *Calapane*, and so to *Reupate*, *Toulapcca*, *Keralay*, *Zerabad*, and *Imabad*, to *Labor*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon the River *Rava*, which is one of the Five Rivers, which descending from the Mountains, swell the River *Indus*, and give the Name of *Peniab*, or *Five Rivers*, to all the Region they run through.

It lies in 31° 50', the River having a very flat Channel, is fallen off from the Town above a League, and being subject to overflow, does a great deal of Mischief in the Country. The City is large, and extends itself above a League in Length. It was a very pretty Place when the Kings kept their Courts there, having many Mosques, publick Baths, Caravanferas's, Squares, Tanques, Palaces and Gardens; but all these, with the greatest Part of the Houses, are fallen to Ruin, by reason of the excessive Rains, which have washed down many of them. The Castle remains still, for it is strongly built. It hath twelve Gates, three towards the City, and nine towards the Country, and the Palace which is within it has not yet lost its Beauty. There are a great many Pictures upon the Walls, representing the Actions of the Great Mogul, and his Forefathers, all promiseously painted; and on one Gate is the Picture of a Crocifix, and on another the Virgin *Mary*, not out of any Kindness to the Christian Religion, but to flatter the *Portuguese*.

The Inhabitants are most of them *Gentiles*, and so there are many Pagods in the Town, of which some are adorned well, and all are raised even or eight Steps from the Ground. The Province about it is one of the largest and most plentiful in the *Indies*, the Rivers that run through it rendering it most fertile in Rice, Corn, and Fruits. The Wine also is pretty good, and the Sugars the best of all *Indian*. All sorts of painted Cloths, and other *Indian* Manufactures, are wrought here, and it is said that this Province yields the Mogul a Revenue of thirty-seven Millions yearly, which is a Proof of its great Trade and Fruitfulness. From *Labor* to *Agra* there is one continued Walk of Trees, called *Achy* Trees, which have long and thick Branches, which cover the whole Way, though these Cities be one hundred and fifty Leagues distant one from the other. It was planted by King *Gebanguss*, but is not kept up.

At *Tanajoor*, a Town in this Province, is a Convent of *Gentiles*, who are called *Nartias*; they have a General, Provincial, and other Superiors, and say, that it is above two thousand Years since they were founded; they vow Obedience, Chastity, and Poverty. They obey the least Signal of their Superiors, and will not look a Maid or Woman in the Face. They live on Alms, which is begged for them every Day at the Houses of the *Gentiles* of their Tribes, and will leave nothing till the Morrow. They make but one Meal a Day, and that is about Noon; and though they are never to thirst or hungry, must not eat nor drink till the same time the next Day.

They wear nothing on their Bodies, but a Cloth to cover their privy Parts, which they bring up over their Heads, like a Woman's Coat. The main Point of their Institution is, not to do to others what they would not have others to do to them; and they observe it even to the Beasts, which they will never kill. If any body beat them, they do not resist, and if they are reviled, they make no Answer. They employ themselves wholly in Prayers, and Reading; but conclude the Day with the Sun-set; for they never light a Candle. If any break their Orders, he is severely punished; and if they break their Vow of Chastity, they are expelled. They have above ten thousand Monasteries in the *Indies*. Some of them think it sufficient to worship God in Spirit, and have no Idols, or Pagods. There are also religious Nuns of the same Order, who live very exemplary.

10. From *Labor* the Way lies by *Menat-kan*, *Tatyabad*, *Sera-dukan*, *Sera-balour*, *Sera-dowrai*, *Serinde*, *Sera-Mogul*, *Sera-Clabas*, *Duauriel*, *Sera-Crindul*, and *Guema-*

our, to *Debly*, or *Gebanabad*. This City is a large Place, and stands near the River *Gemma*, which runs on both Sides of it, and after it has passed *Agra* and *Kadiene*, empties itself into the *Ganges*. It is divided into three Parts or Towns. The first is almost intirely destroyed. The *Indians* say it is very ancient, and that it was the capital City of the States of King *Porus*, who opposed *Alexander the Great*. The *Indians* say it had fifty-two Gates, and there are still remaining a long Stone Bridge, and a Way, with lovely Trees leading to the second Town, by the Sepulchre of *Cha-Humayen*. The second Town was at the Conquest of it beautified with many lately Sepulchres of the *Patan* Kings, and other Monuments, which rendered it a very lovely Place; but *Cha-Jehan*, the Father of *Aurengzeb* the present King demolished it, and left nothing but a Pyramid, or Obelisk of Stone, which, by its unknown Characters, shews a great Antiquity.

The third Town is joined to the Ruins of the second, and was built by *Cha-Jehan* out of the Ruins of it, and from him it had its Name of *Gebanabad*. This City lies in an open Champain, upon the Bank of the River *Gemma*, and is encompassed with a single Wall. All the Houses even of private Men consist of great Inclosures, in the midst of which is a Place for Lodgings. The greatest Part of the Lords have their Houses without the City, for the Convenience of Water; for the King chooseth to keep his Court here rather than at *Agra*, for the same Convenience. As you enter into *Gebanabad* from *Debly*, you come into a long and broad Street, which has Vaults on each Side, where the Merchants keep their Shops. This Street ends in the great Piazza, where the King's Palace stands. There is another Street which leads up to the King's Palace, where the Merchants live, who keep no Shops. The Fortrefs of it is half a League in Circuit, and has good Walls, with round Towers in them, and Ditches about them full of Water. The King's Palace, where are all the Emblems of Royalty, is in this Fort. There is a Place by the Water-side for the fighting of Elephants, and other Exercises. The King's Palace is encompassed with Walls of fair red-cut Stone, with Battlements.

The Gate and first Court have nothing of Magnificence, for the great Lords may enter into with their Elephants. Out of this Court you go through a long and large Passage, with fair Portico's on both Sides, into a great Court, where the Omrahs, i. e. the great Lords of the Kingdom, keep Guard in Person, having their Lodgings round about the Court, and their Horses tied at the Doors. From the second Court you pass into a third, through a great Piazza, where on the one Side is the Mogul's Wardrobe, out of which he bestows the Calaat, or whole Habit of a Man, which he gives to any Stranger, or Subject, in Honor to them. The next is the Place where the Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys are laid, which are founded when the King goes upon the Judgment Seat, and right forward into the Divan, where the King gives Audience and Sentence. In the Middle of the Hall is the Throne, where the King sits, erected upon a Kind of Theatre. It has a little Bed, with four Columns, a Canopy, Back-piece, Bolster, and Counterpoint, all embroidered with Diamonds, and covered with a Cloth of Gold when the King sits on it. Below the Throne is a Place twenty-four Foot square, encompassed with Balusters, sometimes of Silver, and at other Times Gold Plates. At the four Corners of it sit the four Secretaries of State, who are the only Advocates in all Causes.

Many Lords stand by the Balustrade, and some of the greatest, with his Children, stand by the Throne. While the King is on his Throne, none may stir out of the Palace, nor any that have Business come nearer than the Channel in the Middle of the Court, till they are called, and not Embassadors themselves. From the Divan the King passes over a Terrace, where the River is to be seen, into the *Ilaram*. Upon the left Hand of the Court stands a fine Mosque newly built, with a Cupola covered with Lead perfectly gilt. Either the King goes every Day to hear Prayers, except *Fridays*, when he goes to the great Mosque, which is a very fair one, and raised above the Houses of the City. On the right Side of the Court are the King's Stables, which are full of stately Horses, the worst of which stands the King in three thousand Crowns, and some of

This City is a large Place, which runs on both Sides *Agra* and *Kadiens*, empties divided into three Parts or entirely destroyed. The *Indians* that it was the capital *Porus*, who opposed *Alexis* had fifty-two Gates, a long Stone Bridge, and ending to the second Town *mayen*. The second Town beautified with many stately *Palaces*, and other Monuments, *Palace*; but *Cha-Jehan*, the King demolished it, and for Obelisk of Stone, which, news a great Antiquity. to the Ruins of the second, to the Ruins of it, and from *abad*. This City lies in an ank of the River *Genna*, and Wall. All the Houses even of Inclosures, in the midst of s. The greatest Part of the out the City, for the Conve- chuteth to keep his Court the same Convenience. As om *Debby*, you come into ach has Vaults on each Side, near Shops. This Street ends King's Palace: there is up to the King's Palace, who keep no Shops. The ue in Circuit, and has good s in them, and Dishes about King's Palace, where are all the s his Fort. There is a Place by ting of Elephants, and other ace is encompassed with Walls Battlements. have nothing of Magnificence, enter into with their Elephants ough a long and large Passage. Sides, into a great Court, where Lords of the Kingdom, keep their Lodgings round about the ried at the Doors. From a third, through a great Gate, the Mogul's Wardrobe, and of at, or whole Habit of a Man, ger, or Subject, in Honour to e where the Drums, Trumpets, ch are founded when the King seat, and right forward is the es Audience and Sentence. In the Throne, where the King sits, eatre. It has a little Bed, with Back-piece, Bolster, and Cush- ith Diamonds, and covered with e King sits on it. Below the four Foot square, encompassed of Silver, and at other Times Corners of it fit the four secret only Advocates in all Causes, the Balustrade, and some of the stand by the Throne. While none may stir out of the Pa- Business come nearer than the Court, till they are called, es. From the *Divan* the King e the River is to be seen, into the and of the Court stands a Cupola covered with Lead, the King goes every Day to see when he goes to the great Mosque, and tailed above the House. Side of the Court are the King's stately Houses, the worst of which thousand Crowns, and some of

an thousand. On the River the King has several small Brigantines to take his Pleasure in.

From *Debby* you travel to *Badelpoura*, and so by *Pelcelki-fera* and *Catki-fura*, where is one of the greatest Pagods of the *Indians*, together with an Hospital for Apes, as well for those that are bred thereabout, as for those that come from the neighbouring Parts, which the *Banjans* are very careful to feed. The Pagod is called *Matura*. It was formerly in greater Veneration than now it is, and the Reason is this, because the River washing the Walls thereof, was convenient for the washing the *Banjans* before they went to their Devotions; but since the River has left it above a League, many have deserted; but still it wants not some Resort of the *Indians*, who always bring with them some Food for the Apes.

12. Between this Place and *Goodisera* is but five Leagues, and then you come to *Agra*. This City lies in 27° 31' of Latitude, and in a sandy Soil, which causes extreme Heat. It is the biggest City in *India*, and was formerly the Residence of their Kings, till *Cha-Jehan* fearing the great Heats, usually sought a more temperate Air, and so removed to *Geban-abad*. The Houses of great Persons are large, and well built; but the Houses of the meaner sort are as plain as in other Parts of *India*, being low and thatched. It is not very populous, unless it be when the Court is there; but at that Time it is thronged, the King being attended with an Army for his Guards, and a great Number of *Rajahs*, *Omrabs*, *Maulapdars*, and other Nobles, with their Retinues, besides Merchants and Tradesmen that follow the Court for Trade. The People are most of them *Mohammedans*, and these have all the Power in their Hands, though there are a considerable Number of *Christians*, some few *Hindus* and *Parsees*.

The *Dutch* have a Factory here, but the *English* have left theirs, because it did not turn to Account. The most remarkable Things in *Agra* are the King's Palace, and some Monuments near and about the City. The King's Palace is in the Castle, which is begirt with a Wall of Stone and Brick, terrassed in several Places, which is twenty Cubits high. Between the Castle and the River is a large Place left on purpose for the fighting of Elephants for the King's Diversion. It is near the Water, to allay the Fury of the conquering Elephant, who presently comes to his Temper, like a bull or three Feet deep in the Water. Before the Place is a wide Piazza, it contains three Courts, adorned with Porches and Galleries, that are painted and gilt; nay, some Things are covered with Plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the first Court are the Lodgings for the King's Guards; in the second is the Officers' Lodgings; and in the third stately Apartments for the King and his Ladies: Out of these the King goes commonly to a lovely *Divan*, which looks to the River, to please himself in seeing Elephants fight. His Troops exercise and play upon the Water, or in the open Place. By this Palace stand twenty-five or thirty very large ones, in a direct Line, which belong to the Princes, and other great Lords of the Court, and all together afford a most delightful Prospect to those who are on the other Side of the River. Besides these Palaces, the Beauty of *Agra* consists in the *Caravaneras*, which are about sixty in Number, and of some of them have six large Courts, with their Portico's which lead to very commodious Apartments, where the Merchants Strangers have their Lodgings.

There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great Number of Mosques, some of which are Sanctuaries. There are many magnificent and stately Monuments near about *Agra* for several great Men, and especially the rich Eunuuchs, belonging to the King's Harem, are ambitious to build their own in their Life-time, and to erect Monuments to the Memories of their Forefathers; and as the Great Mogul encourages them in, that he may keep his Money in his own Kingdom, and divert them from going to *Mecca*, whether their blind Devotions often leads them to spend it. The two most eminent Monuments are that which King *Gebangur* caused to be built for *Ishar* his Father upon an Eminence in the Town. It surpasses the Magnificence of all those of the Grand Signors; but the fairest of all is that which *Cha-Jehan* erected in Honour of one of his Wives called *Zage-Mebal*, whom

he tenderly loved, and whose Death had almost cost him his Life. It was built by the most able Architects of the *Indes*, whom the King called together in a Council to contrive it, and having built stately Galleries upon them, ordered them to spare no Cost to make it the finest Mausoleum in the World, if they could.

The *Indians* say it was twenty Years in building, that twenty thousand Men were always employed about it, and it was finished at length to Satisfaction. It stands on the East Side of the City, by the River Side. It is a kind of a Garden, with Compartments, like our Garden Plots; but the Walks, instead of Gravel, are black and white Marble: You enter into it through a large Portal, and on the left Hand is a fair Gallery, which looks towards *Mecca*, and in which are three or four Niches, wherein the *Mufts* comes at certain Hours to pray. About the Middle of the Garden are three great Platforms, one raised above another, with four Towers at the Corners of each. On the Top is a Cupola covered with and without with black Marble; under it is an empty Tomb (for the Sultan is buried under the lowest Platform) adorned with Tapestries, Candles, and other Ornaments, where there are always *Moullahs* attending to pray. The Sepulchres of the Eunuuchs have only one Platform, with four little Chambers at the four Corners.

The *Indians* are pretty uniform in their Apparel, only the *Mohammedans* and the *Moors* distinguish themselves by a particular kind of Coat, or Head Attire; but in all things else they are clothed as the rest. Their Breeches are commonly of Cotton Cloth, and sometimes of Silk, and come down to the Leg or Ankle. Their Shirts hang over their Breeches, as the Fashion is all over the *Levant*, and open before. In cold Weather they wear over their Shirts an Arcaick, or Waistcoat, of painted Stuff, quilted with Cotton, and pinked; and over that a Caba of white Cotton Cloth, for Lightness and Neateness; but if it be hot, they lay aside their Arcaick. They use but one Girdle, and that is of white Cotton Cloth. None use the lovely Girdles of *Perfia* but the most wealthy Persons of Quality; in cold Weather they wear a Vest called *Cadeby*, lined with Sables. At all times, when they go abroad, they wear a Chal, which is like a Scarf, of several Colours. Their Turban is commonly little, and the *Mohammedans* wear it always white. The Rich have them of soft Cloth, that twenty-five or thirty Ells of it, put into a Turban, will not weigh four Ounces. They are made at *Bengal*, and are dear. They wear their Hair for Ornament, contrary to other *Mohammedans*, who all have their Hair's. They use no Stockings, and on their naked Feet Slippers, which are of *Morocco*, or *Turkey* Leather; only the *Langurs* wear Heels to their Shoes, that they may stir more freely about their Business.

The rich *Banjans* cover theirs with Velvet, embroidered with Silk Flowers; but the Poor are satisfied with red Leather. The *Mogul* Women are clothed almost like the Men, but the Sleeves of their Smocks reach no lower than the Elbow, that they may have Room to adorn their Arms with Catkanets, and Bracelets of Gold, Silver, and Ivory, or set with precious Stones, as they do also the Small of their Legs. The Smocks of the *Indian* *Mohorous* Women reach down only to the Middle, as doth the Waistcoat of Sam, or Cloth, which they wear over it, because from the Waist downward they wrap themselves up in a Piece of Cloth, or Stuff, that covers them to the Feet like a Petticoat: For Shoes they have high Pattens; they wear little flat Rings of Gold or silver in their Ears, with Filagree upon them, and adorn their Noes with Rings put through their Nostrils. They wear also Rings on their Fingers for Ornaments, and have generally one with a Looking-glass set in it an Inch Diameter, to see themselves. If the *Indian* Women are Idolaters, they go bare-faced; if *Mohammedans*, they are veiled.

In some Countries both Men and Women go naked to the Waist, and cover themselves from thence to the Heels. At *Agra* they are curious in breeding up Beasts to fight for Pleasure, viz. He-goats, Weathers, Rams, Cocks, Quails, Stags, and Antilopes; for such as cannot reach Lions and Elephants, are dextrous Fowls and Hunters. Fishes also in this City are drawn with Air; but being for the

most part lascivious, are rarely bought up by *Europeans*. They have a Way in this Town of working in Gold, upon Agate, Crystal, and other base Metals, which our Goldsmiths and Lapidaries have not.

13. In your Journey from *Agra* to *Bengal* you come first to *Beruzabad*, then to *Serail Humal* and *Serail-Sokan-ârti*: to *Sauqual*: A League from thence you pass over the River *Sangur* upon a Stone Bridge, where those that are passing from *Bengal* to *Sarat* may leave the Road to *Agra*, and ferrying over the *Gemna*, shorten their Journey ten Days: But, since some of that Way is very stony, Travellers generally chuse to go by the Way of *Agra*. From this Bridge you go on by the *Cheourabad* and the Town *Serail Chagnada*, and *Serail* leaning to *Auren-abad*. This is a great Town, and the Capital of a Province, but it has no Walls. The Governor, who is a Prince, has his Residence there; and *Aureng-Zeb* commanded there, as he did at *Candiah* in the Reign of his Father: His first Wife, whom he loved dearly, died in this Town, and as a Monument to her, he erected a lovely Mosque, covered with a Dome, and beautified it with four Minarets, or Steeples. It is built of white polished Stone, which looks almost like Marble.

It hath several pretty Mosques, Inns, and Baths. The Buildings are, for the most part, of Free-Stone, and pretty high: Before the Doors grow a great many Trees in the Streets, and the Gardens are well cultivated and pleasant, affording the Refreshments of the Fruits, Grapes, and Grafs-plats. They have Sheep without Horns, that are so strong, that being bridled and saddled, they will carry Children of ten or twelve Years of Age. It is a good trading Town, and well peopled, with excellent Ground about it. It took its Name, by which it is now called, from the present Monarch *Aureng Zeb*, who overcame Sultan *Sajah*, his Brother, who was Governor of all the Provinces of *Bengal*, in that Place. From thence you pass to *Amaban*, and two Leagues farther pass the *Ganges*, which, though famous in History, is so shallow from *March* to *June* or *July*, when the Rains fall, that it will not bear a Boat.

The Water being drank causeth the Gripes, and therefore the *Hollanders* that live upon the Banks of it, never drink thereof till they have boiled it; but the Natives are so accustomed to it, that the King and Court drink no other, because they account it lighter than any other Water. The Heathen *Indians* account the Water of this River to be sacred, and have many Pagods by it, the fairest in the *Indies*; so that it may be said, that here Idolatry is most triumphant. The two chief Pagods are at the Towns of *Jagarnat* and *Benerou*: Nothing can be more magnificent than they are, by reason of the great Quantity of Gold and many Jewels with which they are adorned. In these Pagods they keep their Festivals many Days together, and many People repair thither from all Parts of the *Indies*, where they carry their Idols in Triumph, and act all Manner of Superstitions by the Encouragement of the *Bramins*, who are numerous thereabouts, and draw much Profit by it. The *Ganges* is full of pleasant Islands, covered with lovely Trees, so that it is most delicious Sailing upon it. In these Islands and some other Places of *Bengal* is a Bird called *Meina*, whose Colour is like a Black-bird, but as big as a Raven, it will speak like a Starling, and imitates the Neighing of a Horse exactly. This River has received an infinite Number of Brooks and Rivers from the N. E. and W. into it, and discharges itself by several Mouths into the Gulph of *Bengal*, which is eight hundred Miles over, and reaches from the 15 to the 22° of Latitude.

14. Having passed the *Ganges*, you arrive at *Hallabas*, a great City, built upon the Point of Land where the *Ganges* and *Gemna* meet, it is the chief Town of a Province that bears the same Name. It was, for a long Time, one of the Bulwarks of the Kingdom of *Patans*, and is the same Town which *Pliny* calls *Chrysobara*. It was subdued to the Kingdom of the Mogul by King *Eibar*, who built a strong Citadel in it strengthened with three Walls, of which the outermost is of a very hard red Stone. It is adorned with a very ancient Obelisk, above sixty Feet high, that has many Inscriptions, but the Letters are not

legible. The Mogul has a fair Palace here, and under it are certain arched Places where the Pagods of *Adam* and *Eve* are kept, whose Religion they pretend to follow. Hither, at certain Times, come an incredible Number of Pilgrims from all Parts of the *Indies* to visit those Pagods, because they say *Adam* and *Eve* were created here; but, before they approach the Place, which they esteem holy, they all wash themselves in the *Ganges*. The Province of *Hallabas* pays the Mogul yearly fourteen Millions.

At *Hallabas* there are usually Troops of *Faquirs*, who call themselves a religious Order among the *Indians*, and many of them practise the Life of Penitents, forbearing to eat many Days, standing constantly upon a Stone for several Weeks or Months, holding their Arms across over their Heads as long as they live, or bury themselves in a Pit for a certain Time; but others wander up and down the Country like Gypsies, committing Robberies and all sorts of Rogueries; some of them will threaten to kill themselves, and some of them have done it, unless the *Banjans* would give them what they demand, and to obtain considerable Sums of them; for the *Banjans* abhor Murder, and will give any thing to prevent it. The Penitents are extremely honoured by the *Gentiles*, and the *Rajahs*, who they draw down Blessings upon themselves when they give to them.

From *Hallabas* you pass over a River, where stands a Detoga on each Side, to take Notice of what Goods are transported, there being due for every Waggon load four *Ruppes*, and every Coach one, and they stop at that travel without a Pass; and then go through *Tok del jera*, *salaw*, *Saracel*, and *Bourab-fera* to *Benarou*. This is a large City, and handsomely built, most of the Houses being of Brick or Stone, and higher than in any other *Indian* City, but the Streets are narrow. There are many Inns in the Town, and among the rest one very large and handsomely built. In the midst of the Court are two Galleries, where are to be sold Calicuts, Silk, and other Merchandise, and under them are Cellars where the Workmen live. All the Goods are stamped with the King's Seal, before they are exposed to Sale.

The *Ganges* runs by the Walls on the South Side, and in it is one of the principal Pagods of the Idolaters. About five hundred Paces from the City northward, there is a Mosque, where are many *Mohammedan* Sepulchres, inclosed with a Garden; but there are Holes through the Walls half a Foot square for Travellers to look into them. The most considerable is said to be that of one of the Kings of *Bhentan*. It is a four-square Pedestal, forty Paces wide, and in the Midst of it a Pyramid thirty-two, or thirty-five Feet high, with a great Wall at the Top. All the Fronts are full of the Figures of Animals cut in Stone. It was once very high, but within fifty Years it is sunk above thirty Feet into the Earth. From *Banarou* you pass on to *Baterpour*, and so by *Satragy-fera* to *Mama-fera*, in the Road from thence you ford two Rivers called *Garnafajou* and *Saol-fou*, and come to *Courmaed*, which stands upon the River *Gouderfajou*. The City stands at the Foot of certain Mountains, near which is great Lake, and in the Midst of it a small Island, with a fair Mosque built upon it, wherein is the Sepulchre of a *Nawab* Governor, called *Selim-Khan*, who built it for himself when he was Governor of the Province. There is a fair Free-stone Bridge to cross over into the Island; and on the Side of the Lake is a great Garden, in the Middle of which is a fair Sepulchre of the Governor's Son, who succeeded his Father in the Government of that Province. To visit *Sancrou* you ferry over the River *Son-fou*, which flows from the Northern Mountains; Here all Merchants pay certain Toll; and so you go on to *Dutib*, *Sang-fera*, and so by *Palva-fera* and *Aga-fera* to *Paina*. This is one of the biggest Cities in *India*, being two Leagues long, and standing on the Banks of the *Ganges* westward, but the Houses are no better than in the greatest Part of the other Cities, being covered with Bamboo, or Straw. The *Dutib* Company have an House there, because of the Trade in Salt-petre, which they buy up here and reneat at *Cleoupar*, a great Town upon the *Ganges*, ten Leagues distant from *Paina*.

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atraguy-jera to *Mamadher-jera*,
ou ford two Rivers called *bar*
come to *Gourmand*, which
derja-jou. The City stands at
ins, near which is a great Lake,
all Island, with a fair *Mosque*
Sepulchre of a *Nawab* *Ga-*
who built it for himself when
ovince. There is a fair Brea-
to the Island; and on the Side
len, in the Middle of which is
ernor's Son, who is the pre-
ent of that Province. Leaving
River *Son-jou*, which is a large
eams: Here all *Meronadite*
you go on to *Dhat*, *Nargat*,
and *Aga-jera* to *Patna*. These
s in *India*, being two Leagues
Banks of the *Ganges* well water-
er than in the greatest Part
ered with Bamboos, or *Sraw*,
an Houfe there, because of that
they buy up here and reneat
on the *Ganges*, ten Leagues do

The People of this Town having a *Mim Cacbi*, or Co-
lonel of a thousand Foot, slain for Sodomy by his Boy,
whom he had forced, he justified the Fact against the Go-
vernor, so that he durst not punish him for the Murder,
but dismissed him after six Months Imprisonment. From
Patna you sail down the River to *Deca*, passing by several
Towns where you lodge at Night; viz. *Sera Beconour*,
which is beyond the River *Pomporjou*, which comes from
the South, falls into the *Ganges*, *Sera-Enjab*, between which
and the City *Monger* four Rivers, viz. the *Raoa*, *Chanan*,
Erguga, and *Aquera*, fall into the *Ganges* on both Sides.
Leaving *Monger*, you sail by the Mouth of the *Ganges* at a
large River, and arrive at *Zangira*, beyond which the *Ro-*
nova, *Tea*, and *Cbanon*, empty themselves into the *Ganges*.
And after you arrive at *Baquelapour*, and passing by the
River *Catave*, you come to *Pongangel*, which lies at the
Foot of certain Mountains which come down to the *Gan-*
ges. Beyond this Place you meet with the River *Mart-*
Nardi, and by it sail to *Roge-Mebale*, a City upon the
Right-hand of the *Ganges*; if you go by Land to it, the
Highway is paved with Brick for a League or two before
the Town. Formerly the Governor of *Bengal* resided here,
partly because it was a Place of great Trade, and partly be-
cause it is an excellent Country for hunting, as well as to
keep the King of *Aracan* in Awe, and suppress the *Por-*
tuguese Banditti, who have retired to the Mouths of the
Ganges, and make Excursions as far as *Decu* itself.

But the River having left the City above half a League,
the Governor and Merchants are removed to *Decu*, which
at present is a large City and full of Trade. From this
Town, you come first by Water to *Dnapour*, then to
Tautipour, where there are abundance of Crocodiles in the
River; as also at *Aerat*, which is in the Way. The
vulgar Report is, that a Musket-Shot will not pierce the
Skins of the Crocodiles; but, upon Trial, it is found false.
Then you sail to *Daloudia*, and passing the Mouth of the
River *Cbativer*, you come to *Dampour*, and so to *Jatra-*
pour, near which the *Ganges* divides itself into three Arms,
and then by *Baga*, *Maga*, and *Kafata*; having passed the
Mouth of the River *Lapicia* two Leagues, you arrive
at *Decu*. This Town runs in a straight Line; besides
every one strives to have his Dwelling by the Side of the
Ganges. It is two Leagues long, but the Houses are but
ttery Huts, made of Bamboos, and daubed over with
Earth. The Governor's Palace is a Place inclosed with
high Walls, in the Middle of which is a pitiful Houfe, built
of Wood: He generally lodges in Tents, which he cautes
to be set up in a great Court of that Inclosure. The *Hol-*
landers have here a very fair Houfe, which they have
built for the Safety of their Goods, and the *English* have
another, but not so handomely. The Church of the *Au-*
gustin Friars is also of Brick, and is a very stately Pile.

15. There are several Roads from *Surat* to *Golconda*:
As by *Surat*, by *Goa* and *Vijapour*, and by *Agra*. These
two Roads by Land meet at *Dulhabat*, and therefore I will
speak first of the Road from *Surat*, as the most common,
and then of that by *Goa* and *Vijapour*. From *Surat* you
travel by *Cambari*, *Barnoli*, *Beira*, *Navepour*, *Rinkuli*,
Pipener, *Nainpour*, *Patant*, *Secoura*, *Requola*, and *Difcon*
to *Dulhabat*. This Town is one of the best Fortresses in
the Dominions of the Great Mogul, being seated upon a
Mountain every Way steep, the only Way being so nar-
row, that but one Horse, or one Camel, can go at a Time.
This Town stands at the Foot of the Mountain, very well
walled, with a natural smooth Rock, and has Battlements
and Towers mounted with Cannon; but it is the Citadel
on the Top of the Hill that is accounted the main Strength
of it; for in it are a great many excellent Pieces of Can-
non, and the Cannoners are generally *English* or *Hol-*
landers.

From *Dulhabat* you go to *Aurenabat*, before described,
and so through *Pipeli*, *Aubar*, *Gufonner*, *Alin*, *Sarzer*,
and *Lejona*, to *Nadour*. Here you cross a River, which
runs into the *Ganges*, and must pay for every Waggon-
load of Goods four *Rupees*, and have a Pals from the Go-
vernor. From *Nadour* you travel to *Patonta*, and so by
Kabri, *Satapour*, *Satanig*, or *Satanagar*, where you be-
gin to enter upon the Territories of the King of *Golconda*.
The other Road through *Goa* and *Vijapour* to *Golconda*

lies thus; you may go from *Surat* to *Goa*, partly by Land
and partly by Sea; but the Road being very bad by Land,
Travellers generally go by Sea, and hiring an Almadire,
which is a Bark with Oars, sail by the Shore to *Goa*, and
so they pass by these Towns (which are convenient to
lodge in, or victual at, viz. *Daman*, *Bassain*, *Cbacul*, *Da-*
boul, *Rejapour*, and *Mingrela*) to *Goa*. From *Surat* to
Goa is two hundred and forty Leagues. The great Dan-
ger in this coasting Voyage, is falling into the Hands of
the *Malabars*, or *Indian* Pirates, who are furious *Moham-*
medans, and very cruel to the Christians, whom they put
to barbarous Tortures if they take them, to make them
seek their Ranom the sooner. The *Malabars* sometimes
carry two hundred, and sometimes two hundred and forty
Men, and sail together in Squadrons of ten or fifteen Barks
to attack a great Ship, for they care not a Rush for the
great Guns: They come on Board of a sudden, and cast
such a great Quantity of Pots of artificial Fire upon the
Decks, that if there be not a speedy Remedy applied,
they do a world of Mischief. Our Seamen, generally know-
ing the Custom of these Pirates, when they come within
Sight, shut up the Skuttles, and fill the Deck with Water,
to hinder the Fire-pots from doing Execution.

Goa lies in an Island six or seven Leagues about, upon
the River *Mandoua*, ten Leagues from the Mouth of the
River. This Island abounds in Corn, Rice, and several
sorts of Fruit, as *Mangas*, *Ananas*, *Adam's* Figs, and *Co-*
coas, but all of them are inferior to a Pippin. The Port
of *Goa* is very commodious, the City is very large, and
the Walls are of good Stone; the Houses for the most
part are very magnificently built, especially the Viceroy's
Palace; but being closely environed with Hills, the Air is
made unwholesome, and so excessively hot, that the Inha-
bitants are not so many as otherwise they would be. Beef
and Pork are the ordinary Diet, and they have Plenty of
Poultry and Pigeons; but Fish is scarce, though they are
near the Sea: They have abundance of all sorts of Sweet-
meats, and great Plenty of good Water. Before the
Dutch brought down the Power of the *Portuguese* in *Ind-*
ia, there was nothing to be seen at *Goa* but Magnificence
and Riches: They made vast Profits without any Loss,
and every Man was a Trader except the Governor. But
now the *Dutch* having got the Trade every where out of
their Hands (tho' they are still Masters of *Goa*) they have
lost their Mines of Silver and Gold, and are fallen from
their Splendor. The Natives of the Country, whom they
call *Canarins*, or *Blacks*, are not permitted to bear any
Offices among the *Portuguese*, but only in reference to the
Law, viz. As Advocates, Solicitors, and Scriveners; and
they keep them very much under. If one of them hap-
pen to strike a white Man, or *European*, there is no Par-
don for him, but his Head must be cut off. The *Spaniards*
and *Portuguese* make use of them to transact their Busi-
ness, and receive their Money; and many of them by that
means are grown very rich, and have many Slaves to at-
tend them in good Habits; but they all, both Masters
and Servants, go barefoot; for the *Portuguese*, though
they have been offered great Sums to suffer them to wear
Hose and Shoes, yet will not allow it. They are very
courageous and good Soldiers, and quick and ingenious
at learning of Sciences, but they are Idolaters, and wor-
ship several Sorts of Idols, which, they say, are the Re-
semblance of several that have done good Works, to
whom they give Honour by adoring their Portrait.

There are some of these Idolaters who worship Apes, and
have built Pagods to those Beasts. In the Island of *Safts*
there was a Pagod, where the Idolaters keep in a Chest
the Bones and Nails of an Ape, that had been serviceable
to their Ancestors, by bringing Intelligence when any Prince
their Enemy sought their Ruin. The *Indians* came in Pro-
cession from several Places to this Pagod, and made Offer-
ings to it; and when the Clergy of *Goa* took away their
Tomb, they offered a great Sum of Money for their Re-
licks; but the Clergy not thinking such gross Idolatry suf-
ferable, caused it to be thrown into the Depth of the Sea.
The River of *Mandoua* also is had in as great Veneration
by the *Brahmins* and the other *Gentiles* as the *Ganges*, and at
certain Times, and upon certain Festivals, they flock thither
from their several Parts to perform their Purification. The
Town

Town hath good Walls, with Towers, and great Guns, and the Isle is walled round with Gates towards the Land, to hinder the Slaves from running away. The Portuguese have a Viceroy residing here, with an Archbishop, Inquisitor General, and Abundance of Clergymen, as Dominicans, Austin-Friars, Franciscans, bare-foot Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins. The Carmelites are seated in a fine Air, and healthy Ground; the Jesuits have a College, which being dedicated to St. Paul, gives them the Name of *Paulists*, with a Seminary, Professor's House, Novitiate, and an House called the *Good Jesus*, where they paint admirably. There are also many fair Churches, and beautiful Palaces.

In this City lies buried *F. Allerquerque*, who conquered it for the Portuguese, and *Saint Francis Xavier*, the famous Indian Missionary. The Hospital of *Goa* was formerly the most famous in all *India*, both in regard that the Revenues were very great, and the sick Persons were very carefully looked after; but since the Change of Government, there is but very bad Accommodations, and several Europeans, who have been put in, have never come out but in their Coffins; but of late they have found out a Way to save some, by frequent Blood-letting, spare Diet, and drinking Cow's Milk.

16. From *Goa* you go to *Bicobly*, which is upon the Continent, and so to *Vijapour*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom of the same Name, whose King is the most potent of all the Kings of *Decan*, and is therefore called King of *Decan*, having under him the two Naques of *Madura*, whose Territories reach to Cape *Comuro* and *Tanjabar*, who has several Towns on the Coasts of *Coromandel* tributary to him. It is a great straggling City, above five Leagues in Circumference, fortified with a double Wall, and a great many Cannons mounted, and a flat-bottomed Ditch. The King's Palace is very large, but ill built, and the Access to it is very dangerous, in regard there are an Abundance of Crocodiles in the Ditch, with which it is encompassed; but in the City itself there is nothing remarkable as to the publick Edifices or Trade, tho' in the Suburbs, which are large, there are several Goldsmiths and Jewellers. The King of *Vijapour* hath three good Ports in his Dominions, *Rajapour*, *Daboul*, and *Carapatan*. This last is the best, having fourteen or fifteen Fathom Water near the Land, and upon the Top of the Mountain adjoining a Fort with a Spring of Water in it.

It lies about five Days Journey to the North of *Goa*. The Kings of *Vijapour* and *Golconda* were formerly tributary to the Great Mogul, but now they are absolute of themselves. The present King of *Vijapour*, was only the adopted Child of the former King, who died without Children, he succeeded in his Minority under the Regency of the Queen, but being disturbed by the Revolt of *Rajah Setagi*, the Son of the late King's Captain of his Guards, he was forced to come to a Composition with him to establish himself, and so lost all the Coasts of *Malabar*.

The great Market, where the King of *Vijapour* sells his Pepper, is at *Rebeque*. In the Territories of *Vijapour* is *Mingrea*, a large Town, extended half a League in Length upon the Sea-coast; it is one of the best Roads in all *India*, where all the Vessels that come from *Batavia*, *Japan*, *Bengal*, *Ceylon*, and those that are bound for *Surat*, *Ormuz*, the *Red Sea*, *Bahora*, &c. both coming and going, anchor and take in Provisions, because there is both excellent Water and Rice. This Town is also very famous for Carcanons, which the Eastern People esteem above all spices, but not being to be had in any other Country, is very scarce and dear. There is also made great Store of coarse Canons that are spent in the Country, and great Quantities of coarse Matting, which serves for packing up of Goods. The *Dutch* have a Factory for Trade and Provisions here, to victual their Ships when they block up *Goa*, which is eight Months in the Year.

17. From *Vijapour* you pass to *Golconda*, which is four hundred Leagues from the Promontory. The most powerful of the Kings of *Decan* next to the King of *Vijapour*, is the King of *Golconda*; his Kingdom is bounded on the East by the Sea of *Bengal*, on the West by the Mountains of *Orissa*, on the South by *Bijanager* and *Narysagar*, which belongs to the King of *Vijapour*, and on the West by the

Empire of the Great Mogul. This whole Kingdom, take it in general, is a good Country, abounding in Corn, Rice, Cattle, Sheep, Poultry, and other Necessaries for human Life; and because there are many Lakes, there are also many Fish, and among others a sort of Snails, which has but one Bone in the Middle, which is most delicious Food. The Lakes being caused by Nature, and lying in Places somewhat raised, contribute much to the Fertility of the Country, because after the rainy Seasons they let them down by Sluices into the adjacent Fields. The Capital City of the Kingdom is *Banagar*; the *Persians* call it *Shiraz*, but the most common Name is *Golconda*. It is about fourteen or fifteen Leagues from *Vijapour*, situated in 10th Latitude, in a very long Plain, hemmed in with little Hills at some Distance from it. The Air is very wholesome, and a great River washes the Wall of it on the South-west Side, which, near to *Massulipatan*, falls into the Gulf of *Bengal*.

The City is well built, and full of Windows. Entering into it, you must first pass through a large Suburb, but the Houses are only built of Earth, and thatched with Straw, so low and ill contrived that they can be rook'd and little better than Huts. It is at least a League of Town, and in it dwell all the Merchants, Brokers, Hinderers, and all the meanest sort of People. The Men are allowed to go into the City from ten or eleven in the Morning till four or five o'Clock in the Afternoon with the foreign Merchants, and then they return to their Houses. In those Suburbs are two or three fair Mosques, which serve for Inns for Travellers, and several Pagods in the Neighbourhood. The Way to the Forts of *Golconda* is through those Suburbs; out of them you go to the City over a most beautiful Stone Bridge, and enter into a large Street that leads to the King's Palace. On the right Hand are some Houses of the Lords of the Court, about four or five Inns two Stories high, with fair Halls and large Chambers to let in the Irish Air.

At the End of this Street is a large Piazza on which the Palace fronts, and in the Middle of the Piazza is the Balcony wherein the King sits when he pleases to give Audience to the People. The Gate of the Palace leads not upon this Piazza, but upon another place adjoining. Through it you enter into a large Court, fronted with Porticos, under which lie the King's Guards. Out of this Court you pass into another, built after the same manner, and surrounded with several Apartments, with several Gardens, on which are very fair Gardens, and a great number of a great Bignets. The whole Palace is about half a League and eighty Paces in Length, and encompassed with a wall-villion. The Walls are built of great Stones, and have certain Distances half Towers. It is very pleasant water, and the Water rises up to the highest Apartments. No Man enters into the Palace without an express Command from the King, who grants it very seldom, so that nobody body comes near it.

At the End of the Palace is a Building, called the *Fort Towers*, which has the most lovely Outlook of any thing in the Town, being adorned with Roofs and Towers, and is well out. In each Tower are four Galleries, which serve to make the Water mount into a Reservoir, and so to pass from whence it is conveyed into the City, and into the Palace of the King's Palace through Pipes. In one of these Galleries of the King's Palace, but the tallest is that which is in the Palace. It hath two Divans, which serve for the King, who has his Prisons under them. The Pleas are held North of it, and there is a Portico over the Court, where the Physicians play several Times a Day, which is done in the Town in the Middle of it, and in the Court of the Palace is a Space for the fighting of Elephants, and for the most part is inhabited by *Persians*, who are the officers of the King's Court of Justice, and the Judges, and their Houses are pretty enough. The most famous of the City stands a very fair Mosque, where the Prayers of the Kings of *Golconda*, and about four or five hundred Men, Affliction there is a Dole of Bread and Rice, which is given to the Poor that come. Upon Festival Days a great many are hung with rich Tapelry, and then they are set to work in the Court Sight. There are many fair Gardens in the Town, and near it; but their beauty counts not in *India*, where the

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works, but in long Walks, lovely Fruit-trees, and large Balcons of Water.

When a Stranger comes to the Gates, a Soldier searches him, to see whether he has any Salt and Tobacco about him, that the King may not be defrauded of the Duties, and then sends to the Deroga about his Admission, which causes a Delay of a Day or two. Sometimes when the King sits to do Justice, all that have Business stand below, just against the Balcony; but the People are kept back with a Row of Poles about the Height of a Half pike. Every Monday the Nobility mount Guard, and continue eight Days, some of them have five or six thousand Men under their Command, with ten or twelve Elephants, and thirty or forty Camels. The Soldiers have no Cloaths, but three or four Ells of Calicut, with which they cover their Bodies half Way behind and before. They wear their Hair long, and tie it in a Knot on the Crown, as the Women do. They wear Broad-swords like the *Switzers*, which serve as well for a Throat, as a Blow, and hang them in a Girdle. Their Musket Barrels are neater and better than ours, because their Iron is better. Their Cavalry carry Bows and Arrows, a Bow-knife, and a Battle-Ax, and a Head-piece, and Jacket of Mail, which hangs down from their Head-piece to their Shoulders. There are twenty thousand common Women allowed by the Deroga; they pay no Tax, but are a Means of spending much Tari, which is a sweet Dink, on which the King lays a severe Impott. They are encouraged in their Practices. They are to dance every Friday before the King's Balcony, if the King be present; if not, an Eunuch dances them. They stand well dressed at their Doors in the Day time, and set up a Candle or Lamp for a Signal in the Night to draw in Men, who are not exposed to Scandal by conversing with them.

The common People give their Wives great Liberty, being obliged by Promise, at their Marriage, to let them walk in the Streets, visit their Neighbours, and drink Tea, a Liquor which the *Indians* love very much. When any one is found guilty of Theft, he is punished by cutting off both his Hands, which is a Punishment used almost all over the *Indies*. The Craftsmen of the Town, and Husbandmen that cultivate the Lands, are Natives; but the Trade is chiefly maintained by the *English* and *Dutch* Factories, who buy up for the Companies Chats, and other Cloths, which they vend in other Parts of the *Indies*. They bring also from *Musipatan*, upon Oxen, Cloves, Pepper, Cinnamon, Silver, Copper, Tin, Lead, and some Goods, which they know to be most marketable. All the Men and Women at *Goleonda* are well proportioned, and of comely Stature, and fair enough in their Countenances; but the Country People are swarthy. The most current Monies of this Kingdom are the Pagos, Rupes, and Pechas, of the Mogul; The Pagos are Pieces of Gold of which there are two sorts, the old and the new; the one are worth five Rupes, and the new not above four.

The Rupes and Pechas are also worth more at *Goleonda* than in *Mogulistan*. The greatest Plenty of Diamonds is in this Kingdom, and therefore it may be called the Country of Diamonds. The Cattle of *Goleonda* is two Leagues from the City; is of a large Compass, and the Walls of it are built of Stones, three Feet in Length, and as many in Breadth, and is surrounded with deep Ditches, divided into Canals, which are filled with fair and good Water. All the Strength it has consists in five round Towers, which have a great many Cannon mounted upon them for their Defence. It has several Gates, but two only are opened, and these are guarded by *Indians*. No Strangers may go without a Permission from the Governor, unless he be accompanied with some Officer of the Court. The King has a large Palace in it, and well situated for the good Air and lovely Prospect, and most Part of the Lords have Houses near it. There are several Bazars in it, where all Things readily for Sale may be had.

The King of *Goleonda*, who now reigns, is a Shiahs by Religion, and bears the Name of *Abdool Coston Shah*. He was the Son of a *Brahmin* Lay, and succeeded his Father, though not the eldest Son, because he was more loved by the Queen, who cauled his Brothers to be imprisoned, and at last poisoned. He keeps five hundred thousand Soldiers in Pay, yet is tributary to the Great Mogul. He

hath only three Daughters, the eldest of which is married to one of the Kinsmen of the Grand Chick of *Mecca*, the second to Sultan *Mobammed*, eldest Son of *Aurang Zeb*, and the third to *Mirza-abdul Cossing*, the King's Cousin, who has Male Children by her. The King of *Goleonda* has vast Revenues, for he is Proprietor of all the Lands of his Kingdom, which he leases out to those that offer the most, excepts such as he gives to his Favourites for a certain Time. The Customs on Merchants Goods that pass through his Country, and of the Ports of *Musipatan* and *Madrapsatan*, yield him much, and there is hardly any sort of Provisions in his Kingdom, from whence he hath not some considerable Duties by Way of Excise.

The Diamond Mines raise him a great Revenue, and all such as he allows to dig in them. These that are toward *Musipatan* pay him a Pagod every Hour they work there, whether they find any Diamonds or not; but his chief Mines are in divers Places in *Cannate* towards *Musipatan*, where he has six thousand Men continually at work, who daily find near three Pounds Weight, and no body digs there but for the King. This Prince wears on the Crown of his Head a Jewel almost a Foot long, which is said to be of inestimable Value. It is a Row of great Diamonds, three or four Inches Diameter, on the Top of which there is a little Crown, out of which issues a Branch fashioned like that of a Palm-tree; but it is round, and the Palm Branch, which is crooked at the Top, is a good Inch in Diameter, and about half a Foot long. It is made up of Sprigs, which are, as it were, the Leaves of it, and each of them have at the End a lovely long Pearl shaped like a Pear. At the Foot of this Poety there are two Bands of Gold in the Fashion of Talk-Baskets, in which are inclosed large Diamonds, set round with Rubies, which, with great Pearls that hang dangling on all Sides, make an exceeding fair Show; and these Bands have Calps of Diamonds to fasten the Jewels to the Head. Besides this Jewel, he hath other considerable Treasures, and such Numbers of precious Stones, that if there were Merchants who could give him the Worth of them, he would have prodigious Sums of Money, and be the richest King in the *Indies*.

The Omrahs are the great Lords of the Kingdom, who are *Persians*, and all rich; for they have not only great Pay of the King yearly, but large Gifts of Lands and Villages from him, besides the Advantages of the Soldiery; for they do not hit halt the Number they have Pay to maintain. They generally make a very high Figure; for when they go through the Town, an Elephant or two goes before them, on which three Men carrying Banners are mounted; fifty or sixty Troopers, well mounted and accoutered, follow them; and after these Trumpeters and others playing on Pipes on Horseback, after these comes the Omrah on Horseback, with thirty or forty Footmen about him, and his Palanquin carried by four Men, with other Porters for Charge; and all this Pomp is brought up with a Camel or two, with Men beating on Umbrels on their Backs. Sometimes the Omrah will take his Palanquin, and then his Horse is led.

The Palanquins are sometimes covered with Silver, and the Bamboos are tipped with Silver at both Ends. They lie at ease in them, smoking Tobacco, or chewing Beetle, or Areca, according to the Custom of the *Indians*, who hold them to be excellent for the Stomach, and the Sweetness of the Breath. The lesser Omrahs have not so great an Equipage, but all have a Train proportionable to their Revenue. The Winter in *Goleonda* begins in *June* with Rain, and some Thunder and great Winds, and lasts to the End of *October*, in which Time the Air is cold only in the Night and Morning. The Days are as warm as it is in *May* in *France*; but the Rains cause prodigious Floods, which break down the Houses, and destroy many People. The hot Season begins in *February*. The Rains make the Land very fertile; they have abundance of Fruits and Vines, and two Crops of Rice and other Grains every Year. The Wines they make are usually white.

From *Goleonda* there are two Roads to *Musipatan*, one more direct, which the Merchants usually take, and the other by the Diamond-Mines, called *Goleonda*, or *Gant*, which such Merchants generally travel, when they go to *Balim* to lead them thither, though it be the further Way

by twelve Leagues. In the more direct Road you meet with not above four Towns, besides fifteen or sixteen Villages. *viz. Elmas-kepanich, Panguel, Sarabel, and Pengur-cherpoul.* You pass also several Rivers, the most considerable of which are *Karbna* and *Mucky.* All the Country as you pass this Way is always green and pleasant to the Eye, though the Road be bad, and there grow all kinds of Trees that are in the *Indies,* even Cassia-trees, though they be scarce in other Countries: This Way you come to *Masipatan* in ten Days. The other Way, by the Diamond-Mines, lies, first, to *Tenara,* where the King has a stately Palace, consisting of four large Piles of Stone-Building, to every one of which belongs a large Garden. One of them, on the Left-hand, along the Highway, is much more beautiful than the other three; it is built of Free-stone, two Story high, and has in it several fair Galleries, Halls, Parlours, and Lodging-rooms, which are the Royal Apartments. Before this Building is a large square Piazza, and in the other three Fronts is a great Portal, with a fair large Platform, raised four or five Feet high, and well arched, where Travellers of Fortune are lodged, and over each Portal is a strong Baluster, and a little Chamber for the Ladies.

One of these Buildings belongs entirely to the Queen, and though no body may lodge in it in the Queen's Absence, yet any one may see it, and walk in the Garden, which is a lovely Place, and is well supplied with Water. The whole Piazza is encompassed with several Chambers for the Lodgings of poor Travellers, who, every Day, towards Evenings, have an Alms bestowed upon them of Rice and Pulse ready boiled; and for this there are alienable Rents settled: But for the Idolaters, who will eat nothing that is powdered by other Hands, they give them Flour to make Bread, and a little Butter to dip in it when it is baked, like a thin Bread-Cake. From *Tenara* the Road lies through *Jatenager, Patengi, Penguai, Nagelpar, and Lakabaran,* to *Coulour, or Gani.* This last Part of the Way is very rocky, and among these Rocks, where there is any good Earth, you find the Cassia-trees, that bear the best and most laxative Cassia of any in the *Indies.* By *Coulour* runs a River which falls into the Gulph of *Bengal,* near *Masipatan.* From hence the Road lies through *Kab Kaly, Bazour,* where you pass the River of *Coulour, Pochir, Nilmer,* where they must cross a great River upon a flat Boat of Timber, and so by *Nimol* to *Masipatan.* This is a great City on the Coast of *Coromandel,* lying in 16° 30 North Lat. It stands upon the Gulph of *Bengal* E. S. E. from *Golconda;* and though it be but small, yet it is well peopled. The Streets are narrow, and it is intolerably hot there from *March* till *July.* The Houses are built of Wood, and all separated one from another, and the Water is brackish, because the Tide comes up to it. There is great Trading in Cloths, because, besides those that are made there, a great many are brought from *St. Thomas,* which are much finer, and better Colours than those from other Parts of *India.* The Coast is excellent, and the Road for Ships is the best in all the Gulph of *Bengal,* and therefore Ships come hither from all Nations, and go from thence to *Pegu, Siam, Aracon, Bengal, Cochin-China, Mecca* and *Ormuz,* and for the Islands of *Madagascar, Sumatra,* and the *Manillas.* This Country of *Masipatan,* as well as the Coasts, is full of Idolaters; and the Pagods are so full of lascivious Figures of Monsters, that one cannot go into them without Horror. It is exceeding fruitful, and Provisions are very cheap there: A Sheep is bought for Twelve-pence, a Partridge for a Half-penny, and a Fowl for Two-pence; and it is the same almost every where upon the Coasts of *Coromandel.* From *Masipatan* to *Gandicut* the Way lies thus; you pass *Nimel, Wechir,* and *Patemet,* three small Villages, and the last of them a very pitiful one, to *Bezzuart,* a great Town, where all the Inhabitants, except the Governor and some of his Domesticks, are Idolaters.

In this Town is a very large Pagod without Walls, consisting of fifty two Pillars of twenty Feet high, which uphold a flat Roof of Free-Stone. They are adorned with several embossed Figures of very ugly Devils, and several sorts of Creatures, some with four Horns, others with many Legs and Tails, others loling out their

Tongues, and others in several other ridiculous Postures: And between the Pillars stand the Statues of their Gods upon Pedestals. The Pagod is built in the Middle of a Court encompassed with Walls, adorned within and without with the same Figures as the Pagod, and a Gallery, sustained by sixty Pillars, runs round the Wall. You enter into this Court through a Portal, with Niches one above another, supported with Pillars, which have certain *Indian* Characters upon them; but the Priests themselves hardly know the Meaning. By this Town is another Pagod, built upon an Hill, to which there is an Ascent of 194 Steps, every one a Foot high: It is four-square, with a Cupola at the Top, adorned with Figures, as that at *Bezzourat.* In the Middle is an Idol sitting cross-legged, after the Manner of the Country; and in that Posture, about four Feet high, upon the Head is a triple Crown, from which four Horns extend themselves, and it has the Face of a Man turned towards the East. The Pilgrims that come out of Devotion to these Pagods, when they enter, clasp their Hands together, and raise them up to their Foreheads, and then advancing to the Idol, cry out, *Ram, Ram, i. e. God, God:* Then having anointed it with Oil, or besmeared the Face with Paintings, they ring a little Bell that hangs upon the Idol; after which they make their Offerings of Sugar, Oil, and other Articles, the richer Sort adding Pieces of Silver.

These Offerings, though the People are made to believe the Idol takes them, yet maintain the Priests, their Wives, and Children, except that they relieve the poor Pilgrims with them. There is a great Feast made in this Pagod in *October,* for three Days together, at which time there is a great Concourse of People from all Parts. Leaving *Bezzourat,* you cross the River that runs to it, and three Leagues farther come to a Pagod, that stands on a large Platform, with an Ascent of fifteen or twenty Steps; in it is the Figure of a Cow of black Marble, and several other deformed Idols four or five Feet high, some with many Heads, and others with many Arms and Legs; and the most ugly are most adored, and receive the most Offerings.

20. The next Town in the Road is *Kad Kidi,* near to which is a small Pagod, wherein are five or six Idols, well made. And having passed that, you come to *Canzeir,* a great City, closed in with strong Walls, with a Ditch and a Moat paved at the Bottom with Free-stone. Eastward it stretches out to a Mountain about a League in Compass, and surrounded with Walls with Battlements: Within them are three Fortresses. From hence you go to *Capanour,* and so to *Adanunge,* a very small Town, where there is a very large Pagod, with an Ascent of Chambers for the Priests, and several Idols, but they are fallen to decay, yet are superstitiously adored by the People. You go on to *Nesdrepar,* and so to a large River, which is dry in Summer, to *Condiscour, Diego Near,* where there are many Pagods; and to crossing a River to *Gandiron, Serepe, Ponte,* and *Senegond,* to *Parra,* to which the Way lies for a League through the Sea.

It is a Fort that belongs to the *Dutch,* that lies upon the Coast of *Coromandel,* and within it are usually two hundred Soldiers. It is the chief Factory they have in the *Indies,* where lives the Superintendent of all the rest which are in the Territories of the King of *Golconda.* The Trade managed there by the *Dutch* is in Cotton-Cloth, of which they have large Warehouses. Here also they refine their Salt-petre, which they bring from *Bengal,* and make Gunpowder, with which they furnish their other Factories. The Fort of *Palaute,* called *Andanoria,* is at a good Distance from the Town, but it may not be annoyed by Shot from thence. The Ballows are well stored with good Guns, and the Sea comes up to the Walls of it. The Governor has fifty Crown-pieces for his Pay, and as many for his Tabac and Comestibles: The current Money here are *Rupes* and *Pagods,* which are four Times the Value of the former, *raonys* which are half Gold and half Silver, with the same Statute of *Pagods,* but the seventh Part of a *Rupe* in Value, and *Gazars,* which are Pieces of Copper as big as a *denier;* forty of them are but the Worth of it. The *Dutch* in this Money. The Water of this Town is fetched out of

Holes dug in the Sand, when the Sea is quite out, and it is tolerably fresh.

From hence you go to *Madrespatan*, or *Fort St. George*, which belongs to the *English* (here is a Convent of *Capuchins*) and so to *Miliapur*, or *St. Thomas's Town* (where, they say, *St. Thomas* was martyred; and the *Austin Friars* here pretend to have the Iron Lance which killed him, the *Jesuits* also have a Church there) *Serraveroon*, and then to *Ondicut*. The Way between those two Towns is through a flat, sandy Country, and on both Sides of it are Copes of Bamboos, very high and thick, which breed prodigious Numbers of Apes. Those on one Side are inveterate Enemies to those on the other; and it is very good Sport to Travellers to set some Baskets of Rice between them, with Cudgels in them, to make them fight for it, and batter one another with the Cudgels. The Road holds the name to *Naravacon* and *Gazzal*. Hereabouts there are Gates and strong Guards at them at every two or three Leagues, who examine all Passengers, whence they come, and whither they go; so that Men may travel there with their Money in their Hands.

21. The next Place you arrive at is *Courva*, a celebrated Pagod, where there is little to be had for Man or Beast; but the Country about it being full of Elephants, the King's Officers come hither often to take them. The Manner of hunting them is thus; they cut several Alleys or Walks in the Woods where they are, and having dugged them full of Pits, which they cover with Hurdles and Earth, scare them by hallooing, beating of Drums, and putting them with Pikes with Wild-fire tied to the Ends, into those Walks, where, being tumbled into the Holes, the Hunters bind their Feet and Trunks with Ropes and Chains, and to take them; yet some will escape the Snare, and are ever after to misftrullful, that with a Bough they will examine every Step they take, whether there is not a Hole in the Way; and it is almost impossible to take them again. Such as they catch, they couple to two tame ones on each Side, and let six Men about them with lighted Torches at the End of an Half-pike, to talk to them, and give them Meat, which is brown Sugar, baked Rice, and Hay.

If the wild Elephant will not eat, the Men order the tame ones to beat him with their Trunks, and so constrain him to learn Obedience. After an Elephant is tamed, he never meddles with the Female, yet is sometimes taken with a lustful Rage, which never ends but with some Mischief, as the Death of his Rider, or somebody else. Though the Elephant's Skin be very hard while he is alive, it is all melted like Glue when he is dead. There are Elephants in several Parts of the *Indies*, as in the Islands of *Ceylon* and *Sumatra*; the Kingdoms of *Cochin*, *Sam*, and *Bantam*, on the Frontiers near the *Great Tartary*; but they are said to be of the greatest Numbers on the Coast of *Melinda*, Eastward of *Africa*, where the *Baaks* of the Countries hunt them to eat their Fleish, but are obliged to give the Lord of the Place their Teeth, inasmuch that there are several Parks impaled with Elephants Teeth a League round.

It is observable of the female Elephant, when she grows hot, that she makes herself a great Bed of Herbs and Weeds, four or five Feet high from the Ground, on which, contrary to the Custom of all other Creatures, she lies upon her Back, in Expectation of the Male, whom she calls to her by a peculiar Cry: And thus they take the Male in *Ceylon* by a tame Female. This is also observable to the Elephants in *Ceylon*, which, though the smallest is the most courageous, yet only the first Elephant which the Female produces has any Tuks. And it is also observable, that the Ivory from *Achen*, when it is wrought, never grows yellow, as that does which comes out of the Continent and the *East-Indies*, which makes it more esteemed than any other. It is hard to find how long an Elephant will live; nor can the Keepers or Governors of them tell you more than that such an Elephant was their Great-Grandfather's; so that it may be conjectured that they have lived an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty Years. The Great Mogul keeps five hundred for his Household, to carry his Women, their Tents and Luggage,

and about eighty or ninety for his Wars; and to the Chief of them he allows five hundred *Rupies* a Month; but, to the rest, from fifty to twenty. The chief have Men to attend them, and fan them, and they are maintained out of it.

22. From *Courva* you pass through *Rgia-Peta*, a large Town, and *Ondicut* to *Oudemela*, where there is one of the greatest Pagods in *India*. It is built of large Freestone, and has three Towers, where there are several deformed Figures of embossed Work. It is encompassed with many little Chambers for the Priests Lodgings. Hard by it is a wide Lake, upon the Banks of which are built several Pagods, eight or ten Feet square, and in every one of them an Idol, representing some Devil, with a Bramin, who takes Care that no Stranger that is not of their Superstition shall come to wash in, or take any Water out of the Lake: But if any Stranger desires Water, they give it him in an earthen Pot; but if it touches the Stranger's Vessel, they break it; and say, if a Stranger should wash in it, it must be drained. They are very charitable, and will give any Thing they have to eat or drink to Persons in Necessity. There are several Women among them, who, having made a Vow to do Acts of Charity for seven or eight Years, more or less, sit upon the Road continually for that End, with Fire, Tobacco, Rice boiled with Quicken, a sort of Grain like Hempseed, and Beans, and to every Traveller they give some of their Bears, Rice-water, an Handful of Rice, Tobacco, if they have none, and Fire. Other Women live continually on the Highways and Fields, having made a Vow to eat nothing but what they find ungruelled in the Dung of Oxen, Cows, and Horses, which they feed with an hard sort of crooked Pease; and these feed the Cattle with Grass all the Day.

From *Oudemela* you travel through *Golypale* and *Gageron* to *Janicut*. This Place is one of the strongest Cities in the Kingdom of *Carnate*, being situate upon the Top of an high Mountain or Rock, to which there is but one Access, not above twenty-five or thirty Feet broad at most, and in some Places not above seven or eight Feet wide at the most. At the Right-hand of it there is a most hideous Precipice, and at the Bottom of it runs a wide River. Upon the Top of the Mountain is a small Plain, but a Quarter of a League broad, and about half a League long. This is sowed with Rice and Millet, and watered with many little Springs.

The City stands on the South side of this Plain, and is so encompassed with Precipices, at the Bottom of which run two Rivers, that it is but one Gate to the Plain-side, and that too fortified with two good Walls of Freestone. Here is a Pagod, which is said to be the fairest in all *India*, wherein are several Idols, some of Gold, others Silver, and six very large ones of Brass, of which three are set upon their Heels, and three stood, and yet were ten Feet high a piece. These Statues, when the Nabab of the King of *Golconda* took the Cities from its own Raiah, he took out of the Pagod to make him some Cannon; but with all the Art the Artificer had, who was a *Frenchman*, he could not melt them, and so he was forced to leave his Work unfinished. It is a Custom in this City never to put any Man in Prison, but as soon as the Offender is taken he is examined, and Sentence is pronounced upon him according to his Crime, which is immediate Execution; and, if he be innocent, he is as soon acquitted and discharged.

The Punishment is generally inflicted at the Discretion of the Nabab, or Governor: One that had broken into an House, and killed the Mother and three Children, was condemned upon the Spot to have his Hands and Feet cut off, and to be cast into the Highway, there to end his Days in Misery; another, who had robbed upon the Highway, had his Belly ripped up, and was ordered to be cast upon the Dunghill. In these Parts of *India* they have a very quick Way of sending Letters by Foot Posts, which are more speedy than Horsemens; and the Reason is, because at the End of every two Leagues, there are little Huts, where there are Men always ready to run as soon as any Letter comes.

Middle of every Skain something to add to the Weight; the second is, by not giving good Weight, when the Broker receives it from the Workmen, or Merchant that delivers it. There is but one Cheat in the Quality; that is, by putting three or four Skains of a coarser Commodity than that which is uppermost, into one Mein, which in a great Quantity, mounts high, for there are some Cottons that are worth an hundred Crowns the Mein. These two Cheats being often used by the Dutch Company, there is no Way but to weigh your Commodity in the Presence of the Dutch Commander, and his Council, and to examine every Mein Skain by Skain; when this is done, they who are ordered to be at this Examination, are obliged to fix to every Bail a Ticket of the Weight and Quality; for if there be a Failure, they who fix the Ticket are obliged to make good what is wanting. I have told you, that when the Workmen have made up the Indigo Palle into Lumps, with their Fingers dipped in Oil, they lay them in the Sun drying. Now those that have a Design to cheat the Merchants, dry them in the Sand, to the End, that the Sand sticking to the Indigo, may increase the Weight. Sometimes they lay up their Palle in moist Places, which makes it give, and consequently renders it more heavy; but if the Governor of the Place discovers the Cheat, he makes them severely pay for it; and the best way of Discovery is, to burn some Pieces of Indigo, for the Sand will remain.

The Brokers are, as it were, the Masters of the Indian Families, for they have all Goods at their Disposal. The Workmen chuse the most aged, and most experienced, who are to endeavour equal Advantages for the whole Tribe they undertake for; every Evening that they return from their Business, and that, according to the Custom of the Indians, who make no Suppers, they have eaten some little Pieces of Sweet-meats, and drank a Glass of Water, the eldest of the Tribe meet at the Broker's House, who gives them an Account of what he has done that Day, and then they consult what he is to do next. Above all things they caution him to look to his Hiss, and to cheat, rather than be cheated.

We will close this Section with a remarkable Passage relating to our Author's personal History, which is very worthy the Reader's Notice, though it does not immediately relate to Trade, the rather, because the Translation that has been published of his Travels, gives us but a very indifferent Account of it, notwithstanding the Author has taken great Pains to relate it very circumstantially, as he thought it would give a true Picture of the Nation it concerns. In the Month of April 1665, he embarked at *Gambron* in *Perfia*, for *Surat* in the Indies, on Board a Dutch Packet Boat, which Opportunity the English Agent took to charge him with a large Packet of Letters for the English President at *Surat*, in which also were included such as belonged to private Persons in that Factory, and in other Places of the Indies. This Circumstance was taken Notice of by one Mr. *Casembrot*, a Dutchman, who had travelled through *Perfia* by Land, and was to go in the same Vessel with our Author to *Surat*, and he communicated this Piece of Intelligence to Mr. *Henry Van-Wuck*, who was then the Dutch Chief at *Gambron*, and he immediately formed a Project for Reading this Packet, in order to discover the State of the English Affairs; but in the first place went on Board the Ship, and enquired of our Author, if he had any such Packet, who very innocently told him the Truth. After having thus opened the Matter, and observed that the Dutch Captain and Pilot were in the Secret, we shall pursue the Account in the Author's own Words: Mr. *Casembrot*, says he, having seen the Size of the Packet, gave *Van-Wuck* a Description of it, and to begin together they contrived another of the same Form and Bigness, as near as they could. When I came on Board, I took the English Packet, and locked it up in my Boucha, which is a sort of Cloak-bag that is used in that Country, and laid it behind my Bolster. There were two Shallops sent on Board us, wherein there were sixty Bags of Silver, containing some fifty, some an hundred Tomans apiece. These Bags they unladed very leisurely to get Time, watching when I should be gone to Bed; but when they saw that I did not go to rest, the Dutch con-

sulted together, and agreed to let fall a Bag of Tomans into the Sea, and so came all aboard, sending away a Shallop to *Gambron* for a Diver. When I found that the Vessel would not set sail, till two or three Hours after Day-light, I went to rest, my Boucha lying in the same Place half out; and half withinside of my Bolster; but when my Servants were gone, and I alone, and asleep in the Cabin; they cunningly stole my Boucha, took out the English Packet, and left the other, which they had counterfeited, in the Place, being only so many Letters of blank Paper. Coming to *Surat* the 5th of May following, I gave the Packet, as I thought, which I had received from the English Agent at *Gambron*, to two Capuchin Priars, to deliver to the President at *Surat*; but when the President came to open the Packet before several of the Company, there was nothing but white Paper made up in the Form of Letters, which when I heard, too much to my Sorrow, I understood the villainous Trick that *Van-Wuck* had put upon me.

I wrote a smart Letter of Complaint to the Dutch General in *Batavia*, but finding no Redress, I was forced to undergo the hard Censure of the English, who would not permit me to justify myself. However, as it is rare to see Treachery go unpunished, the Complotters all died miserably. *Van-Wuck* fell into a violent Fever, and being charged with the Theft, thinking to defend himself with an Equivocation, said, that if he took the Cloak-bag, he wished he might die without speaking a Word. In three Days ended his Life, just in the same manner, and at the same time that he had imprecated upon himself; *Boson*, his Lieutenant, after a great Debauch, going to sleep upon the Terrass of the Cabin, where he lay for Coolness (there being no Balusters) rolling and tumbling in his Sleep, fell down, and the next Day was found dead in the Sea. The Captain, four or five Days after his Arrival at *Surat*, being met in the Streets by a *Mohammedan*, who was jealous of his Wife, and being mistaken by him for one among several Franks that had parted them, and kept him from correcting his Wife some few Days before, was stabbed by him in three or four Places with a Dagger, which killed him outright; and this was the End of these treacherous People.

27. We may gather from this remarkable Passage the Reason why our Author had always a strong Dislike to the Dutch; for it is not probable, that after such a Transaction, they could either forget him, or he them; but it seems not a little strange, that this Account should be so much softened in the English Translation, and no Notice taken that the Person who did him this Injury was the Dutch Chief at *Gambron*, to whom he was particularly recommended, and a long Letter likewise omitted, which he wrote to the Dutch Governor at *Batavia*. In a Work like this, where we profess to make a Collection of Voyages and Travels, such Pieces ought to be left out, as refer only to particular Men; but the Rule is certainly otherwise, in reference to Books that are given to the World as express Translations; for which Reason I am inclined to think, that there is something mysterious in this Omission, and that the Author of the English Translation was a better Friend to the Dutch than M. *Tavernier*, and therefore did not think fit to trust such an unlucky Story as this with an English Reader, especially at that Juncture; for this Version of our Author's Travels was published in the Reign of King *Charles II.* not long after the Close of the last Dutch War.

I am the rather inclined to think this, because at the End of the fifth Book of M. *Tavernier's* Travels, there is a very curious Relation of a great Adventure offered to King *Charles II.* by the Dutch Factory at *Gambron*, who burnt his Picture in the most ignominious Manner, which is also left out in the English Translation, and of which the Reader shall, God willing, have an exact Version in the succeeding Volume of this Work. At present, it is sufficient that we mention these things, because they will serve to explain several Passages in the succeeding Section, which contains the Remainder of our Author's Indian Observations, together with an Account of his Return by *Batavia* in a Dutch Ship to *Europe*, in which occur a Multitude of curious Circumstances, and many remarkable Passages, in respect to the History and Trade of the Indies, that are nowhere else to be found.

SECTION XXX.

The Conclusion of the Remarks and Observations of Mr. J. Baptist Tavernier in his Travels through the Indies, together with his Account of the Dutch Settlements, and of his Voyage on Board a Dutch Ship from Batavia to Europe.

Written by himself soon after his Return.

1. *An Account of the Kingdom of Macassar, in the Island of Celebes.* 2. *The Grounds of the Quarrel between the King of Macassar, and the Dutch.* 3. *The Means by which the King was converted to the Mohammedan Religion.* 4. *The Author's Voyage from Mingrela to the Island of Ceylon, interspersed with various Remarks.* 5. *The Author's Departure from Ceylon, and his Arrival at Batavia.* 6. *The ill Usage the French meet with from the Dutch in the East-Indies.* 7. *An Instance of their Respect likewise for the English.* 8. *The Author goes to visit the King of Bantam, in order to sell him some Diamonds.* 9. *A Description of that Monarch's Palace, and of the Reception our Author met with there.* 10. *His Return to Batavia, and his Observations in that City.* 11. *His narrow Escape in his second Journey to Bantam from a Mohammedan Monk that intended to assassinate him.* 12. *A distinct and impartial Account of the Grounds of the long War between the Dutch and the Emperor of Java.* 13. *Our Author meets with new Troubles at Batavia.* 14. *He embarks there on Board a Dutch Vessel, in order to return to Europe.* 15. *Arrival at, and our Author's Observations on the Country near the Cape of Good-Hope.* 16. *His Remarks upon the Island of St. Helena, which they touched at in their Passage.* 17. *Return to Holland, and safe Usage by the Dutch.*

WE have before given a large Account of our Author's Observations on the Kingdoms in the East Indies to the very Frontiers of China, of which Empire, it seems, he had likewise collected some very curious Memoirs, though his Modesty would not suffer him to publish them, because there were already several general Histories of that Country written by such as had resided there for many Years, and were therefore likely to be better acquainted with it than he. In order, however, to preserve the best Method possible in his Relations, he passes from the Kingdom of Siam, on the Continent, to the great Island of Celebes, of which he has given us a very copious and very curious Account, much superior to any thing we meet with in the general Histories of the Indies by Portuguese Writers, and therefore it comes in here very properly, as a Supplement to what we have before transcribed from those Writers in the former Sections, and at the same time serves for an Introduction to what the Author says of the Reduction of that Island, or at least of the principal Kingdom therein by the Dutch, who are still Masters thereof, and derive from thence very great Advantages. We may reckon amongst these their excluding all other Nations from any Commerce here. But to proceed now to our Author's Narration, in his own Words.

The Kingdom of Macassar, which is in the Isle of Celebes, begins at the 15° of Southern Latitude; the Heats are excessive all the Day, but the Nights are temperate enough; and for the Soil, it is very fertile; but the People have not the Art of Building. The capital City bears the Name of the Kingdom, and is situated upon the Sea. The Port is free; for the Vessels that bring great Quantities of Goods from the adjacent Islands pay no Customs. The Islanders have a Custom to poison their Arrows; and the most dangerous Poison which they use is the Juice of certain Trees, in the Island of Borneo, which they will temper so as to work swift or slow, as they please. They hold, that the King has only the secret Receipt to take away the Force of it, who boasts that he has the most effectual Poison in the World, which there is no Remedy can prevent.

One Day an Englishman, in the Heat of Blood, had killed one of the King of Macassar's Subjects, and though the King had pardoned him, yet both English, Hollanders, and Portuguese feared, if the Englishman should go unpunished, lest the Islanders should revenge themselves upon some of them, besought the King to put him to Death, which with much ado being consented to, the King, unwilling to put him to a lingering Death, and desirous to show the Effect of his Poisons, resolved to shoot the Criminal himself; whereupon he took a long Trunk and shot him exactly into the great Toe of the right Foot, the Place particular of which was Two Burgoms, one an Englishman,

and the other a Dutchman, provided on purpose, immediately cut off the Member; but for all that the Poison had dispersed itself so speedily, that the Englishman died at the same time. All the Kings and Princes of the East are very diligent in their Enquiry after Strung Poisons; and I remember, that the Chief of the Dutch Factory and I tried several poisoned Arrows, with which the King of Achen had presented him, by shooting at Squirrels, who told down dead as soon as ever they were touched.

The King of Macassar is a Mohammedan, and will not suffer his Subjects to embrace Christianity; yet, in the Year 1656, the Christians found a Way to get Leave to build a fair Church in Macassar; but the next Year the King caused it to be pulled down, as also that of the Dominican Friars, which the Portuguese made use of. The Parish-Church, which was under the Government of the Secular Priests, stood still till the Dutch attacked Macassar, and compelled him to turn all the Portuguese out of his Dominions. The ill Conduct of that Prince was, in part, the Occasion of that War to which the Dutch were moved to revenge themselves upon the Portuguese Jesuits, who had crossed their Embassy to China. Besides that, they offered great Affronts to the Dutch at Macassar, especially when they trod under Foot the Hat of one of the Dutch Envoys, who was sent to treat with the King in Behalf of the Company. Thereupon the Dutch refused to unite their Forces with the Macassarians that were in Rebellion against their Sovereign, and to revenge themselves at any Rate.

2. Now, as to the Business of China, it happened that, towards the End of the Year 1658, the General of Batavia and his Council, sent one of the Chief of the Dutch Company with Presents to the King of China, who, arriving at Court, laboured to obtain the Friendship of the Mandarins, who are the Nobility of the Kingdom; but the Jesuits, by reason of their long Abode in the Country, understood the Language, and were acquainted with the Lords of the Court, left the Dutch Company should get footing to the Prejudice of the Portuguese, represented several Things to the King's Council, to the Detriment of the Dutch, more especially charging them with Breach of Faith in all the Places where they came.

Upon this, the Dutch Agent was dismissed, and departed out of China without doing any Good. Afterwards, coming to understand what a Trick the Portuguese Jesuits had put upon him, he made Report thereof to the Governor and his Council at Batavia, which to incense them, that they resolved to be revenged; for, by the Deputy's Account, the Embassy had cost them above thirty thousand Crowns; for which they could not have the Portuguese pay double. Unpleasantly it reflects

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 and of his Voyage

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Trade which the Jesuits drove in *Macao* and to the King-
 dom of *Macassar*, whither, upon their own Account,
 they sent several Vessels, laden with all sorts of Commo-
 dities, as well of *India* as *China*. They took this Oppor-
 tunity, and on the 7th of June, 1660, appeared with a
 Fleet of thirty Sail before the Port of *Macassar*.

The King, thinking himself obliged to make Defence
 against so potent an Enemy, endeavoured to sustain the
 Brunt of the *Dutch*, with the *Portuguez* Ships in the
 Road; but the *Dutch* dividing their Fleet, Part of them
 fought the *Portuguez*, the other battered the Royal For-
 tress so furiously, that they carried it in a short Time,
 which so terrified the King, that he commanded the *Por-
 tuguez* not to fire any more for fear of farther provoking
 his Enemies. The Prince *Patinfalva* was slain in the
 Fight, which was a great Loss to the King of *Macassar*,
 who was become formidable to his Neighbours, by the
 good Conduct of that Minister. As for the *Dutch*,
 they took, burnt, and sunk all the *Portuguez* Vessels, and
 sufficiently reimbursed themselves for their *Chinese* Expences.
 The Thirteenth of June the King of *Macassar*, whose
 Name was *Sambow*, hung out a white Flag from another
 Tower, whence he beheld the Fight, environed by his
 Wives. During the Truce, he sent one of the Grandees
 of his Court to the *Dutch* Admiral, to desire Peace;
 which was granted, upon Condition, he should send an
 Embassador to *Batavia*, expel the *Portuguez*, out of the
 Island, and not to permit his Subjects to have any more
 to do with them.

Thereupon the King of *Macassar* sent eleven of the
 greatest Lords of his Court, with a Train of seven hun-
 dred Men; the Chief of the Embassy being the Prince of
 Pinfalva. The first Thing they did, was to pay two
 hundred Loves of Gold to redeem the Royal Fortress
 again, and the next, submitting to the Conditions which the
 Dutch Admiral had proposed. The General of *Batavia*
 signed the Articles, which were punctually observed; for
 the *Portuguez* immediately quitted the Country, some
 departing for *Siam* and *Cambaya*, others for *Macao* and
 Goa. *Macao*, formerly one of the most famous and rich-
 est Cities of the Orient, was the principal Motive that
 inclined the *Dutch* to send an Embassador into *China*; for,
 being the best Station which the *Portuguez* had in all these
 Parts, the *Dutch* had a Design to win it wholly now.
 This City lying in 22° of N. Lat. in a small Island, next
 to the Province of *Canton*, which is a Part of *China*, has
 very much lost its former Lustre.

3. But this was not all which the Jesuits and *Portuguez*
 Merchants suffered. The Chief of the *Dutch* Factory at
 Mingrela, which is but eight Leagues from this City, un-
 derstanding the bad Success of the *Dutch* in *China*, had a
 Contrivance by himself to be revenged: He heard that
 the Jesuits of *Goa*, and other Places, drove a great
 Trade in rough Diamonds, which they sent into *Eu-
 rope*, or else carried along with them when they re-
 turned; and that for the more private carrying on of
 their Trade, they were wont to send one or two of their
 Order, that knew the Language, in the Habit of *Faquers*,
 which consists of a Tyger's Skin, to cover their back Parts,
 and a Goat's Skin to cover their Breast, reaching down to
 the Knees. Thereupon the Chief of the Factory of *Min-
 grela*, taking this Opportunity, and having Notice that
 two of the supposed *Faquers* were gone to the *Mines*,
 to lay out 400,000 Pardos in Diamonds, gave Orders to
 two Men, which he had bribed for that Purpose, that as
 soon as the Fathers had made their Purchase, he should
 give Notice to the Officer of the Custom-house at *Bickoli*,
 which is a great Town on the Frontiers of those Lands
 that part the Kingdom of *Vissapour* from the Territories
 of the *Portuguez*, there being no other Way to pass the
 River which encompasses the Island where the City of *Goa*
 is built. The Fathers believing that the Customier knew
 nothing of their Purchase, went into the Boat to go over
 the River; but, as soon as they were in, they were strictly
 searched, and all the Diamonds confiscated.

To return to the King of *Macassar*. You must know
 that the Jesuits once offered to convert him, and perhaps
 they might have brought it to pass, had they not ne-
 glected one Proposal which he made them; for, at the
 same time the Jesuits laboured to bring him to Christia-

nity, the *Mohammedans* used all their Endeavours to
 oblige him to take up with their Law: The King, willing
 to leave his Idolatry, yet, not knowing what Part to take,
 commanded the *Mohammedans* to send for two or three of
 their most able Moullas, or Doctors, from *Meca*; and the
 Jesuits he ordered to send as many of the most Learned
 among them, that he might be instructed in both Relig-
 ions, which they both promised to do: But the *Mohamme-
 dans* were more diligent than the Christians; for in eight
 Months, they fetched from *Meca* two learned Moullas;
 whereupon, the King seeing that the Jesuits sent no body
 to him, embraced the *Mohammedan* Law. True it is,
 that three Years after, there came three *Portuguez* Je-
 suits, but then it was too late. The King of *Macassar*
 being thus become a *Mohammedan*, the Prince, his Bro-
 ther, was so mad at it, that when the Mosque, which the
 King had caused to be built, was finished, he got into it
 one Night, and causing the Throats of two Pigs to be
 cut, he all besmeared the Walls of the new Mosques,
 and the Place which was appointed for the Moulla to
 perform divine Service, with the Blood; so that the King
 was forced to pull down that, and build another. After
 which the Prince, with some idolatrous Lords, stole out of
 the Island, and never since appeared at Court.

4. I departed from *Mingrela*, a great Town in the
 Kingdom of *Vissapour*, eight Leagues from *Goa*, the 14th
 of April, 1648, and embarked in a *Dutch* Vessel bound
 for *Batavia*. The Ship had Orders to touch at *Bokanour*,
 to take in Rice; whereupon I went ashore with the Cap-
 tain, to obtain Leave of the King to buy Rice: We
 found him upon the Shore, where he had about a Dozen
 Huts set up, which were covered with Palm-Leaves.
 In his own Hut there was a Piece of Tapestry spread un-
 der him; and there we saw five or six Women, some fan-
 ning him with Peacock-Feathers, others giving him Bee-
 tle, others filling him his Pipes with Tobacco.

The most considerable Persons in the Country were in
 the other Huts; and we counted about two hundred Men
 that were upon the Guard, armed only with Bows and Ar-
 rows: They had also two Elephants among them. 'Tis very
 probable that his Palace was not far off, and that he only
 came thither to take the fresh Air. There we were pre-
 sented with Tari, or Palan-wine, but very new, and not
 boiled: It caused the Head-ach in all that drank it, inso-
 much that we were two Days before we could recover it.
 I asked the Reason why the Wine came to do us so much
 Prejudice; to which they answered me, that it was plant-
 ing Pepper about the Palm trees that gave such a Strength
 to the Wine.

We were no sooner got aboard, but a mighty Tempest
 arose, wherein the Ship, Men, and Goods, had all like to have
 been cast away, being near the Shore; but, at length, the
 Wind changing, we found ourselves, by the Break of Day,
 three or four Leagues at Sea, having lost all our Anchors;
 and, at length, came safe to Port in the Haven of *Ponté*
 de Gallé, the Twelfth of May. I found nothing remark-
 able in that City, there being nothing but the Ruins made
 by the Underminings and Cannon-Shot, when the *Dutch*
 besieged it, and chased the *Portuguez* from thence.
 The Company allowed Ground to build upon, to them
 that would inhabit there, and Land to till; and had then
 raised two Bulwarks, which commanded the Port. It
 they have finished their Design which they undertook, the
 Place cannot but be very considerable. The *Dutch* had
 made an Agreement with the King of *Candy*, that he
 should be always ready, with twenty thousand Men,
 to keep the Passages that hinder the *Portuguez* from bring-
 ing any Succours from *Calante*, *Negemie*, *Manar*, or
 any other Places, which they possessed upon the Coast:
 In Consideration whereof, the *Dutch*, when they had ta-
 ken *Ponté de Gallé*, was to restore it to the King of *Candy*;
 which, they not performing, the King sent to know why
 they did not give him Possession of the Town; to which
 they returned Answer, that they were ready to do it, pro-
 vided he could defray the Expences of the War.

But they knew, that if he had three Kingdoms more,
 such as his own, he could never have paid so great a
 Sum. I must confess, indeed, th Country is very poor,
 for, I do not believe that the King ever saw fifty thou-
 sand Crowns together in his Life, his Trade being all in
 Cin.

Cinnamon and Elephants. As for his Cinnamon, he has no Profit since the *Portuguese* coming into the *East-Indies*; and for his Elephants, he makes but little of them, for they take not above five or six in a Year; but they are more esteemed than any other Country Elephants, as being the most courageous in War. One thing I will tell you hardly to be believed, but that which is a certain Truth, which is that when any other King or Rajah has one of these Elephants of *Ceylon*, if they bring them among any other Breed in any other Place whatever, so soon as the other Elephants behold the *Ceylon* Elephants, by an Instinct of Nature, they do them Reverence, by laying their Trunks upon the Ground, and raising them up again.

The King of *Achen*, with whom the *Dutch* also broke their Word, had more Opportunity to be revenged upon them than the King of *Candy*; for he denied them the Transportation of Pepper out of his Country, without which their Trade was worth little; his Pepper being that which is most coveted thro' the East, so that they were forced to make a Composition with him. The King of *Achen's* Embassador coming to *Batavia*, was strangely surprized to see Women sitting at a Table; but much more, when after a Health drank to the Queen of *Achen*; the General of *Batavia* commanded his Wife to go and kiss the Embassador. Nor was the King behind-hand with the *Dutch* Embassador another Way, whom the King beholding in a languishing Dilemper, asked him, whether he had never any Familiarity with any of the Natives? Yes, replied the Embassador; however I left her, to marry in my own Country: Upon that the King commanded three of his Physicians to cure him in fifteen Days, upon the Forfeiture of their Lives. Thereupon they gave him a certain Potion every Morning, and a little Pill at Night: and at the End of nine Days he took a great Vomit; every body thought he would have died with the working of it; but at length it brought up a Stopple of coarse Hair as big as a Nur, after which he presently recovered. At his Departure the King gave him a Flint, about the Bigness of a Goose-Egg, with Veins of Gold in it, like the Veins of a Man's Hand, as the Gold grows in that Country.

5. On the 24th of *May* we set sail from *Ponte Galle*. The second of *June* we passed the Line. The sixth we saw the Island called *Nuzacas*. The 17th we discovered the Coast of *Sumatra*. The eighteenth the Island of *Ingamra*; and the nineteenth the Island *Lortana*. The twentieth we were in ken of certain little Islands on the Coast of *Java*, among which Islands there are three called the Islands of the Prince. The twenty-first we discovered *Bantam*; and the twenty-second we anchored in the Road of *Batavia*. There are two Councils in *Batavia*, the Council of the Court, where the General presides, and where all the Affairs of the Company are managed: The other, which is held in a House in the City, and relates to Civil Government, and remedies the petty Differences amongst the Citizens. All the Kindness I had shewn me here, was to be prosecuted by the City Council, for being suspected to have bought a Parcel of Diamonds for Monsieur *Constant*, my very good Friend, and President of the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambony*; but when they could make nothing of it, they ceased their Suit, ashamed of what they had done.

Being thus treated at *Batavia*, I resolved to visit the King of *Bantam*; to which purpose I took my own Brother along with me, because he spake the *Malayan* Language, which in the East is as universal as *Latin* among us. Being arrived at *Bantam*, in a small Bark, which we hired for ourselves, we went first and visited the *English* President, who kindly entertained and lodged us. The next Day I sent my Brother to the Palace, to know when it would be feasible for me to kiss the King's Hands. When the King saw him (for he was well known unto him) he would not suffer him to return, but sent Orders to fetch me, and to tell me what, that if I had any rare Jewels, I should do him a Kindness to bring them along with me.

When I saw my Brother returned with the Persons which the King sent, I was almost in the mind not to have gone, remembering how the King of *Achen* had served the *Steur Renald*, for the *French* having set up an *East India* Company, sent away four Vessels, three great ones, and one of eight Guns, for the Service of the Company. Their

Voyage was the shortest that ever was heard of, arriving at *Bantam* in less than four Months. The King also courteously received them, and let them have as much Pepper as they desired, and cheaper by twenty in a hundred than he sold it to the *Dutch*; but the *French* not coming only for Pepper, sent away the small Ship, with the greatest Part of their Money to *Macassar*, to try the Market for Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace. The *French* being so soon dispatched at *Bantam*, had not Patience to stay till the Return of the small Vessel which they had sent to *Macassar*; but to pass the Time, most needs run over to *Batavia*, being not above fourteen Leagues off; so that you may be at *Batavia* from *Bantam* in a Tide, with a good Wind.

When they came to an Anchor, the General of the *French* Fleet sent to complement the General of *Batavia*, who failed not to answer his Civility, and invited the *French* ashore. Moreover, he sent to those that stay'd aboard, a Store of excellent Cheer, and a good Quantity of *Port* and *Rhenish* Wine, with a particular Order to them to carry it, to make the *French* drunk. This Order was well followed, that it was easy to set the Ships on Fire. According to the private Instructions which they carry'd, soon as the Flame was discovered from the General's Window, which overlooked all the Road, there was a wonderful extended Astonishment amongst the *Dutch*; but the *French* Admiral, too truly conjecturing the Ground and Motives of the Treachery, beholding the Company with an undaunted Courage, Come, come, cried he, lets drink on; they that set the Ships on Fire shall pay for them. However, the *French* Ships were all burnt, though the Men were all saved in Boats, which were sent forthwith to their Relief. After that the General of *Batavia* made them great Offers, which they refused, and returned to *Batavia*, in Expectation of their small Vessel. When it returned, they could find out no better Way than to sell Ship, Goods and all, to the *English*, and to share the Money among themselves, every one according to their Condition.

7. But the Trick which they put upon the *English* was far more bloody. The *English* were the first that found out the Danger of sailing from *Surat*, *Mashapatan*, or any other distant Parts to *Japan*, without touching by the Way: Whereupon they thought it convenient to build a Fort on the Island of *Formosa*, which not only saved the Loss of several Vessels, but also brought them in great Gain. The *Dutch*, mad that the *English* were possessed of such an advantageous Situation, being the only Place in all the Island where Vessels could ride with Safety, and finding they could not carry it by Force, bethought them of a Stratagem, to which Purpose they sent away two Ships, whereon they stord the bell of their Soldiers, who pretending they had been in a Storm at Sea, put into the Harbour of *Formosa*, with some of their Masts by the Boards, their Sails scattered, and their Seamen seemingly sick.

The *English*, compassionating their Misfortunes, which was only in outward Appearance, invited the *Dutch* to come on shore to refresh themselves, which they were ready to do, carrying as many Men as possible to be ready under Pretence of Sicknefs. While the *Dutch* were at Dinner with the chief of the *English*, they drank out Cups, and when the cruel *Dutch* saw that the *English* had drunk hard enough, taking their Opportunity, they took a Quarrel with the Commander of the Fort, and snatched their Swords, which they had hidden under the Counters: that Purpose, they easily surprized, and cut off the Limbs of all the Soldiers in the Garrison, and being two Masts by the Fort, they kept it from that Time, till they were routed out by the *Chinese*.

8. Now for the Trick that the King of *Achen* served the *Steur Renald*, he having got a good Estate by Trade, arrived at length at *Achen*, and as it is the Custom for the Merchants to shew the King what Jewels they have, the King had no sooner cast his Eye upon his Jewels, when the *Steur Renald* shewed him, but he had had them in the hand Crowns for them, but *Renald* would not at all eighteen thousand. Now, because they could not get the *Steur Renald* carried them away with him, which was much displeas'd the King; however, he set for on the next Day, whereupon *Renald* returned; when the King paid him his eight thousand Crowns, but he was not

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seen after that, and it is thought he was secretly murdered
in the Palace. This Story came to my Remembrance,
when I found my Brother did not come along with them
that were sent to fetch me. However, I resolved to go,
taking with me twelve or thirteen thousand Rupes Worth
of Jewels, the greatest Part being in Rose Diamond Rings,
some consisting of seven, some of nine, and some of eleven
Stones, with some small Bracelets of Diamonds and Rubies.
I found the King with three of his Captains, and my Bro-
ther, sitting together, after the Manner of the East, with
five great Plates of Rice before them of different Colours.
For their Drink they had Spanish Wine, Strong Waters,
and several sorts of Sherbets. After I had complimented
the King, and presented him with a Diamond Ring, a blue
Sapphire Ring, and a little Bracelet of Diamonds, Rubies,
and blue Sapphires, he commanded me to sit down, and
ordered me a Glass of Strong Water, to whet my Appetite.
The Gals held a Quarter of a Pint, and therefore I refused
it, which the King very much wondered at; but being told,
by my Brother, that I never drank any Strong Water, he
ordered me a Glass of Sack. After that he rose up and
seated himself in a Chair, the Elbows of which were gilded;
his Feet and Legs were bare, having a Persian Carpet of
Gold and Silk to tread upon. He was clad with a Piece
of Calicut, part whereof covered his Body from his Waist
to his Knees, the rest being wound about his Back and
Shoulders like a Scarf. Instead of Shoes he had a Pair of
Sandals that stood by the Chair-side, the Straps whereof
were embroidered with Gold, and small Pearl. About his
Head he had a thing like a Handkerchief, with three Cor-
ners, bound about his Head like a Turban. His Hair also,
which was very long, was twisted, and tied together over
his Head; two Persons stood behind him with Fans of
King Peacock Feathers, the Handles of which were five or
six Foot in Length. Upon his right Hand stood an old
black Woman, holding in her Hand a little Mortar and
Pelle of Gold to beat his Beete in, wherewith he mixed
the Kernel of the Nut of Araque, and Seed of Pearl dis-
solved. When it was all beaten together, the old Woman
gave it the King over his Shoulders, who, opening his
Mouth, the old Woman fed him, as our Women do their
Children; for the King had chewed too much Beete, and
taken too much Tobacco, that his Teeth were all taken out
of his Head.

o. The King of *Bantam*'s Palace was never built by any
curious Architect: It is a square Place, encompassed with
a great many Pillars, varnished over with several sorts of
Colours, against which the King leans when he sits down.
At the four Corners there are four great Pillars set in the
Earth, at forty Foot Distance one from another, but with
a Mat made of the certain Kind of a Tree, for that, that it
looks like a Piece of Linnen, which neither I nor our Panes
was come near. The Roof was covered with Cocoa Bran-
ches. Not far off, under another Roof, supported by
four great Pillars, he hath sixteen Elephants, the number of
soldiers that are in the King's Service, for he has a far
greater Number trained up for War, that are not afraid of
Wind-fire. For his Guard he might not have above two
thousand Men that were drawn up in Companies under the
Shade of the next Trees. They are good Soldiers, as well
on Sea as by Land, but *Mcammedans*, and find not at
all Fear of Death. His Haram, or the Womens Apart-
ment, was certainly a very small Place; for when he had
viewed what I brought him, he sent for two of his Women,
to whom he gave some of the Jewels to go and show them
to his Wives. The two Women returned back through
a little pitiful Door, the Entrance being nothing but a
kind of a Wall made up of Earth and Cow-dung made
together. Whatever he sent to the Women, they never
brought any thing again, which made me believe they
would bear a good Piece, and indeed, whatever I told to
him, I had to good Profit, and had my Money well paid

After this we took our Leaves; but the King obliged us
to come next Day in the Evening, because he had a Desire
to show us a Turkey Dagger, the Hilt whereof being thin
of Diamonds, he had a mind to enrich with more Stones.
Coming to the *English* House with our Money, they won-
dered at the King had laid out twenty thousand Rupes,

telling me, they believed it was the best Part of his Treas-
ure. The next Day my Brother and I went to wait upon
him at the appointed Hour, and we found him sitting in
the same Place where he sat before. There was a Moulla
then read to him, who seemed to interpret to him some-
thing of the *Alcoran* in the *Arabic* Language.
The Lecture being ended, they both rose and went to
Prayers, which being concluded, the King sent for the
Dagger, and the Hilt, which was of Gold; the Top of
the Handle was already set with Diamonds, and the upper Part
of the Cross-bar was cut in Facets, which could not be less
worth than fifteen or sixteen thousand Crowns. They told
me it was presented to him by the Queen of *Borneo*, and
that it was cut at *Goa*, but that he put a far higher Value
upon it than I esteemed it to be worth. The Dagger, as
well as the Sheath, was full of Beazells or Collects, and
therefore desired me to help him to some that might come
at an easy rate. I told him it was impossible to find Stones
that would fit the Beazells, and therefore it was better, when
he had got Stones enough, to fix other Beazells according
to the Proportion of the Stones; to which Purpose he must
be forced to range all his Stones in Wax, and I showed
him how to do it at the same time; but that was above his
Skill, and therefore do what I could to excuse myself from
the Truth, he would needs oblige me to carry the Dagger
to *Batavia*; wherupon I took my Leave of the King,
and departed.

10. About eleven o'Clock at Night we embarked for
Batavia, for the Night Winds blowing from the Land,
are the only Winds to serve our Turn, so that we were at
Batavia between ten and eleven the next Morning. There
I stayed twenty Days for the King of *Bantam*'s sake,
to make him believe I had fought for that which I knew was
impossible to be found. I had nothing to do all the while,
for in *Batavia* there is no other Recreation but Gaming and
Drinking, which was none of my Business; at that Time
the *Seur Com* died, one of the *Indian* Counsellors, who
was sumptuously buried for his good Services done to the
Company; but the People complained heavily of the In-
justice which he had done, as well to the Soldiers, as the
Mariners.

Having stayed twenty Days at *Batavia*, I resolved to go
and return to the King of *Bantam* his Dagger again, for that
it was impossible to meet with Stones to fit his Beazells.
However, I took along with me some other Stones, which
he had not seen. Coming to *Bantam*, the King caused us
to be lodged in one of his own Houses in the City, which
was made of Bambous; thicker, in less than a Quarter of
an Hour, the King sent us some Pateches, or sweet Water
Melons, red within like Scarlet. We had also Mangoes,
and a certain large Fruit called Pompons, red also within,
the Meat of it being soft and spongy, but of an excellent
Taste. Having stayed our Stomachs, we went to wait
upon the King, whom we found in the same Place with his
old Mortar beater, who every Minute fed him with Beete
with her Fingers. There were sitting about the Hall five
or six of his Captain, viewing a certain Piece of Fireworks,
as Gramadoes, Rocket, and other Devices, to run upon
the Water, which the *Chinese* had brought, who are the
most exquisite at these Works of any People in the World.
When the King was at leisure, I returned him his Dag-
ger, telling him, *Batavia* was no Place to meet with Stone,
and that such as were to be found were valued at double
the Price they were worth; and that there was no Place
where he could fit himself, but at *Gokonda*, or *Goa*, or the
Diamond Mines. Therupon the old Woman took the
Dagger, and carried it into his Haram, where she the King
spoke a Word more about it, after that I had showed him
what other Stones I had brought, a Parcel whereof I sold
him for good Profit.

The King ordered us to come the next Day for Pay-
ment. The next Day, about six in the Morning, my Bro-
ther, and I, and a *Dutch* Chirurgian, were going along a
narrow Way between a River on the one Hand, and the
Pales of a great Garden on the other. Behind the Pales a
rally *Bantam*'s had hid himself, one of those that was
newly come from *Meca*, and was upon the Dagger of
Meca; that is, in their Language, when the Rascality
of the *Mcammedans* returned from *Meca*, they presently
take

take their Cris in their Hands, which is a kind of Poinard, the Blade whereof is halt poisoned, with which they run through the Streets, and kill all those that are not of the *Mohammedan* Law, till they are killed themselves.

These Furies think, in so doing, they do God and *Mohammed* good Service, and shall be saved thereby. If any of these Madmen be killed, the Rabble of *Mohammedans* bury them as Saints, and every one contributes towards making them a fair Tomb. Sometimes you shall have an idle Rogue, in the Habit of a Dervich, that will build him a Hut near the Tomb, which he undertakes to look to, and strews with Flowers; and, as his Alms increase, he adds some other Ornaments to it; for the larger and better set out the Tomb is, the more devoutly it is worshipped, and the more what it brings in.

I remember in the Year 1642, that at *Szualli*, which is the Port of *Surat*, it happened, that a Vessel of the great Mogul's returned from *Meca* with a great Number of Faquirs or Derviches, for every Year the King sends two Vessels to carry and bring back the Pilgrims, who have their Passage free, and when these Vessels are to go, the Faquirs come from all Parts of *India* to embark. These Vessels are laden with very good Commodities, which are sold at *Meca*, and the Profit is distributed among the poor Pilgrims; but the Principal is brought back for the next Year, amounting to six hundred thousand Rupers at least. 'Tis an ill Market wood they do not gain thirty or forty per Cent. by their Commodities; nay, there are some that produce *Cent per Cent.* besides that the principal Persons of the Mogul's House, and other particular Persons, find very large Gains at *Meca*.

11. One of these Faquirs returning from *Meca* in the Year 1643, and being landed at *Surat*, had no sooner said his Prayers, but he took his Dagger, and ran among several *Dutch* Mariners that were unloading Goods upon the Shore, and before they were aware, this mad Faquir had wounded fifteen of them, of which thirteen died. The Cause, which he had in his Hand, was a kind of Dagger, the Blade whereof, towards the Handle, was three Fingers broad, and is a very dangerous Weapon. At length the Captain cut it in two at the End of the Tent, where the Governor and the Merchants were, shot him through the Body, so that he fell down dead. Immediately all the other Faquirs and *Mohammedans* that were upon the Place took up the Body, and buried it, and at the End of fifteen Days they put him up a fair Monument. Every Year the *English* and *Dutch* pull it down; but when they are gone the Faquirs set it up again, and plant banners every where. Nay, some there are that perform their Devotions to it. But to return to the *Bantam* Faquir, that villain lying, as I said, behind the Pales, as my Brother, and I, and the *Dutch* Chargeant, came towards him, all three a breath, he thrust his Pike between the Pales, thinking to have established it into one of our Breasts. The *Dutchman* being next the River, and somewhat before the rest, the Head of his Pike ran into his Breach, whereupon we both laid hold of the Staff, but my Brother being next the Pales, presently leaped over, and ran the Faquir through.

Whereupon several *Chingis*, and other Idolators, came and gave my Brother Thanks for killing him; after that we waited upon the King, and told him what my Brother had done, who was so far from being displeas'd, that he gave my Brother a reward. For, the King and his Governors are glad when these Rogues are killed, knowing them to be Disorderous, not fit to live. The next Day coming to take my Leave of the *English* President, he shewed me two Strings of Diamonds, and two Services of Silver, which came from *England*; he would have sold them, but I only bought one of the Strings of Diamonds, the other being false; and for the Silver I would have bought it, had they come to *Silver* in *Java*, as they were wont to do. Formerly the *Dutch* count Reals, Half Reals, and Quarter Reals, bearing on the one Side the Stamp of a Ship, on the other V. O. C. like a Character, signifying in *Dutch*, for the East India Company, which they did for the sake of the *Comptroler*, who having Silver better than Gold, carried away all the Silver that was coined at *Batavia* at good Rates; but at length they left it off, binding to few People that made use of Silver.

12. Having taken my Leave of the *English* President, I returned to *Batavia*, where, having little to do, I resolved to give a Visit to the King of *Japara*, otherwise called the Emperor of *Java*. This King was formerly the King of all the Island, till the King of *Bantam*, who was only Governor of a Province, rebelled against him, the *Lutch* being made by the Division of these two Princes; for when the King of *Japara* besieged *Matara*, the King of *Bantam* relieved the *Dutch*; and when they were attacked by the King of *Bantam*, the King of *Japara* came to their Assistance; and when both two Kings were together by the Ears, the *Dutch* being the weakest. The King of *Japara* keeps his Capital City of the same Name, distant from *Batavia* about five Leagues. You may coast along the Shore to it by Sea, but the City stands above eight Leagues up the Land. From the City there is a fine Walk to the Sea, where there is a handsome Park, and three Houses than any in the City, and the King would live there if he thought fit.

The Day before I departed, I went to take a Piece of one of the *Indian* Councils, and telling him that I was going to wait upon the King of *Japara*, he told me, in regard the King and the *Dutch* were mutually at War, which he gave me this Account. The late King, Father to the King that now reigns, since the *Dutch* besieged their Fort of *Batavia*, would never have a Peace with them; and though that, during the War, he took ten of his Subjects for one of the *Dutch*, and gave them one in Exchange, yet he would never exchange with any Condition whatsoever, and carried off his *Dutch* Soldiers, never to recede from it. The *Dutch* were very much troubled the *Dutch* General, and sent him to *Batavia*, and obliged them how to comfort themselves. Now it is the Custom when a *Java* King dies, that his Successor, on his returning, sends his Court to *Meca*, with Presents, as well as to come to pray for the Soul of the deceased, and to give Thanks to God and *Mohammed* for the coming of a new King to the Throne, without any Impediment to pray for the Blessing of Victory over all his Enemies. But the new King and his Council were at a Loss how to accomplish this Voyage; for, first, the King had but little Vessels, that were wont only to be used by the Shore, by reason of the Inexperience of the *Indians*; and, in the next Place, the *Dutch* were always pressing and troubling the Mouths of his Haven, so much so that they durst not go. For the sake of his Pilgrims, the King, at last, concludes a Peace and Agreement with the *English*; for which is sent the present day an Envoy to *Batavia* to the *English* President and his Council, who proposed to him to send a *Dutch* Vessel, and the best mounted when the *Indians* in the *Indies*, in lieu whereof the *English* would have Custom for all Commodities exported out of his Country; which Treaty being concluded, the *English* furnished him with three stout Vessels, and a small one beyond an ordinary Rate.

Thereupon one of the principal *Indians* of the Court, and most of the Wood Royal, with a thousand or more hundred Persons, embarked themselves in the *English* Vessel. But all these Preparations could not be accomplished, save by but that the *Dutch* had Intelligence of the *English* Spies. The King, the General of the *Dutch* Ships, and three Ships, and being full in the Strait of *Batavia*, as soon as the *English* came up (for they had no other way to let fly at them so roundly, that the *English* Vessels should be sunk, struck full, and the *English* Lords being, called them *English* Traitors, and showed their poisoned Darts, cried a *Mora* upon the *Dutch*, killing a great Number of them before they could put themselves into a Posture of Defence, and others there would not have one of them escape, had not the *Dutch* come on board as they did: Some of the *English* Lords, and about twenty of their Attendants, would have no Quarter, so that the *Dutch* were forced to retreat, and, at last, they got the better, with the Loss of six or eight Men.

The *English* Vessel being carried into *Batavia*, the General very civilly sent both the Prisoners and the

leave of the English President, here, having little to do, I re-
 ceive of the King of Japara, otherwise
 This King was formerly
 till the King of Bantam,
 of a Province, rebelled against
 made by the Division of the
 King of Japara besieged he
 relieved the Dutch, and when
 King of Bantam, the King of
 dance; and when both were
 Ears, the Dutch always
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 tant from Batavia, and
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 eight Leagues up to Land,
 Walk to the Sea, was more
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home again, withal giving Notice to the King, that he was ready to make an Exchange of Prisoners with him; but the King would not so much as hearken to any such Proposition, returning for Answer, that though the Dutch had three times as many of his Subjects, he would not so much as release one of the Dutch; so that the poor Dutch were kept Slaves in Java, and the Javaese died miserably in Batavia. As to the Javaese, they are good Soldiers; and it is reported, that while Batavia was besieged by the King of Bantam in the Year 1659, a Dutch Soldier lying in Ambuscade in a March, a Javaese, little dreaming that any Body had been there, came to this same Place to discover the Enemy, and was by the Dutchman thrust with his Pike into the Body; upon which the Javaese finding himself wounded, did not strive to quit the Pike out of the Body, but thrust himself farther upon it, to the End he might come at his Enemy, whom he stabbed to the Heart as soon as he came within his Reach.

13. Whilst I stayed at Batavia, my Brother died, and it was pretty to consider what the Dutch made me pay for his Funeral. The first Expence is for the Fees of those that buy Leave for the Corps to be buried, of whom the more there are, the more honourable the Funeral is cleaned, I sent six, and, to my Wonder, paid for that twenty-two Crowns. The Fee for the Poor is a Right belonging to the Poor, for which I paid two Crowns. There was a Vessel of Spanish Wine drank out that cost me two hundred Pistoles; I gave twenty-six more for three Hogsheads of Ham and Neats-tongues, and twenty two for three Measures, to the Bearers, I gave twenty Crowns, and sixteen for a Place in the Church-Yard, for they asked me an hundred to bury him in the Church. And all these are Fees demanded; so that my Brother's Funeral cost me twelve hundred and twenty three Livres of French Money. Being thus put off the two Voyages which I intended to Japara, and Samarang, I was advised to lay out my Money in Debentures, or Debetures, of the Servants of the Dutch Company, which they say that have no mind to return into their own Country, as being settled in the Indies, will sell at an easy Rate, in-tantum that for sixty or seventy, you may buy an hundred Pistoles, the Act and Acquittance of the Seller being made and registered by the publick Notary.

Thereupon I bought of one of the publick Notaries, who had Bills in his Hands to the Value of about eleven hundred Guilders, at fourscore and two for the hundred. After that I bought, by means of the Advocate of the Treasury, six thousand Guilders more at seventy nine for the hundred. But some few Days after, meeting with the same Advocate again, he passed a Complaint upon me, and told me he was very much troubled for that: that had bought Debetures, in regard that the General and the Council had commanded him to recall all Debetures that had been sold; for they had considered how bad a Thing it would be for the poor Men to lose so much of their Estates; I answered him, that, for my Part, I was willing to return mine, provided I might have my Money again.

About six or seven Hours after, I was sent for by the General and the Council, when I came there they asked me why I had not returned my Debetures which I had to the Advocate, who had demanded them, by their Order? I answered them, that they were at Bantam, which I had sent them in order to my Palace home, in regard that the English President had offered me a Commission to go along with him. The Council answered me, that the Dutch Ships were as good as the English, and very certainly assured me, that they would give Orders for a Cabin to myself in the Vice-Admiral; but withal told me, I must deliver up my Debetures before I should, at- tending me they would give me a Bill to reimburse my Money in Holland. I thought it very hard, not knowing how to trust them, but seeing the Merchants, Commanders, and all other Persons, clapp'd up, and their Papers taken from them by Force that had bought Debetures, I thought it the best Way to deliver mine, and stand to their Counte-y. I often pressed the General and the Council for my Bill; but, after many Days, the General ac- quainted me, that my Bill should be in Holland as soon as I. Thereupon desiring the Vice-Admiral, and some others, to

be my Witnesses of what the General promised, I took my Leave of him, very much repenting my going to Batavia.

14. The next Day I went on board the Vice-Admiral; and, the third Day after, we set sail, and as soon as we were out of the Streights, we discovered the Island of the Prince, from thence, being in the Altitude of the Cocoa Islands, we beat about two Days to discover them, but all to no Purpose; thereupon we made directly for the Cape of Good Hope. The twenty fifth Day after we departed from Batavia, our Vice-Admiral neglected to put out his Lights, believing all the Fleet had been before at the Cape; so that it happened one of the Fleet being behind, and not carrying any Lights out neither, it being a dark Night, fell foul upon us, which put every Man to his Prayers, all the People believing the Vessel had been lost; and indeed had the not been a board staunch Ship (as she was esteemed to be) she could never have endured so terrible a Shock. At length we cleared ourselves by cutting off the Yard of the *Magistrate* that hung in our Cor- dage. The thirty fifth Day we came within Sight of the Cape of Good Hope, but were forced to keep the Sea, be- cause the Waves roiled so that we were not able to come to an Anchor; not that the Wind was extremely high, but because the South wind, which had blown, had forced the Water to that Part; when the Sea grew calm we came to an Anchor.

But of all the People that ever I saw in all my Travels, I never met with any so hideous, nor so brutish, as the Com- macks, of which I have spoken in my *Person Travels*, and those of the Cape of Good Hope, whom they call *Crozes*, or *Isotrozes*. When they speak, they make a Noise with their Tongues like the Roaring of Wind-bellwinds, and though they hardly speak articulately, yet they easily understand one another. They cover their Faces with the Skins of wild Beasts which they kill in the Woods, in the Winter wear the hairy Skins immediately, and in the Summer out-side; But there are none but the best fort among them who are thus clad; the rest wear nothing but a naked Rag about their Privy-parts. The Men and the Women are lean and short, and when they bring forth a child, their Mothers cut out the Right-flone, and presently give him Water to drink, and Tobacco to eat. They cut out the Right-flone, because they say, it makes them twister to run. There are some of them that will catch a Roe-back running. They neither know what belongs to God nor Devil; and, for Religion, they have none among them.

15. So soon as we call Anchor, four Women came on board of us, and brought four young Oulrichs, which were boiled for some Black People we had aboard of us; after that they brought great Store of Tortoise-shells, and Oulrichs-Eggs, and other Eggs, as big as Geese-Eggs, which, tho' they had no Yolk, tasted very well. The Birds that lay these Eggs are a sort of Geese, and so fat that they are hardy to be eaten, to begeth a five Fish than I do. The Women being our Cook throw away the Guts of two or three Foxes, which he was aniling, took them up, and, repeating out the Order, put them as they were, being so highly pleased with the *Levee* which the Captain gave them. Neither Men nor Women are ashamed to show their Nakedness; indeed, they are but a sort of two-legged Beasts.

So soon as a Ship arrives, they bring their Beavers to the Shore, with what other Commodities they have, to barter for Strong-water, and Tobacco, Cryll, or Agit Balls, or any sort of old Iron-work. If they are not satisfied with what you offer them, away they fly, and then giving a Whistle, all their Cattle to buy, and nor shall you ever see them run. Some, when they buy them, they would shoot and kill their Cattle; but, after that, for many Years, they would not bring any more. 'Tis a very great Convenience for the Vessels that touch there, to take in fresh Victuals, and the Dutch did well to build a Fort there. It is now a good hand-some Town, inhabited by all sorts of People that live with the Dutch; and all sorts of Grain which are brought out of *Indy*, or *Java*, and sowed there, come to greater Perfection than in other Parts. The Country lies in 35° and some few Minutes over, to that

It cannot be said that either the Heat, or the Situation of the Climate, make these *Cafres* to black. Being desirous to know the Reason, and why they stunk so terribly, I learnt it from a Girl, that was bred up in the Fort, who was taken from her Mother as soon as she was born, and was white, like our Women in *Europe*: She told me, that the Reason was, because the *Cafres* rub themselves with a Grease, or Ointment, composed of several sorts of Drugs, wherewith should they not anoint themselves very often, and to soon as they were born, they would become hydroptical, as the *Black* of *Africa* and the *Abyssinians* are, or like the People of *Saba*, that never live above forty Years, and are always troubled with one Leg twice as long as the other. These *Cafres*, as brutish as they are, have yet some Knowledge of Surples, when they know how to apply to several Diseases, which the *Dutch* have several times experienced. Of nineteen sick Persons that we had in our Ship, fifteen were committed to the *Cafres*, being troubled with Ulcers in their Legs, and old Wounds which they had received in the Wars; and, in less than fifteen Days, they were perfectly cured. Every one of these had two *Cafres* to look after him, and according to the Generation of the Wound or Ulcer, they went and rubbed Sopses, which they bruised between two Stones, and applied to the Sore. As for the other four, they were to far gone with the Poix, that they would not trust the *Cafres* with them, having been given over at *Batavia*, and so they all died between the Cape and *Saint Helena*.

In the Year 1691, a Gentleman of *Britanny*, being at *Batavia*, was taken by the *Comas* in the Night, that his Leg was cut off presently, in such a Manner as to puzzle all the Art and Skill of the Chirurgeons of that Town. When he came to the Cape of Good Hope, the Captain of the Ship, knowing him on Shore, the *Cafres* came about him, and after they had beheld him, they told him, if he would trust to them, they would cure him; the Captain therefore committed him to their Care, who cured him, and made him a sound Man in less than fifteen Days. When a Ship comes to an Anchor in the Cape, it is the Custom for him that commands the Ship, to give Leave to some Part of the Mariners and Soldiers to go ashore to refresh themselves. The sickly have first Leave by Turns, and go to the Town, where they are dieted and lodged for seven or eight Sours a Day, and are very well used. It is the Custom of the *Dutch*, when they stay here, to send out Parties of Soldiers upon the Discovery of the up land Country, and they that go farthest are best rewarded. With this Design a Party of Soldiers, under the Command of a Sergeant, far advanced in the Country, and Night coming on, they made a great Fire, as well to keep themselves from the Lions, as to warm themselves, and to lay down to sleep to and about it; being asleep, a Lion perceived the Soldier's Arms, which the Sergeant perceived, immediately shot the Lion with his Carbine; but, when he was dead, they had much ado to open the Lion's Mouth to get out the Soldier's Arm.

This it appears a very great Error, to think that Lions will not come near the Fort. As for the Soldier, the *Cafres* cured him in twice Days. There are in the Fort abundance of Lions and Tygers Skins; among the rest, there was the Skin of a Horse, which the *Cafres* had killed; it was white, or of a black and white Streak, spotted like a Leopard, without a Tail. Two or three Leagues from the *Dutch* Fort, there was a Lion found dead, with four Portuguese Quills in his Mouth, the third Part whereof had pierced his Belly; so that it was judged that the Portuguese had killed the Lion. The Skin, with the Quills in it, are kept at the Fort. A League from this Fort is a fair Town, but grows upger every Day.

When the *Dutch* Company arrive there with their Ships, if any Soldier or Munner will live there, they are glad of it. They have as much Ground as they can manage, where they have all sorts of Herbs and Pulse, and as much Rice, and as many Grapes, as they can desire. They have also young Oulches, Beef, Sea-tith, and sweet Water to catch the Oulches when they please; they get their Nells when they are young, and driving a Stake in the Ground, viz. the Birds by one Leg to the Stake, and when they are old

enough, they come and take them out of the Nest, from whence it is impossible to fly away. When the *Dutch* began to inhabit the Cape, they took a young Girl from her Mother as soon as she was born; she is white, only her Nose is a little flat. A *Frenchman* got her with Child, and would have married her; but the Company were so far from permitting him, that they took away above one hundred Lwys of the Maid's Wages from her, to punish her for the Misdemeanor, which was somewhat hard.

There are great Numbers of Lions and Tygers, which the *Dutch* have a pretty Invention to take; they taking a Carbine to a Stake driven into the Earth, and lay Meat round about the Gun, which Meat is fastened with a String to the Trigger, so that when the Beast touches the Meat, the String pulls the Trigger, and the Gun goes off, and the Lion either in the Throat or Breast. The *Cafres* feed upon a Root like our Carrots, which they roast, and make Bread of. Sometimes they grind it into Flour, and then it tastes like a Walnut; for their Food they eat the same Root raw, with raw Flesh, and with the Bones of Beasts, out of which they only squeeze the Ordure. As for the Bowels of the wild Beasts, the Women wear them round about their Legs, especially the Bowels of those Beasts whose Husbands kill, which they look upon as a kind of Ornament.

They also feed upon Tortoules, when they have fore heated them at the Fire, as to make the Shell come out. They are very expert in darting their Arrows, and make that have none make use of pointed Sticks, which they will lance a great way; with these they pass over to the Sea side, and as soon as ever they spy a Fish in the Top of the Water, they will not fail to strike him. As for our Birds, which are like our Ducks, whose Eggs are without any Yolk, they breed in such great Quantities in the Country, that in a Bay, about eighteen Leagues from the Cape, you may knock them on the Head with a Stick. The *Dutch* once carried a young *Cafre* to the General at *Batavia*, who bred him carefully up, teaching him to understand the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Languages pretty well. At length, being desirous to return to his own Country, the General gave him very good Cloaths, and good Money, hoping that he would have lived among the *Dutch*, and have been serviceable to them in the Discovery of the Country; but to soon as he got home, he flung his Cloaths into the Sea, and returned wild among his fellow Natives, eating raw Flesh as he did before, and quite forgetting his *Batavian* Days.

When the *Cafres* go a-hunting, they go in great Numbers together, and make such a prodigious Noise, as to yell, that they fright the very Beasts themselves, so that although with hale desirous, and a well assured, that their Cries terrify the Lions, and that the Women are of to put a Constitution of Blood, and of the Times, their monthly Customs are upon them, they happen to make Water, and that an *European* who had bet his Leg upon it, it causes an immediate Fever, which many times turns to the Stone.

16. Having Stayed twenty-two Days at the Cape of Good Hope, being that the Wind was favourable, we set our Anchor, and departed for *Saint Helena*, when we were with Sail, the Mariners cried out, they would not go to the Cape into *Saint Helena* Road, for the Wind is very variable, and carries you in sixteen or eighteen Days to the Cape of Good Hope. All the Trouble that our Mariners had was, that in sixteen Days after our Departure from the Cape, they were often forced to the Top-mast Head, and that the Wind of the Land, as soon as you discover the Island, the Pilot must take care to Bear to the North, and to the West, because there is no calling Anchor but on the South side of the Island, and that very near the Shore too, for the great Depths of the Water; for if the Anchors come to the Bottom, they take hold, the Current of the Water, and the Wind comes to the Ship quite out of the Road, which there is no recovering again, because the Wind never changes.

So soon as the Ship came to an Anchor, Part of the Sailmen were sent on Shore to get wild Hogs, of which there are great Plenty, and to gather Sorrel, which grows in great abundance; and indeed they not only got the Sorrel, but all the Pigs, Sheep, Geese, Ducks, and Pullets,

them out of the Nest, from way. When the *Dutch* began a young Girl from her Mother is white, only her Nose got her with Child, and would Company were far from prying above one hundred Livres, to punish her for the Mistake hard.

of Lions and Tygers, which intention to take; they take a to the Earth, and lay Meat Meat is fattened with a strong the Beast catches the Meat, and the Gun gives him hit or Breast. The *Cafres* feed, which they roast, and make grind it into Flour, and then their Food they eat the bread with the Embras of Beans, the Ordure. As for the Women wear turn round the Bowels of their Baskets look upon as a kind of Ornaments, when they have for to make the *Sun* come on, and their Azarwas, and note painted Sticks, which they with these they proceed to do they spy all the night, and to strike him. As for our necks, whose Fingers are without great Quantities in the Counteeen Leagues from the Cape, the Head with a Stick. The *Cafre* to the General at *Madagascar* up, teaching him to understand Languages perfectly without return to his own Country, good Cloaths, and good Land, lived among the *Dutch*, and them in the Discovery of the got home, he found his Cloath wild among his fellow Natives before, and quite forgetting us

unting, they go in great Numbers a prodigious Hunt, and the very Beasts they kill they destroy them; and I have seen many of the Lions themselves, and the multitude of Beasts, the Customs are upon the Island that an *Europe*an is an immediate Execution turns to the Prisoners, and by two Days after the Wind was favourable, when *St. Helena*, when they were there, they would sleep, and the Wind is very favourable, and eight Days to the *Dutch*, and our Mariners were ready to Departure to a *Crab*, and a small Head, upon which as you did recover the *Island* to the North, and the *Anchor* but on the morning the shore too, and we got out for it the Anchors come from the Water and the *Yankee* Row, which there is to recover the Wind never changes, and to an Anchor, Part of the Sea get wild Hogs, of which they gather Sorrel, which grows, and feed they not only eat the *Star* rep, Geese, Ducks, and Pullets

board, to feed upon this Sorrel, which purged them in such a manner, that in a few Days they became so fat, that by that Time we came to *Holland* they were hardly to be eaten. That Sorrel has the same Operation upon the Men, who boiling their wild Swines-Flesh, Rice and Sorrel together, make thereof a kind of Potrage, so excellent, that it keeps their Bodies open, by an insensible Purgation. There are two Places upon the Coast of *St. Helena* where Sips may come to an Anchor; but the best is that where we lay, by reason the Ground is very good, and because the Water that falls from the Mountains is the best in the Island. In this Part of the Island there is no Plain, for the Mountain descends to the very Shore of the Sea. It is not so good anchoring in the other Road; but there is a very handsome Plain, where you may tow or reap whatever you please. There are great Store of Citrons, and some Oranges, which the *Portuguese* had formerly planted there; for that Nation have that Virtue, that wherever they come they make the Place the better for those that come after them, whereas the *Dutch* endeavour to destroy all things wherever they set Footing. I confess the Commanders are not of that Humour; but the Seamen and Soldiers are, who cry one to another, we shall never come here any more, and, out of Greediness, will cut down a whole Tree instead of gathering the Fruit.

Some Days after their Arrival, came in a *Portuguese* Vessel from *Guinea*, full of Slaves, who were bound for the Mines of *Pera*, some of the *Dutch* that understood the Language of the Negroes, told them how miserably they would be used, and thereupon the next Night two hundred and fifty of them threw themselves into the Sea; and indeed, it is a miserable Slavery; for sometimes after they have undressed some Places for some Days together, the Earth being loose, falls down, and kills four or five hundred at a time; besides that, when they have been nining a-while, their Faces, their Eyes, and their Skins change Colour, which proceeds from the Vapours that arise from those Concavities; nor could they subsist in those Places, but from the Quantity of strong Water which they give both to the Men and Women. There are some that are made free by their Masters, who labour, however, for their Living; but between *Saturday* Night and *Monday* Morning, they spend all their Wages in strong Water, which is very dear, so that they always live miserably.

Being ready to depart the Island of *St. Helena*, the Admiral called a Council, to advise which Way to steer; the greater Part were for steering more to the West than to the South, because the Season for sailing was far spent; and for that, if we steered towards the *North*, we should find the Wind more proper to carry us into *Holland*; but we had no sooner passed the Line, but we found the Wind quite contrary to what the Mariners expected, so that we were forced to steer to the sixty fourth Degree of Altitude with the Island, and to return by the North into *Holland*.

The next Day after the Admiral had called a Council, we weighed Anchor, and set Sail about ten o'clock at Night. Three Days after our Departure from *St. Helena*, the Seamen were called very duly to Prayers Morning and Evening, though all the Time we layed in the Road they never minded any such Matters, which made me wonder to find they should be more devout when they were out of Danger than when they were in Jeopardy. After several Days sailing, we discovered the Coast of *Island*, and then the Island of *Yotella*, where we joined with the *Dutch* Fleet that layed for us. Here it is that the Commander in chief calls to an Account all the Mariners for their Misdemeanors during the whole Voyage. Our Ship was bound for *Batavia*, but we were forced to lie out to Sea seven Days before we could get into *Amboyna*, before the Sand had changed its Place.

Coming to an Anchor before *Amboyna*, two of the Directors of the Company came aboard to welcome us home, and to advise us to lock our Chests, and put our Marks upon them; for all Chests are carried into the *Dutch-India* House, where when the Owners come for them, they are ordered to open them, lest they should have any contraband Goods therein; thereupon I set a Mark upon my Chests, and went ashore, after I had given a good Character of the Captain,

and his Civility to me all the Voyage, and thence proceeded by Land to *Middleburgh*.

Four Days after I came to *Middleburgh* I went to fetch my Chests, and finding the two Directors there, one a *Zealander*, the other of *Horn*, who came first aboard us, I produced my Keys, and offered the Chests to be opened; but the *Zealander*, more civil than the *Horn*, delivered me my Keys again, and taking my Word, told me, I was free to take away my Goods; and indeed, I have ever observed that the Northern People are always more rude and ungentle than the Southern. As for the seventeen thousand five hundred Florins which the General of *Batavia* promised me should be paid me upon my Arrival in *Holland*, I received so many Delays and Put-offs, that I was at length forced to commence a Suit that lasted two Years; nor could I get a publick Notary, either at *Amsterdam*, or the *Hague*, that would make me out a Protest, every one fearing the Directors, who were both Judges and Parties. At length, after five Years wrangling and jangling, the Director wrote to my Brother at *Batavia* (for I was then again returned to the *Indies*) that if I would accept of ten thousand Livres, he might receive it for me, which he did, and I was forced to give an Acquittance for the whole.

This is the Return which I made from the *Indies* in the Year 1649, and the only time that ever I returned by Sea, having performed all the rest of my Travels by Land, not counting my short Voyages through the *Mediterranean* for any thing; and as for my first Travels, I performed them all by Land from *Paris* through *Germany* and *Hungary*, as far as *Constantinople*, whither I returned again in the Year 1660. From *Constantinople* I went to *Smyrna*, thence I sailed for *Leghorn*; from *Leghorn*, I travelled by Land to *Genoa*, thence to *Turin*, and so to *Paris*.

The perfect Acquittance which our Author had with all the Customs of the *Indians*, exposed him to a great Number of Enquiries on his return home; and he was very often pressed, not only by the most considerable of the *French* Ministers, but even by the King himself, to put the Answers he gave to those Enquiries into Writing; and these were afterwards reduced under several Heads, and now make the several Chapters in his Travels; and this Account of them may serve to reconcile the Reader to the seeming Incoherency of those Discourses. Among these there is one more remarkably curious in relation to the Custom that still prevails in the *Indies*, of Women burning themselves on the Demise of their Husbands, and also of Mens submitting voluntarily to Death, upon extraordinary Occasions. This Dissertation, as I judged it, could not but be very agreeable to the Reader, and at the same time instructive. I thought it not amiss to add here at the End of his Travels, the rather, because it has no sort of Connection with any Part of his Relation, but is, as I observed before, a separate Discourse upon that particular Subject, in which he has related what occurred to him thereon during his long Stay in the *Indies*, which renders it more perfect in its kind than any thing I have ever met with on the Subject; and therefore I have given it at large, and entirely in the Words of our Author, which are as follows.

It has been a Custom Time immemorial, among the *Indians*, that a Woman should only marry one Husband, and in case of his Decease, continue a Widow to the Time of her Death. As soon, therefore, as the Master of a Family is dead, his Wife returns to bewail her Husband some Days; after which they have her Head, and she lays aside all the Ornaments which she had worn during the Time of her Marriage, taking off at the same time from her Arms and Legs the Bracelets which her Husband put on when he espoused her, in token of her Submission, and her being chained to him, and all the rest of her Life she Eyes bright and despaired, and in a worse Condition than a Slave, in the very House where she was Married before. This unfortunate Condition causes them to hate Life, so that they rather chuse to be buried alive with the Body of their deceased Husband, than to live the Scorn and Contempt of all the World; besides that, the *Indians* make them believe, that in dying after that manner, they shall revive again with him in another World, with more Honour

nour and more Advantages than they enjoyed before.

These are the Motives that cause the Women to burn with their Husbands; besides that, the Priests flatter them with Hopes, that while they are in the midst of the Flame, before they expire, *Ram* will appear, and reveal wonderful Visions to them; and that after their Souls have transmigrated into various Bodies, they shall at length obtain a high Degree of Honour to Eternity. However, there is no Woman that can burn with her Husband's Body, till she has the Leave of the Governor of the Place where she inhabits, who being a *Mohammedan*, and abhorring the execrable Crime of Self-murder, is very shy to permit them. Besides, there are none but Widows that have no Children that lie under the Reproach that forces them to violent Deaths: For, as for the Widows that have Children, they are by no means permitted to burn themselves, but quite the contrary. They are commanded to live for the Education of the Children. These Women, whom the Governor will not permit to burn themselves, spend the rest of their Lives in doing Penance, and performing Works of Charity. Some make it their Business to sit upon the Road to boil certain Pulse in Water, and to give the Liquor to Travellers to drink; others sit with Fire always ready for them to light their Tobacco; others make Vows to eat nothing but the ungrounded Grains which they find in Cowdung.

The Governor, finding no Persuasion will alter the Womens Resolution, let more especially, perceiving by the Sign which his Secretary makes him, that he has received the Coin, in a bold manner gives the Woman Leave, bidding the Devil take her and all her Kindred. When they have got this Leave, their Music begins to strike up, and away they march to the House of the Deceased, with Drums beating, and Flutes playing before them, and in that manner they accompany the Person that is to be burnt to the Place appointed. All the Kindred and Friends of the Widow that is to die come to her and congratulate her on the Happiness she is to enjoy in the other World, and for the Honour which the Cast she is to receive by her generous Resolution. She dresses herself as if she were going to be married, and the is conducted in Triumph to the Place of Execution, for the Noise is loud of musical Instruments, and Womens Voices, that follow her, singing Songs in Honour of the miserable Creature that is going to die. The Bramins also accompany her, to give publick Testimonies of her Constancy and Courage, and many of our *Europeans* are of Opinion, that to take away the Fears of Death, which naturally terrify Humanity, the Priests give her a certain Beverage to stupify and disorder the Senses, which takes from her all Apprehensions of her approaching Death. As for the Bramin's Intereſt that the poor miserable Creatures should continue in their Resolutions, for an their Bracelets, as well about their Legs as their Arms, the Pendants in their Ears, sometimes of Gold, sometimes of Silver (for the Poor wear only of Copper and Tin) which belong to the Bramins, who take for them among the Allies when the Party is burned.

I have seen Women burned after three different Manner, according to the Difference of the Country. In the Kingdom of *Cakharat*, as far as *Agra* and *Delhi*, they sit upon a Hut, about twelve Feet square, upon the Back of a Tree or Kiver, it is made of Reeds and all sorts of small Wood, with many a many certain Pots of Oil, and other Drugs, to make it burn more vehemently. The Woman is pushed in the middle of the Hut, in a half by a Pillow Posture, raising her Head upon a kind of a wooden Sallet, and resting her Back against a Pillar, to which the Bramin ties her about the Middle, for fear she should run away when she feels the Fire. In this Posture she binds the Body of her deceased Husband upon her Knees, chewing Beetel all the while; and when she has continued in this Posture about half an Hour, the Bramin goes out, and the Woman bids them set Fire to the Hut, which is immediately done by the Bramins, and the Kindred and Friends of the Woman, who call also several Pots of Oil and Ointment into the Fire, to put the Woman the sooner out of her Pain. After the Woman is burnt, the Bramin fetch the Allies for the Bracelets, Pendants,

and Rings, whether Gold, Silver, Copper, or Tin, which is all free Booty to themselves.

In *Benegal* they burn the Women after another Fashion. In that Country a Woman must be very poor, that does not accompany the Body of her deceased Husband to the *Ganges*, to wash his Body, and to be washed herself before she is burnt. I have seen dead Carcasses brought to the *Ganges* above twenty Days Journey off from the Place, and smelt them to noot; for the Scent of them has been intolerably noisom. There was one that came from the northern Mountains, near the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, with the Body of her Husband carried in a Waggon. She travelled twenty Days on Foot, and never eat nor drank for fifteen or sixteen Days together, till she came to the *Ganges*, where, after she had washed the Body that stank abominably, and had at last washed herself, she was burnt with him with admirable Constancy.

Before the Woman that is to be burnt goes the Music, consisting of Drums, Flutes, and Hautboys, when the Woman, in her best Accoutrements, follows, dancing up to the very funeral Pile, upon which she gets, and puts herself as if she were sitting up in Bed; and then she lay a cross her the Body of her Husband, and when this is done, her Kindred and Friends, some bring her a Basket, some Pieces of Calicut, and others Pieces of Silver and Copper, and desire her to deliver them to her Mother, or Brother, or some of her Kindred, as she pleases. When the Woman sees they have all done, she stands by, three Times, if they have not commanded Services to command her, if they make no other Duties up all she has got in a Piece of Tuffin, which she puts between her own Belly and the Body of her Husband, bidding them set Fire to the Pile, which is immediately done by the Bramins and her Kindred. I have observed, because there is Scarcity of Wood in *Benegal*, when those poor Creatures are half griled, they cast their Bodies into the *Ganges*, where the Remains are devoured by the Crocodiles. I must not forget a wicked Custom practised by the Idolaters of *Benegal*.

When a Woman is brought to Bed, and the Child is not taken, they carry it out of the Village, and putting it into a Linen cloth, which they fasten by the four Corners to the Boughs of a Tree, they leave it from Morning till Evening; by this Means the poor Infant is expell'd to be tormented by the Crows, so that there are some who have their Eyes peck'd out of their Heads; which is the Reason, that in *Benegal* and *Bahar* many of those Idolaters that have cut off by Child some that have lost both. In the Evening some of the Child away, to try whether he will suck the Milk of a Cow, and, if he still refuses the Teat, they then carry him to the same Place the next Morning, where they stay for three Days together. After which, if the Child will not suck, they believe him to be a Devil, and cast him into the *Ganges*, or any the next Place of Rivers, or the Places where the Apes breed, that he may be devoured by the Crows; for where the Apes breed, they catch a Net of the Birds, the Crows the Tree, and the Devil is not one Way, and the Eggs another. Some of the People among the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese* are so passionately the Mistresses of these Custom, that they run away from the Tree, and give the poor Infant a good beating.

As for the Coast of *Ceylon*, and the Western Parts, they are to be burnt with their Husbands, they sit upon a Hut in the Ground made of a Tree, about five or six Feet or thirty Foot square, into which they put a great Quantity of Wood and Drugs, to make it burn more violently; when the Fire is kindled, the Body of the Man upon the Back, and the Woman upon the Front, the Woman dancing, and crying out with her Friends and Kinsmen, who bring her Flutes sounding; then the Women take the Fire round the Hut, and every Time they pass by the Hut she kisses her Friends and Kinsmen, and then the Bramins call on the Casuals of her Husband, who stand round the Hut, and every Time they pass by the Woman standing with her Back to the Fire, they kiss her. The Bramins also, as I have said before,

red and Friends cast Oil, and other combustible Drugs upon the Fire, to make it burn more vehemently, that the Bodies may be the sooner consumed. In most Places upon the Coast of *Corromandel*, the Women are not burnt with their deceased Husbands, but they are buried alive with them, in Holes which the Bramins make a Foot deeper than the tallest of them, Man or Woman.

Usually they chuse a sandy Place; so that when the Man and Woman are both let down together, all the Company, with Baskets of Sand, fill up the Hole above half a Foot higher than the Surface of the Ground, after which they jump and dance upon it till they believe the Woman to be stifled. When some of the Idolaters upon the Coast of *Corromandel* are upon the Point of Death, their Friends do not carry them to the Side of a River, or Lake, to cleanse their Souls, but they carry them to the fattest Cow they can find, and laying the sick Party just behind the Cow, they lift up her Tail, and provoke her to piss; if she pisses so that it falls upon the Face of the diseased Person, all the Company are overjoyed, saying, that his Soul is happy; but if the Cow does not piss to wash the sick Party's Face, they burn him with a great deal of Sadrnets. If a Cow be sick, the Owner must be careful to lead her to a Pond, or River; for, should she die at his House, the Bramins would fine him.

The Rajah of *Patna* having lost this City, and his Life, through the Loss of a Bitte gured against him by the King of *Vishnapour's* General, he was extremely lamented at Court; eleven of his Wives also were no less concerned for his Death, and resolved to burn themselves when he was burned. The General of *Vishnapour's* Army understanding their Resolution, thought at first to divert them by promising them a kind Usage; but finding Persuasion would not prevail, he ordered them to be shut up in a Room. He who had the Order, going to put it in Execution, the Women, in a Rage, told him, that it was too late to keep them Prisoners; for, if they might not have Leave to do what they had resolved, in three Hours there would not be one of them alive. The Person controuled, laughed at their Threats; but the Keeper of those Women, opening the Door at the End of the three Hours, found them all stretched out dead upon the Place, without any Munk in the World to be seen that they had any way hastened their own Deaths.

Two of the most potent Rajahs of *India* came to *Agra* in the Year 1642, to do Homage to *Shah-Jehan*, who then reigned; who, not having acquitted themselves as they ought to have done in the Judgment of the Grand-Master of the King's Household, he told one of the Rajahs one Day, in the Presence of the King, that they had not done well to behave themselves in such a manner towards a great Monarch as was the King his Master. The Rajah, looking upon himself to be a great King, and a great Prince, he and his Brother having brought along with them a Train of fifteen or sixteen thousand Horse, was nettled at the bold Reproof which the Grand-Master gave him, and drawing out his Dagger, flew upon the Place, in the Presence of the King, the Grand-Master falling at the Feet of his Brother, who stood close by him, he was going about to revenge his Death, but was prevented by the Rajah's Brother, who flabbed him, and laid him about his Brother's Body. The King, who beheld these Murders, one on the Neck of another, retired into his Haram for fear, but presently the Omrahs, and other People, fell upon the Rajahs, and cut them to Pieces.

The King, incensed at such an Attempt committed in his House, and in his Presence, commanded the Rajahs Bodies to be thrown into the River, which their Troops as they had left about *Agra* understanding, threatened to enter the City, and pillage it; so that, rather than hazard the City, the King was adviced to deliver them the Bodies of their Princes. When they were to be burned, thirteen Women belonging to the two Rajahs Houses came dancing and leaping, and presently got upon the funeral Pile, holding one another by the Hands, and being presently afterwards by the Smaok, fell together into the Fire; presently the Bramins threw great Heaps of Wood, Pots of Oil, and other combustible Matter upon them, to dispatch them the sooner.

...reed a strange Passage at *Patna*, being then with the Governor, a young Gentleman about twenty four Years of Age, in a Cow House. While I was with him, in came a young Woman, very handsome, and not above twenty two Years old, who desired Leave of the Governor to be burnt with the Body of her deceased Husband. The Governor, compassionating her Youth and Beauty, endeavoured to divert her from her Resolution, but finding he could not prevail, went to my Court, to see he asked her whether she understood that the Torment of Fire was, and whether she had ever burnt her Fingers? No, no, answered she more stoutly than before, I do not fear Fire; and to let you know as much, lend for a lighted Torch hither. The Governor abominating her Answer, in a great Passion, bid her go to the Devil. Some young Lords that were with the Governor, desired him to try the Woman, and entreated him to call for a Torch, which, with much ado, he did, and a lighted Torch was brought; So soon as the Woman saw the lighted Torch coming, she ran to meet it, and held her Hand in the Flame, not altering her Countenance in the least, still holding her Arm along quite up to the Elbow, till her Hand looked as it had been broiled; whereupon the Governor commanded her out of his Sight.

A Bramin coming to *Patna*, and assembling all his Tribe together, told them, that they must give him two thousand *Ruppes*, and twenty five Pils of Callicut, to which the Chant among them answered, that they were poor, and could not possibly raise such a Sum; however, he persisted in his Demand, positively assuring unto them, that he would stay there without eating or drinking, till they brought him the Money and the Cloth. With this Resolution, he climbed a Tree, and sitting in the Fork between the Boughs, remained there without eating or drinking for several Days. The Noise of this Extravagance coming to the Ears of the *Dutch* House, where we lay, we let Sentinels to watch whether it was true, that a Man could sit so long without Victuals, which he did for thirty Days together. The thirty and Day of this extraordinary Fast, the Idolaters tearing to kill one of their Priests for want of granting him his Demand, clabbed together, and brought him his twenty-seven Pils of Callicut, and two thousand *Ruppes*. So soon as the Bramin saw the Money and Cloth, he came down from the Tree, and after he had upbraided those of his Tribe for want of Charity, he distributed all the *Ruppes* among the Poor, reserving only five or six for himself. The Cloth he cut into little Pieces, and gave away, keeping only to himself as much as would just cover his Nakedness; and having made his Distribution, he disappeared on a sudden, and no body knows what became of him, though diligent Search was made for him.

When a *Change* lies at the Point of Death, all his Kin-Red and Friends gather about him, and ask him whether he intends to go. They tell him, allow that if he wants any thing, he may buy it, but all he has, let it be Gold, Silver, or a Woman. When they are dead, they perform many Ceremonies at their Funerals, which consist chiefly in artificial Fires, where the *Change* are the most expert in all the World; so that he must be a very poor Man that has no Fire-work at his Funeral. Besides that, they put Money in a little Bag, and lay it by the Deceased, and leave good Store of Victuals upon the Grave, out of an Opinion that they rise and eat; which the Soldiers of *Batavia* a good many times used to till their Belies at these Graves every Time they marched their Rounds. But when the *Change* perceived that they poisoned the Victuals, to spoil the *Dutchmen's* Feeding. The Townsmen of *Batavia* taking the Soldiers Party, accused the *Change* of poisoning several of the *Dutch*; but the *Change* pleaded, that if the Soldiers had over-eaten themselves, or mistaken themselves upon what was laid for the Dead to eat, it was none of their Fault; for that they did not leave this Victuals for their Soldiers; And besides that, among all the Multitudes that they had buried, they never had heard the least Complaint before of any one that ever came to any Harm by eating their Food. Thus the Bramins was hushed up, nor did the Soldiers dare to push any more.

These are certainly very surprizing and entertaining Passages, which carry in them strong Marks of that Enthusiasm, which is the Characteristick of the Eastern Genius; and which, however wild and extravagant it may appear to us in this Part of the World, has in it, nevertheless, something so striking to such as behold it, even tho' Europeans, that they fall into it by Degrees, and are content to adopt the Honour of the *Indians*, under another Name, and for many pretended Reasons. As a Proof of this, we need only remark, that the *Mohammedan* Lords of the Mogul's Court, not only allow, but encourage their Women to die with them, as a Mark of Affection. It is true, that they don't do this publicly, and in the Sight of the Sun, as the *Indians* do; but when a *Mohammedan* Lord dies, his Women, the Night after they have paid their Duty at the Funeral of the Deceased, assemble together in some private Part of his Palace at a Distance from the rest of the Building, and out of the Hearing, as much as may be, of the Servants; and there they set Fire to the Room, having first secured the Doors, and so perish in the Flames. In all Probability, this Custom has been introduced amongst the *Mohammedans* from a Principle of Vanity, flowing from a Desire to shew that they are not less beloved by their *Indian* Wives, than the *Indians* themselves, of which, indeed, it is not easy for them to obtain a stronger Proof than this.

It is likewise indisputably clear, from our Author's Discourse, that the high Spirit and invincible Courage of the *Indians*, both Men and Women, is far enough from being extinguished; but then we ought to make a right Judgment of the Motive from whence this proceeds. In the Men it still rises from Principle and from the Dictates of Reason, whether well or ill employed, I shall not pretend to say: But, in the Women, it is, in some measure, the Effect of Habit, and, in some measure, the Consequence of Despair. They see frequent Examples of Women who end their Lives in this Manner, and are highly applauded for it. This draws them on to merit the same Praises, by shewing the same Intrepidity. On the other hand, they see Numbers of their Sex, who declare a dreadful Trial, reduced to Want and Infamy, and see no Road open for them to escape both; when, as it were, drives them to this desperate Resolution of deliv'ring themselves; since they seem thereby, of two great Evils to chuse the least, which is a glorious Death, rather than a Life of Misery and Contempt. We may from hence fairly conclude, that if the true and genuine Doctrine of the Christian Faith were infused into the Minds of these People, they might be brought to make a good Figure in the World as ever their Ancestors did; and as great that was, we have in the preceding Section, from the Memorials left us in several Languages, very fully and

SECTION XXXI.

Observations and Remarks made during his Residence on the Island of Chufan, on the Coast of China, by Doctor James Cunningham, Physician to the English Factory in that Place.

From his own Accounts.

1. An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Opportunities he had to come to a true Knowledge of the Facts he mentions.
2. An Account of the Voyage to, and a distinct Description of the Island of Chufan.
3. Of the ancient and modern State of the Country, and the coming of the English to reside there.
4. Of their Manner of cultivating Tea in that Island, and of several Mistakes made by F. le Comte, and F. Martini.
5. Of the Chinese Agriculture, and the Manner in which the Inhabitants make Salt in Chufan.
6. Of the famous medicinal Root Hu-chu-n, which prolongs Life, and retards old Age.
7. Dr. Cunningham's Removal to Pulo Condore, with the Rise, Progress, and Ruin of that Factory.
8. A Description of establishing a new Factory at Pulolout, of which Dr. Cunningham became Chief.
9. The Causes of the total Overthrow of that Factory, and the English Trade to Borneo.

IN the Accounts we have hitherto given of the Discovery, of the past, and present Situation of the *India*, we have made use chiefly of foreign Writers, not that we prefer them to our own Countrymen, who have travelled into those Parts; but because, in a Collection of this Nature, it seemed reasonable to include the Works of such Authors as were least known to the Bulk of our Readers. But, to avoid all Suspicion of Partiality, and that, at the same time, we may shew that we have not been at all negligent in consulting either the old Travellers or the new, of such of the *British* Nation as have visited these distant Climates, we will add a few Instances of their Care and Diligence, in observing and recording what appeared to them most worthy of Notice in the Countries into which they were led, either to satisfy their Curiosity, or in Pursuit of Business.

We will begin with the Remarks made by Doctor *James Cunningham*, Fellow of the *Royal Society*, and Physician to the *English Factory* settled at *Chufan* in *China*. He was a Man distinguished both by his natural Parts, and by the Accomplishments he had acquired, being equally well versed in ancient and modern Learning; and, at the same time, a Person, who, from his own Diligence, had obtained all the Lights that are afforded by Experience. Of these great Qualities he has left us sufficient Testimony in two Letters of his writing during his Employment in the Service of the *East-India Company*; and which are so much the more valuable, as they plainly manifest an In-

attention not to copy what others had written, but to set down his own Observations, and to describe Things as they appeared to him, in his own Words, not only to, but to examine and correct the Mistakes of others, in which he was the more capable of doing, for two Reasons; first, because he considered him self as being brought under his immediate Inspection; and secondly, because he writes on such Subjects only as belonged to his Profession, in which he must, of Necessity, be a more diligent than another Man, however learned or industrious, had not made those Things his Study. In the first of these Letters, indeed, I must affirm, that the Writings of our Countrymen are very much to be preferred to those of the Foreigners, because, if their Relations be Discreetly managed, they are not only more interesting; yet they are written with greater Care and Circumspection, as well as with a more ordinary Regard to Truth. But I lay in this, not as a Rule, and not with any View to injure or raise the Credit of particular Persons. But, to come to the Point of this Letter, these Letters were written in the Month of September, 1702, to a Member of the *Royal Society*, and I follow in the Author's own Words.

2. My last to you was from the Head of *Borneo*, which I gave you an Account of our Arrival there, on the 17th of *July*, where we staid but two Days, the rest of the Year being so far past, and from thence we set out on our best of our Way through the Straits of *Borneo*, with the most favourable Winds and Weather, for we came on the 17th

of China the 13th of August, then we had variable Winds which carried us a-bread of Emoy, the 19th following, at which Time the North-east Wind setting in fresh, put us in great Fears of losing our Passage; whereupon we were forced to turn it up against Wind and Current all the Way, the Weather for favouring us that we were never but by our Top-sails, else we should have lost more Ground in one Day than we could have gained in eight. The last of August we came to an Anchor under the *Crocodile Islands*, both to shelter us from the bad Weather which is generally expected on this Coast at New and Full Moon, and has been fatal to a great many Ships) and also to look for fresh Water, which was now grown scarce with us, not having recruited since we came from the Cape of Good-Hope. These are three small Islands, lying in the L. of 26° about six Leagues from the River of *Hakien*, on two whereof we found very good fresh Water, with a convenient watering Place on the S. W. Side of the innermost of the three; and by the Assistance of a few *Chinese* Fishermen, who procured some fresh Provisions from the Main-Land, because we did not think it safe to adventure ourselves thither, lest we should have been brought into Trouble by the Government there.

While we lay here, on the 2th of September, we had a sudden short Shift of the Monsoon to the S. W. the Fury whereof others felt coming upon the Coast of *China*, at the same Time. The 15th of September we put to Sea again, running to windward Night and Day without all the Islands, which are very numerous along this Coast, to which we were altogether Strangers beyond *Emoy*; and the Hydrography thereof is hitherto imperfect, that there was no trusting to our Charts, which made our Navigation somewhat more dangerous: However, on the 11th of October we got into *So*, where we came to an Anchor near the Land, until we found the Way by Boat to *Chufan*, about twelve Leagues within the Islands, from whence we had a Pilot, who carried us safe thither on the 14th. Upon this Island the *Chinese* have granted us a Settlement and Liberty of Trade, but not to *Ning-po*, which is six or eight Hours Sail to the westward, all the Way among Islands; this being the largest, is eight or nine Leagues from East to West, and four or five Leagues in Breadth.

About three Leagues from that Point of the Main-land, called *Cape-Laampo* by the *Portuguese*, but *Ki-tu* by the *Chinese*, at the West-End of this Island, is the Harbour, very safe and convenient, where the Ships ride within Call of the Factory, which is built close by the Shore, on a low plain Valley, with near two hundred Houses about it, for the Benefit of Trade, inhabited by Men whose Jealousy has not, as yet, permitted them to let their Wives dwell here; for the Town where they are is three Quarters of a Mile farther from the Shore, environed with a fine Stone-wall, about three Miles in Circumference, defended by twenty-two square Batteries, placed at irregular Distances, besides four great Gates, to which are planted a few old iron Guns, seldom or never used; The Houses within are very meanly built. Here the *Chumpien*, or Governor of the Island lives, and betwixt three and four thousand beggarly Inhabitants, most part Soldiers and Fishermen; for the Trade of this Place being newly granted, has not, as yet, brought any considerable Merchants thither. The Island in general abounds with all sorts of Provisions, such as Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, Deer, Hogs, wild and tame Veal, Ducks, and Hens, Rice, Wheat, Calavances, Coleworts, Turnips, Potatoes, Carrots, Lettich, and Spruce; but, for Merchandize, there is none, except what comes from *Ning-po*, *Sing-chew*, *Nansen*, and the inland Towns, some of which I hope to see when I have acquired a little of the *Chinese* Language.

Here also the Tea grows in great Plenty, on the Tops of the Hills, but it is not in such Likeness as that which grows on more mountainous Lands. Although this Island is pretty well stored with People, yet it is far from what it was in *P. Martini's* Time, where he describes *Chufan*. And this puts me in mind, that the superstitious Pilgrimages there mentioned by him, must be

meant of the Island *Pou-to*, which lies nine Leagues from hence: And three Miles to the Eastward of this Island, whither, they say, the Emperor designs, in the Month of *May* next (being his Birth-day, and the fortieth Year of his Age) to come to worship in an ancient Pagod there, famous for Sanctity, having sent one of his Bonzes already thither to get all Things in Order. The second Letter, somewhat more copious, and no less curious than the first, our Author wrote to the same Person from *Chufan*, dated *November 22, 1701*, according to his Promise, and to supply the Defects of the first.

I formerly told you that the Emperor designed to have come to the Island of *Pou-to* (a Place of great Devotion) to worship in the Month of *May* last, being the fortieth Year of his Age, I should have said of his Reign. But all Things being prepared there for his Reception, he was dissuaded from his Purpose by some of his Mandarines, who made him believe that the Thunder there was very dangerous. This *Pou-to* is a small Island, about five Leagues round. At the East-End of this Island, famous for the superstitious Pilgrimages made thither for the Space of eleven hundred Years, it is inhabited only by Bonzes, to the Number of three thousand, all of the Sect called *Heshing*, or unmarried Bonzes, who live a *Pythagorean* Life; and there they have built four hundred Pagods, two whereof are considerable for their Greatness and Finery, being lately covered with green and yellow Tiles, brought from the Emperor's Palace at *Nansen*, and inwardly adorned with stately Idols, finely carved and gilded, and the chief whereof is the Idol *Quanum*. To these two great Pagods belong two chief Priests, who govern all the rest. They have several Ways and Avenues cut through the Island, some whereof are paved with Flag Stones, and over-shaded with Trees planted on each Side.

Their Dwellings are the best I have seen in these Parts, all which are maintained by charitable Donations; and their Junk, which go from *Ning-po* and this Place to *Japan*, run here both going and coming, to make their Offerings for their good Success. There is another Island called *Kin-Tong*, five Leagues hence, in the Way to *Ning-po*, whither, they say, a great many Mandarins retire to live a quiet Life, after they have given over their Employments. On that Island also are said to be Silver-mines, but prohibited to be opened.

The rest of the circumjacent Islands are either desert, or meanly inhabited by a few People, but all of them stored with abundance of Deer; for it is not long since this Island of *Chufan* began to be peopled. 'Tis true, in *Martin's* Days, about fifty Years ago, it was very populous for the Space of three or four Years; at which Time the Fury of the *Tartarian* Conquest was so great, that they left it desolate, not sparing so much as the Mulberry-trees; for then they made a great deal of Raw-Silk here. And in this Condition it continued till about eighteen Years ago; that the Walls of the Port, or Town, which now is, were built by the Governor of *Ting-lai* for a Garrison, to expel some Pirates, who had taken Shelter there.

About forty or fifty Years ago, the Island beginning to be peopled, there was a *Chumpien*, or Governor, sent to govern it for three Years, to whom succeeded the late *Chumpien*, who procured the Opening of this Port to Strangers; whose Government continued till April last, being translated to be *Chumpien* of *Tien-ching-see*, near *Tai-son*, and was succeeded by the present *Chumpien*, who is sent to the old *Chumpien* of *Emoy*. They have no Arts, or Manufactures here but lackered Ware, a particular Account whereof I cannot, as yet, send you. They begin to plant Mulberry-trees to breed up Worms for the Production of Raw-Silk; and they make some Tea, but chiefly for their own Use.

The three Sorts of Tea commonly carried to *England*, are all from the same Plant, only the Season of the Year and the Soil make the Difference. The *Bohea* (or *Tea*, as called of some Mountains in the Province of *Tolun*, where it is chiefly made, is the very Bud gathered in the Beginning of *March*, and dried in the Shade. The

ly clear, from our Author's spirit and invincible Courage of Women, is far enough from men we ought to make a tiger from whence this proceeds. In principle and from the Dictates ill employed, I shall not pronounce, it is, in some measure, in some measure, the Consider frequent Examples of Women in this Manner, and are highly was them on to merit the same Intrepidity. On the other their Sex, who declaimed Want and Infamy, and tried to escape both; while, and desperate Resolution of death seem thereby, of two great which is a glorious Death, after and Contempt. We may think if the true and genuine Blood were infused into the Men, it be brought to make a greater their Ancestors did, and now the preceding Section, from the d Languages, very famous.

of Chufan, or the Coast English Factory at our

o come to a true Knowledge of the Island of Chufan English to reside there, made by F. le Comte, and the Inhabitants make, and retards old Age, 7. Description of that Factory, 8. Ours became Chief. 9. Language

others had written, Observations, appeared to him, and capable of doing, confined him to the Indigence, and only as belonged to Necessity, yet learned of his Study. In the Writers of our preferred to trade of Relations, be it as mine, yet they were as freedom, as well as. This Day in the figure of the, come to the Port, in the Month of September, and follows in to

as from the Hand of B. Account of our Arrival, travel but two Days, part, and from thence by the Straits of *Banc*, rather, for we came out of

Bing Tea is the second Growth in *April*, and *Singlo* the last in *May* and *June*, both dried a little in Taches or Pans over the Fire. The Tea Shrub being an Ever-green, is in Flower from *October* to *January*, and the Seed is ripe in *September* and *October* following, so that one may gather both Flower and Seed at the same time; and for one fresh and full Seed, there are one hundred nouglt. These make up the two Sorts of Fruit in *Le Compe's* Description of Tea; as for his other Sort, which he calls *Symie Peafe*, they were nothing but the young Bud: of the Flowers not yet open. Its Seed Vessels are really tricapsular, each Capsula containing one Nut or Seed; and although two or one Capsula only comes to Perfection, yet the Vestiges of the rest may be discerned. It grows in a dry gravelly Soil on the Sides of Hills, in several Places of this Island, without any Cultivation.

Le Compe is mistaken in saying that the *Chinese* are wholly Strangers to the Art of Grafting; for I have seen a great many of his paradoxical Fallow Trees ingrafted here, besides some other Trees. When they ingraft, they do not slit the Stock, as we do, but cut a small Slice off the Outside of the Stock, to which they apply the Graft (being cut sloping on one Side agreeable to the Slice cut from the Stock, bringing the Bark of the Slice up on the Outside of the Graft, they tie all together, covering with Straw and Mud as we do. The Commentator, on *Maga-ben*, seems doubtful in the Length of the *Chinese* Che or Cubits. Here they have two Sorts, one of thirteen Inches and seven Tenths of an *English* Inch, which the Merchants commonly use; the other is of eleven Inches used by Carpenters, and also in Geographical Measures. Though *F. Martini* is censured by *F. Maga-ben* for spelling a great many *Chinese* Words with *ng*, which the *Portuguese* and others have done with *m*, yet his Way is more agreeable to *English* Pronunciation, only in some Words the *g* may be left out, as in *Pekin*, *Nankin*, &c.

Having made Enquiry about *Martini's* Account of Sowing their Fields at *Van-cku* with Oyster Shells, to make new ones grow, I was told, that after they have taken out the Oyster, they sprinkle the Shell with Urine; then putting them into the Water again, there grows new Oysters on the foresaid Shells. *Martini* says, he could never find a *Latin* Name for the *Tula Mogarin* of the *Portuguese*; I am sure it is the same with the *Syrena Arabica fere plena* *Albo* in *Parkinense*. He says also, that the *Kieu-yeu*, or Tallow-tree, bears a white Flower like a Cherry-tree; but all that I have seen here, bear a Spike of small yellow Flowers, like the *Lulus* of a *Saxa*. The Bean, or Mandarin Broth, so frequently mentioned in the *Dutch* Embassy, and other Authors, is only an Emulsion made of the Seed of *Safarum* and hot Water.

Their chief Employments here are Fishing and Agriculture. In Fishing they use several sorts of Nets and Lanes, as we do; but because they have large Banks of Mud in some Places, the Fisherman, to go more easily thereon, have contriv'd a small Frame, about three or four Feet long, not much larger than a Hen trough, elevated a little at each End, in which he sits upon one Knee, leaning his Arms on a cross Stick, raised so high as his Breast, and putting out the other Foot often upon the Mud, he pushes forward by Frame thereon, and so carries himself along in it.

As to their Agriculture, all their Fields (where any thing is planted) whether high or low, are made into such Plots, as may retain the Water over them when they please. They plow up their Ground with one Bull-dog, or Cow. Where they are to sow Rice, they prepare the Field very well, by clearing it of all manner of Weeds, mowing to a Pulp, and smoothing it with a Frame drawn across, on which they sow the Rice very thick, and cover it only with Water, for two or three Inches high; and when it has grown six or eight Inches long, they pull it up by the Roots, and transplant it (by Tufts in a straight Lane) to Fields overflown with Water; and where a Field is subject to Weeds, when the Water grows up, they prevent the Growth, by overturning the Mud with their Hands, in the Interstices where the Rice is planted. When they sow Wheat, Barley, Pulse, and other Grains, they grub up some superficial Earth, Grats,

and Roots, and with some Straw, they burn all together; this Earth being sifted fine, they mix with the Seed, which they sow in Holes, made with a straight Lane, and so grows up in Tufts, as the Rice does, the Field being divided into Beds, and harrowed over both before and after the Seed is sown; this makes them somewhat resemble Gardens. Altho' they meliorate their Fields, where they sow Rice only, by letting the Water on them, yet for other Grains, where Grounds require it, they make use of Dung, hur in Excrements, Ashes, &c. In watering their Fields here, they use the same Instrument mentioned by *Martini*, in the Preface to his *Atlas*, being all Wood, and the Contrivances the same with that of a Chain-pump.

Their Method of making Silt is this: all the Shore, here being Mud instead of Sand, in the Summer-Season, they pare off the superficial Earth, which has been overflown with the Salt-water, and lay it up in Heaps for use. When they are to use it, they dry it in the Sun, rubbing it small, then digging a Pit, they cover the Bottom of it with Straw, at which, through the Side of the Pit, they pass a hollow Cane that leads into a Jar, that stands below the Level of the Pit's Bottom. They fill the Pit almost full of the foresaid Earth, and pour Salt-water on, until it be covered two or three Inches with Water, which drains through into the foresaid Jar, and is afterwards boil'd into a Salt.

6. If I had not found Notice taken in a printed Newspaper last Year of a sing'lar Root brought from *China* by Father *Fontaney*, I should not have told you, that I have seen this Root since I came here, and which is called by the *Chinese* *Hu-chu-u*, to which they ascribe wonderful Virtues, such as prolonging Life, and turning gray Hair black by the Use of its Tea, or an Infusion made of it, which occasions its being sold at a very high Price, inasmuch that they say, that it is to be had from ten Lel to one thousand or two thousand a single Root, for the larger it is, the more is its Value and Efficacy, which is too much Money here to try the Experiment. You have it mentioned in *Cleyer's Medicina Sinica*, Number LXXXIV. under the Name of *He-xeu-u*, according to the *Portuguese* spelling. It is likewise painted in the 27th Table of those Plants Mr. *Petterer* had of me. If you will have the Story of its Discovery, which I will not warrant for Gospel, it runs thus:

Upon a time a certain Person going a Sampling among the Mountains, fell by Accident into such a steep Vale, that he could by no means get out of it again, whereupon looking about for something to sustain his Life, in this melancholy Condition, he eisted this Root, of which he made Trial, and found that in eating thereof it saved him both for Provision and Cloathing, by keeping his Body in such a Temperature, that the Injuries of the Weather had no Influence upon him during his Stay there, which was some hundreds of Years; till at last an Earthquake happened in that Place, whereby the Mountains were rent, and he found a Passage out to his Houle, from whence he had been so long absent. But the many Alterations that came to pass there in such a Space of Time would not permit them to give Credit to his Story, till consulting the Annals of his Family, which gave an Account of one of them lost in that Time, they were confirm'd as to the Truth of his Relation. With the Leave of our Author, this is no more Gospel with the *Chinese* than with him. It is a Fable invented for the sake of giving such an Account of the Virtues of this Root, as may make them dwell on the Memory, and that is all.

7. It will be very natural for the Reader to enquire how it came to pass, that from so intelligent and industrious a Person as this Doctor *Cunningham* appears to have been, we have received nothing farther than what has been already set down in relation to the Affairs of *China*; and as I have it in my Power to answer that Question very fully, I think it will not be amiss to add some very curious Circumstances relating to her worthy a Man at the Close of this Section; the rather, because if they be not added here, it is very possible they may be for ever lost. We are therefore to observe, that the Factory established at *Chusan* was brought up in the Year 1702, and therefore the Doctor had not

straw, they burn all together; they mix with the Seed, made with a Braight Line, and the Rice does, the Field being sowed over both before and after, makes them somewhat more meliorate their Fields, where the Water on them, yet grounds require it, they make Excrements, Ashes, &c. In they use the same Instrument the Preface to his *Atlas*, being the same with that of a

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Notice taken in a printed News- lar Root brought from *China* could not have told you, that I came here, and which is called to which they ascribe wonder-working Life, and turning gray its Tea, or an Infusion made of ing sold at a very high Price, in it is to be had from tea-Dealers for a single Root, for the Value and Efficacy, which is too the Experiment. You have it *China Sinica*, Number LXXXIV. u u, according to the *Portuguese* printed in the 27th Table of those of me. If you will have the which I will not warrant for Goff-

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much Time to compleat the Observations he was inclined to make. He removed afterwards to another new Settlement at *Pulo condore*, which is a small Cluster of Islands, four or five in Number, lying about fifteen Leagues South of the West Channel of the River of *Cambodia*; what Advantages were proposed from this Factory I cannot say; but the Memoirs I have, very positively affirm, that the Place, in which it was seated, was very ill chosen.

The Person who had the Direction of the *East-India* Company's Affairs in those Parts was one Mr. *Katchpole*, and he, according to the usual Custom of the *Indies*, took a certain Number of *Maccassars*, or Soldiers, Natives of that County, into his Service, by whose Assistance he quickly built a little Fort for the Protection of his People, and procured the Necessaries of Life, such as Wood, Water, and Fish, which, as far as I could ever learn, is all that these Islands ever afforded. The *Maccassars* are a brave, industrious, and faithful People, to such as deal well by them; and for these Reasons they are highly esteemed in the East, more especially by the *Dutch*. It must, however, be allowed, that they are daring, cruel, and revengeful, if once they are provoked. Mr. *Katchpole* had contracted with them for three Years, at the End of which Term they were, if they pleased, to receive their Wages and depart. This Agreement, though strictly performed on their Side, was broke by our Director, who kept them beyond their Time, and against their Wills. As this was a great Breach in Morality, he added to it as great an Error in Politicks; for after provoking these People in such a manner, he continued to trust them with the Guard of his own Person, and the Custody of the Factory, which gave them an Opportunity of revenging the ill Usage they had endured with that Severity, which is natural to barbarous Minds. In short, they rose in the Night, and cut the Throats of the Director, and all that were with him in the Factory, not one escaping.

But some who lodged without, hearing the Cries of those who were murdered within, fled out of their Beds to the Sea-shore, where, by a very singular Providence, they met with a Bark completely equipped, in which, tho' half naked themselves, they put to Sea, and in so good Time, that they escaped the Rage of the *Maccassars*, who came in Search of them to the Shore just as they weighed Anchor. Their Navigation was extremely difficult, inasmuch as they were expost at once to incredible Fatigue, and which was harder still to the utmost Extremities of Hunger and Thirst; but with much ado they completed their tedious Course of one hundred Leagues in this wretched Condition, and came at last into a small Creek in the King of *Jobore's* Dominions, where they were civilly received, and kindly treated.

8. A Year or two after the *East-India* Company thought fit to settle another new Factory on the Coast of the great Island of *Borneo*. On the South End of this Island lies another smaller one called *Puvelout*, which has an excellent Harbour. The Country, however, is but very thinly peopled, as yielding not much Rice; but lying at the Mouth of the Rivers, coming out of the Pepper Countries, it is extremely well suited for Trade. There is a Channel of the Sea between this Island and that of *Borneo*, about two Miles broad in most Places, in some narrower, and in some wider, having from five to five Fathom Water all the Way; and on the Shore there are several rising Grounds fit to build on, which made it one of the proposed Places in this Part of the World for a Factory; and therefore it is to be presumed, such as had the Direction of the Company's Affairs made Choice of it.

One Captain *Bary*, a very ingenious Gentleman, had

the Care of settling this little Colony, in which he acted with much Skill and Prudence; but before the Work was completed, he died, and the Direction of the Factory fell to Dr. *Cunningham*, who, after the Ruin of the Factory of *Pulo condore*, came thither. He is said to have minded his Studies to entirely, that he left the Care of the Company's Concerns too much to those that were under him, and it fell out very unluckily both for the Company and himself, that they happened to be People altogether unequal to such a Trust, which proved the Ruin of him, and of the Factory too, which fell out in the following manner.

9. Before the Fort which they were erecting was half finished, they began to insult the People of the Country, as they passed up and down the River, and among many other Acts of Folly and Weakness, they very imprudently took it into their Heads to search one of the King's Boats, which was carrying a Lady of Quality down the River, which provoked the *Indian* Monarch, that he vowed the utter Destruction of the *English*; and to effect it, gathered all his Forces, and embarked them on board his Fleet of *Praws*. The Company had then two Ships in the River, and there were besides two Merchantmen of inconsiderable Force; but, however, this was all they had to trust to, and therefore the People of the Factory receiving Advice of the King's Design, and the Preparations he had made, left their Factory, and went on Board their Shipping, thinking themselves more secure there than ashore.

When all things were in Readiness, the Army came in the Night with above an hundred *Praws*, and no less than three thousand desperate Fellows; some landed and burnt the Factory and Fortifications, while others attacked the Ships which were prepared to receive them. The *English* had made fast Nettings from the Mizzen to the Fore-Sheets, about two Fathoms high above the Gunnel, that they might not be suddenly boarded by the Enemy, and to have the Opportunity of using their Blunderbusses and Lances before the Enemy could get on their Decks. As soon as they in the Ships saw the Fleet approaching them, they plied their Guns with double Round and Partridge, and made a great Carnage; but all did not deter the Assaultants from boarding, who, when they got as high as the Gun Wall, or Gunnel, were at a Loss how to get over the Nettings, and so were killed with great Ease. Some got in at one of the head Doors of one of the Ships, and killed some *English* in the Fore-castle; but they were soon destroyed. The two great Ships, though in Danger, beat off the Enemy with small Loss; but the little Ships were both burnt, with most of their Men, and one *Dutch* Gentleman, who was obliged to fly from *Batavia* on board one of the small Vessels was also burnt in her. His Name was *Heigh Gamber*, and had been the Ambassador of the King of *Persia*.

Some say, who were there at the Time of the Engagement, that the *English* killed in two Hours that the Army was hot) above one thousand five hundred, besides many wounded and maimed; but the *English* were forced to be gone from their Settlement. The King thought his Revenge had gone far enough, in driving them from their Settlement; and finding the Loss of the *English* Trade affected his Revenue, he let all *English*, who traded to *Jobore*, and other circumjacent Nations, know, that he would still continue a free Trade with the *English* on the old Footing, but would never suffer them, or any other Nation, to build Ports in his Country. Several *English* have been there since, and loaded Pepper, and have been civilly treated; and the *Dutch* sent a Ship from *Batavia* in *June* 1712, to trade with them; but the Natives refused Commerce with them.

SECTION XXXII.

A succinct Account of the Adventures of Mr. William Adams, an Englishman, who resided many Years in the Empire of Japan, and was the Person who introduced both the English and Dutch to trade thither.

Collected, as well from his own Letters, as Portuguese and Dutch Writers.

1. An Introduction, in which is contained a View of the Trade to Japan before Mr. Adams went thither.
2. He is entertained as a Pilot on Board a Dutch Fleet intended for the East-Indies, through the Straits of Magellan.
3. His Passage through those Straits into the South-Seas.
4. The great Miseries endured by their Seamen on the Coasts of Chili and Peru, and their Resolution to bear away for Japan.
5. The many and great Difficulties they met with in their Passage.
6. Arrival on the North Coast of Japan, and the Usage they met with from the Reports spread concerning them by the Portuguese.
7. Mr. Adams sent for, and introduced to the Emperor, who examined him as to his Voyage, and the Design of it.
8. He grows into great Favour with the Emperor, and is very happily established in that Country.
9. He builds a Ship for the Emperor, and becomes a kind of Minister of State in his Court.
10. The Account given by him of the Climate, Soil, Produce, People, &c. of Japan.
11. Observations upon this Account, including farther Remarks.
12. The History of Mr. Adams, continued from Foreign Authors.
13. Influence of his great Power and admirable Conduct during his Residence at the Court of Japan.
14. The Turn given to his Management to the commercial Affairs of that Empire.
15. Conclusion of this History, with Observations and Remarks tending to explain the Obscurities in this Account, and to set the Author's Conduct in their proper Light, for the Honour of this Man in particular, and of our Nation in general.

IT is necessary, at our first Entrance on this Section, to put the Reader in mind of the Method we have pursued through the Course of this Chapter, which has been to speak, as Occasion offered, of those Parts of the *Japan* which were nearest to us first, and so to proceed gradually to the most distant. In regard to Time, it is with me only a secondary Consideration, and this is sufficient to account for what might otherwise pass for a Mistake, which is the placing here the History of Mr. Adams's Proceedings, tho' in Point of Time, before that of the Gentlemen last mentioned, near one hundred Years. Now, as it was impossible to report both these Accounts without trespassing on the natural Order, either of Time or Place, we chose to dispense with the former rather than the latter, and that for this plain Reason, because it occasions but one Alteration, whereas had we taken the other Method, it would have produced many. We have already, in speaking of the Discoveries made by the Portuguese, mentioned their first coming to *Japan*, and have likewise taken notice of the great Plans they took to prevent other Nations from having a Share in the rich Commerce of that new found Country, which, though visited by them so early as *Anno Domini* 1542, yet had they preserved it entirely in their own Hands, till after the Arrival of the Person, whose Memoirs we propose to give in this Section, and who ought therefore to be considered as the Discoverer of *Japan* to all the rest of *Europe*, as we shall have a large at the Close of this Section.

At present it is our Business to observe, that there was nothing the Dutch coveted so much as an Opportunity of visiting the Islands of *Japan*, which from the Reports they had received from *Portugal* in *Spain*, as well as from their own Settlements, appeared to them a kind of *India* in the *Indies*. There are some Dutch Memoirs in Extant, which say, that the first Ships employed by their East *India* Company, obtained a brief Account of the Profits of the Trade from *Malaca* to *Japan*, from the Year 1595 to 1600, from which Memoirs it appeared, that they cleared one Year with almost one hundred Tons of Gold, which was sufficient to put the *Dutch* upon resolving by all means to gain a Share in the richest Commerce. It may not be amiss, however, to prevent Mistakes, to explain this Term of a Tonn of Gold, which I take to be entirely Dutch, and therefore, when literally translated into *English*, is in danger of remaining as in the Dutch as it was before. In the first place, a Tonn of Gold is not restrained at all to that Metal, for if it had, it would not have been used here, most of the Return from *Japan* to *Malaca* being made in Silver, neither has it any Reference to the Value of a Tonn of Gold, which amounts to ten times the Value of what

is meant by this Expression; for by a Tonn of Gold the Dutch Merchants mean one hundred thousand Guilders, and consequently the annual Value of the Trade to *Japan* might be ten Millions of Guilders, or, to keep it to round Numbers, one Million Sterling, a vast Sum indeed, and yet said to be much short of the Advantages drawn from thence in the first forty Years, after the Portuguese settled in that Country.

But, though the Trade of *Japan* was a thing so considerable of itself, yet the acquiring any Share thereof appeared even to the Dutch themselves, though they were in those Days equally enterprising, and indelicate, a Design thwarted by almost insuperable Difficulties. In the first place, the Navigation was difficult and dangerous to the last Degree, of which they were made sensible, not only by repeated Accounts from the *Indies*, which represented the Commerce with *Japan* as a thing almost impracticable on that Account only, but were in a manner convinced of it from Experience, since they had sent a Ship thither *Anno Domini* 1584, with little or no Success. They were in hopes, however, of getting the better of this Evil, by making use of Portuguese Pilots, and accordingly in 1591 they sent another Ship, which was entrusted to the Care of one *Francisco Pais*, a Native of *Portugal*, who laboured however, much better Fortune, which distressed them very much, and was probably the Reason that they did not farther Attempts for ten Years afterwards.

But this was far from being all, for they very well knew that when this Difficulty was got over, there would be many others, and some of them still greater, that were not so soon surmounted. As for example, they knew that the *Portuguese* were a very powerful and a very brave People, the former from Report, but the latter from Experience, since at the Time they besieged *Malaca*, then in the Hands of the Portuguese, there was in the Place a small Company of *Japanese*, who came thither to trade, and who, when the Place was invested, finding it impossible to get their Goods, assisted their Friends in the Defence of it, against the Dutch, so that it was chiefly by the bold Success of the *Japanese* that the Dutch were at that Time compelled to quit *Malaca*, which they did with great Loss. They also well knew, that the *Spaniards*, who were at that Time Masters of *Portugal*, and consequently the sole Possessors of the *Japan* Trade, had rejected the Inhabitants of that Country against them to the last Degree, by representing them not only as Rebels to that Crown, but as a dangerous Enemy to Mankind in general, and indeed, such Beliefs in the *Indies* had been such as gave but too Ground to that Report. Add to this, that a very great Part of the

Japanese Nation were become Converts to the Popish Religion, and consequently hated them no less as Heretics, than if they had been Infidels.

Taking these Circumstances therefore together, we need not much wonder that the *Dutch* in some measure despaired of ever carrying their Point, and establishing themselves as a trading Nation in *Japan*; yet so frail and feeble a thing is human Policy, and so little Certainty there is in the Foresight even of the wisest Man, that notwithstanding all these Obstacles, and contrary to all Appearance, they not only carried their Point, but after contributing as much as in their Power lay, to the Ruin of their Competitors the *Portuguese*, they have secured the whole of this rich Trade to themselves, and that too in such a manner, as that it is not very likely it should be ever taken out of their Hands. All this we may safely affirm, on the Credit of the *Dutch* Writers themselves, is intirely owing, and was absolutely brought about by the Interest and Conduct of one poor *Englishman*, this very *William Adams*, whose Memoirs of this Country, collected from his own Writings, we are now to give the Reader.

The Thing in itself is indeed wonderful, and if it was not supported by the most authentick Evidence, would, to the present Age at least, appear incredible; but as it is supported, it cannot be denied, or even disputed, and therefore it ought to convince us, that there is nothing of this Nature impossible, or impracticable, if Men once set heartily about it; so that we have no Reason to doubt, that if the same Spirit of extending Commerce, which prevailed in this Man's Days, should revive in ours, it would produce like Effects, and discover to us such new Routs, such unexpected and unlooked for Means of employing our industrious Poor at home, by procuring a Vent for their Manufactures abroad, as would raise this Age as high in the Opinion of Posterity, as the last Age appears, or ought to appear, in ours. But it is now Time to return to our Author, and to attend to those Accounts of *Japan* which have been left us by so able and so experienced a Person, than which there are not perhaps any better to be met with in any Language whatever.

2. In this Business, as we have seen, he was not the Servant of his own native Country, but of *Holland*, being an able Pilot, and very skillful in all Points of marine Knowledge. He was hired by that People to go to Sea with them; his Post was that of Master Pilot, the Management of the whole Fleet (which consisted of five Sails) being left principally to his Care and Prudence. They set sail from the *Texel* June the 24th, and made it the 21st of *August* by that Time they reached *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verde* Isles. Here they stayed almost a Month, so long, that a good Part of the Fleet was sick with the unhealthy Air of that Place; and they found it too true by Experience (which before the *Dutch* would not believe) that it was a very barren Place as to any manner of good Refreshment. *September* the 15th they passed the Line, though with Trouble, because of the contrary southerly Winds that then distressed them, and this was the Effect of having loitered away too much Time before they came to attempt it.

They were now carried away to the Coast of *Guinea*, and coming up with *Cape de Lopez Gonsalves*, they landed their sick Company there; but this Place denied Relief, as well as the former, and the sick Men were forced to carry their several Wants and Distempers aboard with them again. At the Isle of *Annobon* they met with a little better Entertainment. Here were Beeves, Oranges, and other Fruits; but the Plague of having an unhealthy Climate embittered the Comforts of this Refreshment, and the bad Air made them sick, as fast as the good Provisions made them well. The *Dutch* landed a Party of Men, and took the Town, a small thing consisting of eighty Houses, and like to be of as little Profit to the Conquerors, as it was Honour to them. 'Twas towards the Middle of *November* before they got away from thence, so hard is it to leave a good baiting Place, especially when the next is so very uncertain, as it is in the Case of Seamen between *Annobon* and 4° S. L. they had the Winds perpetually at S, by E. and S. S. E. but about that Parallel they came up by S. E. and E. S. E. and E.

Their Courte was now for the *Magellanic Straits*, and they made it five Months sailing between them and the

Island of *Annobon*; but the Miseries they endured by Hunger in that Time were extreme, and in the highest degree dreadful: According to Mr. *Adams's* Relation, for a good while they had each Man but a Quarter of a Pound of Bread a Day, with a proportionally small Quantity of Wine and Water; but it came at last to that pass, that they eat the very Skins that covered the Ropes of the Ships, and by this unnatural sort of Diet brought on strange Disorders and Feebleness of Body upon themselves; through all these Difficulties, they made a Shift at last to reach the *Magellanic Straits*, coming into the first Narrow of that Passage *April* the 6th; but this was but still out of one Difficulty into another; 'twas only altering the Scene of their Misfortunes, and coming to be miserable in another Place; for the Winter was coming on here apace, the Cold began to be severe and pinching, and the great Snows began too. To make their Circumstances more completely dismal, many a time would the Wind have served to have carried them through the *Straits*, but the obstinate General would not embrace the Opportunity, at the Advice of those that persuaded it, and so was the Occasion of the miserable Confinement of the Fleet all the Winter Season.

Here was Firing, indeed, enough for them all about the *Straits*, every Place abounding with Wood; but there was a worse Necessity amongst them, which this would never supply, and the Cravings of the Belly were to be satisfied by another sort of Provision. Here they continued conflicting with Hunger, Distempers, and bad Weather, till *September*, so that they stood the Shock of the whole Winter at this Place, and endured the Extremities of all the very worst Months of the Year. Abundance of their Men died, being downright starved, and the rest were as near it as they could well be; and now the General, having had enough of the Winter Pleasures of the *Magellanic Straits*, very politely concluded, 'twas time to go away. His Men were half dead, and the Remainder were almost famished; the dismal Winter spent and gone, and the cheerful Spring coming on with the returning Sun, he thought it high time to put out to Sea again before the Comforts of the approaching Season took them.

3. So the latter End of *September* they set sail out of the *Straits*, and being got into the *South-Sea*, were wretchedly tossed and beaten about in that turbulent Ocean: In short, a furious Storm scattered the whole Fleet, and drove them to seek their Fortunes, every one by themselves; they had agreed before, in case of any such Disaster, that they would stay for one another at some Place upon the Coast of *Chili*, in the Latitude of 46°, and if the rest came not in a Month, then those that were there should go on. Hither Mr. *Adams's* Ship came, according to the Agreement, and stayed the appointed Time. The Natives were civil and friendly to them at first, and bartered Sheep and Potatoes for little Toys, which they gave them; but at last they fell off, removed up into the Country, and came no more to them. Their Company not coming, they went away, touching, as they passed, at the Bay of *Baldivia*, and the Isle of *Mocha*; but not coming to Anchor any where, till they did at the *Cape Santa Maria*, which is about twenty Leagues from the Island of that Name to the Southward.

Here they found a convenient Bay, and good Ground for anchoring; there were considerable Numbers of People that appeared upon the Shore, but their Temper and Dispositions, as they were unknown, so they were now to be tried; but they proved very cross and untoward; for at their first Attempt to land the *Indians* looking upon them as Invaders of the Country, set themselves to oppose them, and poured in a Shower of Darts and Arrows upon the Boats that came up to the Shore; but they being under the Pinch of Hunger, and driven by an absolute Necessity to endeavour some Means for the getting a Refreshment, broke through the Weapons of the *Barbarians*, and landed their Men. Now they made Signs of Peace on both Sides, and a Cessation of Arms being, as it were, agreed on, they came to a Parley in that Language of Signs, and the *Indians* understanding what they meant, brought them Wine and Fruits for the little Commodities the others shewed them, and then signified to them, that they should now return aboard again; and if they came a Shore again the next Day, they should have a farther Supply of Victuals.

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produced both the English

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and the Design of it. 8. His
that Country. 9. He built
10. The Account given by
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Authors. 13. Influence of his
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Accordingly, the next Day the Captain landed, with a Score or more of Musketeers, and they had not marched far before a Party of *Indians*, to the Number of a thousand, that lay cunningly intrenched, fell upon them, and cut them all off.

4. This was a terrible Misfortune upon all Accounts, particularly in that this Execution had scarce left them Men enough to do the necessary Office of the Ship. With this Loss they went away from the inhospitable Cape, and came to the Isle of *Saint Mary* itself; here they found their Admiral, but in much the same distressed Condition as themselves, the Natives of the Island of *Mocha* having given his Crew the same rude Treatment that those at the Cape had given the other, only of the two the Admiral had the worst on it, for he had lost more Men by the Darts of the *Indians*, and over and above that, their General himself. Now, to get some Refreshment at this Place was the great Difficulty; 'twas hard to lie still, and famish on Ship-board, and 'twas as hard to venture on Shore, because they had not Men for it. In short, these two Wants were so great, and so unhappily complicated in their present Circumstance, that for all that appears, if an Accident had not relieved them, they must have concluded upon dying here without any more ado.

But a Couple of *Spaniards* that had a Design to betray them, came aboard (in a seeming friendly manner) for that Purpose, and were so well as to do it without Pledges, or making any Provision for their safe Return. So when they had seen the Ship, and would have gone back again, they told them no, they were sensible of their ill Design, and would keep them Prisoners (especially since they came of their own Heads too) unless they would promise to furnish the Ship with so much Provisions. One may easily imagine the *Spaniards* were out of Humour upon it, to find themselves taken in such a Trap; but 'twas all one, 'twas to no Purpose to be in a Passion there, and they were forced to submit to those Terms of Deliverance, and glad to escape so too. The *Spaniards* brought in their Provisions according to the Agreement, and now they were once more reprieved from a miserable Death.

After this the two Ships set sail in Company for *Japon*, the rest of the Fleet were given over for lost, and one of them they afterwards heard fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* at *St. Yago*. Besides this, the King of *Spain's* Fleet waited for them upon the Coast of *Peru*, and had they lighted on them, 'tis very probable they had both followed their Companion in her Fate, since they were in so very weak and shattered a Condition.

5. It was *November* the 29th that they left the Island of *Saint Mary* upon the Coast of *Chili*, and having passed the Line, had a good Wind, and fair Weather for a good while, without any Interruption by Storms and Tempests. In the Latitude of fifteen or sixteen Degrees North, they fell in with some Islands of *Cambals*, or *Men-eaters*, as Mr. *Adams* calls them, without any Scruple, since eight or nine of their Men he believes were devoured by them. These fellows, it seems, being weary of so long a Voyage, and willing to take up at the next resting Place, put themselves into the Pinnace, and so ran away; but which Way soever the *Cambals* disposed of them, 'tis certain, they never came aboard more. In the Latitude of 27 and 28° the Weather began to change upon them, the Winds that had lain still and quiet so long roused, and blew with a prodigious Fury. They had such a Storm of Wind and Rain, that equalled or exceeded the most violent any Manner among them had seen.

In this horrible Confusion they lost one another, and the Admiral never came up to them more; but they followed on their Course for *Japon* alone, being still in hopes to meet her in one Part or other of that Island. Certainly, hardly ever any Man performed a Voyage in more Distress. Our Pilot tells us, that they had of all their Number but nine or ten left, that were able to stand, or creep upon their Knees. As for the Captain, and all the rest, they were all at their last Gasps, as it were, and expected to die every Hour: And this was a very dismal Case: for Storms will make the poor Seamen bestir and work themselves to the Purpose. But how shall Nature be supported in the mean time, and where shall Men have Strength to do these toil-

some Works, that have not Food to keep Life and Soul together?

6. It was *April* the 19th before they had Sight of the Coast of *Japon*, and by that Time there were but five of their Company that could go, Providence ordering the Matter so for them, that they had then a Prospect of Relief, when Things were run up to the highest Extremity. 'twas near to *Bungo* that they saw this first Island, and were then in about 35° 32'; but Mr. *Adams*, by the way, assures us, that that Coast of *Japon* is fallily placed in all our Maps, Charts, and Globes; for he says, it lies in 35° 33', which makes a considerable Difference from the common Account given by them of its Position. At *Bungo* several Boats of the Natives came up to them, and aboard them too, as they had a mind themselves, and it could be no otherwise, for there was no body to make any Resistance.

The Sailors were all quite spent, and if the *Japones* would have plundered them, or knocked them on the Head, they might have done it without any Trouble; yet they did them no manner of Harm, as to any Violence, or any sort of Assault; but they pillaged and stole all that they could lay Hands on; for which some of them paid very dear afterwards. The Vice-King of the Place proved very kind to them, took them into his Protection, and sent a Guard (as soon as they were come to an Anchor in the Port, to see that none of the Merchants Goods were stolen. This would have done very well had it come in good Time; but the Thieves were there before them. However, here they had good Store of Provisions sent them, and a House provided on purpose for them, and, in short, were made very much of, and began in some measure to enjoy themselves, after all the Dangers and Fatigues of the Sea.

But 'twas their ill Luck to meet with *Portuguese* and *Jesuits* here; they were forced to make use of them for Interpreters indeed; but they had far better been without any, and rather to have made use of the silent Language of Gestures and Signs, than have made use of such Interpreters as they were: For, these Men gave the Character of them, that they commonly give of their *European* Neighbours (in all Parts of the World where they meet them) that they were Spies or Pirates, and not trading Men, as they themselves pretended; and this let the *Japones* see against them, that Mr. *Adams* tells us he was apprehensive at one time that they should have had the Fate of Pirates in that Country, which is to be set up upon Crosses.

Now, when a Company of poor Seamen came to them themselves upon their Mercy, as it were, in a strange Country, where they were not able to speak for themselves, and where their Liberties and Lives depended entirely upon the Peoples good Opinion of them, to go and leave them at that rate, was an unpardonable Piece of Villany, and an Action so very inhuman and base, as was only fit for *Portuguese* and *Jesuits* to be guilty of; but it was not long before the Emperor, hearing of this Ship, sent for Mr. *Adams*, being the Pilot, to come to him. The Court was then at *Osnia*, which is about eighteen Leagues from *Bungo*. Hither came our *Englishman*, not knowing whether 'twas for Life or Death, to Prison and Punishment, or for their Favour and Enlargement.

7. The Emperor viewed him, he says, with a wonderful deal of Attention; but yet with his mind and favourable Aspect took off, in a great measure, from the Dread his Countenance might otherwise have impressed. He asked, by his Interpreters, a world of Questions about the Country Mr. *Adams* came from, the People, their Manners, their Affairs both as to War and Peace, and Proofs of it in Beasts, Fish, and Fowl, the Trade and Business, and Laws and Government; and, in short, the whole natural and civil History of it. More than this, he urged him as to his Religion too, and would needs examine his Faith, asking him what 'twas he believed in? a Question, that if a Man had not known the Emperor's Religion, would almost have made him afraid the *Jesuits* had set up an Inquisition here, and that he was one of the Tributaries.

But Mr. *Adams* puzzled him ten times worse, when he shewed him the *Magellanick Straits* in his Chart, that which he sailed to *Japon*. The Emperor perhaps had a pretty good Opinion of him before, but now he showed him a downright Liar, the Mystery of such a Voyage was

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fute him, he entertained it as a Man does all Points of pure
Mystery, with silent Admiration, and humble Submission
of their Reason to the Difficulty, though cramped and tor-
tured with it at the same time. Though his Understanding
was affronted by it, yet his good Nature was not, and he
was very good Friends with Mr. Adams afterwards, as ap-
peared by his holding him in talk till Midnight: He had
several other Conferences with the Emperor after this, but
was for a considerable Time notwithstanding kept in Pri-
son, though he had all Necessaries allowed him, and nothing
like a Punishment, but a large Confinement. The *Portu-
guzze* made all the Interest at Court they could possibly
against him, and, by their Agents, were continually in-
fusing some scandalous Reports of him and his Country in
the Emperor's Ears; but all would not do, and the Prince
was so just and generous as to tell them, that the *English*,
having done him no Mischief, it would not be fair for him
to see them suffer from any in his Country; and that it
would be contrary to all the Laws of Justice and Reason,
for him to suffer an innocent Man to be executed, merely
because his Country and theirs were at War.

8. Mr. Adams's Circumstances now began to mend, and
grew more favourable; his Enemies were quite dishearten-
ed, and the Emperor express'd every Day more and more
good Liking to him. In the first place, he freed him
from his Imprisonment, and gave him leave to see his old
Ship's Company, who were surpris'd with no small Joy at
this, having heard 'tis probable from the *Portuguez*, who
intended it should be so) that he had been executed some
time before: But here he found the Ship absolutely plun-
der'd, and all his Goods and Instruments gone, and all the
rest had lost what they had as well as he; for being all sick
and weak ashore, the Goods lay ready for a Prey to those
that could be unjust enough to seize them.

When this came to the Emperor's Ear, a Search was
made, in order to the Recovery of them; but being gone
too far out of Reach, he commanded fifty thousand Rials
of Eight to be given them in part of Satisfaction; and to
make sure that this Money should not be either fraudulently
detain'd by his Treasurers, or converted to any other
Use, he saw the Payment of it himself into the Hands of
one who was appointed to have the Management of their
Affairs, and to give it out to them in Parcels as they
wanted. After this the Court removed to *Edo*, about a
hundred and twenty-two Leagues from *Ojacca*.

The Emperor ordered Mr. Adams to move thitherwards
with his Ship, and here they took the Liberty to petition
him, that they might be perfectly free, and pursue the Design
of their Voyage, in going to trade in some other Parts;
but this would not take, and the Emperor was not dispos'd
to part with them yet; so they got the Money into their
own Hands, and divided it amongst themselves, every Man
his Share, and then they disper'd themselves about the
Country, chusing those Places to settle in that best pleas'd
their Fancies; but the Emperor order'd them, besides an
Allowance of Rice, two Pound a Day for every Man, and
over and above, so much yearly as came to eleven or twelve
Ducats: There was no Distinction made between Captains,
Pilots, and common Sailors; but they all fared alike.

9. Thus four or five Years went over their Heads, and
they followed every Man his Business in the Country for a
Livelihood, since 'twas determin'd that there they must
live and die; but when the Term of Years was expired,
the Emperor sent for Mr. Adams to Court, and the Business
was to make him a Ship. This was not his Trade, as he
told the Emperor; and though he knew how to guide a
Ship at Sea, yet he was not used to the making of them;
but he was so very urgent and pressing to have it done,
that Mr. Adams undertook the Work, and built him a
Ship of about eighty Tun.

When he came aboard it he express'd a wonderful deal
of Pleasure in it, and 'twas a Piece of Service he valued
so much, that the Maker of it role mightily in his Favour,
by this very Means; besides several very good Presents, his
Pension was increased too, being made such as came to 70
Ducats per Annum, over and above the former Allowance
of Rice; and these well managed, were a tolerable Liveli-

hood for a single Person in that Country: But that which
recommended him most effectually to the Emperor's Esteem
was his Skill in Mathematical Learning; Mr. Adams had
a good Share of Knowledge in the practical Parts, and was
now honoured with having to great a Prince for his Scholar.
He instructed him in several Points of these useful Arts,
and made him capable of solving to himself that mysterious
Problem of sailing to *Japon* by the *Magellanick Straits*.
He could please him at any time with describing Geomet-
rical Figures.

The Emperor was plung'd in the Study, charmed and
conjur'd within the Circles Mr. Adams drew him. This lat-
ter used his Geometry to such good Purposes, that he dis-
covered the true Method of managing his Royal Pupil by
it, and got, as he says, the exact Length of his Foot. His
Word was all in all in any Point of Dispute and Contro-
versy, and which Side soever Mr. Adams took, the Em-
peror was always of the same. He had so great a Stroke
now at Court, that even the Jesuits themselves were will-
ing to make use of his Interest there, and courted him to be
their Patron; and he declares, that by his means both *Span-
iards* and *Portuguez* received several Favours from the
Emperor, which they were otherwise in no likely Way of
obtaining. Being in these Circumstances, he thought it not
impossible to win upon the Emperor, so far as to return
into his own Country, and for that Purpose renew'd his old
Request, promising to do his utmost for the bringing both
an *English* and a *Dutch Trade* to *Japon*, if he might be
suffer'd to go home.

But the Emperor was too much pleas'd with his Com-
pany to hearken to any Proposal about the losing of it.
Mr. Adams should have conceal'd his Skill in Mathema-
ticks, kept his Geometry and Navigation to himself, if he
had intended to have seen his own Country again; he was
too useful a Man to be parted with, and there was no Hopes
of his Liberty, till he had quite lost the Knowledge of all
those Arts that had so charmed the Emperor. In short,
there was no going from him, and his Wife and Children
must be contented without him; yet he procur'd Leave for
the Captain of the *Dutch Ship* he came in to go; and,
to make his Life as easy and pleasant as might be, the Em-
peror settl'd a Lordship upon him, in which he had a Com-
pals of Land to manage, and a Parcel of Slaves, to the
Number of eighty or ninety, appointed to do his Country
Work; and this was the Court of our *Englishman's* For-
tune in that Part of the World, as he himself has describ'd
them.

10. As to the State of the Country, and its Affairs, he
does not tell us much; he commends the *Japones* largely
for their Courtesy and good Humour, Valour in War,
Justice in their civil Concerns, and the happy Constitution
of the Government. He believes no People to be Matters
of better Politicks than they in their civil Government, nor
have more Superstition in their Religion. They have va-
rious Sects and Opinions amongst them, and some of them
had embrac'd Christianity at the Time the Friars and Jes-
uits were very diligently at work to propagate it in several
Parts of the Island. So far had they gone in Mr. Adams's
Time, as to have some Churches, and Prospect of a con-
siderable Number of Convents.

The Character he gives of Trade is, that Silks and Cloths
are very vendable Commodities, and that for ready Money;
and, according to his Relation, the *Japones* have where-
withal to be very good Paymasters, and can afford to give
the best Rates for a Commodity, having Gold and Silver
enough in their own Country; a very happy People surely,
in the common Acceptation of Things, since they live in a
pleasant Country, enjoy the Benefit of a rich Soil, and have
besides Mines, which yield them vast Quantities of Gold
and Silver. If any thing could have contented this Man
out of the Limits of his own Country, and without the
Enjoyment of the Conversation of his Family and Friends,
he might assuredly have met with it in *Japon*, where the
King of *Surunga*, whom he call'd Emperor, treated him
with extraordinary Kindness, and reward'd the Pains taken
in his Service with a Magnificence truly royal.

He employ'd Mr. Adams to sail in the Vessel he had built
for him as far as *Edo*, which our Author tells us was as
far as from *London* to the *Lizard*, or Land's End. As he
succeeded

succeeded happily in this, as well as in other Affairs, he was directed to build a larger Vessel after the *European* Manner, which accordingly he did, with the Assistance of such as were under him, and who, following his Instructions, finished a very good Ship, of the Burden of one hundred Tuns; and that she was in every respect a very compleat Vessel, appears from the Use that was afterwards made of her; for it so fell out, *Annus Domini 1609*, that the *Spanish* Governor of the *Manilas*, going in a large Galeon of one thousand Tun to *New Spain*, was driven out of his Course by a violent Storm, which threw him upon the Coast of *Japan*, where arriving in the Night, the Crew, through Ignorance, ran the Vessel on Shore in the Latitude of $35^{\circ} 50'$ North, by which unfortunate Accident one hundred and thirty-six Men were drowned; but the Governor with three hundred and fifty more escaped, and applied themselves to the Emperor, beseeching him to have Compassion upon them in their Distress, and to assist them in their Design of proceeding to *New Spain*.

As the *Japoneze*, from the Maxims of their Government, were never very desirous of having many Strangers in their Dominions, this Request of the *Spanish* Governor was very readily complied with; and as soon as Provisions and other Necessaries could be got together, the Governor and his Men were embarked on board the Ship which Mr. *Adams* last built, in which they safely proceeded to *Acapulco*. In Gratitude for this Favour, this Governor, in the Year 1611, sent another Ship in Exchange, with a great Present, and an Embassador on board, who had Instructions to thank the Emperor for his Civility, and also to make him a large Present.

It was in this Year also that our Author had an Opportunity, by the Arrival of a *Dutch* Ship, to give his Countrymen in *England* some Account of his Adventures, and of the Condition he was then in. This Letter he addressed to his unknown Friends and Countrymen, desiring it might be carried either to *Lincolne* near *London*, or to *Gillingham* in *Kent*; and in the Beginning of it he takes notice, that he was born at that Town; that at twelve Years old he was bound Apprentice to Mr. *Nicholas Diggins*, whom he served twelve Years, and was afterwards in her Majesty Queen *Elizabeth's* Service, and then spent eleven or twelve Years in serving the Merchants who traded to *Barbary*, till being desirous of visiting the *East-Indies*, he went over to *Holland*, and there entered into the Service of the *Dutch*.

The Conclusion of his Letter is extremely curious, and therefore I shall give it my Readers in his own Words, that they may better judge of the Genius and Capacity of this Man, who made such a Change in the Affairs of *Japan*, and procured that Settlement for the *Dutch*, which without his Assistance, it is very probable they had never attained.

" Now, whether I shall come out of this Land I know not; until this present there hath been no Means, but now through the Trade of the *Hollanders* there is Means. In the Year of our Lord 1600, two *Holland* Ships came to *Japan*; their Intention was to take the Carrack that yearly came from *Macao*, and being some five or six Days too late, nevertheless they came to *Yerando*, and came to the Court to the Emperor, where they were in great Friendship received, conditioning with the Emperor yearly to lend a Ship or two, and so they departed, with the Emperor's Paise. Now, this Year 1611, there is a small Ship arrived with Cloth, Lead, Elephants Teeth, Damask, and black Taffates, raw Silk, Pepper, and other Commodities; and they have shewed Cause why they missed the former Year 1610, according to Promise yearly to come.

" This Ship is well received, and with great Kindness entertained: You shall understand, that the *Hollanders* have here an *Indies* of Money; for they need not to bring Silver out of *Holland* to the *East Indies*; for in *Japan* there is much Silver and Gold to serve their Turns in other Places, where Need requireth in the *East-Indies*; but the Merchandize, which is here vendible for ready Money, is raw Silk, Damask, black Taffates, black and red Cloth of the best, Lead, and such-like Goods. So now understanding by this *Holland* Ship lately arrived here, there is a settled Trade driven by my Countrymen

" in the *East-Indies*, I presume some amongst them, either Merchants, Masters, or Mariners, must needs know me. Therefore I have emboldened myself to write these few Lines, in short, being desirous not to be over tedious to the Reader.

" This Island of *Japan* is a great Land, and lieth to the Northward in 48° , and the southermost Part of it in 33° , and the Length of it E. by N. and W. by S. (for so it lies) is two hundred and twenty-eight Leagues. The Breadth South and North of it, thirteen Degrees, twenty Leagues to the Degree, is two hundred sixty Leagues, and is almost square. The People of this Island of *Japan* are good of Nature, courteous above Measure, and valiant in War. Their Justice is severely executed, without any Partiality, upon Transgressors of the Law. They are governed in great Civility, I think no Land better governed in the World by civil Policy. The People are very superstitious in their Religion, and are of diverse Opinions. There are many *Jesuits* and *Franciscan* Friars in this Land, and they converted many to be Christians, and have many Churches in the Island.

" Thus, in short, I am constrained to write, hoping by one Means or other, in Procees of Time, I shall hear of my Wife and Children, and so with Patience I wait the good Will of God Almighty, desiring all these to whom this my Letter shall come, to use the Means, to acquaint my good Friends with it, that so my Wife and Children may hear of me; by which Means there may be Hope that I may hear of my Wife and Children before my Death. The which the Lord grant to his Glory and my Comfort. Amen. Dated in *Japan* the twenty-second of *October*, 1611."

11. As short as our Author's Description of *Japan* may appear, it deserves some Notice and Explication. There is no doubt, that he extends the Latitude of this Country too high, when he tells us, it reaches to forty-eight Degrees; but perhaps he took what he wrote from the Information of the Inhabitantes, and might, by his Enquiries, as to the Distance they had sailed and travelled North, be led to take the Land of *Tedes* into his Computation; and if so, we may very easily account for his extending the Bounds of *Japan* into so high a Latitude; but it is to be blamed; for supposing that Country a Part of the Continent, and of the Empire of *Japan*, since the Natives were at that Time persuaded of both, and consequently in his Circumstances he was not likely to obtain any better Information. The rest of his Account is excellent enough, and the whole of it is apparently calculated to invite the *English* thither, by affording them Possibility of an advantageous Commerce. It is plain likewise, that Mr. *Adams* meant by this all the Service possible to his Country; and if it should be enquired why he introduced the *Dutch* there first, the Answer is very clear, and very evident, because he had no Means of writing to, or corresponding with the *English*, how much soever he desired it.

It is also very evident, that by his Introduction of the *Dutch* he meant to find out some Means of corresponding with his own Countrymen; and indeed it was a very natural Method, since he came to *Japan* in the *Dutch* Service, and had no other Way of working his own Deliverance, but by their Means. Another natural and just Observation upon his Letter is, that he speaks very briefly of Facts, and without mentioning any thing to his own Praise; in which, without doubt, he acted very prudently, and this for two Reasons. In the first place, if he had given a large and full Account of the *Dutch* Settlement, and of the many it cost him to establish it, it would certainly have hindered his Letter from coming at all to the Ears of his Countrymen, by raising the Jealousy of the *Dutch*, who were extremely tender of having their Affairs known. This is the more certain, since the latter Part of a Letter which he wrote to his Wife, and which contained a larger and more full Account of the Affairs of *Japan*, was actually torn off, and destroyed by those who were entrusted with it. In the second place, supposing his Epistle had been more fortunate, and had come directly to the Ears of the *English*, it would not have recommended him to

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Author's Description of Japan may Notice and Explication. There is the Latitude of this Country, it reaches to forty-eight Degrees, what he wrote from the North and night, by his Enquiries, sailed and travelled North, he also into his Computation; and account for his extending to high a Latitude; not easy to be that Country a Part of the Empire of Japan, since the Natives persuaded of both, and therefore he was not likely to obtain The rest of his Account is exact, if it is apparently calculated to, by affording them a Point of mere. It is plain likewise, that all the Service possible to him be enquired why he introduced Answer is very clear, and very Means of writing to, or correction, how much soever he desired

by his Introduction of the Dutch Means of corresponding with his need it was a very natural Method, the Dutch Service, and had to his own Deliverance, but by just and just Observation upon his every briefly of Facts, and with to his own Pride, in which very prudently, and thus for two ce, if he had given a large and Settlement, and of the latter it would certainly have hindered it all to the Hands of his Countrymen of the Dutch, who were the latter Part of a Letter, and which contained a large the Affairs of Japan, was actually by those who were entrusted place, supposing his Justice had had come directly to the Hands not have recommended him to

them, had he insisted on the Pains and Trouble he had taken in procuring the Dutch a Settlement in that Country; and therefore the longer and the more actively we consider his Manner of Proceeding, the more certain we may be, that he acted in this Respect with all the Care and Precaution, and, at the same time, with all the Uprightness and publick Spirit that it was possible.

It is from a just Sense of this, and because I find nothing said of him by any of our Historians, or Collectors of Voyages, besides what they have taken out of his own Works, that I judged it reasonable in itself, and a thing that could not but be agreeable to the judicious and intelligent Reader, to pursue the Thread of this Man's History, by the Help of Foreign Writers; for Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish Authors have thought the Actions of this Man worthy of being recorded, though there is no little said of them by our own; and, in itself, the Affairs in which he was engaged were of such a Nature, and his Conduct so extraordinary, that we need not wonder at their taking to much Pains, the rather, if we consider, that in their Turns they all felt the Effects of his Management, and of the Credit he acquired at the Imperial Court.

In order to set this History in a clear Light, it is requisite to go back a little, in order to show the Reader what Mr. Adams has concealed, which is, that it was by his means that Dutch Ships were brought thither in the Year 1600, and the Thing happened thus: When he found there was no Hopes of procuring his own Liberty, he not only applied, as he tells us, for the Discharge of his Captivity, but of another Dutch Officer, supposing that two Lives were better than one, in which he judged very right; for his Captain was soon afterwards killed, and it was the other Officer who carried the News of Mr. Adams's Establishment in Japan to the Dutch Settlements in the East Indies.

It was in Consequence of this, that a Yacht, called the *Ton*, was sent in the Spring of the Year 1603, from the River of *Jokore* to Japan. This Vessel arrived on the Coast of *Firando* on the 11th of July, and two Commissioners being sent to the Emperor's Court, they, by the Intreaty of Mr. Adams, procured all they could desire; and having free Liberty given them to trade, sailed on the 3d of October, arrived at *Bantam* on the 1st of November, and from thence continuing their Voyage home, arrived safely in the *End* on the 20th of July, 1613. It was on the Report they made, that another small Yacht was sent, which arrived at *Firando* on the 11th of July, 1611.

The first thing they did was to have Recourse to Mr. Adams; for at their Arrival they found all things went very unwisely, at least in their Opinion, who were not at all used to that sort of Behaviour which was practised by the *Japanese*; and therefore they absolutely refused to comply with what was demanded of them, in giving a List of the Merchandize which they brought to the Royal Factor. On the other hand, the *Japanese* were but indifferently satisfied with them; for, whereas they expected an annual Ship should have been sent, as there was, from *Macao*, there were now two Years elapsed, and but a very small Vessel, and a Cargo of very moderate Value sent at last, which did not at all agree with the Humours of the *Japanese*, who, as most of the Eastern Nations, are exceedingly caught by Pomp and Show.

To heal these Breaches, the principal Persons on board the Ship went to make Mr. Adams a Visit, following to be guided by his Instructions, because, as the Dutch Viceroy of this Voyage informs us, they were very well satisfied he had as much or more Interest with the Emperor than with his Ministers or Nobility; and it was purely in Respect to him, that after their first Differences with the Emperor at the Court, they had obtained Licence to make their Application to the Emperor. On this condition, that Mr. Adams consented to them, that though their Cause was small, it would be respected to make satisfaction to them, since it depended upon their Behaviour, on the Occasion, whether the Licence which he had procured should be continued, should be continued, or suspended. The Effect of this was, that the Commodore and Ministers of the Country, and the vast Profits that must be made by their trading themselves there, were ordered to persuade their Ministry, that they came immediately upon all

that he proposed, and very wisely resolved not to heed the Loss they might sustain by their first Cargo, provided they might secure thereby a second Licence to send an annual Ship thither.

On the other hand, Mr. Adams had such an Interest with the principal Persons, and great Ministers at the Court of Japan, that he soon brought them to consider the Dutch in that Light in which it was most for their Interest that they should be considered. There was at that time a Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Japan, who had a great Train, made a splendid Appearance, and took great State upon him; for which Reason the Dutch Super-cargoes were very apprehensive that he would get the better of them in their Negotiation; but Mr. Adams having taken the Affair entirely into his own Hands, turned this very Incident to their Advantage. He represented to the Japanese Ministers, that this Spanish Ambassador treated them with an Air of Haughtiness and Superiority, and rather called to them his Demands, than applied to them for their Favour; whereas the Dutch were absolutely a trading People, no way formidable to them in any respect, who desired to have the Honour of furnishing the Emperor and his Subjects with such foreign Commodities as they wanted, and were ready to submit to such Regulations, and to carry on their Trade under such Restrictions, as for the Safety and Welfare of the Empire they, in their great Wisdom, should think fit to prescribe.

By this means, as the Dutch Writers themselves confess, Mr. Adams wrought to effectually in their Favour, that they were every where received, not only with Civility and Kindness, but with the greatest Candor and Complaisance, while the Spanish Ambassador, notwithstanding the great Figure he made, was not only very coldly treated, and made little Progress in his Negotiation, but was likewise exposed to Injuries and Murther.

The Portuguese Writers attribute also to our Countryman Adams the evil Impressions that about this Time the Emperor began to entertain of their Nation, and particularly of the Millionaires; of which, however, we find not the least Footstep in either Dutch or English Author: But, to say the Truth, it is probable enough, and what they report is very consistent with the Notions that are ascribed to Mr. Adams by the Dutch Writers. In short, he did express some Dislike to the Jesuits, and when asked concerning them by the Emperor, he said very freely, that they were the Authors of all the Disturbances in Europe, and that they had expelled not only Great Britain, but France, for their Reason. It is highly probable, that the Emperor might from hence take a Resolution of treating them in the same manner, for the Security of his own Dominions; but then it must be allowed, he would not have thought of taking this Measure, if he had not found their Behaviour in Japan justly the Character which Mr. Adams had given him of them: But the Portuguese Writers say not a Word of the Calumnies spread by their Priests, and the Japanese Nobility in their Interest, against the English and the Dutch, representing both Nations as a sort of Pirates and Free-booters, which might not only provoke Mr. Adams to make such Returns, but likewise lay him under a kind of Necessity of clearing up these Points to the Emperor's Satisfaction. But to return to our Subject:

About the latter End of August 1611, the Dutch, thro' Mr. Adams's Interest only, obtained a Licence to trade in Japan under the Emperor's Seal, in which, however, that Court was wanting, which chiefly induced them to make this long Journey to Court, and that was an Exemption from being visited by the Inspector of Commerce, by whom they had been greatly aggrieved. This Officer, tho' a very bad Man, had a very great Interest at Court, his Sister being one of the Emperor's Wives; and the Dutch stood upon Application to the prime Minister, that he was to march and of offending her, that he durst not to march as people that Chute to the Emperor, which gave them an great Concern, since, without obtaining it, they were not much inclined to make use of the Licence.

To obviate this Difficulty, the prime Minister proposed, that Mr. Adams should draw up a Petition for meeting of this Court, with such Reasons as he thought proper, and should take an Opportunity of presenting it to the Emperor

when he was in a good Humour, promising that he would do all in his Power to support it; and assuring him at the same time, that he had written such a Letter to the Inspector, as would prevent their meeting with any Difficulties for the present, advising them to leave the whole Affair to the Management of Mr. Adams, for whose Success he would be answerable; but all he could say had no Effect upon the Dutch, they were resolv'd to trust no body, and not to stir from Court, till they had this Clause inserted in their Licence.

To satisfy them therefore, if it was possible, Mr. Adams drew up a proper Petition, and the very next Day presented it to the Emperor himself, whose Consent and Seal he procur'd; so that by his Interest the Dutch obtained, on their first Application, what the Portuguese were never able to obtain in the Course of so many Years as they had been intreated in Japan, which is such a Proof of Mr. Adams's Interest at that Court, as, if it was not reported by the Dutch Writers themselves, would scarce deserve Credit; but, as it is, I think there can be no sort of Doubt rais'd about it. All Things being thus settled to their Satisfaction, and every thing done for them that they could desire, they return'd to Firando; and having loaded their Goods, and settled a Factory there, they sail'd from thence on the 28th of September 1611.

14. It is of this Dutch Ship, and her Reception, that our Author speaks, at the Close of his Letter, in Terms which seem particularly design'd to shew his Countrymen how easy a matter it would be for them to establish a Factory likewise in that Empire. I have taken all the Pains I could to discover how the Letters of Mr. Adams were convey'd to the English, but to very little Purpose; for all that I can say upon this Subject is, that they were brought to Bantam in the Island of Java, in the Month of October the next Year; that is, Anno Domini 1612. There were then there a considerable Number of English Ships and Merchants, to whom these Letters were read, and it was presently agreed, that such an Opportunity was not to be lost; whereupon Captain John Saris, whom the Portuguese are pleas'd to call Sir William Saris, was order'd to sail in the *Clove*, a large East-Indiaman, from thence for Japan.

He had on board him seventy-four English, one Spaniard, one Japanese, and five Indians; and on the 14th of January 1613, he proceeded on his Voyage. On the last of that Month he had Sight of the great Island of Celebes, pass'd happily thro' the Streights of Bantam, and towards the End of the Month of February reach'd the Moluccas: He made some Stay there, though he was but indifferently treated by the Dutch. On the 24th of April, he observ'd an extraordinary Eclipse of the Moon, about Seven in the Morning, which, he says, lasted three Hours and an half. On the first of June he pass'd the Tropick of Cancer, and on the ninth of the same Month had Sight of the Island of Xime, which is one of the Islands of Japan. On the eleventh he arriv'd at Firando, and was very well received; but found it, however, impossible to do any thing, till the King had sent to acquaint Mr. Adams with his Arrival, who was then at *Edde*, three hundred Leagues from thence. The Messenger, it seems, did not make so much Hastie as he ought to have done, and therefore the King, upon his Return, sent him into Banishment.

On the 20th of July Mr. Adams arriv'd, and Captain Saris confes'd was not about the Means of settling a Trade, and the Prospect there was of making it worth their while. He was told upon this Subject, that the Commerce of Japan, like that of the rest of the World, was sometimes more, sometimes less profitable; but that, however, it would be always found worth the seeking, and worth the keeping too. He could not but observe, that in Captain Saris's Opinion, Mr. Adams had a great Affection for that Country, in which he had now spent near twelve Years. There was a Remark natural enough to make, for one who was not acquainted, either with him, or with the Country; for the Dutch and Portuguese Writers, who, for what Reason I know not, always stile him Sir William Adams, report him to have been a Person of great Probity, and unblemish'd Character, and one whose Candour and Sincerity made him highly esteem'd, even by such as considered him as their Enemy: But Captain Saris seems to

have look'd upon him as a mere English Pilot, and therefore much his Inferior, without considering that his Circumstances were now very much chang'd, and that therefore he might to have been look'd upon as a kind of Minister to the Emperor of Japan.

He took his Advice, however, and agreed to go with him to the Emperor's Court, to which he was the more readily inclin'd by the King of Firando's offering him all kind of Conveniencies for his Journey. He arriv'd with him Presents for the Emperor, the Emperor's Son, the prime Ministers, for the Judge at *Meaco*, for the Admiral, and for the Treasurer; all of which amounted together to the Value of one hundred and eighty Pieces, which was no mighty Sum to expend for procuring the Privilege which he expected; but it will be more than sufficient to Defign of this Work, and at the same time, will be a more Entertaining to the Reader, to give the History of this Journey, as near as may be, in German and English Words, which I the more readily do, because he has always consider'd, and I think with good Reason, one of the most terrible of our old Writings, and who has always to be found the fewest Mistakes. This is the true Story of his Journey.

We first sail from Firando, and pass'd thro' the Straights, the most part are very well inhabited, and are full of Fish; upon them; but the fish of Note that we met with, was *Luccate*, a very large and considerable Fish, which is not to be seen in *London*; within the Walls very well known, and uniform, that one might see from one part of the Coast to another. It has a strong Stone Cartilage, a small Bone, and a Draw bridge, all kept in very good Order, and the Soldiers, or Ordnance, are not to much wonder to find none, since there is not much thing at *Firando*; and it is a sort of military Discipline, that the Japanese are wholly without. All the good Fish, and to up to *Osaca*, we found Women that live with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their Food, and by Fishing, at which they were very great Masters; for they had two Strings to their Bow, and 'twas not possible for the Fish to escape them; for what they could not with their Lines and Nets, they would dive for, and catch that Way without fail; and this they would do, whether to the Depth of eight Fathom. These Women are very easy to be known from all others; for, by contracting, their Eyes were strangely altered, and look'd as if it were Blood; and by this Token the diving Women are distinguished in Japan.

When we pass'd the Streights of *Xemina-Sapa*, the next Town of note we came to was *Osaca*, nothing is known to the former in Compals and Dimensions, and one of the principal Sea-ports of the Empire. There is a great Port comes up to it as wide as the *Baynes*, and is full of fine Timber-bridges laid over it. It has a Castle very extraordinary for Bigness and Strength, with very deep Trenches about it, and several Draw-bridges without made, and Grates so strongly plated with Iron, as they seem to bid Detiance to any Battery in the World. The whole Building of the Castle is of Free-stone, and the Walls are of the same; but a matter of seven Barrels of Gun, and put together without any Mortar, or Cement, the Stones being so nicely cut, as to lie perfectly close together, and needs no other Binding; only, if there should be to be a void Space any where, they throw a great Stone to fill up the Crevice, and that's all they do. It is very contriv'd, strengthened with Bulwarks and Batteries, with good Store of Loop-holes for small Shot, and Rows, and various Passages for the throwing of Cannon upon those that should come to attempt it, and it is not easily believ'd to be a mighty thing as it is, without having a particular Account of it, which we shall hear what use the Emperor puts it to, and what importance the Jewel is here kept in late Custody.

In short, here lives a lock'd up in the Castle, a young and genuine Heir of Japan, here, I say, he lives as happy as to be ignorant of his real Quality, his Power, and just Pretensions; though, at the same time, he is so fortunate as to be excluded from them all. The Issue of the Matter is, the present Emperor is an Usurper, who has stepped into the Throne, in a way not only contrary to

law of that Kingdom, but the more sacred ones of eternal Justice and Reason. The old Emperor, when he died, left this Son, then an Infant, under the Care and Tutorage of four principal Noblemen; whereof *Ogofojamma*, the present Emperor, was one, and the chief. The other three Governours, Men of Intrigue and ill Principles, and longer by far of flattering their own Pride, and Ambition, than discharging their Duties of a sacred Trust committed to them, made Pretensions to the Sovereignty, and put in for the Crown themselves.

In opposition to whom, as also to assert the Rights of the royal Pupil, *Ogofojamma* took up Arms; and having secretly routed the other Pretenders, had the supreme Power, suddenly clapped all into his own Hands; and now the charming Opportunity told him, he had as good be Emperor himself. All his Competitors were removed out of the Way. The true Heir was incapable of understanding and redressing his Case. All the Power was his own; and he want only the Name of an Emperor, which was to vary him all a thing, that he resolv'd not to be without that any longer. The young Prince he kept always about him, and in perfect Ignorance of himself, and his Relation to the Crown, suffering him to know no other, but that he was his Son; all that are about him being such as he prefer'd the Emperor has brought up from their Cradles, and so not able to give him any true Information. And to make all sure, when he was grown to Years, he married him to his own Daughter, and so confid'd in him to the Castle of *Ofiaca*, where they live like the Children of an Emperor, as to all Points of State and Grandeur, only Ignorance, that sweetens all the rest, civil Policy is plac'd to smother them.

Over against *Ofiaca*, on the other Side of the River, lies another great Town, call'd *Sacay*, a Place of very great Trade for all the Isles therabouts. At *Fogomi*, to which we came next, we found a Garrison of three thousand Soldiers, appointed for the keeping some of the Prizes in good Order. This Garrison is flatted every three Years; and the Change happening when we came thither, we had the Advantage of seeing to nothing of the Rules of their military Discipline: They generally march no more than five abreast, and to every ten Files there's an Officer deputed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their Discipline, according to the Quantity of their Arms, is thus. First of all march their Shot, that is, Calivers, Baynquets, or Muskets they have none, neither will they use any; then follow Pikes, then Cuttans and Fargets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadathes or Hooks, and lastly Calivers again close the March; and among all these they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any sort of warlike Musick.

The *Japon's* Horses are not large; or high, but of the Size of our maddling Horses, small headed, and extremely full of Mettle; and, in my Opinion, far beyond Spanish Ginnets, both in Blatery Carriage and Spirit. Their Soldiers observe very good Order upon the Road, and are so exactly govern'd, that they are as welcome at the publick Houses as any Guests whatever; no Man is in the least disturb'd or incommoded by them; they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for it without any quarrelling: The Roads are very well furnished with Houses of Entertainment; and when there are Soldiers upon the March, they provide Victuals for them; so that they have, at an Indian's Warning, what they want, and at very cheap Rates; a Dinner of good, wholesome Food, and enough of it, from two Shillings downward, to one Penny.

The Diet generally used through the Country is Rice of several Sorts, the white being counted the best; Fish, both salted and fresh; Rabbits, Beans, Duck, Feal, Pheasant, Partridge, Quail, and Fowls: Of Beasts they have all sorts; of Beasts, wild Boars, Goats, and Black Cats; these also in great Plenty; but but they make none; neither will they eat any thing, because they esteem it the Blood of the Animal; and, for what Reason I know not, they will not touch a Bit of any tame Beasts, tho' they have them in abundance. Their Wheat might not to be forgotten, which is as plump, and as good as any. But all of the red Colour. We did in our Travels buy Rice at a Half-penny per Pound; Beans and Pheasant, the best and

fattest, for three Pence a piece; Pigs, very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for five Shillings; a good Ox for sixteen Shillings; and a Goat at three Shillings. The Drinks in request in this Country are only the Spirits distilled from the Rice, very strong, and of the Colour of Canary, and common Water, which is the common Drink of the poorer sort of People, that can't reach to the Price of other Liquor. They always drink their Water warm, and say that 'tis good to kill the Worms in the Maw.

Our Motions being directed to *Suranga*, where the Emperor then kept his Court, by the latter End of this Month we had gone as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finish the Remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furnished with Horses, and all Conveniences for that Purpose, at the Emperor's Charge. I had also a Palankin, or one of their Sedans, provided for me, and a fresh Supply of Men drawn out of every Place for the carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horse; and, for the greater State, a Slave appointed to run with a Pike before the Palankin. The King's Harbingers also went before, and took up our Lodging upon the Road. This Part of the Journey was very pleasant and easy; the Way, for the most part, is exceeding even and plain; and wherever there was any rugged, mountainous Ground, a smooth level Passage was cut through it. This Road is all along good Sand and Gravel; it is divided into Leagues for the Benefit of Travellers; and at every League's End are two small Hills raised, on either Side one, and upon each a fair Pine-Tree plant'd. The Design of which Mark is to make Travellers competent Judges of the Length of their own Journeys, that they may not be abused by the Hacknysmen, and those that let out Horses, and so pay for a greater Number of Miles than they have rode.

All along the Road you meet with Multitudes of People passing and repassing, and Towns and pleasant Villages, Farms and Country-houses; and sometimes Temples, standing at a little Distance, in shady Groves, with the Habitations of the Priests round about them. The most unpleasant Sight we had, was the Sight of the Malefactors, fasten'd upon Crosses, near all the great Towns where those Executions had been performed. Crucifying is a very common Punishment among them at *Japon*; and, as they manage it, it is some sort of Punishment to Travellers too, to pass by a Multitude of noisome, putrifying Carcasses and Bodies; besides the Horror of the Sight, to have the Disturbance of the Smell those Bodies yield: And we had the worst Trial of all when we came to *Suranga*; there were Crosses, Scaffold, and Gibbets, Heads, Carcasses, and Limbs, hanging about in so many Places without the City, that our Pleasure in going along was greatly lessened. *Suranga* seems to be as big as *Landon*, even taking in the whole Compass of the Suburbs: The outer Parts of it we found entirely taken up by Mechanicks and Artificers of all sorts, who are plac'd there for the Ease and Quiet of the genteeler People, that don't care to be disturb'd with the Noise and Bustle the others make in their Trades.

After a Repose of a Day or two, I went, with all my Company in a Body, to the Castle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and to deliver the Presents intended for that Court; I was introduced by two of the greatest Men then in Attendance, the Emperor's Secretary and his Admiral. They led me first into a very fine matted Room, where we sat down for some time, according to their Custom, upon Mats; then they brought me into a Chamber of Presence, where stood an empty Chair of State, to which I was oblig'd to do Reverence. After some short time, Word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which these Courtiers I brought me, but I durst not presume to look in themselves. The Custom is, for all the Presents that are brought to be plac'd in order upon the Mats of that Room into which the Emperor comes; and accordingly, when I came in, I found them all in a very orderly Manner laid before him. He received his Majesty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then, by his Interpreter, bid me welcome: He desired me to go

mere *Englis* Pilot, and thro' out considering that his Contract changed, and that was looked upon as a kind of *Mis* ever, and agreed to go with it, to which he was the more oblig'd by the offering of all his Journey. He carried with him, the Emperor's Sign, a *Meaco*, for the *Ar*, which amounted together to and eighty Pounds, were for providing the *Phy* will be more *at the same time*, and Reader, to give the *Phy* may be, a *Phy* ready, or, *Phy* ank with good *Phy* and *Phy* alikes. The *Phy* as I pass'd by *Phy* inability, *Phy* of *Phy* consider the *Phy* hills very *Phy* hit the *Phy* Stone *Phy* in very *Phy* for *Phy* none, since *Phy* a sort of *Phy* about. All *Phy* Women that *Phy* Water, getting *Phy* were very *Phy* their Bow, and *Phy* shape them; for *Phy* they would *Phy* and thus they *Phy* whom. These *Phy* others; for, *Phy* altered, and *Phy* in the *Phy*

rights of *Phy*, the *Phy* was *Phy* and *Phy* the *Phy* the *Phy* over it. It *Phy* and *Phy* several *Phy* singly *Phy* by *Phy* the *Phy* it a *Phy* any *Phy*, as *Phy* Binding; *Phy* here, they *Phy* that's *Phy* with *Phy* holes *Phy* for *Phy* to *Phy* might *Phy* particular *Phy* or *Phy* kept *Phy* up *Phy* here, I *Phy* of *Phy* enough, *Phy* from *Phy* The *Phy* Emperor *Phy* in a *Phy*

and see the King his Son at *Edo*, (with all the Necessaries, for which Journey he would take care to furnish me) and by that time I returned, his Letters should be ready for our King.

The Articles relating to Trade and Privilege, which we requested his Majesty's Confirmation of, were all easily granted by him, one only excepted, respecting the *Charge*: It was to this Purpose, That whereas the *Comme* had refused all Trade and Commerce with the *English*, it might be lawful for us to bring them into *Japon*, and make sale of the Goods, so taken, in his Majesty's Dominions. This the Emperor granted at first; but his Mind was altered afterwards by a Conference with the Ambassador of *China*, and he refused to allow it. The rest all passed under his Great Seal, which is not of Wax, like ours, but stamped like a Print, and coloured red. The Secretary would take no Present, nor any thing like a Gratuity from us; the Emperor, it seems, had commanded the contrary, and 'twas as much as his Life was worth to do it.

Having seen this Business done, we set out from *Suranga* for the great City of *Edo*, where the Emperor's Son, the young King, keeps his Court: The Country is well inhabited between these two Cities; the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the *Totoques*, or Temples, scattering up and down in good Numbers too. There's one mighty Image, (which they call *Dabiz*) that stands in this Road, at which all the *Japong* stop to pay their Devotions, when they go this Way. It is made of Copper, all hollow within, tho' very thick: 'Tis in the Shape of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks resting on his Heels, and his Arms extended: He is represented wearing a Gown, and notwithstanding that bending Posture, is twenty two Foot from the Level of the Ground, and all the Body proportionably large. Some of our Men went into the Belly of it, and then fell a-hooping and whooping; the Noise of which, out of the wide Mouth of the Image, was much such agreeable sort of Musick as, I believe, was made by *Petalari's* brazen Bull. It stands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their Passage to the celebrated Temple of *Tenobday*; for they always make a Pause at *Dabiz*; but this is but a slight Ceremony.

It is at *Tenobday's* Temple the great Work is to be done, and the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel. And here one may meet all sorts of People, rich and poor, sound and disordered, continually coming and going thither, and that by Night, as well as by Day, and all the Year round. About the Middle of this Month we came to *Edo*, a City much larger than *Suranga*, no less in its Buildings, and every way more glorious in its Appearance. The very Tiles of the Houses are gilded, and the Posts of the Doors set off with shining Varnish. They have no Glass-windows, but all of Board, which opens in Leaves, and are very delicately painted: There's a Causeway runs thro' the chief Street in the City; which Street is as broad as any in *England*, and a fine River runs along by, or rather underneath the Causeway: A City full of Wells, and provided with Buckets for the People, in case of any Danger by Fire. The Castle of this City is much stronger and nobler Building than that of *Suranga*; and the young King lives in much greater State, and has a more pompous Attendance, than the Emperor's Father.

He received us in a very obliging Manner, taking the King's Letters and Presents with a wonderful Satisfaction and Content, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our King, and a Present of two fine Suits of *Japon* Armour, finely varnished, and a long Sword for my self: 'Tis to be noted, that the Cutters are a common Wear; but the Falahes, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Persons of the best Account. It is had to be no less than twenty two Days Journey, on Horseback, from this City of *Edo* to the most northern Part of *Japon*, which makes it a Country of a vast Extent. Our Business here being no more than paying a Compliment; which, being done, we had no farther Occasion of staying; and having got this Prince's

Letters and Presents for the King of *England*, we went back to *Suranga*, where we arrived again at the least this Month.

We were not obliged to wait long in this City, for the Dispatches, the Emperor's Letters, and the Instruments containing our Privileges, and the Terms upon which we were to establish a Factory in *Japon*, being all ready, and the Industry, and Interest of Mr. *Adams*, both of them so effectually dispatched; so that we had no Reason to complain either of the Delays or Disappointments, which are usually met with at Courts; and of which we were informed by Report, that of *Japon* is not more free than that of any one has not a good Agent, as luckily for us we had.

A Translation of the Emperor's Letters, and the Instrument containing our Privileges, is here annexed to the end of the Reader, annexed; and will furnish you with the same, and will regulate a Government in that Country, if they were granted. It is necessary to observe, that this Version is not literal, yet it is very like the true Meaning of the Original very exactly, and the Force and Spirit of these *Japong* Papers may be easily comprehended thereby.

To the King of GREAT BRITAIN

YOUR Majesty's kind Letter sent me by your valiant Captain *John Saris*, (who is now returned) have known to arrive in any Part of my Kingdom, I most heartily embrace, being not a little glad to see that of your great Wisdom and Power, is had notice of your most illustrious and mighty Kingdoms under your Majesty's Command. I acknowledge your Majesty's goodness in sending me to understand a Present of my Land, as much as my Land affordeth not, neither can I be before seen; which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your Majesty, whom I esteem as a Father, and the Continuance of Friendship with your Majesty, and that it may stand with your good liking to receive my Subjects to any Part or Part of my Dominions, they shall be most heartily welcome, especially their Worthiness in the Admiral's Knowledge, and Navigation, having with much Facility directed to remote; being no whit amazed with the greatness of my mighty a Gulph, nor Greatness of my Kingdoms, and Storms from prosecuting honourable Enterprises, Discoveries and Merchandizing, wherein I desire to see me to further them, according to their Desires, and unto your Majesty a small Token of my Love, and a true Subject, desiring you to accept of the same, and him that much rejoiceth in your Majesty's Success; whereas your Majesty's Subjects have desired your Privileges for Trade, and settling of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they desired, but have confirmed the same unto your Majesty, with a Broad Seal, for better establishing the same, and Cattle in *Suranga*, this fourth Day of the Month of June, in the eighteenth Year of our Day's Majesty's happy Computation. Referring your Majesty's High and mightiest Commander in this Kingdom of *Japon*, to be named *Mina Muttono*, to be the

Privileges granted by Ogohosonno, Emperor of *Japon*, unto the Right Worshipful Sir *John Saris*, Governor, and others, the Honourable *East India Company*, Adventurers to the East-Indies.

I. *Inverness*. We give free Liberty unto the King of Great-Britain, and his Majesty's Governor and Company of the *East India*, and Adventurers, for ever, fully to trade, and the Parts of our Empire of *Japon*, without any Hindrance, or Interruption, by any of the said Company; and to allow, buy, sell, and to carry to their own Mansions, without any Tax, or to tarry here as long as they think proper, at their Pleasures.

II. *Leu Wen* grant us to them Liberty, for all such Merchants, as shall be thought, or hereafter shall be thought, to

" shall from hence transport to any foreign Part; and do
 " authorize those Ships that hereafter shall arrive and come
 " from *England*, to proceed to present Sale of their Com-
 " modities, without coming or tending up to our Court.
 " III. *Item*. If any of their Ships shall happen to be in
 " danger of Shipwreck, we will our Subjects, not only to
 " assist them, but that such Part of Ship and Goods, as
 " shall be saved, be returned to their Captain, or Cape-
 " Merchant, or their Assigns; and that they shall, or may
 " build one House, or more, for themselves, in any Part
 " of our Empire, where they shall think fittest; and at
 " their Departure make Sale thereof at their Pleasure.
 " IV. *Item*. If any of the *Englisb* Merchants, or other,
 " shall depart this Life within our Dominions, the Goods
 " of the Deceased shall remain at the Disposal of the
 " Cape-Merchant; and that all Offences committed by
 " them shall be punished by the said Cape Merchant, ac-
 " cording to his Discretion, and our Law to take no hold
 " of their Persons or Goods.
 " V. *Item*. We will, that ye our Subjects trading with
 " them for any of their Commodities, pay them for the
 " same, according to Agreement, without Delay, or Retur-
 " n of their Wares again unto them.
 " VI. *Item*. For such Commodities as they have now
 " brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our Service
 " and proper Use, we will, that no Arrest be made there-
 " of, but that the Price be made with the Cape-Merchant,
 " according as they may sell to others, and present Pay-
 " ment upon the Delivery of the Goods.
 " VII. *Item*. If in Discovery of other Countries for
 " Trade, or Return of their Ships, they shall need Men
 " or Victuals, we will, that ye our Subjects furnish them,
 " for their Money, as their Need shall require.
 " VIII. *Item*. And that without other Passport, they
 " shall, and may, set out upon the Discovery of *Pezzo*,
 " or any other Part in or about our Empire.
 " From our Cattle in *Suranga*, this first Day of the
 " ninth Month, and in the eighteenth Year of our Day,
 " according to our Computation. Sealed with our Broad
 " Seal, &c. Underwritten
 " *Minna Mauttano Yei Te Year.*"

The *Japanese* Language seems to agree with the *Chinese*
 in this, that they express whole Words compendiously,
 by their several proper Characters, not compounding them
 of distinct Letters and Syllables, as 'tis in other Languages.
 The Character is very different from that of the *Chinese*;
 and they read, beginning at the Right Hand, to down-
 wards, perpendicular-wis in the several Lines. They take
 abundance of care to speak and write in the shortest and
 comeliest manner that can be; they are not given to floun-
 rish and enlarge upon a Subject, but deliver their Minds
 in very pertinent, exact, and comprehensive Terms, con-
 tracting a great deal of Sense into a little Compass: The
 Letters, and the Instrument, were both written in a very
 far, after their Manner; and the first Ranties of that
 kind that our Nation, I believe, ever had.

This was all our Business at *Suranga* finished too.
 Upon which we took Leave of the Emperor and Court,
 and set out for *Irandu*. Our Way lay by Land as far as
Osaka; and in passing thither, we took *Meaco* in our Way.
 This is absolutely the greatest City in *Japan*, and a Place
 of mighty Trade. All the Tradesmen dwell in a Part of
 this City by themselves; and all of such an Employment
 in such a Street by themselves. The *Japanese* think it
 very unevenly and irregular, to have Men of so many
 Professions and Businesses mix'd and huddled together in
 such a confused manner, as they are in other Places. They
 are for making all of the same Trade (who are fittell to
 converse together) Neighbours to one another; Birds of the
 same Feather to be all in a cawnt; flock by them-
 selves, that a Man that looks may know where to find
 them. And the plain Truth can't be, this Order is not
 without its Beauty and Conveniency; and it adored, men-
 tion'd, a peculiar Grace to the city, which all its other
 Advantages could not have given it.

The most magnificent Temple of the whole Country is
 here at *Meaco*, built of Fire-stone, and as low as St.
 Paul's in *London* from the Quire, arched, adorned with

mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one peculiar
 Altar, at which they make their Offerings of Rice, and
 small Money (call'd *Candries*, twenty of which make a
 Stilling) for the Maintenance of the Bonzes belonging to
 it: And by this Altar stands the great Idol *Minnad*, made
 of Copper, and of the same Form with *Dab*, as men-
 tion'd, but much bigger, reaching up to the very Arch.
 The Temple stands advantageously upon the Top of a very
 high Hill, and upon each Side the Altar you see a long
 Row of Columns, of Fire-stone, about forty in each Side,
 ten Paces distant one from another, and in the Top of
 every Pillar is a Lantern, the Light of which is lighted
 every Night, and make a very pleasant View. There are
 several other Temples build'd, but thus farly exceed'd, all
 the rest in all Points of Beauty and Concord. It was
 just finish'd at our being there, the Foundation being laid
 by the famed *Tacotama*, whose House was kept in an
 Apartment hard by, and is to be maintained here in a
 state of perfect Ease and Rest, as long as Nature will
 allow him to hold it out.

The *Portuguese* Jesuits have a flatly Cell on the
 City, very well furnish'd with Men of Letters. They
 breed up abundance of *Japanese* Youth, teaching Philoso-
 phy, and the Fourth Divinity to them, making many of
 them Preachers, and High-pole, Jesuits too. There's no
 doubt but they endeavour to make them as good as they
 can; and, amongst other Arts, teach some of those that
 are peculiar to their Order. They have the New Testa-
 ment translated into the *Japanese* Language; and, besides
 this hospital Fry breeding up in the College, there are
 reckon'd five or six thousand that profess Christianity in
Meaco.

While we lay'd here, we received the Emperor's Pre-
 sents for our King, which were sent after us, viz. ten
 Books, or large Pictures, to hang a Room of State with.
 From hence we travelled to *Osaka*, where the Gally that
 set us down before was attending our Return, to transport
 us to *Irandu*, and this at the Charge of the brave and
 generous King of that Place. This Prince was extremely
 glad at our Return to his Island, as also of the Success of
 our Affairs at Court, and had caus'd it with that ready
 and even Hand of Kindness to our Company left there,
 as he did to all of us, when top-sick; but yet the Trade
 amount'd to little or nothing. In our Absence the *Japane-
 se* had been no good Customers, tho' we had come from
 the other End of the World to take their Money. One
 Reason of this was, because it was not yet certain that we
 were to be allow'd in the Country; and the Trade has
 its publick Warrant from the Emperour, as no Stranger
 may offer to sell, to no Native may dare to buy. But
 another thing was this, that most Part of our Commodities
 we intend for that Place were bro't Cloths, (which
 had not long before been sold here for twenty Reals of
 Eight per Mar, which is two yards a foot of) and the
Japanese were now almost out of Count it with, becau-
 we did not take care to recommend the Goodness of it
 by our own Wearing. You, my Gally, say up your broad
 Cloths to us, and at the same time hardly wear a Racket
 of yourselv's; but are all for your Suits, and Stuffs, and
 any thing in the World, except just what you would have
 us buy of you. And the Truth on this, the *Japanese* were
 in the right, so that our Objections not easy to be answer'd.
 We ought to be more fond of our own Country Commo-
 dities, and tell other Nations they are valuable, by the
 Use we make of them ourselv's. Foreigners won't be so
 ready to believe us, as they are we don't order our Ladies
 to as to give a Reputation to what we recommend abroad
 in the World; and, for ought I know, other Nations
 may tell us, as well as the *Japanese*, of not wearing our
 own broad Cloths; may reproach us with the Neglect of
 our own Commodities, and detest them till they be as
 do otherwise ourselv's.

This *Irandu* is a very good Place for our Ships to pur-
 in at, with respect to the Point of Anchoring, and all
 that; but it is not so proper for Trade, because it is distant
 from the main Island of *Japan*, where are not only the
 but the most considerable People, capable of giving Encou-
 ragement to Trade, which, in this little bye Island,
 is not to be expected. We might, I don't question, be

welcome at any of them all; and the Kings of two of these petty Islands gave us a formal Invitation. But there's few of them can afford Buſineſs that will turn to account, and defray the Charges of a Settlement: Therefore my Advice is, that our Ships that come to trade here, would not fail to *Firando*, but to *Oringaivo*, upon the main Island, and about fifteen Leagues diſtant from *Eddo*, where they will find very good Riding, and a much greater Proſpect of Advantage. This Place indeed is not capable of affording to good an Entertainment as may be deſired: Proviſions are not altogether plentiful there as at *Firando*; but that Want may be ſupplied by a Correſpondence with the circumjacent Country.

Chriſtianity makes no conſiderable Progreſs comparatively any where in this Empire, but at *Mieco* and *Langeſique*, a Town ſituated upon the Sea-coaſt, about eight Leagues from *Firando*. It had, it's true, gotten footing at *Eddo*; but the Emperor, upon ſome Pique taken againſt the Chriſtians, baniſhed them all from thence, and confined them to *Langeſique*; and as a Prevention of its creeping into the Court, and rooting itſelf any where near him, he made it Death to any who ſhould offer to build a Church, or ſay Maſs, within ten Leagues of the Place where he reſided. This Change was but a very little before our going to *Eddo*; notwithſtanding which, the Chriſtian Religion is otherwiſe indulg'd. The Chriſtian *Japoneſe* at preſent have, as far as I ſee, the ſame Protection and Privilege with others; and the Jeſuits ſeem to enjoy an unreſtrained Liberty in the making of Proſelytes. The Foundation of a Factory being now firmly laid in the Emperor's full Grant to that Purpoſe, we proceeded to build upon it, being the rather encouraged to it, in that we were now aſſured that *Engliſh* Factories were actually ſettled at *Siam* and *Potana*; as alſo, that the *Dutch* had made ſomething of their Buſineſs here; and we had Reaſon to believe we had not a leſs Share in the Good-will and Favour of this Country than they. We therefore appointed ſome of our Company to reſide here upon this Affair, with Inſtructions alſo to make what Discoveries they could upon the Coaſt of *Cocin*, *Tulmas*, and other Parts adjoining, againſt the next Return of the Ships. By exact Observations we made, during our Stay here, we determine the Latitude of *Firando* to be 33° 14' N. and the varying of the Compaſs 2° to Paſſer 5.

Thus far we have followed exactly the Memoirs of Captain *Saru*, who farther reports abundance of Civilities received from the King of *Firando*; together with a Letter, written by that Prince, to our King *James*, expreſſing a very earneſt Deſire to render all the Service in his Power to the *Engliſh* Nation, and highly commending their Deſign of eſtabliſhing a Correſpondence between their own Country and the *Japoneſe*, for the promoting of which, he profeſſes himſelf ready to do whatever lay in his Power. Captain *Saru* proſecuted his Voyage to *Bantam*, in the *Island of Java*, without any remarkable Accident; and he commends *Lambert's* Voyages as very ſincere, and his Charts as very exact. He arrived at *Bantam* on the 11th of *January* 1614, and found things there in a very indifferent Condition, owing, as he conceived, to their having too many Factories; however, he got his Loading, and in the latter End of the Month of *May* proceeded for *England*, and arrived ſafe y on the 27th of *September* following at *Brumſey*. He does not appear to have been very languid in the Affair of ſettling a Factory in *Japon*, but ſeems to have been oblig'd thereto by his Inſtructions; yet as he was a Man of great Obſervation and Reflection, he took an admirable Pain to have a diſtinct Account of what Goods were to be ſent there, and what ought to be expected in return. I apprehend, that the true Reaſon of his Diſtance was, our not having, at that time, an open Trade with *China*, the greateſt Probit relating to our *Japon* Trade being made on *Cineje* Goods; but however, Time and Patience might have overcome all theſe Difficulties, and have eſtabliſhed us as effectually as the *Dutch*. But the Truth of the Matter was, that our People were ſet under Command, and conſequently ſet in for living in that Country, and eſtabliſhing a Trade there.

As a Proof of Captain *Saru's* great Meaſure in examining

every thing carefully, and recording from time to time what Notices he received, I think it may not be amiſs to annex to this Account of his Voyage the Report he received concerning the Iſland of *Jyſo*, or *Deazo*, which was then, and ſtill is, a Place very imperceptibly known, and on the abſolute Discovery of which hang many Things of Importance, but more particularly the Deciſion of the great Point, whether there be, or be not a Paſſage to the Eaſt Sea by the North Eaſt. I the rather enter the Account here, becauſe, for any thing I can perceive, it was not before true as only we have yet received, only I ſuppoſe that our *Japoneſe* Traveller was miſtaken in calling this Country an Iſland, or elſe there is both an Iſland and a Continent of the ſame Name, which is indeed agreed to by ſome; we find relating to this Country in the ſame Account we have received from *Japon*. I muſt however ſubſcribe to add, that if we reflect on the *Statute* and *Compacts* of the Northern *Tartars*, the *Japlanders* and *Senſenſes* we ſhall have the leaſt Cauſe to ſuſpect this Water, either of Credulity or Ficklen.

Intelligence concerning *Yedzo*, received at *Edo*, from a *Japoneſe* that had been ſent to

" This ingenious Traveller ſays, that *Yedzo* ſituate
" lying on the North-weſt Side of *Japon*, and about
" ten Leagues diſtant from it. That the People
" are of fair Complexion, good-natured enough, and
" made in fair Limber, and Conſtitution; their
" outward Aspect and Appearance, being a little
" hairy, almoſt like Monks; yet their ſkins being
" ſometimes white and clear. The Weapons uſed
" by them are Bows and poiſoned Arrows.

" Thoſe in the Southern Parts are very different
" People, and fit for Commerce, having a great
" Variety of Weights and Meaſures, which in the Northern
" Parts of the Iſland they are entirely ignorant of. The
" People of the Northern Parts are a People which ſeem to be
" different from the reſt of the Iſland, and of quite another
" Race, being to extremely ſhort, that they may be
" call'd Dwarfs in a ſtrict and proper Senſe; what ſort of
" Cloaths are commonly of the ſtature of the

" They have none of them any ſort of Money, but
" what is brought from *Japon*, and to the Uſe of
" their Rice (if not all they are ſupplied with) is
" brought from thence too; but then they have a great
" deal of them which will make other People ſomewhat
" worth their while to come and bring them. They
" have, viz. a great deal of Silver, and a little
" Gold, in which they make all their Payments
" and *Japoneſe* for what they take of them.

" The Commodities moſtly tranſported to
" Cotton, Cloth, Iron, and Lead; the Commodities
" ſent for the Back and Belly, are to be ſent
" and acceptable to theſe People; particularly
" ſent from *Japon* to *Yedzo* has yielded the

" *Coin*.
" The chief Town where the *Japoneſe* trade
" Trade is call'd *Matzuma*, where there is a
" Fort, and at leaſt five hundred Families
" continually dwelling there. In theſe
" times come down in vaſt Numbers to
" in their Winter Stores; and in *Matzuma*
" mon, and ſeveral ſorts of grain
" Wares, which they barter with the
" *Matzuma* is the chief Town for the
" the *Japoneſe* upon the whole Iſland,
" no manner of Concern or Settlement
" here."

14. When I firſt enter'd upon this Subject, I
" felt it was not my Intention to have produced
" but upon mature Reflection, that I could not
" more proper Occaſion to ſtart the Enquiry
" to, and Retreat from *Japon*, which is an
" moſt ſublime; and hath ſince further to recom
" it was never handled before, I thought I
" better, than to throw all I have been ſaying
" this I lead into this Section, by which it may
" better underſtood, and afford a clear Solution to a

and flatter, that they may not cut deep into the Mire, and have also Sails like a Ship; by which Contrivance, observing proper Winds, they pass all these Bogs easily. The Country affords Damask, Satins, Taffeties, and other Silks, as *China* does; but they carry most of their Goods up and down in these Sailing Waggons.

We have likewise some other Letters of a later Date from the same Factory, but very immaterial, and containing scarce any Circumstances worthy of Notice, except that the *Japanese* were very importunate in demanding a Promise, that the *English* would bring no Padres, that is, Priests, among them; for the Persecution being, at this time, very hot, the common People did not care to run any Hazards, as not knowing how to distinguish between one sort of Christian Priests and another. But the *English* did not give them any Trouble upon that Head; but, on the contrary, seemed to bend all their Endeavours towards the adding the Trade of *China* to that of *Japan*, in which, perhaps, they went too far, and might have done for themselves, and their Country more, if they had pushed this Point less; for the *Japanese*, who are a very sensible People, considered this extending their Commerce in a bad Light; and, as they were naturally suspicious of Strangers, could not help fearing they would at last employ Force, in case fair Means did not succeed. In these Notions they were confirmed by the News they received, from time to time, of the great Disputes between the *Portuguese*, the *English*, and *Dutch*, in the *East-Indies*; and, esteeming their Force at home, by their Actions abroad, and supposing that they wanted nothing but a specious Pretence to attack the two great Empires of *China* and *Japan*. The last Letter we have is dated from *Irando*, *March* the 10th 1619, and in that there are some Particulars worthy the Attention of the Reader.

The Persecution in this Country, which before proceeded no farther than Banishment, and Lots of civil and religious Liberties, has since (as this Letter tells us) run up to all the Severities of corporal Punishment. The Christians suffered as many sorts of Deaths and Torments as those in the primitive Persecutions; and such was their Constancy, that their Adversaries were looser weary of inflicting Punishments, than they of enduring the Effects of their Rage: Very few, if any at all, renounced their Profession. The most hideous Torment, in which Death appeared, by the Contrivance of their Adversaries, would not leave them, nor all the Torments of a solemn Execution overpower that Strength of Mind with which they seemed to go through their Sufferings. They made their very Children Martyrs with them, and carried them in their Arms to the Stake, preferring rather to resign them to the Flames, than leave them to the Boozers to be educated in the Pagan Religion. All the Churches which the last Storm left standing, this had entirely blown down, and demolished, and Heathen Pagods were erected upon their Ruins.

The Dead were persecuted too, as well as the Living, and the Graves were torn open, and the Bodies there interred thrown out into some base Receivings; so that now, wherever Christianity flourishes again in *Japan*, it must be upon a second Plantation, the first Stock being at this time almost completely pulled up by the Roots. There were other Troubles and Strife besides these in *Japan*: At this Time another dangerous Rebellion was rising at *Utsushima*, but the Prince of that Place happening to be at that Time in the Court, the Emperor commanded him, either to write to his Subjects to lay down their Arms, or immediately to lay open his own Body. He chose rather to do the former, and so the Tumult was at an End; but he was turned out of that Government, and sent into a Corner of the northern Part of *Japan*, and the great Castle of *Utsushima* (bigger, by Report, than the City of *Rochester* levelled with the Ground, all the Stones being carried away to *Ojiza* to rebuild that noble Piece, which the last Emperor *Ogoshimam* destroyed after his routing the Army of the Prince *Idana*; for it must be noted (though our Author does not expressly tell us of it) that the Emperor spoken of in this Letter was not *Ogoshimam*, but some other his Successor, of whom we have no other Account than these Actions of his given us. It is said also, that this Prince *Idana* was gotten life out of the great Battle, and lay *incognito* somewhere about

Meaco; but this our Author hardly credits, it having been often reported so before.

Lastly, he gives us an Account of the horrid, barbarous, and cruel Deportment of the *Dutch* towards the *English* then residing in *Irando*: Without any manner of Provocation they openly declared War against them, declared they would burn their Ships and Effects, and destroy their Persons where-ever they could meet them; and that they did solemnly by Sound of Trumpet both ashore and aboard all their Ships; and to be as good as their Word, they broke into the *English* House with all their Force, and had actually sacrificed every Person there, if the *English* had not come in and fought vigorously in their Defence; for the Odds were vastly great, and one *English* man slew one hundred *Dutch* to deal with. All this year and more of this kind, they did; but for what Reason it cannot be imagined, unless because they would be Masters everywhere, and have the whole World to themselves. One Passage only, which shews their Modesty in such Parts of the World, is not to be forgotten; and that is, how late it was in the Presence of the great Emperor of *Japan* himself, and all his Court. Our Author reports that it was his Duty to the Emperor, upon the coming of the *English* Ships, found in the Fleet (see a certain bill of *Japan*), that told the Emperor strange Stories of his own Country, and extolled his King of *Holland* to the Skies, as the greatest and most potent Prince in a great Part of the World, together with a vast deal of such like flattery.

But he, who understood the *Japan* Language, and the *Dutch* man thought he had not, told him that the Emperor, he need not have told his Majesty that he was thus, since all the World knew they had a King in *Holland*, but only a Stadtholder, who did not so much govern the People, as the People govern him; and who was he had the Forehead to say, that his King, as he called him, held all other Princes in Christendom in Subjection, as was well known the King of *England* had been his Country's Protector, or they had never been in a Condition to come and make a Noise abroad in the World. The *Dutch* man was, it seems, pretty much confounded to see a King so all of a sudden; but there was no Help for it, for the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* that were there at that time, well knew the Truth of what was said. In this Discourse, our Author adds, that the Company were very much displeas'd with this Passage, and that there was a great deal of especially among the *Portuguese*, to be that they should know he could never do.

All these Transactions happened during the stay of Mr. *Adams*, who spent the Remainder of his Days with Honour in *Japan*, where he died in the 16th Year of his respect to any of the subsequent Ages. The Particulars are not recorded in any of the Writers I have mentioned, but though there be something very strange in what I have said, I think it much more strange, that we have not any Account of the Time that the *English* were driven out from the Country, or of the Reasons why they were so to take that Step; but I think it is probable, that they were reduced thereto, either by the Force of the Power of the *Dutch*, for it is true, that the *Dutch* Writers which the Reader has already seen, have said, that these two Nations being at that time at War with each other as soon as they found that the *English* were at *Irando* for the *Portuguese*. It was also said, that this last mentioned Nation, that the *Portuguese* had given not a little hurt by their own Force, and that they taught the *Japanese* how to lie on their backs against Foreign Nations, this drew upon them a great deal of which they have laboured ever since, and which they have not spared any Passages to mention, and which we already in-filled sufficiently upon our *Portuguese* Writers; we shall not dwell upon it any longer here.

Before we conclude this Section, we will say a few words proper to take notice of a Tradition, which is very commonly known, and that is, of an Attempt made to recover the Commerce of *Japan* in the Year 1600. It is said to have been first made by the *Portuguese*, who were for the Ship sent for that Purpose, but was never

Factory at *Bantam*, and arrived before the Haven of *Nangazaki*, which is the only one the *Dutch* are permitted to resort to, on the 20th of *June*. As soon as the Ship appeared in Sight of the Port, there came off two Vessels, one carrying a *Japonefe*, and the other a *Dutch* Flag; but on their coming up to the *Englisb* Ship, they hailed them in *Portugueze*, and demanded whence they came? The Captain answered in *Englisb*, and in *Dutch*. that he came from *England*; upon which the *Japonefe* Officer directed him to let go his Anchor, to forbid his Trumpet to play, and to forbear firing his Guns; to all which Demands he readily submitted.

After remaining at Anchor about two Hours, there came off two Boats, in one of which was the Governor, and his Secretary, accompanied by an Interpreter, who spoke *Portugueze*; and in the other Boat there were four Interpreters, who all of them spoke *Dutch*. As soon as they came on Board, the Captain conducted them to his Cabin, and when all had taken their proper Places, the Governor asked him very gravely, if he was an *Englisbman*, and what his Business was there? He answered, that he was an *Englisbman*, that he was charged with a Commission from the King his Master to re-establish the Trade settled by his Subjects fifty Years before in *Japan*. He added, that he was charged with a Letter from his *Britannick* Majesty, and another from the *East-India* Company, addressed to the Emperor of *Japan*; and at the same time that he said this, he produced a Copy of the Privileges granted to the *Englisb* by the Emperor, written in *Japonefe* Characters, which the Governor having read, was very importunate for the Original under the Emperor's Seal. The *Englisb* Captain, however, told him ingenuously, it was not in his Power to produce that, because the Emperor had demanded it should be delivered up at the Time the *Englisb* quitted *Japan*, with which they could not refuse to comply. The Governor then put up the Copy of the Privileges, but promised the *Englisb* Captain, that as soon as an Answer came from Court to his Request, he would deliver it up.

After a short Silence, the Governor asked him, if *England* was at Peace with *Spain* and *Portugal*? What Religion the *Englisb* were of? If it was a long time since King *Charles* had married the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*? and how many Children he had by her? This very plainly shewed, that the *Japonefe* were very inquisitive, and at the same time very well informed as to the Affairs of *Europe*. The Captain answered, without Hesitation, that the *Englisb* were at Peace with all the World, that it was true King *Charles* had married the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, but that he had no Children by his Queen; and that as to Religion, the *Englisb* were such sort of Christians as the *Dutch*, and not such sort of Christians as the *Portugueze*, or *Spaniards*; that the Custom of *Europe* required Kings to marry Persons of like Rank with themselves, and never the Daughters of their Subjects. To all this he added farther, that he had Presents of great Value for his Imperial Majesty; at which the Governor seemed to be very much pleased, and soon after retired. In about two Hours Time he returned again, and then told the Captain, that if the *Englisb* would be satisfied with such a Trade as the *Dutch* enjoyed, very possibly they might obtain it; but then, according to the Custom of the Country, it would be fit for them to send their Cannon and their Ammunition ashore; after which he would inform the Emperor of every thing, and that after receiving his Imperial Majesty's Answer, it it proved favourable, he was willing to furnish them with a House. The Captain took all this in good Part; he delivered up his Arms and Ammunition, and suffered the Governor, who brought with him a great Number of armed Boats, to station them as he thought fit; which he did, by ranging some a-head, some a-stern, and causing a double Line to anchor on each Side of the Vessel, and all within half Cannon Shot.

This being done, the Governor came aboard again, attended by his Interpreter, who was a *Dutchman*, and in whom he had great Confidence, and examined every one of the Ship's Company, particularly first as to his Country, whether he was an *Englisbman*, and not a *Portugueze*? whether he had ever been in *Portugal*, or could speak the Language of that Country? and whether he was a *Chri-*

stian after the *Dutch* Form; or the *Portugueze*? These Questions being all answered, they proceeded next to take an exact Account of all the Bales of Merchandize on board the Ship, and drew up a kind of Bill of Lading with great Exactness. After this the Governor asked, if other Ships did not sail with them from *England*? what was become of them? how long they stayed at *Bantam*? and what other Places they had been at in the *East-Indies*? These Questions being answered to his Satisfaction, the Governor retired for good and all, and carried away with him what had been delivered up to him. On the 30th of the same Month he came on board again, attended by his Secretary and Interpreters. He was received with all imaginable Civility and Ceremony by the Captain, and after they were seated together in his Cabin, he proceeded to make a kind of Discourse to this Effect: That it was true, there had been formerly an *Englisb* Factory in *Japan*, that those who composed it had been very well treated, and never had expressed any sort of Dissatisfaction; notwithstanding which, it was now forty-nine Years since any *Englisb* Ship had entered their Ports, and therefore he would be glad to know the Cause of so long an Absence, as also the Cause of their coming thither again. If we depend upon this Governor's Calculation, it would fix the Time of withdrawing the *Englisb* Factory to the Year 1624, and then it would appear, that Mr. *Adams* survived that Event near seven Years; but if that were the Case, it may seem somewhat difficult to account for the *Englisb* knowing when his Decese happened, unless we suppose that they received the News from the *Dutch*, which, as it is very probable they might, we may look upon this as a Point settled.

But to return to the Captain, who in answer to the Speech made him by the *Japonefe* Governor, told him, that as to the Cause why the Factory broke up, he could say nothing to it at all, as being totally unacquainted therewith. That as to their long Absence, he conceived it might be produced by that Confusion into which his Country had been thrown by the Civil Wars that happened not long after; that since that Time they had been likewise engaged in two very long and bloody Wars with the *Dutch*, and that after so long an Intermittion, it was a thing extremely difficult to find a Pilot capable of conducting a Ship to their Coast, which in *Europe* was represented as a very difficult and perilous Voyage. The Governor heard him with great Attention, and asked him, when he had done speaking, whether he had not on Board his Vessel some Person who had made that Voyage before? the Captain answered, that he had not: Why then, replied the Governor, How came you hither? the Captain answered him, that they had some old Charts, which were exact enough for that Purpose, as they had found by Experience.

The Governor seemed mighty well satisfied with so fair and so distinct an Account, and when he returned to the Town, left his Secretary on Board to receive all the rest of the Arms and Ammunition they had, in which he was to exact, that he took away with him some double barrell'd Fowling-pieces, that were part of the Present intended for the Emperor; but he made a very curious and exact Inventory of every thing that he got into his Hands, and gave a Copy of it, signed by way of Security, to the Captain. After all was over, they parted very good Friends, and the Secretary told him, that so far as depended upon him, nothing should be wanting that might procure him a favourable Answer from his Court; for which the Captain thanked him, assuring him at the same time, that his Nation had an entire Confidence in the *Japonefe*.

On the first of *July* the Governor and his Interpreters came on Board again, and asked several Questions; and upon this Occasion there happened a Dispute between the Captain and the *Dutch* Interpreter, who confidently asserted, that the Captain had told him several things which that Gentleman affirmed never entered into his Head. The Governor upon this took a fresh Account of every Man that was aboard, setting down his Name, his Age, his Employment; and when he had done this, he desired the Captain to prepare an exact List of what Commodities every Man had to dispose of, as also of what belonged to the Company; and then took the Dimensions of the Ship, of the Masts, Yards, &c. At his Departure, he charged

the Captain, if he wanted any thing, to make certain Signals, which he mentioned; and at the same time told him, that in case any of his People died, he should make two Signals, and should not throw the Body over till they came and examined it. The Day following the Interpreters, and some Gentlemen of the Emperor's Court, came on Board in the Morning, and asked abundance of Questions, to all which the Captain gave such clear and distinct Answers, that they seemed perfectly satisfied.

They returned again after Dinner, and brought a great Quantity of Refreshments, which had been bought by the Captain of the *Dutch* Ships, and at a very high Price, which, however, the *English* Captain received with much Complaisance, and testified his Thanks for them, as if it had been a great Favour; and at the same time desired leave to hoist his Flag, and to found his Trumpets, which Demands were granted. The following Days were spent much in the same manner; that is to say, the same Persons came on Board, and still asked abundance of Questions, which turned chiefly upon Religion, and the Difference between the Faith professed by the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, and that held by the *English* and *Dutch*, which, it may be easily supposed, gave them a good deal of Trouble on both Sides.

At last, on the 28th of *July*, about Ten in the Morning, the principal Secretaries, with abundance of Interpreters, and a large Train of Attendants, came on Board the Ship, in order to inform the Captain that they had received an Answer from Court, and that it was by no means favourable. It amounted, in short, to this, that his Imperial Majesty had declared he could not permit any Commerce in his Dominions to the Subjects of a Prince who had espoused the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, the principal Enemy of him and his Empire, and that therefore he was to prepare himself for sailing as soon as it was possible.

The Captain represented upon this, that the Season of the Year considered, it was simply impossible for him to stir, and therefore he hoped they would allow him to stay till the proper Season, and the Return of the Trade-Winds, gave him an Opportunity of proceeding thence with Safety. To which reasonable Demand they, without any great Difficulty, consented: The Captain from this took occasion to propose another thing, which, he believed, would have been as readily granted, from the Sorrow and Concern which these good People expressed. In short, the second Favour he asked was this, that since he had spent two Years in his Voyage, and since it was not probable they should ever have an Opportunity of purchasing *English* Commodities again, he might have Leave given him to dispose of his present Cargo. But the Reception given to this Proposition was very different from what he expected; he was told, that none in the Empire durst either adventure to purchase any of the Goods he had on Board, nor so much as to request a Licence for that Purpose from Court, where, when once a Resolution was taken, it was absolutely final, and there was no getting it either reverted or reviewed. To testify, however, their own good Will to the Captain, and to show him how ready they were to do any thing they could oblige him in, they consented that he should purchase Provisions, and whatever other Necessaries he wanted, with Merchandize, and not with Money.

In the whole Course of these Proceedings the Captain met with many things that surprized him, there was one tell out more strange than all the rest, and it was this, that the *Japanese* Governor acquainted him with more of the Affairs of *Europe* than he was Master of; for discoursing of the *Dutch* Wars, he enquired how long the *English* had been at Peace with that Nation? and upon the Captain's giving him a clear Answer, and mentioning also the Time of his own Departure from *England*, the Governor enquired, then you know nothing of the Attempt made to conquer the *Dutch* by your Master, in Confederacy with the King of *France*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, and that they are already Masters of three of the seven Provinces? The Captain assured him, that he did not, and that the News very much surprized him. However, he very easily understood from thence, that he was very little obliged to the *Dutch* for their good Offices in this Negotiation.

Before his Departure, he resolved to make another Trial as to what might be done hereafter; and with this View, he enquired of the Governor, whether, after the Death of the Queen of *England*, it might not be possible for his Majesty's Subjects to obtain Leave to trade in *Japon*? To which the *Japanese* Officer made him this remarkable Answer, that he would not advise the *English* to make such an Attempt; for that as the Sweat once expelled, never found an Entrance again into the human Body, so the Orders of the Emperor once issued, the Matters which occasioned them never more found Admittance into his Mind. All the Time they remained in the Port, the Governor, his Secretary, and other Officers, made them frequent Visits, and fatigued them with an infinite Number of intricate, and some of them very impertinent Questions, which gave them a great deal of Trouble; but if we except this, they were in all other things used with as much Kindness and Civility as it was possible. When the Season came that they might depart with Safety, the Governor came on Board, and brought with him all that he had taken from them, except their Powder, which he declared it was not in his Power to put on Board till they were ready to sail; but at the same time he told the Captain, that he would take care none of the *Dutch* Ships should stir out of Port, till he had time to get safe to *Bantam*, because, as he was informed, there was a War broke out between the two Nations.

On the 28th of *August* 1673, the Wind being fair, the Captain received positive Orders to sail without Delay, which accordingly he did, fully persuaded in himself, that if it had not been for the Intrigues of the *Dutch*, he might have succeeded in his Design, and have raised his Reputation by the effectual Execution of his Commission. This is certainly the last Attempt made in our Favour, and in all probability, it is the last that will be ever made, unless a more enterprising Spirit should rise in succeeding Generations than seems to actuate the present Race of them. In the succeeding Volume we shall insert some particulars of the accounts of this Country; but before we dismiss this Country, it cannot but be agreeable to the Reader to see the great Maxim of the *Japanese*, upon which our Exclusion is partly built, viz. *The Resolution of admitting no Strangers into their Country on any Terms*, explained, and set in a clear Light, the rather, because the Examination of this Point will naturally lead us to explain some others that will render the Connection of this Discourse more easy and obvious than it would otherwise be.

The original Government of *Japon* was by an absolute Monarch, in whose Person were united all those Characters that naturally give a Lustre to a Man in the Eyes of his own Species. He had besides the Regal Dignity, that of head Priest, Supreme Legislator and Director of the Forces of the Empire all invested in him; but as here and elsewhere Ability is not always annexed to Blood, so it fell out, that some of these supreme Monarchs, who in their own Language are styled *Dairi*, which signifies dearest Lord, were in some measure governed by those to whom they intrusted the Command of their Forces, and the prime Minister, and General in chief, had the Title of *Cubo-Sama*, which has very near the same Signification with the *Turkish* Title of *Vizir-Azem*, that is, *the chief*, or *most resplendent Lord*; and at length the *Cubo-Sama* came in fact the Master of the Empire, and the *Dairi* only the Title only, or at the most an empty Shadow of Authority, or rather of Sovereignty.

This Usurpation in the *Cubo-Sama's* began about the twelfth Century, and occasioned great Wars and Disturbances in *Japon*, from whence arose that Multitude of the Kingdoms and Principalities into which this Country was divided, when first it was visited by the *Europeans*. It was when the Governors of Provinces law that the *Cubo-Sama* had made to free with their Lords and Masters the *Dairi's* who were, and still are, treated with divine Honours, that thought there might be less Crime in tributing their Law to Ministers, and to let themselves up for Kings and Princes, than to *Tairo Sama*, which is another Title of Honour, that is ascribed by most Writers, and particularly by such as have formed a Design of making the *Cubo-Sama* a real Monarch.

resolved to make another one hereafter; and with this Governor, whether, after the end, it might not be possible to obtain Leave to trade in safe Officer made him this request not advise the English, that as the Sweat once expelled, n into the human Body, so the issued, the Matters which occur, Admittance into his Mind. All the Port, the Governor, his Secretary made them frequent Visits, and a great Number of intricate, and difficult Questions, which gave them it if we except this, they were as much Kindnets and Civility the Season came that they might Governor came on Board, and had taken from them, except declared it was not in his Power ere ready to sail; but at the aim, that he would take care could stir out of Port, till he had, because, as he was informed, between the two Nations, 673, the Wind being fair, the Orders to sail without Delay, fully persuaded in his mind, that intrigues of the Dutch, he might, and have raised his Reputation of his Commission. This of it made in our Favor, and in it that will be ever made, unless should rise in success, to equate the present Race of we shall infer some fact, but before we dismiss this Subject, let the Reader to see the reason which our Exclusion is partly of admitting no Strangers to be blamed, and let in a clear light, examination of this Part will make some others that will render the more easy and obvious than a

ent of Japan was by an absolute were united all these Characters to a Man in the Eyes of his Subjects the Regal Dignity, that of a Father and Director of the People in him; but as here and elsewhere annexed to Blood, to the first Monarchs, who, as the Dairy, which dignities elevated were governed by a sole to whom and of their Forces, and the general in chief, had the Presence near the same Signification with Azem, that is, in the same manner, and at length the *Cubo-Sama* of the Empire, an Title of the most an empty Shadow of Authority.

The *Cubo-Sama's* begin about mentioned great Wars and Differences arose that Multitude of Cities into which this Country was visited by the *Europeans*. The provinces law that the *Cubo-Sama's* our Lords and Masters the *Japan* entered with divine Honours, that Crime in relating their law, and set up for King and Father, other Title of Honor, that particularly by such as I have a proper Name, was then of signing the *Cubo-Sama's* Authority.

ever the *Dairy* had been; but he suffered himself to be diverted from this Scheme by the Invasion of *Corea*.

His Son, whose Name, according to the *Japanese* Chronicles, was *Fide-Jori*, succeeded him, and is the young Prince mentioned by Captain *Saris*, whose Tutors rebelled against him, and who was at last deprived of his Empire by that Monarch, who granted the Privilege of settling in *Japan* to the *English*, and whose Name, according to the Chronicles before-mentioned, was *Jefi-Jas*, which explains the signing of his Letter, and of the Articles; for as to the Title at the Head of them (*Ogobosamma*) it is a Corruption of the Words *Cubo-Sama*. After the Defeat of the young Prince, who in the Letters herein cited is called *Fidas*, he reigned without any farther Dispute; and all the succeeding *Cubo-Sama's*, whom our modern Writers call Emperors of *Japan*, are his direct Descendants. He was the greatest Politician that ever this Country produced, and his Maxims have been readily followed by all his Successors.

These Maxims were to reduce all the little Kingdoms into Provinces of his Empire, which he effected; to extirpate the Christian Religion from a Principle of Policy, that the People might not be induced to take up Arms against their Emperors from a Notion of Religion; and upon the same Principle his Successors expelled all Foreigners, and restrained the *Japanese* from going out of their own Country: For, it was the settled Opinion of this new Legislator, that the only Way for him and his Family to reign in Peace, was to exclude all Thoughts of Novelty, and to keep the People closely to their old Laws and Customs, which he thought were best adapted to the Maintenance of the Imperial Dignity, and to their own Happiness. It, in Exception to this general Rule, the *Chinese*, the *Siamese*, and the *Dutch*, are allowed some kind of Commerce in this Empire, yet it is against the Grain, and contrary to the Maxims of their Policy, as appears plainly by the severe Restrictions under which these Nations are allowed to carry on their Commerce. It is no less certain, that the *Japanese* hate and despise those very Nations with whom they trade, for submitting to these Regulations, which were no less intended to exercise, and even to wear out their Patience, who were to be subjected to them, than for their Security and Preservation, by whom, and for whose sakes, they were imposed.

For it is to be observed, that the Inhabitants of this Empire, considered freely, and without Prejudice, are as wise, as quick-witted, as sensible, as generous, and as well bred a People as there are upon the Face of the Earth. They love Freedom, and understand it much better than all other Nations; they consider their Laws as Fences to that Freedom, and therefore never repine at the Severity with which they are executed; but call that Tyranny, which exceeds the Measure of those Laws, because this proceeds from the Prince himself; whereas Severity, in the Execution of Justice proceeds from the common Depravity of a Nation. In one thing their Law is very remarkable; they have Attainders as well as we; but if a Man expiates his Offence by voluntary Death, his Family suffers nothing in Honour, Person, or Property. This passionate Love of Freedom, joined to their natural Boldness and Contempt of Death, made them love the *English* extremely, of which I can give the Reader a very singular Proof, which at the same time will resolve a Difficulty, that I must confess, when I first entered upon this Section, I thought absolutely beyond the Reach of Solution.

They have amongst them a Title of Honour, which they call *Cami*, which the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Writers thought equivalent to Knighthood; and the *French*, who only transcribe those Authors, render it by the Word Chevalier. This Honour they conferred upon our Countrymen *Adams* and Captain *Saris*; and from hence, beyond Question, they came to be titled the Chevaliers *Adams* and *Saris*; and, I conceive, that it was a Distinction no other Foreigners ever attained. It likewise appears by the Questions put to the last *English* Captain that was there, that these People were not a little chagrined at the Loss of the *English* Factory, for which they could never account; but probably understood it to have risen from their Affection to their Enemies the *Portuguese*, in which Error they were.

without doubt, confirmed by the *Dutch*, who have left no Method untried; and, indeed, who can blame them for it? to keep this profitable Commerce entirely to themselves.

These Observations and Remarks have cost me a great deal of Pains and Trouble; but if they prove entertaining and satisfactory to those judicious Persons, who have hitherto expressed a Regard for this Work, I shall think they are fully repaid; and it is from the Hopes of this that I shall adventure to close this Section with some Thoughts on the Means of recovering this long lost Trade. As we are excluded at present from *Japan*, upon a Principle of Policy only, and not from any actual Misdemeanour, as was the Case of the *Portuguese*, who, under Colour of propagating the Christian Religion, interfered with the civil Concerns of that Nation, and gave their Government a great deal of Trouble, so, I conceive, that the only way to obtain Admittance again into *Japan*, is to remove the Prejudices that have been conceived against us.

This too, I apprehend, might be very easily done, if the Government of that Country were apprized of the Change that has happened in our Constitution, by which it is become impossible that any of our Princes should ally themselves by Marriage, either to the Crowns of *France*, *Spain*, or any other Popish Power. I do not pretend to say, that this would afford them any real Security, or that they would be at all in less Danger from us now than they were before; but then, if it be considered, that they were in no Danger then, and are in no Danger now, but that their Apprehensions flow entirely from an ill-grounded Prejudice, the removing that Prejudice, however ill-grounded, may be of Use to us. In the next place, if the *Dutch* have a great Commerce with the *Chinese* at *Batavia*, and are thereby enabled to furnish a proper Cargo for *Japan*; we have a direct Trade to *China*, and consequently lie under no Impediment that Way, as we did at the Time our former Factory was settled there. But it will be said, How shall the *Japanese* be informed of this? Can it be expected that the *Dutch* will acquaint them? and if they will not, how are they to be informed? Why, truly, that is the very Question; for, I conceive, that if they were once satisfied in that Point, the rest would very easily follow.

The Means therefore that I would propose, should be the landing in the Northern Part of the great Island of *Nippon*, two or three Persons properly instructed, who, under pretence of Shipwreck, might desire and obtain a Passage to the *Dutch* Port; and as this is the biggest of the three Islands that compose the Empire of *Japan*, I conceive, that in their Passage across it, they might have many Opportunities, especially if they took Pains to learn the Language, to inform a People to inquisitive as these are, of the Particulars which it concerns us most that they should know; and it at a proper Season a Ship should be sent from the Coast of *China* to the Port of *Nagazaki*, to enquire after these People, it might afford us an Opportunity of seeing the Passes at least of the *Japanese* once more.

I foresee a Multitude of Objections that may be made to this Scheme, such as, that it will be found extremely hard, if not impossible, to meet with Persons, either capable, or willing to undertake it. But I have considered these Objections, and I do not think they have much Weight. There are to many People, who at this Juncture, slip themselves for the *East-Indies* in the most low and laborious Stations, in hopes of bettering their Fortunes, that I am persuaded, if a Reward of three thousand Pounds, or some such Sum, was proposed to be paid immediately on their coming back, there would not want some who would offer themselves for this Service; and then as to their Capacities, they might be made, and even improved, before they were sent; and they might have such Instructions given them, though not in Writing, for that might hazard all by being found upon them, as might enable them to execute this Commission with great Probability of Success.

That they should at once obtain a Privilege and settled Trade there, is what I am not sanguine enough to expect, nor is it what I mean by the Probability of executing their Commission with Success; but that they might be able to learn some News of the *Japanese*, and carry them some News of us, which to come, and with proper Helps, might

come to somewhat, is what I cannot help thinking very probable; at least it is apparent, that if some Attempt of this kind be not made, we can never hope for any thing; and to depend in a Matter of Trade, is incompatible with the true Spirit of a trading Nation, and with ours more especially. For after all, what is there in this more extraordinary than what was actually performed by Mr. Adams? He came to *Japan* helpless, and without Friends; his own Merit recommended him, and made him Friends, such Friends as enabled him to do the great Things that he did; Things to the full as great or greater than those we expect from the Persons that should be now sent; and therefore, whoever will have this Method set aside, for want of Probability, is bound to offer a Method more probable, and in that Case I shall most readily submit.

But if, while we consider all Attempts of this sort as chimerical or impracticable, any other Nation should step in, and either expel the *Dutch*, or share with them in that Commerce, it will be a very high Reflection upon us, who may pretend to it with at least as great, if not greater Hopes than any other. That this Conjecture of some other Nation's making an Attempt of this Nature is not absolutely wild or groundless, may appear from the Endeavours of the *Russians*, who have actually reached in their Discoveries some Islands, the Inhabitants of which make use of Money Ranped with *Japanese* Characters; from whence it is with great Probability conjectured, that they are Vassals at least, if not Subjects, to that Empire. There are other Nations too, as will appear by the succeeding Sections, which have taken their Way to the *East-Indies*, and the Coasts of *Corea*, though it was thought they laboured under insuperable Difficulties, and why they should not be able to extend their Commerce farther, and even reach *Japan*, is what to good Reason can be assigned to prove, any more than I apprehend any solid Cause can be shewn why we should not endeavour to be before hand with them in a Point of such Consequence.

But, perhaps, some Critick may demand, how do you know it is of such Consequence? How can you take upon you to assert so confidently things relating to a Place and People at such a Distance? How can you tell that all these Points have not been long ago considered by better Judges than yourself, and such Projects as you propose upon sublimated Motives rejected? or what Reason is there that you should expect the Schemes you form in your Closet should have for Rules for such as are better acquainted with these Matters than yourself? I am very sensible, that there are a vast number of People in the World very capable of throwing out such Reflections as these, and I know too, that many of them do it against the Conviction of their own Minds, and merely from a Spirit of Envy. But, however, as to a Question may have a bad Effect on the Minds of a better sort of People, by which I mean Persons of liberal Dispositions, and who really wish well to the *British*, and yet are led away by such idle Animadversions, for want of a due Measure of Attention, I think it may not be amiss, for their sakes, to examine such Notions as are here advanced; that however specious they may appear at first Sight, they have in reality no Foundation.

In the first Place I must observe, that the Theory of Trade in any way was acquired from Books and Enquiries, and not from actual Experience; and that Experience is the only true Guide to Property; and such as have been successful in the pursuit, have been formed by frequent Mistakes, and by reason of upon Facts, have been able to draw juster Judgments, with respect to Commerce, than those who, without receiving the Facts upon which to reason, are led to conjecture to the Point, and to answer the Question, so far as they regard this Subject, by a Report of their Dispute, since the same Advantages are not to be had from any other Cause. If we know the Situation, and Extent of a Country, the Nature of her Soil, Products, and Manufactures, we can with Certainty, and with the utmost Certainty determine, whether it is a Country worth visiting, and what kind of Commodities are like to have vent there. In this there is nothing strange or wonderful, nothing that requires a very extraordinary Degree of Penetration or Sagacity. For, in wintery Climates, Men live, they must have Food and Rai-

ment, and in proportion, as they are civilized, they will not only desire the Necessaries, but aspire also to the Conveniences of Life, and what we call the Instruments of Luxury, which may also be suited to their Humours, if we have a tolerable Account of the Manners and Customs of the People.

We know very well what Commodities and Manufactures of ours are taken off in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and Part of *France*; and therefore, when we know that the best Part of the Empire of *Japan* lies in pretty near the same Situation, we cannot be much at a Loss for the Goods the Inhabitants of that Country are like to take off our Hands, in case we had an open Trade with them; but, to be more certain in this Case, we have it in our Power to learn what the *Dutch* carry thither; and upon Enquiry, we shall find, that they are chiefly Scarlet, and other fine Cloths, Cambrics, Serges, and our own Kerseys, together with some silk Manufactures, such as rich Damasks, Brocades, and Night-Gowns, and in general, a great Variety of Linen, Wool-len, and Cotton Cloths, together with Glass and Stone-Wares, Coral, and many other things. We may therefore with great Confidence pronounce, that if the Way were once opened to us, we might be able to vend a vast Quantity of the natural Commodities and Manufactures of our Country there.

Besides, since the Discoveries made by the *Russians*, it is very certain, that the Countries to the North of *Japan*, particularly the great Peninsula of *Kamtschatka*, which perhaps is the Continent of *Yeddo*, is very thickly peopled by Inhabitants that are much inclined to Trade, and who, from the Coldness of their Climate, must necessarily stand in need of our coarser Cloths, and other Manufactures of the like kind.

If the vast Distance between us and them be objected, let us consider how the *Dutch* carry on this Trade, who are not at all nearer them than we; for if they can manage it with Ease, the same Method surely will be as practicable for us. They fit out their Ships from their Settlements in the *Indies*, viz. *Batavia* and *Manila*, and as we have Settlements in the *Indies* too, our Ships may be fitted out from thence; and if even our Settlements are at too great a Distance, this is no insuperable Objection, since there seems to be no Cause why we should not attempt at least to open this Trade from the Coast of *China*, where we had formerly a Factory in the Island of *Cheusan*, of which I have given some Account, and there is no doubt, but that we might either obtain that, or another more convenient again, if we apply for it.

As to the Sentiments of People who are prejudiced by the *East-Indies*, and resisted a considerable Time, there is no Reason, suppose their Notions are as to mine (which however is not the Fact) to give any Weight to them. They may have other Motives for their Opinions, than those which they think fit to discover; and if after all, there should be ever so good Reasons advanced why the *East-India* Company should not endeavour to acquire this Trade; yet I cannot apprehend, that what I have offered, ought to be at all affected thereby. It is very certain, that if the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country are exported, that Exportation will turn to the general Benefit of the Nation. This was the great Intent of the great *De Witt*, with respect to the *East-India* Company in *Holland*. He made no Difficulty in declaring, that how useful soever that Company might be to the Republick in its Infancy, there might nevertheless be a Time when the Interests of the Company might conflict with those of the State; and it thus might be the Case, that what may be to elicit here.

It is very easy to conceive there may be good Reasons to induce even the greatest Companies to quit the Commerce, because this will put it in their Power to make it the better, and to render it more advantageous; and there never can be any Reason assigned, that will prevent the Commerce of any Nation. The more of her Commodities and Manufactures a Nation can vend, the more People she must necessarily employ at Home; and the more her Shipping must increase, and the more her Trade flourish, it will never fail to multiply her Wealth.

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SECTION XXXIII.

An historical Account of the Intercourse between the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, and the People in the East-Indies: Containing likewise a compleat History of the East-India Company, from its Erection under Queen Elizabeth of glorious Memory, and of the several Alterations that have been made therein down to the present Reign.

- 1. An Account of the Voyage of Sigheimus, Bishop of Shireburn, his Voyage to the East-Indies in the Reign of King Alfred, and of some other ancient Travellers. 2. Of the Manner in which the Venetians imported Indian Commodities into this Kingdom, to the Time of Queen Elizabeth. 3. Of several Matters previous to the erecting the East-India Company in her Reign, with a large Account of her Charter to that Company, 4. A succinct History of the several Voyages undertaken under that Charter, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James. 5. Of the Transactions of the English East-India Company, from their obtaining a new Charter from King James I. to the Time of the unfortunate Business at Amboyna. 6. The Account published of that Tragedy by the English East-India Company. 7. The Dutch Relation of the same bloody Business. 8. Remarks made by Order of the East-India Company upon this Account of the Dutch. 9. The History of the East-India Company, continued to the End of the Reign of Charles I. 10. The Prosecution of the same Subject to the Close of the Civil Wars. 11. An Account of the new Charter granted to the Company by King Charles II. and of the Progress of their Affairs during his Reign. 12. Of the Charter granted by King James II. and of what followed to the Time of his Exclusion. 13. A brief View of the State of the two East-India Companies, and the Disputes between them under the Reign of King William III. 14. The Conclusion of those Disputes, and the Settlement of the present East-India Company. 15. The Affairs of the Company, from the Time of this new Settlement to the Close of the Reign of Queen Anne. 16. The same History pursued down to the present Time. 17. A clear Prospect of the present State of the Affairs of the English in the East-Indies.

AS we have now passed through the greatest Part of those Subjects, which it was proposed should be handled in this Chapter, we come regularly, and in that Order which was originally laid down, to speak of the several Companies that have been formed in Europe, for the Management of the Commerce of the East Indies, which Method, as I conceive, sooner or later, has been followed by every Nation, that since the Discovery of the Passage by the Cape of Good Hope, hath been concerned therein. We will begin with the English, and with all the Accuracy that is in our Power, trace the History of their Commerce into these distant Parts from the earliest Accounts we have of them down to the present times. But it will be requisite first of all to observe, that there is good Reason to believe our first Knowledge of these Countries was derived to us from the Romans, at such Time as this Island made a Part of their extensive Empire; but I do not find any Evidence to prove, or indeed to much as a Hint to suggest, that as Commerce was attempted with that Country from hence before the Close of the ninth Century.

At that Time there sat upon the English Throne (as it is a Truth, I hope I may speak it without Offence) the greatest and wisest Prince that was ever placed thereon; I mean the famous Alfred, the Glory of whose Reign, even the Confusion of succeeding Times, and the Obscurity of our ancient Histories, have not buried in Oblivion. He, Anno Domini 853, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, sent one of his favourite Ecclesiasticks, whose Name was Sigheimus, to carry his Arms to the poor distressed Christians of Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew in the Indies. The Fact is, indeed, pretty extraordinary; and if we had not as clear

and distinct Evidence to support it, as any one Point in our ancient History, I should not have mentioned it; but as the Saxon Annals, which have been always allowed to contain as fair and as authentic an Account of Facts as any History whatever, sets down this as a Passage, which certainly fell out in that Year; and as this Sigheimus did not only perform that Voyage, according to the Instructions of his Royal Master, but afterwards returned home, and became Bishop of Sherburn, or Sherburn, in Dorsetshire, and left in the Treasury of his Church, as William of Malmshburgh hath recorded, both Spices and Jewels, which he brought back with him out of that Country; I see no Reason at all to doubt or question a Fact for which we have all the Evidence that the most scrupulous Critick can desire.

But it must, however, be confessed, that though this Intercourse was so early begun, yet the most diligent Enquirers into Subjects of this Nature, such as Eden and Hickoy, have been able to find no Footsteps of Continuance, since they immediately descend to much later Times, and speak particularly of the Travels of an Englishman, whose Name is not mentioned, through the Country of the Tartars; and of Sir John Mandeville. But, however, though no such Footsteps appear as to the Voyages or Travels of particular Persons, yet beyond a Question, there was not in those Days an entire Stop put to the Commerce between the West and East Parts of the World, or the English Nation entirely deprived of Indian Commodities.

2. If it be enquired how any Certainty can be had of this, or by what Channel such a Trade could be carried on, I must take leave to remind them, that when the Goths and Vandals overturned the Roman Empire, that Commerce through

through the Red Sea by *Alexandria* crested, and was afterwards carried on by the Way of *Trebezon*, *Damascus*, and *Aleppo*, which encreased the Trade of the free Cities or States of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Pisa*, &c. And those Goods were not only vendid in all the Countries bordering upon the *Mediterranean*, but were sent to *England*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, and all over the *Baltick*, which gave Encouragement to the Traffick of *Bruges*, where the Commodities of the North, as Corn, Naval Stores, &c. were lodged in the Summer, and where those Ships took in the Commodities from the *Levant* back again to the *Hans-Towns*; and those Ships that came from the *Levant*, transported the Northern Goods from *Bruges* into the *Mediterranean*.

Such was the Course of the Trade then, and it is very clear to most old Writers, that Spices and other *Indian* Commodities were never totally Strangers in this Island, nor indeed could they, since we had an annual Vessel, and ten times more from *Venice*, well supplied with such rich Goods; and by this means, though such Commodities might be dear, since it was in the Power of the State of *Venice* to raise them almost to what Prices she would, yet we had them regularly, and in considerable Plenty, by this Method, down to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the last great Carack, which came from that Country, was lost upon our Coast, of which Sir *William Monson* was an Eye-witness; and has given of it, as he does of all things, a most clear, entertaining, and instructive Account, which I shall not trouble the Reader's Information, and my own Justification, I shall not trouble, as it gives a clearer, fuller, and more authentick Account of these Points, than is any where else to be met with.

The *Venetians* engrossed the whole Trade upon those Seas, and furnished us with the rich Merchandize of *Turky*, *Persia*, and *India*, at what Rate they pleased themselves; and yet this was not all, for they laboured to make us Strangers to the *Great Turke*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering Countries, and brought them to that Ignorance of our Nation, that they thought *England* to be a Town in the Kingdom of *London*. The *Venetians* sent yearly their *Argelles* to *Southampton*, which Town enjoyed a Charter from the Kings of this Land, which was wrested out of their Hands by the Earl of *Leicester*, to the utter Decay of that Town; and the *Argelles* since then have become Strangers in *England*, the last whereat took her leave with an unfortunate End, which my Eyes were Witnesses to in the Month of *October*, 1557.

The Spanish Ship of no more than one hundred Tuns, being richly Laden with the accustomed Commodities they used to serve the Kingdom with, and being come in the Channel, as high as the *Isle of Wight*, which I and the *English* Pilot visibly made; this Pilot, called *Ferrier*, who with his excellent Skill, was not long before redeemed out of the *Turkish* Captivity, by the *Venetians*, to serve in this Voyage. Upon this good Land-fall the Pilot put the *English* in hopes, many of them being of great Courage and Eager, the next Morning to harbour themselves with the Shore that Evening; but the Gentleman being impatient of Delays, and the Land appearing unto them, they thought themselves free from all Delays, which is the common Ignorance of many that know not the Seas.

But to be short, they compelled the Pilot by Force to put in at the *Needle*, the westernmost Part of the *Isle of Wight*. When the poor Man, neither with Persecution nor Tears, could prevail, he did his best to enter the Channel of the *Needle*; but such was the Greatness of the Waves, and the Unwieldiness of the Ship, not answering her Helm, that she struck upon the Shingles, where she, her Goods, and Company, except even poor Creatures, perished. The Sea betwixt the Island and the main Land was crusted, by her Loss, with several Swarms of Merchandize. What was saved, was not worth speaking of. I had the Fortune to light on two Butts of Mustardine floating on the Sea, for then was I riding at *Coventry*.

In the first Ship I ever went Captain of, I found these two Butts of Mustardine a great Help to us in our Voy-

age, when we were reduced to Extremity for want of Victuals. About this Time our Merchants of *London* began to take into Consideration these great and inestimable Riches brought into the Land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who absolutely enjoyed the Trade of *India*; and a great Part of the Wealth which came out of *India* and *Indra* was retained from them to us. They desired how such Commodities might come to our Hands by a more direct Way than to be served as we were at second hand, and therefore resolved to make an Overture by Favour of the Queen, and her Letters to the *Great Turke*, for an immediate Traffick from *England* to *Turky*, and his Dominions, and so home again, with *Smugglers* and Subjects, without being beholden to others.

These Letters were sent by her Majesty, and received with great Humanity and Courtey by the *Grand Signior*, as appears by his Letters yet extant. He could not give more Respect and Honour to her Majesty, than by shewing a Willingness to embrace her great Propositions of Trade; and in Conclusion, Articles were agreed upon, and a Grant of great Privileges and Immunities to her Majesty's Subjects, which have since continued, and been peaceably enjoyed. We may reckon from this Time the Decay of State in *Mary*, of the *Venetian* Trade: For *Argelles*, which were wont to visit us, are now unknown to us, and we are the Wealth they were wont to reap. The Commodities of *Persia*, and the *East Indies*, are brought by ourselves in our own Vessels directly out of *Turky*, where we have obtained as great a Freedom as we can desire. Such Places as the *Venetians* were wont to visit, as in their Ships to transport from Port to Port, we now absolutely enjoy that Privilege; for as *Strangers* are more desirous to put their Goods into *English* bottoms, than theirs.

Thus from the Conclusion of this Trade, we may conceive both the Nature and the Importance of it, and the prodigious Change it made, as well in the Affairs of the *Venetians*, as in our own, when it came to be managed on by the Subjects of *Great-Britain*: Yet here it is necessary to distinguish between this and the Trade of the *Indies*; for, though we found a Way to ourselves from this Dependance upon the *Venetians*, yet was it by breaking in upon their *Levant* Trade at first, and then by failing directly to these Eastern Parts, which was a Work of great Time and Labour, and brought about by a great Variety of Accidents, with the Progress of which the *English* Reader cannot but be extremely surprised, since it will show him the great and speedy Progress of our Maritime Strength and Power at Sea.

The first Person, so far as I have been able to learn, that ever proposed the establishing the *East-India* Trade in *England*, was one Mr. *Robert Thorne*, a Merchant of *London*, who settled at *Seville* in *Spain*, and resided there many Years, gained a peculiar Knowledge of the Majesty which both the *East* and *West Indies* were discovered. This very judicious Gentleman, who from his *Voyages* and constant, appears to have drawn his Knowledge, in a great Degree, from Books and Experience, applied himself about the Year 1527, to his Majesty King *Henry VIII*, to whom he represented very fully, yet in few Words, the vast Advantages that would accrue to his Subjects by a free Commerce to the *East Indies*; and to suit his Propositions, the great Genius and high Spirit of that Prince, he made them not only to encourage this new Navigation, but to support it by a new Rout, for as the *Portuguese* had yielded the Discoveries to the *Falls*, and the *Spaniards* to the *West*, he was ambitious that the *English* Nation should find a Way to the *Indies* of their own, and that by their own.

But it is worthy of observation, that there is a remarkable Instance to be seen in the *Portuguese* Discoveries, that they were so early aware of the insuperable Difficulties that lay in the way of finding a Passage to the North East, and therefore proposed very feebly, and for good Reason, sailing directly North, or at least very near it, from which he thought many Advantages might be gained, as many Inconveniences avoided. As for instance, he conceived that this might be undertaken at such a Season of the Year as to enjoy the Benefit of the half Year's Pay in that Climate, and he thought it absurd and ridiculous to attempt

to Extremity for want of
our Merchants of *London*
these great and ineluctable
the Land by the *Venturers*
enjoyed the Trade of *India*,
with which came out of *India*
them to us. They desired
ought come to our Hands, by a
served as we were attended
to make an Overture for
Letters to the *Venturers*,
from *England* to *Turkey*, and
again, with Ships of her
holden to others.

by her Majesty, and received
Courtly by the *Venturers*,
letters yet extant. He courted
Honour to her Majesty, than
to embrace an eternal Pro-
in Conclusion, Articles were
of great Privileges and In-
Subjects, which have since
peaceably enjoyed. We may
the Decay of State in Matters
for *Arges*, which were wont
down to us, and we are to
reap. The Commodities of
are brought by ourselves in
out of *Turkey*, where we have
them as we can desire. Such
were wont to take flight
from Port to Port, we were
awile; for as soon as we
our Goods into *London*.

of this Trade, we may easily
and the Importation of such
made, as well as the *Merchandise*
in, when it can be had in
Britain: Yet there is to be
seen this and the true Com-
we found a Way to trade
upon the *Indies*, yet was
Levant Trade at full, and the
the Eastern Part, which was a
Labour, and therefore ably
with the *Portuguese*, who
but be extremely profitable,
great and speedy Progress
of Power at Sea.

As I have been able to find
publishing the *History* of the
East-India Company, a Merchant of *Lon-*
Spain, and tells us that many
knowledge of our Matters in
Indies were discovered. That
who from his own private
own his Knowledge, and great
experience, applied to our
King *Henry VIII.* when
yet in few Words, the vast
to his Subjects by a Charter
and to suit his Purpose, the
of that Prince, he acquainted
new Navigation, by which the
the *Portuguese* had already
and the *Spaniards* to the *West*,
the *English* Nation should
in their own, and that by a
observation, that there was
verable Difficulties that
Passage to the *South* Indies,
possibly, and for good Reason,
at least very near it, from which
travellers might be gained, and many

As for instance, he conceived
taken at such a Season of the Year,
a half Year's Time in that
absurd and ridiculous to suppose

that the Seas were frozen under the North Pole, at a Time
when the Sun, from its long Continuance on the Horizon,
must have such prodigious Force. He likewise judged,
that whatever Difficulties might occur in the Beginning of
such a Passage, they must be quickly and certainly got over,
and be fully recompensed, by coming soon on the Coast of
Tartary and *Japan*, and so to *China* and the *Manilas*. To
say the Truth, if we consider the Time when this Propo-
sal was made, the Sagacity and Penetration of this Gentle-
man can scarce be enough commended or admired, since
it is very certain, that if ever any Discovery is made on
this Side, it must be made by this Method.

But, how wise or how practicable soever Mr. *Thorn's*
Scheme might be, I do not find that it was ever considered
in any other Light, than as a Project too bold to be put in
Execution; and to say the Truth, the first Person that
gave us any Light into this Navigation was Sir *Francis*
Drake, in the Year 1578. The very next Year Mr. *Stevens*
went from *Lisbon* to *Goa* by the Cape of *Good Hope*,
and wrote a large Account of his Voyage while he resided
at *Goa*. A. D. 1586, the famous *Candish* made his Voyage
round the World, which having clearly opened a Pas-
sage to these Parts, Captain *George Raymond*, in a Ship of
his own, called the *Penelope*, accompanied by two others,
called the *Merchant-Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*,
sailed in the Year 1591 for the *East-Indies*, not with a
View to trade, but to cruise upon the *Portuguese*. His
Voyage was extremely unfortunate; for Captain *Raymond*
found himself obliged, at the Cape of *Good Hope*, to send
home the *Merchant-Royal*, with the sick Men that had
in the three Ships. Having doubled that Cape, and sailed
about sixty Leagues, he was lost in the *Penelope*; so that
Captain *Jes Lanchester*, in the *Edward Bonaventure*, was
the only one that performed this Voyage, and that too
with very indifferent Fortune; for after a dangerous Voyage
to the *East-Indies*, where he was obliged to pass through the
West-Indies, where having lost his Ship, he with much Dif-
ficulty, by the Assistance of a French Privateer he met with
in those Parts, returned home.

But in this Space of Time, though no *English* Ships had
been sent to the *Indies* for Commerce, abundance of *Eng-*
lishmen had been there in different Services, and on their
Return home, gave such an Account of those Countries, and
of the Ease with which the *English* might settle Factories,
and establish a regular Trade thither, that many great Men,
and rich Merchants, began to entertain a Desire of estab-
lishing such a Commerce; and that they might do this ef-
fectually, they applied themselves to Queen *Elizabeth* for
a Charter, and she accordingly granted them one, which was
dated the 31st of December 1600, in the forty-third Year
of her Reign. By this Charter she created them a Body
Corporate, by the Title of the Governor and Company of
Merchants of *London* trading to the *East-Indies*; granted
them a common Seal, appointed *Thomas Smyth*, Esq.
Alderman of *London*, their first Governor, and established
a Court of twenty Directors to be chosen annually on the
21st of July, or within six Days after. She likewise granted
them Authority to make Bye-laws, allowed them to export
Goods Custom free for four Years, permitted them to
export thirty thousand Pounds in Foreign Coin, with Li-
cense to do the same in every Voyage, provided they
brought that Sum by their Trade out of Foreign Countries
into this Kingdom. This Charter was exclusive, and the
Queen bound herself not to grant any Charter to other
Merchants for the Space of fifteen Years; but with this
Proviso, that if within that Space this Charter should ap-
pear to be in any respect detrimental to the Publick, it
should, upon two Years Warning, under the Privy-Seal
become void; but if from Experience it should appear,
that this new Corporation was a publick Benefit, then she
promised to renew their Charter, with such additional
Grants in their Favour, as should appear requisite.

I have been the more particular with respect to this Point,
because I look upon it that there never was any publick
Act of this Nature better considered, or drawn with greater
Wisdom and Foresight, both for the Benefit of the Adventur-
ers, and the publick Good; by which I mean the In-
terest of the whole Nation, Circumstances which ought to
be equally considered in all such Cases, since whatever the

Design may be of the Persons concerned in such Adven-
tures, it ought to be the Care of the Government, that
even these exclusive Companies should be calculated for
the common Advantage, and be so guarded, as that Per-
sons concerned therein may never have it in their Power
to sacrifice the general Interest of a People to their parti-
cular Profit, and private Advantage.

It was in Consequence of this Charter that the Com-
pany immediately began to raise a joint Stock for carrying
their Project into Execution; and this with such Industry,
that in a very short Space their Treasurer had in his Hands
seventy-two thousand Pounds; upon which it was resolved
to fit out five able Ships to begin their Correspondence in
that Part of the World. These were the *Dragon* of six
hundred Tuns, Admiral of the Squadron: The *Hector*,
Vice-Admiral, of three hundred Tuns: The *Suffolk*, of
two hundred Tuns: The *Swallow*, of the same Burthen:
The *Gash*, a Store Ship, of a hundred and thirty Tuns.
The Complement of Men in all their Ships were four hun-
dred and eighty, and the Expence of equipping them
amounted to forty-five thousand Pounds, and their Cargo
took up the other twenty-seven thousand Pounds. On the
2d of May 1601, they sailed from *Torrey*, and without any
considerable Accident continued their Voyage to the *Indies*,
where Captain *James Lancaster*, who commanded with the
Title of Admiral, made a Treaty with the King of *Alber*,
sent a Pinnace to the *Moluccas*, and erected a Factory in
the Island of *Java*; after which the Admiral returned
safely, and with good Profit, into *England*.

This was the only Voyage that was undertaken by the
Company in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; but upon her
Death, they found a very kind Master, as well as power-
ful Protector in her Successor King *James*, who from his
Accession to the Throne, shewed them all the Countenance,
and afforded them all the Assistance that they could desire,
which, with the Profits of their first Voyage, engaged them
to undertake a second in the Year 1603, Sir *Henry*
Middleton, in the *Red Dragon*, having the Title of Admiral,
the *Hector* Vice-Admiral, the *Swallow*, and the *Swallow*.
These Ships visited the *Moluccas*, and the Island of *Java*,
were well received by all the *Indian* Princes, but met with
very indifferent Usage from the *Dutch*, who by an already
to lose all Sense of Gratitude to the Nation that had pre-
ferred them, endeavoured all that in them lay to misrepre-
sent the *English* to the *Indians*, as a cruel, unjust, and am-
bitious People, who meant not to trade with them fairly
for their Commodities, but to seize their Country, and to
take them by Force. That this Disposition in the *Dutch*
did not take Rise, either from their Hatred or Contempt
of King *James*, but was bred in them by their own Self-
love, and Aversion to all other Nations, appears most
clearly from the Letter of the King of *Ternate* to King
James by Sir *Henry Middleton*, in which he expressly al-
erts, that the *Dutch* had used their utmost Endeavours to
root out the good Opinion which himself and his Subjects
entertained of the *English* from the Time that Sir *Francis*
Drake had visited their Island; and thus those Disputes
began, of which we shall have so much to say in the Course
of this Section.

When Sir *Henry Middleton* sailed from *Bantam*, he re-
ceived from the King a Letter for his *British* Majesty,
and a Present of Bazar Stones. In their Passage home
they met with the *Hector* bearing off of the Cape of
Good Hope, with only one Man alive, by whom they
were informed of the Loss of the *Swallow*, and a Com-
pany with this Ship they arrived safely in the *Dutch*,
May 6, 1606. The very next Year the Company under-
took a third Voyage, in which three Ships only were em-
ployed, viz. the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Swallow*,
under the Command of Captain *William Keeling*. Their
Voyage was very successful, especially in the *Indies*,
where they were, notwithstanding, extremely troubled by the
Dutch. This did not hinder them, however, from bring-
ing home a very valuable Cargo of all Sorts of Spices, with
which they arrived in the *Dutch*, May 15, 1607, with
this extraordinary Mark of good Fortune, that their
whole Voyage out and home, they lost not so much as a
single Man. With this Captain *Keeling* went out the
Hulian Hawkin, with the Title of the King's Envoy, and for

to the Great Mogul, by whom he was very kindly received, and by his prudent Management a good Correspondence was established between the two Courts.

In the Spring of the Year 1607, the Company sent the *Ascension* and the *Union* to the *Red-Sea*, and the Coast of *Arabia*, which, however, proved but indifferent in their Success. In April 1609, Captain *David Middleton*, in the *i expedition*, was sent by the Company to the *Moluccas*, where the *Dutch* now began to act as Masters, and had a Design of seizing the Captain's Ship, which by his good Management he prevented, and brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine Tuns of Nutmegs, and the like Quantity of Mace, besides Pepper and other valuable Goods, which I conceive to have been the most prosperous Voyage that had been undertaken by the Company.

5. The *East-India* Company now began to make a great Figure, to employ a vast Number of Men, and to export large Quantities of *English* Goods and Manufactures, so that they conceived, that though their former Charter was not expired, yet upon due Application his Majesty might be prevailed upon to fulfil the Promise of his Royal Predecessor, inasmuch as they had already fulfilled the Terms upon which that Promise was made, and had rendered it manifest, that the continuing this Corporation would be for the common Benefit of the whole *English* Nation. Upon a Representation to this Purpose, his Majesty was graciously pleased, in the Month of *May* 1609, to enlarge their first Charter, in the Manner they desired, and to make it perpetual; upon which the Company began to build a very large fine Ship, of the Burthen of one thousand two hundred Tuns, which is taken Notice of even by our general Historians, because this was the first great Ship that had been built in this Kingdom, the Custom having hitherto been to buy them ready built in some of the *Hanse-Towns*; and it is farther observed both by *John Stowe* and *Sir William Monson*, that the *Jesus* of *Lubeck*, which *Sir John Hawkins* took in the *West-Indies*, was the last great Ship which was either builded or bought beyond the Seas. They likewise built a new Pinnace of two hundred and fifty Tuns to attend the great Ship; and when both were ready to be launched, the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and a great Number of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, went down to *Deptford*, where they dined on Board the great Ship, and were all entertained in *China*; the Dishes and Plates, after the Dinner was over, though then great Curiosities, and of high Price were left to be taken away by the Servants, or whoever else had a mind to them.

His Majesty, at the Time of launching the Ship, called it the *Trade's Increase*, and gave the Pinnace the Name of the *Pepper Horn*. In the succeeding Spring the Company fitted out for their sixth Voyage this new Ship and Pinnace, together with two others, under the Command of *Sir Henry Middleton*, Knight, at the Expence of eighty thousand Pounds. In 1611, they sent a single Ship, and the succeeding Spring three Ships, under the Command of Captain *John Davis*, at the Expence of threescore thousand Pounds.

The *Portuguese* at this Time endeavoured to hinder the *English* from trading on the Coast of *India*, which obliged the Company to be at more than usual Pains and Expence in equipping out their next Squadron, which sailed in the Year 1611, and consisted of four large Ships, of which the biggest was the *Pragen*, commanded by Captain *Thomas Best*, who arrived safely at *Surat* in six Months, and settled a Factory there, which he had hardly done before the Viceroy at *Goa* fitted out a large Fleet to destroy him. It consisted of four great Gallies, and twenty-six Gallies, in which were five thousand Men, and one hundred and thirty Pieces of Cannon; but Captain *Best*, though he had with him only a small Pinnace, resolved to maintain his Factory, and in Defence of it, engaged and defeated this *Portuguese Armada*, in which Action they lost twelve hundred Men. After this the *Portuguese* never more disturbed the *English* upon that Coast; and as for Captain *Best*, when he had settled every thing to his good liking at *Surat*, he sailed to *Java*, and having taken a valuable Cargo on Board there, returned safely to *London* in the Month of *July* 1614.

In this Year Captain *Saris* also returned with a very rich Lading, and *Sir Thomas Smith*, Governor of the *East-India* Company, having represented to the King, that they had left *Mr. Paul Canning*, as their Agent, at the Court of the Great Mogul; but that they conceived it would be for the Benefit of the Company, and for the Honour of the Nation, if his Majesty would be pleased to send a Person of Distinction, with the Title of his Ambassador, to that great Prince; to this his Majesty consented, and appointed *Sir Thomas Kece*, Knight, his Ambassador. The Company also, to shew their Gratitude, fitted out a fine Squadron of four large Ships, under the Command of Captain *Keeling*, who carried *Sir Thomas Roe* late to *India*, where he prosecuted his Affairs with great Success. The *English* and *Dutch* Companies in the *Indies* were now grown so powerful, that they began to extend the Sovereignty of their respective Countries over several Places in the *Indies*, and the *English* particularly procured from the Inhabitants of the Island of *Banda* a Surrender of themselves to the Crown of *England*, which they did by a formal Instrument, which, however, did not hinder the *Dutch*, who alledged, that they had prior Claims upon those Countries, from endeavouring to make themselves Masters of them. The *English* on the other hand proceeded in extending their Dominions in the *East-Indies*, without considering that they wanted a Force to maintain them, and procured likewise the Surrender of *Lanore* by another solemn Instrument, under the Hands of the Natives, dated the 24th of *November* 1620.

It is very certain that all this was very well designed, and that the *English* Company, if they had been strong enough, would by this means have procured to themselves a very large Share of the Spice Trade; but as it was, they only opened a Way to their own Destruction. While this was doing in the *Indies*, there was a Trade carried on in *Europe* for the settling all the Differences between the two Companies, of which, as there is nothing said in any of our general Histories, it is requisite that we should give a distinct Account here.

There had been two Commissions issued by King *James* for Treaties, for the Regulation of these Differences, the one in the Year 1613, when the Conferences were held at *London*, the second in 1615, when the Negotiation was carried on at the *Hague*; but both these proved ineffectual, and therefore a new Treaty was had in the Year 1618, between Commissioners appointed by each of the *East-India* Companies, *English* and *Dutch*, under the Inspection and Direction of Ministers Plenipotentiaries from the King of *Great-Britain*, and the States General. The Treaty between the two Companies was concluded on the 17th of *July*, by which it was agreed, that all past Offences on either Side should be buried in Oblivion, that both Companies should trade freely upon their own Stocks, to their own Benefit, but with a mutual Regard to each other. Herein it was agreed, that the Price of Pepper, and other Spices, should be amicably settled between them; that the *Molucca* Islands, together with those of *Banda* and *Amboyna*, should belong to the *English* and *Dutch*; but in such a Manner, that the *English* should have but one third of the *Indies*, and the *Dutch* two-thirds.

That the Expence of the Fortifications in those Parts should be defrayed by a Duty or Imposition on the Spices exported from them; that a Council of Defence should be erected, composed of Members of both Companies, who should provide such Ships of War as are mentioned in the Treaty, for the joint Defence of both Companies; that the Fortresses erected in those Parts should remain in the Hands of those who are possessed of them; and that such as had been acquired by both Companies, should remain to be possessed by them both, and be garrisoned by *Dutch* and *Dutch* Troops, according as this Matter should be settled and adjusted by the Council of Defence before mentioned; that for the future the whole Trade of the *Indies* should be free to both Nations, and that neither should attempt to shut out the other by Fortifications, or Treaties, with the Natives; that to render this Treaty more effectual, his *Britannick* Majesty, and the States General should be most humbly desired not to erect any other Com-

panies during the Time fixed for the Continuance of this Treaty.

That if in any of the Factories of the *Indies* belonging either to the *English* or *Dutch*, it should fall out by Death or other Accidents, that none should be left to take care of the Effects in the Factory, that then they should be preserved by, and justly accounted for by the Members of the other Factory; that this Treaty shall endure for twenty Years, and in case any Disputes shall arise notwithstanding thereof, which cannot be either decided or accommodated by the Councils of the said Companies, or *Britannick* Majesty, and the States-General, are humbly desired to take the same under their Cognizance, and finally, to adjust and determine them. All those Articles were to be faithfully and inviolably observed on both Sides, according to the Intention of the said Treaty, and the same to be ratified by his Majesty in one Month. This Treaty was accordingly ratified by King *James*, on the 16th of *July* 1619, under his own Hand, and sealed with his Broad-Seal: In this Ratification his Majesty promised not to grant any Charter or Powers to any other Company during the Continuance of this Treaty.

One would have imagined that all Things must now have gone on harmoniously and peaceably, and that an End had been put to all the Disputes between the *English* and *Dutch* Companies for twenty Years at least: But it fell out quite otherwise; for the *Dutch* General of the *East-India* Company having a Fleet of large Ships under his Command, attacked *Lanore*, and having defeated the Natives, fired the Town, plundered the *English* Factory, took away the Cloth, Money, and Bullion, belonging to the *East-India* Company, together with twenty-three thousand Pounds Weight of Mace, and one hundred and sixty thousand Pounds of Nutmegs. The *English* Factors that were settled there, were stripp'd naked, bound, beaten, thrown over the Town-Wall, and afterwards dragged through the Streets in Chains. The Factory of *Poslaroon* had the same Fate; and thus all things were in a worse State after this Treaty than they were before, in the *Indies*. What seems to be most extraordinary and astonishing is, that the *Dutch East-India* Company published in *Holland* a Defence or Vindication of these Proceedings, in which they alledge, that having a prior Right to these Islands, this could not be taken away by any subsequent Act of the Inhabitants, who were no longer their own Masters; that this War was prosecuted against the Natives as Principals, and against the *English* as Auxiliaries only. To this the *English* published an Answer, in which they absolutely denied, that the Inhabitants of the Island of *Banda* ever submitted themselves to the *Dutch*, and insisted on their legal Title to that Country.

But it does not appear, that the Government ever interfered properly in this Affair, or demanded just Satisfaction from the States of *Holland*, which might perhaps be owing to the perplexed Circumstances of our Administration, and the Differences that had risen between King *James* and his Parliament. But if this ill Usage was hard to be born, were followed soon after much worse, when, to take from the *English* the small Remains of the Spice Trade, and to monopolize entirely a Commerce of such Importance into their own Hands, the *Dutch* were guilty of such unheard-of Barbarities in *Amboyna*, as tho' they may be forgiven, yet ought never to be forgot, and we find them very tightly paid over, even in those Works where we might reasonably expect the truest Accounts of them, which is probably owing to the Inclination some Writers have to hide the Faults of their Neighbours, and to publish the Excesses of no Government but their own.

Yet as at the very Time it happened, the *East-India* Company here took care to give a full and large Account of the whole Transaction, from such Authorities as cannot be questioned, it seems but reasonable that for the sake of Truth, and the perpetual Preservation of so authentick and curious a Piece, which otherwise as a Pamphlet may be in Danger of being lost, as well as for other Reasons which shall be expell'd hereafter, we should insert it intire. It is indeed of some Length, and delivered in an uncouth and antiquated Style; but however, it is better it should stand so, than that we should run any

Risque of altering the Facts, by endeavouring to amend the Language in which they are expressed.

Amboyna is an Island lying near *Seran*, of the Com-pals of forty Leagues, and giveth Name also to some other small Islands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the *English* Company, for their part, had planted five several Factories: The Head and Rendezvous of all at the Town of *Amboyna*, and therein first Master *George Muschamp*, and afterward Master *Gabriel Taverner*, their Agents, with Directions over the smaller Factories at *Hitto* and *Larica* upon the same Island, and at *Labo* and *Cambello* upon a Point of their neighbouring Island of *Seran*. Upon these Islands of *Amboyna*, and the Point of *Seran*, the *Dutch* have four Forts; the chief of all is at the said Town of *Amboyna*, and is very strong, having four Points, or Bulwarks, with their Curtains; and upon each of these Points fix great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of Brals. The one Side of this Castle is washed by the Sea, and the other is divided by the Land, with a Ditch of four or five Fathom broad, very deep, and filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this City consisteth of about two hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and a Company of free Burghers. Besides these, there is always a matter of three or four hundred Mardikers in the Town, ready to serve the Castle at an Hour's Warning. There lie also in the Road, diverse good Ships belonging to the *Dutch*, as well for the Guard of the Place by Sea, as for the Occasion of Traffick, this being the chief Rendezvous as well for the Island of *Banda*, as for the rest of *Amboyna*. Here the *English* lived not in the Castle, but under Protection thereof, in a House of their own, in the Town, holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient Bonds of Amity between both Nations, as of the strict Conjunction made by the late Treaty before mentioned.

They continued here two Years converting and trading together, with the *Dutch*, by virtue of the said Treaty, in which Time there fell out several Differences and Debates betwixt them; the *English* complaining, that the *Dutch* did not only lavish away much Money in Building and unnecessary Expences upon the Forts, and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable Reckonings thereof to the common Account, but also did, for their Part, pay the Garrison with Victuals and Cloth of *Coromondal*, which they put off to the Soldiers at three or four times the Value it cost them, yet would not allow of the *English* Company's Part of the same Charge, but only in ready Money, thereby drawing from the *English* more than two Thirds of the whole true Charge. Hereupon, and upon the like Occasions, grew some Discontents and Disputes, and the Complaints were sent to *Jaccatra*, in the Island of *Java Major*, to the Council of Defence of both Nations there residing, who altho' not agreeing upon the Points in Difference, sent the same hither over into *Europe*, to be decided by both Companies here, or in default of their Agreement, by the King's Majesty, and the Lords the States-General, according to an Article of the Treaty of the Year 1619 on this Behalf. In the mean time, the Discontent between the *English* and the *Dutch* about these and other Differences continued, and daily increased, until at last there was a Sword found to cut in funder that Knot at once which the tedious Disputes of *Amboyna* and *Jaccatra* could not untie; and this was used in the Manner as followeth.

About the 11th of *February* 1622, O. S. a *Japanese* Soldier of the *Dutch* in their Castle of *Amboyna*, walking in the Night upon the Wall, came to the Centinel, and there, among other Talk, asked him some Questions touching the Strength of the Castle, and the People that were therein. It is here to be observed, that these *Japanese* did for the most Part serve the *Dutch* as Soldiers, yet were not of their truly Bands always lodged in the Castle, but upon Occasion called out of the Town to assist the Watch. This *Japanese* aforesaid, was, for his bad Conference with the Centinel, apprehended upon Suspicion of Treason, and put to the Torture; thereby he was brought to confess himself and sundry others of his Countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the Castle. Hereupon other *Japanese* were examined and tortured, as also a *Portuguese*, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*.

During

During this Examination, which continued three or four Days, some of the *Englishmen* went to and from the Castle, upon their Business, saw the Prisoners, heard of their Tortures, and of the Crime laid to their Charge, but all this while suspected not that this Matter did any whit concern themselves, having never had any Conversation with the *Japanese*, nor with the *Portuguese* aforesaid.

At the same Time, there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgion to the *English*, Prisoner in the Castle, for offering in his Drunkenness, to set a *Dutchman's* House on Fire. This Fellow the *Dutch* took, and shewed him some of the *Japanese*, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the *English* to have been of their Confederacy for the taking of the Castle, and that if he would not confess the same, they would use him even as they had done the *Japanese*, and worse also. Having given him the Torture, they soon made him confess whatever they asked him. This was on the 15th of February 1622, O. S. Forthwith, about Nine of the Clock the same Morning, they sent for Captain *Towerjon*, and the rest of the *English* that were in the Town, to come to speak with the Governor in the Castle. They all went, save one that was left to keep the House. Being come to the Governor, he told Captain *Towerjon*, that himself and others of his Nation, were accused of a Conspiracy to surprize the Castle, and therefore, until further Trial, were to remain Prisoners. Instantly also they attacked him that was left at home in the House, took the Merchandise of the *English* Company there into their own Custody, by an Inventory, and seized all the Chests, Boxes, Books, Writings and other things in the *English* House.

Captain *Towerjon* was committed to his Chamber, with a Guard of *Dutch* Soldiers. *Emmanuel Thomjon* was kept Prisoner in the Castle; the rest, *viz.* *John Beament*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramjay*, *Timothy Johnson*, *John Harbo*, and *Robert Brown*, were sent aboard the *Dutch* Ships then riding in Harbour; some to one Ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same Day also the Governor sent to the two other Factories in the same Island, to apprehend the rest of the *English* there; to that *Samuel Colson*, *John Clark*, *George Sbarroek*, that were found in the Factory at *Hitto*, and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, and *John Sadler*, at *Larica*, were all brought Prisoners to *Ampoyna*, the 16th of February; upon which Day also *John Peool*, *John Werberel*, and *Thomas Ladbesek*, were apprehended at *Camoelle*, and *John Beament*, *William Griggs*, and *Ephraim Ramjay* at *Lobo*, and brought in Irons to *Ampoyna*, the 20th of the same Month. In the mean time, the Governor and Fiscal went to work with the Prisoners that were already here; and first, they sent for *John Beament* and *Timothy Johnson*, from on Board the Unicorn, who being come into the Castle, *Beament* was left with a Guard in the Hall, and *Johnson* went into another Room, where, by and by, *Beament* heard him cry out very pitifully, then to be quiet a little while, and then loud again.

After Taste of the Torture, then *Abel Price* the Chirurgion that first was examined and tortured, was brought in to confront and accuse him; but *Johnson* not yet confessing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* brought again to the Torture, where *Beament* heard him sometimes cry aloud, then quiet again, then roar afresh. At last, after he had been about an Hour in this second Examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diverse Parts of his Body, and so laid aside, in a Bye-place in the Hall, with a Soldier to watch him, that he should speak to nobody. Then was *Emmanuel Thomjon* brought to Examination, not in the Room where *Johnson* had been, but in another somewhat farther from the Hall; yet *Beament* being in the Hall, heard him roar most lamentably, and many times; At last, after an Hour and half spent in torturing him, he was carried away into another Room another Way, so that he came not by *Beament* thro' the Hall. Next was *Beament* called in, and being demanded many things, all which he denied with Oaths and Protestations, was made fast to a post, and a Cloth tied about his Neck, and two Men ready with their Jars of Water to be poured on his Head; but yet for this Time the Governor had look'd him, he

would spare him a Day or two, because he was an old Man; this was all *Saturday's* Work, the 15th of February aforesaid.

On the 16th *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramjay*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetched from aboard the *Rotterdam* to be examined: At the same time came *Samuel Colson*, *William Griggs*, and *John Clark*, *George Sbarroek*, and *John Sadler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*, and were immediately upon their Arrival, brought into the Castle Hall. *Robert Brown*, Taylor, was first called in, and being tormented with Water, confessed all in order as the Fiscal asked him. Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told that those that were formerly examined had confessed him as accessory to the Plot of taking the Castle, when, when he denied with great Oaths and Execrations they made his Hands and his Feet fast to the Rack, bound a Cloth about his Throat ready to be put to the Torture of the Water. Thus prepared he prayed to be respited, and he would confess all. Being let down, he again vowed and protested his Innocency; yet said, that because he knew they would, by Torture, make him confess any thing, though never so false, they would do him a great favour to tell him what they would have him say, and he would speak it, to avoid the Torture. The Fiscal hereupon said, What, do you mock us? And bad up with him again, and so gave him the Torment of Water, which he not able long to endure, desired to be let down again to his Confession: Then he devised with himself and told them, That about two Months and half ago, himself, *Ybomew*, *Johnson*, *Brown*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the Help of the *Japanese*, to surprize the Castle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiscal, and asked whether Captain *Towerjon* were not of that Conspiracy? He answered, No; you lye, said the Fiscal, did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily Abuses of the *Dutch* had caused him to think of a Plot, and that he wanted nothing but your Consent and Secrecy? Then said a *Dutch* Merchant, one *John Igeest*, that stood by, Did not you all swear upon a Bible to be secret to him? *Collins* answered with great Oaths, that he knew nothing of any such Matter: Then they bade make him fast again; whereupon he then said, all was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscal asked him whether the *English* in the rest of the Factories were not consenting to this Plot? He answered, No; the Fiscal then asked him whether the President of the *English* at *Jaccatra*, or Master *Weiden*, Agent in *Banda*, was not Plotters, or privy to this Business? Again he answered No: Then the Fiscal asked him by what Means the *Japanese* should have executed their Purpose? Whereat, when *Collins* stood staggering and devising of some probable Fiction, the Fiscal helped him, and said, Should not the *Japanese* have gone to each Point of the Castle, and two to the Governor's Chamber-door; and when the Huronary had been without, and the Governor coming to see what was the Matter, the *Japanese* to have killed him? Here one that stood by said to the Fiscal, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speak of himself; whereon the Fiscal, without attending the Answer to his former Question, asked what the *Japanese* were to have had for their Reward? *Collins* answered 1000 Rials a piece. Lastly, he asked him when this Plot should have been effected? Whereupon, although he answered him nothing, not knowing what to devise upon the sudden, yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come clear off the Torture, though with certain Belief that he should die for this his Confession.

Next was *Samuel Colson* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched, and was the same Day brought to the Torture, who, for fear of the Pain, where-with he saw *Collins* come out, in such a Gale, that his Eyes were almost blown out of his Head with the Force of the Water, chose rather to confess all they asked him, and he was quickly dismissed, coming out weeping, lamenting, protesting his Innocency. Then was *John Clark*, that came with *Colson* from *Hitto* fetched in, and a little after was heard to cry out again. They tortured him with Water and with Fire, by the Space of two Hours. The Manner of his Torture, which was likewise that of *Johnson's* and *Thomjon's*, was as followeth: First, they bound

Book I.

because he was an old Man,
k, the 15th of February

Edward Collins, Ephraim
were fetched from aboard the
the same time came *Samuel*
John Clark, George Searrick,
and *Larica*, and were imme-
diate brought into the Cattle Hall.
It called in, and being tor-
tured all in order as the Fiscal
and *Collins* called in, and the
examined had confessed him-
self being the Cattle, which, when
they made Excerations they made
on the Rack, bound a Cloth
round the Neck, and put to the
Torture of the Rack, and he
was to be respited, and he
said, he again vowed and
said, that because he knew
nothing of him, he could not
tell him anything, and he
could do him a great Favour
if he would save him, and he would

The Fiscal hereupon said,
I will bid up with him again,
and he shall have a Pint of
Water, which he not
to be let down again to his
with himself and told them,
that he had plotted, with the Help
of the Cattle. Here he was in-
quired whether Captain *Tea-*
iracy? He answered, No;
but he call you all to him, and
the *Dutch* had caused
that he wanted nothing but
then said a *Dutch* Merchant,
Did not you all swear upon
Collins answered with great
of any such Matter: Then
whereupon he then said,
Then the Fiscal asked
the rest of the Factories were
He answered, No; the Fiscal
the President of the *English*
Agent in *Banda*, were not
of the Factories? Again he answered
him by what Means the *Jes-*
uits Purpose? Whereat, when
the Fiscal was advised of some probable
Cause, he said, Should not two
of the Cattle, and two to
; and when the Fiscal saw
the Governor coming to see what
to have killed him? Here
the Fiscal, Do not tell him what
ask of himself, whereupon
the Answer to his former
Question were to have had for
his Plot should have been
1000 Rials a piece
though he answered him nothing,
upon the sudden, yet he was
some clear off the Torture,
but he should die for this his

being newly proved
ed, and was the same Day
for fear of the Pain where-
in such a Case, that he had
Head with the Torture of
all they asked him, and to
ing out weeping, lamenting,
Then was *John Clark*, that
fetched in, and a little after
They tortured him with
Space of two Hours: The
was likewise that of *John*
loweth: Full, they held the



The Torments inflicted by the Dutch on the English in Amboyna.



The condition of the English in the Dungeon & their Execution



Amboyna



Execution

him up by the Hands with a Cord, on a large Door, where they made him fast, upon two Staples of Iron fixed on both Sides, at the Top of the Door-Polls, halting his Hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made to fast, his Feet hung two Foot from the ground, which all they stretched asunder as far as they could stretch, and so made them fast beneath, under the Door-Trees on each Side. Then they bound a Cloth about his Neck and Face so close, that little or no Water could go by; that done, they poured the Water softly upon his Head, until the Cloth was full up to the Mouth and Noftrils, and somewhat higher, so that he could not draw Breath but he must withal suck in the Water; which being till continued to be poured in softly, forced all his inward Parts to come out of his Nofe, Ears, and Eyes, and often, as it were, stifling or choking him; at length took away his Breath, and brought him to a Swoon, or Fainting: Then they took him quickly down, and made him vomit up the Water; being a little recovered, they set him up again, and poured in the Water as before, then taking him down as he seemed to be fished. In this Manner they handled him three or four several Times with Water, till his Body was swollen twice or thrice as big as before; his Cheeks like great Bladders, and his Eyes swelling and strutting out beyond his Forehead; yet all this he bore without confessing any thing, inasmuch that the Fiscal and Tormentors reviled him, saying, that he was a Devil, and no Man, or surely he was a Witch, at least had some Charm about him, or was enchanted, that he could bear so much; wherefore they cut off his Hair very short, as supposing he had some Witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they bound him up again, as before, and then burnt him with lighted Candles in the Bottom of his Feet until the Fat dropped out on the Candles, so they applied fresh Lights unto him; they burnt him also under the Elbows, and in the Palms of his Hands, likewise under the Arm-pits, until his Inwards might evidently be seen.

At last, when they saw he could of himself make no handsome Confession, then they led him along with Questions of particular Circumstances by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the Torment, he answered, Yea, to whatever they asked, whereby they drew from him a Host of Confession to this Effect; to wit, That Captain *Towerjon* had, upon *New-Year's-Day* then last past, sworn all the *English* at *Amboyna* to be secret and assistant in a Plot that he had projected, with the Help of the *Japanese*, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Governor and the rest of the *Dutch* to Death. Having thus martyred this poor Man, they sent him out by four Blacks, who carried him between them to a Dungeon, where he lay five or six Days, without any Chirurgion to dress him, until his Flesh being putrified, great Maggots dropped out and crept about him in a most loathsome and noisome Manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath-Day's Work; and in evening now dark, sent the rest of the *English* that came that Day from *Amboyna*, and 'til then attended in the Hall, to the Smith's Shop, where they were loaded with Irons, and then to the same loathsome Dungeon, where *Clark* and the rest were accompanied with the poor *Japanese*, lying in the Putrefaction of their Tortures.

The next Morning, being *Monday*, the Seventeenth of *January*, *O. S. William Grogges* and *John Fards*, with certain *Japanese*, were brought into the Place of Examination. The *Japanese* were first cruelly tortured to accuse *Grogges*, which, at last, they did; and *Grogges*, to avoid the Torture, confessed all that the Fiscal demanded. By the like was also done by *John Fards* and other *Japanese*: But *Fards* himself endured the Torture of Water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscal asked him, and so was sent back to Prison. The same Day another *Beaman* was brought the second Time to the Fiscal's Chamber, where one Captain *Newport*, a *Dutchman's* Prisoner in *England*, was used as an Interpreter. *William Beaman* was also brought in to accuse him, who said, That the same Consultation was held for taking the Castle, he and *Beaman* were then present; *Beaman* denied it with many Oaths, and deep Curses; at last, being stretched and drenched with Water, his Inwards were ready

to crack, he answered affirmatively to all the Fiscal's Interrogatories. Yet, as soon as he was let down, he clearly demonstrated to Captain *Newport*, and *Johnson*, a *Dutch* Merchant, then also present, that these Things could not be so; nevertheless he was forced to put his Hand to the Confession, or else he must to the Torture again, which, to avoid, he subscribed, and so had a great Iron-bolt, and two Shackles riveted to his Legs, and then was carried back to Prison.

After this *George Sharreck*, Assistant at *Hills*, was called in Question, who seeing how grievously others were martyr'd, made his earnest Prayer to God, as since upon his Oath he hath acknowledged, that he would suffer him to make some such probable Lies against himself, as the *Dutch* might believe, and so he might escape the Torment. Being brought to the Rack, the Water provided, and the Candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiscal examined, and charged with the Conspiracy. He fell upon his Knees, and protested his Innocence; then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him, unless he would confess he should be torment'd with Fire and Water to Death, and then should be drawn by the Knees to the Gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in his Innocence, the Fiscal bid him be hoisted up; then he craved Respite a while, and told them, that he was at *Hills*, and now in *Amboyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, when the Consultation was pretended, neither had he been there since *November* before, as was well known to sundry of the *Dutchmen* themselves that resided there also with him.

Hereupon they commanded him again to the Rack; but he craving Respite, as before, now told them that he had many Times heard *John Clark* say, that the *Dutch* had done them many unfeatherable Wrongs, and that he would be revenged on them; to which End he had once been in with Captain *Towerjon*, in a brave Plot; at which Word the Fiscal and the rest were attentive, encouraging him to proceed; so he went on, saying, that *John Clark* had entreated Captain *Towerjon* that he might go to *Maccassar*, there to consult and advise with the *Spaniards* to come with Gallies, and rob the small Factories of *Amboyna* and *Sacan*, when no Ships were there. Here they asked him what Captain *Towerjon* said to this? To which he answered, that Captain *Towerjon* was very much offended with *Clark* for the Motion, and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiscal called him Rogue, and said he pres'd all from the Matter, and should go to the Torture: He craved Favour again, and began another Tale, to wit, That upon *Yvesday*, then last past, *John Clark* told him at *Hills*, that there was a Practice to take the Castle of *Amboyna*, and ask'd him whether he would consent thereto; whereupon he demanded of *Clark* whether Captain *Towerjon* knew of any such Matter, which *Clark* affirming; then the said *Sharreck* said, he would do as the rest did. Then the Fiscal asked him what Time the Consultation was held? He answered in *November* last: The Fiscal said that could not be, for the Consultation was on *New-Year's-Day*. The Prisoner said as before in the Beginning, that he had not been in *Amboyna* since the First of *December* till now, that he was brought thither; why then, quoth the Fiscal, have you belied yourself? Whereunto the Prisoner resolutely answered, that all that he had spoken touching *Clark* was false, and resigned only to avoid Torment. Then went the Fiscal out into another Room to the Governour, and anon returned and sent *Sharreck* unto the Prison again.

The next Day he was called again, and a Writing presented him, wherein was framed a formal Confession of his last Conference with *Clark* at *Hills*, touching the Plot to take the Castle of *Amboyna*, which being read over to him, the Fiscal asked him, whether it was true or no? He answered no: Why then, said the Fiscal, did you assents it? he answered, for fear of Torment. The Fiscal and the rest, in a great Rage, told him he lied, his Mouth had spoken it; and it was true, and therefore he should subscribe it, which, as soon as he had done, he fell presently into a great Passion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent Blood of himself and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the Day of Judgment.

ment; which he grappled with the Fiscal, and would have stopped him from carrying in the Confession to the Governor, with whom he also craved to speak, but was instantly laid hold on, and carried away to Prison. *William Webber* being next examined, was told by the Fiscal, that *John Clark* had confessed him to have been at *Ambony* on *New-Year's-Day*, and sworn to *Captain Tower's* Plot, &c. all which he denied, alledging he was that Day at *Larica*; yet, being brought to the Torture, he then confessed he had been at the Consultation at *Ambony* upon *New-Year's-Day*, with all the rest of the Circumstances in order as he was asked.

He also further told them, he had received a Letter from *John Clark*, after which was a Postscript, excusing his brief Writing at that Time, for that there was then great Business in hand. But one *Kender*, a *Dutch* Merchant, then standing by, told the Governor, that upon *New-Year's-Day*, the Time of this pretended Consultation, *Webber* and he were merry at *Larica*; so the Governor left him and went out: But the Fiscal held out upon the other Point, touching the Postscript of *Clark's* Letter, urging him to shew the same, which, when he could not do, though often terrified with the Torture, he gave him Respite, promising to save his Life, if he would produce the Letter. Then was *Captain Tower* brought to the Examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him; he deeply protested his Innocency. *Samuel Colen* was brought to confront him, who being told, that unless he would now make good his former Confession against *Captain Tower*, he should go to the Torture, coldly reaffirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought *William Griggs* and *John Fardo* to justify their former Confessions to his Face. *Captain Tower* seriously charged, that as they would answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, they should speak nothing but the Truth: Both of them instantly fell down upon their Knees before him, praying him, for God's Sake, to forgive them; and saying further openly, before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken only to avoid Torment. With that the Fiscal and the rest ordered them again to the Torture, which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former Confessions to be true. When *Colen*, who had accused the Captain before, was required to set his Hand to his Confession; he asked the Fiscal upon whose Head he thought the Sin would lie, whether upon his, who was constrained to confess what was false, or upon the Con- strainer?

The Fiscal, after a little Pause upon this Question, went in to the Governor, then in another Room; but another turning, said he must subscribe it, which he did, yet would make this Protestation; Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse myself and others, of that which is as false as God is true; for God is my Witness, I am as innocent as the Child new born. Thus have they examined all that belong to the *English* Company in the several Factories of the Island of *Ambony*. February the Twenty-first they examined *John Weibrel*, Factor at *Cambello*, in the Island of *Seran*. He confessed he was at *Ambony* upon *New-Year's-Day*, but for the Consultation whereof he was demanded, he said he knew of no other but touching certain Cloth of the *English* Company that lay in the Factories rotting and worm-eaten, which they advised together how to put off to the best Avail of their Employers. The Governor said, he questioned him not about Cloth, but of Treason, whereof, when he had protested his Innocency, he was for that Time dismissed; but the next Day he was sent for again, and *Captain Tower* brought to confront and accuse him, having before confessed somewhat against him; but Mr. *Tower* spoke these Words only, O Mr. *Weibrel*, Mr. *Weibrel*, speak the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as God shall put it in your Heart; so *Captain Tower* was put out again, and Mr. *Weibrel* brought to the Torture of Water, with great Threats, if Water would not make him confess, Fire should. He prayed them to tell him what he should say, or to write down what they would, he would subscribe it. They said, he needed no Tutor, they would make him confess himself; but when they had hoisted him up four several Times, and

saw he knew not what to say; then they read him other Mens Confessions, and asked him from Point to Point, as they had done others, and he still answered, *Yes*, to all.

Next was called in *John Pewel*, *Weibrel's* Assistant at *Cambello*; but he proving that he was not at *Ambony* since *November*, save now, when he was brought thither Prisoner, and being spoken for by one *John Joost*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was dismissed without Torture. Then was *Thomas Ludbrook*, Servant to *Weibrel* and *Pewel* at *Cambello*, at the Time of the pretended Consultation, and serving in such Quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Ambony*, he was easily and quickly dismissed. *Ephraim Ramsey* was also examined upon the whole Conspiracy, and particularly questioned concerning *Captain Weldon*, the *English* Agent in *Banda* but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Ambony* at *New-year's-tide*, being also spoken for by *John Joost*, was dismissed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with Irons about his Legs, and the Cloth about his Mouth. Lastly, *John Sadler*, Servant to *William Griggs* at *Larica*, was examined, and being found to have been absent from *Ambony* at *New-year's-tide*, when *Griggs* and others were there, was dismissed.

Thus have we all their Examinations, Tortures, and Confessions, being the Work of eight Days, from the 12th to the 23d of *February*, after which was two Days respite before the Sentence. *John Pewel* being himself acquitted as aforesaid, went to the Prison to visit *John Fardo*, one of these that had accused *Captain Tower*, to him *Fardo* religiously protested his Innocency, but expressing his sorrow for accusing *Master Tower*; for, said he, the Fear of Death doth nothing dismay me; for God, I trust, will be merciful to my Soul, according to the Innocency of my Cause. The only Matter that troubles me is, that through Fear of Torment I have accused that honest and godly Man *Captain Tower*, whom, I think in my Conscience, was so upright towards all Men, that he harboured no ill-will to any Man; much less would attempt any such Business as he is accused of. He further said, he would before his Death receive the Sacrament, in Acknowledgment, that he had accused *Captain Tower* falsely and wrongfully, only through Fear of Torment.

On the 25th, O. S. all the Prisoners, as well the *English* as the *Portuguese* and *Japanese*, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except, *John Pewel*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *John Sadler*, and *Thomas Ludbrook*, formerly acquitted as aforesaid; *Captain Tower*, during all his Imprisonment, having been kept from the rest, so that none could come to speak with him, writ much in his Chamber; but all was suppressed, save only a Bill of Debt, which one *Thomas Johnson*, a free Burgher, got of him, by Favour of his Keepers, for an Acknowledgment, that the *English* Company owed him a certain Sum of Money. In the End of this Bill he writ these Words, Firm'd by the Form of me *Gabriel Tower*, now appointed to die guiltless of any thing that can be truly laid to my Charge. God forgive them their Guilt, and receive me to his Mercy. Amen. This Bill being brought to *M. Weldon*, the *English* Agent at *Banda*, he paid the Money, and received in the Acknowledgment. *William Griggs*, who had before accused *Captain Tower*, writ the following Words in his Table Book: We whose Names are here specified, *John Beament*, Merchant of *Lave*, *William Griggs*, Merchant of *Larica*, *Alc. F. de*, *Cultur*, of *Ambony*, *Robert Brown*, Taylor, which of here be Prisoners in the Ship *Ketterdam*, being apprehended for Conspiracy, for blowing up the Island of *Ambony*, we being judged to Death this fifth of *March*, 1624. we, through Torment, were constrained to speak that which we never meant, nor once imagined, the which we take upon our Deaths and Salvation. They tortured us with that extrem Torment of Fire and Water, that Flesh and Blood could not endure; and thus we take upon our Deaths, that they have put us to Death gainst us; I say of our Accusation: So therefore that we desire that they that shall understand this, that our Imprisonment shall understand these Wrongs, and that yourselves shall

y; then they read him out
him from Point to Point, as
he still answered, *Yes*, to

Powel, *Weiberel's* Assistant at
he was not at *Ambryna* since
he was brought thither Pri-
by one *John Joest*, who had
th him, was dismissed witho-
Ladbrook, Servant to *W'e-*
Wo, at the Time of the pre-
ing in such Quality, as that
any of the Letters from the
easily and quickly dismissed.
examined upon the whole Con-
ditioned concerning Captain
in *Handa* but denying all,
at *Ambryna* at New Years tide,
John Joest, was dismissed, after he
good while, with Irons about
out his Mouth. Lastly, *John*
Griggs at *Larica*, was exami-
e been absent from *Ambryna* at
Griggs and others were there, was

Examinations, Tortures, and
k of eight Days, from the 1st of
er which was two Days respite
Powel being himself acquitted
rison to visit *John Fardo*, one of
Captain *Towerjon*, to him *Fardo's*
innocency, but especially his sor-
Towerjon's for, said he, the hear-
may me; for God, I trust, will
ording to the Innocency of my
that troubles me is, that though
accused that honest and godly
hom, I think in my Conscience,
Men, that he harboured nulli-
would attempt any such Business
rather said, he would before his
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the Prisoners, as well the *Engli-*
nefe, were brought into the great
here were solemnly condemned,
eam Ramsay, *John Sadler*, and
y acquitted as aforesaid; Captain
imprisonment, having been kept
he could come to speak with him,
er; but all was fappelled, save
ich one *Thomas Johnson*, a free
y Favour of his Keepers, for an
the *Engli* Company owed him a
In the End of this Bill he writ
be Form of me *Gabriel Towerjon*,
lest of any thing that can be truly
forgive them their Guilt, and re-
Amen. This Bill being brought
h Agent at *Handa*, he paid the
the Acknowledgment. *Waldon*
accused Captain *Towerjon*, with the
able Book: "We whose Names
Beaumont, Merchant of *Lube*, *Wit-*
of Larica, *the Old*, *Curuzo*,
en, *Taylor*, which were before in
rdam, being apprehended for con-
the ... of *Ambryna*, we being
ith of *March*, ...
t, were constrained to speak that
s, nor once imagined, that such
his and Salvation. They tortured
Tortment of Fire and Water, but
d not endure; and thus we take
they have put us to Death; and
so therefore that we desire that
and thus, that our Emperors will
ong, and that yourselves will

"have a care to look to yourselves; for their Intent was
"to have brought you in also: They asked concerning
"you, which, if they had tortured us, we must have con-
"fessed you also, and so farewell; written in the dark."

This Table-Book was afterwards delivered to *M. Waldon*
before mentioned, by one that served the *Dutch*. *Samuel*
Colson also, another that accused Captain *Towerjon*, writ
as followeth in the waste Leaves of a Book, wherein were
bound together the Common-Prayers, the Psalms, and the
Catechism. In one Page thus: "*Marck* the fifth, N. S.
"being *Sunday*, on board the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons,
"understand, that I *Samuel Colson*, late Factor of *Hitto*,
"was apprehended for Suspicion of Conspiracy, and for
"any thing I know must die for it; wherefore, having no
"better means to make my Innocency known, have writ
"this in this Book, hoping some good *Englis*men will
"see it. I do here upon my Salvation, as I hope by his
"Death and Passion to have Redemption for my Sins, that
"I am clear of all such Conspiracy; neither do I know any
"Englisman guilty thereof, nor other Creature in the
"World. As this is true, God blefs me, *Samuel Colson*."

On the other Side, upon the first Page of the Catechism,
is thus written; In another Leaf you shall understand more,
which I have written in this Book. *Samuel Colson*. In
the Beginning of the Psalms, and in the Leaf so referred
unto, is thus written, viz. "The *Japonefe* were taken with
"some Villany, and brought to Examination; being most
"tyrannously tortured, were asked, if the *Engli*sh had any
"hand in the Plor, which Torture made them say yea.
"Then was *Master Thomson*, and *Mr. Johnson*, *Mr. Col-*
lins, *John Clark*, brought to Execution, and were
"burned under the Arm-pits, the Hands and Soals of the
"Feet, with another most miserable Torment, to drink
"Water; some of them almost tortured to Death, and
"were forced to confess that which they never knew, by
"reason of the Torment which Flesh and Blood is not able
"to endure. Then were the rest of the *Englis*men called
"one by one, amongst which I was one, being wished to
"confess, or else I must go to Torment; withal, called
"M. *Johnson*, who was before tormented, to witness
"against me, or else he should be tormented again; which,
"rather than he would endure, he said what they would
"have him speak. Then must I confess that I never knew,
"or else go to Torment, which, rather than I would suf-
"fer, I did confess that which, as I shall be saved before
"God Almighty, is not true, being forced, for fear of
"Torment. Then did they make us witness against Cap-
"tain *Towerjon*; and at last made Captain *Towerjon* con-
"fess all, being for fear of most cruel Torment, for which
"we must all die. As I mean and hope to have Pardon
"for my Sins, I know no more than the Child unborn of
"this Business; written with my own Hand, the first of
"*Marck*, N. S. *Sam. Colson*."

Yet in another Page were these Words; *I was born in*
New-Castle upon *Tyne*, where I desire this Book may come,
that my Friends may know of my Innocency. *Samuel Colson*.
This Book he delivered to one that served the *Dutch*, who
sowed it up in his Bed, and afterwards, at his Opportunity,
delivered it to *Mr. Waldon* beforementioned. All these said
Writings are yet extant, under the Hands of the several
Parties well known to their Friends here in *England*.

The twenty-sixth Day of *February*, O. S. the Prisoners
were all brought into the great Hall of the Castle, except
Captain *Towerjon*, and *Emanuel Thomson*, to be prepared
for Death by the Ministers. The *Japonefe* now all in gene-
ral, as some of them had done before in particular, cried
out unto the *Engli*sh, saying, Oh! you *Engli*shmen, where
did we ever in our Lives eat with you, talk with you, or,
to our Remembrance, see you? The *Engli*sh answered,
why then have you accused us? The poor Men perceiving
they were made believe each had accused others, before
they had done, indeed, shewed them their tortured Bo-
dies, and said, if a Stone were thus burnt, would it not
change its Nature? How much more then we that are
Flesh and Blood? Whilt they were all in the Hall, Cap-
tain *Towerjon* was brought up into the Place of Examina-
tion, and two great Jars of Water carried after him; what
he there did, or suffered, is unknown to the *Engli*sh; but
at length, they made him then to underwrite his Confes-

sion. After Supper, *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramsay*, *Tho-*
mas Ladbrook, and *John Sadler*, who were found not guilty,
as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another
Room; by and by also were *Samuel Colson* and *Edward*
Collins brought from the rest, into the Room where *Ema-*
nuel Thomson lay: The Fiscal told them, it was the Gover-
nor's Mercy to save one of those three; and it being indif-
ferent to him which of them were the Man, it was his Plea-
sure they should draw Lots for it, which they did, and the
free Lot fell to *Edward Collins*, who then was carried away
to the Chamber, where *John Powel*, and the rest that were
quit, lodged; and *Samuel Colson* back into the Hall. Anon
also *John Beaumont* was brought out of the Hall into the
Chamber, where *John Powel*, and the rest of the acquitted
Persons were, and was told, that he was beholden to *Peter*
Johnson, the *Dutch* Merchant of *Lube*, and to the Secre-
tary, for they two had begged his Life. So then there
remained in the Hall ten of the *Engli*sh; for Captain *Tower-*
jon and *Emanuel Thomson* were kept in several Rooms apart
from the rest. To these that remained in the Hall came
the *Dutch* Ministers, who telling them how short a time
they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to make
their true Confessions; for it was a dangerous and desperate
thing to dissemble at such a Time.

The *Engli*sh still professed their Innocency, and prayed
the Ministers that they might all receive the Sacrament,
as a Seal of the Forgiveness of their Sins; and withal,
thereby to confirm their last Profession of their Innocency;
but this would by no means be granted: Whereupon
Samuel Colson said thus unto the Ministers, You manifest
unto us the Danger of Dissimulation in this Case; but tell
us, if we suffer guiltless, being otherwise also true Believers
in *Jesus Christ*, what shall be our Reward. The Preacher
answered, by how much the clearer you are, so much the
more glorious shall be your Resurrection. With that Word
Colson started up, embraced the Preacher, and gave him
his Purse, with such Money as he had in it, saying, *Domine*,
God blefs you: Tell the Governor I freely forgive him,
and I intreat you to exhort him to repent him of his bloody
Tragedy wrought upon us poor innocent Souls. Here all
the rest of the *Engli*sh signified their Consent to this Speech.
Then spake *John Fardo* to the rest, in the Presence of the
Ministers, as followeth: My Countrymen and Brethren,
that are here with me, condemned to die, I charge you all,
as you will answer it at God's Judgment Seat, if any of
you be guilty of this Matter, whereof we are condemned,
discharge your Consciences, and confess the Truth, for Sa-
tisfaction of the World. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake
with a loud Voice, saying, according to my Innocency in
this Treason, so, Lord, pardon all the rest of my Sins, and
if I be guilty thereof, more or less, let me never be Par-
taker of thy heavenly Joys; at which Words every one of
the rest cried out, Amen; for me, Amen; for me, good
Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had
accused, went one to another, begging Forgiveness for
their false Accusation, being wrung from them by the
Pains or Fear of Torture; and they all freely forgave one
another; for none had been so falsely accused, but he him-
self had accused another as falsely; in particular, *George*
Sharrock, who survived to relate this Night's Passage,
kneeled down to *John Clark*, whom he had accused of the
Tale at *Hitto* abovementioned, and craved Forgiveness at
his Hands: *Clark* freely forgave him, saying, How shall
I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you,
having myself so falsely accused Captain *Towerjon* and
others? After this they spent the rest of the doleful Night
in Prayer, singing of Psalms, and comforting one another,
though the *Dutch* that guarded them offered them Wine,
bidding them drink lustily, and drive away the Sorrow,
according to the Custom of their own Country in the like
Cases, but contrary to the Nature of the *Engli*sh.

Upon the Morrow Morning, being the Execution Day,
the 27th of *February*, O. S. *John Powel* being freed, as
before recited, came into the Room where the condemned
Persons were, and found them at Prayers. They all re-
quested him to relate unto their Friends in *England* the
Innocency of their Cause, taking it upon their Deaths,
that what they had confessed against themselves and others,
touching this Crime, was all false, and forced by fear of

Torture. The same Morning *William Webber* was called again into the Fiscal's Room, and there pressed to produce the Letter which he had before confessed to have received from *John Clark*, in the Postscript whereof some great Business was intimated: They promised him his Life, if he would deliver, or produce to them that Letter, which, tho' he did not, nor indeed could, yet at last they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest that were saved, and *Sbarroek* with him. That Morning *Emanuel Thomson*, understanding that *John Beaumont* was pardoned, made Means to have him come and speak with him, which with much ado he obtained. *Beaumont* found him sitting in a Chamber all alone, in a most miserable Fashion, the Wounds of his Torture bound up, but the Matter and gore Blood issuing through the Rollers: He took *M. Beaumont* by the Hand, and prayed him, when he came into England, to do his Duty to the honourable Company his Masters, to *M. Robinson*, and to his Brother *Billingfleet*, and to certify them of his Innocence, which, said he, you yourself know well enough.

All Things being prepared for the Execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall along by the Chamber, where the quit and pardoned were, who stood in the Door to give and take the Farewell of their Countrymen now going to Execution; staying a little for this Purpose, they prayed, and charged those that were saved, to bear witness to their Friends in England of their Innocence, and that they did not Traitors, but so many Innocents merely murdered by the *Dutch*, whom they prayed God to forgive their Blood-thirstiness, and to have Mercy upon their own Souls. Being brought into the Yard, their Sentence was read unto them from a Gallery, and then they were thence carried into the Place of Execution, together with nine *Japoneze* and a *Portuguese*, not the ordinary and short Way, but round about, in a long Procession through the Town, the Way guarded by five Companies of Soldiers, *Dutch* and *Ambeynese*, and thronged with the Natives of the Island, that upon the Sammons given the Day before by the Sound of the Drum, flocked together to behold this Triumph of the *Dutch* over the *English*. *Samuel Colson* had conceived a Prayer in Writing, in the End whereof he protested his Innocence, which Prayer he read to his Fellows the Night before; and now also at the Place of Execution, devoutly pronounced the same; then threw away the Paper, which the Governor caused to be brought to him, and kept it. *Emanuel Thomson* told the rest, he did not doubt but God would shew a Sign of their Innocence; and every one of the rest took it severely upon their Death, that they were utterly guiltless; and lo one by one, with great Chearfulness, suffered the fatal Stroke. The *Portuguese* prayed over his Beads very devoutly, and often kissed the Cross, swearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this Treason, yet confessed, that God had justly brought this Punishment upon him; for that having a Wife in his own Country, he had, by the Persuasion of the *Dutch* Governor, taken another in that Country, his first being yet living.

The *Japoneze*, likewise, according to their Religion, shut up their last Act with the like Profession of their Innocence; to these suffered ten *Englishmen*, viz. Captain *Tewerison*, the Agent for the *English* at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Colson*, Factor at *Hitto*; *Emanuel Thomson*, Assistant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnson*, Assistant there also; *John Hildes*, Assistant at *Cambello*; *John Clark*, Assistant at *Hitto*; *William Griggs*, Factor at *Larica*; *John Fardo*,eward of the Hoole; *Abel Price*, Chirurgion, and *Robert Brown*, Taylor. The *Portuguese* also suffered with them; his Name was *Augustin Perez*, he was born at *Bengal*. The Names of the *Japoneze* that suffered were as following: *Hito*, *Ishis*, *Amo*, all born at *Firando*; *Sidney Magon*, *Itaro Congie*, *Ikomo Coroa*, born at *Naganisique*; *Quandane*, Native of *Coract*; *Tjuhinda*, of *Tjunchitigo*; *Zantibae*, of *Bison*. Besides these there were two other *Japoneze*, the one named *Soxime*, born at *Firando*, and the other *Acante*, of the same Place, the former of which being tortured, confessed both to have been privy to this private Treason, and to have offered his Service to the *English* to aid them in taking of the Castle, and the latter confessed to have had Knowledge of the Consultation of

the other *Japoneze* to this Purpose; but neither of them was executed, or so much as condemned; the Reason whereof was not known to the *English* that were saved. They had prepared a Cloth of black Velvet for Captain *Tewerison's* Body to fall upon, which being stained and defaced with his Blood, they afterwards put to Account of the *English* Company. At the Instance of the Execution there arose a great Darkness, with a sudden and violent Gull of Wind and Tempest, whereby two of the *Dutch* Ships riding in the Harbour were driven from their Anchors, and with great Labour and Difficulty saved from the Rocks. Within a few Days after one *William Duncken*, who had told the Governor, that *Robert Brown* the *English* Taylor, had a few Months before told him, he hoped that within six Months the *English* should have as much to do in the Castle of *Amboyna* as the *Dutch*; this News coming upon an Evening to the Grave, where the *English* were buried, being all, except Captain *Tewerison*, in one Pit, fell down upon the Grave; and having lain there awhile, rose up again stark mad, and so continued two or three Days together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new Sickness at *Amboyna*, which swept away above one thousand People, *Dutch* and *Ambeynese*, in the Space wherein were usually died not thirty at other Seasons. These Signs were, by the surviving *English*, referred to the confident Prediction of *Emanuel Thomson* above named, and were by the *Ambeynese* interpreted as a Token of the Wrath of God for this barbarous Tyranny of the *Dutch*.

The next Day after the Execution, being the 25th of February, O. S. was spent in Triumph for the new General of the *Dutch* then proclaimed, and in public Rejoicing for the Deliverance from this pretended Treason. On the 1st of March, *John Beaumont*, *George Skarrek*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Governor, who told *Beaumont* and *Sbarroek*, that they were pardoned in Honour of the new General; and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Jaccatra*, there to stand to the Favour of the Governor; so the Governor made them drink Wine with him, and courteously dismissed them, willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saved, who were fit to be placed in the several Factories; which done, and their Opinions reported to the Governor, he accordingly commanded each to his Place, adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the Patronage and Government of the *English* Company's Business, to which Purpose he had within a few Days past opened a Letter that came from the *English* President at *Jaccatra*, directed to Captain *Tewerison*, being the first *English* Letter he ever intercepted; farther saying, that he was glad that he found by the Letter that the *English* at *Jaccatra* were innocent touching this Business. The Governor and Fiscal having just made an End at *Amboyna*, dispatched themselves for *Banda*, where they made very diligent Enquiry against Captain *Weldon*, the *English* Agent there, yet found no Colour or Shadow of Guilt to lay hold on; but at last entertained him with courteous Speeches, professing to be very glad that they found him as well as the *English* at *Jaccatra* to be without Suspicion of this Treason.

Captain *Weldon* perceiving the Disorder and Confusion of the *English* Company's Affairs at *Amboyna*, by means of this Dealing of the *Dutch*, forthwith hired a *Dutch* Privateer at *Banda*, and passed to *Amboyna*, where, instantly upon his Arrival, he recalled the Company's Servants, who were sent by the *Dutch* Governor to the upper Factories. Having inquired of them, and the rest that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole Proceeding lately passed, he found by the constant and agreeing Relation of them all, that there was no such Treason of the *English* as was pretended; as also understanding what strict Command the Governor had given to the surviving *English* not once to talk, or confer with the Country People concerning this bloody Business, although the said Country People every Day reproached them with Treason, and a bloody Intention to have massacred the Natives, and to have ripped up the Bellies of Women with Child, and such like Stuff, which with the *Dutch* had possessed the poor Vulgar, to make the *English* odious unto them; the said *M. Weldon* concluded finding it to suit neither with the Honour nor Profit of the *English* Company, his Masters, to hold any more

Purpose; but neither of them was condemned; the Reason to the English that were saved, of black Velvet for Captain Don, which being stained and afterwards put to Account of the Instance of the Execution, with a sudden and violent, whereby two of the Dutch were driven from their Honour and Difficulty saved from Days after one *William Dacken*, that *Robert Breen* the English before told him, he hoped that should have as much to do as the Dutch; this being to the Grave, where the English Captain *Townson*, in one Place, and having lain there awhile, and so continued two or three Days. Forthwith also fell a new swept away above one thousand fese, in the Space wherein there were other Seasons. These Signs were referred to the confident Prediction above named, and were by the Token of the Wrath of God for the Dutch.

The Execution, being the 28th of in Triumph for the new Government, and in publick Relation from this pretended Treatise. *Beaumont*, *George Starbuck*, *Ed-Webber*, were brought to the *ons* and *Starbuck*, that they were new General; and *Collins*, that there to stand to the Favour of Governor made them drink Wine y dismissed them, willing them rest that were saved, who were al Factories; which done, and the Governor, he accordingly Place, adding, that he would the Patronage and Government Bofnets, to which Purpose he opened a Letter that came from *Jacatra*, directed to Captain *Townson*, that he ever intercepted; further that he found by the Letter *ra* were innocent touching the said Fiscal having made an d themselves for *Banda*, where iniquity against Captain *Belden*, et found no Colour of Sinaw but at last entertained him with fling to be very glad that they English at *Jacatra* to be without

ing the Disorder and Confusion Affairs at *Ambogna*, by means of forthwith hired a Dutch Pinnace *Ambogna*, where, instant upon the Company's Servants, which Governor to the upper Factory, and the rest that were there succeed. At lastly passed, he found being the English as was pretended, e strict Command the Governour ng English not once to stir, of People concerning this bloody d Country People every Day tion, and a bloody Intention to yes, and to have ripped up the bid, and such like Stuff, where- fessed the poor Vulgar, to make nem; the last *M. Belden* was licy with the Honour not Profit las Masters, to hold any more R. A. c

Residence in *Ambogna*, he took the poor Remnant of the English along with him in the said hired Pinnace for *Jacatra*, whither the Governor had sent *John Beaumont* and *Edward Collins* before, as Men condemned, and left to the Mercy of the Governor. When this heavy News of *Ambogna* came to *Jacatra*, and the English there, the President sent forthwith to the General of the Dutch, to know by what Authority the Governor of *Ambogna* had thus proceeded against the English, and how he and the rest of the Dutch there at *Jacatra* did approve these Proceedings. The Governor returned for Answer, that the Governor of *Ambogna's* Authority was derived from the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands, under whom he had lawful Jurisdiction both in criminal and civil Causes, within the District of *Ambogna*; further, that such Proceeding was necessary against Traitors, such as the English executed at *Ambogna* might appear to be by their own Confessions, a Copy whereof he therewith sent to the English President, who sent the same back to be authentickly certified, but received it not again. Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked Narration of the Progress and Passage of this Action, as it is taken out of the Depositions of six several English Factors, whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Process of *Ambogna*. All since their Return into England, examined upon their Oaths in the Admiralty-Court. The Particulars of Captain *Townson's*, as also of *Emanuel Thomjon's* Examinations and Answers, are not yet come to Light, by reason that these two were kept a-part from all the rest, and each alone by himself, nor any other of the English suffered to speak with them, except only that short Farewel which *John Beaumont* took of *Thomjon*, the Morning before the Execution before mentioned. The like Obscurity is yet touching the Examinations and Answers of diverse of the rest that are executed, being, during their Imprisonment, so strictly looked to, and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their Mite-ries; but because the Dutch defend their own Proceedings by the Confessions of the Parties executed, acknowledging severally under their Hands, that they were guilty of the pretended Crime:

It will not be amiss to recollect and recal unto this Place, as it were unto one Sum and Total, certain Circumstances dispersed in several Parts of this Narration, whereby as well the Innocence of the English, as the unlawful Proceeding against them, may be manifested.

First, therefore, it is to be remembered, that the Japanese were apprehended, examined, and tortured three or four Days before the English were attacked, and the same as well of their Apprehension as Torture was rief and notorious in the Town of *Ambogna*, and the Parts adjoining. *Thomjon* in this Interim, and the very first Day of the Examination of the Japanese, went to the Castle, to ask Leave of the Governor to land some Rice, and brought back the News with him to the English House of the cruel Handling of these poor Japanese. This had been Item enough to the English, if they had been guilty, to fluit for themselves, were to also they had ready Means by the Curranties, or small Boats of the *Ambogyners*, which lie along the Strand, in that Number wherewith they might easily have transported themselves to *Seran*, to *Batavia*, or *Miscassar*, out of the Reach and Jurisdiction of the Dutch; but in that they fled not, in this Case, it is a very strong Presumption, that they were as little privy to any Treason of their own, as suspicious of any treacherous Train laid for their Bloods.

In the next Place, let it be considered, how impossible it was for the English to achieve this pretended Enterprise. The Castle of *Ambogna* is of a very great Strength, the Garrison therein two or three hundred Men, besides as many more of their free Burglers in the Town. What ten Care and Circumspection in all their Forts is, may appear, not only from the quick Alarm they took at the foolish selling of the poor Japanese, made to the Content above recited, but also by that which a little before had happened at *Jacatra*, where one of their Soldiers was shot to Death for sleeping on the Watch. Duff ten Englishmen, whereof not one Soldier, attempt any thing upon such a Strength and Vigilance? As for the Assistance of the Japanese, they were but ten neither, and all unarm-

ed, as well as the English: For, as at the Seizure at the English House, all the Provision there found, was but three Swords, two Muskets, and half a Pound of Powder; so the Japanese, except when they are in Service of the Castle, and there armed by the Dutch, are allowed to have no Arms, but only a Catan, a kind of short Sword; and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, upon great Penalty, to sell any Hand-gun, Powder or Bullets to the Japanese or *Ambogyners*.

But let it be imagined these twenty Persons, English and Japanese, were so desperate as to adventure the Exploit, how should they be able to master the Dutch in the Castle, or to keep Possession when they had gotten it? What Second had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinnace of the English in Harbour. All the rest of the Japanese in the Island were not twenty Persons, and not one English more. The nearest of the rest of the English were at *Banda*, forty Leagues from *Ambogna*, and those but nine Persons, all afterwards cleared by the Governor and Fiscal themselves, from all Suspicion of this pretended Crime, as were also the rest of the English at *Jacatra*.

On the other Side, besides the Strength of the Castle, and Town of *Ambogna*, the Dutch have three other strong Castles, well furnished with Soldiers, in the same Island, and at *Cambello*, near adjoining. They had then also in the Road of *Ambogna* eight Ships and Vessels, namely, the *Rottterdam* of 1200 Tuns, the *Unicorn* of 300 Tuns, the *Freemans* Vessel of 100 Tuns, the *Calk* of 60 Tuns, Captain *Gamal's Junck*, of 40 Tuns, the *Flute* of 300 Tuns, the *Amsterdam* of 1400 Tuns, and a small Pinnace of about 60 Tuns, and all these well furnished with Men and Ammunition. It is true, that the Stories do record sundry valiant and hardy Enterprises of the English Nation, and the Dutch are Witnesses of some of them; yet, have reaped the Froit of the English Resolution, yet no Story, no Legend, scarcely reporteth any such Hardiness either of the English or others, that so few Persons, so naked of all Provisions and Supplies, should undertake such an Adventure upon a Counter-Party, so well and abundantly fitted at all Points. But let it be further granted, that they might possibly have overcome all those Difficulties, yet to what End and Purpose should they have put themselves into such a Jeopardy? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, that the Forts in the Indies should remain respectively in the Hands of such as had Possession of them at the Date of the Treaty Anno 1619, and that the same was ratified by the King's Majesty and the Lords States-General. They knew likewise, and all the World takes Knowledge of his Majesty's religious Oblervation of Peace and Treaty with all his Neighbours, yea, with all the World. What Reward therefore could these English hope for of their Valour and Danger? Certainly none other than that which is expressly provided by the Treaty itself, that is, to be punished as the Disturbers of the common Peace and Amity of both Nations.

But let these Englishmen have been as foolish as they will in this Plot, as the Dutch will have them, is it also to be imagined, that they were so graceless, as when they were condemned, and seriously examined, and admonished by the Ministers to discharge their Consciences, yet then to persist in their Dissimulation, being otherwise of such godly Behaviour, as to spend the Time in Prayer, Singing of Psalms, and spiritually comforting one another, which the Dutch would have had them bestow in Drinking to drive away their Sorrow? Let *Collins's* Question to the Minister be considered, his, and the rests, Offer and Desire to receive the Sacrament in Sign and Token of their Innocence, their mutually asking Forgiveness for their like false Accusations of one another forced by the Torture.

Thomjon's last Farewel to *Beaumont*, *Celson's* Prayer, and his writing in his Prayer-Book; *Farlo's* Farewel to *Pozze*, also his conjuring Exhortation to his Fellows to discharge their Consciences, and all their Answers thereunto, craving God's Mercy or Judgment, according to their Innocency in this Cause; their general and religious Profession of their Innocence to their Countrymen at their last parting with them, and finally, their sealing this Profession with their last Breath and Blood, even in the very Article

of Death, and in the Stroke of the Executioner. What horrible and unexampled Dissimulation was this? If some one or more of them had been so fearfully desperate, yet would there not one amongst ten be found to think of the Judgment to come, wherunto he was then instantly summoned, without Effrain, Bail or Mainprize? What! Had they hope of Reprieve and Life, if they kept their Countenance to the last? Yet what Hope had *Thomson* and the rest when Captain *Tewerson's* Head was off? Nay, what desire had *Thomson* and *Clark* to live, being so mangled and martyred by the Torture? They were executed one by one, and every one feverally, took it upon his Death, that he was guiltless.

Now to blanch and smooth over all this rough and barbarous Proceeding, it is here given out, that the Governor and Fiscal found such Evidence of the Plot, and dealt so evenly in the Process, that they spared not their own People, having used some of their native *Dutchmen*, Partakers of this Treason, in the same Manner as they did the *English*; but this, as well by the Relation here truly and faithfully set down, grounded upon the sworn Testimony of six credible Witnesses, as also by other sufficient Reports of diverse lately come out of those Parts, appeareth to be a meer Tale, not one alleged by any in the *Indies* in many Months after the Execution, but only invented and dispersed here for a Fucus, and a fair Colour upon the whole Cause, and to make the World believe, that the Ground of this barbarous and tyrannous Proceeding was a true Crime, and not the unattainable Covetousness of the *Hollanders*, by this cruel Treachery, to gain the sole Trade of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, which is already become the Event of this bloody Process. To add herunto by way of Aggravation, will be needless, the Fact is so full of odious and barbarous Inhumanity, executed by the *Dutch*, upon the *English* Nation, in a Place where both lived under Terms of Partnership and great Amity, confirmed by a most solemn Treaty.

It must be confessed, that this in all respects a most astonishing and surprizing Relation. That the *Dutch* should be desirous of ingrossing the Spice-Trade, had nothing in it but what might be easily accounted for, because of the former Injunctances they had given us of their Avarice, that they should make no scruple of attacking and destroying the *English* that were settled in the Spice-Islands, and consequently stood in the Way of their Design, is what might have been expected from their boundless Ambition, by which they were become formidable, even to their own States, but that they should take this Method, which was at once the most barbarous, the most provoking, and the most contrary to the solemn Treaty they had made, is strange in the highest Degree. But perhaps it may be accounted still stranger, that, when they had done it, they durst justify it, and justify it even here, which however they did, which produced the Account we have given the Reader, as appears from that very Account which the *East-India* Company were not at Liberty to publish till the *Dutch* made this Appeal to the Publick themselves.

Alter this, indeed, the publishing of their Case could be no longer refused them, especially as what they offered was supported by the fullest Proofs upon Oath, registered in the Court of Chancery. We see from hence, the great Consequence of the Liberty of the Press: Had it been open at that Time, it had been impossible to have hindered the Nation from receiving ample Satisfaction for such a flagrant Injury, such an intolerable Insult. But as it was, we are told, there was a Party in King *James's* Court, that if they did not justify it, at least excused this horrid Fact, from the *Dutch* Account of it before mentioned, which renders it absolutely necessary, that this *Dutch* Account should be likewise given to the Reader, not only to prevent any Suspicion of Partiality, but that all the Circumstances of this Tragedy may appear in the clearest Light, there being some of them which could only be set forth by the *Dutch* themselves.

It may not be amiss, however, to observe, previous to the transcribing this *Dutch* Account, that at this Juncture the States were actually demanding and receiving Assistance from the Crown of *Great Britain*, and that too as large in its Nature, and as effectual in its Consequences, as any

which they had received in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for which the States expressed as much Gratitude and Thankfulness to that Monarch, as ever they did to the Queen, and, as it clearly appears, with just as much Sincerity. I would not, however, be understood to mean, that the Tragedy of *Amboyna* was acted in consequence of any Instructions from *Holland*, since that would not only be unfair, but untrue; but then the Reason of this ought to be attended to, which was, that the Prince of *Orange* was at the Head of their Affairs, and they could not, under the Eye of their Stadtholder, take any such bloody Resolutions. But in the *Indies* they were at full Liberty, and there therefore the true Genius of the Nation displayed itself; and the *Dutch* Writers, in those very Times, boast, that the General of the *East-India* Company kept as great a Court, and made in every respect as magnificent an Appearance as the Prince of *Orange* himself, which plainly proves, that as they hated the Government of the Princes of *Orange*, so they were willing that Strangers should take notice of their Independency and Power in another Part of the World, where the Government was in such Harshes as they best approved.

These Things being remembered, let us now proceed to the *Dutch* Account of the pretended Conspiracy at *Amboyna*, addressed in a Letter to a Friend of the *Indies*, under the Title of a true Detail of the News that came out of the *Indies*.

7. "The very Causes and Beginnings through which the Governor and Council, established in the Name of the United *Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, came into Submission, that something was plotted against the Province, and that flow from the great Licentiousness of the *Tarnatanes* in *Molague* and *Amboyna*, who, contrary to the Convention Alliance 1606, made with the High and Mighty Princes the States without our Consent and Knowledge, broke Peace with the King of *Fidore*, as also a Truce with the *Spaniards*, their and our ancient Adversaries, by which the said *Tarnatanes* had too much cast off all Restraints, which they, both in regard of our Condemnations and manifold Assistance, did owe to this State. The *Tarnatan* also was Master enough at Sea in the *Moluccas*, because the *English* Merchants there in the *East-India* were unwilling to furnish us with Ships of War, wars, the common Detence, as they were bound to do, according to the Treaties 1619, to the Number of ten, through which the Voyages to *Moluccas* could not be made, the Enemy traded there without any Interruption, and procured Power to lend Gallies, Ships and Pinnaces to *Molucca*, with great Succours of People and Provisions, and that because again through the same Defect of the *English* Merchants, there were no Ships of War kept as they should have been. The Subjects of the King of *Tarnate* began to commit great Insolencies against our Nation, having outrageously assaulted divers of our vessels, ways, and also slain some, and we, notwithstanding, would not obtain any Punishment upon them, as by one Outrage unpunished provokes more, through the want of the like Impunity, or other Considerations, toward the said *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna* dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and those near adjoining Places, proceeded farther, and have armed themselves at Sea, and invading divers Islands and Places standing under the *Netherlands* Government in *Amboyna*, spoiling them, and killing our Subjects, and taking others, and carrying them away for Slaves; and, notwithstanding the instant Request of the *Netherlands* Governor, no Satisfaction or Justice hath followed; but the said *Tarnatanes* are yet gone farther, and openly threatened to murder the *Dutch* Merchants, and to spoil and burn the Lodge, or Factory, which our People have many Years there enjoyed, to that our Merchants have taken out the *Dutch* Goods to save themselves from Damage; and the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo* did actually burn on fire and ruin the said *Netherlands* Factory.

In the *Mansbelli*, an Island being under the Province of *Amboyna*, they have in like manner shortly ago burned the *Netherlands* Lodge, with the Lots of all the Goods therein. The *Netherlands* Governor, that by his Presence and Authority he might cause such Rebellions to cease, and to give Order for Time to come, and

" alio to seek Satisfaction and Punishment upon the afore-
 " said Intolerencies, went towards *Lobo*, with a small Power
 " of Sloops; and coming thereabout, was met, otherwise
 " than was wont, by a Navy of Sloops of the *Tarnatans*
 " of *Lobo*, stronger than his were; those by their Confe-
 " rences gave him well to know, how little Reverence
 " they gave the *Dutch* Governor: They braved him with-
 " out any hope of Reconciliation of any thing to come, so
 " that he was lain to return to his Cattle of *Ambogna*. By
 " reason of these things, the said *Tarnatans* became so stout
 " and daring, that they gave out openly, that they would
 " come and spoil our Subjects, by a general Army, with
 " above an hundred Frigates: With these, they said, they
 " would come against *Ambogna*, to make an universal Spoil
 " of our People, through which there came a great Fear
 " upon the *Indians*, standing under the Subjection of the
 " High and Mighty Lords the States, as also over the
 " *Neiberlanders*. In the Islands lying far Eastward of
 " *Banda*, it was also said, and the News went currently
 " there, that the *Dutch* were sure enough quit of the
 " Cattle of *Ambogna*; and at that Time there was divers
 " secret Correspondencies between the *Indians* and others,
 " which gave us great Suspicion.

" By this means the *Neiberlands* Governor and Council
 " of *Ambogna* were moved to have special Regard, and
 " look narrowly into all things, seeing that it might thence
 " be clearly gathered, that something might be plotted
 " against the State in *Ambogna*, and that the *Indians* of
 " themselves durst not offer to undertake any such great
 " Design without some great Help of some of *Europe*,
 " either of *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, or some others; and also
 " they understood, that those at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had
 " great secret Correspondence with the *English* Merchants.
 " When things were in such a State at *Ambogna*, there
 " came forth, and was wonderfully discovered in *February*
 " 1623, a horrible Conspiracy against the Cattle and Per-
 " son of the *Dutch* Governor, the whole State of *Ambogna*,
 " and first by the Apprehension of a certain *Japanese*,
 " who, at an unreasonable Time, was often seen upon the
 " Wall of the Cattle, where he also over-curiously enquired
 " of the most unskilful and silliest Soldiers, touching the
 " Setting and Change of the Watch, and what Number
 " of People might be in the Cattle, and many other
 " things: Whereupon in the very Act the said *Japanese*
 " was apprehended, and being examined of many Circum-
 " stances, he confessed, that the *Japanese* Soldiers under
 " our Service, had determined to make themselves Masters
 " of the Cattle, and that they should have set upon this by
 " the Help of the *English*, who had solicited them unto
 " it; and that he, with all the other *Japanese* in the *Eng-
 " lish* Hoale, oftentimes, within three Months before, had
 " conferred with the *English*, touching the Manner where-
 " by they should bring this Treachery to pass. Then all
 " the *Japanese* Soldiers, who were in our Service, were
 " disarmed and imprisoned; and by Examination of them,
 " all, it appeared plainly, by an orderly and joint Confes-
 " sion, that all the said *Japanese*, upon the Treaty of *Ga-
 " briel Towerjon*, and other *English* Merchants and Officers,
 " agreed to assist the said *English* to betray the said Cattle,
 " and to give it over into the *English* Power; and that
 " *Gabriel Towerjon*, and *Abel Price*, an *English* Chirurgi-
 " geon, and other *English*, dealt often with them, on the
 " Ways and Means how they should work it.

" The said *Abel Price* being before imprisoned for a foul
 " and execrable Fact, and yet remaining so confined, and
 " although it appeared sufficiently to the Governor and
 " Council of *Ambogna*, out of the Confession of the *Japo-
 " nese*, what the said *Gabriel Towerjon*, with his Merchants
 " and other Accomplices, had before resolved to do, and
 " that the Council had sufficient Information to imprison
 " them all, yet the General Council would not precipitate,
 " but commanded the said *Abel Price*, then a Prisoner, to
 " come before the Council; and after the Places, Persons,
 " and Time nominated to him, where and when he had
 " dealt with the *Japanese* and other *English* about the said
 " Treachery; it was also from him well understood, how
 " he and another *Japanese* had persuaded all the *Japanese*
 " to consent to this Villany; and that consequently the
 " said *Towerjon*, as the first Author, and all the other

" *English* Merchants, had also Knowledge of the said Treachery. Upon this full and uniform Examination and
 " Confession of twelve Persons, as well of the eleven *Japo-
 " nese* as one *English*, the said *Gabriel Towerjon* was called
 " to the Council, and there appearing, the said *Towerjon*
 " called together all his People unto the Cattle, upon the
 " Request of the General Council, who were then taken and
 " imprisoned, except the said *Gabriel Towerjon* himself, and
 " whom, at his Request, and in regard of his Quality, being
 " chief Merchant in *Ambogna*, in the Name of the *English*
 " Company, his own House was allotted him for his safe-
 " keeping and forth-coming; and the said Prisoners were
 " all lawfully and orderly examined; and it appeared by
 " them jointly, according to their own Confession, every one
 " having underwritten it with his own Hand as followeth:
 " *Gabriel Towerjon*, about New year's-day 1623; having
 " with him almost all the *English* Merchants of the For-
 " eign Cantore in *Ambogna*, assembled them in his Chain-
 " ber, and propounded to them, that he had something
 " of great Moment to impart unto them under the Fide-
 " lity of an Oath to be taken before, for the keeping secret
 " thereof, and being trully therein, saying, it is necessary
 " so to be; for if the thing should come abroad which I
 " shall make known unto you, it will cost all our Lives:
 " Whereupon the holy Gospel was produced, upon which
 " every one who was present did swear Secretly and Fide-
 " lity, as was required. Then *Towerjon* opened to the Con-
 " spirators, how he had a Way and Means to make him-
 " self Master of the Cattle of *Ambogna*; and whereas some
 " present made it difficult to do, being too weak for it;
 " the said *Towerjon* answered, that he had already won to
 " his Purpose the *Japanese* Soldiers, who were in the Cattle,
 " and that they should execute his Purpose, when the
 " *Dutch*, who were in the Cattle, were in their greatest
 " Weakness, and worst provided, or when the Governor
 " should be absent about some Exploit; and that they
 " should wait till some *English* Ship or Ships were in *Amb-
 " ognia*, whose People he might employ in this Attempt;
 " as also, when all other the *English* Merchants and Slaves
 " of the Foreign Cantore in *Ambogna* should be sent for to
 " the Cattle; and said farther, that he knew how to get
 " Men enough, and they should leave this to his Care, and
 " themselves do their best; and that they of *Lobo* should
 " also come to help him, with certain *Correcurrences*, &c.

" Upon which Inducements, all that were present swore
 " to assist *Towerjon* herein, and concerning the Manner of
 " Execution; the said *Towerjon* had prescribed to the *Japo-
 " nese*, who were in the Cattle, that they should send to
 " every Point of the Bulwarks two Men, and the rest in
 " the Court should attend the Governor, and murder him;
 " and that at the Sign which should be given to the *Eng-
 " lish*, they should make themselves Masters of every Point
 " of the Bulwark, and kill all who should resist, and impris-
 " on the rest; and further, should take and divide be-
 " tween themselves and the *Japanese* the Goods of the
 " *East-India* Company, except one thousand Rials of
 " Eight, which every *Japan* should have before; and
 " that they should kill the Citizens, who would not con-
 " sent with them, and do them all the Mischief they could;
 " and touching the Time, he had not yet certainly set it;
 " but that there should suddenly be another Assembly of
 " the Conspirators, when *Gabriel Towerjon* would give Or-
 " ders for all things, and would give a Sign to the *Japo-
 " nese*, whereupon, when they shewed it, they should be-
 " gin the Work within.

" The said *Gabriel Towerjon* being asked in particular,
 " what moved him to such a wicked Fact? He answered,
 " the Desire of Honour and Profit: Being further de-
 " manded, who should enjoy the Honour and Profit, and
 " for whom he would have taken the Cattle? he answered,
 " that if he did obtain his Desire, he should presently have
 " advertised those of his Nation being in *Batavia*, and
 " called for their Help, who, if they had lent him Suc-
 " cour, he would have kept the Cattle for his own Com-
 " pany, viz. the *English East-India* Company; and if not,
 " he would have held it for himself, and have endeavoured
 " a Peace with the *Indians*; that so, by the one Means,
 " and the other, he might attain his Purpose. After the
 " Examination of *Towerjon* was ended, the *Dutch* Gover-

“ nor in *Amboyna* upbraided him of his cruel Intention,
 “ and asked if this should have been the Recompence of
 “ the manifold Honours and Kindnesses he had done to
 “ him? Whereunto *Towerfen* answered with a deep
 “ Sigh, Oh! if it were to be begun it should not be
 “ done.

“ This voluntary Confession and penitent Acknow-
 “ ledgment, with much Sorrow, was made the Ninth of
 “ *March*, being the Day when the Execution should
 “ have been done; but the Examination of *Towerfen*
 “ was ended the thirteenth of *February*, to many Days
 “ before. This is the Substance of the Confession of
 “ the ten *Japanese*, of fourteen *English*, and of a *Nether-*
 “ *landish* *Merinno*, or Captain of the Slaves, who all
 “ confirmed their intended Promission with their own Hands.
 “ What Crime was intended Promission was, is hence
 “ very manifest, and undoubted; what Punish-
 “ ment is due to Treachery, according to the Law and
 “ Customs of all Nations, is also well known; no true
 “ Christian Man will patronage any such horrible At-
 “ tempt; but will engage it worthy of Death, as it was
 “ determined upon the Accomplishers of the Conspiracy,
 “ according to the Order of Justice, as there in *Amboyna*
 “ is expressed, according to Delect, by the Governor
 “ and Council, in the Name of the High and Mighty
 “ *British* States. Here you have, Sir, the very Sub-
 “ stance of the Truth, both of the Fact and Punish-
 “ ment, other than which many Trings are spread
 “ abroad in *England*, but upon what Pretence or In-
 “ strument I know not; let the Matter itself speak for
 “ itself.

“ The first Point which is objected against this Justice
 “ done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the Proceedings which
 “ are said to be holden without Formality, and with
 “ Extremity, against the Conspirators: Your Worthip,
 “ and each reasonable Man, knoweth that every Land
 “ hath their Laws, and Ordinances, and their particular
 “ Manner of Proceedings, as well in Civil, as in Crimi-
 “ nal Causes, *England* hers, *France*, *Spain*, *Dutchland*,
 “ and all other Kingdoms and Governments have also
 “ theirs, which are just and lawful to every one in their
 “ Dominion, so that when any one will judge of the
 “ Equity or Justice of a Proceeding used in any Land,
 “ he must examine the same according to the Laws and
 “ Customs of that Kingdom, or Dominion, where the
 “ Justice and Proceedings were holden. These Pro-
 “ ceedings were holden before the Governor of the *Ne-*
 “ *therlands*, in the Name of the Illustrious Lords the
 “ States, having supreme Power, many Years since, in
 “ the City of *Amboyna*, which were conquered in the
 “ Name of the said Illustrious Lords the States, from
 “ the *Spaniards* of *Portuguese*, who held the Cattle in
 “ the Name of the King of *Spain*, our hereditary Pre-
 “ tending; therefore they are now possessed in the Name
 “ of the *British* States, and are under their Domi-
 “ nion, by a just and lawful Title of War, according to
 “ the Law of Nations. These Justices administered ac-
 “ cording to the Law of the *Netherlands*, in that Man-
 “ ner as was used in the Proceedings against those Con-
 “ spirators. I know that the Laws of *England* are diverse
 “ from ours in criminal Causes; yea, and from all the
 “ Nations in *Europe*.

“ However therefore no Man hath any Ground of
 “ Reason to say that the Proceedings of the *English*
 “ *Japanese* and *Dutch* are not legitimate, tho’
 “ the said *English* Proceedings do vary in the Manner
 “ from the Proceedings of *France*, *Spain*, &c. where
 “ other Customs are; for that is lawful which agreeth
 “ with the Laws of the Land where the Fact is com-
 “ mitted. Now then, the *Japanese* Soldiers being in
 “ the Service of the *Netherlands* Company in *Amboyna*,
 “ are discovered to have conspired against the Cattle and
 “ the Governor there, under whose Oath and Pay they
 “ were; they were apprehended, examined, and con-
 “ victed of the said Conspiracy. This Proceeding is
 “ lawful, and toucheth no Man, because the said *Japo-*
 “ *nese* knew no other Matter than the *Netherlanders*, un-
 “ der whose Oath, Service and Pay they stand. All
 “ these Conspirators, with the said *Merinno*, a Captain

“ of the *Netherlands* Slaves, confessed with one Mouth,
 “ that they were moved and induced to this Conspiracy
 “ by the *English* Merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose
 “ Names they named. Now, not only the Right of the
 “ *Netherlands*, but *England*, and of the whole World,
 “ requireth that the Authors, Abettors, and Accomplish-
 “ ers of Murder and Treason, should be punished with
 “ Death.

“ Whereunto, according to the Common Law, as also
 “ the particular Laws of every Kingdom or Dominion,
 “ the suspected Persons first, and before all, should be
 “ imprisoned, not only for preventing the Effect of their
 “ evil Purposes, but that they might also receive their
 “ deserved Punishment; which Apprehensions could not
 “ be done of any other Man than by the Command of
 “ the *Netherlands* Governor, to whom it belonged to
 “ take care to see every Act concerning supreme Power
 “ to be there observed; and especially the highest *Eng-*
 “ *lish* Officer there could not apprehend these *Eng-*
 “ *lish* Conspirators, because all the chief of the *English* Mer-
 “ chants at *Amboyna* were themselves of the Conspiracy,
 “ and Accomplishers of the Fact upon which the App-
 “ prehension was made; therefore the Apprehensions of
 “ the *English* Accomplishers must be done by the *Dutch*
 “ Governor, who therefore hath therein proceeded ac-
 “ cording to the Custom of all Nations of the World.
 “ And that these Apprehensions may be holden more
 “ lawful, it appearing out of the written Process, that
 “ the said *English* Accomplishers were not imprisoned upon
 “ the first Suspicions and gross Evidences which were
 “ had against them; but then, at last, when all the *Jap-*
 “ *onese* Soldiers were taken, examined, and convicted,
 “ and had discovered, by the uniform Confession of all
 “ the eleven.

“ The Names, and Surnames of such *English* as had
 “ persuaded, and hired them to this Fact, of which *Eng-*
 “ *lish*, viz. one *Abel Price*, Barber, was before appre-
 “ hended as an Incendiary, for burning, and other Vi-
 “ lences done upon other Houses, who also was not ex-
 “ amined, and first confessed; as the other eleven *Japone-*
 “ *se* that he, by Name *Gabriel Towerfen*, and other *Eng-*
 “ *lish* Merchants, in the foreign Countries of *Amboyna*,
 “ had Knowledge of this Conspiracy, &c. to that time
 “ he had been out of that which went before, that the *Dutch*
 “ Governor dealt no otherwise in the Apprehensions and
 “ Examinations of the *English* than according to his
 “ Place and Power, and that with great Direction, ac-
 “ cording to the Laws of the United Provinces. The
 “ second Point, which is absolutely disputed in *En-*
 “ *land* against this Execution is, that it is said, that it
 “ did not appertain to the *Netherlands* in *Amboyna*, to
 “ imprison the said *English*, and to proceed against them,
 “ or to punish them; but that it did belong to the
 “ Council of Defence, resident at *Jacatra*, consisting
 “ half of *English* and half of *Netherlands*, according
 “ to the Treaty of the Year 1619, made between the
 “ *Dutch* and the Lords the States, between the said
 “ *East India* Companies.

“ That I might the better inform myself thereof, I
 “ took in Hand, and perused the general Treaty of
 “ 1619, with the Application following thereupon; but
 “ I protest, as I think, that every unerring Man
 “ must confess, that neither in the said Treaty, nor in
 “ the Enlargement, any one Article or Word can be
 “ perceived, whereby, according to that which is al-
 “ truly said in *England*, either this, or any such thing, is
 “ ordained or decided by the said Treaty, as it ought to
 “ have been in so great and important a Point as the Place
 “ of Jurisdiction is, I appeal to all wise Men, who I
 “ fire may judge of this, whether this Speech of some
 “ in *England*, to wit, that the said Council of Defence
 “ should alone have judged these Conspirators, be agree-
 “ able to the said Treaty, or contrary to the same. I
 “ find many Arguments for my negative Opinion, to
 “ wit, that before the Treaty of 1619, the *Dutch* in
 “ *Amboyna* administered Jurisdiction and Judicature to
 “ all, and every one, who dwelt in, or under the Juris-
 “ diction of the Cattle, as well Inhabitants as Strangers,
 “ without Difference; and that, in the said Treaty,

s, confessed with one Mouth, and induced to this Conspiracy, is resident in *Ambeyna*, whole now, not only the Right of the Land, and of the whole World, but the Abettors, and Accomplices, should be punished with

g to the Common Law, as also every Kingdom or Dominion, first, and before all, should be preventing the Effect of their they might also receive their which Apprehensions could not Man than by the Command of or, to whom it belonged to Act concerning Supreme Power and especially the highest Eng- I not apprehend that Eng- I the chief of the *English* Mer- themselves of the Conspiracy, the Fact upon which the App- therefore the Apprehensions s must be done by the *Dutch* ore hath therein proceeded ac- of all Nations of the World. refections may be hold to ma- of the written Process, but ices were not inquired upon I gross Evidences which were then, at last, when all the Pa- ren, examined, and reviewed, e the uniform Confession of all

urnames of such Eng- as had em to this Fact, of which *Ja- ce, Harbor, was before ap- ury, for burning, and other Heuses, who also was witness- as the other eleven *Japone- ired Towerfon, and other Ex- foreign Countries of *Ambeyna*, Conspiracy, &c. so that it may ch went before, that the *Dutch* rive in the Apprehensions and *English* than according to his that with great Direction, a- of the United Provinces. I is absolutely dispersed in I- tion is, that it is said, that the *Netherlands* in *Ambeyna*, to y, and to proceed against them, but that it did belong to the resident at *Jacava*, consisting of *Netherlands*, according to Year 1619, made between the States, between the said**

better inform myself thereon. I perused the general Treaty of anion following thereupon, but that every unreasoning Man- ther in the said Treaty, is in one Article or Word, could be according to that which I say: either this, or any such thing, is the said Treaty, as it ought to be important a Part as a Pre- sential to all wise Men, who I whether this Species of Torture at the said Council of Deten- ed these Conspirators, be agree- y, or contrary to the same. I for my negative Opinion, of Treaty of 1619, the *Dutch* Jurisdiction and Judicature, who dwell in, or under the Jur- is well Inhabitants as Strangers, and that, in the said Treaty,

" the *Dutch*, with the *English* Merchants, made only a
" League in the Manner of Commerce and Negotiati-
" ons of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, and Pepper, in some
" Quantities, without having any further Treaty or
" Communication in the Land. So that without the
" Bounds of this common Negotiation, every one re-
" main'd free and unhindered in the Land by the Right
" and Possession which either Company enjoyed and ex-
" ercised severally, according as the same appeareth out
" of the twenty-third Article of the Treaty, where it is
" expressly said, that Castles and Forts shall remain in
" their Hands who do at present possess them: And
" out of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Arti-
" cles of the Treaty, all may see that this Common Coun-
" cil of Defence hath no more Power, save only over
" the Fellowship of the Treaty, that is, over the Navy
" of Defence in the Sea, to the Defence of common
" Merchandize and Liberty of Commerce. And, lastly,
" to tax the Charges for the Provision of Ammunition in
" the Forts; neither can any other Thing be sincerely
" collected out of the said Treaty, so far as I can con-
" ceive.

" Therefore, this second Point is found to be untrue
" and abusive, being not founded upon the said Treaty,
" which Treaty, notwithstanding, ought to be the only
" Rule both of the one and the other Company. Finally,
" it is given out in *England*, that in the Examination of
" the Conspirators, there was Excess in the *Netherlands*
" Judges in the Point of Torture. I acknowledge, that
" no Argument or Pretext against the Justice of this Ex-
" ecution, hath more moved me in the Beginning, than
" this Pretence of Excess aforesaid; because this stretch
" Christian Compassion; although I also judge, that wise
" Men will not suffer themselves to be too much trans-
" ported thereby, before the true Reasons do fully appear
" which should move us thereunto; for I well remember
" yet, that in the Time of former Mistaking in the
" Indies, many Things were pretended on both Parts; up-
" on which Pretence were great Out cries on either Side,
" which yet, by due Examination, were found to be false
" Pretexes of some Ill-willers, and Men desirous to wran-
" gle; which Pretences, being thoroughly sifted by the
" high and much-admired Wisdom of his Majesty, and
" the Lords the States, were well discovered to be no
" such Matters as they were made; as it is also undoubt-
" edly believed, that his Majesty and the States will yet
" further do in this Affair, and to the Cause of the *Dutch*
" Company may be rightly justified, of which I under-
" stand, that the Lords the States have special Regard;
" and that they have been thoroughly informed what is
" the very Truth of the Things there past, and of the
" Execution in *Ambeyna* of the *English* Conspirators; un-
" to which End the Lords the States resolved to see and
" peruse all the Papers and Letters touching the said Pro-
" ceedings. And now, thereupon, Men speak far other-
" wise than heretofore; for Pretences and Cavils cannot
" stand with Truth. And it doth plainly appear, that
" there is little Truth in the Matter of Torture, reported
" to be most cruelly inflicted upon the *English* Conspirators,
" as in *England* it is said; and I have ever suspect-
" ed this for a Slander; for, I know the *Dutch* Nation
" doth naturally abhor this kind of Cruelty, and are as
" much moved to Commiseration as any other People.
" But whether these evil-minded Men, who have feat-
" tered this great Slander in *England*, and have so foully
" defaced a just Cause, have done it by Occasion of an
" Use of Tortures in their Lands in some weighty Causes,
" according to the Custom of most Dominions in *Europe*,
" I can not judge.

" But is that to be censured and judged to be unjust of
" the whole World, which is repugnant to the Laws of
" *England* (or any one Nation) where Torture is really
" used? Nothing so but the Justice or Injustice of a Cause
" must be determined according to the Laws where it is
" done, and not of other Lands. If this were not so,
" why then should not the whole World much more judge
" that as hard, and a thing unheard of, which in some Cau-
" ses is used in *England*, according to the Laws there, when
" they proceeded against some guilty Persons, who being

" once, and again asked of the Judge, and utterly refu-
" sing to be legally tried, is adjudged to be dumb, that
" is, by Contumacy, whose Condemnation then accord-
" ingly followeth, that he is laid upon a Table, or Plank,
" and another Plank upon him, that his Body is miser-
" ably bruised, and so pressed violently to Death. The
" which, according to the Confession of all Nations, and
" by the *English* Writers, is judged to be one of the most
" sharp and severe kinds of Deaths that can be invented;
" yet cannot such an Execution be called cruel and un-
" lawful, when it is done in *England*, because it is done
" according to the Laws of that Land, though Strangers
" shall judge otherwise of it; and in like Manner the *En-
" glish* Nation cannot complain of the Torture which
" Evil-willers say was used upon these *English* Conspira-
" tors in *Ambeyna*, because it was done according to the
" Laws of this Government, and is not unusual in Cases
" of Treason, neither with us, nor with any Nation in
" *Europe*.

" And for *England* itself, it is well known, and his
" most excellent Majesty doth acknowledge, by his own
" princely Pen, that the Rack and the Manicles are the
" only Tortures that are exercised upon Traitors, to force
" them to confess what they know to be dangerous to
" the State; and to say the Truth, without taking Pains,
" the *English* Conspirators being affronted with the uni-
" form and written Confessions of the eleven *Japoneses*,
" their Accomplices, which would convince them suffici-
" ently, according to the Laws, and find them guilty of
" the same Conspiracy, and consequence of Death; if
" now notwithstanding this, they had persisted in the
" stout Denial of the Fact, were not this enough to judge
" them dumb by Contumacy, and so to esteem them
" worthy of this sore Punishment of pressing to Death as
" aforesaid? But this Torture of ours, is to be judged far
" less than that pressing where the Malefactor doth suffer
" such extream Misery as cannot be imagined, and which
" is not to be lenient or eased at all, but ended by
" Death.

" But to the sufficient Satisfaction of myself, and your
" Worship, and all Men, and not to speak according to
" the Sentences and Consciences of others, I have used
" all Diligence to get into my Hands the written Process
" concerning the Conspirators in *Ambeyna*, which I ob-
" tained authentically, and read carefully, and I find, that
" all by me above said is confirmed, to wit, that the
" *Japonesse* Accomplices were examined and made their
" Confessions as aforesaid, for three Days, viz. the 23^d,
" 24th and 25th of *February* 1623; and that all this be-
" ing done and consummated before, then at last is *Ga-
" briel Towerfon*, first with the rest of the *English* Accom-
" plices, imprisoned the said 2th of *February*, when
" their Examination and Confession began, and contin-
" ued divers Days, without ever halting till the 3^d of
" *March*; and the said Examinations and Confessions be-
" ing so finished, the *Netherlands* Governor and Council
" deliberated whether the Punishment might be deferred
" to any long Time, or referred to any other Place; but
" it was so concluded, by joint Consent of all, that the
" said Punishment there deferred, must be executed in
" the same Place for Example; and that it could not in
" any wise be delayed without extream Danger, for Rea-
" sons there related: And, among others, because the
" *Japoneses* and *Indians* about *Ambeyna* had, otherwise
" than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it be fur-
" ther known what great Confederacy these Conspirators
" had made with them and others.

" And touching any extraordinary and cruel Torture,
" I have accurately looked over every one's Confession;
" but I find not one Word in any one, which maketh any
" Mention of such Torture, as is unjustly spoken of in
" *England*; nay, scarce find any Mention of that ordi-
" nary Torture which is in Use, save only these Words;
" in one Act of the 25th of *February* 1623, viz. the
" Council being gathered together, have thought meet
" that all the *English* should be presently examined, one
" after another, as accordingly it was instantly done, and
" some of them before any Torture, others, after a little,
" or rather a Touch of it, confessed as followeth. Unto
" which

“ which followeth presently, the particular Confession of every one, subscribed with his own Hand, as aforesaid. So that hence it is manifest, that no extraordinary Torture was used in such Manner as is given out there by those that with us evil; nay, that those few that felt any, were only touched (not punished) with ordinary Torture.

“ And thus your Worship hath the upright and impartial Truth of this Business, touching the whole Passage as it proceeded, and the Punishment as it was inflicted, from which some of the *English* were exempted by Favour, that the *English* Goods should not be lost, according as Order had been given to that End. And I find that the Sentence had been given the 9th of *March*, 1623, by a competent Assembly of fourteen Judges, who, as it appeareth in the Sentence, in the doing thereof, did before earnestly call upon the Name of the Lord, that he would please to be President, and predominant in every one of their Hearts, in this sorrowful Assembly, and that he would inspire them only with that which might be judged to be expedient and just, &c. So that out of all that is above-said, nothing else can appear, but that this Business was managed lawfully and orderly, by Men of Honesty and Conscience, against such as had undertaken against the State, against the Wealth, and Advantage of this *East-India* Company, the Lives of their Officers there placed, against the State and Welfare of many, who as little deserved, and as little expected such Wickedness from their friendly Confederates in the same Society of Merchants there residing with them.

“ And now (considering the Premises) I hope it shall be far from every Christian, in anywise, to protect, or excuse this wicked Fact; but rather to mourn and grieve, as we do, for this Conspiracy, and for the Evil the Conspirators have so deservedly drawn upon their own Heads, and to honour them who, in Justice, have punished Villainy according to the true Merit thereof; for, we all know, that, without Justice, without Reward of that which is good, and Punishment of that which is evil, no Society of Mankind can consist.

“ And for this Information, which I send in Love and Honour to your Worship, as unto a Lover of Truth, and a Hater of Treachery, you may make such Use as to you shall seem good in any Place where you come, both for Refutation of any thing already reported contrary thereunto, and for Prevention of any farther false Rumours or Clamours. And, finally, for the Propagation of that undoubted Truth, which here, to my best, I have endeavoured to discover.

“ And if you shall meet with any thing of Worth, which can be truly avowed to be contradictory unto any thing I have written, I desire to understand it from you, and you to suspend your wise and impartial Judgment, till I have cleared it unto you: Truth remaineth ever the same. So I commend you to the God of Truth, desiring him to give us Minds, not to judge according to outward Appearance, but to judge with righteous Judgment.”

8. It is evident enough, from the Style and Composition of this extraordinary Piece, that it was penned at the Request, and for the Use of some Person of Credit here, who was a great Friend to the *Dutch*, and highly instrumental in preventing the Government from interposing, as they ought to have done, in favour of the *East-India* Company, and obtaining the *best*; for a full Satisfaction could not be had, for the safe and barbarous Usage of Captain *Towerfen*, and the rest of the *Englishmen*, who were thus cruelly murdered at *Ambeyna*. But it is not so easy to say who this Person was. The Writers of Scandal in those Times, charged this, dissuading the King from interposing, upon two Persons, by Name, viz. the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, and the then Secretary of State Sir *Ralph Winwood*. And I have met with a Book, printed in 1651, in which it is affirmed, that the Secretary received a Bribe from the *Dutch* of 30 or 40000 Pounds for that Service only. I take this to be a horrid Calumny; for having taken some Pains in examining the History of

those Times, of which indeed I once intended to have written, I have met with so many Proofs of the Candour, Integrity, and publick Spirit of that worthy Secretary, that I make not the least Scruple of affirming, that this must be a prodigious Falshood.

As to the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Interest with King *James* was so great, that if he had not been some way or other appeased, I cannot but think the Massacre at *Ambeyna* would not have passed as it did; but, at the same time, I must profess, that I do not believe he was capable of being bribed to such a Behaviour: I rather think he was misled and imposed upon; and I make no question that this very Paper was transmitted to some Person in his Confidence for that Purpose. It is an easy matter to speak in the Dead, and too common a Practice to tear those Characters to pieces which are least like to be defended; but this I dare not do: Though, to shew that it is not without Reason, that I suspect the Duke of *Buckingham* to have had a large Share in preventing King *James* from testifying a becoming Repentment upon this Occasion, I will relate a particular Fact that led me into this Opinion. The *East-India* Company, to perpetuate the Memory of its barbarous Transactions, caused the Tortures and Sufferings of the *English* at *Ambeyna*, to be very exactly painted, and hung up in their Hall; which Picture, by the Direction of *Buckingham*, was taken down; for which this Reason was assigned, that, as it had not been thought proper to involve the Nation in a War on this Account, it was, by no Means, decent, that such a Picture should remain to the publick View; since, at the same time that it expressed the Cruelty of the *Dutch*, it threw some kind of Odium on the *English* Administration.

But tho' these Paintings in Oil were removed, the *East-India* Company could not be drawn, either to forget this Affair, or to suffer the Account that this *Dutch* Agent had published of it, to pass unanswered; and therefore they employed a very good Pen, to shew the Inconsistencies of this Relation, and furnished him with all the Materias that were requisite for that Purpose. This Design of his he executed with great Spirit and Diligence, and the Piece itself is so clear a Vindication of the Innocency of the *English*, and so full a Proof of the Cruelty and Barbarity of the *Dutch*, that I have thought fit to insert it for the same Reasons, which induced me to give Place to the other Papers; and I persuade myself that it will be very agreeable to my Readers, to see, at one View, and in a narrow Compass, all the authentick Evidence that remains of this cruel, arbitrary, and unjust Proceeding, by which so many brave Men were, at that Time, deprived of their Lives in so ignominious a Manner, and the *English* Nation for ever deprived of so important and valuable a Commerce. This Reply of the *English* Company was conceived in the following Terms.

“ The Compiler of this Relation, perceiving that he had an hard Task to make it probable, that the *Englishmen*, Merchants, and their Servants, who were seduced, should, with the Assistance of ten *Japanezen*, wife unaimed, undertake the Slaughter of a Company, provided every Way as that of *Ambeyna*, and that the Relation of the *English* truly contained the Truth, also the same Author well weighed the Matter, and that he was to write of this pretended Conspiracy, which he was to be taken for true; yet the Fact would not be so easy to bear so rigorous a Punishment, as that which is here set forth. Quality, and of that Relation to the *Dutch*, which provides more skillfully than that of the *English*. Points, in the Preamble of this Relation, which he rakes and heaps together all the *Japanezen* together, and says that the *Dutch* had in the *Japans*, a more than they truly had at, or about the *Japans*, intended Conspiracy, and applies them to the Commission of this Business, as if all their Endeavours were to conspire with the *English*; and that they were under Colour whereof they were constrained to be executed, were possible and probable, as if the *Japans* of the Time had been then so dangerous to the *Dutch*, that a Conspiracy was to be expected, and the least Offence to be severely punished.”

ed I once intended to have many Proofs of the Candour, wit of that worthy Secretary, in accepting of affirming, that this

gham, his Interest with King, he had not been some way or think the Maffice at Ambona did; but, at the same time, believe he was capable of being I rather think he was made take no question of this very e Person in his Commission, rather matter to speak ill of the Deat, e to rear those Characters to be defended; but this I dare that it is not without Reason, uckingsb. to have had a large mes from testifying a second- ecalation, I will relate a partic- his Opinion. The *East India* the Memory of this *East India* tortures and Sufferings of the very exactly pointed, and long Picture, by the Direction of n; for which this Reason was not been thought proper to mention this Account, it was, I do Picture should r main, I presume time that it expects, I presume some kind of Omission

Oil were removed, the *East-India* be drawn, either to forget this point that this *Dutch* Agent had manifested; and therefore they to shew the Inconsistencies of him with all the Mater as Purpose. This Design of his spirit and Diligence, and the indication of the Innocence of the of the Cruelty and Barbarity of ought fit to insert it for the same me to give Place to the other self that it will be very agreea- at one View, and in many w lack Evidence that it remains and unjust Proceed, by which at that Time, depar of our Manner, and the *Dutch* so important a Part of the of the *East-India* Company was Terms.

s Relation, precisely that make it probable, that and their Services, and the Silence of ten *Years*, since the Surprise of *Amboyna*, that of *Amboyna*, and the *English* truly ed, and that well we go, and that his pretence of being the Fact would be Punishment in Relation to these than to any other of this Relation, ther all the *Journal* ed in the *Journal*, or about it. This applies them, and if all our *English* and *Dutch* they were necessary, and probable, as in the *Journal* to be dangerous, that is, to be exposed to the be *English* and *Dutch*.

fore, although this be no direct Charge of the *English*, but used by the Author to supply the Want of Probabilities in the Proceed itself.

It will not be amiss to examine the several Circumstances, and how far they may yield any Suspicion against the said *English*. Now, this Author taketh the many Grounds of this Suspicion of some great Plot against the Province of *Ambona*, from the unwonted Boldness and Insolence of the *Tarnatanes*, first in the *Moluccas*, and then in *Ambona*: For those in the *Moluccas*, he saith, they had lately before the pretended Conspiracy of the *English*, gone about, contrary to the Treaty, Anno 1606, between them and the *Dutch*, to make Peace with the King of *Tidore*, and a Truce with the *Spaniards*, without the Consent or Knowledge of them the *Dutch*; which, how honestly and conscientiously it is alledged to this Purpose, may appear by the Journals of those Parts; which, evidently shew, that this Treaty between those of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, was in *November*, 1621; that is to say, fifteen Months before this forged Conspiracy, and that with the Knowledge of *Houtman*, the Governor of the *Dutch*, who, upon the 19th of *November*, the Year aforesaid, acquainted *M. Nicols*, the Agent of the *English* in those Parts, with the Preparations of this Treaty, which was actually holden at *Ternate* the 24th of the same Month. But the Matter was to well handled by the *Dutch* to keep those neighbour Islands in perpetual War, that the Treaty was dissolved *re infecta*; and the 7th of *December* following an Edict was published by the King of *Ternate*, commanding all the *Tidorens* forthwith to depart the Island of *Ternate*, upon Pain to be made Slaves.

Alter this, the Correspondence between the *Dutch* and *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas*, returned into as firm a State as ever. The *Tarnatanes*, performing daily Exploits against the *Spaniards*, and communicating the Triumph with the *Dutch*: as the 17th of *February*, 1622, being a full Year before the signed Treaty of the *English*, the King of *Ternate*, with twenty Curricuries, took a *Spanish* Gally, flew forty in Fight, and took one hundred and fifty Prisoners, whom they sold to the *Dutch* for Cloth and Rice; and coming by the *Hollanders* Cattle of *Maalro*, the 18th of the same Month, with the Heads of divers *Spaniards* at his Stern, the *Dutch* saluted him from their said Cattle with nine Shot of great Ordnance. The 25th of *April* following, the Admiral of the King of *Ternate*, took a Prow of the *Spaniards*, flew some, and sold the rest to the *Dutch*; the 28th of the same Month, both *Dutch* and *English* were feasted by the King of *Ternate*; the 28th of *May* next ensuing, the King of *Ternate* went forth to *Macban* with six Curricuries, and at his Departure, was honoured with thirty Shot of great Ordnance from the *Dutch* Cattle; the 15th of *June* the Admiral of the King of *Ternate* made a Voyage towards *Mindanes*, carrying diverse of the *Dutch* with him to assist him; the 3d of *July* the *Tarnatanes* took their Prisoners and sold them to the *Dutch*; the 27th of *August* the King of *Ternate* made one *Yegler*, a *Dutch* Merchant, his Treasurer, at whose Inflantment in his new Office, the *Dutch* gave seven great Shot from the Cattle. And this good Correspondence between the *Tarnatanes* and the *Dutch* in the *Moluccas*, continued even until, and after the Execution of the *English* at *Ambona*, which was, as has been shewed, in *February* 1623, N. S. upon the 14th of which Month the *Dutch* gave the King of *Ternate*, and other Blacks, two hundred Bales of *Japan* Rice, with other Presents; at the Delivery whereof there were shot off from the Cattle seven Pieces of Ordnance, and three Volleys of Small-Shot: By all which may appear how sincerely this Author applieth the Difference between the *Dutch* and the King of *Ternate*, which was none at all, to this Business at *Ambona*.

The next Point is, that the *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas* went about also to make Truce with the *Spaniards*, without Consent or Knowledge of the *Dutch*, which this Dealing of the Author is worse than the former; for this Treaty of Truce appeareth by the Journals to

have been holden the 19th of *July* 1623, which was five Months alter the Execution of the *English* at *Ambona*, and to came too late to move Suspicion against them; and yet this pretended Fear and Jealousy of the *Moluccas* is further amplified by the Strength of the *Spaniards*, being then, as this Author affirmeth, Master of the Sea there; and that by default of the *English*, who, contrary to the Treaty of the Year 1619, had deserted the Defence, and sent no more Ships, neither to the *Moluccas*, nor to the *Manillas*; whence now the *Spaniards* had Means to send Ships, Gallies, and Pinnaces to the *Moluccas*. What the Strength of the *Spaniards* in the *Moluccas* by Sea was at the Time of this pretended Fear, may appear, by the Exploits before-mentioned, done upon them by the Curricuries of the *Tarnatanes*, without the Help of the *Dutch*.

But for the Default of the *English*, which is here audiously alledged, it will be requisite to sit down the true Cause wherefore the *English* relinquished the Action of Defence, as well at the *Manillas* as elsewhere, being a Matter much aggravated upon all Occasions by the *Dutch*, albeit themselves have given the Cause thereof. Wherefore shortly, the true Motives of the *English* their desisting from the Action of Defence is as followeth. The *English* had, by Agreement of the Council of Defence, two Years together maintained a Fleet of five tall and warlike Ships to join with the like Strength of the *Dutch* for the Action of the *Manillas*, and the Profit of the Voyage, as well as the Charge to be common to both Companies. The *Dutch* prepared another Fleet of seven Ships all of their own for *Macao*, bordering upon *Cebu* near the *Manillas*, without giving Knowledge thereof to the *English* at *Jacatra*, until their Fleet was ready to depart thence, well knowing, that upon such Warning, it would be impossible for the *English* to prepare a like Force to join with them: To these they appointed eight Pinnaces that were then abroad to join them, and afterwards sent another Ship with Provisions to them. This Fleet passing by two of the *English* Ships which were appointed for that Quarter of the *Manillas*, the *English* welcomed them, and offered to join them in their Exploit, which the *Dutch* refused, saying, that this being an Exploit of their own, the *English* should neither participate of the Profit, nor of the Benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise by Agreement of the Council of Defence of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten Ships set forth at the Charge of the *English* and *Dutch*, for the Coast of *Mallabar*, to secure the Trade in that Part.

Of the *Dutch* Ships, about a Month after they set sail, two were found to be so weak and leaky, that they were fain to return to *Jacatra*, the rest being come to their Quarter: Two of the best of the *Dutch* Ships were sent away by the *Dutch* Admiral for the *Red-Sea*, contrary to their Instructions and Commission at *Jacatra* from the Council of Defence; and notwithstanding the Prohibitions, Obstructions, and Exclamations of the *English* against this Prevarication; so that four Carracks of the *Portuguese* coming that Way, the rest of the Fleet of the *English* and *Dutch* being thus weakened by the Default of the four *Dutch* Ships aforesaid, the first Opportunity that happened, either before or since the joining of the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, or is ever likely to offer itself in the future, was lost, and utterly defeated: By this it appeareth what Cause the *Dutch* have to complain of the *English* for deserting the Action of Defence, and what Reason and Encouragement the *English* have to continue the joint Action and Charge with those that use so little Sincerity, ever contriving the common Action and Charge to their private Advantage; that when the joint Forces are employed to give the Enemy Work in one Part, the *Dutch* might with Ease oppress them in another, and appropriate the whole Benefit to themselves.

The next Suspicion that this Author gathereth is from the Involucres of the *Tarnatanes* of *Ambona* dwelling at *L. Is* and *Cambello*, and thereabout, who, as this Author saith, peritum a now, beyond former Example, to outrage the Subjects of the *Dutch*, slaying them, and

“ carrying them away for Slaves; yea, burning two of
 “ their Houses, one at *Lobo*, and another at *Manickels*;
 “ for which, when the Governor went out with a Fleet to
 “ crave Justice and Reparation, he was braved by the
 “ *Tarnatanes* with a stronger Fleet than his own; yea,
 “ they threatened to come with a hundred Curricurries
 “ against *Ambogna*.

“ This Dealing of the Author is like the former about
 “ the Treaty of Peace with the *Tidorians*, and Truce with
 “ the *Spaniards*; for when the Governor of *Ambogna* set
 “ forth the Fleet of Curricurries, before the Apprehension
 “ of the *English*, he stood in good Terms with the *Tarna-*
 “ *tanates* at *Lobo*, neither of the Factories here mentioned
 “ being then burnt, or injured; the Governor then went
 “ only, according to his yearly Custom, to visit the Skirts
 “ and Out parts of *Ambogna*, and had no Affront offered
 “ him. After that upon occasion of a Slave of the *English*
 “ that ran away; and being afterwards laid hold on, was
 “ rescued by a reputed holy Man of or near that Part;
 “ the *English* craved Assistance of the *Dutch* Governor,
 “ who did his best, but was therein abused by those of
 “ *Lobo*; and not only some of his Men outraged, but the
 “ *English* Factor, *M. Beaumont*, to whom this Slave
 “ belonged, was way-laid by the People of the holy
 “ Man; and instead of him one of the Servants of the
 “ *Dutch* was slain between *Cambello* and *Lobo*. The next
 “ Day also was *Beaumont* himself assailed, and shot in the
 “ Hand by the same holy Man's People, who also a little
 “ before did their best to kill *William Griggs*, another of
 “ the *English* Factors, that finding the said Slave at *Lobo*,
 “ laid hold on him there. Upon this Occasion both the
 “ *English* and *Dutch* left their Factory at *Lobo*, which was
 “ shortly after burnt by the *Tarnatanes*.

“ That other, touching the burning the Factory at *Ma-*
 “ *nickels*, is more grossly applied than the former; for
 “ that Factory was burnt after the *English* were appre-
 “ hended; besides that, this Author dissembleth, that
 “ there was a vehement and common Suspicion at *Amb-*
 “ *ogna*, that this Factory at *Manickels* was burnt, not by
 “ the *Tarnatanes*, but by the *Dutch* Factor himself, who
 “ being there alone, was first said to have conveyed away
 “ the Goods of the *Dutch* and *English* there for his own
 “ Use, and then to have burnt the Factory, laying the
 “ Fault upon the *Tarnatanes*. After this ended, the Go-
 “ vernor of *Ambogna* made out a Fleet of Curricurries to
 “ procure Reparations of these Excesses, and therein, not
 “ going so strong as he might, was braved by these *Tar-*
 “ *natanes* of *Ambogna*; but this was after the Apprehen-
 “ sion and Execution of the *English*, and so is as honestly
 “ applied to move Suspicion in this Place, as the joint
 “ Quarrel of the *English* and *Dutch* with those of *Lobo*,
 “ beginning upon occasion of the *English*; and as the
 “ Burning of the Factory at *Manickels*, done after the
 “ *English* were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the
 “ Threats of the *Tarnatanes* here mentioned, that they
 “ would come with an hundred Curricurries against *Amb-*
 “ *ogna*, it is, for aught any of the *English* ever heard, a
 “ mere Fiction; at most, it was a vain Brag, and such as
 “ could not allright the Governor, that knoweth well that
 “ the *Tarnatanes* have no Gun-powder, nor other Provi-
 “ sions, for such an Exploit; and yet are far behind the
 “ Governor of *Ambogna* for Number of Curricurries, be-
 “ sides the *Dutch* Ships and Cattle.

“ The next Cause of Suspicion this Author makes to be
 “ an idle Report in the Last Parts beyond *Banda*, uncer-
 “ tain which, or by whom, that the *Dutch* were already
 “ quit of their Cattle at *Ambogna*: A poor Pretence, and
 “ not worthy to be answered, yet still farther discover-
 “ ing what Penalty of good Matter this Author had, that
 “ he was to borrow such crazy Stuff. But the last,
 “ and that which is expressly applied to the *English*, is, that
 “ about this time the *Dutch* understood that those of *Lobo*
 “ and *Cambello* held great and secret Correspondence with
 “ the *English*. How did the *Dutch* understand this? or
 “ why does not this Author express the particular Proof
 “ in a Matter so pertinent? It is true, the *English* had
 “ their Factories at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, but in the same
 “ Houses with the *Dutch*, and for their joint Account, and
 “ had Traffick with the Country People as the *Dutch*

“ had; but what secret Correspondence is this? or what
 “ Danger to the *Dutch*? Was the Burning of the Facto-
 “ ries, which belonged to the *English* as well as to the
 “ *Dutch*, a Note of good Intelligence between the *Eng-*
 “ *lish* and the Incendiaries? What was that for Correspon-
 “ dency with those of *Lobo*, when at one time they way-
 “ laid *M. Beaumont* to kill him, and at another time shut
 “ him in the Hand with an Arrow; offered to kill *W-*
 “ *lam Griggs*, and from Time to Time outraged our
 “ People equally with, and as the *Dutch*? Further, our
 “ People, as well as the *Dutch*, now dissolve their Fac-
 “ tory at *Lobo*, and were come all thence; What Letters
 “ or Messages did they ever send thither afterwards? or
 “ how, or by what means maintained they this Correspon-
 “ dence? Yet this was understood, perhaps, by the Go-
 “ vernor's Dreams; for that, as he afterwards told *Mr.*
 “ *Walden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came into *Man-*
 “ *Banda*, was a Motive to him to examine the said *Jap-
 “* which was the Beginning of the whole Process.

“ The Author having thus quietted himself in his Pre-
 “ face, proceedeth to the Matter itself, first he sheweth
 “ the Occasion and Manner of the Discovery of this pre-
 “ tended Plot, and then the Confessions of the *Jap-
 “* and of the *English*; but he maketh no mention of any
 “ Torture used upon the *Japoneze* that first confessed, nor
 “ of any other Inducement or Pretension to torture or
 “ examine that *Japoneze*; but only in curious questions,
 “ touching the firing and changing of the Watch, and of
 “ the Number of the Soldiers in the Cattle, was checked
 “ what sufficient Inducement and Cause it was to torture a
 “ Soldier of their own that served them, but *Ratana*;
 “ understand the Course of their Watches, and the strength
 “ of the Aid he might expect, if any such an Attempt
 “ should happen in his Quarter, is easily to be judged;
 “ and how this poor Man, and the rest of his Countrymen
 “ were tortured, appeareth in the *English* Relation. Here
 “ also is concealed, by what manner and kind of questions
 “ this and the other *Japoneze* were led along in their Con-
 “ fessions, to make up the Plot just as the *Dutch* have
 “ vilified it; and also what other Answers they gave, when
 “ they were thus directed: That they and the *Japoneze* con-
 “ fessed what the *Dutch* would have them, without
 “ nor Wonder, being so tormented, and in such a man-
 “ ner, *nam Innocentes cogit mentes dicitur*. But what
 “ Likelihood or Possibility there is of the *Japoneze* con-
 “ fessions, if yet they contended, as they are said, may
 “ appear by that which hath already been examined in
 “ this Point towards the End of the *English* Relation;
 “ which, for Brevity sake, is here forbore to repeat;
 “ yet some Circumstances, which the *Dutch* Relation hath
 “ more than the *English*, deserve here to be examined.

“ And first, that of *Abel Price*, the *English* Butler,
 “ who is made the Messenger and Negotiator betwixt
 “ Practice with the *Japoneze*: It is true, that *Price* was
 “ alone, of all the *English*, had some kind of Conversa-
 “ tion with some of the *Japoneze*; that is, would eat and
 “ drink with them, as he likewise did with other *Jap-
 “* and with the *Dutch* also: But is it credible, that *Mr.*
 “ *Towerson* would commit any thing of *Mr. Price's* nature,
 “ dangerous a Matter as this, to a drunken, unlearned Man,
 “ who also, as the *English* that were there could testify,
 “ port, threatened to cut his, the said *Towerson's* Throat;
 “ for that he had punished him for his Misdeeds?
 “ Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* to be
 “ that all the *English* Merchants in the Out-factory were
 “ privy and accessory to this pretended Treason, viz. the
 “ Governor and Pilcal, in their own Process, and the
 “ *Powel*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and two other, gentlemen.
 “ After *Price's* Confession, he sets down the general
 “ Substance of all the Confessions in one Body, which
 “ first, having assigned *Mr. Towerson* a Promise to be
 “ to induce them to the Exploit, he sheweth that they
 “ made doubt of the Point of Possibility, as well they
 “ might, knowing the Weakness of their own Party, and
 “ impregnable Strength of the *Dutch*, in Comparison
 “ theirs; for Satisfaction of which their Doubts he said
 “ *Mr. Towerson* told them, that he had already won
 “ *Japoneze* within the Cattle to his Purpose, and that
 “ would attempt this Matter, not when the *Dutch* were

correspondence is this? or what as the Burning of the Factor the English as well as to the Intelligence between the English that was that for Correspondence when at one time they way him, and at another time they Arrow; offered to kill him Time to Time out-raged our as the Dutch? Further, our atch, now dissolved their Facome all thence. What Letters or send thither afterwards? maintained they this Correspondence, perhaps, by the Captain, as he afterwards told Mr. Riggs, that came tailor from him to examine the first Japone of the whole Process.

quitted himself in this Pre-Matter itself, first being avarer of the Discovery of his prethe Confessions of the Japone, he maketh no mention of any Japone that first confessed, or or Pardon upon a Point, or only by curious questions, changing of the Party, and others in the Castle, was the Cause it was to raise a served them, but rather their Watches, and the strength spect, if any such Article matter, is easily to be judged; and the rest of the Contrivance in the English Relation. Here manner and kind of the Japone were led along to the Plot just as the Dutch together Answers they give.

That they and the Dutch should would have their, was the mented, and the Dutch of *negotia mentis* was. But what is there of the Dutch, their confided, as is already said, may hath already been examined.

End of the English Relation, is here forbidden to be repeated; which the Dutch Relation hath deliver here to be examined.

Libel Prince, the English Factor, Fenger and Negotiator of the Japone: It is true, that the Dutch had some kind of Conversation with the Japone; that, would be and likewise did with other Japone: But is it credible, that they any thing of Murther, or Murder, to a drunken, debauched, and that were there committed, as is the said Tower's Relation, need him for his Murtherer? maketh this *Libel Prince* to be Merchants in the Out-factory, his pretended Treason, and their own Projects, but the Dutch, and two other, guilty of this, he sets down the general Confessions in one Body, where Mr. Tower's Relation of the Japone's Exploit, he is to be the want of Possibility, as well as the Weakness of their own Part, and of the Dutch, in Comparison of which their Doubt, he tells us, that he had already was little to his Purpose, and that were, not when the Dutch were

" their Strength, and the English the weakest, but
 " would expect till the Governor should be somewhere
 " abroad upon some Exploit, and some English Ships or
 " Ship, at least at *Ambyna*, the People whereof he would
 " tie in the Enterprize; likewise he would send for the
 " Factors, and Slaves of the other Factories, and should
 " have a Supply from the *Tarnatanes of Lobo* of certain
 " Curricurries, &c.
 " Here he hath enrolled a goodly Army for this Action;
 " but let us see the Manner how they should have executed
 " their Exploit; and first, for the *Japone* in the Castle,
 " we must believe, if this Author or his Voucher say true,
 " that Master *Tower* had acquainted those, and won them
 " to his Plot, before he had imparted it to his own Coun-
 " trymen the *English*; and yet in the Acts of the Process,
 " *Emanuel Thomson* is recorded to have confessed, that
 " eight Days after the Consultation, Master *Tower* told
 " him, that he had then sent out *Johnson* and *Price* to treat
 " with the *Japone*, and win their Consent to this Enter-
 " prize; but what could these do, being in all but ten?
 " Marry, saith the Relation by and by, Master *Tower*
 " had ordained that eight of them should have been be-
 " stowed, by two in a Company, upon the four Points of
 " the Castle, to kill all those that would resist them, and
 " to take the rest Prisoners.
 " It must be therefore here imagined, that the *Dutch*
 " and their Mardikers in the Castle, being three or four
 " hundred, would scorn to take the Advantage of sending
 " forty or fifty, much more of an entire Company, to any
 " Point of the Castle, but would combat with the *Japone*
 " at even Hand, by two at a time, and so give the *Japo-
 " nese* Respite to kill or take them by two, and by two;
 " a sweet Conceit, and such a Service as perhaps hath been
 " sometimes represented upon a Stage, but never acted in
 " Surprise of a Castle in good Earnest. Thus we see how
 " eight of the *Japone* were to be employed, what should
 " the other two have done? Forsooth, they should have
 " waited in the great Chamber to murder the Governor;
 " yea, but this Relation told us, yet while, that this Plot
 " should have been executed while the Governor was
 " abroad upon some Action. How then should these two
 " *Japone* have killed him in the Castle at the same
 " time?
 " But we see how all the *Japone*, that is, all the pre-
 " tended Party of the *English* within the Castle, should
 " have been occupied, who should have opened the Gates
 " to the *English*, and their other Aids? who should have
 " killed the Court of Guard at the Gate? These Parts
 " were left for them that were without, therefore let us
 " take a Review of them what they were. The Relation
 " mustereth them to be fourteen *English*, whereof eleven
 " were Merchants, one Steward of the House, one Tay-
 " lor, and one Barber to dress the Wounds; besides, God
 " knows how many Skippers, Slaves, and *Tarnatanes*.
 " First, for the *English* Merchants, of what Dexterity they
 " are to take Forts, is easily judged; and in all the *Eng-
 " lish* House, when it was seized by the *Dutch* upon this
 " pretended Treason, the whole Provision was but three
 " Swords, two Hand Guns, and about half a Pound of
 " Powder; yea, but the *English* Ships would have brought
 " both fitter Men, and better Provision: But how knew
 " Master *Tower* that those of the *English* Ships, when
 " they came, would join with him in this Work, being
 " so contrary to the Treaty, and itself so dangerous? or
 " why did he not stay the opening of the Plot, till his
 " Ship or Ships were come, that he might swear the
 " Skippers also, at least the chief Officers amongst them,
 " and take their Advice? Is it credible that Master *Tower*
 " was so slight to open this Plot to all the *English* at
 " *Ambyna*; yea, to the Taylor and Barber, so long be-
 " fore it was to be put in Execution, and before he knew
 " the Minds of the chief Assistants, of whose Arrival
 " he was so uncertain? Yea, but he was fore of the Slaves
 " of the *English*, and of the *Tarnatanes of Lobo*, with their
 " Curricurries in *quibbet Evenston*.
 " This, indeed, is the Remainder of the Army; let
 " us view them; the Slaves were, in all the *English* Facto-
 " ries, just six in Number, and all Boys; the *Tarnatanes*
 " were Enemies as well to the *English* as to the *Dutch*, as

is before shewed, in Answer to the Preface; when were they reconciled? How came this, that in all the Examinations of the *English*, this Point was not fitted, and somewhat confessed of it amidst so many Tortures? There is no Confession thereof in all the Examinations, and Mr. *Tower* in his expressly denied it, and was pressed no farther. The Truth is, the Governor and Fiscal of *Ambyna* knew, that whatever had been confessed in this Point, would not have been believed by their own People there, who knew well enough, that the first Beginning of this Breach with the *Dutch*, and the *Tarnatanes of Lobo*, was about the Slave of the *English*, and the Outrages thereupon following were done upon the *English*, as well as upon the *Dutch*. Yet this Author seems to hope, that they may be believed here in *Europe*, which had no Colour at *Ambyna*.
 " Concerning the Time of executing this Plot, it was not, as the Relation saith, yet prefixed, but left to the next Meeting of the Conspirators, which should be shortly holden, when *Gabriel Tower* had prepared all things, &c. Here was certainly a hot Practice of Treason, and worthy to be termed by this Author an horrible Conspiracy. They met together on New year's-day, and plotted, as is before related; and now it was the five and twentieth of *February*, and not only nothing done all this Interim, no not so much as a new Consultation; but this, to wit, is the Body and Substance of the unanimous Confession of all the *English* by themselves, severally published.
 " In the next place, the Author relateth some what singular in Mr. *Tower*'s Confession, as that he said he was moved to this Fact by Hope and Desire of Honour and Profit; and being demanded for whom he intended this Honour, and for whom he meant to hold the Castle? his Answer was, that if he could have compassed his Projects, he would forthwith have given Advertisement thereof to the rest of his Nation at *Jaccatra*, which now they have christened *Batavia*, and have craved their Aid, which, if they had yielded to him, then he would have held the Castle for the *English* Company; and if not, then he would have kept it for himself, and have used Means to have agreed with the *Indians*, and so by one Means or other would have compassed the Enterprize.
 " Here first is to be observed, that he would not, as the Author makes him speak, have sent for Aid to *Jaccatra*, until he were first Master of the Castle, and yet in the general Confession before, it is said, he would attend the Coming of some *English* Ships before he would adventure upon the Castle. Next, let the ambitious and alternative Resolution here said to be confessed by Master *Tower* be considered in both the Parts thereof, and it will appear, that no Man in his Wits would have any such Conceit as is here pretended. What Hope could Master *Tower* have, that the President and *English* Consul at *Jaccatra*, living under Command of the *Dutch* Fort there, and altogether subject to them, durst join any such Action, thereby to give Occasion to the *Hollanders* to arrest, torture, and condemn them of Treason?
 " Master *Tower* knew well enough, that about six Months before the Arrival of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra* had caught a very silly Occasion to entrap the *English* President there, who, having sent out two of his People in the Night to the *English* Cow house, to see what Watch the Blacks in their Service kept over their Cattle, the first two *English* were apprehended by the *Dutch* Soldiers, kept in Prison seven Days, and charged that they had said that they went the Round; and one of them being last examined, was told by the Balcon, the Officer of the *Dutch* in criminal Causes, that his Fellow had confessed, that they had said, they went their Round, and that by the *English* President's Command; and if he would not confess the same, he should be tortured; but the Fellow being constant in the Truth, came off at last without Torture: Yet this was Item enough to the *English* President and Council, how the last of the *Dutch* was to entrap them upon the least Occasion; and thus, and other darts upon

“ Dealings of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*, which were too long here to recite, were all advertised, from time to time, to Mr. *Towerjon*, who therefore was sure he could expect no Assistance from them, that were themselves in such a Predicament.

“ The other Part of Mr. *Towerjon*'s Resolution is said to have been to keep the *Cattle* for himself, and to agree with the *Indians*, in Default of Help from the *English*. This is yet more improbable than the former: Were the *Paringuerze* and the *Indians* not able to keep out the *Dutch* from *Amboyna*, when they had no Footing there; and shall Captain *Towerjon* with twenty *English* and *Japanese*, without Ship or Pinnace, be able, with the Help of the poor naked *Indians*, to drive them out, having three *Cattles* in the Island of *Amboyna* and at *Cambello* hard by, all well furnished with Men and Provisions, besides their Power of Shipping, which makes them file themselves Lords of the Sea? And yet how could Master *Towerjon* hope to win the *Amboyne* (the *Hollanders* sworn Subjects) to his Side? He might rather assure himself, that after he had mangled the *Hollanders*, it yet that must be believed to be possible, the *Amboyne* would have surpris'd him, and cast him out, being to weakly provided to stand of himself, that so they might utterly free themselves from their Servitude: Here also must be remarked, that this Author himself in his Preamble saith, that the *Indians* themselves durst not undertake such a great Design as he there feigneth against the State of *Amboyna*, without some great Aid of some Nations of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards* or *Portuguezs*, or some other; whereby is not only contended how weak the *Indians* of themselves are, but withal it felloweth, how small Hope Mr. *Towerjon* might have, being deserted of his own Nation, as here the Case is put, to hold the *Cattle* for himself by the Help of those *Indians*, if yet he could once have won it.

“ In a Word, they that know the Power of the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and thereabouts, and the Weakness of the poor *Indians*, will judge this Conceit of Mr. *Towerjon*'s to keep the *Cattle* for himself, to be a mad Plot, and for which Master *Towerjon* should rather have been sent to *Bedlam*, or the *Dullen Kist*, as the *Dutch* call it, than to the *Gallows*. But this Author hath one voluntary Confession, upon which he taketh especial Hold, to wit, that Master *Towerjon*, after his Examination was finished, being expostulated with by the *Dutch* Governor, and demanded whether this should have been the Recompence of his (the Governor's) manifold Courtesies towards him, answered with a deep Sigh, *Oh! were this Matter now to do, it should never be done*. This voluntary Confession, and penitent Acknowledgment, saith this Author, was made the Ninth of *March*, being the Day when the Execution was to be done, and the Examination of *Towerjon* was ended the Twenty-eighth of *February*, to many Days before. But how shall we believe this? Forsooth, he hath it out of the Acts of the *Proccels* of *Amboyna*; yea, but in these Acts are omitted many material Passages of these Examinations, as is already shewed, why may they not then be guilty of Adultery, as well as of such Mutilation and Omision? But let us peruse the Words of the Act itself, which are these;

“ We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do declare upon our Truth, instead of an Oath, that *Gabriel Towerjon*, after that he had been already examined touching his said Offence, and that the worshipful *Jan Speult* had expostulated with him thereupon, asked him, whether this should have been the Recompence of his Courtesies from time to time shewed unto him the said *Towerjon*? Therupon he the said *Towerjon*, with a deep Sigh, answered him, and said, *Oh! if this were to be done, it should never be done*. Datum the Ninth of *March*, in the *Cattle* of *Amboyna*, and so subscribed,

“ *Heyman Van Speult,*
“ *Jacobus J. Muelshack,*
“ *Canon Heyvaen,*
“ *Heerman Crayanger,*
“ *Peter Van Swieten,*
“ *Leonaert Auck.*

“ Thus we see the Act itself, and this pretended voluntary Confession of Mr. *Towerjon*, which is not delivered upon the Credit of the Court or Council at *Amboyna*, but upon the Attestation or Affidavit of the Governor, and five others, the principal Actors in this bloody Tragedy; and this not upon their Oath, but upon their Truth, or honest Word, forsooth, instead of an Oath. The Time when these Words were uttered by Mr. *Towerjon*, is not described by the Day when he spake them; but only by the precedent Act of his Examination; and yet the Circumstance of Time is not an usual and customary Solemnity, and requisite in such Attestations, but also in Business of this Nature altogether necessary, as likewise in this Case that of the Place was; for if these Words were spoken in the Place of Torture, or incidentally after the Examination ended, they are by their own Law esteemed no more voluntary, than the Confession upon the Rack itself. Neither yet doth this Attestation affirm, that this Confession was voluntary.

“ But this Author, unconsciously reporting the Date of the Attestation for the Time of the Confession, lets it to be voluntary, because, as he saith, it was made the Ninth of *March*, being so many Days after his Examination, which was taken the 28th of *February*, can a Man attest nothing but what was done upon the very Day when he maketh Affidavit? The Attestation saith, that these Words were spoken by Mr. *Towerjon*, after he had been already examined; why may not that rather have been upon the very Day of his Examination, than upon the Day when this Act was entered, if he ever spake any such Words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted, the contrary whereof is more probable, by all the Circumstances of this Business truly set down in the Relation of the *English*.

“ But in that this Author makes so much of this poor Circumstance of Mr. *Towerjon*'s Profession of *Notow* for what was done, naming it a voluntary Confession, it is plain how defective he was of voluntary Confession, and of all true and concluding Circumstances. What was there not a Letter, or other Paper, to be found in all the Cells and Boxes of the *English*, to wit, seized at *Amboyna*, *Larica*, *Hitto*, and *Cambon*, to discover this Treason? Nor, amongst to many Accomplishes of diverse Nations, a litle Brother to betray the rest, and to accuse them voluntarily, but the Profets must begin with the Torture, and the Heavens Confessions upon Torture be sufficient to bring Criminals to Torture.

“ That debauched and notoriously intamous Person (such as *Price* was) to draw Torture upon the best orderly, and untainted? And yet this Relation itself saith, that *Price*'s Confession was drawn from him by the Examiners, specifying of Place, Prison and Time unto him; certainly one of their own Nation or Nation to advise that more Advocates might be sent over to the *Indies* to aid the Accused, and make a *quaestio* answer; for, said he, they go to work there so unmercifully and murderously, that the Blood of the poor Profets crieth to Heaven for Vengeance. But was there no Particular of any Man's Confession but of *Price* and Mr. *Towerjon*, and all the rest benched together in one Body? Did none of all the rest go forth in any Confessions, or contents more than they? Where is *Price*'s Confession, that he was at *Amboyna* upon New-year's-day, when ten or twelve of the *Dutch* were witness'd he was at *Hitto*? Where is his Confession of *Clark*'s Plot to go to *Maccassar*, to deal with the *Spaniards* there to come and rob the small Part of *Sumatra*? Where is *Cesari*'s Confession of another Plot about two Months and a half before his Examination undertaken by *Abomjon*, *Johnson*, *Price*, *Price*, *Price*, and himself? Where be the leasing Interrogatories directed them to the Accusation framed by the Profets, lest otherwise there had been as many *Price*'s as *Price*'s was confided as Persons examined? Nay, were all this, not of a great deal more of the *English* is here in *England* proved by the Confessions of the Persons to have passed in the Examination of

self, and this pretended *Voluntariness*, which is not delivered Count or Council at *Ambogna*, or Affidavit of the Governor, or principal Actors in this bloody Transaction their Oath, but upon their Forsworn, instead of an Oath. Words were uttered by Mr. Price by the Day when he spoke precedent Act of his Examination, and the Circumstances of Time is not only a Penalty, and requisite in all such a Bolusness of this Nature, as well as in this Case that of the Words were spoken in the Court, but also after the Examination and an Law effected no more, and upon the Rack itself. The Narration affirm, that this Con-

ditionally reporting the late Time of the Commission, because, as he said, it was sitting for many Days after his Execution the 25th of *January*, and what was done upon the very Affidavit? The Articulation, spoken by Mr. *Price*, after examined; way may not that the very Day of his Examination, in this Act was entered, yet the words, or meant them, as he is contrary whereof is the more probabilities of this Bolusness truly the *English*.

Author makes so much of this poor *Overseer's* Profession of *Screw* being a voluntary Confession, he was of voluntary Confession, including Circumstances. What, or other Paper, to be found in the Files of the *English*, to *Indica*, *Hitta*, and *Lombard*, to *Indica*, amongst to many Accused, a false Brother to betray them voluntarily, but the Probable Torture, and the Heavens can be sufficient to bring Crimes

and notoriously infamous Persons to draw Torture upon the Rack.

And yet this Relation that of Confession was drawn from any thing of Place, Prison and Time of their own Nature. The *Rack* Advocates might be let over Accused, and make a separate way to work there to violate the Blood of the poor People's Vengeance. But why have we Man's Confession but is of *Price* all the rest blended together, and all the rest go together, and more than they? What is *Price* he was at *Ambogna* upon *Price* twelve of the *Dutch* *Price* *Price*? Where is his Confession to *Mucassar*, to read words and to the said Factors, and the Contribution of another Prisoner, but before his Examination, *Price*, *Price*, *Price*, the leading Interrogatories, and accusation framed by the *Dutch* had been as many Days before he was examined? Not to say, that deal more of his Confession, and by the Care of the *Dutch* in the Examination, and

" appeareth how faithfully the *Dutch* at *Ambogna* have entered the Acts of this Process?

" Well, at last he concludes the Narration of the Confessions with the summing up of the Number and Nations of the Parties that had thus confest, which he saith, were ten *Japanese*, fourteen *English*, and the *Netherlandish* *Marnubo*, or Captain of the Slaves; by which last Words, he would give the Reader occasion to think, that this Fact was so clear, and their own Proceedings so even and just, that they had executed one of their own *Netherlanders* for it; which how true it is, is already declared in the Conclusion of the *English* Relation. The Truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the *Portuguese* Race, and born in *Bengal*; his very Name, *Augustin Perez*, sheweth he was no *Netherlander*.

" Having thus finished this Relation, this Author proceedeth to a Disputation, and taking Notice of some Aspersions in *England* cast upon these Proceedings at *Ambogna*, he divideth them into two Heads, the one, that the Process was without its due Formality, the other, that there was Excess and Extremity used against the Conspirators. For the Point of Formality, he first taketh great Pains to prove, that the Formalities of Process in *Ambogna* are not therefore unlawful, because they agree not with our Form in *England*; which Labour he might have spared, for no wise Man will deny him this Point; and such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the *Dutch* for varying from us herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithal also, he deducteth the Title of the Lords the States-General to the Sovereignty of *Ambogna*, and to the Governor of *Ambogna's* Jurisdiction, in Causes as well criminal as civil, to be rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the *Japanese* being sworn Servants to the *Dutch*, and in their Pay, were subject to the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governor. Then he telleth us, that the Author and Accomplices of Murder and Treason, are by the Laws of all Nations to be punished with Death; all which Points may be granted him without any Prejudice to the Cause of the *English* in this Question. At last he comes in particular to their Case, and affirms, that the Chief of the *English* there might not apprehend the *English* Accomplices of this Conspiracy, because themselves were Accomplices of the Fact; all which also may be granted in this Point of Apprehension and safe Custody; but how it may proceed in the Point of Cognizance, shall be anon in due Place examined.

" In the mean time, this Author, to make the Point of Apprehension clear beyond Exception, saith, that the *English* were not apprehended upon the first Suspicion, when yet there was Evidence and Indicia sufficient to it. But after the Examination of all the *Japanese*, and their joint Confession, that the *English*, whom they specified by Name and Surname, moved and hired them to this Treason: Yea, not until *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the *English* in the *Out-Factories* were privy therunto. For Answer hereof, that must be repeated, which hath been upon other Occasions before alleged, that the first Beginning of the Process was by the Torture, there being no sufficient Evidence or Indicum to torture the *Japanese*, that only sought to inform himself of the Course of the Watch, and of the Strength of the Castle where he himself was a Soldier; and to the whole Series of Examination proceeding from the Confession of one tortured Person, to apprehend and torture another, without other Evidence, though it brought forth more Confessions, and those with Name and Surname, and other Circumstances, according as the Interrogatories or Directories of the Governor and Fiscal led the Prisoners, was wholly against all Laws of Tortures. *Sicut in facta si prava est regula prima. Materiam de se fieri, atque obliqua necesse est.*

" But here must be answered an Objection, that may be made against this from another Part of this Relation; that is, that some of the *English* confest without, or before Torture. Yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not tortured at all, or very lightly; yea, but he was brewed the tortured Bodies of the poor *Japanese*,

" martyred with Fire and Water, and told, that unless he would confess that which they told him they had first confest, he should be tortured as ill, or worse than they. This Fear of Torture is by their own Law equalled to the Torture itself, and consequently the Confession thereupon, made no better Indicum, or Evidence, to bring another Man to the Torture, than the Confession made upon the Rack itself. Again, it must be here remembered, that the very Matter of *Price's* Confession here mentioned, to wit, that all the *English* Merchants of the *Out-Factories* were privy to the pretended Treason, was confest by the Process of the *Dutch* themselves, that found *Peudel*, *Ransley*, and two others of those Factors guilty of it.

" Next, this Author taketh Notice of an Objection made in *England* against the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governor, and his Council at *Ambogna*, over the *English* there, because this Power is by the Treaty of the Year 1619 disposed of, and agreed to consist in the Council of Defence of both Nations at *Jaccatra*; for Information in which Point, this Author saith, he hath perused over all the several Articles in the said Treaty, and findeth in the twenty-third Article, that the Portresses were to remain in the Hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Council of Defence hath no other Power but only over the Fleet of Defence, over the Commerce, and, finally, to tax the Charges of Maintenance of the Ports; but he could not see the thirtieth Article, which orders that all Disputes that cannot be decided by the Council of Defence, should be remitted into *Europe*, first, to the two Companies there, and in Default of their Agreement, to the King and States; why then was not this Dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former Articles to limit the Council of Defence, and this general Article appeareth to be added by way of Amplification, to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former, which is most plain by the Words of the Explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both Sides, *Anno* 1619, where this Course of Proceeding is expressly directed, not only in Disputes about the Meaning of the Articles, but also about any other Matter happening in their Commerce abroad; since which also the King's Majesty hath, upon a smaller Occasion than the Life of his Subjects, clearly declared himself in the Point of Sovereignty, that both Nations in the *Indies* should wholly lay aside all Pretence thereof, which Declaration was sent to the Lords States-General, and by them accepted before this bloody Butchery was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Dutch* were absolute Lords of their Partners the *English* in those Parts, without respect to the Treaty, yet at least the *Dutch* in *Ambogna* were bound to observe the Laws of the *United Provinces*, for so saith this Author himself. Do these allow to begin the Process as to the Torture, and to bring Persons of honest Fame to the Rack upon others Confession made in the Torture? Do their Laws allow of the leading Interrogatories above mentioned, to direct the Prisoner what to say, to avoid the Torture? Where, in the *United Provinces*, is that drowning with Water in use? Or the Torture with Fire used to *Fabryson*, *Thomson*, and *Clark*? Or especially the splitting of their Toes, and lancing of the Breast, and putting in Gunpowder, and then firing the same, whereby the Body is not lit intire, neither for Innocency nor Execution? *Clark* and *Thomson* were both said to be carried to their Execution, though they were tortured many Days before.

" Lastly, their Confessions were contradictory, apparently false, and of things impossible to be done, much less practised before by the said Parties, and therefore ought not by their Law to have been believed, nor the Prisoners to have been condemned thereupon, without other sufficient Indicia, or Evidence besides. In the last Place, this Author handleth the Excess of Torture, whereof he taketh Notice, there is much Complaint in *England*, and saith, that the Lords States-General took

“ great Care to inform themselves of all the Passages in
 “ this Business; and to that End desired to see all the
 “ Letters, Pieces, and Papers, that concern this Process,
 “ by which it appeareth not that there was any cruel Tor-
 “ ture used. But suppose the Acts made no mention of
 “ them, is it any Marvel that the Authors of this mur-
 “ derous and tyrannous Process, being themselves the
 “ Persons that also formed the Acts, would omit those
 “ things that made against them?

“ It is to be presumed also, that the Acts kept by their
 “ People at *Poloway* in *Banda*, have omitted many things
 “ of their Process against the poor *Poleroons*, whom in
 “ August 1622, being about six Months before this Exec-
 “ ution of the *English*, their Governor there used in like
 “ Sort as the Governor of *Ambeyna* did the *English*, and
 “ gave him a Model and Precedent of this Process, which
 “ it will not be amiss to relate briefly, because this Au-
 “ thor in the next Place alledgeth the merciful Disposi-
 “ tion of the *Netherlandish* Nation in general, to infer
 “ thence; that it is therefore unlikely, that their Go-
 “ vernor at *Ambeyna* was so cruel as is reported in *Eng-
 “ land*.

“ *Peleroon*, one of the Islands of *Banda*, was in Posses-
 “ sion of the *English* at the Time of the Treaty Anno 1619,
 “ and by Agreement was to remain theirs.

“ After the Treaty came to the *Indies*, the *Dutch* sur-
 “ bore the publishing thereof in the Islands of *Banda*, until
 “ they had taken *Peleroon*; but knowing that it must be
 “ restored again, according to the Treaty, they first take
 “ all Courses to make the Island little or nothing worth.
 “ They demolish and deface the Building, transplant the
 “ Nutmeg-trees, plucking them up by the Roots, and
 “ carrying them into their own Islands of *Nera* and *Pelo-
 “ way*, there to be planted for themselves, and at least find
 “ a Means to dispeople the Island, and to leave it so as the
 “ *English* might make no Use of it, worth their Charge of
 “ keeping; and that upon this Occasion was a young Man,
 “ the Son of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in *Peleroon*,
 “ that had committed Felony, for which, by the Laws of
 “ his Country, he was to die. This Fellow, to save his
 “ Life, fled to another Island of *Banda*, called *Refinging*,
 “ and there turned Christian; but quickly understanding
 “ that that would not make him safe from Punishment,
 “ he went back secretly into his own Country of *Peleroon*,
 “ and having lurked there for two or three Days, took
 “ his Passage for *Nera*, another Island where the *Dutch*
 “ have a Fort, and told the *Dutch* Governor, that the
 “ Orankeys of *Peleroon* had conspired to massacre the
 “ *Dutch* as well at *Peleroon* as at *Poloway*, with Help of
 “ the People of *Seran*, that should send over thirty Curri-
 “ cularies for that Purpose. Immediately upon this Indic-
 “ tium of this Malefactor, certain Prows or Fisher-boats
 “ of the *Poleroons* that were fishing at *Poloway* were seized,
 “ and the People made Prisoners. Command was sent by
 “ the *Dutch* Governor to *Peleroon*, that the Orankeys
 “ should come over to him, that there might be farther
 “ Inquisition made of this Matter.

“ The Priell of the *Poleroons* and seventy Orankeys
 “ instantly took a Prow, or small Vessel of their own, and
 “ embarked themselves for *Poloway*. As they were at Sea,
 “ and yet out of Sight of the *Dutch* Cattle, they were met
 “ by a Fishing boat of *Bandanezes*, and told how all the
 “ rest were apprehended, and that if they went to *Poloway*
 “ they were all but dead Men. Nevertheless the Priell
 “ and the rest, although they had Space and Means to
 “ have escaped to *Seran*, and other Places late enough
 “ from the *Dutch*, yet were so confident of their Inno-
 “ cency, that they would needs go to *Poloway* to purge
 “ themselves, where, as soon as they arrived, they were
 “ instantly carried Prisoners to the Cattle, and withal the
 “ Governor, with a Force of two hundred Men, went per-
 “ toally for *Peleroon*, whence he fetched all the rest of the
 “ Orankeys, and brought them Prisoners to the same
 “ Cattle: As soon as they were come, they were presently
 “ brought to the Torture of Water and Fire, even in the
 “ same sort that our People were afterwards at *Ambeyna*,
 “ only herein differing, that of those of *Poloway* two were
 “ so tortured, that they died of their Torments, the rest,
 “ being one hundred and sixty-two Persons, were all, upon

“ their own forced Confessions, condemned and executed.
 “ The Priell, when he came to the Place of Execution,
 “ spake these Words in the *Malayan* Tongue: All ye
 “ great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look
 “ to it, we have committed no Fault; and when he would
 “ have spoken more, he was taken by the Hands and Feet,
 “ laid along, and cut in two by the Middle with a Sword,
 “ forthwith the Governor caused the Wives, Children,
 “ and Slaves of those of *Poleroon* to be all carried out of
 “ the Island, and distributed in other Islands subject to the
 “ *Dutch*, and so have made a clear Country for the *Eng-
 “ lish*, where they may both plant and gather themselves,
 “ destitute of the Help of any of the Country People,
 “ without whom neither the *English* nor the *Dutch* can
 “ maintain their Trade in the *Indies*; and yet this is not
 “ here recited, to the End thereby to charge the *Neth-
 “ landers* Nation with those cruel Proceedings, but to
 “ Persons themselves that have committed such barbarous
 “ Tyrannies, who, if we shall believe an Author of their
 “ own, are not of the best of that Nation.

“ For the *Majors*, as this Author lays, use the *Indi-
 “ as* a Tuckt-houise, or Bide-well, to manage their wives,
 “ and unruly Children and Kindred, whom, when they
 “ cannot rule and order at home, they lead to the *Indi-
 “ as*, where they are preferred to Offices and Places of Go-
 “ vernment; yea, saith he, they prefer such to be Judges
 “ there as never saw Study nor Law; so that this comar-
 “ vel, that such Persons proceed not with the Justice
 “ and Moderation as is used generally in the *Low Countries*
 “ by the Choice of the Nation there; and this agreeth
 “ well with the Report of our Merchants of Great that
 “ came lately from *Ambeyna*, who aver, that exceeding
 “ the Governor himself, who is well kept in Years of the
 “ rest of the Council there, as well the *Indi-
 “ as* other,
 “ there was scarce any that had Hair on their Faces; yea,
 “ that most of them are leud, drunken, debauched Per-
 “ sons, and yet must be Judges, as well of our *English* as
 “ the poor *Indians* there. Now to return to this Author's
 “ Proofs, that there was no Excess used in the Proceed-
 “ ings, at the last he taketh one Argument by way of
 “ Comparison from the Law of *England* to press Men to
 “ Death, which, he saith, hath much more Cruelty than
 “ their Course of Torture used by the *Dutch* in *Ambeyna*,
 “ and is holden, as well by some Authors of our own Na-
 “ tion as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this
 “ Matter of pressing alledged for justifying men's Courses,
 “ since no Man in *England* is pressed for not confessing,
 “ which is the Cause of the Torture with the *Dutch*? but
 “ the Cause why any is pressed is, for that he obstinately
 “ refuse the Trial of his Country, and challengeth for
 “ Judges as incompetent, which the Law opposeth him,
 “ when he doth for the most part to save his Goods, who
 “ but by that ordinary Course of Trial cannot be tortur-
 “ ed; what is this to the Point of Confession? the Re-
 “ sult whereof the *Dutch* use the Torture, and yet may
 “ blameth them for proceeding according to the Law of
 “ their Country therein, nor yet in their Execution, when
 “ they break the Legs, Arms, and Thighs of the Male-
 “ factors, and then set them upon a Wheel on the top of
 “ a great Pole, there to languish to Death; and Execution
 “ far more dreadful than the *English* Pressing, which is
 “ suddenly done, and so seldom used.

“ But why doth he not name the Author of cruelty,
 “ or foreign Writers, which condemn this kind of Execu-
 “ tion? Let him do it yet, and he shall have more Ac-
 “ tions of his own Country that shall condemn more
 “ of Tortures, and yet the *English* complain not of
 “ Courts in general, but of the unlawful Use of the con-
 “ trary to the Laws even of the *United Provinces*. I shall
 “ in this Point the Author pretendeth, that the ordinary
 “ Torture was used in this Process. What Torture
 “ was, and in what Degree, appears in the *English* Plea-
 “ tions, but he can find little or none now used in
 “ Acts. What if he will not find it? Shall we not
 “ know at *Ambeyna* have conceived it? Shall we not know
 “ that that suffered it then-lives? Shall we not know
 “ those that being themselves so justly yet have
 “ Cities, and saw the Burning of many Cities, and
 “ men, and have continued the Remembrance of it

“ and Reasons for the King’s Majesty to behold his own
 “ Cafe with an Eye of Prevention; but especially finding
 “ a Combination betwixt *France* and *Holland* to take and
 “ divide the Provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to
 “ possess the maritime Towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others
 “ opposite to *England*. This made his Majesty think
 “ how to quench the Fire that might flame into his own
 “ Houfe. And having Intelligence that they were both
 “ to join in one Fleet, a Thing not usually done by the
 “ *French*, and they making no publick Declaration of
 “ the Design of their Ships, as commonly Princes use to
 “ do in such Cafes, his Majesty could make no less Con-
 “ struction, than that they intended to deprive him of his
 “ ancient and allowed Prerogative of the Narrow Seas,
 “ which behoved him as much to defend, as his King-
 “ dom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by
 “ the other, if it were in his Power to effect it. Where-
 “ fore his Majesty armed these Ships following to Sea, to
 “ engage the Reason at their Hands, not intending to in-
 “ jure any Nation, but to keep himself and Subjects from
 “ being injured, and to curb the Insolency and Pride of
 “ any People that should go about to intrude his Royal
 “ Prerogative.”

It may not be amiss to observe here, that the Word Pre-
 rogative is used in a Sense by this Author, which interests
 the Subject as much as the Prince; for the Prerogative
 here contended for, though nominally in the Crown, was
 virtually in the People of *England*; and it was to main-
 tain their Right that the famous *Seiden* was encouraged to
 compose his *Mare Clausum*, in Answer to *Grotius’s* Book,
 entitled *Mare Liberum*, intended to justify, by Reason, the
 ambitious Projects of the *Dutch*. That this was truly the
 Cafe, and that the King had nothing in View but for the
 Benefit of his Subjects, appears plainly, by the Care he
 took for advancing the Trade to the *East Indies*, which
 began now to decline exceedingly; for the *Dutch* had so
 frightened them by their Severities, that the Servants of the
East India Company were afraid to dispute with them, and
 not much inclined to settle in any Colonies there; so that
 by degrees, our Trade would have fallen to nothing, which
 was precisely what the *Dutch* desired, and were, by all
 means, endeavouring to bring about.

The King, to redress this Evil, and to preserve this
 Trade, as far as it was possible, listened to the Proposals
 made by Sir *William Courten*, and some other rich Mer-
 chants of *London*, for sending a Squadron into those Parts
 to settle and trade, but without Prejudice to the Rights
 of the *East India* Company; and accordingly by his Com-
 mission, under his Royal Signature, dated the 12th of *De-*
cember 1643, he did grant Licence to the Persons therein
 named, to lend a certain Number of Ships into the *East-*
Indies, and they accordingly did send six large Ships, Sir
William Courten himself adventuring one hundred and
 twenty thousand Pounds. These Adventurers had very
 good Success abroad, if they could have found any Way
 to have got their Riches home; but the *Dutch* were too
 cunning for that; so, creating the Establishment of a free
 Trade between the *English* and *Indians*, they resolved to
 take Things in the Beginning, and accordingly to way-laid
 the *Prasen* and the *Catherine*, which were two of the lar-
 gest Ships these Gentlemen had employed, that not far from
 the *Cape of Good Hope* they sunk both the Vessels, and
 every Soul on them, by which a great Number of able
 Seamen were lost, together with a Cargo of the Value of
 One hundred and fifty thousand Pounds.

No other was this the single Act of this kind, for in the
 Year 1644, of the same Proceedings, except Sir *William Cour-*
ten, who was dead, lent out seven more Ships, which
 were employed to the *East Indies*, and were again met with
 by the *Dutch*; for in the Month of *January* 1645, the
Elizabeth and the *Prasen*, being with Pepper and other Indian
 Goods, were intercepted, where they found in the Hands of
 the *Dutch*, who were under Pretence of helping the Master
 and Crew to the Coast, seized and pillaged them
 of all their Goods, Tackles, Ammunition, Merchandise, and
 Provisions, and reserved the Tackles to the Use of the *East*
India Company, and *John Fendley*, the Govern-
 or of the *East India* Company, sent away the Master and

out any manner of Succour or Relief, to the Damage of
 Mr *Courten*, and the rest of the Interessed, the Sum of
 10000 Pounds and upwards. And about the Month of
June 1643, the *Bona Esperanza* making a trading Voyage
 from *Goa* to *Maccas*, in the Streights of *Malacca*, was
 violently fit upon by two *Dutch* Ships, Men of War be-
 longing to the said Company, called the *Jendille* and the
Portogalle, whereof Signior *Vesmeren* and Signior *Gra-*
land, with the Lieutenant of the Fort of *Malacca*, were
 Commanders, who, in a hostile Manner, killed the Ma-
 ster, *Roger Tuckerman*, and divers Seamen were wounded,
 the rest took Prisoners, and robbed them of all their Goods,
 Merchandize, Books of Accounts, Writings, and Letters,
 and afterwards led the Mariners about the Streets of *Mal-*
acca in Derision of the *English* Nation, dragging about the
 King’s Colours after them in Triumph, contrary to the
 Laws of Nations and common Anity, all which amounted
 to the Damage of Mr *Courten* and the Interessed in the
 Voyage, to the Sum of 75000 Pounds, or thereabouts.

Upon the News of these inhuman Dealings, Mr *Cour-*
ten was forced to absent himself from the *East Indies*, his
 Bills were protested in *England*, *Holland*, and *Italy*, so
 he became intolvent, and was out law’d, with Sir *John*
Littleton, in the Years 1644 and 1645, for the Sum of
 Fifty thousand Pounds, or thereabouts. Sir *John*
Littleton, being then sequestrated for his Inability to ob-
 ligeance to his Majesty, and in the actual State of the
 King, could not appear to prosecute his Act, or to re-
 venge the Parliament, or the Courts of *Justice*, for Re-
 paration of the violent Injuries aforesaid. Sir *John*
Littleton having taken up several great Sums of Money, and ad-
 vanced them to the King’s Use, was with some of the
 Commissioners for the contracted Farms of the *East*
India Company, fined 150,000 *l.* by the Parliament, and was bound by
 Law for the said Debts, whereby he became intolvent in
 his own Houfe, and during the late dissentions I was
 made incapable to look after his Proportion of the said De-
 mages from the *East India* Company of *Holland*.

Thus all this Project for reviving and restoring the
East India Trade came to nothing; but these Mercantiles
 had engaged in them such vast Sums, were utterly de-
 gared. It is true, that King *Charles I.* interposed in their
 Behalf with the States, which serves rather to show the
 Care of that Monarch, even in his lowest Condition, for
 the Interest of his Subjects, than to show the Justice
 of the *Dutch*, who with much ado were oblig’d to
 pay 85,000 *Guilders*, which proves that their Dealings
 have been just, though the Satisfaction was not
 Notice. While Things stood thus in *England*, the
East India Company carried all before them in the
Indies, and having none to oppose them, they did their
 selves as effectually, that it was not only impossible for
 the *English* to form any Designs to them, but they
 were forced likewise to lay aside all Thoughts of
 their just Rights, and to abandon their *West India*
 Colony for several Years. Such were the sad Effects of
 Confusions at home, with regard to our *East India*
 Trade, and this too at such a critical Juncture, when
 might have been done for the Service of the Nation.

This is, indeed, a very dark and critical Con-
 juncture, of which was never clearly explain’d, and
 the *English* Reader, for should I have said, that
 long now, but that at this Distance of Time, the
 Prejudices are worn off, and we may see more
 freely of the *Machiavel* the Civil Wars, were not
 not only by the Confusions and Struggles
 amongst ourselves, but in the *Indies* themselves,
 by the Confusion it drew upon it, by the
 manner, which might otherwise have been
 and perished People in *Europe*. I am sure
 that our Government to be long, and to be
 our Liberty, or a Republick that we should
 any such Overtight for the future, that we
 ourselves to be betrayed into such a State,
 any Advantages that can be procur’d by
 the Party, or the prevalency of such a
 any agree compensate the evil Effects
 when by reason of such Disturbances, as
 that, we are arriv’d here at the

always to pay to our general, lasting, and solid Interest, as to Affairs at Sea, and of Traffick.

These great and necessary Cares can never be prosecuted as they ought, but in Times of full Peace, and perfect Settlement; that is, when the People and the Government look one Way, and have but one View, as they never can have but one Interest. We see how little, during these Divisions, it was in the Power either of the King or Parliament to obtain any Satisfaction for the Losses they sustained from foreign Nations, which being grounded in the Nature of things, must always be the Case whenever any thing of the like kind happens, in proportion to the Degree in which it happens; for beyond a Question, the Prosperity of this Nation at home and abroad, depends solely on the Harmony subsisting between the Government and the People, which can subsist no other Way than by the former attending to the Concerns of the latter, with that Diligence and Disinterestedness that becomes those, who for the publick Benefit are entrusted with the Administration of the Concerns of a free People. We have nothing more to add during this Reign, and shall therefore proceed to such Matters as concern this Subject after the Death of the King.

10. The immense Wealth, and great naval Power of the Dutch, acquired, as has been before observed, in the Times of our Divisions, and when it was impossible for us to prevent it; encouraged them to think of establishing their own Wealth and Grandeur by a total Suppression of our maritime Force, to which, perhaps, they were tempted, from an Opinion, that the Parliament, or, as it was then called, the Commonwealth of England, would scarce adventure upon a War abroad, when the had scarce extricated herself from one at home. But they were mistaken, for the Parliament of England, however they came by their Right, or by their Power rather, were determined to make a just Use of it; and this produced the first Dutch War, in which they, for the Reasons before assigned, were the Aggressors, but suffered dearly for it in the End, since after repeated Defeats at Sea, and notwithstanding they expected to procure a new Revolution here, by setting up the Protector instead of the Parliament, yet they were forced to submit to a Peace upon the Terms presented to them, which was signed at *Breda* the 21st April, 1674, and by this Treaty the States were obliged to do that Justice to *Amboyna*, which they had refused to King James and King Charles.

The twenty seventh Article of that Treaty being contained in these Words: "It is agreed above, that the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, shall take Care that Justice be done upon those who were Partakers or Accomplishers in the Misdemeanor of the late *Amboyna*, as the Republick of England is pleased to term that Fact, provided any of them be living." In consequence of this Treaty, there was a Commission granted on both Sides, which sat at *Goldsmith's Hall*, in order to hear and determine the Complaints that should be made to them both by the English and Dutch East-India Companies, and their Determination was to be final. The English Company put in a Charge, consisting of fifteen Articles, concluding, that besides the Loss of their Settlements, they had suffered to the Amount of the Sum of two Millions six hundred ninety six thousand nine hundred and ninety nine Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling. The Dutch East India Company on the other hand brought in their Demands, but without entering exactly into Particulars; yet ascertaining in the Close their Expenses at eight hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, which being considered, together with the evidence offered on the Support of each side, the Commissioners came to a conclusion, which they Ruled a Regulation concerning the Losses and Damages sustained in the East and West Indies, which was signed on the 21st of August, 1674.

And in this Paper, after reciting all the Demands before-mentioned at large, they proceed in the following Terms: "All which Complaints and Demands exhibited to us the said Commissioners, by the Deputy of both the English and Dutch Companies, expressly chose to this Purpose, have been laid before us with a great Number of Documents, Instruments, and Proofs, exhibited to us

"for forming and corroborating their own Demands, as
"for destroying and retuning those of the opposite Party;
"and at length the Arbitration of all those Controversies
"is submitted to us the aforesaid Commissioners by the
"said Deputies of both Companies. Wherefore we the
"aforesaid *John Loxton, William Turner, William Thom, &c.*
"*Thomas Kendall, Adrian Van Armonde, Christian Van*
"*Rodenburgh, Lewis Housens, and James Oysel,* after
"having seen, read, examined, and accurately considered
"all the Documents, Instruments, and Proofs exhibited
"to us on both Sides, together with all other things which
"seemed necessary for the Discovery of the Truth; and
"being desirous to reconcile and to establish a permanent
"Agreement between both the Companies aforesaid, by
"virtue of the Power and Authority to us given and
"granted by the most high the Lord Protector of the Re-
"publick of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the High
"and Mighty Lords the States General of the United
"Netherlands, have decided, defined, and determined,
"and by this our present Award and Arbitration so decide,
"define, and determine, as follows:

"We make void, extinguish, obliterate, and altogether
"wipe out and commit to Oblivion to be never to be re-
"vived at any time, and upon any Pretence, by any Per-
"son whatsoever) all Complaints, Pretensions, and Con-
"troversies mentioned more at large above, and all others
"whatsoever, which the English Company trading in the
"East-Indies, doth or may form against the Dutch Com-
"pany, without excepting a y^e of whatsoever kind, Na-
"ture, or Condition they may be; and particularly we
"appoint and ordain, that the said English Company shall
"not for the future sue or demand any thing of the said
"Dutch Company in *India*, or elsewhere, under the De-
"nomination of the Customs of *Ormus* and *Goa*, so
"that the Dutch shall never be molested, or disturbed by
"the English in that Cause, under any Pretence: Provided
"nevertheless, that this does not prejudice any Action or
"Plaint, which the English Company may enter against
"the King of *Perusia*, or any other Person whatsoever, the
"Dutch excepted. In like manner we make void, extin-
"guish, obliterate, and wholly blot out and commit to
"Oblivion, to be never to be revived at any time, and on
"any Pretence, by any Person whatsoever, all Complaints,
"Pretensions, and Controversies mentioned above more
"at large, and all others, whatsoever they be, which the
"aforesaid Dutch East-India Company can or may form
"against the before named English Company trading in
"the East-Indies, except name, or whatsoever kind, Na-
"ture, or Condition they may be; and moreover we ap-
"point and decree, that the said Dutch Company shall
"yield and restore the said *Amboyna* to the said English
"Company, in the same State and Condition as it is now;
"provided nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for the said
"Dutch Company to take a reasonable number of their
"said Island military Companies, Militaries, and of
"hold Staff, and all Moveables, if they happen to have
"any in the said Island.

"And in the last Paragraph of the said Award, that the
"said Dutch Company shall pay to the said English Company
"the Sum of Sixty thousand Sterling in ready Money
"before the last Day of February next ensuing, according
"to the English Style, and the other Money before the
"last Day of March following, according to the same
"Style; and all Controversies between the said Companies
"being by this means composed, decided, and deter-
"mined, to the end that a Stop may be put to the
"Quarrels of private Persons.
"We have by this Award determined all the Com-
"plaints and Demands, which have been exhibited to us
"Name of both parties, and the Witnesses, and of
"having received Injury and Damages at the said
"Year 1674, and on the other hand we have considered
"the Matters which have been alledged and
"exhibited by the above-mentioned Deputies of the
"Company in their own Defence; and we the said Com-
"missioners aforesaid considering that no one Person has
"pleas under-written hereon this Award, or that any
"Articles or Demands have been exhibited, or that any
"whatsoever should be entered in our Award, and being

any Regard to the good of
to be spoken at all times, I
to say, that I knew not where
his Part of my Subject, and
these Things down, than
Collection. But if there be
Facts, or any Truths written
Animosity, it is none of my
Intention; besides all this,
orious, and to very capable of
very Nature, at the same time
tercels were equally concerned
cannot help thinking them as
my Author's Book has been
well as unrefuted, is a demon-
gh very extraordinary, they are
and if so, I am very surpris'd
e a Place in his History, that

what they could not lade home, they were to employ by
Freights in *India*; and I saw a Letter from the Governor
of the Company in *England*, intimating, that when they
had got as much Credit of the Mogul's Subjects as they
could, then they would pick Quarrels with the Creditors,
and put a general Stop to their Trade, which was accord-
ingly done; for in 1686 and 87, the *Surat* Merchants traded
briskly by Sea to *Mocha*, *Perfia*, and *Bassora*, to the West-
ward; and to *Bengal*, *Achen*, *Malacca*, and *Siam*, to the
Eastward. The General granted Patks to all who required
them then; but about the latter End of the Year 1687, he
sent many Complaints and Grievances to the Governor of
Surat, and demanded Redress and Satisfaction.

These Complaints of his were digested into thirty five
Articles, most of which related to *Mell Pitt* and *Boucher*,
who were originally of the Governor's Council, appointed
him by the Company, Men of fair Characters, and who
had given him much Trouble, by opposing all his illegal
and violent Measures, which made him use them foolish, and
threw without such an Inclination to use them worse, that to
preserve themselves from Beggary and Ruin, they retired
into the Mogul's Country; and *Mr. Boucher* having, by an
Application to that Monarch, procured his Licence to trade,
continued it with great Success; but as for *Mr. Pitt*, he
had the Misfortune to be taken by Pirates at Sea, who at
first would have ransomed him for five thousand Pounds,
but were persuaded by the Governor to demand twenty-
five thousand Pounds, so that he remained a Prisoner to the
Day of his Death; and the Governor required *Mr. Boucher*,
who resided at *Surat*, from the Governor, toge-
ther with his Wife, Children, and Effects; the rest of his
Demands were alike reasonable, and all of them delivered
in such Language, as would not become one Gentleman to
use to another, much less fit from the Governor of an trading
Company to be great a Prince, as may appear from one of
them; in which he demands, that the Gates of *Surat*
should not be shut, when he went to take his Pleasure, or
should be opened at his Return, and due Respect paid him
whenever he thought fit to unbend his Mind, and to amuse
himself with such kind of Diversions.

These Grievances were the Foundation on which General
Cham built a Quarrel with the Mogul, without ever lend-
ing them to Court to know the King's Pleasure; but with-
out declaring War, seized his Subjects Ships, where-
ever they were found, although they had the Sanction of his
own Patents. This Articles of Complaint were but weak Ar-
guments to support and raise a War that cost his Masters
above four hundred thousand Pounds before they could get
rid of it, besides the Loss of their Credit with the Mogul,
and his Subjects, which to this Time is not quite reco-
vered. For by what Rule in Policy could *Sir Jothab* or *Sir*
John think to rob, murder, and destroy the Mogul's
Subjects in a Part of his Dominions, and expect the Com-
pany to copy a free Trade in the other Parts? Or how
could they suppose that he would stand neuter? The General
having lost a great Number of Ships on his Hands, and
been Employed for them, sent them to *Mocha*, *Perfia*,
and *Banga*, where the *Sarats* had sent theirs, under the
Protection of his Patents. Captain *Andrews* in the *Ch. II.*
went to *Mocha*, and set up the King of *Argentan's* Flag on
his Flag-staff, and there he seized two *English* Ships, one
from *Argentan*, called the *Streight's Merchant*, commanded
by Captain *Beard*, and another belonging to *Mr. Samuel*
Whitman at *enon*; he was commanded by one Captain
Wren, whom they seized in the *Casbah*, because he would
not deliver his Ship up voluntarily; there was but little of
their Cargoes on board of the Ships, so they might as well
have left them alone. However, the Company complained the
Governor and Merchants of *Mocha*, that they had a Design
to force Captain *Andrews* to raise the flag, but he refus-
ing as much, fled on board, and hid his Colours flying
at the Mast.

He then after left *Mocha*, and carried his two Prizes
with him; and *Mr. Charles* Captain of the *Mer-*
chant, that Bills for his Ship were paid for at *Madagascar*, ex-
cept about sixty Pieces of Silver, that he carried with him
to *England*, which was very well, and the Company were
obliged by Law to make good on his Ship's Cargo 170

rata, as those sixty Bales sold for, which amounted to
thirty two thousand Pounds. The *Bristol's* Cargo was also
made good to her Owners, with the Ship that was taken
at *Johanna* by the *Phoenix*, which came to sixty thousand
Pounds; and the *Little Betty*, that was also taken by the
Phoenix, in her way to *India*, cost them twelve thousand
Pounds, though she and her Cargo at *Bombay* were sold for
less than six hundred Pounds. The Owner of that Vessel
was one *Mr. Hestwell*, a Quaker, and a substantial Mer-
chant in *London*, who arrested Captain *Fryell* going off the
Exchange. The Captain proffered King *James* for Bail;
but the Quaker would not accept of him; yet was content
to accept of *Sir Joseph Horns*, who became Bail. The
Charles, *Caspar*, and *Royal James* and *Mary*, way laid the
Surat Shipping, and brought in fourteen Sail to *Bombay*,
in *Arro* 1688, and yet no War with the Mogul, only with
the Inhabitants of *Surat*, whom he threatened to humble.

In *October* 1688, he went to *Surat* Road in the *Royal*
James and *Mary*, with three or four other Ships of Coun-
tenance, to try if he could bully the Governor, and frighten
the Merchants to a Compliance of losing their Barges; but
was disappointed in both. He staid there till the Begin-
ning of *January* 1689, and then left *Surat* in a Huff, and
brought all the *English* Ships, except the *Slap Adventure*,
which the *Phoenix* had forced over the Bar, when she was
lying at the River's Mouth, taking in a Cargo to *Eng-*
land, under the Protection of *Mr. Boucher's* Firmans.
However, her Supercargo dying, the Ship's Bottom was
eaten up with Worms in the River, and part of the Cargo
remained many Years in *Mr. Boucher's* possession. On the
General's Passage to *Bombay*, he met with a Fleet of Ves-
sels that were carrying Corn to an Army of the Mogul's
that lay at *Dunder-rajah pore*, about fourteen Leagues to
the Southward of *Bombay*: That Fleet he also seized, and
carried into *Bombay*, though against the Opinion of most of
his Council. Before this Seizure, he asked the Opinion of
some Sea Officers; and one Captain *Hinder* being the oldest,
advised him not to meddle with the Corn Fleet, because it
would frighten the Army, and force them to look abroad
for Provisions, where it might be procured, and perhaps
might affect *Bombay*, which was in a great measure be-
hoken to its Neighbours for Suttenance and Fire-wood.
The General intreated him with scurrilous Language, called
him Coward and Fool, and bragged, that if *Sir John* *Tacop*,
which was the Mogul General's Name, should care to
come with his Forces to *Bombay*, he would blow him off
again with the Wind of his Bum. Cowards are generally
fearful when Dangers are at a Distance, and so was our Ge-
neral, who had never seen a Sword drawn in Anger, and
who was consequently very ill acquainted with War; and
when it came to his Door, none was ever so confounded
and so dejected as he was, as appeared by his Conduct in
that War, that he so foolishly brought on himself and his
Country.

When the News came to *Sir John Tacop*, that his Fleet
with his Provision of Corn and Cloth were seized, and car-
ried to *Bombay*, he sent a civil Letter to our General to dis-
engage his Fleet, protesting, that as he had not meddled
in the Affairs between him and the People of *Surat*, he
would continue neuter, unless he was forced to do other-
wise. But our General gave him an insolent Answer, and
the Fleet was unladed at *Bombay*. *Sir John Tacop* desired
to desire the Delivery of his Fleet in plain Terms, other-
wise he should be obliged to come with his Army and ap-
pear at *Bombay*, where his Provisions were all consumed;
that his Fleet was seized at *Lahore* before the Month of
February, which was our first Hand; he would be ready
at *Bombay* in 1490. But still receiving no satisfaction,
he performed his Promise to a *Latin* Merchant, who
he had met at a Place called *Surat*, about six Leagues
from the main Port, with twenty thousand M^{rs} of the
Our General's Security; he made from thence a private
returning to a *Country*, relating to the *King's* *Ar-*
Forest, which was seized at that time, and the *Surat*,
or ever were fired, and *Europe* and *India* had Ships
enough, had they been seized in proper places, they might
certainly have hindered his coming to *Bombay*, and
again; but in those times, they were not so well success-
ful.

and the *Sedee* landed at Midnight, and the Redoubt, where he landed, fired a great Gun to give the Alarm, and so deserted their Post, and the *Sedee* took Possession of it.

At One in the Morning the *Cattle* fired three Guns to give the General Notice, which brought such Fear on those that lived securely in their Houses without the *Cattle*, that the poor Ladies, both white and black, ran half naked to the Fort, and only carried their Children with them; but they were all obliged to wait without the Walls, till Day-light relieved them. Next Morning the *Sedee* marched to *Mazagan*, a small Fort of fourteen Guns, and about a random Shot distant from the *Cattle*. On the Enemy's Approach, the Fort, though situated on a Point of Rocks, where the Sea defended three Quarters of it, was also deserted in such Precipitancy that eight or ten Chests of Treasure, which generally contain one thousand Pounds each, and four Chests of new Arms, were left behind, though the Seamen that were sent in Boats to bring them off proffered to carry them along with them; but the commanding Officer thought them not fit to be trussed with Money and Arms, and to they were left for a Present to *Sedee Yaccup*, with fourteen Cannon, two Mortars, with some Powder, Shot, and Sails. But why that Treasure, and those Arms and Ammunition were deposited in *Mazagan*, few could account for; and the Reason why they were left to the Enemy was as wonderful: But it is plain, that the old Way of fishing in troubled Waters was known at *Bombay*, and the Officer was never called to account for his Oversight. *Sedee Yaccup*, finding no Opposition, sent a Party of Men towards *Mabim* to plunder the poor Peasants, and to take the Fort, which he thought might be deserted as the rest had been, and was not in the least out of his Conjecture; for the Garrison had embarked in Boats, and came by Sea to *Bombay* before they saw an Enemy; the *Sedee* taking Possession of *Mazagan*, hoisted his Flag there, and made it his head Quarters. The following Day some of the Enemy appeared on *Mazagan Hills*, which grieved our General's righteous Soul to see Infidels come to near him in a hostile manner.

He called a Mission of his own, one Captain *Peau*, who was no better Soldier than himself, and ordered him to take two Companies, each containing about twenty Men, and march to those Hills, and drive the Enemy out of Sight; he ordered one *Monte*, who had been a Soldier at *Tangier*, to be his Lieutenant. In *Tangier* he had received a Wound in his Head that spoiled his running, and accordingly they marched in good Order within shot of the Enemy, who shewed their Heads above the Surface of the Hill, but did not offer to advance, or expose their Bodies; several Gentlemen Volunteers took their Arms, and accompanied the little Army. The Lieutenant advised the Captain to march up the Hill in Platoons to separate the Enemy's Forces. The Captain, who took it as an Affront to be advised, had his Lieutenant, that when he had the Command in his own Hand, he might use it as he thought fit, but as it was intended to him, he would use it according to his own Mind, and to ordered his Men to stand as much as they could; and when they saw the Enemy open in the Plain, to discharge at once amongst them, which he had would not have done. *Monte* opposed his Scheme, and told him of the Danger he would bring himself and them into, if the Enemy should attack them, whilst their Arms were reloading; but nothing could persuade him from his Project, and he commanded his Men to fire, as he had directed. The *Sedee* being then to one in Numbers, and better Runners than our Men, and better acquainted with close fighting with Sword and Target, took hold of the Opportunity, and advanced with all their Speed, which the Captain perceiving, he took himself to his Heels, and was the last of his Men to the Portuguese Church, where he took Courage to look behind him, to see what was become of his Men. *Monte* thinking to stop the Enemy's Career by a shot of the Wing that he commanded, found himself cut off by about thirteen or fourteen stout Fellows, who were soon surrounded by the Enemy, and cut to Pieces. *Peau* had not stopped at the Portuguese Church, but he had sent a Party of one hundred Men that lay there ready to support or receive him, as his Case should require. He was a brave Man, well used, for finding as any that was

ever seen, and was so much in the General's Favour, that he had not so much as a Reprimand for his Cowardice and Misbehaviour. This Relation I had, says Captain *H.* from a Gentleman Volunteer, who always kept near the Captain, while he could keep Pace with him.

When the General left *Sarat*, there were several Gentlemen in it, some in the Company's Service, and some private Persons, who were all imprisoned, and put in Chains, except Mr. *Boucher* and his Dependants, who were protected by his Purmand. Those imprisoned were severely used, being obliged to pass through the Streets with Irons about their Necks, for Spectacles to please the Mob. Captain *Johnson* and Captain *Phinan*, though particular Merchants, were obliged to act their Parts in the Tragi-Comedy, and continue Prisoners, where Captain *Johnson* died; but Captain *Yeoman* got his Liberty at the End of the War, which was about the Beginning of June 1692. I will now return back to the Year 1686, when Sir *John Weyborn* was sent from England with a Commission of Judge-Admiral from the King, and he had likewise another Commission from the Governor of the Company, when they made him believe was also from the King, to condemn and hang thirteen of the Inhabitants of *St. Helena*, where, in a Tumult caused by the Oppressions of the Governor of that Island, one *Johnson*, the Second, was killed, Sir *John Weyborn* took his Passage to *India* on board the Ship *London*, and in his Way called at *St. Helena*, and hanged up the thirteen proscribed Persons without former Process, for which the Company paid dear afterwards; and to had Sir *John*, had he lived. But he being the illegal Proceedings of Mr. *Child* to be insupportable, and meeting with many Affronts (from that Man without Manners) died at *Bombay* about two Months before the *Sedee* came on it. He was much lamented by all honest Men that knew him. He was Captain of the *Happy Return*, who accompanied the *Gloucester*, when she was bringing the Duke of *York* to *Scotland*, and lost by the Way. It was Captain *Weyborn* that sent his Barge to wait on the Duke, and brought him safe on board the *Happy Return*, who carried him forward to *Scotland*, for which good Service he was knighted; he was ever after a great Favourite with King *James*, who seeing he could not be brought into his Majesty's, put that Employment on him, to assist him with Honour: And now the *Sedee* being Master of the whole Island, except the *Cattle*, and about half a Mile to the Southward of the *Cattle*, he raised Batteries on *Deserth Hill*, which overlooked the Fort Wall, and called the Garrison very much; then he put four great Guns in the Custom-House, commonly called the *India House*, and raised a Battery at the *Moodies House*, within two hundred Paces of the Court, and another in the *Lady's House*, which he had been to be kind to; so that it was dangerous to go out or in at the *Cattle* Gate, till we got up a Hill, Men over it. All Men were then pressed into the Company's Service, and our Author among the rest.

We sailed, says he, the Month of *April* to *Bombay* very ill; for Provisions grew scarce, by the Addition of three thousand *Servises* that were employed as Auxiliaries in the military Service of the Company. When the War of Months were over, in *September* we went to Sea with our small Ships to cruise on the *Mogul's* Subj. I had a pretty good Success. I was employed in that Service, and had the Command of a small Privateer of twenty eight Guns, with twenty fighting Men, and sixteen Fellows. In three or four Months I brought me Prizes to the value of Laden most with Provisions and Cloaths for the *Mogul's* Army, which was now increased to forty thousand Men; but we were not allowed any Plunder, but were obliged to distribute ourselves; for when we brought our Prizes to the Chells were severely treated, and if we could have any of our Pay, it was paid for by the Company's Officers; Money we had found in the Prizes, was made us a present of, by putting the Enemy at Sea: Except when King's Prizes we never looked out for Prizes; by which Ind. we saw many of the Enemy escaped, that we could have had. The ill Success we had assure with the Enemy, our General sick, and in *December* he dispatched two of our Ships to the *Mogul's* Court, with a Letter from our *Mogul* *Muzumdar*, he was cut off, and had some other

in the General's Favour, that
 ordinaid for his Courage and
 on I had, says Captain H. from
 always kept near the Captain,
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rat, there were several Gentils-
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 hof imprisoned were severely
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 tain, though particular Mer-
 their Parts in the Tragi-Com-
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 with a Commission of Judge-
 and he had likewise another
 error of the Company, which
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 the Inhabitants of *St. Helena*,
 by the Oppressions of *John*
Johnson, the Second, was kept
 Passage to *India* on board the
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 dee being half of the whole
 and about half a Million in
 he raised Batteries on *Durgess*
 Fort Wall, and other of the
 he put four great Guns at the
 called the *India House*, and
 des House, within two Miles
 other in the Lady's Hope, so
 so that it was dangerous to
 till we get up an Hill. Men
 pressed into the Sea pass, a
 along the reef.

Months from April to September
 new Year, by the Addition
 were employed at *Assam*, as
 the Company. We were about
 mber we went to sea with
 the Mogul's Subje, and
 employed in that Service, and
 al Privateer of twenty
 Men, and fifteen Pieces of
 I bought nine Prizes at *Bombay*,
 and Courts for the Company's
 ready to forty thousand
 pounder, but were not
 we brought our Prizes
 and, and if we had
 by the Company's
 which was made as call'd a
 portance when I began
 we, by which India
 ed that we could have
 ore with the January
 he dispatched two
 a Court-Martial, and
 and some other that

Court. They went under the Name of the *English* Em-
 bassadors; Mr. *George Weldon* was first in Commission, and
Abraham Narvar, a Jew, was second. In fifteen Days
 they arrived at Court, being then at *Jehanabat*.

They were received but colidly; but about the Middle
 of April, by the special Alliance of Presents to the Officers
 at Court, they were admitted to Audience, but were
 brought to *Aurengzeb's* Presence, after a new Mode for Em-
 bassadors, their Heads being tied by a Suth before them,
 and were obliged to prostrate themselves. The King gave
 them a severe Reprimand, and then asked their Demands.
 They first made a Confession of their Faults, and desired
 Pardon. Then that their Phirmaund, which was forfeited,
 should be renewed, and that the *Serde* and his Army
 should be ordered off *Bombay*; their Submission he accept-
 ed, and pardoned their Faults, on condition that Mr.
Child should leave *India* in nine Months, and never come
 back again. The Phirmaund to be renewed on condition
 that Satisfaction should be given his Subjects on account
 of Debts contracted, Rebberies committed, and Loss and
 Damages made good; and on Security given for the due
 Performances of these Premises, the *Serde* and his Army
 should be ordered off the Island.

In January General *Child* died, which much facilitated
 their Affairs; but it was kept secret at Court, till they
 knew how the King would order the Affair about him. In
March, *Miser Mezzanie* died also, and it was supposed was
 poisoned by some Enemies contracted by his good Services
 to the *English*. When he was given over by the Physicians
 our Embassadors sent to know what he had done with the
 nity thousand Rupees he had received for secret Services?
 He answered, that he was sorry that ever he had meddled
 in their Affairs; for he had served them even with his Life,
 and yet they were not contented; for what Use that Sum
 was put to, he durst not divulge. When our Affairs were
 in so bad Circumstances at the Mogul's Court, the *Dutch*
 Company had one Mr. *Barren* their Embassador there, who
 designed to impole on *Aurengzeb*, who he thought was ig-
 norant of *European* Affairs. The News of the Revolution
 in *Britain* being arrived in *India*, when he had an Au-
 dience of *Aurengzeb*, he began to magnify the Power and
 Authority of his Country, and vilify the *English*.

The Mogul seemed to be pleased with his Discourse and
 encouraged him to go on: He said, that the *English* were
 but contemptible in Con parison of his Sovereigns; for they
 were forced to lend the *English* a King to rule over them;
 and that if his Majesty would excite the *English* from the
 Trade of his Dominions, the *Dutch* would carry it to a
 much greater Height, and into his Treasury, and the
English would not know where to put it. The Mogul
 gravely answered, that if his Majesty was so much super-
 ior in Power and Riches to the *English*, they might easily
 cast them out of *India*, and engross all the Trade of his
 Countries to themselves, and commanded him to tell his
 Majesties, that he expected it from them. Then the Em-
 bassador excused himself, and said that he could act nothing in
 that Affair, till he received Orders from *Holland*: *Au-*
rengzeb then imprisoned him, and showed him wherein he
 had erred; for, says he, about seventeen Years ago the King
 of *France* conquered most of your Country in a few Days,
 and then it was the *English*, and not the Power of *Holland*,
 that rebelled him; and that if *England* did not hold the
 Balance of Power, either the Emperor, or the King of
France, could conquer it in one Campaign. The Em-
 bassador knew not how to answer these Truths; but being
 sent to solicit some Indulgence in that Trade, he could ob-
 tain none, and so left the Court distressed.

After our Embassadors had obtained Pardon, they began
 to be dispensed, and had Liberty to take their Diversions
 abroad, till a new Phirmaund was drawn up, which, ac-
 cording to the Method of Eastern Courts, took up some
 Time. However, Orders were sent to the *Serde* to be in
 Readiness, and the *English* had the same Orders, so that
 frequent Visits passed between the *Serde's* People and ours;
 and during the War, about sixty *Europeans* of several
 Nations had deserted us, and took Part of the *Serde*. The
 Reason they give for their Desertion was, that they re-
 ceived from the *Dutch* Officers a great deal of Money, and
 still the Way, on pretence of Pardon. The Phirmaund

being ready, and the required Security given, *Serde Taccop*
 left *Bombay* the 8th of June 1699, but he also left a Pestil-
 ence behind him, which in four Months Time destroyed
 more Men than the War had done, and for Joy made a
 malicious Bonfire of his head Quarters, *Muzagan* Fort.

Now we may see the Mogul's Sale in his new Phir-
 maund, to be sent to *Surat*, as it stands translated from
 the Company's Interpreter, which runs thus in the printed
 Copy annexed to Sir *John Child's* Articles of Grievances:
 "The Occasion of your writing to me was, your being
 in Fault in all these Troubles; that you have repented
 of what you have done; that you made several Com-
 plaints against former Governors; all which I have
 here from several of my Omras, and the several
 "Abus received from them and their Officers; all
 "which you should have acquainted me with before you
 "proceeded so violently. Having acknowledged your
 "Error, and desired Pardon, I do not only grant your
 "Request, pardoning what is past, but granting you a
 "Phirmaund, according to your Desire, and have order-
 "ed *Asfa Caun* to forward it to the Governor of *Surat*,
 "with such Particulars as he will acquaint you with. At
 "the Arrival of my Phirmaund, receive it with great Re-
 "spect, acknowledging the great Glory you have got in
 "obtaining the same. That you may trade as formerly
 "at your Pleasure, and as accustomed. That you deli-
 "ver to the Merchants that have complained against you
 "their Ships, with their Effects. That, for the future,
 "you do not commit the like Error in doing as you have
 "done; and proceed according to my Will and Pleasure,
 "and be not forgetful of the same. If you receive any
 "Affronts from my Governors, or their Officers, or any
 "of my Subjects, be not negligent in acquainting me
 "of the same; I have ordered *Asfa Caun* to write accord-
 "ingly. What you write concerning former Governors
 "protecting Mr. *Boucher*, that you have several Demands
 "on him; that you cannot call him to an Account, de-
 "siring that he may be delivered to you; my Order is,
 "that you prove your Demands according to Law, that
 "Justice may be done accordingly. Dated the 31st
 "Year of *Aurengzeb's* Reign."

It seems, the King was not ignorant of the hard Usage
 his Subjects had met with; nor was he desirous of Seve-
 rity in punishing Offences and Affronts, but, like an in-
 dulent Prince, only told them of their Faults, and pru-
 dently admonishing them not to be guilty of falling into
 such like Errors; and, in a Majestick Style, advised them
 to receive his Favour and Graces with great Respect; and
 that they ought to make the Law the Standard of Justice,
 and in all his Words and Actions use a Christian Moderation.
 General *Child* being dead, Mr. *John Faux* succeeded
 him in the Government of *Bombay*: But Mr. *Barkolome-*
new Harris, who had been Prisoner at *Surat* all the Time
 of the Rupture, had the Seniority in the Company's Ser-
 vice; but it not being a Custom for one that had been the
 Mogul's Prisoner for any Crimes judged to be capital, to
 receive publick Marks of Esteem from the State, without
 a singular Allowance from the King, Mr. *Faux* was obliged
 to go to *Surat*, and receive the Phirmaund, and the
 King's *Serpas*, or Pretent, which, on such Occasions, is
 generally a fine Horse, and a Suit of Cloaths from Head to
 Foot, made of rich *Atlas*, or *Zerbaftas*; those are
 Sattins, or *Pasties*, full of Gold and Silver Flowers
 wrought in them. The Horse must never after be sold
 on any Account whatsoever. They have also a fine Tur-
 ban, embroidered Sines, and a Dagger of Value flunk in-
 to a fine *Cummand*, or *Sath*; and being equipped in
 that Habit, the Phirmaund is presented by the *Goelber-*
dar, or *Hollibouk* on (or, in *English*, the King's Mes-
 senger) and the Governor of the Province or City, makes
 a short Speech adapted to the Occasion, letting forth the
 great Honour conferred upon him by the great King in
 the World; with an Administration to make his future Ac-
 tions deserve such Favours.

At the aforesaid Manner Mr. *Faux* received the Phir-
 maund in a gilded Box; and, according to Custom, put
 it on his Forehead a little while, and, by an Interpreter,
 proposed the Governor a Compliment, acknowledging the
 King's favour and the Governor's Civilities; and then the

and sent him Prisoner to England. Though his Reign was short, it was very pernicious to his Masters, as well as to particular Merchants under his Jurisdiction.

But to return from this Digression: *Bombay* was governed by a Deputy, since the President was obliged to stay at *Surat*, and of seven or eight hundred English that inhabited before the War, there were not above sixty left by the Sword and Plague. Thus *Bombay*, that was one of the pleasantest Places in *India*, was brought to be one of the most dismal Defarts; but the Spirit of Injustice still resided in it; for those who had ventured through the War and Plague in Defence of the Island, had not the Liberty of returning home to their own Country, nor to raise their Fortune by private Trade; but all were continued pressed Men, in the Right Honourable the Company's Service, without the Hope of Preferment, which made some Discontents; and even in the Time of War, when Strangers should have been encouraged to have brought Provisions into the Island, the Company's Taxes of five per Cent. were exacted with great Severity; for it was common to see the *Portuguese* Subjects bring twenty or thirty Poultry to the Market, and five of the best taken for the Custom of the rest.

13. The Desire of continuing this historical Account of the Affairs of *Bombay*, which I take to be very useful and instructive, as well as curious and entertaining, has led me a little out of my Road of Chronology, and therefore I shall be obliged to go back again with respect to the Affairs of this Company, and the political Accidents that have attended them during the Reign of King *William*; but the Reader will not fall into any Perplexity or Confusion from this Method of treating them, because what I have now to say has little or no Reference to the Affairs abroad, and consequently has no Connection with what goes before.

The first Transaction I meet with in this Reign is a Charter of Regulations granted to the *East-India* Company, by their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date Nov. 11, 1693. Referring to a Charter of the 7th of *October*, by which it seems their former Charters were confirmed, and by this new Charter they were enabled to take in a new Subscription for seven hundred and forty-four thousand Pounds. The Company was also tied down to make public Sales by Inch of Candle, to export yearly to the Value of one hundred thousand Pounds of the Manufactures of this Kingdom, and to furnish the Crown yearly with five hundred Tun of the best Saltpetre, at the Rate of thirty-eight Pounds ten Shillings per Tun in Time of Peace, and at forty five Pounds per Tun in Time of War; they were likewise directed to make no Dividend upon their joint Stock, but in Money only. This Charter was to continue for twenty-one Years, provided the Governor and Company complied exactly with the Rules therein prescribed; as also with such other Orders, Directions, Additions, Qualifications and Restrictions as their Majesties, by and with the Advice of their Privy Council, should think fit to appoint on or before the 29th of *September* 1694, otherwise all their Powers and Privileges might be determined and taken away, by Letters of Revocation.

In pursuance of this Proviso, another Charter of Regulations was granted to the said Company, under the Great Seal of *England*, dated *September* 29, 1694, and in the sixth Year of their Majesties Reign, in which among other things it is prescribed, that once every Year, in the Month of *August*, the Governor and Company should present to the Privy Council a true Account fairly written, under the Governor or Deputy Governor's Hand, of the Nature, Quantity, Value, and prime Cost of the Manufactures of this Country by them exported, and from what Place; and this upon the Oaths of the proper Officers and Servants of the Company. And it was further ordered, that none of these Goods should be again landed in *England*, or carried elsewhere, than within the Limits of the Company's Charter. It was also directed, that, on the Application in Writing, of any six or more of the Proprietors, each possessed of One thousand Pounds Capital Stock, demanding a general Court of the said Company to be called, then the Governor, or Deputy Governor should be obliged, within eight Days, to call such a Court, which should not

be adjourned but by the Consent of the Majority of the Proprietors to assemble; and the Company were required to signify their Acceptance of, and Submission to these, and other Restrictions, under Pain of Dissolution.

But, notwithstanding all these Charters and Regulations, which seemed to fully to confirm, and to much to enlarge the Powers and Privileges of this Company, yet were they never so precarious as at this Juncture; for, on the one hand, their Authority was boldly disputed by such as had an Intention to trade to the *Indies*, without any Regard to the Company's Rights, and who, by them, therefore were styled Interlopers: And this, upon Pretence that it was not in the Power of the Crown to grant any exclusive Charter. On the other hand, the Government wanted Money, and therefore the Ministers, who should certainly have defended the King's Prerogative, since otherwise it was a high Crime in them to advise him to grant such Charters, struck in with the other Party; and, for the sake of making more Money, and removing the Obstacles in the Way of their own Administration, promoted the Ruin of those Grants and Charters, which they had been most exorbitantly paid for procuring; and upon the Faith of which vast Numbers of Persons had subscribed their fortunes into the Company's joint Stock. But as it was not to be supposed that any Set of new People would advance two Millions, which was the Sum proposed upon a new Charter, which might prove as precarious as the old one, it was resolved to subject the whole of this Affair to the Cognizance of the House of Commons, in order to have every thing settled and secured by an Act of Parliament. Accordingly, in the Year 1698, this Matter was proposed to the House, not only with the Concurrence of Persons in Power, but backed and supported by all their Interest; so that though it was steadily and vehemently opposed by the Members of the old Company, yet it was to very little Purpose. They followed the bill however into the House of Lords, and were heard there by their Council, Sir *Thomas Pown*, and Sir *Barkulamew Shover*, who, with much Eloquence and great Strength of Reason, maintained the Cause of their Clients, but without Success; and it was a Point determined, that their Interest should give Way to that which, whether truly or falsely I shall not determine, was called the Interest of the Publick.

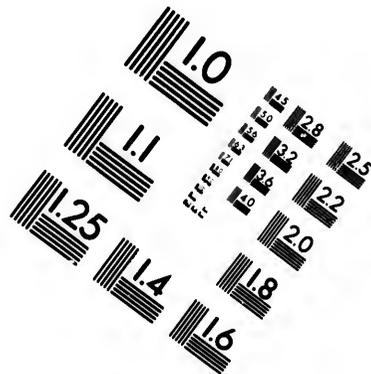
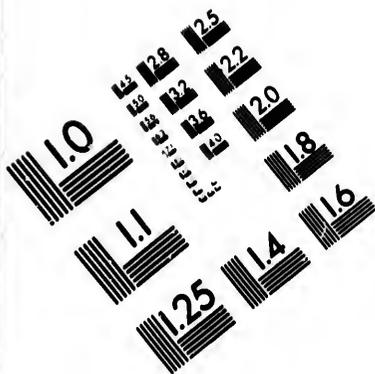
Thus it came to pass, that in the Reign of King *William* III. a new Company trading to the *East-Indies* was incorporated by Act of Parliament, they having advanced the Government two Millions of Money, for which they at first received Interest, after the Rate of Eight per Cent. out of the Funds assigned for the same: But that Interest hath been sunk by subsequent Statutes to Six and Five per Cent. After this, the old and new Companies, having a due Regard to their own common Interests, for the Prevention of divers Inconveniences that might otherwise have happened, both to themselves and this Nation in general, agreed upon several Articles for the Union of the said Companies in manner following, viz.

It was agreed that the Effects of both Companies should be brought home with all convenient Speed for their separate Accounts, and all possible Provision made for the enabling both Companies to bring home the same with Security; and that neither the Crown nor the new Company take any Advantage of the old Company, under Pretence of Forfeiture; and that each Company give a Release to the other, and to their respective Factors and Servants.

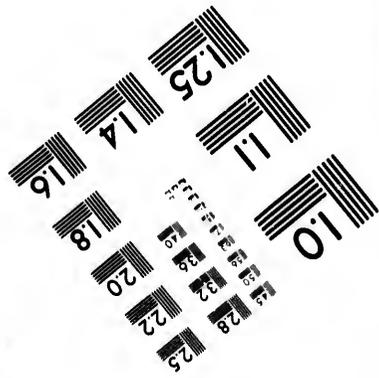
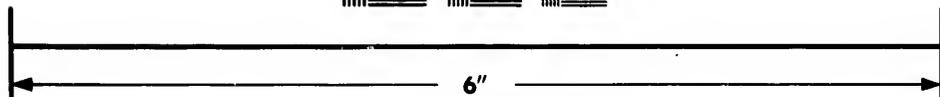
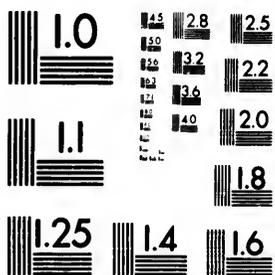
The old Company's 315,000*l.* in Funds, upon the Execution of this Agreement, to be immediately united to the Capital Stock of the new Company; and that the old Company purchase of the new Company, to be transferred by three of their Members in their political Capacity, 673,500*l.* in the Capital Stock and Fund of 1,662,000*l.* with the Benefits to arise thereby: So that the old Company may have 988,500*l.* in the said Fund, which will make that Company equal to the new in Fund and Title to the Trade, and which Stock of 673,500*l.* shall be transferred at four several Times, each fourth Part to be paid for at the Time of their Transfer, at 100*l.* for 100*l.*

That the old Company's dead Stock at home and abroad be valued at 33,000*l.* and the new Company's





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dead Stock both abroad and at home, at 70,000 *l.* and that the old Company, at the Time of transferring the first fourth Part of the said 273,500 *l.* do transfer all their dead Stock, abroad and at home, to the new Company, the new Company paying for one Moiety thereof at the same time 16,500 *l.* and that the old Company shall also pay to the new Company 25,000 *l.* for the Moiety of their dead Stock; and thereupon the old Company shall have, and be entitled to a Moiety of both the said Stocks, as Members of the new Company.

The Members of the new Company transferring, shall be entitled to the Arrears of their Annuity until the Time of the several Transfers; after which all Annuities arising by the old Company's 273,500 *l.* shall be paid to such Persons as shall be appointed for that Purpose by the said old Company for their Use; and the new Company shall have the Benefit of all Money arising before their Agreement, and also 5 *l.* per Cent. on all Ships entered or cleared before the Execution of the said Agreement: each Company is to desist from any separate Exportation.

That, during seven Years, each Company shall have an equal Power in the Administration and Management of the Fund and Trade; and, to that End, twelve Persons shall be appointed by the General Court of each Company respectively, out of the Courts of Committees and Directors of the said Companies, who shall be called in the new Charter, *Managers of the United Trade to India*; and a new additional Stock shall be raised for carrying on the future Trade, and be advanced in such Proportions as the said Twenty-four Managers, or the major Part of them, shall from time to time appoint, the General Courts of each Company agreeing thereunto.

The old Company, during the Space of seven Years, shall preserve their Stock in their political Capacity; and, for that Time, remain a separate Corporation, so as to transfer and assign in their own Books, as now they do; and, at the End of the said seven Years, the old Company shall transfer and assign in the Books of the new Company their Share in the Fund to their several Members who shall be then entitled to the same; and thereon the said Members of the old Company shall become, and be admitted Members of the new Company *gratis*.

That each Company shall indemnify the other from their respective Debts and Demands, and a proper Provision be made for that Purpose: And, that the new Company, after the executing their Agreement, shall not take up any Money upon their common Seal, or do any other Act, except what relates to their separate Effects as aforesaid, without the Concurrence of the old Company.

A Covenant to be entered into, that his Majesty shall make a Re-grant within ten Days after the making such Assignment as aforesaid; and that the old Company, within one Month after the said seven Years are expired, shall surrender their Charter and Corporation; and also that the King, within ten Days after such Surrender, shall make a new Grant to the same Trustees, and subject to the same Trust of all such Estate and Effects of the old Company as shall come to or devolve upon the Crown, by reason of the said Surrender.

That immediately from and after the said Surrender, the new Company shall change its Name, and be called the *United Company of the Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies*. Nevertheless, the future Management of the said Stock and Trade, after the said Term of seven Years is expired, is to be, according to the new Company's Charter, on the 3^d of September, 1698. And for the better attaining the Purposes aforesaid, that there be a Tripartite Indenture, executed by his Majesty and both the said Companies, wherein such Covenants and Provisions may be made as shall be thought reasonable, with proper Recitals from his Majesty to each Company, so that as soon as the aforesaid seven Years, allowed for the Convenience of Affairs on both Sides, are expired, the two Companies may be entirely one in Name and Effect.

This, in Truth, was the only Remedy that could be devised for the Cure of so great an Evil, many of the bad Consequences of which were foreseen before it took Eff-

fect, which, however, proved but few in comparison of what was discovered by Experience. Some there were who imagined that this was a *Dutch* Design originally, and formed with a View to undermine our national Interest in this Trade to favour their own; and, to speak freely, there are some Circumstances which give some Probability to this Notion; and, perhaps, amongst these Circumstances, there is none stronger than that the Subscription of the Two Millions was chiefly promoted by Foreigners, as we are expressly told by the Author of the *Complete History of England*, in his Account of the Reign of King *William*, who magnifies the Alacrity with which that Sum was subscribed, and seems to think, that twice as much might have been obtained, if the Act of Parliament had extended to far. But it may seem a Paradox to say, that People would venture their Money to hurt the old *East India* Company: But this is easily solved, by considering that little depended on that Trade, where they were to have so large an Interest as Eight per Cent. for their Money.

The only Way to form a right Judgment of this Affair is, to take a View of the Situation of Things in the *Indies*, after this new Establishment took place: And of this, in his Account of *Bengal*, the before mentioned Captain *Hamilton* has given us a very full and fair Relation, interspersed with some Concerns of his own, which shews that he was an Eye-witness, and did not deliver any thing from Hearsay. If we wanted other Evidence, I might cite that of Mr. *Lockyer*, who, in his Account of the Trade of the *Indies*, informs us, that the old and new Companies had each of them a Factory at *Surat*; and that those that managed them acted with such Animosity against each other, that it was very hard, even after the Companies were united, to reconcile them. It is extremely difficult to find out, and bring together such Relations as these; but the Desire I have that the Readers should be perfectly acquainted with the State of this Commerce in different Periods of Time, that he may frame the better Notion of what has contributed to promote, and what has occasioned, at any Time, the Decay of this Trade, has encouraged me to take all the Pains I could to range the several Accounts I have been able to collect, in such Order as might make them best understood, and best answer the End that I proposed. It was solely with this View, that I resolved to give the following Passages from Captain *Hamilton's* Travels, which, I hope, will sit this Matter in as clear a Light as either myself or the Reader could wish. The Country about *Bengal* described, he proceeds a little higher. Up the East-side of *Hugly* River is *Poreilly*, a Village where a Corn-mart is kept once or twice in a Week: It exports more Riches than any Place on this River. And five Leagues farther, upon the other Side, is *Tanna* Fort, built to protect the Trade of the River, at a Place convenient enough, where it is not above half a Mile from Shore, but it never was of much Use; for, *Anno* 1686, when the *English* Company quarrelled with the *Mogul*, the Company had several great Ships at *Hugly*; and this Fort was manned, in order to hinder their Passage down the River. One sixty Gun Ship approaching pretty near the Fort, saluted it with a Broad-side, which so frightened the Governor and his Myrmidons, that they all deserted their Posts, and left their Cattle to be plundered by the *English* Seamen. About a League farther, upon the other Side of the River, is *Governors*, where there is a little Pyramid, built for a Land-mark, to confine the Company's Colony of *Calcutta*, or *Fort-William*, on that Side: And about a League farther up, stands *Fort-William*.

The *English* settled there about the Year 1690. After the *Mogul* had pardoned all the Robberies and Murders committed on his Subjects, Mr. *Job Channock*, being then the Company's Agent in *Bengal*, he had Liberty to settle an Emporium in any Part of the River-side below *Hugly*; and for the sake of a large shady Tree, chose that Place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthy Place on all the River; for three Miles to the North-eastward is a Salt-water Lake that overflows in *September* and *October*, and then prodigious Numbers of Fish resort thither; but in *November* and *December*, when the Floods are dissipated, these Fishes are left dry, and with their Putrefaction affect

new in comparison of some there were who design originally, and in national Interest in to speak freely, there be Probability to this Circumstances, there tion of the two Mil- ners, as we are ex- pleat History of King William, who Sum was subscribed, ch might have been ad extended to far. t People would ven- India Company: But at little depended on o large an Interest as

gment of this Affair Things in the Indies, ce: And of this, in tioned Captain Ha- tar Relation, inter- n, which shews that liver any thing from ce, I might cite that of the Trade of the new Companies had that those that ma- against each other, the Companies were mely difficult to find s as these; but the ould be perfectly ac- erce in different Pe- the better Notion of what has occasioned, ible, has encouraged ange the several Ac- such Order as might answer the End that view, that I resolved Captain Hamilton's Matter in as clear a re could wish. The ceeds a little higher.

Penzance, a Village vice in a Week: It is this River. And Side, is Anna Fort, ver, at a Place con- e half a Mile from ; for, Anno 1686, with the Mogul, t Hugly; and this their Passage down oaching pretty near , which so fright- s, that they all de- le to be plundered ague farther, upon apore, while these k-mark, to confine Fort-William, on r up, stands Fort-

Year 1690. After eries and Murders annoack, being then ad Liberty to settle ide below Hugly; e whole that Place, re unhealthy Place North-eastward is mber and October, retort thither; but ods are dissipated, Putrefaction affect the

the Air with thick stinking Vapours, which the North-east Winds bring with them to Fort-William, where they cause a yearly Mortality. One Year I was there, and there were reckoned in August about 1200 English, some military, some Servants to the Company, some private Merchants residing in the Town; and some Seamen belonging to Shipping lying in the Town; and before the Beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty Burials registered in the Clerk's Book of Mortality.

Mr. Channock chusing the Ground of the Colony where it now is, reigned more absolute than a Rajah, only he wanted much of their Humanity; for when any poor ignorant Native transgressed his Laws, they were sure to undergo a severe Whipping for a Penalty; and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, or so near his Dining-room, that the Groans and Cries of the poor Delinquent served him for Musick.

The Country about being over-spread with Paganism, the Custom of Wives burning with their deceased Husbands was also practised. Before the Mogul's War, Mr. Channock went one Time with his ordinary Guard of Soldiers, to see a young Widow act that tragical Catastrophe; but he was so smitten with the Widow's Beauty, that he sent his Guards to take her by Force from the Executioners, and conduct her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years, and had several Children; at length the died, after he had settled in Calcutta. But instead of converting her to Christianity, she made him a Profligate to Paganism, and the only Part of Christianity that was remarkable in him, was, burying her decently; and he built a Tomb over her, where, all his Life, after her Death, he kept the Anniversary-day of her Death by sacrificing a Cock on her Tomb, after the Pagan Manner. This was, and is the common Report, and I have been credibly informed, both by Christians and Pagans, who lived at Calcutta, under his Agency, that the Story was really Matter of Fact.

Fort William was built an irregular Tetragon of Brick and Mortar, called Puckab, which is a Composition of Brick-dust, Lime, Molasses, and cut Hemp; and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm Stone or Brick, and the Town was built without Order, as the Builders thought most convenient for their own Affairs, every one taking in what Ground best pleased him for Gardening; so that in most Houses you must pass thro' a Garden into the House, the English building near the River-side, and the Natives within Land.

The Agency continued till the Year 1705, that the old and new Companies united, and then it became a split Government, the old and new Companies Servants governing Week about, which made it more anarchical than regular. Sir Edward Littleton was Agent and Consul for the new Company at Hugly, when this Union of the Companies was made, and then he was ordered to remove his Factory to Calcutta, and being of an indolent Disposition, had let his Accounts with the Company run behind; he was suspended, but lived at Calcutta till 1707, that he died there. He was the only Precedent, or Precedent, in the Company's Service, that lost an Estate of seven hundred Pounds per Annum in so profitable a Post in their Service.

This double-headed Government continued at Calcutta till January 1709, that Mr. Welden arrived with the Company's Commission to settle it at Bombay and Fort St. George, which were under the Management of a Governor and Council, which those of the Direction in England took to be a better Way to promote their own Creatures, as well as their own Interest. His Term of governing was very short, and he took as short a Way to be enriched by it, by harassing the People to fill his Coffers: There was one singular Instance of it. A poor Seaman had got a pretty Magpie Wife, a little inclined to Lewdness in her Husband's Absence. She entertained two Armenians, who were like to quarrel about sharing her Favours, which coming to the Governor's Ears, he reprimanded them; however, by the strong Persuasion of five hundred Rupees, paid in Hand by one of them, he awarded him to have the sole Right to her, and he carried her to Hugly, and bragged openly what his Purchase had cost him, to

the great Credit and Praise of the Governor; and when the poor Husband returned, he was forced to submit to lose his Mate under the Pain of Flagellation: Yet he was very shy in taking Bribes, referring those honest Folks who trafficked that way to the Discretion of his Wife and Daughter, to make the best Bargain they could about the Sum to be paid, and to pay the Money into their Hands. I could give many Instances of the Force of Bribery, both here and elsewhere in India, but am loth to ruffle the Skin of old Sores.

About fifty Yards from Fort William, stands the Church built by the pious Charity of Merchants residing there, and the Christian Benevolence of sea-faring Men, whose Affairs call them to Trade there; but Ministers of the Gospel being subject to Mortality, very often young Merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a Salary of fifty Pounds per Annum added to what the Company allows them for their Pains, in reading Prayers and Sermons on Sundays.

The Governor's House in the Fort, is the best and most regular Piece of Architecture that I ever saw in India, and there are many convenient Lodgings for Factors and Writers within the Fort, and some Storehouses for the Company's Goods, and the Magazines for their Ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good Hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the Penance of Physick, but few come out to give an Account of its Operation. The Company has also a pretty good Garden, that furnishes the Governor's Table with Herbage, and Fruits; and some Fish-ponds to serve his Kitchen with good Carp, Callops and Muller.

Most of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, that make any tolerable Figure, have the same Advantages, and all sorts of Provisions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as Cloathing, make the Country very agreeable, notwithstanding the above-mentioned Inconveniences that attend it.

On the other Side of the River are Docks made for repairing and fitting their Ships Bottoms, and a pretty good Garden belonging to the Armenians. That had been a better Place to have built their Fort and Town in, for many Reasons; one is, that where it now stands, the Afternoon Sun is full in the Fronts of the Houses, and shines hot in the Streets, that are both above and below the Fort, whereas here the Sun would have sent its hot Rays on the Backs of the Houses, and the Fronts had been a good Shade for the Streets.

Most Gentlemen and Ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the Forenoons being dedicated to Business, and after Dinner to Rest, and in the Evening to recreate themselves in Chaises, or Palankins, in the Fields, or going to Gardens, or by Water in their Budgeroes, which are convenient Boats that go swiftly with the Force of Oars; and on the River, sometimes there is the Diversion of Fishing, or Fowling, or both, and before Night they make friendly Visits to one another, when Pride or Contention do not spoil Society, which too often they do among the Ladies, as Discord and Faction do among the Men; and altho' the conscript Fathers of the Colony disagree in many Points among themselves, yet they all agree in oppressing Strangers, who are consigned to them, not suffering them to buy or sell their Goods at the most advantageous Markets, but to the Governor and his Council, who fix their own Prices, high or low, as seemeth best to their Wisdom and Discretion; and it is a Crime hardly pardonable, for a private Merchant to go to Hugly to inform himself of the current Prices of Goods, altho' the Liberty of Buying and Selling is entirely taken from him before.

The Garrison of Fort William generally consists of two or three hundred Soldiers, more for conveying their Fleet from Patana, with the Company's Salt-petre, Piece goods, raw Silk, and some Opium belonging to other Merchants, than for the Defence of the Fort: For, as the Company holds their Colony in Fee-tail of the Mogul, they need not be afraid of any Enemies coming to dispossess them; and if they should at any Time quarrel again with the Mogul, in prohibiting his Subjects to trade with the Company would soon end the Quarrel.

There are some imperious troublesome Rajahs, whose Territories lie on the Banks of the *Ganges*, betwixt *Patana* and *Cassambazaar*, who pretend to a Tax on all Goods and Merchandize that pass by, or through their Dominions of the River, and often raise Forces to compel Payment; but some Forces from *Fort William* in Boats generally clear the Passage, tho' I have known some of our Men killed in the Skirmishes.

In *Calcutta* all Religions are freely tolerated but the Presbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their Idols in Procession through the Town. The *Roman* Catholics have their Church to lodge their Idols in, and the *Mahomedan* is not discountenanced; but there are no Polemics, except what are between our High-churchmen and our low, or between the Governor's Party and other private Merchants, on Points of Trade.

The Colony has very little Manufactory of its own; for the Government being pretty arbitrary, discourages Ingenuity and Industry in the Populace; for, by the Weight of the Company's Authority, if a Native chanced to disoblige one of the upper House, he is liable to arbitrary Punishment, either by Fine, Imprisonment, or corporal Sufferings. I will give one Instance out of many, that I knew of the Injustice of a Governor of the double-headed Government in *Ann* 1706.

There was one Captain *Perrin*, Master of a Ship, who took up about 500*l.* on Respondentia, from Mr. *Ralph Sheldon*, one of the Governors, in a Voyage to *Perfia*, payable at his return to *Bengal*. *Perrin* having dispatched his Affairs in *Perfia* sooner than he expected, called at *Goa* as he came home, and bought a *Surat* built Ship, very cheap, and carried her to *Calcut*, and took in a Quantity of Pepper for the *Bengal* Market, and having brought in his other Ship good Store of *Perfia* Wines, called at *Fort St. George*, to dispose of what he could there: But finding no Encouragement from that Market, carried it to *Bengal*. On his Arrival, he complimented Mr. *Sheldon* with the Offer of his Pepper and Wine; but he declined meddling with that Bargain, farther than with as much of the Pepper, at the current Price, as would ballance his Account of Principal and Respondentia. Accordingly *Perrin* delivered so much Pepper, and, on the Delivery, required his Bond up; but the Governor told him, that he being a Fellow troubled with the Spirit of interloping in buying Goods, and taking in Freight where he could best get them, he would keep the Bond as a Curb on him, that he should not spoil his Markets for the future. Poor *Perrin* used all his Rhetorick to get his Bond up, but to no Purpose; and the Governor moreover gave his Wine a bad Name, so that he could not dispose of that neither; and all this Oppression was in order to straiten him, that he might be obliged to sell his purchased Ship at a low Price to him and his Associates, which at last he was obliged to do, holding a Quarter-part in his own Hands, to secure the Command of her to himself, which, after all, he could hardly do. *Perrin* made his Complaint to me, but I was in no Condition to assist him; because having three or four large Ships at *Bengal*, I was reckoned a Criminal guilty of that unpardonable Sin of interloping. However, I advised *Perrin* to comply with his inexorable Master, on any Terms of Agreement whatsoever, which he endeavoured to do, that he might at least keep the Command of his Ship, where he was so much concerned, and had hardly done it but by Accident. One Day meeting me on the Green near the Fort, he stopped me to relate his Grievances, and begged, that if he was turned out of his own Ship, he might have an Employ in one of mine, which I promised he should.

Sheldon espied us out of a Window, holding a long Con-fabulation; and being impatient to know about what, sent a Servant to call *Perrin*, and he obeying the Summons, was interrogated about what our Discourse was, and he told the Promise I had made him. *Sheldon* told him, that he was as capable to employ him as I could be. *Perrin* answered, that he knew that, but wished that he would be as willing too; so *Sheldon* promised that he should command his own Ship to *Perfia*.

But the Wine still lay unfold, though it was scarce then in *Bengal*; but the Name that it got first in *Fort St. George*,

and afterwards in *Fort William*, stuck so fast to it, that none of it would go off at any Price: So I advised him to carry it off in the Night in my Boats on board of one of my Ships, and I would try if I could serve him in selling it, which accordingly he did; and two Gentlemen of the Council being that Season bound for *England*, coming one Day to dine with me, I treated them and the rest of my Company with that *Perfia* Wine, which they all praised, and asked me where I got it? I told them, that knowing that good Wine would be scarce at *Bengal* that Year, I had provided a good Quantity at *Surat*, from whence I had come that Season. Every one begged that I would spare them some Chests, which I condescended to do as a Favour, and next Day sent them what they wanted at double the Price the Owner demanded for it while he had it, and so got off above one hundred and twenty Chests, which enabled Mr. *Perrin* to satisfy most of his Creditors. *Sheldon* provided a Stock and Freight for *Perrin* to *Perfia*, and put on board some rotten long Pepper, that he could dispose of no other Way, and some damaged Gunnies, which are much in use in *Perfia* for embalming Goods when they are good in their kind; but, *volens volens*, *Perrin* must take them, and sign Bills of Lading for good well conditioned Goods; and yet, after he was ready to sail, he had been stopped, if he could not raise the Sum of 2500 Rupees to discharge a Bill that at that Time became due, and was indorsed to *Sheldon*. I also helped him out of that Difficulty, and took his Bond for the Sum, bearing Interest from the Date at the current Interest of one per Cent. per Mensis; so *Perrin* proceeded on his Voyage to *Perfia*, but called at *Calcut* in his way home again, and laid up his Ship there, and took Protection of a *Neger*, with the full Hand of 11,000 Pounds Sterling of *Bengal* Money, and wrote to Mr. *Sheldon* that he might keep his former Bond, and he would take care of his Part of the Stock in his Hands. He also wrote to me, that he would take particular care to reimburse me; but in a short time after he died, and his Effects came into the *English* Chief's Hands, who detained them several Years, denying that ever he paid any till Governor *Boone* came to the Government of *Bombay* in 1715, and then he made a lame Account. I have been so prolix and particular in this Story, that you may form an Idea of the Deformity and dismal Image of Tyranny and Villany, supported by a Power that neither divine nor human Laws have Force enough to bridle or restrain. The Company's Colony is limited by a Land-mark at *Greenampore*, and another near *Barnagul*, about six Miles distant, and the salt-water Lake bound it on the Land-side. It may contain in all about ten or twelve thousand Souls, and the Company's Revenues are pretty good, and well paid, they arise from Ground-rents and Conflagration, on all Goods imported and exported by *British* Subjects; but all Nations besides are free from Taxes.

It is very clear from this historical Account of the Company's Affairs, and of their Government in *India*, that nothing held them together, but the slender Tie of Self interest, which obliged such as otherwise hated each other so far to comply, as to be able to make the Machine go on; but still this was doing Things uneasily, and nothing can be clearer than that the publick Interest must have suffered greatly, while it had no other Support than the left-handed Assurances, from such as wanted its Protection to make their private Fortunes. But we were all the Time engaged in a foreign War, from the glorious Motives of settling the Ballance of Power, humbling *France*, and securing the Tranquillity of *Europe*, which to me took up our Ministers Heads, that they had scarce Time to think of Trade and Navigation. Yet there is nothing plainer than this to any Man who will study the Interest of this Nation, which one would imagine should be the Science of Ministers, than that an Application to the Extent of our Commerce, is the sole Means of raising the Power and Credit of this Kingdom, which must be rendered considerable abroad by its naval Force, and that that Force cannot be kept up, or increased, any other Way than by promoting a Spirit of Trade and Navigation. However, as the Heads of the Ministry were now turned another Way, the *East-India* Company was obliged to think of some Means of obtaining such Regulations.

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their Favour, as might be sufficient to remedy the Incon-
 veniencies that had resulted from the settling two Compa-
 nies; and in order to obtain such a Law as was requisite
 for this Purpose, they, in the sixth Year of *Queen Anne*,
 refused to lend the Government the Sum of one Million
 two hundred thousand Pounds, over and above what had
 been lent already; which Proposal of theirs was accepted,
 and in Consideration thereof, it was agreed, that the Par-
 liament should give them such Assistance for carrying on
 their Trade as they required. The Reader will observe,
 that by this Means the *East-India* Company is to be con-
 sidered in a double Capacity; that is to say, as Creditors
 to the Publick, and as a trading Company. In the former
 Capacity, they have a Security, as other Companies have,
 for the *Monica* by them advanced, and a proportionable
 Interest thereupon; and in their other Capacity, their Di-
 rectors are Trustees for the Company's Trade, the Profits
 of which likewise belong to the Proprietors, and from
 hence it appears, that the Dividends upon their Stock are
 compounded of the Interest they receive from the Govern-
 ment, and of the Profits accruing from their Trade to the
Indies. The first being fixed and invariable, serves as an
 Index to the latter, since at all Times the Interest paid to
 the Company being deducted from the Dividend, paid by
 them to the Proprietors, shews clearly what the Profits
 made by their Trade must be, as we shall farther explain
 in the Course of this History. In the mean time, let us
 return to this Act of Parliament in the Reign of *Queen*
Anne, in order to see what Effects it had upon the Affairs
 of the Company, and what Advantages they received in
 Consideration of this large and necessary Supply for the
 publick Service; and, by the way, let us remark that it was
 but reasonable to grant a trading Company certain Advan-
 tages, beyond the bare Interest of their Money, because
 they might otherwise have employed it more to their Ad-
 vantage. It was therefore enacted, that the *English* Com-
 pany trading to the *East-Indies*, shall advance and pay in
 to the Exchequer 1,200,000 *l.* on several Days appointed,
 and, in case of Failure by the said Company, the Monies
 not paid shall be recovered by Action of Debt, and 12 per
 Cent. Damages; and the said Company may borrow Mo-
 ney by their Common Seal, on Security of their united
 Stock, so as the principal Money at any Time to be owing
 don't exceed 1,500,000 *l.* above what might lawfully be
 borrowed thereon before this Act. In case the Governor
 and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *East-*
Indies, and the General Court of the said *English* Company,
 whilst they separately continue, &c. shall think fit to call
 in Money from their respective Adventurers towards
 raising the said 1,200,000 *l.* or repaying the Money bor-
 rowed for that Purpose, they are impowered to make such
 Calls accordingly, to make up the said Sum; and if any
 Members shall neglect or refuse to pay their Shares of the
 Monies called in, or which the said Company in Pursuance
 of the Statute of 9 *W. III. cap. 44.* or their Charters, shall
 call in for carrying on their Trade (after Notice fixed on
 the *Royal Exchange*) then the said Company respectively
 may stop the Dividends payable to such Members, and
 apply the same towards such Payment, until it be satis-
 fied; and also stop the Transfers of the Shares of such De-
 faulters, and charge them with Interest at 5 per Cent. till
 Payment; in neglecting which, in three Months, the
 Company may sell so much of the Defaulter's Stock as will
 pay the same. The aforesaid Sum of 1,200,000 *l.* shall
 be deemed to be an Addition of the Stock of the *English*
 Company, and be Tax-free. The united Stock of the
 said *English* Company shall be subject to the Debts con-
 tracted by the said Company, and Persons entitled to
 7,200 *l.* Part of the two Millions, the original Stock, who
 have not united their Stocks to the Corporations, and who
 are authorized to carry on a Trade for their separate Use,
 may hold and enjoy their Trade as if the said Act had not
 been made. But the *English* Company may repay the
 same at the End of three Years, together with the Annu-
 ities due thereon, and then the whole Trade shall be vested
 in the said Company. Matters in Difference between the
 two Companies, concerning an Union between them, are
 referred to *Sidney* Earl of *Godolphin's* Arbitration, and after
 the making the said Award and Surrender of the Charter

of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London*
 trading to the *East-Indies*, the Persons who at the Time
 of the Surrender, pursuant to an Indenture Tripartite,
 made between the *Queen* by the first Part; the said Govern-
 nor and Company of the second Part, and the said *English*
 Company of the third Part, shall be Directors and Man-
 agers of the united Trade of the *English* Company,
 shall be such until new Directors are chosen, according to
 the Charter dated the 5th of *September*, 10 *W. III.* This
 Act hath also a Proviso, that on three Years Notice, after
 a Time limited, and Repayment of the said two Millions,
 and 1,200,000 *l.* and all Arrears then due for the Annu-
 ities, which Annuities amount to 160,000 *l. per Annum*,
 then the aforesaid Duties on Salt, &c. and the Benefit of
 Trade given by this and the former Act and Charters to
 cease. This Proviso of Redemption is enlarged, as to the
 Time, by Stat. 10 *Ann. cap. 28.* and by the 29th, the
East-India Company may enter such Goods as they shall
 import at the Custom-house, by Bills at Sight or Suffe-
 rance, and shall give Security under their Common Seal for
 Payment of the Customs and Duties as are rated in the Book
 of Rates, and upon Coffee, which is to be ascertained by
 the Oath of the Importer, viz. for paying half thereof at
 the End of six Calendar Months, and the other half at the
 End of twelve Months; and the Custom Officers shall
 grant to the said Company such Bills at Sight or Suffe-
 rance, and take Security as aforesaid, and make such Al-
 lowances and Deductions as are made to other Merchants,
 paying their said Customs at or before the landing their
 Goods and Merchandize; but nothing herein shall ex-
 tend to alter the Method of paying the Duties of 15 per
 Cent. on Mullins and Calicoes, or the Duties upon any
 other Goods that are to be ascertained by Sale at the
 Candle.

16. In the Beginning of the Reign of King *George* the
 First, it was found, that various Attempts had been made
 to discover the Secrets of the Company's Commerce, for
 the Information and Benefit of Foreigners, and therefore
 a Law was obtained to remedy this Evil, viz. the Statute
 of 5 *K. George I.* which ordains, with a View to render
 such Practices impossible, That if any Subjects shall fail,
 or go to the *East-Indies*, or such Places of *Asia*, &c. be-
 yond the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, to the Straits of *Ma-*
gellan, where any Trade, or Traffick, or Merchandize is,
 or may be used, or had, contrary to the Laws in being,
 or the Tenor of this Act: Every Person so offending,
 shall be liable to the Punishment inflicted by Law for such
 Offence; and it shall be lawful for the united Company of
 Merchants of *England* trading to the *East-Indies*, and their
 Successors, to arrest and seize such Persons, being Subjects
 to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, at any Places where they
 shall be found, within the Limits aforesaid, and to send
 them to *England*, there to answer for their Offences, ac-
 cording to due Course of Law. Every Person who shall
 procure, solicit, obtain, or act under any Commission,
 Authority, or Pass from any foreign Prince, State, or Po-
 tentate, to sail or trade in, or to the *East-Indies*, or any
 the Parts aforesaid, shall forfeit 500 *l.* the said Penalties
 and Forfeitures to be sued for and recovered in any Court
 of Record at *Westminster*, by Bill, &c. one Moiety to the
 Informer, the other to the Crown.

But notwithstanding these Severities, this Law did not
 produce the Effects expected from it; for our *East-India*
 Company having for many Years divided 10 per Cent. upon
 their Capital, which in most foreign Countries was under-
 stood to be the Profits of their Trade, it raised such a Spi-
 rit of sharing in this Commerce, and so many *Englishmen*
 were found ready to join in such Projects abroad, that a
 Company was established at *Ostend*, which made another
 Act necessary, which passed in the ninth Year of the same
 Reign, by which it was enacted, that if any Subject of
 his Majesty shall contribute to, or encourage the establish-
 ing or carrying on any foreign Company trading from any
 Part of the *Austrian Netherlands*, to or from the *East-*
Indies, and other Places beyond the Cape of *Good-Hope*,
 described in former Acts for securing the sole Trade thither
 to the united *East-India* Company in *England*, or
 shall be interested in any Share of the Stock or Actions of
 any such foreign Company, or shall make any Payments

in Money, or by Bills of Exchange, or otherwise, towards promoting or supporting such Company, or the Trade thereof, or shall subscribe to the establishing any other foreign Company, for trading to the *East-Indies*, or be concerned in any Stock therein, &c. the Person so offending shall forfeit their Interest and Share in the Stocks of any such Company, with treble the Value thereof, one Third to the Crown, and the remaining two Thirds to the *East-India* Company, if they inform or sue for the same; otherwise one Third of two such Thirds to the common Informer, recoverable by Action of Debt, &c.

And the Attorney-General, of his own Authority, or at the Relation of the said united Company, and for the Company, may file a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Chancery, or the Exchequer, against any Person who shall have subscribed or contributed to, or promoted, or any ways become interested in the establishing any such foreign *East-India* Company, or the Stock or Trade thereof, for the Discovery of his Offence, remitting or waving the Forfeiture of the treble Value of the Offender's Stock, or Concern in any such Company, and insisting only on the single Value. And thereupon, such Person shall answer to the Bill, and not plead or demur to the Discovery thereby sought; and in case the single Value only of such Interest or Share shall be decreed to be paid, one third Part thereof shall go to his Majesty, and the other two Thirds to the Company. If any Subject shall have accepted of any Trust, or know of any Interest, Share, or Concern, which any of his Majesty's Subjects shall have, or be entitled to, in any such foreign Company, and shall not within six Months after accepting the Trust, or the coming to the Knowledge of any such Interest, &c. truly discover the same in Writing to the said united Company of *England*, or their Court of Directors, he shall forfeit treble the Value of the Interest, &c. so accepted in Trust, or so known, and not discovered, one Moiety to the Crown, the other to him who will sue for the same, by Action of Debt, &c. or such Offender shall, at the Discretion of the Court where the Prosecution is commenced, suffer one Year's Imprisonment; and Persons that within the Time above limited shall voluntarily come to the Court of Directors, and make a true Discovery in Writing of the Interest, Share, or Concern of any Subjects in the Stock of any such foreign Company, shall have one half Part of the clear Amount of the Forfeitures arising by this Act.

In case any of his Majesty's Subjects (other than such as are lawfully authorized) shall go to, or be found in the *East-Indies*, they are hereby declared to be guilty of a high Misdemeanor, and may be prosecuted for the same, in any Court at *Westminster*, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable to such corporal Punishment, or Imprisonment, or to such Fine, as the Court where the Prosecution is commenced shall think fit; and the Offenders may be seized, and brought to *England*, and any Justice of Peace may commit them to the next County Goal, till sufficient Security be given by natural born Subjects, or Denizens, to appear in Court, &c. and not to depart out of the Kingdom without Leave.

All Offences against this Act, or against 9 *H. III. cap. 44.* or 5 *Geo. I. cap. 21.* &c. shall be laid in *London* or *Middlesex*, at the Pleasure of the Prosecutor; and a *Capias* in the first Process shall issue upon any Bill, Plaint, Indictment, &c. prosecuted for the said Offences. One would have imagined, that these Laws might have prevented any *English* Subjects from being concerned in Designs so prejudicial and destructive, as these manifestly were to their native Country; yet when we come to speak more particularly of this *Offend* Trade, we shall be obliged, though unwillingly, to shew the contrary, and that all the Measures that have been since taken in other Countries to lessen the Commerce of our *East-India* Company, have been brought about by the Intrigues of such avaricious Persons as were determined to make their Fortunes at any Rate, and from such self-interreled Views sacrificed the Wellare of this Nation to their private Advantage.

What in some measure contributed to this, might be the Pains taken by the Company to prevent the Frauds committed by some in their own Service; in order to which,

a Law was passed in the seventh Year of the same Reign, for the better preventing an unlawful, and further securing a lawful Trade to the *East-Indies*, by which it was enacted, that all the Goods shipped on board any Ship to the *East-Indies* (except Goods of the Company, or such as are licensed by them, and naval Stores, Provisions, and Necessaries for the Ship in her Voyage) and all Goods taken out of such Ship in her Voyage homeward bound from the *East-Indies*, &c. to *England*, before her Arrival here, shall be forfeited, and double Value, and the Matter, or Officer of such Ship, knowingly permitting the Goods to be shipped or taken out of such Ship, shall forfeit for every Offence one thousand Pounds, and shall not be entitled to any Wages, &c.

Agreements or Contracts made, or entered into by any of his Majesty's Subjects, or any in Trust for them, on the Loan of Monies by way of Bottomry, upon any Ship in the Service of Foreigners, and bound to the *East-Indies*, &c. and all Contracts for Loading, or supplying any such Ship with a Cargo of any sort of Goods, Merchandize, Treasure or Effects, or with Provisions, Stores, or Necessaries, and Partnerships entered into, relating to any such Voyage, the Profits thereof, and all Agreements for the Wages of any Persons serving on board any Ship to be employed in such Voyage, shall be void; and every Person, Subject of his Majesty, that shall go to the *East-Indies* contrary to the Laws now in Force, shall be deemed a Trader, and to have traded there; and all the Goods there bartered, or trafficked for, or purchased by any such Person, or found in his Custody, or any other in Trust for him, by his Order or Procurement, shall be forfeited, and double the Value.

And by this Act it shall be lawful for the Attorney-General, or for the united Company trading to the *East-Indies*, at any Time within the Space of six Years, to file in any of the Courts at *Westminster*, Informations against clandestine Traders, and if the Defendants shall be found guilty thereof, the Court shall forthwith proceed to give Judgment against them, &c. Also it is declared lawful for the Attorney-General, at the Relation of the Company, or by his own Authority, to exhibit Bills of Complaint in the Exchequer, against Persons trading, dealing, trafficking, or adventuring to, or from the *East-Indies*, &c. contrary to Law, or against any Person concerned as an Agent, or Factor, or Copartner with such illegal Traders, for discovering of such their trading, &c. and for the recovering of the Duties and Damages, &c. and such Persons shall pay to his Majesty the Customs of the Goods sailing or purchased by the said unlawful Trade, and shall answer to the Company 30 per Cent. according to the Value thereof in *England*; and if such Offenders pay the Customs, or the Amount of the same, into the Exchequer, and Damages to the Company, they shall not be otherwise prosecuted by this Act, or any other Statute, for the same Offence; but if a Decree be obtained against the Defendants, they shall pay Costs to his Majesty and the Relator, respectively.

And if such Bills (being exhibited at the Relation of the Company) be dismissed by the Court, so that the Parties are acquitted, the Company shall pay every Defendant his full Costs; the Forfeitures and Penalties herein before appointed, or in former Acts relating to the *East-India* Company, may be sued for, not only by the Attorney-General, or the said Company, but also by any Officer of the Customs, such Officer having the Consent and Direction of the Court of Directors of the united Company, as by the Act is particularly required; and one third Part of all such Penalties shall be to the Crown, one other Third to the Company, and the remaining Third to such Officers of the Customs as shall inform and sue, as aforesaid. The said united Company shall be allowed to ship out Stores, Provisions, Utensils of War, and Necessaries for maintaining their Garrisons and Settlements, free of all Duties, so as the Duties, if they had been paid, do not exceed in any one Year three hundred Pounds. No *East-India* Goods to be imported into *Ireland*, or the Plantations, but from *Great-Britain*, on Pain of forfeiting Ships and Goods, &c.

of the same Reign, and further securing which it was enacted, any Ship to the East-India, or such as are provisions, and Necessary Goods taken out of the said bound from the said Arrival here, shall the Matter, or Officer who the Goods to be shall forfeit for every shall not be entitled to

entered into by any Trust for them, or any, upon any Ship and to the East-India, or supplying any such Goods, Merchandize, or Stores, or Necessaries, relating to any and all Agreements for on board any Ship to be void; and every Person who shall go to the East-India, shall be deemed a and all the Goods there shall be forfeited by any other in Trust for shall be forfeited, and

ful for the Attorney-General trading to the East-India of six Years, to file Informations against Defendants shall be found to proceed to give to it is declared lawful of the Company, it Bills of Complaint in dealing, dealing, traffick the East-India, &c. concerned as an Agent, or illegal Traders, or &c. and for the recovery, &c. and such Persons of the Goods answering Trade, and shall answer to the Cause thereforers pay the Customs, or the Exchequer, and shall not be otherwise prosecuted, for the same Offence against the Defendants, by and the Relator, re-

mitted at the Relation of Court, so that the Parties shall pay every Defendant Penalties herein before relating to the East-India only by the Attorney-General also by any Officer of the Continent and Director of the united Company, as and one third Part of the Crown, one other third to such Officers as shall be, as aforesaid. The shall be paid, do not exceed Pounds. No East-India, or the Plantation of forfeiting Ships

It is very evident, from the whole Current of this History of our East-India Trade, that such as have been entrusted with the Management thereof, have had continual Difficulties to struggle with; whereas our Rivals in this Trade, the Dutch, have all along enjoyed the full Protection of their Government; and, at the same time, have been allowed to manage their own Concerns in such a Manner as seemed to them most conducive to their own Interest. But, of late Years, and since our Company have had the Authority of Acts of Parliament to support them, they have, in some measure, gained upon the Dutch, especially in those Countries where both Nations trade freely, and where, consequently, the Success of their Labours must, in a great measure, depend upon the Inclination of the Natives, and that Preference which their good Opinion gives to either Nation.

In the Island of *Sumatra* particularly, the English have extended their Trade with great Success, having not only a good Settlement at *Achen*, but also at the other End of the Island, where their principal Settlement was *Bencoulen*, which first began to flourish about the Year 1685. They had also another at *Sillebar*, where they likewise carried on a considerable Commerce: By degrees they became so considerable, that several of the little Princes of that Island chose to put themselves under their Protection, as well to secure themselves from the Power of the Dutch, as that they may receive the Benefits of the English Trade; and have, generally speaking, continued very firm in their Attachment to the Company; though they have been sometimes but indifferently treated. The first Inducement the Company had to fix their Factories and Settlements on this Part of the Island was, the Advantage derived from the Pepper-Trade, carried on from *Lampoun*, which is in the Southern Part of the Island, and about twenty Leagues within the Streights of *Sunda*, very well situated in a deep Bay. Here they had a good Trade for Pepper, till they were deprived of it in 1683 by the Dutch, in consequence of the famous War with the King of *Bantam*, which we have so often had Occasion to mention: For this Town of *Lampoun* lying opposite to his Territories in the Island of *Java*, made likewise a Part of his Dominions; and therefore, when the Dutch brought him entirely over to their Interest, or, in other Words, which however mean the same thing, and are the plain English of the foregoing Dutch Phrase, had reduced him under their Yoke, they obliged him to break off all Commerce with the English, which put an End to the Pepper-Trade at *Lampoun*, and forced the Company to remove to the Place before mentioned.

The Country about *Bencoulen* is mountainous and woody, and in the Heart of the Island there are several Volcanos, which render the Country subject to Earthquakes, and fill the Air so full of malignant Vapours, that it is very far from being wholesome. We may add to this, that the Town itself stands in a Morass, which obliges the Natives to build their Houses upon Posts, to defend them from the bad Effects of the continual Moisture of the Soil. These Inconveniencies did not hinder the English from making it their principal Residence in this Country, and where, for their greater Security, they erected a Fort, of no great Strength indeed, but which seemed sufficient to answer their Purposes. This Fort was garrisoned with *Bugasses*, which is the Name given to the *Maccassars* when transplanted out of their own Country; and as they depended on these for military Services, so with regard to their Revenues, they considered in the Chief of the *Chinese*, who had the Title of Captain, a Thing customary in all the Settlements where the *Chinese* reside. As for the Natives, they lived, as they had formerly, under the Jurisdiction of their own Princes, called in the *Malayan* Language *Pangarans*, of whom there were two that were particularly under the Protection of the Company. One whose Dominions lay North from *Bencoulen*, and who was styled *Pangaran-Munco Rajah*; and the other called *Pangarang-Songé-Htam*, whose Country lay to the South. Though their Territories were not large, yet they were divided into several Districts, each under a Governor, called a *Dupitty*, the Place of whose Residence was, in their Language, called their *Dusan*: And these Governors had under

them lesser Magistrates, called *Dattoes*. The Company had also a good Correspondence with the most powerful of the Princes in the inland Parts of the Island, such as the Sultan *Catebel*, and several others, which induced them to believe they might take any Measures they thought necessary for the Advantage of the Company, and Ease of the Factory.

It was this that, in the Year 1719, engaged the then Chief to think of removing from *Bencoulen*, where, from the Cause before-mentioned, abundance of English People died every Year; and it was with this View that a Place was fixed upon a few Miles distant, for erecting a new Fort and Factory, which was to be called *Marborough Fort*; and the Ground being traced out, the Work began to be carried on with great Vigour and Spirit. But, it seems, they had not sufficiently consulted the Temper and Disposition of the Natives, who were not at all well pleased with this Design. There had been some little Jealousies and Heart-burnings amongst them before, which not breaking out into an open Quarrel, had been overlooked; but these People considering with themselves that this new Fortification rose apace, and that it looked as if the English were diffident of them, or had a mind to punish some Offences that they hoped had been forgotten; they from thence grew absolutely disaffected, and meditated nothing less than a total Revolt, and an absolute Destruction of that Power which they now began to dread. They concealed, however, their Sentiments so well, and shewed so little Sign of Uneasiness or Resentment, that the English went on without any Apprehension of what was contriving against them, till it was on the Point of breaking out. The remaining Part of this History will best appear, and the Conclusion of this Conspiracy be most naturally made known, from the following Account, written by the Persons principally concerned, to the Company's chief Officer in the *Indies*, which I have therefore chosen to insert, as containing the most remarkable Piece of History within this Period of Time.

To the Honourable Joseph Collet, Esq; President and Governor of Fort St. George, &c.

"Honoured Sir,

"IT is with the greatest Concern that we acquaint you with the Misfortunes that have befallen us and our honourable Masters Affairs, since our Advices by the *Queen* and *George* Brigantine, wherein we did, with too much Confidence, assure you of the perfect Peace and Tranquillity we then enjoyed at *Marborough-Fort*, which the Satisfaction the Natives seemed to express in our Administration, gave us but little Reason to imagine would prove of so short a Date. Our Pepper, for some Time after, coming in very plentifully, and we having frequent Promises from them of much greater Quantities ready to be brought out of the Country, we had made a Progress in our Buildings, even beyond our own Expectations; the Foundation of one Gorge and two Curtains of our Fort-walls being laid, and raised in Brick and Chinam a Foot above Ground, and the Earth laid open for a third, in the Space of a little more than a Month; and we had made such Provision for Bricks and Chinam, that we should have had sufficient to complete the whole, which, at the Rate we had begun, might have been finished in less than twelve Months. Thus we thought ourselves successful in our Undertaking; and it was no small Pleasure to us, to think that, by diligently serving our Masters, it would add to our Credit, and in a more peculiar Manner recommend us to their Favour hereafter: But, in the midst of our Prosperity, all our Hopes were blasted by a secret Combination of the whole Country against us, which they certainly designed to put in Execution whilst we had no Ship in the Road to assist us, the *Atchappatam* having been at *Bantam* from the 21st of *January*, but fortunately returned to our Assistance the 18th of *March*, being but very few Days before this horrid Plot was discovered.

"I:

“ It was late at Night, on the 23d of *March*, before we had the least Suspicion of any Treachery, when Captain *Gibb* advised the Deputy-Governor, that *Dupatty Bentorin* had got together between four and five hundred Men in his *Dufan*, and he believed they designed to make War with the Company. The Deputy-Governor immediately dispatched a Letter to him, to know the Reason of his entertaining such Numbers of People in his *Dufan*, ordering him immediately to disperse them, and to come himself to the Fort in the Morning, where, if he had any Complaints to make, they should be heard, and he should have Redress; which, if he did not immediately comply with, we should no longer esteem him our Friend, but treat him as an Enemy. Early in the Morning he sent a trifling Answer, assuring us of his Friendship; but taking no Notice of dispersing his People, or coming himself to the Fort, as desired. Whereupon the Council was immediately summoned, and acquainted with what had passed, when it was agreed to send Mr. *Macky*, who was the Dupatty's Friend, to beseech, or confer with him, and persuade him to come to the Fort. About Noon he returned with the Dupatty's Answer, who promised to wait on the Governor the next Morning. In the mean time our *Pangarans* and *Dattoos* were sent for, to advise with on this Occasion, who were the Persons that ought to have given us the first Notice thereof; but they seemed to make flight of it, and persuaded us the Dupatty was an honest good Man, and one that would not be guilty of an ill Action against the Company, the People of his *Dufan* being only Friends that he had invited out of the Country to feast with him. This different Opinion of theirs made us jealous of their Fidelity, which made us desire them all to take a fresh Oath of Allegiance to the Company; and the present Deputy-Governor and Council, before we bechar'd farther with them on this Affair, which they did with much Persuasion consent to, and it was performed by one of their *Padres*; after which *Pangaran-Munco* Rajah undertook to bring in the Dupatty, and did accordingly let out himself for *Bentorin*; but not an Hour after he was gone out of the Fort, we were alarmed at the dreadful Sight of the Sugar-Plantations being on Fire, it being then about Six o'Clock at Night.

“ A strong Party was immediately sent out to *Bencoulen*, under the Command of Ensign *Adaire*, with Orders to proceed next Morning, on the 25th of *March*, to *Dufan Bentorin*, and to engage the Enemy either there, or where he should meet them, using his Endeavours to destroy the *Dufan*, and as many of their People as he possibly could: But in this we had no Success for want of the *Pangaran's* Assistance, who had promised to supply him with Sampanns to ferry his People over the Water at *Bentorin*, or where he should have Occasion for them; but in this they deceived us; for our Party finding a Body of the Enemy had fortified themselves with a strong Breast-work of Fire-wood, and some small Guns on the other Side the River, over-against the Sugar-Plantations, and not one Sampan sent by the *Pangarans*, according to their Promise; for want of which he could only come to an Engagement a cross the River, in which Manner they continued till about Four in the Afternoon, when most of our *Buggaffes*, *Blacks*, and *Chinise* having left the *English*, the Ensign with the rest returned to the Fort about Six in the Evening, having performed but little Execution on the Enemy. By the Account we had from the Ensign, we plainly found that the whole Country were concerned in this Rebellion. The principal Persons that he saw and knew amongst them were *Rajah Roojong*, *Pangaran Munco* Rajah, under most of the *Dupatties* of the *Dufans* adjacent to us, with many of the Inhabitants and *Bazar* People of *Bencoulen*, who were headed by *Dupatty Bentorin* and *Selobrian*; but he could not well guess at their Number, they being under the Cover of the Trees and Breast-work they had raised of Fire wood; and Mr. *Alcock*, from *Sillebar*, had given us an Account the same Day, that *Pangaran*

“ *Jantentially* and his Country also were in concert with them.

“ On the 26th of *March* in the Morning, the strongest Party we could muster of *English*, *Buggaffes*, *Blacks*, and *Chinise*, were ordered out to engage them, under the Command of Mr. *Newcome* and Ensign *Johnsen*; but when they came to *Bencoulen* to join the *Buggaffes*, they were strangely surpris'd to find them retic'd to fight without a present Reward; and Mr. *Newcome* was credibly informed, that a considerable Number of the *Buggaffes* were laid in Ambush to fall on the *English*, of which he immediately sent Advice to the Fort; whereupon the Sign was given to recal the Party, which prevented our coming to an Action that Day. The Sultan being examin'd, pretended that a wrong Interpretation was put upon what he said at *Bencoulen*, and would have persuaded us that he had always been, and was still ready and willing to fight for the Company; but our Suspicion of his Treachery made us unwilling to trust him at that Time. About Eleven o'Clock the same Day, *Pangaran Munco* Rajah brought a Token, which, as he said, was from his Uncle *Rajah Boojong* from *Singledemend*, to give us Notice that two hundred *Orangooones* were come on our Side at *Singledemend*, and desired we would lend the *Malayes* some Weapons to defend themselves. This we had great Reason to suspect was false, *Rajah Boojong* himself being at that Time in *Arus* against us at *Bantorin*; but the *Pangaran* positively affirmed he was then at *Singledemend*, notwithstanding Ensign *Adaire* had seen and spoke to him the Night before at *Bantorin*.

“ When we found ourselves so deeply involved in Trouble on all Sides, that we were betrayed by our *Pangarans*, and our *Buggaffes* had given us just Cause to suspect their Honesty, to that we had none but the *English*, *Blacks*, and *Chinise* to trust to; the former of which did not exceed one hundred and twenty-five Persons in Number both civil and military, and most of them unexperienced or disabled Men; and the latter had given us but small Encouragement to depend on them by their deserting Ensign *Adaire* at *Bentorin*. With this small Force, we thought ourselves in some Danger of being overcome; wherefore a general Council was called of all the Company's Servants, and Inhabitants of the Place, to consult about saving what we could of the Company's Effects, and making some Provision for our Passage, if we should be put to flight; when every one gave their Opinion, that it was for the Company's Interest, as well as for our own Safety, to put on board the Ship *Matchlapatam* the Company's Treasure and Books, with what Stores and Provisions our Time would permit, with all the Expedition and Secrecy it could be possibly contriv'd: After which, it we were oblig'd to it, we might make our Escape in the best Manner we could, by the Help of the Ship *Matchlapatam*, and what Boats we had by us. The Remainder of that Day was spent in Pursuit of that Resolution; but no Boats could be got off that Evening: About Seven o'Clock the next Morning, being the 27th of *March*, the Company's Treasure, &c. as per enclosed Bill of Lading, were sent on board; about Eight, News was sent that both the *Pangarans* with their Wives and Children, were eloped from *Bencoulen*, in the Night-time, and no Account could be given which Way they were gone. About Ten, *Suitay Cutcheel*, who was come from *Bentale* in the Ship *Matchlapatam*, undertook to accommodate Matters with the Country People, provided we would consent to their chusing new *Pangarans*, to which we agreed; but before we could come to a Bechar with them, the *Portuguese* Padre's Slave brought News from *Bencoulen*, that the *Buggaffes* and *Malays* were risen there, and had cut off the Padre and most of the *Portuguese*, Men, Women, and Children, in a most barbarous Manner. He had hardly done telling his Story, when a large Fire broke out at *Bencoulen*; another near the Fort behind *Canbury Poggar*; another towards *Sillebar*; and soon after, the Herbage-house was set on Fire. All this Time

Book I.

were in concert with

Morning, the strongest Buggaffes, Blacks, and Page them, under the Ensign *Johnsen*; but in the Buggaffes, they then refuse to fight Mr. Newcome was cre- Number of the Bug- all on the *English*, of e to the Fort; where- the Party, which pre- hat Day. The Sultan a wrong Interpretation *Soulen*, and would have ys been, and was still e Company; but our e us unwilling to trust ven o'Clock the same ight a Token, which,ajah *Boojong* from Sin- two hundred *Orango- gledemens*, and desired e Weapons to defend Reason to suspect was g at that Time in Arms *Pangaran* positively *remend*, notwithstanding oke to him the Night

so deeply involved in were betrayed by our ad given us just Cause at we had none but the trust to; the former of ed and twenty-five Per- military, and most of d Men; and the latter gement to depend on *Adarre* at *Bentara*. thought ourselves in some herefore a general Coun- ny's Servants, and Inha- at about saving what we s, and making some Pro- should be put to flight; mon, that it was for the for our own Safety, to *Matlapatam* the Company's at Stores and Provisions all the Expedition and ntrived: After which, it ight make our Escape in the Help of the Ship ts we had by us. The spent in Pursuit of that d be got off that Even- next Morning, being the y's Treasure, &c. as per e sent on board; about both the *Pangaran* with e eloped from *Bencouer*, Account could be given e. About Ten, Sultan *Bentale* in the Ship *Mat- immodate* Matters with the e would consent to their ch we agreed; but before with them, the *Portuguez* from *Bencouen*, that the en there, and had cut oil *Portuguez*, Men, Wu- barbarous Manner. He Story, when a large Fire her near the Fort behind wards *Sillebar*; and soon at- on Fire: All this Time

" no Enemy appearing, but still frests Fires breaking out
" in different Places, which could not have been done
" otherwise than by our own Buggaffes or Malays, that
" are in our own Service: No Enemy yet appearing, we
" discharged what few great Guns we had mounted, at
" the thickest of these Fires, as we thought; in doing of
" which, one of the Waddes of our own Guns unfortu-
" nately fell upon the Tops of the Fort Buildings, which
" took Fire, and burnt to fierce, that there was no extin-
" guishing of them: At which Time, we marched out of
" the Fort in one Body to meet the Enemy. We first
" passed the Lower Guard; from thence, round the Horse
" Stable-Hill, to the Hermitage, and so by the China-
" Town and Brick-fields, which were all on Fire, but no
" Enemy to be seen.

" We then came to the Sea-side, where we saw some
" Thousands of the *Malays*, headed by our Sultan and
" Buggaffes; which Train reach'd from *Bencouen* to
" *Maribrough*: Most of the *Chineje* had secured them-
" selves in Boats, and on board of their own Praw. We
" had then none left to stand by us but the Blacks; Un-
" der these Disadvantages, we thought it in vain to ha-
" zard our Lives any longer, against so numerous an Ene-
" my; our Fort and most of our Buildings being destroyed
" by Fire, which put every Man upon laying his Life by
" swimming, or getting on board the Boats in the best
" Manner he could: In which Attempt, near Half our
" People were either drown'd or kill'd by the Enemy,
" before they could make their Escape. The next Morn-
" ing, we computed near Three Hundred and Fifty black
" and white Men, Women, and Children, were saved on
" board the Ship *Matlapatam*, Mr. Newcome's Barge,
" and three *Tombongons*, or Boats for going on board
" Ships; for which Number we had not Water for
" above five Days, at a Pint a Man each Day. Our
" first Design was to go to *Bantial*, but both the Wind
" and Current were so strong against us, that we
" could not stir that Way, and so it continued 'till the
" 29th of *March*; till which Time, we remained in the
" Road, when we were obliged to alter our Resolution,
" and make the best of our Way to *Batavia*; where, in
" all Probability, we might sooner arrive, as the Wind
" and Current were then set; or at some Place where we
" might get some fresh Water, which we could not expect
" to be supplied with on the Coast of *Sumatra*, to the
" South of *Bantial*. After we had supplied each Boat with
" five Days Provisions of Water and Rice we weighed
" Anchor and set sail in Company for *Batavia*. On the
" Second of *April*, we lost Sight of all our Boats: On
" the ninth, we anchored at *New-Island*, where we wa-
" tered, and got some Provisions: On the 11th, we
" weigh'd from thence, and arrived at *Batavia* on the
" Sixteenth.

" On the 18th and 19th, fifty out of our Military,
" who were sent in Boats to guard the Blacks and Slaves,
" arrived at *Batavia* from *Lampoun*, where they had put
" in for Water: where the Blacks mutinied, and cut away
" the Rigging of their Boats, which occasioned their dri-
" ving on Shore: Then the Blacks left them, encouraged
" by one Serjeant *Thomas Wright*, who also went with
" them. The rest of our *Europeans*, after being plundered
" of their very Shirts off their Backs, were at last kindly
" assisted by them with two large *Sampans*; in which
" they saved their Lives, and arrived at *Batavia*. We
" met with kinder Usage as to our Entertainment at *Ba-
"tavia*, than indeed we expected; for they assisted us in
" transporting one Hundred and Twenty of our People,
" on board their own Ships, to this Place: Seventy of
" which, had their Passage free, and the Ship's Provision,
" they working for the same; and for fifty more, we were
" obliged to pay twenty Rix Dollars each for their Trans-
" portation; and twenty Rix Dollars each more, to the
" Captains for their Provisions, in their Voyage. Thirty
" Persons more came with the Deputy-Governor on the
" Ship *Matlapatam*; and seven more are on board the
" *Madrafs* Brigantine, who left *Batavia* in Company with
" us; so that we had saved one hundred and fifty-seven
" Persons from the Hands of our Enemies, besides twenty
" Slaves belonging to the Honourable Company, and
" private Persons which were disposed of in *Batavia*.

" One of the *Dutch* Ships arrived here the 24th Instant,
" when Mr. Newcome, &c. advised the Governor of our
" Misfortunes, but the Letter we understand is not yet
" gone from this Place. The *Matlapatam* arrived here
" Yesterday, and this Day the other two Ships, on which
" are our whole Complement; and we shall stay here no
" longer than absolutely necessary to provide for our Pas-
" sage to Fort St. George; where we hope to arrive soon
" after this comes to your Hands. The *Madrafs* Brigant-
" tine is not yet arrived. Whilst we were in *Batavia*,
" we used all our Endeavours to send some Assistance to
" *Bantial*, tho' we had but little Reason to hope that Place
" had escaped the same Fate we ourselves had met with;
" but in this the *Dutch* opposed us in all our Proposals.
" The Deputy-Governor would have gone himself in the
" *Matlapatam*, with as many of our People as he could
" conveniently carry; but this they would not allow with-
" out he could take all our People along with him, which
" was altogether impossible; nor would they supply us
" with a Vessel on that Occasion.

" We endeavoured to hire the *Madrafs* Brigantine, for
" that Purpose, but the Master and Supercargoes alledged,
" she was not in a Condition to proceed. We then pro-
" posed to the *Dutch*, that we might have four Chests of
" Treasure, and some Gun-powder to be forwarded to
" them on the *Amelia*, on her Arrival; but they refused to
" take Charge of it, as they pretended, lest Disputes
" might ensue: We then requested, to leave it in the
" Hands of any private Persons; or that we might leave
" some of our own Servants there, to take Charge of it;
" but they would not consent to any one of these Proposals,
" nor suffer the Treasure to be left behind in any manner
" whatsoever. We had drawn out a Protest against them
" for this Refusal, but when we were going to deliver it,
" the Shawbander, who had been our Friend, plainly told
" us, what the Effects of it would be, that the next
" *English* Ships that fell in there, would suffer for it, in
" meeting with worse Treatment than ever any had yet
" done; whereas we ourselves had been civilly treated in
" all other Respects.

" Upon this, we considered, that the *Amelia* would
" shortly arrive, for whom we have left Orders to pro-
" ceed first to *Bantial*, and from thence to Fort St. George,
" with Advice, if she arrives Time enough to get away
" by the 15th of *June*; if not, to come directly for Fort St.
" George; as also the outward-bound *China* Ships: And
" probably this Year's Shipping from the West Coast
" might be obliged to put in there for Provisions; which,
" if they should fail of our Company, might suffer more
" than the Advantage they would reap by our Protest:
" Upon which Consideration, it was agreed, it should not
" be delivered. This is a true Narrative of our Proceed-
" ings, since our Troubles commenced; and what we
" have omitted herein, you will find more particularly in-
" serted in our Diaries and Consultations, when we come
" to lay them before your Honour, &c. for your Perusal,
" which we hope will be sufficient to demonstrate, that this
" Misfortune is no way owing to our Misconduct, which
" we submit to your Honour's favourable Construction,
" and beg Leave to subscribe,

Honoured Sir,

Your most Obedient, and

Obliged Humble Servants,

Negapatam,
June 28, 1719.

Thomas Cook, Depy-Governor,
Stephen Newcome,
William Palmer.

" The foregoing is an Account of our Proceedings, as
" it was remitted to the Governor and Council of this
" Place from *Negapatam*; to which it will not be amiss to
" add, the Reasons that were the Occasion of this Mis-
" fortune, which is omitted in the foregoing Narrative:
" First, it is to be considered, that the *English* had been in-
" volved in Troubles with the Country Government, both
" at *Maribrough* and *Bantial* for some Time before they
" arrived on the Coast; which tho' I was to fortunate as

“ to bring to a Conclusion, and had for many Months
 “ after kept a fair Correspondence with the Natives, till
 “ they harboured in their Minds a secret Relentment of
 “ the former Injuries they had suffered, which they con-
 “ cealed under a Cloak of Friendship, and seeming Satis-
 “ faction of my Administration, till they had brought the
 “ whole Country into a Combination, and being sensible
 “ how briskly our Fortifications were carried forward, took
 “ the Opportunity of Revenge before our Brick-buildings
 “ could be finished, and at a Time, as they thought, we
 “ should have no Ship in the Road to assist us; but the
 “ *Matelapatam* very fortunately arrived a few Days be-
 “ fore they put their Design in Execution. Not long be-
 “ fore this Rebellion, a Difference had happened between
 “ *Dupatty Renterin* and *See Gibb*, Captain of the *Cbina-*
 “ *men*, and Undertaker of the Company's Sugar and Ar-
 “ rack Plantations. The *Dupatty* is one of the second
 “ Men in the Kingdom, and Governor of *Dusanor*, a
 “ Town of that Name, situate on the Side of the River,
 “ opposite to the Company's Sugar and Arrack Plantations.
 “ He is a Person well beloved among the Natives, being
 “ esteemed a Priest amongst them, and always thought
 “ to be a good Friend to the *English*.

“ The Difference first began by the *Cbinamen* killing
 “ some of the *Dupatty's* Buffaloes, that had broke through
 “ some of their Fences, and done some small Damage
 “ to the Plantations, and indeed, the Fences were not so well
 “ secured as they ought to have been; and this they at-
 “ tirmed to me they had done, by an Order given them
 “ by Mr. *Farmer*, when Deputy-Governor. But consider-
 “ ing the ill Consequences that might attend granting
 “ such Liberty to the *Cbinse*, I immediately forbade them
 “ doing the like for the future, and obliged them to
 “ make the *Dupatty* Satisfaction for some Buffaloes they
 “ had killed, and if the like should happen again, I pro-
 “ mised that the *Dupatty* should make good to them what
 “ Damages the Plantations appeared to have sustained,
 “ provided they kept their Fences in Repair. Notwith-
 “ standing what I had done in this Affair, some of the
 “ *Dupatty's* People, out of Revenge, got into the *Cbina-*
 “ Compound, in the Night-time, and killed one of *See*
 “ *Gibb's* Slaves, as he was sleeping in his House. The *Du-*
 “ *patty's* Brother was seen, and known to be one of the
 “ Company; whereupon he was taken and brought to the
 “ Fort, where he was put into the *Cock-house* for about
 “ twenty-four Hours, till he could be brought to his Trial;
 “ when he was acquitted, without any further Punish-
 “ ment, there being no plain Proof, that he was the Per-
 “ son that actually committed the Murder, though by
 “ the Evidences that appeared against him, there were
 “ circumstantial Proofs enough to have condemned him.
 “ However, out of Respect to the *Dupatty*, whom I al-
 “ ways esteemed to be my Friend, and being well ac-
 “ quainted with his Interest, and the Influence he had
 “ over the Country People, I thought it convenient to
 “ pass the most favourable Construction on this Accusa-
 “ tion, which I accordingly did, and made the *Dupatty*
 “ and *See Gibb* shake Hands, and promise Friendship to
 “ each other before they parted, and so they remained
 “ for some Time alter, till the *Dupatty* had got his Forces
 “ together in his *Dusan*, and then he again renewed this
 “ Dispute, resenting the Wrongs they had received from
 “ the *Cbinse*, as also the Disgrace of having his Brother
 “ put in the *Cock-house*, and brought to his Trial, not-
 “ withstanding I had been so favourable to him on this
 “ Occasion, and under this Pretence our Trouble com-
 “ menced. *Thomas Cook*.

The two following Letters were intercepted by the *En-*
glish in the Year 1717, which shews, that the Natives had
 formed this Conspiracy some Time before it was put in
 Execution.

“ This comes from Sultan *Manfore*, *Raja Guillamet*,
 “ *Dattue Pandabo*, all the great Men in *Bandar*, *Sapoole*,
 “ and the Overseers of Trade in *Bantayan*, and *Yego Leova*,
 “ to *Datto Raja Quasso*, with all the *Proterens* and *Le-*
 “ *micitas*, from *Sabat* at *Uttawan*, to *Calaboon*, *Surambe*,
 “ and *Manacca*.

“ *Raja Quasso's* Letter sent by *Tuan Mallin* and *Du-*
 “ *patty Lora Samiclan*, is received, which we like very

“ well. We are now assuredly certified the whole Coun-
 “ try as far as *Abong*, likewise *Tuan De Goono* with his
 “ People, will unanimously join us, and when this ar-
 “ rives, send *Tuan Mallin* into the Country, to advise,
 “ that we intend utterly to destroy the *English*, and raze
 “ the Settlements throughout the whole Coast, because
 “ they have broke Faith, and become quite otherwise
 “ to what they formerly were. We shall proceed as soon
 “ as the Festival is over, therefore would have you *Datto*
 “ *Raja Quasso* dispatch a Messenger with your real Senti-
 “ ments of this Affair, signifying also how the *Proterens*
 “ and *Lemicitas* are affected.” The Answer, “ This
 “ Letter comes from him that eats nothing, to *Raja Man-*
 “ *fore*, and Sultan *Guillamet*, assuring them, that he will
 “ gather together all those like himself, with the most va-
 “ liant Men hereabouts, and march directly against *Ben-*
 “ *coolen*, therefore desires the Assistance of Arms, which
 “ yourselves and *Raja Passaffer* must not fail to lend to
 “ *Tuan De Goono*, who is resolved, if the Kings are
 “ agreed to be their Ally, and you may depend on his
 “ Fidelity, for he knows not how to tell a Lye: When he
 “ comes down from the Country, will bring over to his
 “ Interest the People of *Serangi* to *Beneulen*, and *Lat*
 “ *Cewi*, with those belonging to *Pangaran Munco*
 “ *Aunoom*, even as far as *Pollomboug*. This is what I
 “ promise to do, desiring your Letter in Answer to it.
 “ So God bless and keep you in all your Undertakings;
 “ give my Service to *Datto Raja Quasso*.” Faithfully
 translated per

Robert Dymond, Linguist.

“ Found at *Tanjoeng Arang*, up *Sabat* River, by *Oran-*
 “ *gio Bandabarrab Munco Raja*, January the 27th, 1717,
 “ while Mr. *Farmer* was Deputy Governour of the West
 “ Coasts of *Sumatra*.”

Notwithstanding the Natives had thus driven the *En-*
glish from *Beneulen*, they suffered them in about a Year's
 Time to return again, and go on with the Fortifications
 at *Marlborough* Fort, without Opposition. It is true,
 there had been some *English* Chiefs sent thither, who were
 not endowed with so much Discretion as they ought.
 These Gentlemen, by an imperious and assuming Behav-
 iour, had highly provoked the Natives; but this being very
 tolerable in comparison of the Tyranny the *Natib* had
 exercised in every Place where they prevailed, the *Mal-*
lays, upon the Expulsion of the *English*, began to be un-
 der terrible Apprehensions lest the *Dutch* should come and
 settle amongst them by Force, and put an iron Yoke up-
 on their Necks, as they had upon their Neighbourhood. They
 soon laid aside their Relentment therefore, and over-look-
 ing the Indiscretions of the *English* Chiefs, gave all Encouragement to our Countrymen to settle among them;
 and it was very happy for the *English*, that they removed
 from *Beneulen*, for there were buried Multitudes every
 Year, whereas a late Chief of *Marlborough* Fort assures
 us, that during the whole Year, they did not bury one
 Gentleman; such a Difference there is in the Situation of
 these two Places, notwithstanding they are no more than
 two or three Miles asunder, and *Marlborough* Fort be-
 ing much more defensible in its Situation than *York* Fort;
 for at *Marlborough* our People are not so apprehensive of be-
 ing surprized by the Natives as formerly, if there should
 happen any misunderstanding between them again. By this
 Means the *British* Commerce is greatly extended on this
 Island of *Sumatra*, and with very good Effect.

16. The Company of late Years have been extremely at-
 tentive, not only to the general Characters, but to far as it
 has been possible for them to be informed as to the Educa-
 tion, Genius and Behaviour of their Chiefs, by which
 wife and prudent Conduct, they have given quite a new
 Face to their Affairs, and if it had not been for the setting
 up new Companies in different Parts of *Europe*, by which
 their Trade has certainly been very much hurt, they must
 by this Time have been in a Condition to have almost
 doubled their Dividends; yet I cannot but acknowledge,
 upon this Occasion, that as these new Companies were
 erected abroad chiefly from the Opinion that Foreigners
 entertained of the Profits that were made by our Company,

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 to *Pangarvan Manco*
long. This is what I
 etter in Answer to it,
 all your Undertakings;
 a *Quello*." Faithfully

at *Dymond*, Linguist.

Sabat River, by *Orang*
 January the 27th, 1717.
 Governour of the *West*

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to the Discovery of this was, in a great measure, owing to
 the lascivious Disputes that have long reigned amongst us;
 for great Complaints being made of the Decay of our Trade,
 the Ministry caused the Amounts of the Company's Sales
 to be constantly published, which struck Po signers with
 Amazement, and contributed greatly to the forwarding
 the Projects they had formed of obtaining a Share: this
 lucrative Traffick.

At the same time these Designs were vigorously pur-
 sued abroad, there wanted not some Projectors at home,
 who were desirous of laying upon the *Indian Trade*; and
 abundance of plausible Things were said upon that Sub-
 ject, which, as it very naturally might, greatly alarmed
 the Company, more especially as it happened at a Time
 when they had Reason to apprehend that popular Opinions
 might prevail to their Prejudice; and therefore it is not to
 be wondered that they entered likewise, on their Side, into
 such Schemes as were most likely to defeat these Designs,
 and to secure them in the Possession of their Rights and
 Privileges. I shall not take upon me to decide so nice
 and intricate a Question, as whether the laying open this
 Trade would, or would not, have been for the Advantage
 of this Nation; because, on the one hand, I am sensible
 much may be said on both Sides; and on the other, that
 I have not Room to examine here what might be alledged
 on either Side. I confine myself therefore to Matters of
 Fact, and endeavour, with all the Brevity that is consistent
 with my Design, of giving as compleat a History as is in
 my Power, of our Commerce to the *Indes*, which, so far
 as I know, is a Subject not attempted before, and conse-
 quently more necessary, which leads me to observe, that
 the Result of the Company's Considerations on this Head
 was, the proposing to such as had the Direction of the
 publick Affairs, a new Agreement with respect to the Com-
 pany's Powers, so apparently beneficial to the Nation, as
 that it might effectually secure them from listening to the
 Proposals that were, or might be made, for laying this
 Trade open, in which, without doubt, such as were then
 entrusted with the Direction of the Company's Concerns,
 did their Duty to the Proprietors, and were so successful
 therein, as to obtain the Concurrence of the Administration;
 and, in consequence thereof, such a Law as they were
 desired for the preserving the Powers and Privileges of
 their Principals.

At all Events, this was much better for the Nation than
 the Method taken in King *William's* Time upon the like
 Occasion, when the old *East-India* Company found it re-
 quisite to distribute an immense Sum of Money to the
 Ministers and Favourites, to obtain a new Charter, by
 which the Publick did not gain a single Shilling in Re-
 turn for the Advantages that were granted to this Corpo-
 ration. This Observation of mine will be fully justified,
 and the Truth thereof effectually proved from the Con-
 tents of the Act of Parliament before-mentioned, which
 was passed in the third Year of his present Majesty, in
 consequence of the Agreement, of which I have before
 taken Notice, and was intended on both Sides, to be abso-
 lutely final, and in every Respect conclusive.

This Act therefore, after reciting several Acts, Proviso's,
 Charters, and Agreements, &c. relating to the United
 Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *East-*
Indies, Enacts, That in pursuance of their late Agree-
 ment, the said Company shall pay into the Receipt of the
 Exchequer, on or before a certain Day appointed, the Sum
 of 200,000 Pounds, to be applied towards the Supplies
 granted to his Majesty, for which no Interest shall ever be
 payable to the Company, nor any Addition be made to
 their capital Stock or Debt from the Publick, on account
 thereof; nor shall the same, or any Part of it, be paid to
 the Company. And after the 29th of *September*, 1730,
 the Annuity, or yearly Fund of 100,000 *l.* shall be re-
 duced to 128,000 *l.* in respect of the capital Stock or Debt
 of 3,200,000 *l.* which reduced Annuity shall be charged
 on the same Duties and Revenues by the like weekly or
 quarterly Payments, and with the same Provisions for
 making good Deficiencies in the said reduced Fund, as
 their present Annuity or Fund is now charged on, till
 some new or other Provision shall be made by Parliament,
 with Consent of the Company. But, upon one Year's

Notice to be given by Parliament after the 25th of *March*,
 1736, on the Expiration of that Year, and on Re-pay-
 ment of the said Debt of 3,200,000 *l.* to the Company, and all
 Arrears of their reduced Annuity of 128,000 *l.* which
 shall be due at the End of the said Year; then, and from
 thenceforth, the said Annuity, or yearly Fund, shall cease,
 and be no longer payable.

At any Time, on a Year's Notice after the said 25th of
March, 1736, given by Parliament, at the said Year's
 Expiration, upon Re-payment to the Company of any
 Sum, not being less than Five hundred thousand Pound,
 in Part of the capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and on Pay-
 ment of all Arrears which shall be then due on their re-
 duced Annuity, after such Payments made to such of the
 said Annuity as shall bear a Proportion to the Money so
 paid in Part, shall cease and be abated; and so from time
 to time, upon such yearly Notices and Payment of such
 other Sums in Part of the said capital Stock, till the
 Whole of their Annuity shall be entirely sunk and deter-
 mined. Notwithstanding any such Redemption, all Per-
 sons entitled to any Interest in the said capital Stock in
 Trade, or Money paid in for carrying on the same, or in
 the Factories, Settlements, Lands, &c. belonging to the
 United Company, shall be, and continue a Body politick
 and corporate, &c. and have perpetual Succession; and
 they, and their Successors, shall be capable in Law to pur-
 chase Lands, &c. not exceeding at any one time the yearly
 Value of ten thousand Pounds in the Kingdom of *Great*
Britain, and also to aliene the same; and may also enjoy
 all Privileges, Stocks, and Estates, and Advantages, &c.
 which are not hereby altered as by former Acts or Char-
 ters founded thereon, the Company might hold or enjoy
 the same; and after such Redemption of the said yearly
 Fund, or one Moiety thereof, the Company may, at their
 General Courts, declare how much, and what Share in the
 remaining capital Stock, &c. shall qualify Members of the
 same Company to be Directors, or to give Votes in any
 General Court. And, notwithstanding such Redemption
 as aforesaid, the Company shall, subject to the Proviso or
 Determination herein after contained, enjoy the whole and
 sole Trade to the *East-Indies*, and have the only Liberty
 of trading thither, &c. And the *East-Indies*, or Islands,
 &c. within the Limits of the said Company, shall not, be-
 fore the said Determination, be failed to by any other of
 his Majesty's Subjects.

And if any of the said Subjects, other than the Factors,
 &c. of the United Company, shall at any Time fail, trade,
 or adventure to or from the *East-Indies*, and Parts aforesaid,
 they shall incur the Loss of all Ships which shall be
 employed in such Trade, &c. and the Goods laden there-
 in, and double the Value thereof; which Forfeitures shall
 be paid for, recovered, and distributed, as by the 7 *Geo. I.*
c. 21, is directed, concerning the Penalties and Forfeitures
 mentioned in that Act.

The said Company shall, at all Times hereafter, have all
 the Powers which by any Charters, &c. are granted them,
 and not altered by this Act, freed and discharged from all
 Proviso's of Redemption, &c. as fully as if the same were
 here severally repealed, but subject to the Restrictions con-
 tained in the Acts and Letters Patents now in Force, and
 also to the Proviso's following, *viz.* Provided that upon
 three Years Notice to be given by Parliament, after the
 25th of *March*, 1736, upon the Expiration of the said
 three Years, and repaying to the Company of the whole
 capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and all Arrears of Annuities
 payable in respect thereof; then, and from thenceforth,
 the Right, Title, and Interest of the said Company, to the
 whole, sole, and exclusive Trade to the *East-Indies*, &c.
 shall cease and determine. But after the Determination of
 that Company's Right to the sole and exclusive Trade to
 and from the *East-Indies*, the Corporation, with all or any
 Part of their joint Stock, Goods, Estates, &c. may trade
 in common with other the Subjects of his Majesty trading
 to and from those Parts.

Any Notice in Writing, signified by the Speaker of the
 Houle of Commons, shall be deemed a due and proper
 Notice by Parliament, to all the Ends and Purposes for
 which such Notices are directed by this Act to be given to
 the Company. Nothing in this Act shall extend to sub-
 ject

ject the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading to the *Levant-Seas*, to any Penalties and Forfeitures thereby enacted, in respect to their Trade in those Seas; and nothing herein shall restrain or prejudice such Trade or Navigation within any of the Limits of the *East-India* Company, as the *South-Sea* Company are any ways entitled unto.

With this Act I shall conclude the historical Part of this Section, having, as I promised, deduced the Transactions of the *East-India* Company, and with them the Commerce of the *British* Nation to the *Indies*, from the earliest Accounts we have of their trading to this Part of the World, and from their first Establishment in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* down to the present Time; in which Series of Facts, we hope the Reader will find a greater Satisfaction, since it exhibits to him in one View, and considering the vast Variety of Matter in a very narrow Compass, a regular Chain of Events, which demonstrates the vast Importance of this Commerce to the Nation, the Means by which it was at first acquired, the Progress made therein, the Difficulties and Obstructions it has met with, the Methods by which they have been overcome, and the Manner in which the Company has at last acquired a happy and secure Establishment, which we have Reason to hope will last as long as our present excellent Constitution, since it is founded on the same Basis, and is fortified by the strongest Authority that the Laws of this Country can afford.

It remains, in order to conclude the Plan laid down at the Beginning of this Section, that we should present the Reader with a clear and succinct View of the Possessions of the Company in the *Indies*, and the State of their Commerce in those Parts, as it stands at present, which we shall do with all the Brevity possible, and in that Order which seems most natural, both with regard to the Situation of Places, and the avoiding unnecessary Repetitions, having nothing more in View than to state every thing as clearly as it is possible, and to confine ourselves within as little Room as the Pursuit of that Design will allow.

17. We shall begin then with the Port of *Gambraon*, or, as some write it, *Gombroon*, on the Coast of *Persia*, which became famous after the Destruction of the Island of *Ormuz*, and the Ruin of the *Portuguese* Power in the *Indies*. The City was built by the Great Shah *Abas*, from whence it is called by the *Persians* *Bander-Abassi*, that is, the Court of *Abas*. It stands in the Lat. of 27° 40' North, and is looked upon as a Port of the greatest Trade in this Part of the World. We have elsewhere given a large Account of the Situation, Climate, and Condition of the Country in the Neighbourhood of this celebrated Mar, and shall here therefore confine ourselves strictly to what concerns the Commerce of the *English*.

Our first Establishment was about the Year 1613, and the Great Shah *Abas* having, at that Time, Occasion for our Assistance against the *Portuguese*, granted us by Treaties, in Consideration of our Services in that War, half the Customs of this Port, which were duly received for a considerable Time; but, at length, under various Pretences, were reduced to one thousand Tomans a Year, which amounts to three thousand three hundred thirty-three Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence of our Money; and even this, for forty Years past, has been but very indifferently paid; and at present, as I conceive, we have the Right only, and not the Possession. But the *East-India* Company still maintains a noble Factory here, by which it manages the whole Trade of the Empire of *Persia*, and exports thither a vast Quantity of *European* Goods. In the Year 1720, the Factory suffered severely, and the Confusions induced by repeated Rebellions in *Persia*; but as the Affairs of that Empire are now pretty well settled, there is no doubt but those of the Company will be also restored, and that we shall regain that important Commerce which has been so long carried on here.

The City of *Mecca* stands at the Entrance of the *Red Sea*, in the Latitude of 13° 11' W. and is a Place of very great Trade, as we have shewn in the former Part of this Work. The *English* are likewise well received here; carry on a great Commerce in Coffee, and other Commodities, as well as in all the adjacent Ports of *Arabia*, as has been

already shewn in the foregoing Sections. It is true, that we have been some times exposed to the Injustice of the *Arabian* Princes, and to the Depredations of Pirates in those Parts; but in this we have only shared the same Fate with other Nations, and perhaps have escaped rather better than they.

We shall next proceed to the *Indian* Coast, where we have either Factories or Forts, and Settlements, at the following Places, viz. *Baroaeh*, *Swalley*, *Surat*, *Bombay*, *Dabul*, *Carwar*, *Tellebery*, *Anjengo*, *Fort St. David*, *Cannemere*, all along the *Malabar* Coast, and turning up to those of *Coromandel*, where we come next to what may be called the Capital of our Possessions in the *Indies*, I mean *Fort St. George*. We have in the Course of this Work, and particularly in this Section, given a large Account of most of the Places before-mentioned; which is the Reason that we have not dwelt upon them here; but as for *Fort St. George*, which stands in the Latitude of 13° 20' North, it requires a more particular Description for many Reasons, and, therefore, I have thought fit to insert a large Historical Account thereof, as well as a clear and circumstantial Description, written by one who was perfectly acquainted therewith, as well as with all the Transactions that occur in his curious Relation, which will contribute to render the History of this Part of our *Indian* Settlements complete, by furnishing as exact an Account of this, as we have here before given of other Places; and therefore cannot but afford the Reader an agreeable Entertainment.

Fort St. George or *Maderasi*, or, as the Natives call it, *China Patam*, is a Colony and City belonging to the *English East-India* Company, situated in one of the most incommodious Places I ever saw: It fronts the Sea, which continually rolls impetuously on its Shore more here, than in any other Place on the Coast of *Coromandel*: The Foundation is on Sand, with a Salt-water River on its Backside, which obstructs all Springs of fresh Water from coming near the Town; so that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening Destruction on one Side, and the River, in the rainy Season, Inundations on the other. The Sun from *April* to *September* scorching hot; and if the Sea-Breezes did not moisten and cool the Air, when they blow, the Place could not possibly be inhabited. The Reason why a Fort was built on that Place is not well accounted for; but Tradition says, that the Gentleman who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coast, about the Beginning of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, after his Restoration, for protecting the Company's Trade, chose that Place to ruin the *Portuguese* Trade at *St. Thomas's*; others again alledge, and with more Probability, that the Gentleman aforesaid, which I take to be Sir *William Langborn*, had a Mistress at *St. Thomas's*, of whom he was so enamoured, that it made him build there, that their Interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted; but whatever his Reasons were, it is very ill situated.

The Soil about the City is so dry and sandy, that it bears no Corn; and what Fruits, Roots, and Herbage they have, are brought to Maturity by great Pains and much Trouble. If it be true, that the Company gave him Power to settle a Colony in any Part of that Coast that pleased him best, I wonder that he chose not *Cuboon*, about six Leagues to the Southward, where the Ground is fertile, and the Water good, with the Convenience of a Point of Rocks to facilitate Boats landing; or why he did not go nine Leagues farther northerly, and settle at *Polsat*, on the Banks of a good River, as the *Dutch* have done since, where the Road for Shipping is made easy by some Sand-Banks that reach three Leagues off Shore, and make the high turbulent Billows that come rolling from the Sea, spend their Force on those Banks, before they can reach the Shore. The Soil is good, and the River commodious, and convenient in all Seasons: Now, whether one of these Places had not been more eligible, I leave to the ingenious, and those concerned, to consider.

However, the War carried on at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, by the *English*, against the *Mogul's* Subjects, from 1685 to 1689, made *Fort St. George* put on a better Dress than

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at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, s Subjects, from 1635; at on a better Dreis than he

le wore before; for the peaceable *Indian* Merchants, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither, because it lay far from those Incumberers of Trade, and near the Diamond Mines of *Golconda*, where there are many Times good Bargains to be made, and Money got by our Governours; the black Merchants resorting to our Colony, to secure their Fortunes, and bring their Goods to a safe Market, made it populous and rich, notwithstanding its natural Inconveniencies. The Town is divided into two Parts, one where the *Europeans* dwell, is called the white Town: It is walled quite round, and has several Bastions and Bulwarks to defend its Walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about four hundred Paces long, and one hundred and fifty broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and Fort *St. George* stood near its Centre. There are two Churches in it, one for the *English*, and another for the *Romish* Service. The Governor superintends both, and in filling up Vacancies in the *Romish* Church, he is the Pope's Legate à la- tere in Spiritualities. There is a very good Hospital in the Town, and the Company's Horse-Stables are neat, but the old College, where a great many Gentlemen Factors are obliged to lodge, is badly kept in Repair. They have a Town-Hall, and underneath it are Prisons for Debtors. They are, or were a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Aldermen, chosen by the free Burghers of the Town, but that scurvy Way is grown obsolete, and the Governor and his Council, or Party, fix the Choice.

The City had Laws and Ordinances for its own Prefer- vation, and a Court kept in Form, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Gowns, with Maces on the Table, a Clerk to keep a Register of Transactions and Cases, and Attornies and Solicitors to plead in Form, before the Mayor and Aldermen; but after all, it is but a Farce; for, by Experience I found, that a few Pagaloes rightly placed, could turn the Scale of Justice, to which Side the Governour pleased, without respect to Equity or Reputation. In smaller Matters, where the Case on both Sides is but weakly supported by Money, then the Court acts judiciously, according to their Consciences and Knowledge, but often against Law and Reason; for the Court is but a Court of Conscience, and its Directions are very irregular, and the Governour's dispensing Power of nulling all that the Court transact, puzzles the most celebrated Lawyers there, to find Rules to justify such Conduct.

They have no martial Law, so that they cannot inflict the Pains of Death any other Ways than by Whipping, only for Piracy they can hang, and some of them have been so fond of that Privilege, that Mr. *Yale* hang'd his Groom (*Cross*) for riding two or three Days Journey off, to take the Air; but in *England* he paid pretty well for his arbitrary Sentence: And one of a later Date, viz. the Orthodox Mr. *Collin*, hang'd a Youth, who was an Apprentice to an Officer on board a Ship, whose Master going a pirating, carried his Servant along with him, but the Youth ran from them the first Opportunity he met with on the Island of *Jonckeyloan*, and informed the Master of a Sloop which lay in the River there, that the Pirates had a Design on his Sloop and Cargo, and went armed in Company with the Master, to hinder the Approach of the Pirates, and was the first that fired on them, yet that merciful Man was inexorable, and the Youth was hang'd.

The Power of executing Pirates is so strangely stretched, that if any private Trader is injured by the Tricks of a Governour, and can find no Redress, if the injured Person is so bold as to talk of *Lex talionis*, he is intallibly declared a Pirate. The black Town is inhabited by *Gentoes*, *Mohammedans*, and *Indian Christians*, viz. *Armenians* and *Portuguese*, where there are Temples, and Churches for each Religion, every one being tolerated, and every one follows his proper Employment. It was walled in towards the Land, when Governour *Pit* ruled it. He had some Apprehension that the Mogul's Generals in *Golconda* might some Time or other plunder it; so laying the Hazard and Danger before the Inhabitants, they were either persuaded, or obliged to raise Subsidies to wall their Town, except towards the Sea, and the white Town.

The two Towns are absolutely governed by the Governour, in whose Hands the Command of the Military is lodged; but all other Affairs belonging to the Company, are managed by him and his Council, most Part of whom are generally his Creatures; and I have been, and am acquainted with some Gentlemen, who have been in that Post, as well as some private Gentlemen who resided at *Fort St. George*, Men of great Candour and Honour, but they seldom continued long Favourites at Court. One of the Gates of the white Town looks towards the Sea, and it is for that Reason called the Sea-gate, the Gate-way being pretty spacious, was formerly the common Exchange, where Merchants of all Nations resorted about Eleven o'Clock to treat of Business in Merchandise; but that Custom is out of Fashion, and the Consultation-chamber, or Governour's Apartment, serves for that Use now; which made one Captain *Hart*, a very merry Man, say, that he could never have believed that the Sea gate could have been carried into the Consultation-room, if he had not seen it.

The Company have their Mint here for coining Bullion, that comes from *Europe*, and other Countries, into Rupees, which brings them in a good Revenue. The Rupee is stamp'd with *Persian* Characters, declaring the Mogul's Name, Year of his Reign, and some of his Titles. They also coin gold into Pagaloes of several Denominations and Values. There are also Schools for the Education of Children; the *English* for reading and writing *English*; the *Portuguese* for their Language, and *Latin*; and the *Mohammedans*, *Gentoes* and *Armenians*, for their particular Languages, and the *English* Church is well endowed, and maintains poor Gentlewomen in good Housewifery, and good Cloaths and Palankines.

The Diamond Mines are but a Week's Journey from *Fort St. George*. Some Customs and Laws at the Mines are, when a Person goes thither on that Affair, he chuses a Piece of Ground, and acquaints one of the King's Officers, who stay there for that Service, that he wants so many Covets of Ground to dig in, but whether they agree for so much, or if the Price be certain, I know not. However, when the Money is paid, the Space of Ground is enclosed, and some Centinels placed round it. The King challenges all Stones that are found above a certain Weight; I think it is above sixty Grains; and if any Stones be carried clandestinely away, above the stipulated Weight, the Person guilty of the Theft is punished with Death. Some are fortunate, and get Estates by digging, while others lose both their Money and Labour. The current Trade of *Fort St. George* runs gradually slower. The Traders meeting with Disappointment, and sometimes with Oppressions, and sometimes the Liberty of buying and selling is denied them: And I have seen, when the Governour's Servants have bid for Goods at a public Sale, some who had a mind to bid more, durst not, others who had more Courage, and durst bid, were brow-beaten and threatened; and I was Witness to a Bargain of *Surat* Wheat, taken out of a Gentleman's Hands, after he had fairly bought it by Auction, so that many trading People are removed to other Parts, where there is a greater Liberty and less Oppression.

The Colony produces very little of its own Growth, or Manufacture for foreign Markets. They had formerly a Trade to *Pegu*, where many private Traders got pretty good Bread by their Traffick and Industry, but the Trade is now removed into the *Armenians*, *Moors* and *Gentoes* Hands, and the *English* are employed in building and repairing of Shipping. The Trade they have to *China* is divided between them and *Surat*; for the Gold and some Copper are for their own Markets, and the Grofs of their own Cargo, which consists in Sugar, Sugar-candy, Allum, China-ware, and some Drugs, as China-roots, Galling-gal, &c. are all for the *Surat* Market. Their Trade to *Persia* must first come down the famous *Ganges*, before it can come down *St. George's* Channel, to be conveyed to *Persia*. They never had any Trade to *Mocha*, in the Product and Manufactures of *Coromandel*, before the Year 1713; and *Fort St. David* supplies the Goods for that Port; so that *Fort St. George* is an Emblem of *Holland*, supplying

supplying foreign Markets with foreign Goods. The Colony is well peopled, for there is supposed to be 80,000 Inhabitants in the Towns and Villages, and there are generally about 4 or 500 Europeans residing there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen, and Soldiers. Their Rice is brought by Sea from *Ganjam* and *Orisa*; their Wheat from *Sarat* and *Bengal*; and their Fire-wood from the Islands of *Diu*, a low Point of Land that lies near *Matculpatam*, so that an Enemy that is superior to them in Sea Forces, may easily distress them.

Mr. *Zachary*, in his Account of this Place, tells us, that the Administration is vested in the Governor and Council, which consists of six grave Merchants in the Company's Service; and though these Officers have but small Salaries, yet their Perquisites and Advantages they derive from Trade, are so considerable as to enable them to make a good Figure while they live there, and carry home, notwithstanding, very large Estates. He seems to differ with other Writers as to the Properties of the Soil and Climate; and therefore it may not be amiss to attend a little to his Account. The Inhabitants, says he, enjoy as perfect Health as they do in *England*, which is plainly discovered in their ruddy Complexions, which few of our other Settlements can boast. The Heats in Summer are the greatest Inconvenience they labour under; yet, I never heard of any ill Effect from them. The delicious Fruits that the Country abounds with, are a great Help in this Extremity; nor are they wanting to themselves in other Respects. Bathings and wet Gouneys being often apply'd with Success to the Relief of the panting. It seldom lasts above four or five Hours in a Day, when the Sea-Breeze coming on, the Town seems to be new born. The Governor, during the hot Winds, retires to the Company's new Garden for Refreshment, which he has made a very delightful Place of a barren one. Its costly Gates, lovely Bowling greens, spacious Walks, Teal pond, and Curiosities, preserved in several Divisions, are worthy to be admired. Lemons and Grapes grow there; but so much Pains is necessary to bring either to Maturity, that a Bunch of one, or a single Fruit of the other, will stand its Owner in five Shillings before it is ripe.

The Governor seldom goes abroad with less than three or four score persons armed, besides his *English* Guards to attend him: He has two Union-Flags carried before him, and Country Musick, enough to frighten a Stranger into Belief the Men were mad. Two *Dubashes* attend to cool him with Fans, and drive away the Flies, or at otherwise would molest him. He is a Man of great Power, respected as a Prince by the *Rajahs* of the Country; and is, in every Respect, as great, save that these are for themselves, this his Subjects. When a Person of Note dies, the Funeral is solemnized with the greatest Magnificence. The Governor, Council, and Gentlemen of the Town attend, nor are the Fair-Sex wanting in their duty to their deceased Countrymen: The Executors are liberal in all Respects to express a just Concern for their Friend; whence the Ceremony is performed with all that is necessary for the Intertainment of a Christian. The Burial Place is at the further End of the Black-Town, adorned with many stately Tombs in Honour of the Deceased; some with lofty Spires, and into different Fancies, after the *Indian* Manner. Others on a lower Sphere, gravely express the Merit of the Person for whose sake they were erected, and almost all have the most curious Workmanship in *India* bestowed on them.

Much of the Powder expended in the Garrison is made on the Island, about a Gun shot from the Town. It has not the same Quality that which comes from *England*, for no other Place can be so well incorporating the Ingredients. It is made of the finest Salt Petre, and Brimstone, with good Charcoal, which ought to make the best Powder; but for want of skillful Managers and good Contrivances, they are all of a bad Quality. And, in truth, the Company's Powder is of the like Nature, are very much wanting to themselves. There is not an *English* Carpenter, Joiner, or other Artificer in the City, who knows his own Trade, whence they are obliged to black *Indians* for what they have Occasion for in these Trades; and in their Shops at one Shop of any sort in the *English*

Town, the Benefit of which all the *Dutch* Settlements sufficiently demonstrate; for they are so sensible of it, that they take due Care never to be deficient that way. This is a Thing easily brought to pass by a Body so considerable in the Kingdom. I shall rather admire it has been so long neglected, than offer at the Means for effecting it. However, I wish, for the Honour of the *English* Nation, they would decline sending such diminutive, dwarfish, crooked Recruits, as of late have gone to supply their Settlements. To say no better can be had in Time of War, is an Excuse, my own Experience proves altogether light; for, since it is no matter what Country in *Europe* they are of, let but three Captains be sent to *Ireland*, in less than three Months they could raise a Regiment of picked Fellows, who would be able to do them Service; besides, they look like Men, which is enough for them at *Fort St. George*. Objecting their Religion, looks like Partiality, for the *Tepals* in *India* are all of the same Principles; our Officers kill none but Protestants to serve in our Troops, wherefore that Country is quite over-run with lusty Men, who are ready to slave for want of Employment.

But, to proceed regularly in our History of the Settlements of this Company. Along the Coast of *Ceylon*, there were formerly several Places along the Coast to the Northward, which had *European* Factories settled in them, but are now neglected and unfrequented. There were also some Places farther up the Country, where the *English* and *Dutch* settled; but the *Rajahs*, who possessed the adjacent Countries, giving great Interruption to Trade, by their unjust and unreasonable Impositions, obliged them to withdraw their Factories. That of *Matculpatam* was the last they quitted, and, about three score Years ago, was effected the most flourishing Colony the *English* had in all *India*; but now their House is deserted, and the *Dutch*, who remained behind them, are preparing to take the same Course. It is not a great many Years ago since the *Mogul's* Viceroy, upon this Coast, offered the Governor of *Fort St. George*, to make him a Present of the Islands of *Diu*, and the Inhabitants were well inclined thereto; but the Governor delayed taking Possession so long, that both the Viceroy and the People changed their Minds; and when he would have erected a Factory, or a Fort there, they would not permit it.

Next to *Matculpatam* is *Nasipore*, where the *English* had a Factory for long Cloth, for the Use of their Factory of *Matculpatam*, when they manufactured Cloths there. It also affords good Teak-Timber for Building, and has a fine deep River, but a dangerous Bar, which makes it little frequented. And passing round *Covrange* Point, a little up *Carrange* Bay, is *Angerang*, that has the Benefit of a large deep River, that penetrates far up into the Continent. It has a Bar, soft at the Bottom, and three and an half Fathoms on it at High-Water. Here the best and finest long Cloth is made that *India* affords, and is sold cheap; but the inland Countries lying near the River, are in the Hands of several *Rajahs*; and each being Sovereign in his own small Dominions, lays such Impositions and Exactions on the Cloth that comes down the River, that they ruin that beneficial Trade of *Angerang*, and make it little frequented. In *Anno* 1708, the *English* from *Vizagapatam* settled there; but whether the Factory was starved for want of Money, or whether the constituent and constituted Chiefs of the Factories disagreed about dividing the Bear's Skin, I know not; but the Factory was soon withdrawn, and the Project lost.

Coasting along Shore, there are several little Ports between *Matculpatam* and *Vizagapatam*, besides *Nasipore* and *Angerang*, but *Wabew* is the most noted, for it produces Rice for Exportation, besides some Cloth, but it is not frequented by Europeans; and therefore I proceed to *Vizagapatam*, a fortified Factory belonging to the *English*. It is regularly fortified with four little Bastions, and has about eighteen Guns mounted in it. It has the Advantage of a River, but a dangerous Bar to pass over before we get into it. The Country about affords Cotton-Cloths both coarse and fine, and the best Duracs, or striped Mullins in *India*; but the Factory is generally heat-sick for want of Money to refresh it.

Dutch Settlements suff. to sensible of it, that cient that way. This a Body to considerable fire it has been to long for effecting it. Howe *English* Nation, they ive, dwasish, crooked apply their Settlements. he of War, is an Exa- altogether light; for, in *Luxury* they are of, land, in less than three ent of picked Fellows, Service; besides, they for them at Fort *St.* looks like Partiality, f the same Principles; ants to serve in our is quite over-run with ave for want of Fin-

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In Anno 1709, the Factory drew a War on themselves for the Nabob of *Chickacul*; for one Mr. *Simon Halcomb*, who had been Chief at *Vizagapatam*, had borrowed considerable Sums of the Nabob, and aliased the Company's Seals to the Bonds he gave for them. Mr. *Halcomb* dying, the Nabob demanded his Money from the succeeding Chief, who would not pay him, alledging that *Halcomb* had borrowed it for his own private Use, and not for the Company's, and that he must get Payment out of *Halcomb's* private Estate, if there was enough found to pay the Debt, otherwise he might get his Money from some inland Rajahs, who stood indebted to *Halcomb*, by his Books of Accounts, in a greater Sum than would pay his Principal and Interest; and that he being the Mogul's General, could compel those Rajahs to pay their just Debts, which they would make over to him; but the Nabob, not caring to enter into a War with his Countrymen on such a Foundation, sent Agents to acquaint the Governor and Council of Fort *St. George* with his Affairs at *Vizagapatam*; they proved deaf to all the Agents Propositions and Arguments, and hardly treated him civilly; so he went back to his Master with the Account of his bad Success; upon which the Nabob came to a Garden, about half a League from *Vizagapatam*, accompanied with 500 Horse, and 3500 Foot, to demand his Money.

I, says Captain *Hamilton*, being accidentally there in a small *Dutch*-built Ship that I had bought from the *French* on my Credit at Fort *St. George*; and the Factory being but ill mann'd, Mr. *Huyling*, who was then Chief, and my Friend, desired the Assistance of my Arms and Council in that Juncture of Affairs, which I very freely gave him; and being asked in Council what I thought about the Affair, I advised him, and his Council to compound the Matter as well as they could, and spout out Tim, that we might better fortify the Avenues to the Factory. My Advice of compounding the Matter was rejected, but the other Part was followed; so, with seven *Europeans* that belonged to the Factory, and twelve that were with me, and twenty Topasses, and two hundred Natives, most of them Fishers, that lived under the Company's Protection, we fortified some Rocks that the Enemy were oblig'd to pass within Pistol-Shot of, if they had a mind to attack us.

We threw up Breast works between the Rocks, and moored my Ship within Pistol-Shot of the Shore, and had eight Minion-Guns to scour the Sands, if they had attempted to come that Way; and for six Weeks we continued on our Guard, and were often alarmed in the Night, but finding us always ready to receive them, they did not think it proper to force an Entry into the Town. I had the Honour to command all the Out-guards, and the Chief with eight *Europeans*, and twenty Blacks, kept the Fort. Thus we continued in perpetual Watching and Alarms, till Reinforcements arriv'd from Fort *St. George*, and then I left them, and proceeded on a Voyage to *Pegu*. Both Parties being vry busy, one striving to get his Money by Compulsion, and the other to save the Company's Money on any Terms, right or wrong. The War being drawn to a greater Length than was imagin'd at first, and Charges rising higher than was expected, inclin'd them to make all up amicably, which was at last effected by the Company's paying near the Sum that was at first demanded.

The Nabob, whose Name was *Takerly Caxon*, would bear of no Peace without the Company's Merchant, who was a *Genoue*, called *Agupa*, and a Subject of the Mogul (who was very active in the War, in encouraging the Town's-people to defend themselves and the Company's Interests, and who also had wrote to some neighbouring Rajahs to embroil the Nabob's Affairs in his Absence, in order to divert him from pursuing his Demands on *Vizagapatam*, should be delivered up to him, which at last he was, and was put to a very cruel Death. He was set in the hot scorching Sun three Days, with his Hands fastened to a Stake over his Head, and one of his Legs tied up till his Heel touched his Buttock, and in the Night put into a Dungeon, with some venomous Snakes to bear him Company; and this was repeated till the third Night he ended his miserable Life. But the Company's Merchants,

for the future, will be careful how they espouse the Company's Interest again. There was one *Baiy*, a Recruit from Fort *St. George*, on some Discontent deserted the Company's Service, and enter'd into the Nabob's; but falling into an Ambush, was taken Prisoner by our Men, and was sent to Fort *St. George*, where, for his Desertion, he was severely whipped out of this World into the next, and there I leave him.

After the War was ended, and all was quiet, the Nabob returned to *Chickacul*, but could neither forget nor forgive his Treatment at Fort *St. George* and *Vizagapatam*; but finding by Force he could not get the Factory into his own Hands, without a great Loss of Men and Money, he had Recourse to Stratagem, for surprizing it: He came into the Town one Day with one Hundred Horse, and some Foot, without advising of his coming, as was usual, at the Town-gate, and before the Chief could have Notice, he was got into the Factory, with twenty or thirty of his Attendants. The Alarm being given a resolute bold young Gentleman, a Factor in the Company's Service, called Mr. *Richard Harden*, came running down Stairs with his Fuzee in his Hand, and Bayonet fixed on its Muzzle, and presenting it to the Nabob's Breast, told him in the *Genoue* Language (which he was Master of) that if any of his Attendants offered the least Incivility, his Life should answer for it. The Nabob was surprizingly astonish'd at the Resolution and Bravery of the young Gentleman, and fit down to consider a little, Mr. *Harden* keeping the Muzzle of his Piece still at his Breast, and one of the Nabob's Servants standing all the while behind Mr. *Harden* with a Dagger's Point close to his Back; so they had a Conference of half an Hour long in the above-mentioned Posture, and then the Nabob thought fit to be gone again, full of Wonder and Admiration at so daring a Courage.

The next Kingdom to *Celeonda*, in which the Places we have been last speaking of lie, is that of *Orissa*; and proceeding along its Coast, we come to the Mouth of the River or *Ballasore*, where there is a very dangerous Bar, sufficiently noted for the many Wrecks and Losses made by it. Between *Comaca* and *Ballasore* Rivers there is one continued sandy Bay, where prodigious Numbers of Sea-Tortoises resort, to lay their Eggs, and a very delicious Fish, called the Pamplee, some in Shells, and are sold for Two pence a hundred; two of them are sufficient to dine a moderate Man. The Town of *Ballasore* is but four Miles from the Sea by Land, but by the River twenty. The Country is fruitful to Admiration, producing Rice, Wheat, Gram, Doi, Callavances, several sorts of *Pulse*, *Annis*, Cummin, Coriander, and Caraway-Seed, Tobacco, Butter, Oil, and Bees-Wax. Their Manufactures are of Cotton in Sanis, Casses, Dumities, Mulnuils, Silk, and Silk and Cotton Romals, Curalls, and Lungies; and of Herbs (a sort of tough Grass) they make Gung-hams, Pinacots, and several other Goods for Exportation. The *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have their respective Factories here; but at present are of little Consideration; though, in former Times, before the Navigation of *Hugly* River was cultivated, they were the head Factories of the Gulph of *Bengal*.

The Town of *Ballasore* drives a pretty good Trade to the *Maldives*. Those Islands have no Rice or other Grain of their own Product; so that *Ballasore* supplies them with all Necessaries they want; and in Return bring Cowries and Cayer, for the Service of Shipping. The Seashore of *Ballasore* being very low, and the Depths of the Water very gradual from the Strand, make the Ships in *Ballasore* Road keep at a good Distance from the Shore, for in four or five Fathoms they ride three Leagues off. From *April* to *October* is the Season for Shipping to come into the Bay of *Bengal*; Pilots lie ready at *Ballasore* to carry them up the River *Hugly*, which is a small Branch of the famous *Ganges*. The *European* Companies before-mentioned, keep theirs always in Pay; but when none of their own Shipping is there, their Pilots have the Liberty to serve other Ships, which is no small Advantage to them. The Sides of the River are over-grown with Bulhes, which give Shelter to many fierce and troublesome Tygers, which do much Mischief. A good Author says, he knew an *Englishman* that was in the Ship's-boat laden with fresh Water,

Water, lying in the River, waiting the Tide to carry her over the Bar, and this Man had the Curiosity to step ashore, and being a little Way from the Boat, had a Call to ease himself, and had no sooner put himself in a Posture, near the Bushes, but out leaped a Tyger, and caught both his Buttocks in his Mouth, and was for carrying him away; but one of the Seamen in the Boat seeing the Tragedy, took up a Musket, and placed a Bullet in the Tyger's Head, while the Man was in his Mouth helpless. The Tyger immediately let him fall, and skulked into the Bushes, and the wounded Man was carried on board his Ship, where the Surgeon made a perfect Cure of the Wounds.

Pepy lies on the Banks of a River, supposed to be a Branch of the *Ganges*, about five Leagues from that of *Ballasore*; formerly it was a Place of Trade, and was honoured with the *English* and *Dutch* Factories. The Country produces the same Commodities that *Ballasore* does. At present it is reduced to Beggary, by the Factories removing to *Hughly*, and *Calcutta*, the Merchants being all gone. It is now inhabited by Fishers, as are also *Angole*, and *Kidgiere*, two neighbouring Islands on the West-side the Mouth of the *Ganges*. These Islands abound also in tame Swine, where they are sold very cheap. There are near these Islands dangerous Sand-banks, that are both numerous and large, and make the Navigation out and into *Hughly* River both troublesome and dangerous; and after we pass these Islands, in going up the River, the Channel for Shipping is on the East side, and several Creeks run from the Channel among a great number of Islands, formed by different Channels of the *Ganges*, two of which are more remarkable than the rest, *viz.* *Coxes* and *Sagar* Islands, where great Ships are obliged to anchor, to take in Part of their Cargoes, because several Places in the River are too shallow for such Ships to pass over, when their whole Cargoes are aboard.

There are no Inhabitants on those Islands, for they are so pestered with Tygers, that there could be no Security for human Creatures to dwell on them; nay, it is even dangerous to land on them, or for Boats to anchor near them; for in the Night they have swam to Boats at Anchor, and carried Men out of them; yet among the *Pagans*, the Island *Sagar* is accounted holy, and great Numbers of *Jesuits* go yearly thither in the Months of *November* and *December*, to worship and wash in Salt water, who many of them fall Sacrifices to the hungry Tygers. The first safe Anchoring-place in the River, is off the Mouth of a River above *Sagar*, commonly known by the Name of *Rogues River*, which had this Appellation from some *Banditti Portuguese*, who were Followers of Sultan *Syab*, when Emir *Jemal Aurenzeb's* General, drove the unfortunate Prince out of his Province of *Bengal*. For those *Portuguese* having no way to subsist after their Master's Flight to the Kingdom of *Aracan*, betook themselves to Piracy among the Islands, at the Mouth of the *Ganges*, and that River having Communication with all the Channels from *Xaugam* to the Westward from this River, they used to fall out and commit Depredations on those that traded on the River *Hughly*.

About five Leagues farther upon the West side of the River of *Hughly*, is another Branch of the *Ganges*, called *Gonga*; it is broader than that of *Hughly*, but much shallower, and more incumbered with Sand banks. A little below the Mouth of it, the *Danes* have a thatched House, but for what Reasons they kept a House there we are in the dark. Along the River of *Hughly*, there are many small Villages and Farms interspersed with those large Plains, but the first of any Note on the River side is *Calcutta*, a Market-town for Corn, coarse Cloth, Butter and Oil, with other Productions of the Country. Above it is the *Dutch* Banks Hall, a Place where their Ships ride when they cannot get farther up for the too swift Currents of the River.

Calcutta has a large deep River that runs to the Eastward, and is called *Juanparajao*, and on the West-side there is a River that runs by the Back of *Hughly* Island, which leads up to *Radnagur*, famous for manufacturing Cotton-cloth, and silk Nomaals, or Handkerchiefs; *Buffundri* and *Freshin*, or *Gergat*, and *Colong*, are all on that River, which produce the greatest Quantities of the best Su-

gars in *Bengal*. We are now arrived at the greatest Settlement the Company have on this Coast, which is *Fort William*; but having already given a large Account of this Place, and of such others as are of any Note in its Neighbourhood, we will proceed. The Kingdom of *Dara* is the first on the Eastern-side of the *Ganges*, next to that lies the Kingdom of *Aracan*, then the Kingdom of *Ava*, which is next to that of *Pegu*; on all which Coasts we have some, but very little Trade, and as to the Islands along the Coast, though well enough situated for Commerce, yet, as they are uninhabited, they do not deserve, or require our Notice.

The next Place on the Continent to the Southward, is *Merjee*, a Town belonging to the King of *Siam*, situated on the Banks of the River of *Tanacerin*, lying within a great Number of small uninhabited Islands. The Harbour is safe, and the Country produces Rice, Timber for Building, Tin, Elephants Teeth, and *Agale*-wood. In former Times, a good Number of *English* free Merchants were settled at *Merjee*, and drove a good Trade, living under a mild indulgent Government; but the old *East-India* Company envying their Happiness, by an arbitrary Command, ordered them to leave their Industry, and repair to *Fort St. George*, or to leave them, and threatened the King of *Siam* with a Sea-war, if he did not deliver their *English* up, or force them out of his Country, and in *June* 1687, sent one Captain *Weldon*, in a small Ship called *Courtesy* to *Merjee* with that Message; he behaved therein very insolently to the Government, and killed some *Siamese* without any just Cause. One Night, when *Weldon* was ashore, the *Siamese* thinking to do themselves Justice on him, got a Company together, designing to seize or kill the Aggressor; but *Weldon* having Notice of their Design, made his Escape on board his Ship, and the *Siamese* missing him, tho' very narrowly, vented their Rage on all the *English* they could find, the poor Victims being only guarded by their Innocence, did not so much as aim themselves to withstand the Fury of the enraged Mob, so that seventy six were massacred, and hardly twenty escaped on board of the *Courtesy*; such was the tragical Consequence of one Man's Insolence.

Before that fatal Time, the *English* were so beloved, and favoured at the Court of *Siam*, that they had Places of Trust conferred upon them, both in civil and military Branches of the Government. Mr. *Samuel Weste* was made *Shawbandaar*, or Custom-master at *Merjee* and *Tanacerin*, and Captain *Williams* was Admiral of the King's Navy, but the troublesome Company, and a great Revolution that happened in the State of *Siam*, made some repair to *Fort St. George*, others to *Bengal*, and others to *Achen*.

Since that Time, Things are quite altered, and the Affairs of the Company being thoroughly settled, all Things are carried on with the utmost Regularity, so that though it has not been found necessary to establish new Factories, or to settle Colonies along the Coasts, which would not only have alarmed other Nations, without contributing much to the Service of our own; yet the Commerce of the whole Gulph, from the Mouth of the *Ganges*, to the very Extremity of the Peninsula of *Malaca*, is properly provided for, by which Means the Company reaps the Profit, or at least a reasonable Part of the Profit of the private Trade thither, without being put to any unnecessary Expence. As to our Factories on the Island of *Sumatra*, they are now so numerous, that it is conceived we enjoy the best Part of the Traffick which that rich Island affords. Our Factories there are *Mecks*, *Bantam*, *Cattoun*, *Bencoolen*, *Marlbrough Fort*, of which we have spoken largely before, and *Silabar*, of which we have also taken Notice.

It is true, that the *Dutch*, being Masters of the neighbouring Island of *Java*, have found Means from thence to fix themselves upon Part of this Island, and it is said, they are possess'd of a gold Mine, which they work, but to no great Advantage, at least to the Company. On this Occasion, I cannot help taking Notice, that the Conduct of our *East-India* Company is to the full as commendable in their not endeavouring to follow this Example, since I am satisfied, that Commerce is a much more valuable Thing than Mines of Gold, especially in the Hands of a Company. Because this may seem a Paradox, I think I shall not mis-

Book I.

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pend either my own or the Reader's Time, by endeavouring to explain it. There is certainly no Country in the *Indes* which abound so plentifully in Gold as this Island of *Sumatra*, if we except *China* and *Japan*, and that Method must certainly be the best, by which most of this precious Metal can be obtained. But the establishing by Force any Settlements in that Country, is not like to prove the most effectual Means, for many Reasons, for, in the first Place, the Natives will not work the Mines for themselves, and considering it as an intolerable Slavery to work them for others, have an unconquerable Aversion for such as would put them on such Labours; so that from the Time this Method is tried, there is an End of all free Correspondence with the People of this Country.

In the next Place, the Mines are far from yielding in any Proportion to what is expected from them, the Reason of which is not hard to discern; for all the Nations on that extensive Island, being employed in picking out of the Sands and Channels of the Rocks, such Gold as is forced into them by the Torrents, that pass through the Mines, the Quantity of Metal obtained by the Industry of such Multitudes, all working for their own Benefit, must exceed, in a transcendental Degree, what is dug out of a single Mine, under the Discouragements before mention'd. Several Colonies therefore, in different Parts of this Island, the gentle Usage of the Inhabitants, and the bringing them to consume and esteem *European* Commodities, is the true, safe and certain Means of acquiring peaceably, and by their own Consent, the Gold that is thus gathered; and these three several Advantages arise from the proceeding in this Way.

First, the vast Hazard of maintaining an absolute Power over a numerous Nation with a Handful of Men, is avoided. Secondly, an Intercourse is established, by which not only a vast Quantity of Gold is returned to *Europe*; but, which is a thing of no less Consequence, it is returned not by the Labour of *Indian* Slaves, but for Goods and Manufactures belonging to, or wrought among ourselves. Thirdly, by this Means a great Quantity of Shipping is employed; whereas the Possession of Gold or Silver-Mines requires only a few Ships, and as it is acquired by Tyranny abroad, so such a Retain of this Wealth can only serve to promote Idleness and Luxury at home. From all which Considerations, I conceive the Point I first laid down to be fully established, viz. that the Policy of our *East-India* Company, especially if considered in a national Light, is much preferable to that of the *Dutch*; and I make no question, that the Experience of future Times will abundantly justify this Observation. We had formerly Settlements on the Coasts of *Cochin-China*, and in the Kingdom of *Tanquin*, which have been since withdrawn; but we have still an occasional Trade there, and especially in the last-mentioned Kingdom.

As to our Trade to the *Fallward to China* and the *Malaccas*, I have not much to say of it here. The former is so well known in every Respect, that there is no Need of dwelling upon it; and, as for the latter, there is so little can be said with Certainty, that I can scarce persuade myself to meddle with it at all: However, for the sake of Method, and that I may not seem to conclude this Matter abruptly, I shall just touch upon both. As to the *China* Trade, it has been found by Experience, that we manage it as well, or better, at *Canton* than we did formerly at *Amejer*, when we had a Factory in the Island of *Cebu*. To say the Truth, the Affairs of our Company were in so good a Condition thirty Years ago, that we bid fair for monopolizing this Trade; but the high Duties laid upon Teas and other *Chinese* Commodities, defeated our Industry abroad, and gave Encouragement to the pernicious Practice of Smuggling, which, in a very short time, put our Trade in *China* almost on a Level with that of other Nations; but, perhaps, by a right Management, and a due Regard shewn by the Government for the Interest of the Company, Things may be set right again.

As to the *Manilla* Trade, the *French* say, that we carry on a considerable Part of it under *Irish* Colours; but I must confess, I believe there is no good Authority for this, though it is very highly probable that something of this sort may be done under *Moorish*, or rather under *Portu-*

guese Colours; for the *Spaniards*, contrary to their Custom in all their other Colonies, have laid open this Trade to all Nations, the *English* and *Dutch* only excepted, which Exception by the Government is of no great Consequence, where it is the Interest of their Subjects, as well as ours, to break through it. But, with respect to *Japan*, which lies still farther to the East, we have, as I have already shew'd at large, lost all Correspondence therewith, and whatever Commodities of that Country are brought into ours, we derive from our Trade with the *Chinese* and *Dutch*.

Thus, according to the clearest Lights that I have been able to obtain, I have performed my promise, and given the best Account that was in my Power, not only of the Rise and Progress, but also the present State of our Commerce to the *Indes*, which, I hope, appears to the Reader to be in a much more flourishing State than ever; and that it may still continue, or rather that it may yet improve beyond what it has hitherto done, it is absolutely necessary that three Points should be universally well understood; the first is, that this Trade is highly beneficial to the Nation; the second, that as Things now stand, it cannot be effectually carried on otherwise than by supporting the present Company; and lastly, that the Objections heretofore made, and which are still circulated among the common People are false and groundless; so that if we should grow careless enough to lose this Trade, it will go near to carry all other Trade with it. We will successively demonstrate each of these Points, and so conclude this Section.

First, then, I am to shew that it is a Thing advantageous to this Nation, that the *East-India* Trade should be carried on. If we consider this generally, there is nothing easier, nothing more certainly to be made out than this; for have we not seen that the *Hebrews*, *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* in ancient Times; and that the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*, among the Moderns, have all raised themselves to immense Wealth, and to a surprising Degree of naval Power, by being possessed of this Trade? What Need then of arguing to persuade the People of this Country, that what has enriched all others must be beneficial for them, that what has bestowed the Dominion of the Sea in former past and present, is necessary to them, and that if in a Matter of this Nature, we are guided by Experience, it is scarce possible that we should be mistaken. But, to descend to Particulars, the *East-India* Trade, I speak in reference to this Kingdom, has all the Marks and Characters of Advantage that any Trade can have.

In the first Place, its Navigation is very considerable: it maintains a vast Number of Seamen, more indeed than can be easily computed: But to place this Point in a proper Light, we must, first of all, consider the Number of Ships that are annually taken up by the *East-India* Company; we must next call to mind the Number of Seamen continually employed in the *Indes*, in trading from Port to Port; and lastly, we must reflect on the Shipping employed in exporting *East-India* Goods to all the different Parts of *Europe*, and then we shall have a competent Notion of the Value of this Trade in this respect, provided also that we bear in mind the great Improvement that such long Voyages naturally make in those who are employed in them, and the great Consequences of this to a Country, the Power and Welfare of which depend upon a maritime Force.

In the next Place, there is nothing more certain, than that we derive a great Part of our Wealth from this Commerce, which brings in large Quantities of Gold and other intrinsic Riches immediately from the *Indes* in its ordinary Course. It is no less evident, that private Men make vast Fortunes in the *Indes*, which, sooner or later, they bring home: And all these Estates are consequently Accrues to the Wealth of this Kingdom. We must add to this the Balance that accrues to the Nation from the exporting of *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures, which is in itself so vast a thing, that it would require Volumes to explain it thoroughly. But this is not my present Business; all I aim at is, to give a general Notion of the Advantages derived to us from this Commerce; and, in order thereto, it is sufficient that I put the Reader in

mind, that there is scarce a Branch of Trade which we at present enjoy, but is some way or other affected by our Importations from *India*, and which, consequently, must so far depend upon them, since, if we had not these Goods, we could not carry them on.

Another great Advantage this Commerce bestows, is the Exportation of our Manufactures, to which the *East-India* Company are bound, by their Charters, with which they not only comply, but have greatly exceeded what was expected from them; and, of late Years especially, have constant yincreas'd their Exports, so that a great Part of those valuable Effects which they bring home are, strictly and properly speaking, the Produce of the Labour and Industry of our own People. But, besides this, they bring home several raw and unmanufactured Goods, such as Silk, and Cotton, which are wrought up here, and vast Quantities of them exported to our Plantations, by which we obtain a great Part of that prodigious Balance in our Favour which arises from that Trade.

There is yet another Point which I must insist upon, which is the furnishing us for our own Wear, with large Quantities of cheap and beautiful stuffs, that might enable us, if our Poor were properly regulated, and due Care taken to excite an universal Spirit of Industry, to make and send abroad vast Quantities of woollen Goods. For though it be true, that our own Consumption of those Goods is of great Consequence to such as are employed in the making of them, yet with respect to the Nation, it is of no Consequence at all, for what we gain one by another, is no Accession of Wealth to the Publick, for that must arise from what we draw from other Nations, either by paying for the Goods and Manufactures which we receive from them by what we export to them, or bringing over the Balance in Money; or, which is still better, in such as we can again export, and so add the Freight and Profit upon those Goods to the Balance by which they accrue. If these are not clear and convincing Proofs of the Benefit resulting to us from this Trade, it is simply impossible that we should have any such; and if our Opinions are not to be guided by these, it is not easy to say upon what they must be grounded.

But perhaps it may be expected that I should form some Computation of the Profits arising from the *East-India* Trade, which, I must confess, will be a very difficult thing, and would require much more Room than I have to spare; to which I may add, that this has been already done by *Dr. Davenant* and others, in a Way that will convince any Man who has Leisure, Attention, and Capacity, of the Truth of what they have delivered. However, that I may not seem altogether deficient in what many of my Readers may conceive the most material Point in this Enquiry, I will venture to lay down a Fact, the Proof of which I am ready to undertake whenever I am properly called upon so to do, which, I hope, will satisfy them, and it is this, that the Nation gains *Cent. per Cent.* by all that the *East-India* Company exports: And, indeed, it is my private Opinion, that for every five Pounds which the *East-India* Company employs in that Trade, the Nation gains six Pounds; but how far this may be lessened by the setting up so many different *East-India* Companies in all Parts of *Europe*, is a Consideration of another Nature, and with which therefore I shall not meddle here.

The second Thing I promis'd was to shew the Expediency of supporting the *East-India* Company, and of leaving that Trade in the Channel it is now in. In the first place, I must premise, that I am absolutely disinterested in this Matter, and so far from having any Direction or Instructions from, that I have not the least Connection with the Company, or any of its Directors, and am likewise so far from being a Friend to exclusive Companies in general, that I think this the only one that is, or can be beneficial to this Kingdom, for which I shall very freely assign my Reasons. The first is, that the Trade to the *East-Indies* is of such a Nature that it is of the utmost Consequence to the Nation to have, from time to time, distinct Accounts of its State and Condition, which could not be so well, or at least, not so easily received, if it was not managed by a Company: As, on the other hand, the necessary Instructions and Regulations, could not, with

such Facility, be any other Way convey'd. What seems to strengthen and enforce this Opinion, is the Conduct of all other Nations, who whenever they have adventured to interfere in this Trade, have constantly put it under the Management of a Company; and to say the Truth, whoever shall consider how Things are to be distributed in the *Indies*, and what a Connection there is between the Commerce of the several Countries included within the Extent of the *East-India* Company's Charter, will very easily discern, that if the whole were not under the Management and Direction of a Body of Men conversant therein; and not only capable of giving Directions, but properly empowered to see these Directions carried into Execution; it would be impossible, that this Commerce should thrive, or even, that it should subsist.

One may in like manner conceive, that if the Possession of the Colonies and Forts in the *Indies* were in the Crown, and the Management of the Trade only in the Hands of the Company, it could not but be attended with numberless Inconveniences, as indeed Experience shewed, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* when *Bombay* came to the Crown, by his Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, and therefore both that Island, and the Island of *St Helena*, have been granted to the *East-India* Company, for the Sake of publick Convenience. We may likewise discover from the Disorders of the *East-India* Company's Affairs in that Reign, and in the Reign of King *James*, that it is very detrimental to this Commerce, and to the Benefits resulting from hence to the Nation, that the Company should be immediately under the Power of the Crown, so as to stand indebted for all Encouragement, and to have no other Resource in case of Convances, than what they can draw from Royal Power; for this on the one hand renders Trade precarious, and on the other, interests a great Body of People in the Support of the Prerogative, which might be of dangerous Consequence.

The Mischief's flowing from two *East-India* Companies subsisting at one time, we have known from Experience; and so great they were, that both Companies became very soon sensible, that nothing but the Union of their Interests could possibly afford a proper Remedy. Yet I think one may safely conclude, that the laying this Trade open, which is what has been often contended for, would be a Scheme big with still greater Inconveniences, because it would be at the Bottom a Multiplication of Companies, all acting upon separate Interests, which consequently would be perpetually clashing and intertering with each other. But as Things stand at present, and as all other Countries carry on this Trade in this Way, there remains no other for us, and we must either support the *East-India* Company, or resolve to give up our Commerce to the *Indies*, there being no middle Courſe for us to steer; and it was, without doubt, from a just Sense of this, that in the two last Reigns, so much has been done by Parliament, in favour of this Company, and so many new Powers granted them.

I am very sensible, that even these Powers, and indeed, all the Powers with which the Company are intrusted, may be liable to many, and some of them just Objections; but if the Powers of the Board of Trade were enlarged, and its Jurisdiction properly enforced, all those Inconveniences upon which these Objections are grounded, might be easily taken away; and besides, we very well know, that the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer can, and do interpose, as well in favour of Foreigners, as Natives, whenever the Power of the *East-India* Company, or any of its Officers, is so exercised, as to commit Acts of manifest Injustice.

But at the same time, that from all these concurring, and, as I conceive, unanswerable Reasons, I am persuaded, that this Trade is best carried on by an incorporated Body; I am very far from contending, that they should act without Controul, or that they should not be in all respects subject to whatever Regulations the Legislature shall from time to time think fit to enact, for rendering the Commerce they carry on more and more beneficial to this Nation. It is from a due Sense of this, that I could heartily wish, Proposals might be made to the Board of Trade,

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 these Powers, and indeed,
 mpany are intrusted, may
 em just Objections; but
 ade were enlarged, and
 all those Inconvenien-
 es are grounded, might
 s, we very well know,
 Exchequer, and do
 Foreigners, as Natives,
India Company, or any
 to commit Acts of ma-

all these concurring,
 reasons, I am persuaded,
 on by an incorporated
 ing, that they should all
 uld not be in all respects
 e Legislature shall find
 for rendering the Com-
 re beneficial to this Na-
 s, that I could heartily
 to the Board of Trade,

for opening a direct and Immediate Correspondence, ei-
 ther by the *Cape of Good-hope*, or by the *Straits of Ma-
 gellan*, with the Southern continent; and in case any Pro-
 ject of that sort should be laid before them, that was
 thought practicable, I should esteem it highly reasonable,
 that upon their Recommendation, the *East-India* Company
 should be obliged to make such an Attempt, or if they
 refused, that any private Persons might be allowed to un-
 dertake it, and have proper Assurances and Encourage-
 ments given them by the Publick. For it is, and will be
 ever my Sentiment, that this, and all other Companies,
 are but so many Corporations endowed with Powers in
 Trust for the Publick, for which they are, and must be
 accountable to the Publick, and also be subject to such Al-
 terations, Extensions, and Restrictions, as may render them
 most serviceable to the Publick.

I rather insist upon these Points at this Time, be-
 cause without some accession of new Trade, which we
 may possess as a Nation exclusive of all others, I do not
 see how it is possible, we should maintain our maritime
 Power at its present Height. As on the other hand, I can
 see no Reason whatever, why, if any thing can be done
 for the Service of the Nation, in this respect, by opening
 a Trade to the southern *Indies*, by recovering the Trade
 of *Japan*, by discovering any Countries to the North of
 that Empire, or by any other Method whatever, it should
 be left undone out of Respect to the Powers or Privileges
 possessed by any Corporation.

I come now to the last Point that I have undertaken to
 clear, and that is the popular Objections which have been
 raised against the Commerce to the *Indies*, of which there
 are many, and some of them so plausible, that Men of
 great Parts, and good Intentions, have been led away by
 them. The first of these is grounded upon the Exportation
 of Bullion, and which, if I conceive it right, is thus stated.
 The common Measure of all Things in a commercial Way,
 is Silver, and consequently the great Mark of a Nation's
 Wealth, is her drawing this common Measure from other
 Nations; but the *East-India* Trade is carried on by ex-
 porting this real and intrinsic Wealth which never returns,
 but is employed to bring back Things that are not neces-
 sary, but meer Instruments of Luxury.

Before I proceed to the direct Solution of this Difficul-
 ty, I must observe, that if we give this Objection its full
 Weight, it will destroy all Commerce. The Necessaries
 of Life, are in every Country, or at least in every habitable
 Country, and it is to what some People call Luxury, that
 all Trade whatever is owing; so that if we admit this Prin-
 ciple, we should not only drink Sage instead of Green-tea,
 but make use of Honey instead of Sugar. In short, we
 should endeavour to cultivate and improve the Produce of
 our own Country, live upon it, and leave all the rest of
 the World to shift for itself. How just a Maxim this
 would be, for People who inhabit an Island, and how rea-
 sonable it is, for folks who derive most of the Blessings
 they enjoy from Trade, and maritime Power, to talk thus,
 I leave the Reader to judge. But if once we let this Ob-
 jection so far aside as to allow that Trade is a commenda-
 ble Thing for the very Reason the Objection assigns, viz.
 that it makes the Country in which it flourishes, Rich;
 the Trade to the *East-India* becomes as defensible as any
 other: For, if exporting of Bullion does not impoverish the
 Nation, then there is no Force at all in the Objection; and
 that it does not in this Case, I am very well able to prove.
 When the first Charter was granted to the *East-India* Com-
 pany, this Evil was foreseen, and properly guarded against
 by a Proviso, that the Company should be obliged to bring
 in as large a Quantity of Bullion as they carried out, in the
 Interval between the Voyages made, at the Risk of the
 Company. In reality therefore, there never was any Founda-
 tion for this Complaint, that the Quantity of Silver in
 this Kingdom was diminished by the *East-India* Trade.
 But by degrees, and as this Commerce has increased, in-
 stead of impoverishing, it has greatly encreased the Wealth
 of this Nation, by bringing in on one hand large Quanti-
 ties of Silver for the *Indian* Merchandize exported, and
 detaining here on the other as great Sums of Money, that
 must otherwise have been exported for foreign Manufac-

tures, which would have been worn here, if we had not
 been better and cheaper supplied from *India*.

Another Objection is, or at least was, that the wearing of
India Piece goods hurt our own woollen and silk Manufac-
 tures; but this in a great measure has been cured by the
 Laws passed for that Purpose. It may not be amiss, how-
 ever, to observe, that those Manufactures are chiefly to
 be encouraged, which contribute to Exportation, since it is
 certain, that the cheaper People can be clothed here, let
 that clothing come from where it will, the cheaper they
 can afford to work; and it is the Cheapness of Labour,
 that is the great Point to be studied in a Nation; for if
 we can under-work other Nations, we shall infallibly
 undermine their Trade, and extend our own; for, as I
 observed before, private People may be enriched by home
 Consumption, yet the Publick gets nothing thereby, and
 this Consideration is sufficient to enable the intelligent
 Reader, to discern how a Clamour may be raised in fa-
 vour of Trades, no way advantageous to the Publick,
 and against such Trades as are highly beneficial to the
 People, and this from confounding the Interest of private
 Men, or of great Bodies of Men, with the Interest of the
 Publick, which it requires great Skill, Industry, and Dis-
 interestedness to disentangle, and set in its proper Light.
 There is besides, a great Disadvantage in arguing on Topicks
 of this Nature, because, while a Man is really plead-
 ing for the Publick, he is maliciously misrepresented as an
 Advocate for the private Interest of that Body of Men
 whose Cause he espouses, tho' in Truth he does not espouse
 their Cause out of regard to their private or particular In-
 terest, but merely from a Conviction of Mind, that their
 Cause is in this respect the Cause of the Publick.

A third Objection is, that even the Exportation of *Indi-
 an* Goods is disadvantageous to the Nation, because it
 lessens, or at least is supposed to lessen the Consumption
 of our own Manufactures, in those Countries to which the
 Produce of *India* is exported: A very strong Objection
 this, in all Appearance, and yet at the Bottom a meer Illu-
 sion, and not at all grounded on Truth. For this Objec-
 tion supposes what is manifestly false, viz. that it depends
 upon our Exportation, whether the Inhabitants of those
 Countries to which we send them, shall wear the Manu-
 factures of the *Indies*, or not; but as it is notorious, that
 if we did not supply them, they would receive them from
 the *Dutch*, or *French*, which would have the same Effect
 as to the Exclusion of our Manufactures; the true State
 of the Question comes at length to this, whether we shall
 take their Money, or their Goods for *Indian* Commodities,
 or whether we shall submit to let them lay out that, or part
 with those for *Indian* Commodities, which we might sup-
 ply, to other People?

The Truth of all this, as it will appear to every candid
 and ingenious Reader, from the Reasons and Arguments
 already advanced, so, at this Juncture, it must be evident to
 every Man who has but common sense, from the Light of
 Experience; for do we not see, that the *Russians*, *Swedes*,
Danes, and other Nations, are bent upon establishing a di-
 rect Correspondence with *India*, in order to obtain greater
 Quantities of the Goods of that Country; and does not
 this manifestly prove, that the Appetites of these People
 for those Things were so strong, that it was no way in our
 Power to check, or correct them?

The Truth of the Matter is, that the sole Objection
 against this Commerce, that has any Force, lies in this
 simple Proposition, that it is against the Interest of the
 western Part of the World, to correspond with the *East*.
 The Reasons which are brought to prove this, are indeed
 very plausible. It is said, that the Balance of Trade is
 against us, that we import the Commodities and Manu-
 factures of the *Indies*, and export Silver to pay for them.
 That this drains *Europe* to such a Degree, as that since
 the Discovery of the Passage by the *Cape of Good-hope*, it
 is demonstrable, that the *Indians* have gained from the
Europeans upwards of two hundred Millions in Silver,
 which immense Wealth they possess, while all that we re-
 ceived for it, is long ago lost and consumed. It is con-
 fessed, even by the warmest Writers in favour of the *Indi-
 an* Trade (tho' I freely own I am of a different Opini-
 on) that this sufficiently proves, that it would be for the
 Benefit

Benefit of the western Part of the World, if they had no Commerce at all with the East; and that it would be an Advantage to Europe in general, if the Commerce to the Indies were totally abolished.

Admitting this to be true, what is it to us? We are not yet the Legislators of Europe; we cannot bid the Dutch dissolve their Company, and recall their Subjects from the Indies; we cannot forbid the French to trade thither; and if our Ministers at Stockholm, and Copenhagen, should persuade those Courts not to send any more Ships to China, it is not at all probable, that they would take our Advice. We must be content then, to take the World as it lies before us, and since the Humour of trading to India cannot be extinguished, we, as a trading Nation, must endeavour to manage that Humour, and our Commerce, as that both may turn to our Advantage.

We must contrive to maintain and support the Acquisitions made by our Company in that Part of the World; we must engage them to take off as great a Quantity of our Manufactures as is possible; we must encourage to the utmost the Exportation of such Goods and Manufactures as the Company brings home; and, which is of the greatest Consequence to this Nation, we must, at all Events, and by whatever Means it can be done, prevent the smuggling of Indian Commodities into these Kingdoms; for such as promote that Practice, are the most notorious

Enemies of their Country, and cannot get a single Shilling, without robbing the Nation of five.

Thus I have entirely finished what I proposed, with respect to our Commerce with this Part of the World. I have shewn, that it is the great Wheel which moves all the rest; that we have no reason to be dissatisfied at seeing it managed by an exclusive Company; that by degrees, and by a Variety of Accidents, this Company is now placed on the best Basis that can be for the Nation; that there is no doubt, their Trade is extremely beneficial; that the Objections against it are very far from being well founded, and that at this Juncture, it imports us more than ever to be well informed, and clearly convinced as to these Things, because there never was a Conjunction when the thorough understanding of them was of so great Consequence to the Publick. If in the managing so extensive, so intricate, and in some Cases, so invidious a Subject, I shall be thought to have performed well, it is the Height of my Ambition; but if I have failed therein, it will be still my Comfort, that it was my Endeavour. I might with much greater Ease to myself have contracted this Section into a narrower Compass, but I have sincerely studied the Benefit of the Reader, and how to render the Time he bestows in the Perusal of this Work beneficial to himself, by inspiring him with such Sentiments as may render him useful to his Country.

SECTION XXXIV.

A succinct History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Dutch East-India Company; with a View of the immense Profits arising from that Commerce, and a Prospect of their Affairs, and the Manner in which they are conducted, as well at Home, as in their extensive Settlements Abroad.

Collected chiefly from their own Writers.

1. An introductory Account of the Situation of Affairs in Holland, at the Time their Commerce to the East-Indies was first undertaken.
2. Houtman's Imprisonment in Portugal, proves the Means of their opening the true Rout to the East-Indies.
3. The first Voyages made under the Direction of Houtman, at the Close of the sixteenth Century.
4. A new Company of Merchants engage in this Trade with great Success.
5. The States-General and Prince Maurice interpose in order to put this Company on a proper Establishment.
6. The Dutch East-India Company formed, and Letters Patent dated March the 20th 1602, for twenty-one Years.
7. A great Struggle between the Dutch and Spaniards about the Moluccas, in which the former at last prevailed.
8. An Account of the surprizing Success of the Dutch Company, and of the prodigious Dividends made by them to their Proprietors in a few Years.
9. The Rise of the Company's great Power in the Indies, and the Causes thereof truly assigned.
10. Their Charter renewed and enlarged, with the Consequences arising from thence.
11. The Progress of their Trade in the Indies, and other remarkable Occurrences.
12. The History of this Company continued till the Expiration of their second Charter.
13. An Account of their Affairs to the Year 1660.
14. The Continuation of this History to the Close of the last Century.
15. A concise Deduction of this History to the present Times.
16. A short Account of their present Settlements in the Indies.
17. A curious and particular Relation of the Manner in which they manage their Affairs.
18. Of their Councils and Government in the Indies.
19. The Oeconomy of their Fleets, Squadrons, and single Ships, with other Particulars relating to their naval Concerns.
20. A View of their Management of Orphans Estates, and of the Care taken by them of their Poor.
21. Of the Management of the Company's Affairs in Holland, with a Table of their Dividends, from 1610 to 1717.

THERE could not certainly be any nobler Subject chosen by an Author inclined at once to entertain and instruct his Readers, than an Enquiry how far the Spirit of Liberty and Trade may be able to advance a People, notwithstanding any Difficulties they may labour under from the Situation of their Country, the Poverty of its Soil, and the Opposition of their Neighbours. Such a Plan as this, might enable a Man of solid Understanding, quick Wit, and competent Learning, to frame a political System as useful, and at the same time, no less pleasant and agreeable, than the famous Poems of Homer, which have hitherto been esteemed inimitable, and which are allowed to contain the Principles of almost all Sciences, though delivered under the specious

Veils of Fictions. But if the Composition of such a Work be a Task so hard as scarce to be expected, an Author of a cooler Genius than is requisite for such a Performance, might perform something very laudable in this kind, by writing a copious History of the Establishment of the Dutch Republick, which would sufficiently shew, that the Desire of preserving religious and civil Liberty, maintaining the natural Rights of Mankind with respect to Trade, and transmitting the Blessings of an equal and mild Administration to Posterity, are Principles capable of raising such an heroic Spirit in any People, as will enable them to overcome all Difficulties of what kind soever, and that to such a Degree, as to give them a Capacity of changing, at least in Appearance, the very Laws of Nature, so as

to render the meanest Country a Paradise, and the most distressed and dejected of the human Race, the bravest Soldiers, and the most enterprizing Seamen.

Such a History would particularly shew, that Providence can conduct, by the most unlikely Means, the noblest Designs to the highest Degree of Perfection, and lay the Ground-work of the most exalted Power and Liberty in the midst of Tyranny and Oppression. For most evident it is, that if the *Spaniards* had not pursued the most barbarous Plan of Politicks in reference to their Subjects in the *Low-Countries*, the Republick of the *United Provinces* had never existed, nor had the People of *Holland* ever arrived at any Part of that Wealth, Dignity and turpizing Power, as for the two last Centuries they have enjoyed. It is the peculiar Glory of the Almighty, to produce Order out of Confusion, Good out of Evil, Strength and Happiness out of Weakness and Misery, and of this, no Period of History affords us a more illustrious Instance, than that which is to be the Subject of the present Section. It was the Bigotry of the *Spaniards*, and their illegal Introduction of the bloody Inquisition into the *Netherlands*, that introduced that Firmness to their religious Principles, and that zealous Concern for the Liberty of Conscience, which has proved the Source of the Grandeur of the *Dutch*. It was the barbarous, as well as arbitrary Government of the Duke of *Alva*, Cardinal *Granvelle*, and such Ministers of Oppression, that established those Notions of civil Liberty, that enabled the distressed Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* to establish a Form of Government capable of procuring and maintaining their Freedom; and it was the Measures taken to curb, to distress, and to ruin the little Trade they then had, which forced these People upon those Methods that in a very small Space of Time rendered them the most considerable trading Republick the World ever saw.

It must be allowed, that of all the Monarchs that were ever seized with a Passion for universal Empire, there never was one who seemed to have it more in his Power to gratify Ambition in its largest Extent, than *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, who was not led thereto by the Encitements of Ministers more capable than himself, but formed his own Schemes, and conducted them with such Wisdom and Policy, that if the End he aimed at had been attainable by human Abilities, one could scarce conceive how he came to be frustrated in his Design. He had gained the Court of *Rome* entirely to his Interest, and was thereby able to bend the predominant Religion in *Europe* to his Purposes. He had the whole Force of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and of the House of *Austria* in *Germany* at his Command; the greatest maritime Power in the World was at his Disposal, a great Part of *Italy* was in his Possession; he had a strong Party in *England*, and a stronger in *France*, and all the Riches in the *Indies* flowed into his Coffers; but what was still of greater Consequence, he had the most able Ministers, and the most experienced General, and the best disciplined Troops in the World at his Devotion; all which Advantages were doubled by his Skill in making use of them; for he had a Soul above the Reach of Fortune, and a Capacity more extensive than his Dominions, so that had he undertaken what was in the Power of Man to achieve, he had easily and happily performed it; but as his Project was without Bounds, to the Methods he used, tho' wisely contrived, and generally speaking, well carried into Execution, proved not only fruitless, but dissipated the Wealth and Strength of his Empire, that as he died himself of Discontent, so he left the *Spanish* Monarchy under an incurable Consumption.

But amongst all the vast Designs which this Monarch formed, that which was best digested, was attended with the worst Effects. He knew, that a Monopoly of Trade, was the first Step to universal Empire, and therefore formed a Plan for fixing the whole Trade of the World to his Dominions. It was with this View, that he set on Foot two Schemes which proved abortive indeed, but which will eternally prove the Strength of that Genius which devised them. The first was the seizing and securing the Sound, or narrow Passage into the *Baltick*, by which he hoped to become Master of a Part of the Trade of the North: The other was building a City of his own Name in

the Straits of *Magellan*, and establishing such a Colony there, as might put it out of the Power of other Nations to trouble the Commerce of the *South-Seas*, or find a Passage that Way to the *East-Indies*. But failing in these Designs, he turned his Thoughts another Way, and finding that his revolted Subjects in the *Netherlands*, began to make a great Figure in Trade, especially after the Ruin of the City of *Antwerp*, he resolved to cut them short in that, as much as lay in his Power, and being become Master of *Portugal*, he absolutely forbid them all Commerce, not only with the *Indies*, but in the Commodities of the *Indies*, which they had hitherto purchased at *Lisbon*, and with great Profit to themselves, had distributed to the northern Parts of *Europe*. It was by this Prohibition, expressly calculated for the Ruin of their Trade, that the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* were compelled to those Undertakings which have since made them Lords of *India*. If the *Spaniards* had never forbid them, they had never thought of going thither; if they had remained the sole Carriers of Spices, or even been allowed a reasonable Proportion of that Trade, they had never been the Proprietors of it.

But the making this unexpected Stroke at their Commerce, at a Juncture when they had many rich Merchants amongst them, and their Country swarmed with able Seamen, instead of damping their Spirits, and depriving them of all Hopes, excited them to form a multitude of Projects for averting this Evil, more especially when they found that his Catholick Majesty remained firm to his Point, and actually caused their Ships to be seized, and such as were on Board them to be imprisoned. This convinced them, that they must either abandon all Thoughts of this Commerce, or strike out some new Rout for themselves, which was so much the more difficult, because even while they lived under the *Spanish* Yoke, they had never been permitted to make Voyages to the *Indies*. They derived, however, some Assistance from the Merchants who had settled among them, after the taking of *Antwerp*, for they were better acquainted with the *Spanish* Trade, and with the Method used in carrying it on, and it was those People who advised the taking into their Service such Seamen and Pilots as had served under Sir *Francis Drake*, the famous *Cadiz*, and other *English* Commanders of Note. The Informations gained from these People, gave them such Lights, that by degrees, their Merchants began to think an *Indian* Expedition practicable, and began likewise to be willing to run the Hazard of such an Undertaking, from the Prospect of the prodigious Profit that must necessarily accrue to them, if they met with Success, which bore scarce any Proportion to the Expence necessary for making such a Trial.

2. Among others, *James Falk*, and *Christopher Roelcius*, the one Treasurer, and the other Pensioner to the States of *Zeland*, in Conjunction with several Merchants, particularly *Balthazar Moucheron*, *Jen Jansen*, *Charles Dirk Van Os*, and many others, took up a Resolution to open a Passage into the *Indies*, from whence they were unjustly excluded by the Emperor *Charles V.* and *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*. They conceived, that by steering North-East, they might run along the Coast of *Tartary*, and to reach *Cathay*, *China*, *Japan*, *India*, and the *Philippine* and *Molucca* Islands: The execution of this Project was committed to two excellent Mariners, *William Barontz*, and *James Heemskerck*, and afterwards to divers others; but hitherto the Almighty has not favoured the Discovery of that Passage, or of the People that live in those Climates. While they were in quest of this Northern Passage, one *Cornelius Houtman*, a *Dutchman*, happen'd to be in *Portugal*, and there satisfied his Curiosity by a diligent Enquiry into the State of the *East Indies*, and the Course that one must steer, in order to come at it. He had frequent Conferences upon this Subject with the *Portuguese*, who gave Notice of it to the Court.

At that Time, all Foreigners were prohibited to make such Enquiries; and upon that Score *Houtman* was put in Prison, and ordered to stay there till he paid a heavy Fine: In order to raise such a considerable Sum of Money, he address'd himself to the Merchants of *Amsterdam*, and gave them to understand, that if they would pay his Fine,

he would discover to them all that related to the *East-Indies*, and the Passage thither: Accordingly they granted his Request, and he performed his Promise.

After mature Consideration of what he had offered, they resolved to erect another Company, called the Company for remote Countries. The Directors of this Company were, *Henry Hudden, Remir Paz, Peter Haffelaar, John Jans, Charles de Oude, John Poppen, Henry Busck, Dirck Van Os, Szwert Pieterfz Seem, and Arenten Grootenkuijfe*. These Directors considering as yet that 'twas very uncertain, whether the North Passage was practicable; tho' at the same time they were sensible, that it was the shortest and surest Passage, and withal the most healthy, in regard that in it they did not cross the Equinoctial Line: Upon this Consideration, they came to a Resolution *Anno Domini 1595*, to send four Vessels to the *Indies*, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-hope*.

3. *Houtman*, and some others, who had the Command in this Expedition, were ordered to observe the Course they steered very nicely, and to settle with the *Indians* the Commerce of Spices and other Goods, especially in those Countries where the *Portuguese* had no Settlements. They looked upon this Commerce as a very valuable Thing, especially considering that it would save them the Trouble of fetching that sort of Goods from *Portugal*, which they could not do without great Hazard. These Ships returned to *Holland* in the Space of two Years and four Months after their setting out; and though they had made no great Profit of the Voyage, yet their Success animated their Owners, and several other Merchants, to carry on the Design yet further.

In Effect, a Member of that Company being dead, they presently put into his Place *Gerard Bicker*, a very considerable Merchant. Then they had Advice that some other Merchants of *Amsterdam* designed to set out Ships for *India*. The Names of those Merchants were *Vincent Van Bronckhoff, Simon Jansfz, Gvoert Dirrickz, Cornelius Van Campen, Jacob Thomafz, Elbert Simonfz Joubeyn, and John Harmanfz*. The Company, to avoid Animosities, thought it necessary to unite with those Merchants, and, accordingly, the two Fleets, consisting of eight Vessels, joined under the Command of *James Van Nek*, their Admiral, and sailed from the *Texel* *A. D. 1598*.

A Design of the same Nature was likewise set on Foot in *Zealand*, and accordingly *Baltasar Moucheron*, and *Adrian Hendrickzen Haaf*, with some other Partners, fitted out Ships for the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Rotterdam* being spurred forward by such Examples, presently formed a Company, and fitted out five Ships, under the Command of *James Masu*, with Orders to sail to the *Molucca* Islands, by the Strait of *Magellan*, and the *South-Sea*. In the mean time, the *Amsterdam* Merchants grew hotter upon the Matter, and the Company before mentioned, without staying for the Return of the Fleet they had sent already, fitted out three Ships more, which put to Sea *May 4, 1599*, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagan*. On the 8th of the then next *July*, four of the eight Ships that went out first, arrived in the *Texel*, and after they were unloaded, were immediately sent back again under the Command of *James Willekens*.

4. About the same time, several *Amsterdam* Merchants, most of whom were *Brabanters* by Birth, formed another Company upon the same Design, and fitted out four Vessels, which put to Sea *December 1599*, in consort with four of the old Company's Ships. Two Years after all these Ships came home with rich Cargoes: But before their Arrival this new Company had sent out two Ships, which were joined by six more of the old Company, all of them putting to Sea *A. D. 1600*, under the Command of *James Van Nek*; and, in the Process of Time, all of them returned at several Times to their respective Ports. Upon the Consideration of these lucky Adventures, several fresh Ships were fitted out in *Amsterdam, Zealand*, and elsewhere; among others, thirteen were sent from *Amsterdam*, viz. four belonging to the old, and four to the new Company, under the Command of *James Heemskirk*, and *James Gvoert*, and five more of the old Company, bound for

the *Moluccas*, under the Command of *Wolpbat Harmanfz*; all the thirteen set sail from the *Texel*, *April 1601*.

At this, the *Spaniards* were enraged with Anger and Grief, partly in regard of the Affront they suffered in seeing such petty Merchants compass their Ends in spite of their Teeth; and partly upon the Account of the Loss they sustained, and were likely to sustain hereafter. With this View they fitted out a strong Squadron, in order to surprize the *Dutch* Ships. This Squadron consisting of thirty Men of War, well manned, fell in with eight of the *Dutch* Ships in the Month of *May*, in the Lat. of 14°. The *Dutch* perceived the Inequality of their Number and Forces, notwithstanding that they had some Soldiers aboard: However, they were not daunted, for they fought bravely, and the *Spanish* Admiral was so warmly received, that he thought it convenient to let them pass.

The next Year, three Ships came home from the *Indies* richly laden; they brought Advice, that the King of *Achen* had attempted to seize two of the *Maucherons* Ships that had set out from *Holland, A. D. 1599*: that *Cornelius Houtman*, the Commander, had lost his Life in the Adventure; and in fine, that the Ships had escaped, but that some of the *Dutch* continued Prisoners in the Hands of the King of *Achen*.

Paul Van Caerden, having set out for the *Indies* that same Year, arrived at the Port of *Achen*, without knowing what passed, and there was exposed to the like Danger; for that the King being egged on by a *Franciscan* Monk, who resided there in the Quality of a *Portuguese* Envoy, and had come thither from the *Moluccas* on purpose to wheedle him. The King, I say, thus solicited, set all Instruments at work to seize *Caerden's* Ship; but all his Attempts proved abortive, and the King owned, afterwards, that he was seduced by the *Portuguese*, and accordingly gave a very good Reception to the Fleet commanded by *Laurence Bicker*, which had set out from *Zealand, A. D. 1601*: Nay, when the Fleet had taken in its Lading, which was very considerable, he sent some Embassadors with them.

This Fleet putting into *St. Helens* to take in fresh Water, happened to meet with a *Portuguese* Carrack, richly laden, which they took, and brought along with them. The same Year *George Spilbergen* and the Ships he commanded were as favourably treated by the same King of *Achen*. The *Spaniards*, finding themselves inferior in Strength, endeavoured to ruin the *Dutch* by all manner of Stratagems and Tricks; they sent emissaries to all the *Indian* Kings, to decry the new Adventurers, to brand them for Pirates, and Men of no Faith or Honour. In fine, they used all possible Efforts to affect their Ruin, as will appear in the Sequel.

5. The States-General and Prince *Maurice*, having received Advice of what passed, resolved to give Commissions to all Ships that sailed that Way; and indeed the Commanders of the Ships stood in need of them, in order to fettle the Calumnies of their Enemies. By these Commissions, they were impowered not only to defend themselves, but to attack and commit Hostilities upon all that should disturb their Commerce. The valiant *James Heemskirk*, being clothed with such Authority, sailed with two Ships from *Bantam* in order to have them loaded at *Jabor*, and falling in with a rich Carrack upon her Return to *Macao*, or *Cbina*, with above seven hundred Men on board, attacked her, and forced the *Portuguese*, after a slender Shew of Defence, to strike, and ask Quarter, which was granted them. This was a Proof, that things were much changed with this Nation, and that the *Dutch* had not to do with those gallant and glorious *Portuguese*, who had spread the Terror of their Name, and the Authority of their Crown over the finest Provinces in *Asia*. Neither had the *Dutch* yet learned to behave with that Haughtiness and Intolerance, with which they have since been reproached in this Part of the World. On the contrary, they behaved so kindly to their Prisoners, and trafficked every thing in relation to them, with so much Honour, that they obtained ample Testimonials to this Purpose from the *Spanish* Governor in the *Molucca* Islands, as also from him who presided at *Malacca*, by which, as they

Wolphart Harmanse;
April 1601.

aged with Anger and they suffered in seeing Ends in spite of their want of the Loss they hereafter. With this Iron, in order to furnish consisting of thirty with eight of the *Dutch* Lat. of 14°. The their Number and y had some Soldiers daunted, for they Admiral was so warmly sent to let them pass.

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no way diminished their Wealth, they greatly raised their Reputation, and wiped off that Imputation of Piracy; which, to render them odious, the *Spanish* Government had thrown upon them.

This Capture was of prodigious Consequence, because it gave them a compleat View of the Riches and Commodities of the *Indies*; so that themselves and their Countrymen now knew exactly what they were seeking, and could form a just Notion of the Value of that Prize, for which they drew their Swords. This heightened that Spirit which was already sufficiently raised of joining in Adventures to *India*; and as good or ill Fortune seldom comes alone, so, in this Case another Circumstance happened, which gave still greater Credit to, and excited warmer Hopes from such Undertakings.

At the same time *Oliver Van Noort* returned to *Holland*, after a three Years Voyage: He had been fitted out by *Peter Van Beveren*, *Hugh Buis*, and *John Hoekbaker*, and set sail from *Goeree* September 1598. He made but very inconsiderable Returns for the Merchants, but he acquired a great deal of Glory, a Share of which redounded to his Country; for, at that time, the *United Provinces* shared this common Glory with the *Portuguese* and *English*. That one of their Natives had sailed round the World, by the Straits of *Magellan*. We have given a large Account of this Voyage in the first Chapter of this Work, and therefore need not insist upon it here. It was, to be sure, a glorious Undertaking, and the Fame that attended it had such an Effect on the enterprising Spirits of those Times, that it induced many rich Merchants to go and settle at *Amsterdam*, and drew thither the most experienced Seamen and Commanders from all Parts of *Europe*.

This is what the *Dutch* Writers tell us; and, indeed, we follow them entirely in this Account of their Company, as being the best instructed, and the most intelligent Guides. It is, indeed, very possible, and probable, that they have represented these Things to their own Advantage, for which the judicious Reader will make a proper Allowance. But, upon the whole, I believe it would have been difficult to have found any where better Materials, since, to do them Justice, they have been more careful to preserve and record the Rise and Progress of this Commerce, from the Time it fell into their Hands, than any other Nation that was ever concerned therein; and the Pains they have taken to insert the principal Successes of their *East India* Company in their general Histories, is what can never be too much commended.

6. While their Navigation continued to be thus successful, and the Trade of the *Indies* flourished more and more, there happened an Accident that discontinued their former good Fortune, and threatened Ruin to the whole; I mean the Plurality of Companies that were then formed, and the sorry Understanding that was between them. Oftentimes many of them fitted out Ships for the same Port, which lowered the Price of their Goods, and discouraged the Sailors. The States-General being acquainted with these Inconveniencies, called a Meeting at the *Hague* of the Directors of the Companies, both of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and obliged them to unite in one Body for the future, to which their High Mightinesses joined their Consent and Authority. The Treaty that was then agreed upon was confirmed by a Patent from the Sovereign Power, for twenty-one Years, commencing from the Date, *viz. March 20, 1602.*

The Patent being given out, the Company became a very considerable Body, and made a joint Stock of 6,600,000 Livres. Upon this Bottom they promised themselves great Things, and fitted out a Fleet of fourteen great Ships, which put to Sea in *June* 1602, under the Command of *Wybrandt Van Waerwyck*. The next Year, in the Month of *February*, the Yacht called *Wachter*, returned, and gave Advice that five of the other Ships would be at home very speedily. By this Yacht an Account was brought of what pass'd before *Bantam* between *Wolphart Harmanse* and his Vice-Admiral, *Hans Bouweer*, on one Side, and *Don Andreas Fortado de Mendez*, who had formed a Design to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies*. In Effect *Don Andreas* was beat, and the *Dutch* Admirals

pursuing their Course to the *Moluccas*, arrived there at several Times one after the other.

The same Yacht brought the News of an Engagement at the *Moluccas* between *James Van Nek*, Admiral, and three *Portuguese* Ships, which did not turn to his Advantage; for that, after the Loss of eight or nine Men, and some of the Fingers of his own Right-hand, he was obliged to their off. It was this Vessel likewise that brought the first Intelligence of the taking of a *Portuguese Carrack* by *James Heenskirck*. Upon the Arrival of this News, another Fleet of thirteen Ships was fitted out, and sail'd *December* the 18th, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Hagen*.

In the Year 1605, the King of *Spain* issued forth a severe Declaration, in which he prohibited the Inhabitants of the *United-Provinces* to trade to the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, or to the *East* and *West-Indies*, under the Pain of corporal Punishment. But the Company was so far from being over-awed by this Edict, that it rather inspired them with fresh Courage, and animated them to pursue their Design with more Vigour and Diligence. In a Word, they presently fitted out a Fleet of eleven Vessels, which were fit not only for Traffick, but for warlike Exploits, and gave the Command of them to *Cornelius Matelief*. This Fleet had scarce put to Sea, when the Directors gave Orders for preparing another of eight Ships, which were manned not only with a full Complement of Seamen, but with Soldiers, that were engaged to stay and keep Garrison in the *Indies*, if Occasion required. This third Squadron was commanded by *Paul Van Caerden*. Soon after two Ships of the first of these two Squadrons came home with a rich Cargo of Cloves and other Spices: They brought Advice that Admiral *Vander Hagen* would follow them very quickly; and accordingly he arriv'd the next *July*, after taking several *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Vessels, and possessing himself of the Fort of *Amboyna*, the demolishing that of *Tidore*, and entirely dislodging those two Nations out of the *Molucca* Islands.

This Expedition gave Rise to a mighty Dispute between the *Dutch* and the *English*, upon the Account that the latter favoured the *Spaniards*, and by supplying them with Powder, enabled them to hold out longer. The next *October* three other Vessels arriv'd in *Holland*, and gave Intelligence that *Wybrandt Van Waerwyck* was upon his Way home, but was obliged to put in at the Island of *Maurice*, because his Ship was leaky, and that he had taken a *Carrack* at *Patana*. This Admiral arriv'd in the Spring 1607, but in the preceding Winter the Company had sent two Ships more to the *Indies*, under the Command of *John-Jansz Molais*, to whom they owed the taking of the Fort of *Tidore*.

7. A Negotiation being then set on Foot for a Peace in the *Netherlands*, the Company fitted out a fresh Squadron of thirteen Ships, under the Command of *Peter-William-zen Verboven*, who had given a signal Proof of his Courage and Conduct in the Engagement at *Gibraltar*, where he was Vice Admiral under the illustrious *James Heenskirck*. This great Fleet was fitted out with a Design to give the World to understand, that no Treaty of Peace should tempt the *United Provinces* to drop their Trade to the *Indies*. Immediately the *Spaniards* started a warm Dispute in Reference to this Article, which proved the Subject of their principal Conferences; upon that the Company gave in frequent Remonstrances both to the States-General, and to the Mediators, and presented to them written Memorials, in order to make them sensible that there was a Necessity of being resolute upon that Head.

In fine, this Point being looked upon as a principal Article by both Parties, so that it could not be adjudged, the States, upon a final Resolution, made this Proposal, that either the *Spaniards* should content to their *Indian* Trade in the Treaty of Peace, or allow it them by a Truce, for some Years, or else, that Things should continue beyond the Tropic of *Cancer* upon the same Bottom that they then stood on, and that either Party should make War there, and do what they could for their own Advantage. This done, the Truce of twelve Years was accepted and concluded, and upon certain Conditions 'twas agreed, that

both the *Portuguese* and the *Dutch* should continue their Trade where they pleased, and live in mutual Peace. This Affair was in Agitation without coming to any Resolution in the Year 1603; at which Time Admiral *Mateuf* returned from the *Indies* with several Ships. This Admiral had laid Siege to *Malacca*, but was obliged to break it up, in order to give Battle to the *Portuguese* Fleet, that came to relieve it; however, he had concluded an Alliance with the King of *Jabor*. In the Year 1609, the Company sent a very expert Pilot, called *Henry Hudson*, with a Fly-bout, to find out a North east, or North-west Passage to *China*, but he returned without bringing his Design to bear. At that Time they heard nothing from the *Indies* since the Arrival of Admiral *Mateuf*, except some Advice by the Way of *England*; but the next Summer, four of their Ships arrived with a large Cargoe; they reported, that the *Spaniards* were still possessed of *Ternate*; that the *Dutch* had mastered *Macian* of the *Molucca* Islands, and that they hoped in Time to possess themselves of *Ternate*.

The Truce being concluded and proclaimed in the *Netherlands*, they resolved that a Pinnace should be sent to the *East-Indies*, with a Passport from the King of *Spain*, and the *Archdukes*, to acquaint the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* with the Treaty: This Project was accordingly put in Execution, and towards the End of the Year, nine Vessels were fitted out under the Command of *Peter Borth*, both the Seamen and Soldiers being allowed to carry their Wives and Children along with them.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that it was by this Truce, the new Republick of the *United-Provinces* came to be owned for a legal and independent State by all the Governments in *Europe*; neither was this Negotiation of less Use in the *Indies*, where the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had begun to receive their spirits, and to distinguish themselves by a vigorous Defence of what they possessed in that Part of the World, against the Attempts of the *Dutch*.

Don *Juan de Silva*, who then commanded for the King of *Spain*, in the *Philippines*, was a Nobleman of such Courage and Conduct, that no Advantages were to be gained while he held the Government. For having received Intelligence, that a *Dutch* Admiral, whose Name was *Wilheri*, was at Sea with a Squadron of four Sail, and had sunk a *Spanish* Galleon richly laden from *China*, not contented with which, they were still cruising for some other Ships that were expected from *China* and *Japan*; Don *Juan* resolved to hazard his own Life to retrieve the Honour of *Spain*, and to free those Seas from such unwelcome Guests. It was with this View, that he embarked his own Guards, and such other Troops as were at *Manila*, on Board such Vessels as could be drawn together on a sudden, and with them he attacked the *Dutch* Admiral with such Fury, that he made himself Master of three of his four Ships, the Admiral himself having his Head taken off by a Cannon ball in the Beginning of the Engagement, in which he lost one hundred and twenty-five Men. This Battle was fought on the 25th of *April* 1610, and the *Spaniards* following their Blow, made themselves Masters of the Island of *Tidor*, and came before that of *Ternate*, while the Inhabitants of the Island of *Banda*, encouraged by these Successes, revolted from the *Dutch*, and having surprized their General, *Peter William Verboegh*, at some Distance from their Fort, killed him, and all that were with him.

Admiral *Paul Van Caerden*, who was then in the *Indies*, thought to put a Stop to these Evils by his Presence, and going on Board a *Ship*, with twenty-five Men, proceeded for the Island of *Banda*; but being attacked by a *Spanish* Vessel in his Passage, and his Crew having mutinied, he was taken Prisoner, and the *Spaniards* demanding for his Ransom the Island of *Maluco*, 600 Ducats in Money, and half a Year's Wage for the Mariners, he chose rather to be carried to the *Philippines*, than submit to such Conditions. This happened on the 25th of *July*, in the same Year, and it was this News that induced the Company to send the *Ship* as that before mentioned, under the Command of Admiral *Peter Borth* to the *East-Indies*.

The *Company* thought fit to send a solemn Ambassy to the King of *Japan*, at the same Time which were *James* and *Peter Verboegh*, who, on the 10th of *August*,

1611, had an Audience of the Emperor at *Macao*, and obtained very advantageous Terms from that Monarch, notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be given them by the *Spaniards* and the *Portuguese*. But while Things went on thus prosperously Abroad, the *East-India* Company were not altogether free from Difficulties and Discouragement at Home, occasioned chiefly by the Covetousness of some Merchants concerned in their Stock, who had fallen into a Practice of Jobbing, which was attended with many Inconveniencies, so that the Government interferred for the Remedy of these Grievances, which the States General redressed by a *Placard* published *February* 27, 1610.

In *May* 1611, the Company sent out four Ships more, under the Command of *Laurence Real*, which were followed by a strong Squadron that put to Sea from the *Tenel*, in the next *December*, under the Command of *Adrian Block Martz*; near the *Cape Verd* Islands, this Squadron met with seventeen *Spanish* Men of War, which fell upon them, but were so warmly received, that only four of them were left in a Condition to sail for *Spain* with the News of their Success. When the Directors received Advice of a sharp Engagement, they conceived, that their Ships must needs have received some Damage, and in order to reinforce them, fitted out two other Ships the next *May*, under the Command of *John Peterz Cien*. In fine, the Commerce to *India* became so extensive, that the Forces of the Company grew to that Height, that in the Years 1613, and 1614, they fitted out twenty-seven Ships at several Times, under the Command of several Commodores, particularly *Reyff* and *Pianna*.

In order to a full View of their great Successes, we need only to cast our Eyes upon the following List of the Dividends that were made within the Company of eight Years.

The Dividends made by the *Dutch East-India* Company, viz.

		l.		
Anno Dom.	1605 in June	15	}	per Cent.
	1606 April	75		
	1607 July	40		
	1608 April	20		
	1609 June	25		
	1610 August	50		
	1613 May	37		

The Company being in such a flourishing Condition, the next Year, viz. 1615, the States joined in sending a strong Squadron to the *South-Sea*, by the Way of the *Magellan* Strait, upon the Prospect of surprizing the *Spaniards*, and weakening them on that Side, after which they might have an easy Passage to the *Indies*. *George Van Spilbergen* was Admiral in this Expedition, of which we have given a large Account in the former Part of this Work. In the mean Time, the War in the *Indies* continued, where the *Spaniards* did all that in them lay to persevere and to augment their Conquests in the *Moluccas*, which appeared to them of the greater Consequence, because of their Situation which was extremely favourable for securing a Communication between the Colonies and Settlements of their Countrymen in the *East* and *West-Indies*.

But the *Dutch* Admiral *Verboegh*, perceiving clearly that Don *Juan de Silva* was under great Difficulty from the Quarrels that continually arose between his Officers and the *Portuguese*, and that the latter were extremely backward in sending Don *Juan* the Succours that he expected; he resolved thereupon to lay hold of this Opportunity of crushing the *Spanish* Strength, and having fitted out a considerable Squadron, he cruized on the Coast of *Malacca* for the *Portuguese* Gallies, that were going to the Assistance of Don *Juan de Silva*. They were to a great Number, and had a considerable Body of Troops on Board, but Admiral *Verboegh* nevertheless gave a good Account of them all; for the largest he took with all that were on Board her, made himself Master of the Board with all her Equipage, and forced the other to contribute with very little Loss to himself. This News was brought to *Holland* by a Fleet of four Ships, richly laden with Spices, and other Commodities, to the Value of

Three Millions of Ducats, which small Fleet arrived in the Month of September, 1616, and soon after the Company received the agreeable News that the King of Ternate, and the English settled in his Country, had joined the Dutch, and had obliged the Spaniards to abandon all the Places of which they were Masters in the Moluccas, by which that Nation was entirely driven out of the Spice Trade, for which they had formerly struggled so warmly with the Portuguese.

2. The Year before this, some Merchants, among whom were Isaac le Maire, made the greatest Figure, endeavoured to supplant the Company, and draw some Part of their Commerce into their own Hands; with this View, they resolved to search for another Passage to the South-Sea, than that of the Magellan Straits, and for that End, fitted out two Ships in June 1615, under the Command of Cornelius William Sebosten, and James le Maire. In Effect, those Commanders found out a Passage to the Southward of the Strait of Magellan, which they called le Maire's Strait. By that Passage they entered the South-Sea, and sailed as far as the Moluccas; but when they came to Batavia, their Ships were stopp'd and sequestered, upon the Pretence of their going upon an Expedition contrary to the Patent given to the Company by the States. At that Time the Company sustained great Losses, and their Trade was much impaired by the Means of some Powders that were imported, and mixed with the Spices by the retail Merchants: This the Company represented to the States, and thereupon a Placard was issued, for preventing the like Abuses for the future.

In June 1617, George Van Spilbergen returned to Holland, after two Years Absence, in which he sailed round the World. Cornelius William Sebosten, and James le Maire, who had set out for Holland the same Year with himself, returned on Board of him, but James le Maire died by the Way, on the 22d of the preceding December. The States perceived, that some Potentates were alarmed with the Company's Prosperity, and did their utmost to oppose it, particularly by inveigling their best and ablest Seamen, and drawing them off from their Service. Upon this Apprehension, the States published an Edict, by which the Desertion of Seamen was expressly prohibited. In the Year 1618, and 1619, the Company had very good Fortune, for they received from the Indies, at several Times, ten Ships with rich Cargoes, valued at six or seven Millions. This new Progress inspired them with fresh Courage, not only in resisting the Spaniards, but in concerting their Ruin by Way of Reprisal. This Work was carried a great Way by the Diligence and Affection of Laurence Real, a very knowing and prudent Man. This Gentleman lived nine Years in the Indies, where the Company honoured him with the most considerable Post, and then he returned to Holland, A. D. 1620.

The Reader must observe, that all these Facts are taken from the Dutch Histories, and placed in that Light in which they represent them, because it would take up a great deal of Room, and oblige us to repeat many Things that have been said before, if we should labour to correct such Deviations from Truth, as from a Propensity towards magnifying the Power of the East India Company, these Writers have now and then thought fit to make.

But with regard to Isaac le Maire, it may not be amiss for us to note, that we do not at all depart from the Judgment already given, concerning this Expedition, in the History of the Circumnavigators, but merely infer this, to shew in what Light the Dutch Authors would have us consider this Point, out of Regard to their East-India Company. One Observation we shall take Leave to make by the Way, which is this, that the Treatment given to these Adventurers, has, in all Probability, been sufficiently punished by its Consequences; all that rich Trade that might have been derived from the Discoveries, and the Pursuit of the Discoveries of le Maire, has been totally lost by Neglect, which perhaps has done as much Damage to the Dutch, as their East-India Company has done them Good. Of this, *John de Witt* was aware, and has very wilyly remarked, that too the Pursuit of such a Commerce might have been beyond the Strength and Power of the East-India Company at that Time, yet

there was no good Reason why the States should have abandoned it, or should not have encouraged the setting up a new Company, in order to have made a Trial of what this new Trade would have produced; for if new Trades do not prosper, they occasion only a temporary Loss to private Persons, and none at all to the States; whereas, if they thrive and turn to good Account, they not only produce immense Riches to such as are concerned in them, but prove also a mighty Advantage to the Publick. For new Trades, especially under such a Government as that of Holland, bring new People, and increase the Subjects of the State that encourages them, for Wealth is a powerful Attraction; and where Men are sure to be rich and free, there will never be any Want of People.

But the Dutch East-India Company began now to feel their own Strength, and, like all other Companies, attended to nothing but the promoting their own Power, which induced them, about this Time, to engage in the War of Java, where they had not only the Natives of that Country, but the English also to deal with; and by degrees, and their obstinately persisting in their Design, they overcame both, though not without great Difficulty and some Loss, which however was abundantly repaired by the Reduction of Jacatra, and the settling their new Colony at Batavia, which was done in 1619, chiefly by the great Assistance which the States-General afforded to their East-India Company, while ours was slighted and neglected by the Government here, either from a Want of knowing the Importance of that Commerce, or from a Want of Power to afford the Assistance necessary in case they had a just Apprehension of the Value of that Trade: But, however it was, most certainly the Establishment of Batavia proved the Basis of such a Power in the East-Indies, and gave the Company such an Opportunity of disposing of her Factories and Settlements, in an Order to agreeable to that Government which she established in this new Capital, that we may from thence date her Acquisition of that Empire in the Indies, which not only renders her superior to all the trading Companies in the World, but in point of Power, Riches, and Dominion, very little, if at all, inferior to the Dutch Republick itself.

They began likewise, about this Time, to extend their Alliances in that Part of the World, and to treat with the Indian Princes in every Respect as Sovereigns; appointing at the same time Officers, who had not only the Titles of Generals, Commanders in Chief, Admirals, Governors, and such like, but had also the Power, and were effectually such as these Commissioners spoke them to be; and were, at the same time allowed such Salaries, and invested with such Authority as did not seem either very agreeable to their Dependency upon the Republick, or consistent with the Modesty and Frugality of the Dutch Government at home. This, the States however were content to overlook, because, that such as had the Direction of the Company's Affairs, pretended that these Titles, Revenues, and Commands, were absolutely requisite in the Eastern Part of the World, to preserve the Respect and Obedience of the Natives of those Countries, who were to be wrought upon only by the Splendor of Dress, Equipage, and such like Exterior Marks of Superiority. The Truth however seems to be, that the Common-Wealth Party in Holland, paying a very unwilling Obedience to their Stattholders of the House of Orange, were not a little pleased to behold a kind of new Republick rising in the Indies, independent of these Princes, and where their Relations might be sent to acquire Fortunes, to learn Principles, and accustom themselves to the Discharge of publick Offices, without being immediately under the Direction of these Stattholders, who, by the Necessities of State, were placed at the Head of the Government at home.

Yet the Governor, General, and other principal Officers, always acted under the Prince of Orange's Commission as Stattholder, and in most Part of the Indies magnified his Power, making the Indian Monarchs believe that he was a King, nay, and one of the greatest Kings in Europe. But this was only to serve their own Purposes, and to extend their Power the better; for the Duccons of the Company continued to administer its Affairs in a manner independent of the Government of Holland, and every State was

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these Commissions, because they could not well do their Business without them.

Two Things especially contributed to their Grandeur, and to their quiet enjoying a Power of such extravagant Extent. The first was the Factions and Divisions that reigned at that Time in *Holland*, which so occupied the Cares of the Government, that they were the less able to look abroad, for it was at this Juncture that those Troubles happened, which cost *Barnesvelt* his Life, and the famous *Groenius* and other worthy Members of the State, a tedious Imprisonment. The second Cause was, the vast Riches which flowed in from the *East-India* Trade, and which were evidently of such prodigious Benefit to the *Dutch* Nation in general, as rendered it very improper to take any Measures capable of lessening the Interest or Authority of that Company, by which the Trade was managed, from which such mighty Profits accrued. Besides, it is not at all improbable, that both Parties had their Views upon this Company, and were in hopes of turning that Indulgence which was shewn it to their own Advantage, more especially because the Term granted by their Charter was drawing towards a Close, when it might have been practicable to have given it a new Turn, and to have removed all those Inconveniences, which, for particular Reasons, and perhaps from private and very different Views, had been hitherto pass'd by and over-look'd: But, as we shall see hereafter both Parties in the *Dutch* Government were mistaken in their Conjectures, and the Company, instead of losing, or abating a y Part of her Powers or Privileges, acquired still greater, and more extensive, by the new Charter which she obtained, as is usually the Case in Countries where Oppositions prevail; and the Government, whatever its Form may be, is not at Liberty to pursue such Measures as are most consistent with her Interest.

But to return from these Reflections to the Thread of our History, as it is taken from the *Dutch* Writers. The vast Success which attended this Company in all its Undertakings, so raised the Spirit, and excited the Hopes of the States, that they at length began to think of doubling these Advantages, by erecting a new Company, with the same Power of trading to the *West-Indies*, which this Company enjoyed in trading to the *East*. But though this was a Project both reasonable in itself, and which had all the Countenance the Government could give it, yet being feverly opposed by the *East-India* Company, it went on but slowly, and they were forced to make several Alterations in the Charter, before the Capital of this new Company, which consisted of 7,200,000 Livres, could be made up; and the State likewise presented the new Company with three large fine Ships, equally fit for Trade and War.

But while so much Care was taking of the younger Child of the Republick, the elder was very well able to go alone, and there wanted not some who were for hurrying at too great a pace, and sending such Numbers of Ships to the *Indies*, as if the *Dutch* had not fought the Commerce but the Conquest of *Asia*, in which however they were checked, and all Things kept within due Bounds; which, however it might dispel arbitrary Spirits, was certainly signat in the main.

About this Time the Abuses and unwarrantable Practices relating to the Sale of the Actions or Stock of the Company, began to revive; upon which the States found themselves oblig'd to renew the Placard of 1610, with a few Amendments suitable to the Circumstances of the Time. In the Year 1621, the Ship call'd *Goede Vrede*, arriv'd in *Zealand*, having on board five Children of Kings or Princes, in order to their Education, in the Provinces, and Instruction in the Christian Religion, pursuant to the Tenor of the Letters that were written to the Prince upon that Subject. In February 1622, two Ships more came home with ten Captives; they brought Advice that the *Indian* Trade flourish'd still, that they continu'd to wage war with the People of *Bantam* in *Java*, and with the *Spaniards* in the *Molucca* and *Manila* Islands, and that they had already possess'd themselves of the Island of *Banda*. Soon after there arriv'd three more, with Advice that the last Ships that went out had arriv'd safe in the *Indies* in four Months and three Days Sailing.

10. The Company's Patent expired this very Year, 1622, and a Difference arose between the Directors and Subscribers, that might have extended to a great Height, if the States had not interpos'd. These wise Measures appeas'd all by their Prudence. The Directors Accounts were call'd for, and pursuant to the Measures of Equity and Reason, a Dividend of 25 per Cent. was allotted to the Subscribers, and paid them in Cloves. After that the Company obtain'd a new Patent for twenty-one Years, commencing from 1623. By Virtue of the Renewal of the Patent, the Company had the Satisfaction to see four Ships richly laden, return in *October*. The Difference between the *English* and the *Dutch* that had lain long in Suspence, was then accommodated upon the Payment of 800,000 Livres by the *Dutch* to the *English*.

The infinite Advantages that redounded to the Country by the erecting of this Company, could not dissuade the Envious from thwarting it to a flaring Degree. To remedy this, and prevent the other Inconveniences that might happen, the States thought fit on *March* 13, 1623, to add new Clauses to their new Patent, alter the Diversion of a new Passage to the *Pacific* Sea, made by *James de Maure*. Their High Mightinesses, in Conjunction with the Company, came to a Resolution to send another strong Squadron that Way to the *Indies*, in order to ruin their Enemies. This Fleet set sail in *April*, under the Command of *James P. Hermit*; but, before their Departure, two Ships and a Yatch set out for the *Indies* by the common Course. The next *May* two Ships came home, and found a very good Market. The Abuses in the Sale of Actions oblig'd the States to revive a third Time their Placard upon that Head.

In *September* *John Peter Coen* arriv'd at *Genoa* with four Ship on the Company's Account, and a fifth, which had straggled from them by the Way, arriv'd the next *November*. At that time a Handful of Merchants bought up, at one Sale, all the Company's Pepper, the Quantity of which amounted to 19,000 Bales, and the Sum which they paid for it amounted to 4,500,000 Livres, which was certainly a very remarkable Thing. In *May* 1624, the *Hees* Yatch return'd, having sail'd to *Batavia* and home again in the Space of nine Months and seven Days. Their Intelligence import'd, that all things went well in that Country, excepting that the *English* had rais'd one Commotion at *Amboyna*, but the *Dutch* us'd their utmost Efforts to hinder the *Spaniards* to trade in *China*, and hoped for Success; that three or four Ships were taking their Lading in order to come home; accordingly three homeward-bound Ships arriv'd the next *September*, and in *May* 1625, another, call'd the *Heusden*, arriv'd from *Surat*, which gave Advice that their Affairs were in a pretty good Posture at *Ormuz*, and in the neighbouring Countries, from whence three Ships more return'd the next Spring. The *Schoonbozer*, an outward-bound ship for the *Indies*, met with a violent Storm on the Coast of *Spain*, and was call'd away off *St. Jago*, where twenty six of the Men were saved, and carried to *Spain*.

This Affliction was alleviated by the Arrival of two Ships from *Surat* in *February* 1626, and two more the next after, having on board an Embassador from the King of *Persia*. They brought the News of the Victory obtain'd over the *Portuguezze*, and of the great Commotion rais'd, occasion'd by the King's Son taking up Arms against his Father, inasmuch that both Armies were in the Field when the Ships came off. Upon this Intelligence they fitted out a Squadron of nine Ships, bound for that Country, under the Command of *Hybrandt*, who tougg'd bravely at *Sera Leoni* with *Campaen* the Pirate. In June two Ships of *James P. Hermit's* Squadron came home, and before the Year was out, a Ship return'd from *Cammandel*. It was in this Fleet that the famous Mariner, *William Yarrant* return'd safe to his native Country, whose Adventures, though related by himself with all the Plannets and Simplicity becoming his Condition, yet were long held absolutely beyond the Power of Words, till, by a careful and strict Enquiry, every Circumstance was verified.

It is true, that a Thing of this Nature does not seem to fall in immediately under the present Section, but, undoubt-

of this very Year, 1622, when the Directors added to a great Height, These wise Mediators the Directors Accounts Measures of Equity was allotted to themselves. After that time for twenty-one Years, the Renewal of Satisfaction to see four other. The Difference that had lain long in upon the Payment of the English.

bounded to the Company, could not diffuse a flaming Degree: In Inconveniences that hit on March 13, 1673, Patent, after the Discovery of the Sea, made by James, in Conjunction with to send another Broom in order to run their April, under the Command before their Departure, the Indies by the several Ships came home, and the Abules in the Sale of give a third Time that

arrived at *Genoa* with about, and a fifth, which Way, arrived the next of Merchants bought's Pepper, the Quantity, and the Sum which 500,000 Livres, which Thing. In May 1672, failed to *Batavia* and Months and seven Days, at all things went well the English had raised the Dutch used their attack to trade in *China*, and four Ships were taking home; accordingly three the next September, and the *Huyslen*, arrived from their Affairs were in a and in the neighbouring Ships more returned the, an outward-bound Ship Storm on the Coast of *Zege*, where twenty failed to *Spain*.

by the Arrival of two 16, and two more the assader from the King of the Victory obtained great Communion in, king up Arms against the armies were in the last upon this Intelligence of ships, bound for that *Combrandi*, who took to *Spain* the Pirate. In *Van's* Squadron came home, Ship returned from *Car*, that the famous *Manna*, ed fate to his native Count, related by himself with becoming his Condition, yond the Power of *Bomb*, quiry, every Circumstan-

is Nature does not seem to ent Section, but, undoubtedly,

edly, it has a very strict Relation to the Business of this Collection, and therefore I shall give as clear an Account of this Man's Misfortunes as is possible, and in as few Words as I can.

William Bontekoe, Native of the Town of *Horn*, sailed on the 28th of September, 1618, from the *Texel*, for the *Indies*, on board a Vessel of eleven hundred Tons, having two hundred and six Men on board, in Company with two Ships of a smaller Size. The Difficulties he met with began very early; for being separated from the rest of his Squadron by a violent Storm, which lasted for several Days, he therein endured such Hardships, and ran thro' such Variety of Dangers, that neither himself nor any of the experienced Seamen he had on board, expected to escape. At length, however, the Violence of the Tempest abated, and they found themselves in the Straights of *Sunda*, where they met with another Accident still more terrible; for one of the Crew going down to pump, at the same time that the Steward went to draw Brandy, it fell out unluckily, that the former had a Candle in his Hand, out of which a Spark flew into the little Hole which the Steward had pierced in the Brandy-Cask, and that consequently took Fire. The Captain, soon apprised of the Accident, ran down and ordered them to throw Water upon the Cask, which, in their Confusion, they rolled down into the Place where their Smith kept his Coals; but, however, the Water seemed to have put out the Fire: But in about half an Hour they were fatally convinced, that the Coals being covered with the flaming Brandy, had taken Fire. In this Distress, they continued to throw great Quantities of Water upon the Coals, in hopes of extinguishing them, from whence a new Evil arose; the sulphureous Smoak of the Coals coming up through the Scuttles in such thick Clouds, that they were not able to see what they were doing; and, which was worse, they were so suffocated thereby, that they were no longer able to mind what they were about.

In this Distress they were constrained to shut the Scuttles, and to make Holes in the Ship's Sides, thro' which, by the Help of Canes, they continued to pour Water. Captain *Bontekoe*, foreseeing that their greatest Danger lay in the Fire reaching the Powder-room, just for the super-cargo, without whose Consent he could do nothing, and endeavoured to persuade him to consent that the Powder should be thrown overboard; but he was not to be moved, alledging, that if they threw over the Powder, and should afterwards be attacked, tho' by a Vessel ever so much inferior to them in Strength, they must be obliged to strike, without making any Defence. By this Man's Obstinacy, they were left in this dreadful Condition, fluctuating between Hope and Despair, the Fire appearing sometimes, and sometimes was to little to be distinguished, that they had Reason to think it had been out. But, alas! they were soon convinced of their Mistake; for the Coals lying at no great Distance from a Fire of Bats, filled with Oil, the Fire very soon reached them, and then the Crew began absolutely to despair. Their Case indeed was miserable, beyond Description; for they were out of Sight of Land, the rolling Ocean on every Side, and the Fire immediately under them. It so happened, that their Shallop had been for some time in Tow, and to make room for the Men to bring Water to put out the Fire, they had likewise heaved out the Long-boat. The Crew observing this, slipped some of the Fore-casts, and some into the Galleries, from whence they dropped into the Sea, and the Swam on board the Shallop, or Boat; so that what the Captain was using his utmost Endeavours to preserve the Ship, he lost a great Part of his Men.

When he discovered this, he endeavoured to get them on board again; but finding that impossible, he made all the Sail he could to come up with them; and while he was doing this, the fatal Blow which he expected took place, that is to say, the Ship blew up, and he was thrown from the Quarter-deck with two great Wounds in his Head, his Body half scorched, and his Legs and Arms so bruised, that he could barely move them. However, his being so suddenly plunged into the Water, brought him to his Senses; so that seeing the Mainmast of

the Ship near him, he with much ado got upon it, and by the Help of two Boards kept himself floating, till he was taken up by the Shallop with much Difficulty. It was by this time Night, and though the Captain, as soon as he came on board, advised them to keep as near the Wreck as they could, yet they kept towing all Night long, as if they had been sure of making Land. But when the Day broke, and they saw neither Shore nor Ship, they came to the Captain, beseeching him to tell them what they should do. They were without Sails, without Compass, without Water, and had not above seven or eight Pounds of Bisket, but were still rowing as hard as if they had been within Sight of Shore. The Captain exhorted them to Courage and Obedience, and in the first Place made a Review of them, by which it appeared, that there were forty six in the Shallop, and twenty six in the Long-boat. He advised them to lay aside their Oars, as serving only to weaken them, and bid them make use of Sails. They asked where they were to make; the Captain replied, that every Man must pull off his Shirt, that by sewing them together, they might make as good Sails as they could. It was then objected, that they had not either Needle or Thread; but the Captain taught them to supply the first with Nails, and the latter by unrolling the Ropes. While they were at work upon the Sails, he employed the Carpenter in making a *Yacob's* Scaffold, for taking Observations; and tho' he was to ill, that he could not fit up, yet he made shift to draw a Compass, and a Chart, in which he laid down the Islands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and the Straights of *Sunda*.

While they were thus at Sea, they got some Mews, and some Flying-fish; and when it rained, they collected the Water in their Sails, and preserved it in two or three Casks. But notwithstanding all this, they were in a Fortnight's Time driven to such Necessities, that it was with great Difficulty the Captain prevailed upon them to desist from a Design they had formed of killing and eating two or three Boys they had on board. It was the 20th of November that the Ship blew up, and on the 3d of December they, with much Difficulty, made an Island on the Coast of *Sumatra*, from whence, with infinite Danger, they reached that Shore; and after running thro' Variety of Perils, in which they were preserved by the wise Council of their Captain, they at last passed the Straights of *Sunda*, and arrived safe on the Coast of *Java*, where they were taken on board the *Dutch* Fleet, commanded by *Pedrick Houman* of *Amster*, who sailed out of the *Texel* at the same Time with Captain *Bontekoe*.

After he had remained some Time with him, the Admiral sent Captain *Bontekoe* to *Batavia*, to the General *Johannes Peter Coen*, who then commanded in the *Indies*, and who immediately gave him another Ship, as the full Reward of his Toils, and sent him with naval Stores and Provisions to the *Moluccas*. After this, he was employed by the same General in several other Services for the Space of two Years, and then he was sent to *Cebu*, on board the Fleet of *Cornelius Reggers*, who was entrusted with an Expedition of great Importance, which was to establish a Commerce with the Inhabitants of that Island, either by fair Means, or by Force; and in case the latter only was found practicable, they were ordered to make themselves Masters of the Island and Forts of *Manna*, or one of those Islands on the Coasts of *China*, which the *Portuguese* had given the Name of *Pisafalou*.

This Expedition, tho' very well concerted, and a Force employed, every way sufficient for the Execution of it, yet failed by unforeseen Accidents; and the *Portuguese* at *Macao* having repulsed them in their Attempt upon that Place, they were obliged to think of executing the latter Part of their Commission by attacking some of the Islands before-mentioned. This proved a Work of Time, and was likewise attended with innumerable Difficulties, chiefly through the wicked and pernicious Temper of the *Chinese*, who were too numerous to be wrought upon to Advantage by Force, and who, under Colour of Peace, betrayed and murdered such as trusted to themselves in their Hands. They likewise frequently surprised the *Dutch* Squadrons by their Fire-ships; and, in time, gave such Disquiet to Captain *Bontekoe*, that he resolved to go on

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Dutch, the King of *Mataram* had at last laid Siege to *Batavia*, and at the End of three Months was forced to break up with the Loss of 16,000 Men. *Peter Vanden Broecke*, who had likewise been long in *India*, and was the first Introducer of Trade upon the *Red-Sea* and the adjacent Countries, returned home the next Year: He brought with him seven Ships, the Cargoes of which were valued at Eight Millions. But these happy Incidents were accompanied with a very disagreeable Circumstance; for of the eight Vessels he commanded, he brought home but six, one being lost by Fire under the *Aceres-Islands*, and the other having straggled from the Fleet; however, the last went round by *Ireland*, and came safe home. *Broecke* acquainted the Company that General *Coen* died suddenly two Days before the Arrival of *James Spey*, and that *Spey* acted as General by way of Provision. In fine, *Antony Van Diemen* returned in the Year 1631, with seven Vessels, which brought the Company incredible Treasures.

These mighty Advantages enabled the *East-India Company* to prosecute their Designs to their utmost Extent, to enlarge their Commerce in the *Indies* by every Method possible; and in order thereto made use, with great Dexterity, sometimes of Force, and sometimes of fair Means, to compass their Ends, and to secure to themselves the largest Share of a Trade, which, by Experience, they found of such wonderful Benefit. It was with this View, that in 1641 they attacked the important City of *Malacca*, the strongest Place the *Portuguese* had left in the *Indies*, and which was of so much the greater Consequence, because it not only secured their Commerce with the Kingdoms of *Johore*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, but also afforded them vast Advantages for the Management of their Trade with *China* and *Japan*; at the same time it made them Masters of that Strait which is of so great Consequence to the Commerce of the *Indies* in general; so that whoever is Master thereof may, in Time of War, be in a Condition to give Law to all the Nations that carry on any Trade in that Part of the World.

It was in the same Year that the *Dutch* secured to themselves the entire Possession of the rich Commerce of *Japan*, by the total Exclusion of the *Portuguese*, and all other Christians. We have already mentioned this Matter more than once, and given the Reader such Lights therein as may enable him clearly to conceive how that Matter was brought about, and how far the *Dutch* may be justly charged with contributing thereto. Instead therefore of insisting farther upon that Matter here, I shall content myself with a single Remark, which I think of some Importance.

It is this, that whatever other Nations, or the *Dutch* themselves, may think of the Benefits accruing from this Exclusion of other Nations; it is however demonstrable, that they would have carried on a more extensive Trade to that Country, and with much more Ease to themselves, if that Trade had remained on the old Foot; for immediately after the Expulsion of the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch* themselves were obliged to quit the Port of *Surabaja*, where they had erected a noble Magazine, built all of stone, and were obliged to shut themselves up in the little Island of *Dona*, where they have ever since been subject to the Caprice of the *Japoneze*, and exposed to a Multitude of Injuncts and Inconveniences, which never could have betaken them but from this Event; so that though, I confess, the *Dutch* are much enriched by the *Japoneze* Trade, yet, I think, I have Reason to deny that they are at all the better for the Exclusion of other Nations.

13. The Power and Credit of the Company was now grown to such a Height, the Wealth they brought into the Nation was of such Consequence, and so necessary to the State, and the Circumstances of Things were so changed in their Favour, that without any Difficulty, at the Time of the Expiration of their second Charter, they procured the Renewal thereof for the same Term of twenty one Years, to commence from the First of *January* 1644. And so effectually did their Directors twist the Affairs of the Company with those of the Government, that upon the Conclusion of the general Peace, the same Care was taken of their Interests as of those of the Republick, to which the *Spaniards* consented, and thereby relinquished their

Right, as they had long before lost the Power of questioning the Conquests of the Company in the *East-Indies*. It was in Gratitude for all these Favours, that the Company entered the same Year into a Project of erecting, at an immense Expence, a Monument to the commercial Fame of the City of *Amsterdam*.

The Occasion was this: The old Town-house, or Guild-hall, which had hitherto served well enough as an Exchange for the Merchants, in which they met to transact Builnets, was now thought too little, and also too mean an Edifice for a City of such Wealth and Trade. Upon this, the two great Companies of the *East* and *West-Indies* undertook to build a new Stalhoufe, the first Stone of which was laid on the 29th of *October* 1648. While this noble Structure was raising, an Accident happened, which rendered it not only convenient, but necessary; for by some Means or other the old Town-house took Fire, and was burnt down to the Ground, which obliged them to hasten the Erection of the new one, which was fit for Use in the Year 1655, and has been ever since considered as one of the finest Structures in the World; which all the Power of Architecture is displayed to the utmost without, and all the Riches of the most distant Countries in the World are assembled to render it magnificent within. There never was a Time in which the Company were better able to launch into so vast an Expence, her Commerce being now at its greatest Height, and her Power raised to such a Degree, that, from the *Cape of Good-Hope* to the most distant Parts of *China*, there scarce inhabited a Nation which had not learned to respect her, by having experienced the Effects either of her Retentment or Good-will.

Yet all this Power, Wealth, and Trade, did not render such as had the Care of the Company's Concerns at all stolid or negligent; on the contrary, they were always contriving some new Scheme for the Benefit of those by whom they were entrusted; and being very desirous of overcoming those Difficulties which had hitherto cramped their Trade in *China*, the General and his Council at *Batavia*, in the Month of *July*, 1677, sent a solemn Embassy, at the Head of which were *Peter Boyer* and *James Kysel*, with rich Presents to the *Chinese* Emperor. He then resided in the City of *Peking*, to whose Presence, after a Stay of eight or nine Months, they were admitted, and from the Civility shewn them at their first Audience, they had great Hopes of Success; but they soon discovered that there were Persons in that Court who traversed all their Designs, and found Means to misrepresent all the Propositions they made. The Chief of their Enemies was *Father Adam Schaal*, a Native of *Cologne* in *Germany*, and by Profession a Jesuit. He had resided in *China* upwards of five and thirty Years, and had wrought himself to highly into the Emperor's Favour, that he raised him to the Degree of a Mandarin of the first Rank, and placed him at the Head of all the Philologists and Mathematicians in the Empire. This Man, by his great Interests, and Knowledge, effectually baffled the Designs of the *Dutch*; for he represented them as a People without any Lands or Settlements in *Europe*, who lived merely by Peddling and Pracy, and had by Fraternity and Cunning raised themselves a large Empire in the *Indies*, at the Expence of the Natives, and more especially of such Princes as suffering themselves to be deceived by their fair Pretences, had admitted them into their Dominions, and by that Means afforded them an Opportunity of entrelling them and their Subjects.

The *Chinese*, who are naturally suspicious, having once got these Notions into their Heads, began to put such Questions to the *Dutch* Embassadors as might be able to enable them to judge of the Truth of what they had been told: And, upon their asking at how great a Distance the Seat of their Government lay from *China*? they answered, about five thousand Leagues; and being interrogated as to the Power and Strength of the Colony at *Batavia*, they gave such Answers as were true in themselves, and most likely to create Respect: But these were precisely the Things that turned most to their Disadvantage; because they seemed exactly to agree with what *Father Schaal* had laid down. So that towards the latter End of the Year 1677, the Em-

battlers quitted *China*, without being able to make any Progress in the Execution of their Commission; so strong were the Prejudices raised against them, and to great the Apprehensions the *Chinese* had of their Danger, in case those Strangers were admitted to trade in the Ports of their Empire.

But if they were disappointed in their Hopes on this Side, they had better Success in *Japan*, to which Country they sent *Zurbary Waglener*, with the Title of Ambassador to the Emperor, with Orders to use his utmost Endeavours to gain a perfect Knowledge of the Policy of that great Empire, and to make himself likewise as agreeable as possible to the Emperor and his Ministers, which Commission he was very capable of performing, being a Man of deep Reach, very great Experience, and extremely courteous and affable in his Deportment. He had not been long however at *Edo*, before a sudden Fire reduced that City to Ashes, which occasioned such Confusion at the Court of *Japan* as induced the *Dutch* Ambassador to return home.

He was scarce arrived at *Batavia* before News came that great Disputes had arisen between the *Japanese* at *Nangasack* and the *Dutch*, who were settled in their Factory there, which alarmed the General and Council to much that they oblig'd Mr *Hagbanner*, much against his Will, to make a second Voyage to *Japan*, where he did not arrive till the Beginning of the Month of *March*, 1659. He found the Way and Means to ingratiate himself with the Emperor and his chief Ministers, and by promising two Tonnoys on the Part of the *Dutch*, obtained all that he could reasonably ask in their Favour. The first of these was, that they should give early Intelligence of any Designs that might be formed in the *Philippines* to the Prejudice of the *Japanese* Empire: The other, that they should forbear taking *Chinese* Ships upon the Coast of *Japan*, because the Emperor allowing them to trade in his Dominions, it was but reasonable that he should be able to protect them.

While these Negotiations were carrying on in the most distant Parts of the East, there arose a new War in *Java*, which brought Rumour to the *Dutch* Affairs. We have treated upon this more than once, but for the better understanding this History, it will be necessary to give a concise View of the whole Matter from the *Dutch* Histories. The Island of *Java* had been under the Power of a single Monarch, sometimes styled by the *Dutch* simply the Emperor, and at other Times called King of *Japara*, from whom the Governour of *Bantam* revolted, assumed the Title of King, and was supported in the Quality of an independent Prince by the *Dutch*. It was by the adroit Management of these Divisions that they maintained and supported their own Power, for, whenever the Emperor of *Java* attempted any thing to the Prejudice of *Batavia*, the King of *Bantam* was sure to take Arms in their Favour; and, on the other Hand, whenever the King of *Bantam* took up Arms against them they never fail'd to have Recourse to the Assistance of the Emperor of *Java*. But in the Year 1651, the Emperor being very much embarrassed at home, the King of *Bantam* took hold of this favourable Opportunity to raise a great Army, and to attack the *Dutch*, supposing that for want of the Emperor's Assistance they could not be able to make him self Master of *Bantam*, to which he immediately laid Siege. He found that he could never by assault force the Company was oblig'd to give them to understand, that they were able to conquer the Kingdom by their own Strength, which they did accordingly, and that the Lords of a great Part of his Kingdom, the *Bantams*, and him self oblig'd to rate themselves as vassals to the Emperor, and to pay him an annual Tribute.

The Emperor of *Java* had had much Success for some Years past, but his Father an invincible Hatred to the Company, yet they made use of the Effects of their Power to overcome him, and thereby they oblig'd him, that they were oblig'd to conquer it, or to stoppage of the great Means of trade, to have any Correspondence with them. These Disturbances at home did not however divert the Governour and Council from stopping in a new War, but the Success of one of the Allies, which

was the King of *Bengal*, who was in great Danger of being dethroned by his Brother. At first the *Dutch* only furnished him with Provisions and Artillery, and offer'd him, in case he was expelled, a Sanctuary at *Batavia*. But afterwards, finding that a considerable Part of his Subjects adhered to him firmly, they sent over Troops to his Assistance, and thereby not only deliver'd him from the immediate Danger he was in, but restor'd him to his former Dignity: In Gratitude for this reasonable Assistance, he gave them Leave to erect, not only a Factory, but a Fort at *Hugely*, well fortified with twelve Pieces of large Cannon mounted, and a good Detach. It was by this Means that they ruin'd the *English* Trade there, and secured all the Commerce of those Parts to themselves.

Yet these remarkable Instances of good Fortune could not make them forget the Misfortune of their Affairs in *China*, much less incline them to forgive the *Japanese*, to whom they attributed the Defeat of that Ambassy, which cost them an immense Sum of Money, and which, as we have shewn before, ended in an absolute Disappointment. To be revenged on the Authors of this Disgrace, they fitted out a Fleet of thirty Sail, with Orders to sail to the Island of *Macassar*, and to attack the City of the same Name, in the Port of which they knew there was a *Portuguese* Fleet, richly laden, and in which the *Japanese* were deeply concerned. On the 7th of *June* 1659, the *Dutch* attack'd *Macassar* by Land and Sea, and to the *Indian* Monarch of that Place defend'd his Allies with his whole Force, yet the *Dutch* obtained a complete Victory, for they burnt three of the *Portuguese* Ships, took two, and took one, to richly laden, that it sufficiently reimburs'd the Expence both of the *Chinese* Ambassy, and of this Expedition. What was still more honourable for the *Dutch*, the unfortunate King of *Macassar* was oblig'd to send a solemn Ambassy to *Batavia*, and to submit to such Terms as the *Dutch* Governour General thought fit to prescribe, which were hard enough, since he was oblig'd not only to expel all the *Portuguese* in his Dominions, but also to promise, that he would never admit them, or any other *Europeans*, to settle in his Territories; so that we may justly affirm, that never any Expedition was more completely executed, or turned more to the Reputation of the *Dutch* Company than this, which not only humbled their Enemies, but brought vast Advantages to them selves.

But as the greatest Fortune is seldom the most secure, so immediately after this mighty Success, the *Dutch* Company received one of the severest Checks they had ever met with since their Establishment in the *Indies*. They had at this Time a very fine Settlement on the Island of *Formosa*, one of the fairest and most fruitful Countries in the *East*, abounding with all the Necessaries of Life, producing various rich Commodities, and affording them the Opportunity of carrying on a vast Commerce from thence. They had built for the Protection of their Colony, a good Fort, with large Bastions, and below these, towards the Sea, they had another Fortification, which cover'd the Palace of their Governour, consisting of two round bastions, an excellent Covered-way, and four Half-moons, the whole united to the Fort by very strong Walls, surrounded by a great Number of Cannon, and the whole protected by a numerous Garrison. The Town was goodly and large, extremely well peopled, and the Inhabitants, of seven Years old and upwards, being charged with a Tribute, at the Rate of half a Guilder a Head, paid the Company Revenue more than sufficient to discharge the Expence necessary for the Maintenance of this important Colony. Such indeed it might be well fill'd, since by its situation at the Distance only of twenty four Leagues from the Coast of *China*, and one hundred and fifty from *Japan*, it afforded them the Means of carrying on, with the greatest Ease, a Trade to both that was excellently managed.

The *Chinese*, in the Year 1653, had had a very deep Design for the Destruction of the *Dutch*, by an universal Conspiracy amongst the Natives, which however had not the designed Effect; for being luckily discovered in Time, it was absolutely defeated. This Piece of good Fortune made those who were entrusted with the Care of this Settlement, more remiss than is usual with the *Dutch*, inasmuch, that they neglected the Fortifications, and the

in great Danger of being first the *Dutch* only Artillery, and offered Sanctuary at *Batavia*. A considerable Part of his Subsequent over Troops to his delivered him from the but restored him to his this reasonable Assailant, not only a Factory, and with twelve Pieces of Dutch. It was by this Trade there, and left parts to them lives.

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eldom the most secure, success, the *Dutch* Com- Checks they had ever in the *Indies*. The settlement on the Island of most fruitful Countries, Necessaries of Life, pro- and affording the best Commerce from any of their Colony, a part below there, towards the tion, when covering the thing of two or three Miles, and four Half Miles, very strong Walls, and a, and the water of the. The Town was of great and the Fortifications, being engag'd with a bold- der a Head, and success to declare the Town of this in 1671, the Company, and, since by means of it, it Leagues from the Con- dity from *Japan*, it being on, with the greatest excellently to be seen.

1653, had had a very deep *Dutch*, by an universal, which however had not ckly discovered in Time, his Piece of good Fortune with the Care of this Settlement with the *Dutch*, at the Fortifications, and the

fered their Magazines to grow empty, while, by a steady Application to Trade, they were labouring to advance their private Fortunes. At the Time the *Tartars* made their last Conquest of *China*, there dwelt in the *Dutch* Town, upon this Island, a *Taylor*, whose Name was *Chin- chlung*, by the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, called *Iquon*. This Man had a prodigious Spirit, a vast Capacity, and a Courage equally stubborn and enterprising; and, from an unconquerable Aversion to the *Tartars*, got together a few Men, two or three small Barks, and with this Force turned Pirate, or Privateer, which ever you will please to call him. In a short Space of Time, his Power increas'd to such a degree, that he became extremely formidable to the *Tartar* Emperor, who finding that his Foible was Ambition, offer'd to make him King of the two great Provinces of *Canton* and *Fekien*, and sent for him to *Pocbeu*, where he promised to give him the Investiture of his new Dignity; but instead of keeping his Word, he caus'd him to be seized, and conducted to *Peking*, where he was soon after put to death.

This *Taylor*, who was so near being a King, had a Son, whose Name was *Coxinga*, or *Coxenga*, and who had been *Taylor* to Mr. *Puttman*, Governor of *Fort Zealand*, and who, on his Father's Imprisonment, took upon him the Command of the Fleet. He at first demand'd Succours from the *Dutch*, and promised them great Advantages if he was successful against the *Tartars*, which they refus'd; and this provok'd him to such a Degree, that he resolv'd to turn his whole Force against *Formosa*, the rather, because he had a good Intelligence from the *Dutch* Town, and knew that their Affairs were in a very bad Condition. He assembled, with this View, a Fleet of six hundred Sail, most of them Frigates of small Force, but near one hundred were stout Men of War, of forty Guns and upwards. The News of those great Preparations reaching the ears of the *Dutch* Governor, who was at that Time Mr. *Frederick Cojet*, Successor to *Cornelius Keyser*, he immediately dispatch'd Advice to *Batavia*, and demand'd a speedy Succour, and also to *Japan*, for the Assistance of such *Dutch* Ships as happen'd to be there. All this, however, was to no Purpose; for before any Relief could come, *Coxinga* sent his Fleet under the Command of his Uncle *Saja*, which appear'd before the Place in the Month of *March* 1661.

The *Dutch* Governor sent a Detachment of three hundred and fifty Men to prevent the debarking of their Troops, who behaved as well as Men could do, but to very little Purpose, as we may easily guess, since the *Chinese* landed forty thousand Men. They soon cut off the Communication between the Town and the Island, and having made themselves Masters of the adjacent Country, *Coxinga* treated all who had join'd the *Dutch*, in the same Manner that *Nicholas Herburg*, who was Governor in 1653, did such as were concern'd in the Rebellion; that is to say, he put them to Death with all the Marks of Shame and Cruelty he could invent, and without the least Regard to Age, Sex, or Quality. After this, he attacked as the Outworks at the same Time, which prevented the *Dutch* from succouring each other; so that these Places were very soon carried, though with a vast Effusion of Blood, and the Governor was forced to retire into *Fort Zealand*.

The Conqueror considering the great Strength of the Place, and how unfit his Army was to undertake Sieges, made choice of Mr. *Anthony Hancock*, the eldest of the *Dutch* Clergymen, and sent him with his Brethren, two or three Schoolmasters, and some of the gravest Men among his Prisoners, to persuade the Governor to surrender, declaring, that he was content they should retire in Safety from *Formosa*, and that he would not touch the Hair of a *Dutchman's* Head, or one Farthing's Worth of their Goods; but if they refus'd this Proposition, he would put them all to the Sword, without Mercy. The Governor told those who brought him this Message, that he had all the Sorrow and Concern in the World for their Misfortune; but at the same Time, that there was nothing could induce him to betray his Trust, or to give up the Place he commanded into the Hands of the Enemy. With this Answer they returned to *Coxinga*, who, as soon as he

heard it, caus'd all his Prisoners to be put to Death, Men, Women, and Children.

When this was done, he embarked the best Part of his Army on board three hundred Juncks, a very light Sort of Vessels, with which he block'd up the Port, while he fired upon the Forts from two Batteries of twelve Pieces of Cannon each. While Things were in this Situation, there arriv'd from *Batavia* a stout Squadron of nine Men of War, commanded by Commodore *James Cawen*, who immediately made the best Disposition he could for the Relief of the Place. With this View, he landed the Troops he had on board, and being join'd by a Part of the Garrison, march'd to attack 6000 *Chinese* that were covered by a Redoubt, not yet mounted with Cannon. These Troops being well armed, and compleatly disciplin'd, received them in Order of Battle; and tho' the *Dutch* fought with great Resolution, and renew'd the Attack several Times, they were at length oblig'd to retire with the Loss of four hundred Men. The Commodore then order'd his Ships to force a Passage into the Port, but the Juncks drawing very little Water, kept close under the Shore, where the great Ships durst not follow them; and in this attempt the *Dutch* lost two of their best Men of War, of which one run ashore, and had all her Crew, to the Number of three hundred and eighty Persons, killed by the *Chinese*, the other was blown up by a Shot fired into her Powder-room.

Commodore *Cawen* perceiving that it was impossible for him to do any Thing more, detach'd two of his Ships to *Japan*; and having taken on board two hundred Women and Children that were in the Fort, he sail'd back to *Batavia* with the five Ships remaining of his Squadron, and made an exact Report to the Governor of the Council of the State of their Affairs in *Formosa*.

The News was received there with deep Concern, and a Resolution was immediately taken to send an Embassy to the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, to inform them, that they were in Danger of losing *Formosa*, on account of refusing to assist this *Chinese* in his Rebellion; but not depending altogether on the Success of this Embassy, they order'd five Saips of War to be equip'd, and to sail forthwith to the Relief of the Place. The Governor *Cojet* made so obdurate a Defence, that old *Saja*, the Uncle of *Coxinga*, resolv'd to raise the Siege without the Knowledge of his Nephew, with, at least, that Part of the Army which he commanded. But tho' he managed this Design with the utmost Secrecy and Caution, yet *Coxinga* came to have a Suspicion thereof; upon which, forgetting the Nearness of his Relation, he caus'd old *Saja* to be arrested, and put in Irons; after which, notwithstanding he had the Plague and Famine in his Camp, he push'd on the Siege so vigorously, that the Governor found himself oblig'd to surrender, notwithstanding that the Successors he expected were in Sight.

Accordingly the Place being given up to the *Chinese*, he march'd out with the Remains of his Garrison, and being taken on board the Squadron, he return'd to *Batavia*, where, instead of having received the Thanks, as he might reasonably have expected of the Governor General and Council, he was committed to Prison, and kept there a long Time, under Pretence, that he had given up the Place too soon, because the *Dutch* Squadron was in Sight. To say the Truth, we may, in some measure, pardon the Injustice of this Proceeding, when we consider the Importance of the Place, that the Loss was irreparable; and that, instead of having the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* Trade at their Mercy, their own was now to much expos'd, that it was very difficult for them to send their annual Squadron to *Japan*. This Misfortune, however, brought about a Correspondence with the *Chinese* Emperor, who consented to give them his Assistance, to restrain the Power of *Coxinga*, to hinder him from pirating in those Seas, and thereby disturbing the Commerce of *China* and *Japan*.

14. It was about this Time, and by the Mediation of King *Charles II.* who had married the Infanta of *Portugal*, that a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot between that Crown and the Republick of *Holland*, which was soon after concluded, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties; for the

East-India Company were much too strong for the *Portuguese* in that Part of the World, and had in a short Time deprived them of their most valuable Settlements; yet in the *West-Indies* the *Portuguese* were too hard for the *Dutch*, and had not only recovered *Brazil* out of their Hands, but were also in a fair Way of making still greater Conquests; and besides all this, their Privateers were so numerous, that the *Dutch* found their Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and on the Coast of *Africa*, very precarious; so that notwithstanding the Advantages made in the *Indies*, they had no Reason to desire the Continuance of the War.

The Company, however, as it they had been really Sovereigns within the Bounds of their Charter, took little or no Notice of the Peace: So that in the Year 1660, they attacked *Cebu* on the Coast of *Malabar*; and having reduced it, they next attacked *Cananor* on the same Coast, of which, tho' with some Difficulty, they became Masters; and tho' their first Design was to have demolished the Place, and to have established only a Factory there; yet, on second Thoughts, and when they came to consider the Convenience and Importance of its Situation, they changed their Minds, and determined to repair the Fortifications, and keep it as a Settlement of their own. After the Reduction of *Cananor*, they next proceeded to *Cochin*, a City of still greater Force and greater Consequence, as being a Bishop's See, and a Place of great Trade. The *Dutch* Commodore *Grens* met here with greater Resistance than he expected, and during a Siege of some Continuance, lost a considerable Number of his People; but being resolved to master it, cost what it would, he prosecuted his Attempt with such Success, that at last he prevailed; and the *Portuguese*, who had but a small Number of Men during the Siege, were constrained to surrender the City into his Hands.

When he was possessed of it, however, he scarce knew how to act, because on the one hand he saw that the Preservation of it was a Thing of great Consequence; and, on the other, that it would require a very numerous Garrison, and a great Expence, to put the Fortification into a proper Repair: He applied himself therefore to the General and Council at *Batavia*, who immediately sent him Orders not to spare for any Expence, either of Men or Money, but to push his Fortune to the utmost; and at the same time they sent him this Message, they sent likewise a fresh Squadron, and a considerable Body of Troops on board it. This encouraged Commodore *Grens*, that he marched with his Forces by Land to attack the City of *Perca*, which was the Capital of a little *Rajah*, or *Indian* Prince, who had been subject to the *Portuguese*: But he not caring to dispute with those who had bear his Masters, offered to become their Tributary, and to pay them the same Obedience which he had formerly done to the Crown of *Portugal*; and this being as readily accepted as offered, put an End to the War on that Side.

The City of *Cranganor*, which is situated between *Callicut* and *Cochin*, fell next into his Hands without a Blow; and thus, in the Space of one Year, the *Dutch* expelled the *Portuguese* out of all the Places they held on the Coast of *Malabar*, and acquired to themselves a Territory of one hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, with all the Trade belonging to it, and which the *Portuguese* had enjoyed without Interruption from the Time of their first Settlement in *India*. They likewise contracted Alliance with the *Sarmora* of *Calicut*, the King of *Cochin*, and other *Indian* Princes.

They also laid hold of this Occasion, to send a solemn Embassy to *Alexand*, who had just mounted the Throne of the *Mughl*, by whom they were most graciously received, and an Intercourse of Friendship settled between them: They took the same Method with respect to all the Monarchs whose Dominions lay on the Gulph of *Bengal*, and with the same Success. It was not long, however, before they found some Cause to differ with the King of *Siam*: Upon which they withdrew their Factories out of his Dominions, which so alarmed that Prince, that he immediately sent Deputies to *Batavia*, to know the Cause; which the Council signified to him by a very respectful Letter: On receiving which, he sent an Ambassador to invite them back, on the strongest Assurances not only of Redress

in respect to the Grievances they complained of, but of any other that might happen in Process of Time; and the Company accordingly re-settled their Factories at *Siam* and *Ligor*.

Not long after the composing these Differences, there arose fresh Grounds of Complaint, but on the opposite Side; for the Crew of a *Dutch* Bark murdered thirty-five *Siamese* in cold Blood, after having ravished their Wives and Daughters. But before the Inhabitants or their Monarch had Time to complain, the *Dutch* Council at *Malacca* caused the Offenders to be apprehended; four of whom they broke alive upon the Wheel, and five they hanged; which gave such Satisfaction to the Natives, that they never heard any more of this Matter.

In the midst of all those Successes, they could not forget the Loss of *Formosa*, or the Overtures made by the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, for restoring to them that Place. There was the greater Reason to expect that this Monarch would act sincerely with them, because *Coxenga*, not satisfied with *Formosa* and its Dependencies, had actually made himself Master of several Islands on the Coast of *China*, and some Towns upon the Continent. On the Assurances therefore given them by Mr. *Borel*, who was the Ambassador to the Emperor, they fitted out a great Fleet, consisting of no less than seventeen Sail of large Ships, under the Command of *Balthasar Bont*, with Orders to join the *Tartars*, and to act with the utmost Vigour against *Coxenga*. On his Arrival on the Coast of *China*, he found that Conqueror in Possession of the Island of *Quemoy*, which the *Tartars* with all their Force were not able to take from him. The *Dutch* Commodore observing, that the principal Fortrels in this Island stood upon the Sea-Coast, resolved to try whether it was not possible to take it by Assault; supposing that this would not only strike a Terror into the Enemy, but also raise the Credit of the *Dutch* Army with the *Tartars*; but he quickly found, upon Trial, that the Soldiers of *Coxenga* did not at all resemble any of the *Chinese* that he had seen; for they gave him to warm a Reception, that he was very soon obliged to abandon his Design.

He next determined to attack their Fleet, while the General of the *Tartars* engaged their Forces on Shore, to which the latter consented. This Fleet of *Coxenga's* consisted of four score large Juncks, and Twenty Immense, all full of Soldiers and Seamen, and very well provided with Brass Cannon. The Battle was very brilliant and bloody, and *Coxenga* distinguished himself as a gallant Soldier, an experienced Seaman, and a great Captain: But the *Dutch* large Ships tore his Juncks to Pieces, so that after an Engagement which lasted for several Hours, he was forced to retire, but he did it in Order, and with a good Countenance. The *Tartar* General, before the Battle, began to draw up his Forces in a regular Line, and while it lasted, looked on very quietly: After all was over, he expostulated this Matter a little warmly; but the *Tartar* General answered, that he could not prevail upon his Men to fight; but in case the *Dutch* would attack the Enemy a second Time, he believed they would behave better. Admiral *Bont* took his Word, and attacked the Fleet of *Coxenga* a second Time, and routed them entirely: But the *Tartar* General was still a Spectator as before. This Victory, however, was of greater Consequence than the former, since it not only cost *Coxenga* all his new Conquests, but his Life.

The *Tartars* had hold of this Opportunity to demolish the Fortrels they had raised as tall as they left them, and the *Dutch* were very brisk in carrying off whatever they met with that was valuable. After this they made themselves Masters of the Island of *Amoy*, and the Recovery of *Formosa* was looked upon as a Thing certain; yet when they came to attempt it, they were strangely disappointed; for old *Soyja*, who had now recovered his Liberty, drew together the Fleet and Army of his Nephew, and disputed every thing in such a Manner, that there was nothing to be done but by Force, and even of doing any thing that way there was great Uncertainty. The old *Chinese*, however, being a Man of great Wisdom and Experience, was not willing to risk all, it all might be saved without running any Hazard, and therefore had a mind to make Peace

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with the *Tartars*, and to grant the *Dutch* a Settlement
and a free Trade, which he thought might content both
Parties.

The Son of *Coxenga*, however, having discovered the
Design, defeated it, and procuring himself to be elected
General, seized the old Man, and sent him a second time
to prison, where, in a Fit of Melancholy, he dispatched
himself with his own Hands. This young Officer inherited
all the Spirit and all the Abilities of his Family, and man-
aged his Affairs with such Courage and Conduct, that the
Admiral soon found himself obliged to return to *Batavia*
with his Fleet, without being able to execute the Com-
mission he had received, which was the Reason that he
met from the General and Council no extraordinary
Welcome.

The War in which the States engaged with King *Charles*
the Second, retarded in some measure the Progress of the
Company in the *Indies*; and when this was finished, they
very unexpectedly found themselves a-fresh embarrassed in
that Part of the World, by the Insults and Depredations
committed by the King of *Macassar*, as their Writers re-
port; for his Subjects had murdered some of the *Dutch*
that had landed in his Dominions, and had likewise plun-
dered several Ships that had run ashore upon the Coasts of
his Dominions; but before any Hostilities were com-
menced on either Side, a Treaty was set on Foot, by which the
King promised to make full Satisfaction for the Injuries
done to the Company; as also to make such Submissions
as they should require from him on account of these Dis-
orders.

The Company, however, suspecting the Sincerity of
the King's Promises in this respect, thought proper to send
their Admiral, *Cornelius Speelman*, who had been Governor
of the Coast of *Coromandel*, with a Squadron of thirteen
Men of War, and a certain Number of Transports, with
eight hundred Soldiers on board, with Orders to see the
late Treaty executed according to the Letter in every Ar-
ticle; and he arrived with this naval Force before *Macas-*
far on the 19th of *December*, 1666. The very next Morn-
ing came two Deputies from the King on board, and brought
with them a thousand and fifty-six Ingots of Gold, which
had been promised in Satisfaction for the Murder of the
Dutch; and also the Sum of One thousand four hundred
and thirty-five Rix-Dollars, in Satisfaction for the Vessels
that had been plundered, but at the same time they de-
clared in the Name of the King their Matter, that the Sub-
missions required of him were inconsistent with his Digni-
ty; and therefore such as he could not comply with. As
this was precisely what the Company expected, and as they
were also informed that the King of *Macassar* had sent a
large Fleet in order to attack the Island of *Bouton*, Admi-
ral *Speelman* immediately declared War; and having made
two Descents upon the Enemy's Country, carried off an
incredible Quantity of Plunder, burned fifty Villages to
the Ground, and about an hundred of his Ships in his
Potts.

After to signal a Revenge the Admiral sailed from *Ma-*
casfar in order to relieve the Island of *Bouton*, which was
hard pressed by the Fleet and Army, which the King of
Macassar had sent against it; Admiral *Speelman* arrived
before that Place the last Day of the Year before-menti-
oned; and on *New Year's Day*, 1667, he forced a Pas-
sage with his small Vessels into the Haven of *Bouton*, and
then proceeded to attempt the Relief of the City, which
was besieged by the King of *Macassar's* General, at the
Head of ten thousand Men. But the *Dutch* attacking
them in their Entrenchments, and finding Means to set
their Magazines on Fire, forced them immediately to
raise the Siege; which Disaster was followed by such
a prodigious Desertion among the Troops of their Allies,
which made up the best Part of their Army, that the Ge-
nerals of the King of *Macassar* found themselves obliged
to enter into a Treaty with the *Dutch* Admiral; and be-
ing able to obtain no better Terms, surrendered at Dis-
cretion. Thus this War was ended in the Space of four
Months, with great Glory to the Company.

The first thing they did was to disarm their Prisoners,
of whom they sent five thousand five hundred to people a
desert Island not far from *Bouton*. Four hundred of them

they kept for Slaves, and five thousand *Bougies*, or Au-
xiliaries of different Nations, they delivered up to the King
of *Palacca*, who had been their faithful Ally during the
Continuance of this War. They restored to the King of
Bouton three hundred Vessels, together with whatever
Plunder had been taken from his Subjects by the Enemy,
and could be found after their Defeat; the rest of the
King of *Macassar's* Junks they incorporated with their own
Fleet of Transports, and with an hundred and ninety-five
Standards, and all the Arms and Ammunition of the
Enemy, with the principal Officers of their Army, whom
they kept Prisoners. Admiral *Speelman* returned in Tri-
umph to *Batavia*, where he was received with universal
Applause.

The King of *Macassar* however remained still fixed to
his Purpose; and notwithstanding all these Losses, abso-
lutely refused to submit to the Terms which the Company
prescribed; but knowing, by Experience, that the whole
Force of his Island would not be sufficient to protect him
from their Retentment, he resolved to employ his Endeav-
ours in persuading most of the little Sovereigns, who
were his Neighbours, to assist and support him in his De-
signs, which he declared to be no less than shaking off the
Yoke of the *Dutch* Company for good and all. He suc-
ceeded to effectually in making this Alliance, that Admiral
Speelman was obliged to solicit all the *Dutch* Confederates
for their Assistance; and, at last, having drawn together
all the Force they could raise, he, on the 8th of *June*,
sailed from *Amboyna* with sixteen Vessels, great and small,
and fourteen Shallops, on board of which were the Suc-
cours furnished by the Kings of *Palacca* and *Ternate*. He
sailed first to *Bouton*, but in his Passage Part of his Fleet
was separated, which, however, did not hinder him from
landing in several Places on the Coast of *Macassar*, where,
notwithstanding the great Inequality of the others in Point
of Numbers, he had tolerable Success.

At length, on the 19th of *July*, in the Morning, he
attempted to force a Passage into the Port of *Macassar*,
but in this he was disappointed; for the King having
erected a Royal Fort for the Defence of the Place, the
Dutch, after twenty-four Hours cannonading, were forced
to retire. A few Days after the Admiral was joined by
that Part of the Fleet which had been separated from him
by the Storm; and, on the Second of *August*, he made a
Descent with his whole Force at a Place called *Glysson*.
The Army of the Company consisted of six hundred
Dutch Troops, three hundred disciplined *Indians* in their
Bay, three thousand Men from *Ternate* and *Bouton*, seven
thousand *Bougies*, eight hundred Seamen, and two inde-
pendent Companies, under the Command of the Captains
Jonker and *Stryker*. But the Forces of the Enemy were
incomparably greater; for they amounted to no fewer than
twenty thousand Men, under the Command of all the
little Kings and Princes that the Monarch of *Macassar* had
drawn over to his Party.

Admiral *Speelman* kept the main Body of his Forces
near his Fleet, and detached one hundred Men, the bravest
and the best armed under his Command, to attack the
Castle of *Glysson* in the Night. The King of *Palacca*,
who was intrusted with the Management of this Affair, ex-
ecuted it with such Courage and Conduct, that, by three
in the Morning, he became Master of the Place, of which
he gave Notice to the *Dutch* Admiral, who immediately
sent him such Reinforcements and Supplies as were requi-
site to preserve it. This was a dreadful Blow to the En-
emy; and as the Admiral very justly foresaw, the first thing
they did was to attempt the Recovery of it, in which, how-
ever, they were so far from succeeding, that after three ge-
neral Assaults, in each of which they lost a great Number
of Men, they were forced to give over that Design; nei-
ther was this all, for taking Advantage of the Situation
of this Fortrels, such Multitudes of Bombs and red-hot
Bullets were fired from thence into the Enemy's Camp,
as threw them into the utmost Confusion and Confusion,
which Opportunity was not let slip by the *Dutch* General,
who, with the best Part of his Forces, attacked the En-
emy's Entrenchments, at the same time that a vigorous
Sally was made from the Castle, which obliged the Enemy
to quit all their Potts.

General *Speelman* soon after embarked his Forces, and transported them to another Part of the Island, where he committed great Ravages, and destroyed a great Multitude of Villages. As this War was apparently attended with great Losses and Inconveniencies on both Sides, Deputies were at last chosen, to try what could be done towards settling a Peace. The King of *Maccassar* was very unwiling to let these Deliberations be spun out to any length, because he found his *Indian* Allies deserting him by Degrees, and making Peace for themselves on the best Terms they could; which Example of theirs he resolved to follow, by submitting to such Terms as he could get, which were, indeed, none of the most reasonable; and so the Treaty was concluded on the 18th of *November*, 1667; in consequence of which, the Regents of the Island, and all the neighbouring Princes, as well as the King of *Maccassar*, sent a numerous and solemn Embassy to the Governor-General, *John Maetsjuicker* at *Batavia*, to make their Submission to the Company.

All this Time the *Dutch* Army and Fleet continued in the Island, and the rainy Season coming on, there ensued such a Mortality among them, as induced the *Indians* to hope they might gain some Advantages over them, by which they were tempted to break the Peace, which they did by massacring a great Number of the dying Soldiers, and two of their Captains; upon which the War broke out again, and continued with as great Violence as ever for two Years; in which Time the Success of Admiral *Speelman* was so great, and the Calamities he brought upon the Natives of *Maccassar* were so many and so heavy, that, at last, they were forced to implore a Peace, to send a new Embassy to *Batavia*, and to make all the Submissions the Company could require; and, after all, they were left to the Mercy of *Speelman*, who, by a new Treaty, concluded on the 15th of *June* 1669, not only renewed the Treaty of the 19th of *August* 1666, and the 18th of *November*, 1667, but also imposed upon them other Conditions still more grievous and more intolerable. By this Treaty the Company became entirely Mistress of the Commerce of the Islands of *Celebes*, which, though very considerable in itself, was still more so by being taken from other *European* Nations, who under Colour of trading for the Commodities of the Islands, came in for a considerable Share of the Trade in Spices; so that it served likewise to secure to the *Dutch* what was of more Consequence to them than any thing else, their absolute Sovereignty over the *Moluccas*.

I have been the more particular in writing the History of this War from the Memoirs furnished me by the *Dutch* Authors, because it is the last of any Consequence that the Company has carried on in the *Indies*, and has, with respect to the Natives, established their Power so effectually, that there is no great Danger of their being obliged to sustain such another War. Before I part however with this subject, I shall take the Liberty of making a few Remarks, for the sake of such Readers as seek Instruction rather than Amusement, and are truly desirous of understanding what in this Section I have undertaken to explain.

My first Observation is, that how rude and barbarous never we may esteem these Nations, yet most evident it is, that the King of *Maccassar* acted like a great and wise Politician, and that the *Indian* Princes, who joined with him, were entirely guided by a Principle of publick Spirit, and a very just and rational Desire of preserving a Ballance of Power in those Parts upon which their own immediate Safety and quiet Enjoyment of their Dominions depended. They notwithstanding acted, but it was in a noble Cause, and even their Marriage sufficiently proves the Rectitude of their Intentions, for since the Conclusion of this fatal Peace, to which they were driven by absolute Necessity, they have lost all Commerce with Strangers, and are, to all Intents and Purposes, the Vassals, or to speak in plain *English*, the Slaves of the *Dutch*. This plainly shews, that the Ballance of Power is not such a Chimera as some People would represent it; and my next Remark will make this still more evident.

It is very strange, that while these *Indian* Princes were so desirous of being at their own Freedom, but for the Li-

berty of trading with *Europeans*, all the *European* Nations settled in the *Indies* should be quiet Spectators of a War which so much concerned them, without interposing in the least for the Preservation of those who were engaged in their Cause as much as in their own. If they had stirred ever so little, we may easily discern, even from these *Dutch* Accounts, that the King of *Maccassar* and his Allies might have been supported in their Pretensions, and might have been enabled to have thrown off the Yoke of the *Dutch*; so that if Barbarity consists, as surely with respect to Nations it does, in political Ignorance, then the *Europeans* in the *Indies* may, with greater Justice, be titled barbarous than the poor Natives, who certainly did all they could; and the wisest, greatest, and bravest Nations never did more.

My third Remark is, that the *Indians*, who joined with the *Dutch*, were Enemies to themselves, and by destroying the Power of the King of *Maccassar*, not only contributed to the Ruin of the only Monarch who understood and pursued the true Interest of the *Indians* in general, but likewise subverted and took away their own Importance: For, while the King of *Maccassar* continued a great and powerful Prince, the *Dutch East-India* Company considered, and must have always considered such Princes as lived in Friendship with them in the light of Allies, and durst never have treated them but as Allies ought to be treated. But when this Power was gone, which made their Friendship so necessary, and of such Importance, they became as much the Vassals, as much the Servants, or, as I called them before, the Slaves of the *Dutch*, as that King and those Princes, who by their Assistance, the *Dutch* subdued. This is a very useful and a very important Lesson; for Men are the same in *Europe* and in the *Indies*.

It is now time to resume our History, which leads me to take Notice, that while the *East-India* Company carried all before them abroad, the Republick was exceedingly distressed at home; for now it was that the *French*, jealous of her Power, and the *English*, in Resentment of former Injuries, concurred in that fatal Alliance, which was very near bringing the States as low as when they first snook off the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; nay, which actually did bring them into such Distress, that it is reported that they had once thought of seeking that Protection from their *East-India* Company, which they had hitherto attacked it, and of transferring that Government to *Java*, which they almost departed of preserving at the Hague.

Providence however interposed, and by touching the Hearts of the *English* Nation with a generous Concern for their Neighbours, whom though they might with some Humbleness, yet they had no Desire, as indeed they had no Interest to see them destroyed, delivered them from this Calamity, and raised them once more to Power and Freedom.

Yet the *East-India* Company, though it felt but little of this Storm, was not altogether exempt from its Force, since the *French* sent a powerful Squadron into the *Indies*, with a View to have torn from them a Part of their Possessions. This Squadron was commanded by the *Marquis de la Hay*, who proposed first attacking *Ceylon*, with a View to make the *French* Masters of the Cinnamon Trade at once, as the shortest Means of introducing the Commerce of the *Indies* according to the Project of the *Marquis de la Hay*, a *French* Refugee, who had been long in the *Dutch East-India* Company's Service, undertook their Affairs perfectly well, and made his Peace at home by betraying as he knew. This Man embarked on Board the Fleet, and was principally depended upon in the Management of every thing. It cannot be denied, that he served the *French* Ministry very effectually; but they had not sufficient consideration of the Importance of the Expedition in which they employed him, or the Force of the Enemy with whom they had to deal; for if they had, they would undoubtedly have sent a second Squadron to have supported that which *Mr. Hay* commanded; and this might have been of some Use; but, as it was, it only shewed the Disposition of the *French*, and served to put the *Dutch* upon their Guard.

In the Summer of the Year 1673, the *French* Fleet appeared on the West-Coast of the Island of *Ceylon*, and immediately landed and attacked the Citadel of *Trincomalee*.

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male, of which they became Masters; and by fair Pro-
mises, and magnifying the Power of the *French* King,
drew the Natives to join with them; so that thus far they
had all the Success they could expect. But *Trinquinale*
was a Place of too great Importance for the Company to
let it remain long in the Hands of these new Conquerors;
they therefore sent Commodore *Goens* from *Batavia* with
a Fleet of sixteen Sail, all of them large Ships, and well
manned. On the first Appearance of this Squadron *Mr.*
de la Hay retired with his Ships to *Surat*, leaving a small
Garrison in his new Conquest. The Commodore blocked
up *Trinquinale* by Sea, and debarking his Forces, besieged
it at the same time by Land; so that he soon recovered it,
together with one hundred and twelve Pieces of fine Brass
Cannon, which the *French* had left there for its Defence;
so that here ended their Views upon *Ceylon*, almost as soon
as they began.

But *Mr. de la Hay*, when he came to *Surat*, advised
with *Mr. Caron* about the Measures which they should
next take; and, pursuant to his Advice, resolved to at-
tack the Fortrels of *St. Thomas*, which about twelve Years
before the Dutch had taken from the *Portuguese*; and in
this sudden Attempt they were as successful as they had
been before in surprising *Trinquinale*, and just as unlucky
in keeping it. After leaving a good Garrison here, and
seeing the Magazines put into the best Order possible, the
Sieur de la Hay thought proper to return to *France* with
the only Ship that was left of his Squadron. But it fell
out unluckily enough for him, that even this poor Con-
tolation of bringing home a few of the People he had car-
ried out, was denied him; for, in the Road of *Lisbon*, his
only Ship was wrecked, by the Malice of his Pilot, as it
was supposed, more than by any Violence of Weather; the
rather because *Mr. Caron*, two Captains, and several other
Officers were drowned in their Endeavour to get ashore
in the Long-boat, which was the Fleet, as is supposed,
of some Practices which the Treachery of *Caron* to the
Dutch put them upon taking; but as this is a bare Sulp-
sion, and absolutely destitute of Proof, to insist upon it
farther would be needless.

This was the last Attempt made against the Commerce
of the *East-India* Company; and during the Remainder
of the Century, they were continually improving and aug-
menting both their Power and their Commerce; so that,
at the Close of it, they were in a much better Condition
than ever; for in the Year 1687, we find that they
brought over One hundred and seventy thousand Pounds
Weight of Cinnamon; and yet they brought over less that
Year than they had done for many Years before, which
shews the prodigious Importance of their being solely pos-
sessed of the Island of *Ceylon*. On the 11th of *August*,
1698, their Charter was renewed for forty Years, which
gave them such an Accession of Power and Credit, as ren-
dered them almost as considerable in the Eyes of all Eu-
rope, as they were before in the Indies: And having said
that, it may seem altogether unnecessary to add any thing
by way of Explanation.

15 We have now conducted the History of this famous
Company, from its earliest Establishment to the Beginning
of the present Century; and for what regards the Tran-
sactions thereof from thence to the present Time, there is
so much said in the first Chapter of this Work, in the Ac-
count we have given of Commodore *Reggetzen*, that there
seems to be the less Occasion for our insisting much on that
Subject here, therefore we shall content ourselves with men-
tioning only a few Particulars that have not hitherto fallen
in our Way; that, as far as in our Power lies, there may
be nothing deficient in the treating a Subject so curious and
important in itself, and the Knowledge of which is so pecu-
liarly necessary to a trading Nation.

In the first Place, though we have mentioned them oc-
casionally before, we will more exactly distinguish the
Dates of the Company's Charters, the rather, because
many of the Dutch Writers are not very exact in that Par-
ticular. The first Charter was dated the 22th of *March*,
1602, and was to continue for twenty one Years. The
second was granted the Year in which the former expired,
for the like Term, but with this Variation, that it was to
commence from the first of *January*, 1623, so that it de-

termined in 1644, when they procured a new Charter for
the same Term. Their fourth Charter bore Date the 7th
of *February*, 1665, and was to extend to the 31st of *De-*
cember, 1700; but the Company thought proper in 1698
to obtain another Charter for forty Years, from the Deter-
mination of that which was then in being. And, again,
in the Year 1717, the Company thought it requisite to
apply for new Favours, but they were not able to obtain
a new Charter, as they expected; however they procured
a Placard, by which the States-General forbid all their
Subjects to send any Ships to the *East Indies*, or any where
within the Limits of the Company's Charter: They like-
wise prohibited their Interfering in any manner in the Com-
merce of the Indies, without the Licence of the Company
first had and obtained for that Purpose; as also to have
any Concern in foreign Companies, or to serve on board
any of their Ships; which Precautions were thought nec-
essary not only for the *East-India* Company's Security,
but for the preserving this rich and beneficial Trade to the
Subjects of the Republick.

There happened, about the Time that their Charter
should have been renewed, some Commotions in the Indies,
which had like to have been of very fatal Consequence to
their Establishment; and of which we have not, as yet,
received in Europe any Account of these Transactions, that
can be thoroughly depended upon; all we know of them
is this, that the Conspiracy having been discovered among
the *Chinese* at the very Juncture that it should have been
executed, the Governor was constrained to have Recourse
to the most speedy Methods for securing the Safety of the
Inhabitants, and preserving the City and Fortrels of *Bata-*
via from falling into the Hands of the Enemy. It was in
consequence of this Necessity that all the Souldiers were
landed from the Fleet, and had the Plunder given them of
the *Chinese* Suburb, to encourage them to serve the Com-
pany effectually, which they did, by attacking and putting
to the Sword the greatest Part of the Conspirators. By
this speedy and severe Proceeding, the City and the Do-
minions of the Company in the Island of *Java* were pre-
served, but not without a vast Effusion of Blood, which
was followed by a formidable Rebellion, that was not sup-
pressed for some time.

Such as favoured the Governor and Council of the In-
dies, pretend that all this was owing to the Wickedness
and Treachery of the *Chinese*, who, notwithstanding the
Mildness of the Company's Administration, had formed
a deep and dark Conspiracy, the Design of which was to
extirpate totally the Dutch that were settled in *Batavia*,
and Places adjacent. Such again as were Enemies to the
Governor and his Council, attributed the whole of this
bloody Affair to their Mis-administration; and would
have us believe, that the *Chinese* and their Accomplices
were driven into all they did by the most horrid Oppres-
sions, in order to afford an Opportunity for this falling
upon and destroying them, and thereby putting it out
of their Power to demand the immense Sums of Money
which were due to them from such as were indolent in
bringing this Calamity upon them. Some again who pre-
tend to speak impartially, without Favour to the *Chinese*,
or Prejudice to the Governor, give quite another Turn
to this Affair, and tell us, that he was so far from being an
Enemy to the *Chinese*, that he had been rather too much
their Friend; and for the sake of considerable Sums of
Money and several rich Presents that had been made him,
granted them such Liberties as were inconsistent not only
with the Interest, but with the Safety of the Company,
which were the true Causes of their endeavouring to sub-
vert the Government, and to make themselves Masters of
Batavia, and the Country about it, agreeable to the true
Nature of the *Chinese*, who are known and acknowledged
throughout the East to be an insolent, ungrateful, and per-
fidious People.

However this Matter might be, it made a prodigious
Noise in Europe; and *Bacon Imhoff*, the present Governor-
General, was sent over to *Batavia*, to settle the Con-
cerns of the Colony and Company, and to make a very
strict Enquiry into this Affair. The Charter of the Com-
pany, when it was near expiring in 1740, was renewed
only for one Year, but soon that Time, all Affairs have
been

been adjusted in the *Indies*, and at home, to the Satisfaction both of the Company and of the Government, as shall be shewn hereafter. At present, it is our Business to shew, after giving to copious an Account of the Growth and Grandeur of this Company, how its Affairs are conducted, and what Form of Government it is, that has been able, not only to render a Body of Merchants formidable to the greatest Monarchs in the East, but to acquire them Dominions very little inferior to any of these Monarchs, and Revenues, Armies, and Fleets superior to most of them: This is a Thing so admirable in itself, and demonstrates so clearly, what it is in the Power of an extensive and well regulated Commerce to do, that I flatter myself my Reader will pay a very strict Attention to the following Account of it.

16. Their whole Business in *India* is divided into Governments and Directions, after the following Manner: I. *Batavia* is the chief and capital, where reside the Governor-General, and Council ordinary of *India*, to whom also the Governments and Directions are subordinate, sending their Accounts to them, the Balance whereof is entered into the Accounts-General of *India*, kept there; besides which, there are several Places immediately under the Government and Direction of the Governor and Council of *Batavia*, viz. *Japan* a Chief-ship, *Tanquin* a Chief-ship, *Macassar* a Commandant, *Siam* a Chief-ship, *Bantam* a Factory, *Japara* a Factory, *Jamoeé* a Chief-ship, *Pallumban* a Chief-ship, *Arrakan* a Chief-ship. II. *Ambyna* a Government, under which are several Islands, where they pay a yearly Pension to the Inhabitants, not to suffer Cloves or other Spices to grow. III. *Banda* is a Government, and under it are several Islands, to the Natives of which they likewise pay Money yearly to destroy the Spice. IV. *Ternate* is a Government. V. *Maiacca* is a Government. VI. *Zelon*, or *Ceylon*, is a Government, where they have many Factories, and all their Accounts are sent to *Celumbo*, the principal Place. VII. *Cochin* is a Government, and under it lies all the *Malabar* Coast. VIII. *Pateat* is a Government, under which are the Coasts of *Corromandel* and *Pegu*. IX. *Bengal* is a Direction, and under it all the Factories in that Bay: *Hughly* is the chief, from whence they send their Accounts to *Batavia*. X. *Surat*, another Direction, under which are many Factories. XI. *Persia* a Direction, the chief Residence *Gombroon*, and under it are *Spaban* and *Bassora*. XII. *Cape of Good Hope* a Government, and under it the *Mauritius*, or Island of Prince *Maurice*.

To understand this perfectly, it must be observed, that Governments are when the Places are their own, Directions when they are under a foreign Prince, and have no Garrison: *Batavia* excepted, no Government, Direction, or Command, hath Precedence of Place; but the Persons in those Places, and all other Degrees and Qualities, take Place according to their Seniority in Standing.

This Account sufficiently explains the general Scheme of their Government, from whence we shall descend into Particulars, that it may appear, with how much Wisdom, Justice and Prudence, all things are regulated by this Company, to prevent either Corruption or Confusion, which though it is very probable they may not absolutely do, yet it is very certain, they must do it in a great measure; for otherwise the Company's Affairs must have fallen long ago into a very distracted State; whereas we see them at this Day in as good a Condition as ever.

This I conceive to be especially owing to that Nicety of Judgment shewn in adjusting all their Salaries, and Allowances for Diet, to the several Qualities and Degrees of their Servants; so that none has either too little as to be pinched by Necessity, nor any so much as to let them above the Performance of their Duty, which is, generally speaking, the Ruin of such Governments as pursue a contrary Conduct: For the more easy understanding of this Point, we shall take their inferior Officers first, and so ascend gradually to the Governor-General of the *Indies*. The Under-assistant, Scribe or Writer, is the lowest Degree, and is chiefly supplied with Soldiers, taken out of the Guards, from four to fourteen Guilders *per mensum*. Next is the Assistant at twenty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and four Rix dollars Diet. After him the Upper assistant Book-

keeper, or Secretary, from twenty eight to thirty six Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and four Rix-dollars Diet. In the fourth Place, the Under-copeman, from thirty-six to forty-five Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and eight Rix dollars Diet. Then the Copeman from fifty to sixty five Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and eight Rix-dollars Diet. Next to him, Upper-copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and twelve Rix dollars Diet: Some from the lesser Chambers are sent out at twenty-two Guilders *per mensum* Salary.

At *Batavia* and *Zelon*, where Provisions are dear, they have thirteen Rix-dollars Diet. In the seventh Rank a Commandore has one hundred and fifty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and twenty Rix-dollars Diet; Commandant, a new Title, somewhat less than Commandore. The eighth, Director, has two hundred Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and thirty Rix-dollars Diet. The Governor has the same, as also a Member of the extraordinary Council of *India*. A Member ordinary of the Council of *India* at *Batavia*, each of them, three hundred and fifty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and one hundred Rix-dollars Diet; and lastly, the Governor-General of *Batavia* has one thousand two hundred Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and two hundred Rix-dollars Diet; and every Time he goes to the Fleet, one thousand five hundred Rix-dollars Gratuity, which has been usually done upon a Fleet's Departure for *Europe*: But this General has not taken it for some Years past.

All Persons in the Service, whether Merchants, Divines, civil Magistrates, Soldiers or Seamen, are ranked in their Degrees, and take their Places accordingly. The General is allowed Wine, and all other Liquors and Provisions, out of the Company's Warehouse, without Limitation. All others, down to the Assistants, are allowed monthly Liquors, Spice, Oil, Wood, Rice, Vinegar, Candles, &c. according to their Quality, very large. The Upper-copeman's Allowance is twenty Canadars of Spanish Wine *per mensum*, besides Mum, white Wine, and other Liquors; twenty-four Pounds of Wax for Candles, Corn for Poultry, Rice for Slaves, &c. so that the Diet-money allowed them is only for fresh Provisions.

Soldiers are ranked in the same Manner, viz. first a common Soldier, or private Centinel, is from one to fourteen Guilders *per mensum*, as the Under-assistant. Next, Sergeant's Pay and Diet as the Assistant. Then Sergeant's Pay and Diet as the Under-copeman. After him Lieutenant's Pay and Diet as the Copeman. The fifth Captain's Pay and Diet as the Upper-copeman; and the sixth Major's Pay and Diet as the Commandore. Military Perks give place to the civil of the same Rank, viz. a Commandore precedes a Major, and Upper-copeman a Captain, and a Copeman a Lieutenant; but a Major precedes an Upper-copeman, a Captain a Copeman, and a Lieutenant an Under-copeman. There are three Majors in *India*, one at *Batavia*, one at *Ceylon*, and one at *Ambyna*, or *Banda*. They assist the Governor in military Affairs, and have the Command over all other Officers and Soldiers, but have no proper Company of their own. There are not Captains over every Company, but one over two, three, four, or five Companies, every Company has Lieutenants and Ensigns, and they often make provisional Officers, who, upon some Merit in Service, do attain to the Pay of such Places.

Seamen are ranked in the same Manner, viz. first a common Seaman, from nine to fourteen Guilders *per mensum*, as a common Soldier; next third Mate, Gunner, Boatswain, and Steerman, from eighteen to twenty-four Guilders *per mensum*, and the Assistant carpenter's Wages from forty to fifty Guilders *per mensum*. The Under-steerman, or second Mate, from twenty-four to thirty-six Guilders *per mensum*, as the Upper-assistant. After them, Upper-steerman, or chief Mate, from fifty to sixty Guilders *per mensum*, in the Under-copeman's Rank. The fifth are Skippers, from sixty to one hundred Guilders *per mensum*, in the Copeman's Rank; and the sixth, Commandores from one hundred to one hundred and fifty Guilders *per mensum*, besides which, they have the Ship's Allowance for Provision, and, when in *Batavia*, they have Road-money paid them every Month for fresh Provisions and

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ordrily. The General
ors and Provisions, all
without Limitation. All
lowed monthly Liquors,
Candles, &c. accord-
The Upper-copeman's
spanish Wine per mensum,
other Liquors; twenty-
Corn for Poultry, Rice
money allowed them is

the Manner, viz. first a
tinal, is from one to
e Under-assistant. Next,
ssistant. Then Esq's
an. After him Lieuten-
an. The fifth Captain's
n; and the sixth Major's
Military Penksyge
k, viz. a Commodore
erman a Captain, and a
ajor precedes an Upper-
, and a Lieutenant an
Major in *India*, one at
at *Ambryna*, or *Surabaya*.
y Attans, and has the
and Soldiers, but have
There are not Cap-
ne over two, three, four,
ny has Lieutenants and
onventional Officers, who
ttain to the Pay of such

the Manner, viz. first a
urteen Guilders per men-
at third Mate, Gunner,
eighteen to twenty-four
stant carryer's Wages
mensum. The Under-Assis-
venty-four to thirty-six
r-assistant. After them,
from fifty to sixty Com-
-copeman's Rank. The
one hundred Guilders per
and the fifth, Comman-
dant and fifty Guilders
ave the Ship's Allowance
Batavia, they have Road-
-tor fresh Provisions and
Fruit;

Fruit; but in other Roads, they are supplied with these things from the Factories on Shore. They have none who have the Title or Pay of Captain at Sea, and the Commodores are very few, sometimes not more than one in *India*.

The Ministers Pay and Allowance stand thus, viz. first the Predicant, or Preacher's Pay and Diet, the same as the Upper-copeman's. The second Dominees, or Visitors of the Sick, twenty-four Guilders per mensum, as the Assistant. The Ministers are all sworn not to write of, nor intermeddle with any Matter relating to the Affairs of the State, or Commerce. In all Governments they are allowed a President, and in *Batavia* two or three to spare, in case of Mortalities. In all Directions they have no Dominees, only read the Scriptures, and printed Forms of Prayer, Mornings, Evenings, and Sundays. With them the Surgeon's Pay is from forty to fifty Guilders per mensum.

17. In all Qualities from Under-assistant to Upper-copeman, they generally serve five Years, and some but three, as they agree; which Term being expired, if they please, they may quit the Service; but they are usually continued, and upon their Petitions, if they are deserving, and the Company's Occasions require, the Governor and Council entertain them again, to the next Degree they served in before, and for such Terms for Salary, &c. as they find them deserving within the settled Salary of each Degree; but on any Merit in Service, they are often preferred from one Degree to another, though they have not served six Months in a Station; so that upon Account of Merit, some have risen in two or three Years from Assistant to Under-copeman, and others, in as little Time, from Under-copeman to Upper-copeman; in this they have respect to Succession, as if a Chief, or Second of a Factory dies, and the Third performs the Business of the Place to Content, tho' he be but a Book-keeper, for that Service he shall be an Under-copeman, and Chief of the Place; and as he gives further Content, a Copeman in one or two Years more. Married Persons receive all their Pay in *India*, and the unmarried but half theirs at an Over-rate: As at *Batavia*, the Rix-dollar is valued at sixty Stivers, which is worth but forty-eight, and at *Policat*, the Pagoda is valued at five and an half Guilders, which is really worth but four and half; but this is in a Way of Regulation, as they lay, upon Complaint of it to the Governor.

The Company find all their Servants Accommodations for Lodgings, for which, and Warehouses, they have spacious Buildings in all their Factories. All, or most Persons sent out of *Europe*, are of the Qualities from Assistant to Upper-copeman, seldom in a higher Degree; sometimes they may be of the extraordinary Council: But such, and all others, are left to the General and Council at *Batavia*, to be disposed of in Employments according to their Qualities or Abilities, who give them Preference as they merit. Such Persons as are of Capacity, may gradually rise by Time of Service to the Quality of Upper-copeman, but they must stand there, and cannot rise higher, till they are made Commandores. When Directions or Governments fall vacant, an Upper-copeman, capable of being made Governor, Director, or Commandore, generally succeeds; and some have been fifteen or twenty Years Upper-copeman, before they have been put into any of those Places: Some stand there, and rise no higher, and many never come to that, but remain in lower Degrees, according to their Capacities.

All Persons in those Degrees or Qualities, precede one another, according to their Seniorities and Standings in the same Degree, or that are of the same Profession. As the first Assistant precedes all others that are made after him; so likewise a Copeman made this Month precedes him that is made a Month after; but the Profession of the Merchant (or as they commonly term it, the Pen) hath the Preference of all others, and he that is an Upper-copeman in that Quality, precedes all others, whether Preachers, Soldiers or Seamen (as is said before) tho' they may be his Seniors in the same Degree.

All these Salaries and Wages for Merchants, Soldiers, Seamen, and others, go on for their outward bound and home Voyages, and every one has a Copy of his Accounts

out of the Book of Wages, every Year, which he keeps, or carries Home with him, or sells to another; and when he returns to the Chamber from whence he was sent, he is punctually paid the Ballance of his Account, together with what is due for the Term of the Voyage; and such as have served out their whole Time, and desire to be Freemen in *India*, fill their Accounts, or send Letters of Procuration Home, upon Sight of which they are paid; so that neither the Company, nor their Servants, have ever any Trouble in adjusting their Accounts.

These Freemen are such as have served out their Time, and are then cleared of the Company's Service, and suffered to live in the Country, or such as of late have been permitted, or encouraged to come out of *Europe*, on their own Accounts. They are always obliged to have Families, and live in parished Towns, and in their Plantations on the Spice Islands, where they are allowed to trade too and fro in Provisions of all Sorts, and other Commodities, where the Company do not trade, and sometimes where they do trade, with the General's and Council's Licence, even in the Company's Commodities: This being their Policy, that the Benefit of some Trades may not be lost, but referred to the Company, when they are so considerable, as to be worth their minding, or will be at the Charges of a Factory. All Freemen perform the publick Offices of the Towns, and take their Turns to watch and ward as in the *Netherlands*, none excepted.

18. The first ordinary Council of *India* is chosen by the *Bewindboers*, or Directors, out of such of their Servants, as have served the Company as Governors, or Directors, and none under those Qualities; by which means their head Council consists of Men of Estates, and Experience in the Business of all Parts of *India*. The extraordinary Council are also nominated by the *Bewindboers*, and they, when they are at *Batavia*, sit with the General and Council, but have no other Vote than one of Advice. Several of the Directors and Governors are of the extraordinary Council, and there is a late Order, that three of the extraordinary Council shall always reside at *Batavia*. By another Order of late, all of the ordinary Council are to reside there likewise, and not to remove from thence, but upon Business of great Importance; and the General, and Director-General, are not to remove upon any Occasion whatever.

There are often Boxes sent out of *Europe* with private Directions, which are sealed, and ordered not to be opened but on extraordinary Accidents, as in case of the General's Decease, or other Occasions of great Moment, which keeps the great ones in Awe of each other. The General hath Power in a particular Commission to himself, to send Home any one Person of the ordinary Council when he thinks fit, that shall not behave himself well towards him, and to take to himself what Salaries, and other Allowances he thinks proper, which the great *Matzuyker* caused to be read on some Clashing of the Council at *Batavia*.

The General, and all the ordinary Council, the Secretary, the Major, the Upper-copeman, called the two chief Factors, and the Upper-copeman, who keeps the general Books of Accounts, live within the Fort, or Castle, with their Wives and Family, in Apartments fitted according to their Offices and Places. The General and Council are so near together, because of all Letters being opened and read in the Council, that often sits in an Evening, after Prayers, and never misses upon Sundays, for an Hour to dispatch small Business, Petitions in Complaints, and twice a Week constantly, *Tue days* and *Wedays*, at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, about managing the Company's Business. The Secretary has good Accommodation, and large Offices to write in; the Major lives in the Fort to receive Orders from the General, and to assist him in the Government of his Soldiers, and the two chief Factors are near the Second, or Director General, who has the most laborious Employment, having the Care of all Ships, Goods, Treasures, and Stores, and proposes all Voyages and Cargoes.

These two Upper-copemen, whom they call Factors of the Castle of *Batavia*, are his Assistants, to examine Accounts, and Advices, and thereupon draw up Lists, and

Calculations, of the Sorts, Qualities, and Quantities, of the Goods, that are sold at any Place, and set down whether they increase or diminish, with the Loss and Gain thereon, which Notes they send to all the Factories where these Goods are provided. The chief Book-keeper lives in the Fort, because all Registers and Books are kept there, and the Offices for Accounts must be there standing. Every one of the ordinary Council of *India* has his particular Charges and Employments allotted to him, wherein he is most experienced, viz. one is ordered to read, examine, and answer all Letters and Papers from the Government of *Ceylon*. Another the Letters, &c. of the Governments of *Ambryna*, *Banda* and *Ternate*; another, the Coast of *Coromandel* and Bay of *Bengal*; another the Directorship of *Surat* and *Perfia*; and another the *Cape* and *Mauritius*; the General only writes Letters to the Company in *Europe*.

Besides which, they have other particular Employments and Places of Trust and Importance at *Batavia*. I. The General proposes and concludes in Council, and directs all Matters of Government to the Council, and superior Officers. He is sworn to be faithful to the States in his Office, and that he will not prefer any one in the Company's Service, for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but only such as are most faithful, most able, and most fit to manage the Business for the Company's Advantage. II. The Director General, as aforesaid, proposes the Employments and Cargoes of all Ships. He sells, and orders the Disposal of all Goods, Stores and Provisions, has the Charge of the Treasure and Cash, and orders the Receipts and Payments of Money. III. Another is President of the Chamber of Orphans, and the Council, his Assistants, are half Company's Servants, and half Burghers, whose Office and Trust are the same as in the *Netherlands*. They sit once a Week in Council. IV. Another is President of the College of the Rate of Justice, who is always a Civilian. He gives Judgment in all Cases civil or criminal, between the Company and their Servants, or the Burghers. In this Court, the Company's Servants only are of the Council, none of them under the Quality of a Copeman, and they are usually Advocates, or such as have been bred up to the Civil Law. V. Another is President of the College of *Skepen* and *Burgomasters*.

He judges in all Cases, civil, military and criminal, between the Burghers and others. The Counsellors, or Judges, who sit with the President at this Court, are three Upper-copemen in the Company's Service, and three of the chief Burghers. Both these Courts sit twice a Week, constantly, and oftner, as occasion requires, in the *Stadhoute*, or *Town-hall*. All of the ordinary Council are sworn to be true to the General and the States, to prefer none for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but the fittest and ablest Persons to the Offices in their Particular Disposals. Below the Second, or Director, is no Precedency of Place, but Employments or Offices are appointed to those who are the fittest for them. The Secretary of the Council at *Batavia*, is a Person of great Ability and Experience, of the Quality of Upper-copeman; he takes Place next to the extraordinary Council, and has the Pay and Allowance of a *Commandore*. The minor Votes are always carried by the major in Council, the Fiscal hath a double Vote. Upon signing, none may enter any Exceptions, except the Matter concluded be expressly against the Orders of the Company, and then they may enter Dissent, giving that for the Reason.

Upon extraordinary Occasions, which require Secrecy, a Governor, or Director, may call a Council of any two or three Counsellors, and may act according to their Resolutions. All Persons of the Quality of Copeman, and Upper-copeman, as also Captains and Lieutenants, are capable of being of Council in all Governments and Directorships, except *Batavia*. The Seconds of Governors and Directors, are chiefly Copemen, and the Chiefs of subordinate Factories under Governments, are commonly Copemen, and Under-copemen; but if it so happens, that one of a higher Degree, or Quality, comes to a Place where one of a lower Degree is Chief, he, of the higher Degree takes Place, and gives his Advice in the Company's Busi-

ness, but does not govern or direct in any Affair without special Commission.

In all Governments and Directorships, the Consultations are entered in Books, and signed by the Council. The Offices for the Secretary and Accountants, and the Ware-houses for the Company's fine Goods and Truaries, are built in the Forts, and *Houles*, or Factories, and those who officiate in them, must dwell there. In subordinate Factories, they keep no Consultation-books, only Copy-books of Letters, Accounts and Diaries. All Letters and Orders from *Batavia*, are signed by the General and Council, and those to *Batavia*, must be signed by the Governors, or Directors, and their respective Councils; but all Letters and Orders from Governors and Directors to subordinate Factories under them, are signed only by the Governor or Director singly. The Cash at *Peccat*, is at the Disposal of the Governor, to be put into the Hands of an Upper-copeman, that shall be on the Place, and the Sorting of Cloth is done by the Governor, Second, and others, who are of the Quality of Copeman, and Under-copeman, every one setting down his Opinion at the Price of the Goods when forced.

They have Fiscals in their Governments, who are under an Oath to discover and seize all forbidden private Trade, and detect what else may be done to defraud the Company. They are usually of the Quality of Copeman, or Under-copeman, and seldom continue longer than three Years in that Office, except at *Batavia*, where they have two principal Fiscals, of the Quality of Upper-copemen, who continue many Years in that Employ. One of them is called *Advocate-fiscal*; he makes Enquiry, and takes Cognizance of all Frauds, Frauds and Misdemeanors in the Company's Service, in all Parts of *India*, makes and maintains the Processes, and has half of what is recovered thereon, the other half goes to the Company, who gives one Third of it to the Poor, after the Process and Condemnation is paid, before the President of the Council of Justice; so that the Governors, Directors, &c. are not concerned in the Discovery of any private Trade.

The Company sends every Year printed Papers of the News and Affairs of *Europe*; which are dispersed over all their Factories in *India*, by which they are instructed in the Interest and Concerns of the several Powers and are directed to behave themselves accordingly to all *European* Nations in *India*. Also they send Abstracts of the Sale of their Goods, and the Loss and Gain thereon in *Europe*. It is very easy to observe, that all these Regulations are calculated for the Improvement of the Persons in the Service of the Company, for enabling them to discharge their Duties punctually and perfectly, and with such a Measure of Knowledge and Understanding, as may fit them for whatever Places they may be called to serve in.

It is not easy to conceive, what mighty Effects flow from such wise and just Regulations, what Order and Harmony they may beget, and how easily all Things are managed, where so much Care is taken, that every Man shall be acquainted with the Importance of his Station, and with a Probability of his bettering his Circumstances by his discharging his Functions with Diligence. It is by setting these Orders, and taking care they shall be constantly carried into Execution, that we find the *Dutch* are never at a Loss for Men fit to be employed on any critical Occasion, as Ambassadors, Plenipotentiaries, and ordinary Residents in the Courts of *Indian* Princes, whereas other Nations, that carry on other Trade in that Part of the World, are at a Stand in this respect, and in all such Emergencies, are forced to take such as come to Hand, or which is worst, such as push themselves forward, and mistaking Vanity for Talents, get into Employments only to expose themselves, and those under whose Authority they act.

It is a received Opinion, and I believe founded on Reason, that the Capacities of Men are much alike, and that where one makes a Figure by dint of what is called Genius, there are a hundred become able Men from Discipline and Experience. It is therefore extremely commendable in the *Dutch*, that they take so much Pains to propagate real Knowledge among such as are in the publick Service,

in any Affair without

the Consultations by the Council. The Outputs, and the Ware-houses and Treasuries, or Factories, and those there. In subordinate Companies, only Copy-books, Diaries. All Letters sent by the General and all signed by the respective Councils; but Letters and Directories to be signed only by the Council at *Patna*, as to be put into the Hands of the Governor, Secretary of Copeman, and down his Opinion of

Officers, who are under forbidden private Trade, to defraud the Company of Quality of Copeman, or continue longer than three Months, where they have the Quality of Upper-copeman, or Employ. One of them takes Enquiry, and takes the Quality and Middleness in the Quality of *India*, makes and half of what is recovered by the Company, who gives the Proceeds and Consent of the Council of Directors, &c. are not to be private Trade.

Officers are dispersed over all the several Powers and are accordingly to all *European* Abstracts of the Sale of Gain thereon in *Europe*; all these Regulations are of the Persons in the Service they are to discharge perfectly, and with such a Understanding, as may fit may be called to serve in that mighty Effects flow from them, what Order and how easily all Things are taken, that every Man of Importance of his Station, attending his Circumstances with Diligence. It is making care they shall be that we find that Men fit to be employed on Affairs, Plenipotentiaries, Consuls of *Indian* Princes, and on other Trade in that and in this respect, and to take such as come to push themselves forward, as, per into Employments those under whole Author-

and I believe founded on Men are much alike, and by dint of what is called the able Men from Discipline extremely commendable much Pains to propagate are in the publick Service, and

and that they do not content themselves with barely qualifying their Under officers for the Discharge of the Places they are in, but oblige them likewise to take Pains to fit themselves for more important Services. It is one Thing to read News-papers for Amusement, and another Thing quite to oblige People to read them for Instruction; and it is very easy to conceive, that a Person in the Indies, who has a good general Notion of the Affairs of *Europe*, and of the Situation Things are in there, will have vast Advantages over another Person of equal Abilities, who has never turned his Thoughts that Way, but has lived all along in an Opinion, that if he did his Business in the Counting house, his Superiors had no farther Title to the Disposal of his Time, but that he was at full Liberty to employ it in such Amusements or Diversions as best suited his Humour or Disposition.

But to bring these Reflections to a Point, and not to detain the Reader too long upon to grave a Subject, I shall finish them with observing, that whatsoever Company takes Care to give its Servants true Notions of Merit, rewards and encourages Merit, and leaves no other Road open to Preference but Merit; will be always sure to have more capable Servants, and will consequently have its Affairs better carried on than any other Company, in the Management of whose Concerns Inclination, Interest, or Chance, governs all Preferences. It may be said that these are just and general Observations, very easily made, and which never will be disputed. The Question however is not where these Rules are owned and admitted, but where they are recommended and practised. Since we took Occasion to enter upon these Remarks, not from the general Principles of the *Dutch* Nation, but from the settled and invariable Regulations of their *East-India* Company, which have the Force of Laws to those in their Service.

19. The Government, Order, and Provision for their Ships and Fleets runs thus, *viz.* all their Ships are the Company's own, and the Men belonging to them are all in their Pay, sworn to serve them either by Sea or Land, as Occasion shall require. They have two Persons, who have the Style of Admirals, and are of the ordinary Council of *India*. For the Care of their Shipping at *Batavia*, they have one called Equipage-master, who is of the Quality and Pay of an Upper-copeman, a seafaring Man, and vulgarly called a Commandore; He hath the Care of fitting all their Ships, and is continually visiting them in the Road, if Occasion requires, and supplying them with what they want.

There is a small Island, about three Miles from *Batavia*, where they have a Fort, which serves them as a Store-house for all Manner of Necessaries for Ships, under the Charge of a Master-Shipwright, who has also Command of the Fort and Island. He is of the Quality of Upper-Copeman, and has large Pay and Allowances. When they send out a Fleet of War on any Expedition, they make a Merchant of the Quality of Upper-copeman, and sometimes of the extraordinary Council Admiral or General, who has a Council of Merchants and military Officers to assist him, as Occasion requires. The Admirals of the Fleet that go from *Batavia* to *Europe*, are such as have served the Company as Governors, Directors, Commanders, or Upper-copemen, and are willing to go home, they have their Salaries allowed them till their Discharge in *Europe*; and if there be none that return of their own Choice, they appoint at least a Copeman to command, who comes back again, if he thinks convenient.

As to their Admirals out of *Europe*, the Flag is worn by Turns; *Amsterdam* Squadron carries it three Years, and the *Zealand* Squadron every fourth Year. The *Amsterdam* having two Parts of the Stock, the other lesser Chambers add theirs to it, and the *Zealanders* have one Quarter of their own. The Merchant who is sent Admiral, must either take his Passage on the *Amsterdam* or *Zealand* Squadron. If a Copeman, or Under-copeman goes from Port to Port on any Ship, they have the Command of her, and also of the Fleet or all Ships in Company, by the Company's settled Order in their Articles. When there is a Fleet together under the Command of a Commandore, the Council is to consist of Copemen and Skippers. When

a Ship is single, the Council is to be of Copemen, Skipper, Under-copeman, Book-keeper, and Steermans, and they are always to steer their Course by the printed Directions, and to set off their Work every Day upon Charts, which are delivered up the very Day when they come to *Batavia* or *Holland*.

There is an Under-copeman, or Book-keeper in every Ship, who keeps an Account of the Ship's Expence in Stores, Provisions, and Mens Wages, in the Nature of a Purser, and they are to see the Provisions so got up that none be spoiled. These take place as they are capable of Preference in their Factories by their Time of Service, and they are often taken out of Factories where they are wanted, and others put in their Places. If he that is upon a Ship, as a Book-keeper, be but an Assistant, he takes Place of the Steermans, or next to the Skipper, by reason of his Office, or, as they in Respect term it, the Pen. All Chiefs of Factories, &c. have free Power to dispose of their Ships and Men, while they are under their Chief-ship, and, as Occasion requires, in the Company's Service. They may take out Men, Ammunition, Provisions and Stores, though such Ships come there casually, through Accident or Necessity. Thus every thing relating to this Subject, is so fully and clearly regulated, that Doubts or Difficulties rarely arise.

20. At *Batavia*, and all other Governments, they have a Chamber of Accounts for Orphans and Overseers of the Poor thus provided: There is a President and Master of the Chamber of Orphans at *Batavia* of the ordinary Council, who has for his Council half the Companies Servants of the Quality of Copeman, and Upper-copemen, and half of the best Burghers, besides a Secretary, and other Assistants. They sit once a Week, and order the Disposal of all Orphans and deceased Mens Estates, as they think fit. At *Pelicut*, and all Governments under *Batavia*, they have but two Persons of the Chamber of Orphans, and a Secretary to them, all Company's Servants. The Chambers in those Governments are not accountable to *Batavia* or *Europe*; nor do they send Copies of their Books of Accounts to any Place, but always keep them at *Pelicut*, &c. and the Estates of Persons who decease in any Place under that government, are under the Charge of that Chamber, whose Wills, Inventories and Accounts, are there registered; for which purpose they have a particular Chamber in the Fort.

They must keep plain and fair Books of Accounts, Journals, and Ledgers. At *Pelicut* the Master of the Orphans Chamber, is every three Months to shew the Balance of the Books to the Governor. Those appointed for this Office do continue in it two Years or longer; and when one goes out the other must stay a Year to instruct the next Comer, though his two Years be out. They are sworn to deal justly, and to keep secret the Concerns of the Chamber.

The Secretary of the Office must give three thousand Pagodas Security for the Performance of his Trust, and be responsible for all Goods sold at Outcries, for which he receives Three per Cent. upon the Account of the Sale; and by reason he is responsible, he may deny any Man to bid or buy, whom he thinks not safe to trust. The Secretary also enters the Wills, and Inventories, and puts the Journal, which is kept by one of the Masters, and takes Care of the Papers that belong to the Office. The Chamber of Orphans may call whom they will into Council to advise with in difficult Matters; and no Person may deny to come and sit with them, though it be the Governor himself. The Council is allowed Two and an Half per Cent. out of the Estates of the Deceased, for what is received upon the Sale of Goods, but nothing on Money left in Cash; which Two and a Half is equally divided betwixt the President and all the Masters; besides which they have each Money for a Gown yearly, which is charged on the deceased Person's Estate. If any Man or Woman dies, leaving Children under Age, the Chamber of Orphans take Care of the Estate, and provide for their bringing up, till they arise to the Age of Twenty-three Years, and then they receive what their Parents left them, with Interest, and the Increase thereof. If the

Parents of the Children have any Estates in *Europe*, the Chamber of Orphans where such persons die, writes for the Effects to be lent to them, which is accordingly done.

The Money the Chamber of Orphans pays into the Company's Chest at *Batavia*, is lent in Nine per Cent. and is lent out to Freeman and others at Twelve per Cent. in good Security. But at *Pelicut* it is usually put into the Company's Stock, at Six per Cent. Interest. If a Person dies and leaves no Will, or Resigns his Estate, the Chamber of Orphans takes Care of the Estate, and gives the deceased Man's Account out of Credit for the same; and there it remains till the next Half-Year is it. If any Person dies with a Will, and leaves his Widow an Estate for the Children, tho' their Mother, the Chamber of Orphans may, if they please, require the Estate at her Hands, and keep it for the Children. And if they do allow the Mother to keep the Estate and the Children, they always take a Copy of the Will, and an Obligation from the Mother for the same.

The Chamber of Orphans may keep the Estate in their Hands, and manage it as they please; but for the better Security, it is usually put into the Company's Hands, on the Interest before mentioned, and they have the Company's Obligation for it. If any Person dies, leaving a Will, and there it does not give such a Proportion of his Estate to his Children as the Law requires, they will not allow of the Will, but require a full Part for the Children. If a Man dies in the Company's Service, the Officers are not to touch his Papers, nor is the Chamber of Orphans to assist of any Discovery of his Concerns to the Effect of gain, if any Man dies in the Company's Service, and they owe him Money for Wages, the Chamber receives it, and enters it to the Credit of the Deceased. The Company, besides One third of their Half of the Fiscal's Comission, allow also Fines on Offences; and the Confiscations of the Estates of Men executed, for the Poor. There are many Overseers and Masters of the Poor at *Batavia*. At *Pelicut* they have but two, and those not of the Masters of Orphans, but others. They have Cognizance of all poor Christians under the Government, whether they be *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, or others, and take Care for their Relief, by making Collections in Churches every Sunday, and Distributions according to their Number and Necessities.

The Poor has always a considerable Stock before-hand, which has been gathered from the Confiscations of private Trade, and charitable Gifts. This Stock they allow out to the Company upon Interest, when they constantly receive, and employ as is found needful, and tho' the Interest of the Stock be sufficient to maintain the Poor, yet they never neglect the weekly Gatherings in Churches, to increase the Stock as much as they can. For, say they, it may happen, that by great Wars and Losses, many may be maimed, made Widows and Fatherless, and then the Principal may not be enough to maintain them. The Overseers, or Masters of the Poor, must keep a fair Book of all Receipts and Payments, that is, an Account of Cash, and an Account of what's paid into the Company's Stock, at Interest, with a Roll of the Names of all Persons to whom they give Alms, and what they give to every one. At *Batavia* there are Collections for the Poor every Sunday Morning and Evening, in all their Churches.

When the sagacious and intelligent Reader shall have perused the substance of this Scheme of *Dutch* Policy in the same, I have yet added that he will very easily account to himself, or others, having read so extensive and solid an Empire in all part of the World. He will see that they extend their Nations in the *Indies*, not from Accident, but from a Concurrence of lucky Circumstances, but from a well-managed and disposed Establishment, and a constant observance of the Principles on which it is founded. They will see that so much Power the *Dutch* may be inclined to, Republicks, and Low Peasantry, with their Notions of Liberty, and Equity, if they have had no Scruple of de-

parting from those Sentiments in the *Indies*, for the sake of complying to suit with the Genius of the People in that Part of the World, as to establish such a Power in a single Person, as may contribute to keep up at once the Grandeur and Authority of the Company, and facilitate the Direction of their Affairs. But if the Government of *Batavia* has the Splendor, Revenues, and Power of a Prince, he earns them very dearly, by that perpetual Application to Business, which is required from him, and which he has it not in his Power to shake off. The same Thing may be said of the Director General, and of the Members of the Council of the *Indies*; if they have great Appointments, they have a great deal of Business, and for their Power be large, they are obliged to give a very true Account of the Manner in which it is used.

That Example are of inexpreffible Consequence, for they oblige all their Officers in their several Stations, to a constant and diligent Attendance, from whence they can never hope for any Dispensation, when they are such as are at the Head of Affairs, tied to a stricter and more laborious Attendance than themselves. The due Care thus taken, that every Man shall have a full Satisfaction for his Case, a proper Substitution, and a Certainty of receiving whatever is due to him, without Difficulty or Delay, and without needing the Assistance or Favour of any Man, must be acknowledged a Circumstance of infinite Importance. The Frugality shewn in their military and civil Establishments, and the Care taken to preserve a due Dependence on the civil Government, are Steps worthy not only of Attention but Imitation, because they are equally calculated for increasing and extending, as well as preserving and securing the Dominions and Trade of the Company. The Tenderness shewn for Orphans, and the Security that this affords to private Men, that their Children shall certainly enjoy the Fruits of their Labour, is both a Spur to Industry, and a Means of promoting Marriages and Settlements, both of the utmost Consequence to their Affairs in the *Indies*, as it serves to increase their Force, without draining their Mother country. Their Regulations for the Poor are copied from those in *Holland*, and highly laudable they are, in this respect; I mean, in not suffering any Diligence of Country or Climate to deprive their People of their Birth-rights, which is the Benefit of their Laws, and to this I suppose it is owing that the *Dutch* are observed never to lose, or even to impair their Affection for their native Country, which they particularly distinguish, by the tender Appellation of Fatherland, and to which therefore all their Cares are confined, and in which all their Acquisitions center.

To be the better satisfied of this, and to bring this Section to a Conclusion, by what most of all concerns us, the Knowledge of that Profit which accrues to them by the *East-India* Trade, we shall next consider the Economy of this flourishing Company at Home, and demonstrate the Means by which all the Proprietors receive the clearest Satisfaction, that the whole Profits upon their Capital, are fairly divided out to them, and are not put into the Pockets of such as are intrusted with the Direction of the Company's Affairs, as also how the State preserves such an Influence over the Company, as is requisite for its own Security, and finally, how an Estimate may be made of the Wealth brought into the *United Provinces* by this Company, from the Time of its original Establishment to this Day.

21. The great Power, prodigious Wealth, and vast Importance of this Company to the *Dutch* Republick, so occasioned a great Variety of Treaties on its Form, Constitution, and Manner of Government, so that it is very far from being an easy Task to reduce the Substance of what they had delivered within the narrow Bounds which we are obliged to keep. To begin as methodically as possible, we will first state the original Stock of the Company, and the Proportions in which it was advanced, and which have never been varied since that Time: A Stroke of Policy of infinite Consequence to them in the Management of this extensive Committee.

The Capital Stock of the *Dutch East-India Company.*

	Florins.
Amsterdam	3,674,915
Zealand	1,333,882
Delft	470,000
Rotterdam	177,400
Horn	260,858
Enchuyfen	536,775
In all	6,459,840

Those six having advanced this Money, they settled a Chamber in each of the Towns (that of *Zealand* being in *Middleburg*) from whence they chuse the seventeen Deputies, who direct the Affairs of the Company. They meet four Times a Year successively at *Amsterdam*, for the Affairs of the Company, and twice at *Middleburg* alternately; but not at the other Towns. These Deputies are the Sovereigns of this illustrious Company, yet under the Authority of the *States-General*. The seventeen Directors are chosen in the following Manner; eight by the Chamber of *Amsterdam*, four by that of *Zealand*, *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn*, and *Enchuyfen*, one each; and the *Maes*, *Middleburg*, and *North-Holland*, chuse one by Turns. These seventeen Directors govern the Company, and represent the Sovereignty of the whole Body by Plurality of Voices. They regulate all Affairs of Consequence, as the making of Counsellors, Captains, Lieutenants, and equipping of Ships, the Sale of the Goods, the Division of the Profits, and all the particular Chambers must conform themselves to their Orders. They likewise appoint the Time for the Sale of the Goods, one half of which is sold in the Chamber of *Amsterdam*, a fourth in that of *Middleburg*, and a sixteenth in each of the other four Chambers, at the Time by them appointed, to the highest Bidder.

But besides these seventeen Directors, each of the Chambers have more belonging to the same Body: Thus *Amsterdam* has ten more, besides the eight sent to the sovereign Court; and *Haerlem*, *Leyden*, *Utrecht*, *Dort*, and *Tergoe*, have each of them one there, as have the Provinces of *Guelderland* and *Friesland*, and *Zealand* likewise, besides their four Directors have eight or ten more from other Towns of the Province. All the Deputies are to give their Advice in their respective Chambers for the Good and Advantage of the Company; and when any of the Deputies die, the Towns to which they belong name three others in their Stead, out of which the Magistrates chuse one. This Committee meets twice a Week, and change their President each Month, so that every one presides in his Turn. There are two Advocates belonging to the Company, who make their Report of what is resolved upon to the *Indies*; upon which the Officers of the Company there form their Regulations, and issue their Orders. There are eight Deputies for the Affairs of the Marine, War, and building of Ships; four to inspect their Magazines, and the Goods that are sent to and come from the *Indies*; four which take care of the Money which the Company pays and receives; and the rest take care of the Accounts, and other Affairs relating to Order and Justice, which is done to the meanest Manner as well as to the greatest Offices.

The Whole, though it seems at first sight in a manner independent of the State, is however kept in great Subordination, by means of the wise Regulations made in establishing the Directors, and the Care taken, that not any two of them shall be related to each other, which prevents Combinations, and all those Practices by which publick Establishments are converted into private Jobs, and what ought to redound to the common Benefit of a Nation, conveyed into the Pockets of a few private Men. Once in three Years the *States-General* demand and receive a strict Account of the Company's whole Transactions, in order to be satisfied that they keep within the Bounds of their Charter, that they do Justice to their Proprietors, and that they manage their Trade so as that it may not be prejudicial to the State: which Regulation may be justly esteemed the principal Cause, that hitherto the

Affairs of this Company have been so perfectly well conducted.

In order to this Examination, or Controol of the Company's Accounts, the ancient Practice was for the *States-General* to name a Committee of their Members to go to *Amsterdam*, and there examine the Books of the *East-India Company* upon the Spot, which took up a considerable Time; and during that whole Space, this Committee from the *States* had their Charges delayed at the Expence of the Company. In the Year 1728, the Company thought fit to make a Representation to the *States-General*, setting forth the Inconveniencies and unnecessary Charge this Method occasioned, and therefore praying, that their *Higb Magnificences* would consent to its Alteration, and allow the Company to send a Deputation to the *Hague*, in order to lay their Accounts before them, which, after mature Deliberation, was offered to.

The Magazines of the Company are always kept in excellent Order. Such as are intrusted with the Care of them, give large Security, and are liable besides to the severest Punishments, in case they are guilty of any Breach of Trust. The same Degree of Strictness is shewn to all Degrees of Persons in their Service; nor are the Directors themselves exempted, in whom the smallest Fraud would be punished with a speedy and exemplary Justice. This keeps up that Spirit of Care and Diligence which is so absolutely requisite to the right Management of Commerce; and all the Under-officers, moved by the Example as well as constrained by the Inspection of their superiors, discharge their Duty very exactly; so that the Dock, or Yard, in which their Ships are built and repaired, is kept in as exact Order as that of any private Man, tho' there are seldom less than twelve hundred Persons employed therein.

They do not however exert the same Authority over the Sailors and Under-servants of the Company, that return from the *Indies*; but, on the contrary, allow them all the Liberty they can desire, and suffer them to live in what Manner and at what Expence they please, which is likewise done from a Principle of true Policy, since it affords them the Means of spending, in a short Time, all that they have acquired in long Service; so that in the Space of five or six Weeks they are, generally speaking, reduced to their primitive State of Indigence, and consequently are obliged to enter again into the Company's Service for a fresh Term. Thus the Liberty of the Subject is preferred intire, and the Company nevertheless seldom wants a regular Supply of able and seasoned Seamen, which has very good Effects, because Experience shews, that such as are used to these eastern Climates go many Voyages without Prejudice to their Health; whereas fresh and raw Seamen die in great Numbers, to the vast Prejudice of the State. The greatest Care is taken, that all employed in this Service, both at home and abroad, shall be properly qualified for the Stations in which they serve; and therefore it is a Rule, that none shall be admitted into any Office, before they have undergone a proper Examination; and though there may be some Instances where Interest or Favour may have procured Dispensations in this respect, yet these occur but seldom, and are not therefore of very great Consequence.

In order to have a just Idea of the Manner in which this great Mass of Property is managed, it will be necessary to explain the Meaning of a Term frequently made use of here, and yet but indifferently understood. The Term I mean is the *Actions* of the *East-India Company*. The general Signification of this Phrase, both here and in *France*, is precisely the same with what we call *Stocks*. When therefore it is said, that *Actions* rise or fall, the Meaning is plain and obvious; but then it is absolutely necessary to know the Value of *Actions*, or rather the Value of the *Actions* in a particular Company, before we can form any just Notions of them. The original *Actions* of this *East-India Company* were fixed at three thousand Florins; that is to say, a Person possessed of so much of the original Stock, was said to hold one *Action*; he who had twice as much so, and so on. This Phrase is still kept up, though the Value is very much altered, since a single *Action* is now worth from twenty-five to twenty-six thou-

and Florins. These Actions vary in their Price, according as the Dividends made upon the Company's Capital rise or fall; but whatever their Price be, a principal Director must have two in his own Possession to qualify him for that Post, and none are capable of giving a Vote in an Election, who are not possessed of one Action at least. The Salaries of the Directors vary, according to the Chambers to which they belong. Those eighteen that are chosen by the City of *Amsterdam*, have three thousand Florins a Year; but there are others that have but twelve hundred.

The Manner of buying and selling *East-India* Stock is very easy and expeditious. When the Parties have settled the Price between themselves, they go together to the *India* House, where the Seller applies himself to the Clerk of the Book in which his Stock is entered, and desires him to transfer so much from his Account to that of the Buyer; which being done, he signs it, and afterwards signs a Receipt for the Purchase-money, and the whole Transaction being performed in the Presence of a Director, he signs the Book likewise; so that there is not a Possibility of any Fraud being committed, yet the whole Expence of this Transfer does not amount to more than seven Shillings and six Pence of our Money.

The Directors, who have the sole Management of the Company's Concerns, settle not only the Times, but the Quantities and Qualities of the Company's Goods, that are to be exposed in their Sales, from the Produce of which their Dividends are raised, and are high and low, according to the Profit made by the Company. This, however, must be understood with some Restriction; for most certain it is, that, from their first Establishment to this Day, they have never deviated to the full Extent of their Profit, and this for very good Reasons. First, because long Wars, and other chargeable Expeditions, must be detracted out of this reserved Stock, to prevent a great Decrease in their Dividends, which would necessarily occasion a very great Fall of their Actions. Secondly, they have constantly paid the State very large Sums for the renewing of their Charters, and they have likewise paid largely for such other Acts of State as they have procured from Time to Time in their Favour. Thirdly, it has been found requisite for them to keep large Sums in Bank, to answer the Exigencies of the State as well as the Company, in Times of great Difficulty and Danger. Besides all this, they have likewise reserved vast Quantities of Spices, and other rich Commodities, that their Sales might not lower the Price of them too much; and upon this Principle, they have sometimes burned great Quantities of Spices. They have also formerly had recourse to another Method for the Benefit of their Proprietors, which has been paying their Dividends in Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegs, at a very low Price, by which those who received them, gained very considerable Advantages.

It may, indeed, be surmised, that these Methods afforded room for the Directors to make great Advantages to themselves; but when it is considered, that their general Accounts, upon the Balance of which their Dividends have been declared, have been every three Years constantly audited by a Committee of the *States-General*, there is no just Reason to apprehend, that any Thing of this kind has been ever practised. Thus it clearly appears, that as the *East-India* Company in *Holland*, by a wise and prudent Disposition of their Affairs abroad, have been able to erect and maintain a Sovereignty, very little, if at all, inferior in Power to the greatest Monarchs in *Asia*, without which it would have been impossible for them to have maintained and supported that Commerce which has been the Source of such immense Riches; so, on the other hand, by their prudent and exact Oeconomy at home, they have constantly sustained the Reputation of the Company at the greatest

Height, and thereby proved of infinite Advantage to their Country.

This indeed is the main Point, and the Thing which of all others we have laboured to set in the fullest and strongest Light in this Section. For though it be true, that both the Glory and the Profit accruing from the right Management of the Affairs of this great Corporation, belong to the *Dutch* alone, and not to any other Nation, yet the Example of so extraordinary a Constitution as this is, by which a Body of Merchants have been able to raise an Empire in the *Indies*, and a kind of new Republick in the Bosom of that by which they were erected, is common to all the World; and therefore the entire History of its Rise, Progress, and present Condition, concerns not only all the rest of *Europe*, and in a particular Manner every maritime Power, but ought likewise to be transmitted to Posterity. This, as it inclined me to take so much Pains, and to turn over so many Books, in order to bring all that has been said of it into such a Method, as that the *English* Reader might clearly comprehend, not only its past and present Condition, but the Means by which the former was acquired, and the latter is and probably will be maintained as long as the Republick of the *States-General* shall subsist: So I hope it will merit a Degree of Attention equal to the Trouble it has cost, and inspire every Reader with a sincere and hearty Concern to see the Affairs of *English* trading Companies put into a like Train of Management, that as we have not equal only, but greater Advantages for the promoting and supporting an extensive Commerce than the *Dutch*, we may not be always as much behind them in this respect as we are at present.

There remains but one Thing more to complete the Aim and Design of this Section, and that is, to give an Account of the Dividends which have been made since the Establishment of this Company, which, when I began this Enquiry, I thought could not have been brought lower than the Year 1717; but by a diligent Search I have continued them eleven Years farther, and have Reason to hope that, in the Appendix to the next Volume, I shall be able to gratify the Reader's Curiosity to its utmost Extent, by bringing them still farther down, perhaps to the present Year. As they stand in the next Page, they will fully answer three very great and useful Ends. In the first Place, they will fully support, and undeniably prove the Truth, not only of the Facts recorded, but also of the Observations made upon those Facts through the Course of this History, and thereby convince the Reader, that it is not an over-weening Passion for Trade, or any particular Fondness for the *Dutch*, that has led me to treat so largely of this Subject, but an honest and laudable Zeal for Truth, and for the Interest of my Country. It will in the next Place shew, what incredible Advantages result from Commerce, when wisely established, and steadily pursued, and how this alone contributes more, not only to the enriching, but to the raising the Power and Credit of a Nation, than all other Methods taken for that Purpose put together; and lastly, it will demonstrate, beyond all Question, the Falshood of that Objection, which, of all others, has been thought the strongest against the *East-India* Trade, *viz.* that it exhausts and impoverishes the Nation which carries it on, by exporting annually vast Quantities of Silver; for, if there had been any Truth in this, the Experience of so long a Course of Time, as one hundred and thirteen Years, must have rendered it visible to a Degree beyond all Contradiction; whereas this Account of the Company's Dividends is the fullest and most authentick Evidence of the contrary; so that it is to be hoped, we shall never hear that Objection urged again; or if it be, that it will have as little Weight as an Argument built upon Conjecture ought to have, when opposed to the Lights of Experience.

A complete TABLE of the DIVIDENDS made by the DIRECTORS of the Dutch-East-India Company, upon their Capital; from Anno 1605 to 1728, inclusive.

Years.	Months in which paid.	In what Manner.	Years.	Months in which paid.	In what Manner.	
1605	July 1 - - 15	per Cent.	1673	June - - - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	per Cent.	
6	March - - 75	In Money.	76	February - 25	In Bonds payable by the Province of Holland.	
7	July - - - 40		79	January - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		
8	April - - 20		80	January - 25	Bonds at 4 per Cent. Ditto on the Province of Holland.	
9	June - - - 25		81	January - 22 $\frac{1}{2}$		
10	April - - 75		Mace.	82	July - - - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	Company's Bonds.
11	November - 50		Pepper.	85	February - 40	
12	December - 57 $\frac{1}{2}$		Money.	86	May - - - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.
15	August - - 42 $\frac{1}{2}$		Ditto.	87	April - - - 20	
16	February - 62 $\frac{1}{2}$		Ditto.	88	April - - - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bonds of the Company's at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. payable in 1740.
20	April - - - 37 $\frac{1}{2}$		Ditto.	89	April - - - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	
23	November - 25	Cloves.	90	April - - - 40		
25	August - - 20	Money.	91	August - 20		
27	March - - - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		92	April - - - 25		
29	January - 25		93	April - - - 20		
31	January - 17 $\frac{1}{2}$		94	April - - - 20		
33	December - 20		95	November - 25		
35	March - - - 20		96	June - - - 15		
36	May - - - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		Cloves.	97	June - - - 15	
37	August - - 12		98	June - - - 15		
38	March - - - 15		99	September - 15		
39	November - 25		1700	June - - - 20		
40	October - 19	Spices.	1	July - - - 25		
41	November - 25	Cloves.	2	May - - - 20		
42	January - 15	Cloves.	3	May - - - 20		
43	November - 25	Money.	4	May - - - 25		
44	February - 15	Cloves.	5	June - - - 25		
45	November - 25	Cloves.	6	May - - - 25		
46	December - 50	Money.	7	May - - - 25		
47	January - 15	Cloves.	8	April - - - 25		
48	November - 25	Cloves.	9	May - - - 25		
49	December - 20	Money.	10	May - - - 25		
50	January - 22 $\frac{1}{2}$		11	May - - - 25		
51	December - 25		12	May - - - 15		
52	January - 25		13	May - - - 30		
53	January - 30		14	May - - - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$		
54	January - 25		15	April - - - 40		
55	January - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		16	May - - - 40		
56	June - - - 15		17	May - - - 40		
57	January - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		18	May - - - 40		
58	December - 27 $\frac{1}{2}$		19	May - - - 40		
59	December - 40	20	May - - - 40			
60	December - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	June - - - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$			
61	November - 40	22	May - - - 30			
62	November - 25	23	May - - - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$			
63	November - 30	24	May - - - 15			
64	November - 40	25	May - - - 20			
65	January - 27 $\frac{1}{2}$	26	June - - - 25			
66	June - - - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	27	May - - - 20			
67	July - - - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	28	May - - - 15			
68	July - - - 40					
69	June - - - 45					
70	July - - - 15					
71	June - - - 15					
72	June - - - 15					

In all 278 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.

It may, perhaps be said with Truth, that so clear, so accurate, and so satisfactory an Account as this is, for such a Number of Years, and also of such an extensive Commerce, is scarce in the World to be met with. Let us therefore make Use of this Account, in order to raise such Observations as may enable us to penetrate clearly into the Subject. In the first Place, we must remember, that by the Constitution of the Dutch Government, all Ranks of People were allowed originally, and are, to this Day, permitted to invest their Fortunes in the Stock of this Company; by which Means every Body became interested in its Welfare; and the Support thereof was considered as equally beneficial to the Publick, and to private Per-

sons; which Spirit has been kept alive for upwards of one hundred Years, by that Skill and Oeconomy which we have described, and by making all the Proprietors sensible of the Profit and Loss of the Company's Trade, by the Rise and Fall of their Dividends. In the Course of this Time, it clearly appears, by comparing the Total of what has been divided, with the Number of Years in which that Sum has been divided, that, one Year with another, the Proprietors of this Stock have constantly received somewhat more than twenty-four per Cent. which is so considerable a Thing, that a very little Attention will convince us, that it must have laid the Foundation of a great many private Fortunes in Holland, and is still of very great Use,

Use to the Publick, and of prodigious Benefit and Advantage to private Persons in the same Way.

But then, if we consider it in a larger and more extensive View; and as it hath a Reference to the Commonwealth of *Holland*, and the *Dutch* Nation, we shall find that this *East-India* Commerce has been so far from exhausting and drawing out the Wealth of these Provinces, that, on the contrary, it has brought in a much greater Proportion of Wealth than could have been obtained any other Way. In order to be satisfied of this, we need only consider the original Capital of this *East-India* Company, which consists of not quite six Millions and a half of Florins, that is, to take it in round Numbers, about six hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Sterling; and yet upon this, in the Year 1728, they had divided Eighteen Millions of our Money.

It may, indeed, be objected, that before we can draw any Consequence from this, we ought to know the Quantities of Silver that have, within that Space of Time been exported from *Holland*; because, till these Sums are known, and deducted from the Eighteen Millions, divided amongst the Proprietors, it cannot, with any Certainty, be known how great Profits have accrued to the *Dutch* Nation from this Trade. But, in answer to this Objection, which is the only one that can be made; I say, first of all, that the Dividends made by the Directors of the Company, arise from the Sales by which the Goods brought from the *Indies* on the Company's Account, are thrown into the Hands of private Merchants, by whom the greatest Part of them have been exported into other Countries of *Europe*, and a vast Profit acquired thereby, which Profit is not at all taken Notice of in the Account before stated. I say, in the next Place, that the home Consumption of *India* Goods in *Holland*, bears so little Proportion to the Quantities of these Goods vendible by the Company in their publick Sales, that it is impossible to conceive they can conduce to any considerable Impoverishment of the People; and that there is the highest Reason to believe the whole Eighteen Millions before mentioned has been drawn from foreign Countries into *Holland*, by the Sale of those Commodities; and consequently this Sum at least has been gained, not only by the Company, but by the Nation.

I say, in the third Place, that this is the more credible, because this is so far from being the whole of the Profits which the Company has gained by its Commerce, that there is good Reason to believe it is not much above one half of them; for we must consider that the Company has, at several Times paid for the renewing its Charters and Privileges more than its original Capital; that it has likewise expended, from the Time of its first Establishment, an immense Sum every Year for the building, repairing, and equipping the Ships employed in its Service, and in discharging the Wages due to all who are in its Service, which, with many other Articles, that I need not enumerate, must have arisen from the Gain produced by their Trade. I say, in the fourth Place, that as the Company has very wisely avoided very high Dividends, and has always retained a vast Stock, and an immense Treasure for its Support in case of any extraordinary Emergency, so all this, in its Amount be what it will, is excluded from the before-mentioned Sum of Eighteen Millions, and belongs to a separate Account.

I say, farther, that all the Property of which the Company is possessed in the *East Indies*, and which is capable of being transferred from thence into *Europe*, ought to be considered as the entire Produce of this Trade, as it never could have accrued to, or have been by any Means in the Power or Possession of the Subjects of the States of *Holland*, but by the Establishment and Management of this Company: So that if we take in all these various Branches, which make no Part of these Eighteen Millions, I believe, there is no reasonable Man, at least no competent Judge of Matters of this Nature, who will not readily allow that they must vastly over-balance whatever Quantities of Silver have been exported by the Company, since its Establishment, for the carrying on of the *India* Trade. So that on the whole, I think, I may very truly, and with the

greatest Justice conclude, that if this Article of the Trade of *Holland* could be balanced with the utmost Nicety, it would appear, that, at least, this Sum of Eighteen Millions has been gained by the *Dutch* Nation, as well as by the Proprietors of their *East-India* Company.

But if it should be said, that the Wealth of the *Dutch* Provinces does by no means correspond with this Calculation, and that therefore it is very improbable; my Answer to this is, that in the first Place, this ought to be proved, and in the next, that supposing it could be proved, it is no reasonable Objection to the Truth of what I say, since it is very possible, and indeed highly probable, that a great Part of the Wealth brought into *Holland* by this Commerce, and by the numberless Branches of Trade which depend upon it, may have been in Part dissipated and dispersed by the great Wars maintained by the Republick, and by various other Exigencies of State; so that allowing there were not eighteen Millions in the Hands of all the Subjects of this Republick, yet this does not prove, that they may not have gained so much by this Commerce, because, as I have said before, they may have spent it. I may add to all this, that there is no great Difficulty in setting this Argument in such a Light, as that it may operate strongly in my Favour; for, if we consider the prodigious Sums the *Dutch* Government have levied upon their Subjects, the many and long Wars in which they have engaged, and the great Difficulties and Distresses to which they have been driven, it is as difficult to imagine, how they should have been able to find Money for their Expences, and yet leave their Subjects so rich as they are at present known to be, without admitting such a Profit upon this Trade, as it is to believe, that the best Part of these prodigious Expences was taken out of that Wealth which this Company brought in.

That a great deal of Time has been spent in examining and tracing the History of the *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies* for such a Number of Years, that I have been very large in my Description of its Establishment Abroad, and have bestowed no less Labour in setting forth the Oeconomy of this *East-India* Company at Home, is what I cannot deny; but at the same Time, I must profess, that the bringing such a Multitude of Things into the Compass of this Section, and thereby exhibiting in one View, what it would cost the Reader much Time and Trouble, and I might add, Expence likewise, to pick up, from a Multitude of different Writers, was my sole Motive thereto; and therefore I hope this will be thought a just Excuse for any Inconveniencies that may have attended it; the rather, because in the Course of my Enquiries, I have met with such Helps, as I did not, and indeed could have no Reason to expect, which has enabled me to render the Account I have given, much more perfect than at first I had any Hopes of making it. There is no Possibility of judging, on the first laying of a Plan of this Nature, how all the Materials are to be collected, what Space they will fill, or what Accessions may be made to them, while the Structure is erecting; but it is always clear, that an Author, who has a due Regard for his own Reputation, and a just Concern for the Performance of what he has promised to the Publick, will be always attentive to the main Object, and will let Circumstances of smaller Consideration give Way thereto, for which, when all Things have been sufficiently weighed, his Readers will not think that he ought to be blamed.

But if we have dwelt so long upon a Subject so fruitless of Matter as this has apparently been, it will prevent our employing so much Time as we should otherwise have done in accounting for the Endeavours of several other Nations in *Europe*, to share in this Trade, by erecting new Companies for carrying it on, of which it will now be necessary to say no more than what is requisite, to shew how, when, and by whom they were erected, and what their Situation and Expectations are at present, which will conclude all that we have to add concerning the *East-Indies*, as it will also do this our first Volume.

SECTION XXXV.

The History of the French East-India Commerce from its first Original, together with a clear and concise Account of the several Alterations it has undergone; and a full and plain Description of its present Circumstances at home and abroad; interspersed with some curious Remarks on the Nature of the French Government when the Powers thereof come to operate upon Trade.

Collected entirely from the French Writers.

1. *The fruitless Endeavours of Francis I. Henry III. and Henry IV. to engage their Subjects in long Voyages, and the first Appearance of an Indian Trade in that Country.* 2. *The Pains taken in this Respect by the great Cardinal Richelieu, and his noble Plan on that Subject abortive.* 3. *The first effectual Establishment of this Commerce owing to the Wisdom and publick Spirit of M. Colbert, who interested the Crown in this Affair.* 4. *The Protection of the King, the Patronage of that able Minister, and the most zealous Endeavours of the Merchants in France sail in promoting the Interests of this Company.* 5. *After the Decease of M. Colbert it declines continually, and loses all Countenance from the Court, which brings it into a very low State.* 6. *Transition from the Affairs of the Company in France, to the Management of their Commerce in the Indies.* 7. *A succinct History of the Acquisition, fortifying, and erecting a Town at Pondichery, with the Reasons which induced the Company to make it their capital Residence.* 8. *Remarkable Revolutions that have happened to this Place, and to the Affairs of the Company in the Indies.* 9. *A Description of the Fortress and Town of Pondichery as it now stands, a Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants, and the Importance of this Place set in a new Light.* 10. *The Condition of the French East-India Company at the Demise of Louis XIV. impartially represented.* 11. *A View of the Regent Duke of Orleans's Scheme for a Coalition of the French trading Companies for the Improvement of Commerce, and the Support of publick Credit.* 12. *A short bislorical Account of the China, Senegal, and West-India Companies that were united to the Company of the Indies by the Regent's Edict.* 13. *A perfect Representation of the Nature, Power, Privileges, and Establishment of the present French East-India Company since the Execution of that Scheme.* 14. *A brief Account of the Company's Trade from 1720 to 1741, with an impartial Account of its present State at home as well as in the Indies, and the true Value of its Actions.* 15. *Remarks and Observations on the Facts related in the foregoing Sections, explaining the Nature and Consequences of maritime Powers.*

WE opened the former Section with observing, that Zeal for Freedom, a due Portion of publick Spirit, and great Industry, were capable of conferring the Blessings of an extensive Trade, even upon Nations labouring under the greatest natural Impediments: But it will be the Business of this Section to shew, that where Freedom and publick Spirit are wanting, Power cannot supply their Place; and even Industry itself, though it may procure Credit to such a People, will never be able to purchase Wealth. Commerce loves to find its own Channels, and will not submit to any Restraint. Hope will nourish it in the most barren Soil, provided that Hope be cherished by a mild and prudent Government; for Trade is found to be of the same Nature with certain Plants, which though they become fair and large by Cultivation, yet can never be forced.

There have been few Governments, at least, where the Monarchs affected arbitrary Power, which could boast of being so happy in Ministers as France; neither has this Country wanted some great Princes who have both understood their Subjects Interests, and laboured to promote them: And yet, with respect to the Commerce of which we are treating, both have laboured in vain. The first Monarch of this Country, who strove to excite his Subjects to extend their Commerce, by making long and distant Voyages, was Francis I. who, by his Declarations in the Year 1537, and 1543, exhorted the French Nation to emulate their Neighbours, and to labour to obtain a Share in those important Discoveries, by which they were to much exalted both in Reputation and Riches. Henry III. renewed these Exhortations by an Edict, dated December 25, 1578, but without any Effect.

It was under the Reign of his Successor, Henry IV. one of the wisest, greatest, and which is still a higher Character, one of the best Princes that ever sat upon the French Throne, that this Nation first attempted to share in the Commerce of the Indies. One Gerard le Roy, a Native of the *Leto Countries*, and who had made several Voyages to

the *East-Indies* on board the *Dutch Ships*, came into France, and offered his Service as a Pilot to some Merchants, who were desirous of associating themselves for carrying on that Trade; of which the King having Notice, gave them all the Encouragement they could desire; and by an Arret, bearing Date June 1, 1602, erected the first *East-India Company* that had been seen in France, and granted them exclusive Privileges for the Term of fifteen Years; which however proved of no Use, either through the Divisions and Disputes which arose amongst the Merchants that composed this new Company, or from their finding it impossible to raise a Fund sufficient for carrying so great an Undertaking into Execution.

But notwithstanding this Company failed, yet Gerard le Roy still continued in France, and still laboured to see on foot an *East-India Company*, which at length however he effected under the Reign of Lewis XIII. who granted the Merchants that were engaged in this Project his Letters Patent, dated March 2, 1611, by which they had all the Privileges that they could desire confirmed to them for twelve Years. But, notwithstanding this, they suffered four whole Years to elapse without fitting out so much as a single Ship; and thereupon two Merchants at Reason petitioned the King, that these Privileges might be transferred to them, offering to fit out a certain Number of Vessels that very Year. But the Company before erected interposed, and declared that this Delay of theirs arose from unavoidable Difficulties, and not from any Design of dropping or abandoning their Project; upon which the King very wisely directed, that these Merchants should be associated with the old Company, in order to increase their Capital, and carry on their Trade the better.

In pursuance of this Resolution, they had new Letters Patent granted, dated July 2, 1612, which were registered in Parliament the Second of September following; and, in consequence of the ample Privileges that they had thus obtained, they began to fit out Ships, and actually

possessed themselves of the Island of *Madagascar*, which was then considered as a very great Thing, and mighty Hopes were conceived therefrom. But this, instead of facilitating their Commerce to the *Indes*, proved the Ruin of it under this Establishment; for, it being found by Experience that the Profits arising from the Possession and Commerce of this Island were of very little Consequence, it was too hastily concluded, that the Whole of this Trade would prove as insignificant; and so, notwithstanding all the fair Promises made at the Beginning, this Company, like the rest, sunk, and was totally lost.

2. The great Cardinal *Richelieu*, however, resolved to revive this Commerce, and undertook it with great Spirit, and consequently with all the Appearance imaginable of Success. The Royal Privileges granted to this new Company were dated the Twenty fourth of *June*, 1642, and contained all that could be thought necessary for promoting the Interest of a Society, under the peculiar Protection of so great a Minister; yet it fell out unluckily, that he did not long survive this new Grant, which, without doubt, was a great Prejudice to the Company's Affairs: However, *Louis XIV.* or rather the Regency acting in his Minority, confirmed those Privileges by an Edict dated the Twentieth of *September*, 1643, and the Company entered into Possession of all the Advantages derived therefrom immediately.

All these it quietly enjoyed for twenty Years; during which Space, this third Company sent every Year a Vessel, but the far greater Part of them were either cast away in their Passage, or lost the best Part of their Crews by the Scurvy; so that tho' the Name of an *East India* Company was still kept up in *France*, yet, in Fact, they were possessed of no such Trade, but contented themselves with a Number of tricks and fatiguing Attempts to settle a flourishing Colony at *Madagascar*; a Design, which, after all, they could never bring to bear. The Time of their Privilege being expired, the Duke de *Maillebois* thought fit to attempt an *Indian* Trade upon his own Bottom, which, however, ended in sending a Ship or two to *Madagascar*, where he got into the Possession of the *French* Settlements, and found them not worth keeping, though it is said that he made this Attempt at a pretty easy Rate, because being Master of the Ordnance, he made to free with the King's Stores, as to send large Quantities of them to *Madagascar*, and placed the same to his own Account. On his Death, however, his Son, who was styled the Duke de *Mazarin*, sold his Interest in this Island for about one thousand Pounds of our Money, which proved a great deal more than it was worth.

Thus we have spent our Time hitherto in contemplating the Progress of the *French East-India* Companies for about threescore Years, within which Space they did nothing; though some private Men from *St. Malo* sent Ships thither, and found their Trade turn to some Account. This very plainly shews, how little the *French* Government agrees with Commerce, and how difficult her ablest Ministers find it to establish Trade by dint of Power: And yet it must be allowed, that Cardinal *Richelieu* took all the Pains in this Respect that it was in the Power of Man to do; for he sent but Persons who were best versed in this Trade from *Holland*, drew abundance of rich Merchants from various Parts of *Europe* into *France*, drew the Plan for the Establishment of the new Company himself, and engaged some of the principal Persons for Quality and Fortune in *France* to embark in it.

What he conceived would most promote it, proved the Ruin of the whole Design; for there being always some great Nobleman or other at the Head of the Business, such as endeavoured to obtain Employment in the Company's Service, were forced to become his Creatures; by which happy Contrivance there were hardly any employed who had either Merit or Capacity, so that the Merchants and such as were the best Judges of the Means of carrying on such a Commerce with Success, treated the *East-India* Company as a mere Phantom, and never concerned themselves at all therewith: As, on the other hand, the *English East-India* Companies were under no Appearance of favour; but being solely guided by Experience, treated the Affairs of a *French East-India* Company

with Contempt; while the rest of the States of *Europe*, seeing that *France*, with all her Power, could make nothing of these repeated Attempts, took it for granted that the *India* Trade was designed by Nature for the maritime Powers, and so never troubled their Heads about it. Thus Things remained quietly in this Situation for the major Part of the last Century; and while *France* gave Law to her Neighbours by Land, she made as inconquerable a Figure by Sea as any of the little States in *Italy*. But the Scene was soon changed when *Louis XIV.* came to manage his own Affairs, and had taken into his Service such Ministers as were equally capable of undertaking great Designs, and of foreseeing and overcoming all the Difficulties that could possibly be met with in the Execution of them.

3. The famous *M. Colbert*, so much distinguished by *Louis XIV.* and whose Activity and Prudence procured him most of those Successes which distinguished the former Part of his Reign, and rendered him the most powerful Monarch in *Europe*. This active and intelligent Minister, *L'Hay*, was the Person who conceived the Design of reviving the *French East-India* Company, notwithstanding all the Misfortunes that *Scheme* had met with, and which had, over and over, disappointed the Skill and Care of all his Predecessors. But before he made his Intentions known to the Publick, he took care to make himself perfectly well instructed in the Affair he was to undertake, when he did, by drawing to his Acquaintance such Merchants and Seamen as were held to understand this Subject best. It was from them he learned that there were three principal Difficulties in the way of that Structure which he laboured to raise, and which, as they had never hitherto been overcome, so it appeared extremely doubtful whether, considering the Nature of the *French* Government, and the Temper of the *French* Nation, it was possible they should be got over.

The first was the finding a sufficient Fund for the effectually fixing and establishing such a Company, as to which nothing hitherto had ever been done worth mentioning, or that could afford any probable Hopes of Success: The *French* Merchants, being extremely fond of new Projects, were ready enough in promising Subscriptions, but very slow in performing what they promised, and in complying with the Terms of their Contracts, even after they had subscribed. The second Fault was said to be a peremptory Exclusion of Foreigners, notwithstanding it was so evident, that the necessary Funds for the carrying on so extensive a Trade were not easily, at least, to be found in *France*. The third and greater Difficulty of all was, the affording such a Degree of Liberty and Independence to this Company as might satisfy both Strangers and Natives as to the Security of their Properties, and put the entire Management of their Affairs into the Hands of such only as were chosen and entrusted by themselves.

All these Things *M. Colbert* weighed in his own Mind, and when he thought he had sufficiently ripened his Project, he reduced it into Writing; but knowing it to be of great Importance, and the great Consequence of having the most useful Sentiments helped by a proper Method, and adorned with the Graces of Writing, he communicated his Plan to *M. Charpentier*, of the *French* Academy, esteemed one of the best Pens in *France*. This Gentleman having new-redded our Statesman's Thoughts, by digesting them into their proper Order, and clothed them with the plain and significant Language, the Scheme came abroad with all the Advantages that could be desired, and was attended with all the Success that could be expected. As this Paper was esteemed a Matter-piece in its Kind, had amazing Effects, and contains abundance of curious Circumstances, it may not be amiss to give the Reader an Extract of its Contents.

It was in the first Place observed therein, that as former Schemes of the like kind had failed for want of proper Funds, there was no Danger that any Thing of this Nature should happen here, since, besides the constant Protection and Support which the Government determined to give thereto, the King himself, and the greatest and wealthiest Persons in the Nation, were resolved to furnish such large Sums at the Beginning, as might put it on a

the States of *Luzerne*, could make nothing but granted that the re for the nation leads about it. Thus nation for the major *France* gave Law to e as inconceivable a tes in *Italy*. But the XIV. came to manage his Service such Mi- Pertaking great De- ming all the Difficul- in the Execution of

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gled in his own Mind, eately known has that saying the most of d, and adorned with eated his Plan to Mr. y, offering one of the an having new method- telling them into their h the plan, and some ne about with all the and was attended with ed. As this Paper was , had an amazing Effect. Circumstances, it may an Extract of its Con-

therein, that as former ed for want of proper any Thing of this Na- does the constant Pro- government detest, and the greatest and the ere resolved to finish as might put it on a level,

level, at least, with the *Dutch East-India Company*, at its first Establishment. In regard to any Objection that might be raised from the various Disappointments which had overturned three several Companies already, it was observed, that few, or no Undertakings of this Sort were attended with immediate Success. That the *Spaniards* suffered greatly in their first Expeditions to *America*, which, however, did not hinder them from persevering in their Designs by which they had acquired the Empire of the new World. That the *English* Colony to *Virginia* had failed four or five times, and yet was brought to Perfection at last; and that even the *Dutch East-India Company*, which so much excelled all others, was far enough from being fortunate in its first Beginnings.

These Principles being laid down, it was shewn, that the Island of *Madagascar*, a considerable Part of which was then in the Possession of the *French*, was a Country capable of being improved to such a Degree, as to become of more Consequence, and of greater Advantage, than any of the Settlements possessed by the *Dutch* in the *East-Indes*. In Support of this, it was said, that no body would deny, that this Settlement was incomparably more commodious and more secure than that of *Batavia*, in the Island of *Java*, which the *Dutch* had nevertheless made the capital Residence of their Company in the *Indies*. For with respect to the Commodiousness of the Place, the Country of *Madagascar* was extremely agreeable, the Climate equally temperate and pleasant, and the Soil affording all the Necessaries of Life, in the greatest Abundance, whereas the Territory about *Batavia*, was so far from being fruitful, that the Company were obliged to procure from distant Places, Rice, fresh Meat, and other Provisions, for twenty-five, or thirty thousand People, which could not but be attended with great Difficulties, as well as with a vast Expence. In respect to Security, it was well enough known, that only a small Part of the Island of *Java* was in the Power of the *Dutch*, and that the rest of the Country, which was very large, and very populous, was inhabited by a Variety of Nations, agreeing, however, in the Ferocity and Brutality of their Natures, and in a bigotted Zeal for the *Mohammedan* Religion, which made them hate and despise all Christians to the last Degree. That the Territories of the *Dutch* bordered on one Side on those of the King of *Mataram*, who had more than once invaded them at the Head of an Army of one hundred thousand Men; that on the other, the City of *Batavia* itself, was but twelve Leagues distant from the Dominions of the King of *Bantam*, who had likewise shewn himself their powerful and inveterate Enemy; whereas, on the other Hand, the Inhabitants of *Madagascar* were of a mild and excellent Disposition, and to much inclined to receive the Doctrines of the Gospel, that a Settlement consisting only of one hundred Men, would be in greater Security there, than a like Settlement even of a thousand and upwards in the Island of *Java*.

That besides all this, by fixing their capital Colony in *Madagascar*, the *French* Company would be better seated for Trade than the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, because it was equally convenient for carrying on the Commerce of the Red Sea, or of the Gulf of *Bengal*, and lay at the same Time very properly for the Dispatch of Ships to *Clema* and *Japan*, affording a convenient Place for re-sitting and refreshing in their Return. In reticence to the Execution of a Project which these Arguments were supposed to demonstrate probable and feasible,

It was said in this Memorial, that a Fund of six Millions, or six hundred thousand Pounds of our Money, would be necessary in order to the equipping twelve or fourteen large Ships, from 800 to 1400 Tons, in order to embark such a Number of Persons for this Island of *Madagascar*, as might effectually, and at once establish a considerable Colony there. That there was no reason to doubt, that his Majesty would advance a tenth Part of this Sum. That the Nobility and other Persons of large Fortunes, would advance also the Sums requisite to set this Design on Foot, and that as the King was willing to take a ninth Share in the setting out, they had Reason to expect he would concern himself largely in future Expeditions. That as a further Encouragement, he was willing

to grant the Company an Exemption from half their Duties both Inward and Outward, on all the Goods they exported to, or imported from the *Indies*; and over and above all this, his Majesty was content to take upon himself all the Loss that might arise for the first eight or ten Years, which was sufficient to shew, how much, and how sincerely he had this great Design at Heart, and how willing he was to contribute to its Success. That as to private Persons, they should be at Liberty to subscribe in what Proportions they pleased, till the Fund was full; after which, no farther Subscriptions should be received on any Terms.

That the King would not only permit Foreigners to take what Share they pleased in these Subscriptions, but to encourage them thereto, would likewise consent, that such as subscribed ten thousand Livres (this was afterwards changed to twenty thousand) or upwards, should thereby acquire the Right of Naturalization, without any farther Ceremony, by which their Relations, tho' Strangers, should be capable of inheriting their Estates in the Kingdom of *France*; and farther, that in case of a Rupture with the State, to which such Strangers were Subjects, their Estates should never be liable to Confiscation, on any Pretence whatsoever. That the Affairs of the Company should be managed by their own Directors, chosen from amongst themselves, in whose Hands the Funds of the Company should constantly remain, and that Foreigners should be capable of being elected Directors, provided they were interessed in a reasonable Degree in the Stock of the Company, and resided in *France*. That in Point of Law Suits, the Company should be made as easily as possible, and after being heard, in the first inferior Court, near the Place where the Cause of Action arose, they should be at Liberty to appeal directly to the Parliament.

Such was the Memorial which this great Minister caused to be dispersed through all Parts of the Kingdom of *France*, in the Month of *June*, 1664, and upon which, the Edict for establishing the *East India Company*, which still subsists, and which bears Date in the Month of *August*, in the same Year, was founded. We have been the larger and fuller in this Account, because it answers two Purposes; for, first, it clearly explains the Methods taken by this great Minister to accomplish what in his own Opinion appeared to be a most difficult Undertaking, and next, it affords us an easy, and at the same time, a perfect View of the principal Points upon which the present *East-India Company's* Establishment rests; for tho' as we shall shew in the Course of this Section, the royal Authority has been often exerted in changing and new modelling, as the Circumstances of Affairs in general, and those of the Company in particular required, certain Articles in this Plan; yet has it been always considered as the Basis and Foundation of their Privileges, and consequently it was necessary to be well acquainted therewith, in order thoroughly to understand the subsequent History of their Transactions.

But first, it will be necessary to observe, that this Edict for the Establishment of the Company, was digested into forty seven Articles, and that the Value of the original actions, (and by the way, this was the first Time that Word was used in *France*) was fix'd at one thousand Livres, and the subsequent Call restrained to five hundred more, which Edict of Establishment was registered in Parliament the 7th of *August* 1664.

4. As soon as this Edict was published, his most Christian Majesty ordered the Sum of three hundred thousand Livres to be paid out of the royal Treasury, into the Hands of the Cashier of the *East-India Company*, and M. *Cobert*, who had been so warm and so industrious in bringing Things thus far, continued to apply himself with equal Attention to whatever might promote the Concerns of a Society, that he had taken to immediately under his Protection. The Assiduity of a first Minister in *France* is capable of putting any Thing into Motion, as appeared manifestly upon this Occasion, since in the following Spring, there sailed four large Ships from *Brest* for *Madagascar*, all of which arrived safely there on the 10th of *June*. This new Colony changed the Name of the Place where they were established, from *Madagascar* to the *Dan-*

the Name, by which still Name it is still known to the French; and, according to the Accounts they published of it, ought to be deemed a perfect Paradise. In a short Time, however, they began to change their Opinion, either from the natural Levity of that Nation, or because Opportunities presented of extending their Views in the Indies.

Two Persons offered themselves upon this Occasion, to promote the Interest of the new Company; the one was Mr. Caron, who has been already often mentioned. He was a Native of France, but had been for many Years in the Dutch Service, and had been raised in that Service to the Rank of Prefect of the Factory of Japan, where, for Reasons which we have assigned in another Place, he suffered severely. An Officer not thinking himself sufficiently considered for his Sufferings, quitted the Dutch Service, and returned to France, at a Juncture when a Man of his Abilities was much wanted, and therefore he was carelessly employed. The other was Mr. Marcara, a Native of Japan, in Java, and nearly allied to several Persons of great Rank in that Kingdom, as also to some who enjoyed Governments, and other great Employments in the Indies; he also was employed by the Company, and did it considerable Service. In Conjunction with Mr. Caron, he settled a Factory at Surat, and, by his own Interest purely, procured for them an Establishment in the Kingdom of Cochin, in the Year 1669.

But it afterwards fell out, that these two Gentlemen differed, and Mr. Caron lent some heavy Accusations against the French, who cleared himself, however, so effectually, of all that was laid to his Charge, that he was honourably acquitted, and continued in his Employment. It was also in this Year 1669, that the Directors of this East India Company began to dislike their Settlement in the Island of the Dauphin, which had been always considered as their chief Residence; but now they were desirous of transferring that Honour to Surat, to which the Court of France assented; and that nothing might be wanting for the Support and Encouragement of this Commerce, the Harbour of Port-Louis was granted to them, with all its Dependencies, together with full Power to make such Alterations and Improvements as they judged requisite; and it was in virtue of this Grant, that they built and established their Magazines at what is now called Port-Orient. But, notwithstanding all these Acts of Favour, the Affairs of the Company were so far from taking a successful Turn, that it was found, upon stating a general Account, that they were indebted in no less a Sum than four Millions to the Crown, which, however, the King, agreeable to the Promise made them at their Establishment, easily forgave, and took that Lots upon himself.

About this Time, some private Persons, having insinuated that they were willing to embark their Fortunes in a Trade to the Indies, provided they might have the Company's Favour; and the Company likewise having engaged to the King, that it might prove beneficial to him, if they had it in their Power to grant such Indulgences, this Favour likewise was added to the rest, and private Traders were permitted to engage in this Commerce, upon the following Conditions; first, that they should transport themselves and their Effects on board the Company's Ship, both coming and going. Secondly, that they should pay their Freight and Passage before their Departure. Thirdly, that the Goods they brought home, Jewels and precious Stones only excepted, should be exported in the Company's Vessels, and their Produce fairly accounted for. Fourthly, that these Licences should be in Force only for five Years; and fifthly, that if they should be found prejudicial to the Affairs of the Company, the Directors might abridge or cancel them at their Pleasure.

There was yet another and still more considerable Act of Grace obtained by their powerful Protector Mr. Colbert, which was an Exemption from all Duties on the Goods they brought home. But notwithstanding these mighty Advantages, and though they were asked any Thing of their Patron but what was granted, yet their Affairs continued declining; and as he died in 1683, the Spirit of

this Commerce might be said to expire with him. The Body, indeed, of the Company was kept up, not much perhaps to its Advantage; they had not only a Court of Directors at Paris, but, in Imitation of the Dutch East-India Company, Chambers of Direction at several Ports, a Council in the Indies, and, in short, the Appearance and Trappings of a great and powerful Society, when at the Bottom they were distressed and poor; so that upon stating a general Account in 1684, it clearly appeared, that instead of gaining one Penny by their Commerce, they had actually run out one Half of their Capital, or about three hundred thousand Pounds of our Money.

This was attributed to several Causes, but principally to these three; first, to the War with the Dutch, which lasted from 1672 to 1678, and of which we have spoke largely enough in the last Section. Secondly, to the Negligence and Fraud of the Persons employed in their Service in the Indies, who thought, though they were lent by the Company, they had no other Business there than to mind their own Interests, which they did at the Expence of their Masters, so that some private Fortunes were made, while the Concerns of the Publick were running to Ruin; and lastly, to the Supineness, Timorousness, or Inability of their Subscribers, who had not paid in, as they ought to have done, to the great Detriment of their Affairs. To remedy these Disorders, and to retrieve, if possible, the Trade of the sinking Company, it was resolved to change the System of their Government, to suppress all the little Chambers of Directors, and to put the whole Management of the Company's Concerns into the Hands of twelve Directors residing in Paris, who were each of them to pay in thirty thousand Livres upon the forfeited Actions, and to be allowed reasonable Salaries for the Business they did. It was also resolved, that all who had not paid in, should forfeit their Shares to the Company, with a Proviso, that if in two Years they made good their Payments, they should enter into their former Rights, and have all their Actions restored.

This Regulation was confirmed by a royal Edict, dated in February 1685, by which the King left the Company free Liberty either to resume the Sovereignty of Madagascar, which they had surrendered in 1670, as has been before-mentioned, or to leave it as it then was in the King's Hands. As the Company had thus their Option, and were left at Liberty to do as they thought fit in this Affair, they, after mature Deliberation, thought proper to adhere to their last Resolution, and to quit this Island intirely to the Crown; which Act of theirs was confirmed by the King's Arrêt, bearing Date the 4th of June, 1686. All these Regulations at home were supported by an Alliance abroad, which it was hoped would have had a very good Effect, and totally restored the Company's Affairs.

The History of this Treaty will be given in the succeeding Volume, and therefore we shall be very short in what we have to say of it here. The King of Spain, a very powerful Prince in the Indies, had raised one Mr. Constance, who was originally no better than a Servant in an English Factory, to the Rank of his First Minister; and he being a bold enterprising Man, took it into his Head that it was very possible to convert his Matter and all his Subjects to the Christian Religion, by engaging him in a very close Correspondence with the Court of France, in which last Part of his Scheme he succeeded so well, that not only Millions were lent over to convert the Name, but a Squadron of Men of War likewise, with some Troops on board, to make the King as absolute as his Brother of France. This raised such a Jealousy in the Minds of his Subjects as created an universal Revolt, in which the King was murdered in his Palace; his Prime Minister cut off in the same manner, and the French Garrison in the Citadel of Bankock, after an obstinate Defence, totally destroyed; and thus ended that Affair, and all the Advantages that were expected from it; so that in about two Years time the Company's Affairs were in as bad a Condition as ever, and all the high Hopes they had conceived from the Change of their Administration, and the grand Alliance in the Indies vanished into Air, and were almost almost as soon as they bloomed. This fell the heavier upon them, because abundance of new Subscribers had been

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carriage, and induced a general Opinion that it was abso-
lutely impossible for the *French* Nation to carry on a Trade
to the *Indies* with Advantage.

5. But all these vexatious Circumstances at home and
abroad were nothing in comparison of the Loss of their
generous Protector Mr. *Colbert*, who was ready at all times
to exert his Influence in their Favour, and whose Influence
was so great, that he never exerted it in vain. There
was nothing of Self-Interest, or Views of private Advan-
tage in this Conduct of his; he acted purely from a Prin-
ciple of publick Spirit, and the Desire he had of contri-
buteing to the Glory of his Prince, by pursuing what he
took to be the true Interest of his Subjects. These, it
must be confessed, were great and laudible Notions, and
such as he carried into Action with surprisng Success;
yet, taking all this together, it is perhaps the clearest and
most convincing Argument, that the *French* Nation are
altogether incapable of carrying such great Designs into
Execution, with such Advantage to themselves as accrues
to their less powerful Neighbours, because it is impossible
that Trade should flourish in a Country where its Welfare
must depend solely on the Will and Capacity of a single
Person.

Accidents are not to be trusted to, especially in Matters
of Property and Things of Importance. Yet what greater
or more apparent Accident can there be than the rising of
an able, experienced, and honest Minister, in an arbitrary
Government? It is such an Accident as not only seldom
happens, but is very rarely to be expected; and when it
does happen, like every other accidental Good, misleads
unwary Minds, and makes Men mistake for a solid and
certain Foundation, what is in Fact no more than a lucky
Continuance of Things in the same Posture; so that such
as are tempted to hazard their Substance in building upon
such a Basis, are not to be esteemed wiser than if they
were drawn in to contribute to the erecting a large Struc-
ture upon the Ice, because it had been known to remain
firm for nine or ten Weeks.

As these are reasonable and just Principles in themselves,
so, in this Case, they were fully justified by Experience.
The Successor of Mr. *Colbert* was Mr. *Pont Chartrain*, a
Man who was far from wanting Abilities, or being desti-
tute of Probity, but whose Notions with respect to Com-
merce were either crude and indigested, or, which was
worse, narrow and obscure. He was, from the Beginning
of his Administration, no Friend to the *East-India* Company,
as appeared very clearly by his crossing every thing they
asked, and countenancing every Attempt that was made
against them. To enter into a long Detail of the Facts ne-
cessary to justify in its largest Extent this Observation,
would be at once tedious to the Reader, and draw me
much beyond the Bounds I have prescribed to myself in
this Work, therefore I shall take Notice of one Thing only,
which is this; the *East-India* Company finding that all
Sorts of painted Cottons, gold and silver Brocades, and
such other showy Goods as they imported from *India*, went
off at a great Rate in *France*, they struck into that Trade,
and began to make considerable Advantages of it. This
encouraged them to venture upon another Undertaking,
which was the importing vast Quantities of white Cottons,
and causing them to be painted in *France* after the Man-
ner of the *Indies*, which occasioned a prodigious Outcry
among the Manufacturers in *France*; who let forth, that
the Sale of these Cottons and Silks was excessively inju-
rious to them; and that if they continued, it was impos-
sible that their Manufactures should subsist.

Upon the Representation of these Things to the Prime
Minister, he took the Thing so warmly, that he immedi-
ately procured an Edict, dated the Twenty-seventh of
January, 1687; by which the importing them was abso-
lutely prohibited. On the Application, however, of the
East-India Company, and the Interposition of some Friends
at Court, which they had still left, the Execution of this
Law was, in some measure, suspended in Favour of the
Company; that is to say, they were allowed a certain
Space of Time, in which to dispose of the Goods then in
their Hands; as also of such as might be brought from
the *Indies* within a limited Time: But the great Blow was

not to be parried; and the Edict, which required the de-
stroying all the Molas, and other Utensils for painting
Linnen in *France*, was to take place absolutely on the First
of *January*, 1689. The Company indeed endeavoured,
and by the Help of its Friends made great Efforts to de-
feat this Design; but all they could do proved ineffectual
in the main, and procured only a Suspension for three
Months; and, in the mean time, they were obliged to
take back what they had sold to private Merchants, and
to return them their Money. As to the gold and silver
Brocades, and other *Indian* Silks, they were permitted to
import these to a certain Value, *viz.* One hundred and
fifty thousand Livres; but this was upon Condition, that
they exported to the Amount of Five hundred thousand
Livres in *French* Manufactures; and they were afterwards
restrained to the Exportation of such Manufactures only as
would sell to Profit in the *East-Indies*. The Company's
Commerce was before declining, and they had but this
single Chance of supporting themselves by the Honour
which prevailed of buying these printed Cottons, Brocades,
and Silks; so that the Reader may easily judge that when
this Prohibition came to take place, it gave the Death's
Wound to their Trade.

It must however be owned, that upon certain Occasions
they did procure the Dispensation of this Law for a cer-
tain Space of Time, which might afford them a temporary
Relief, and just keep them from sinking; But they had
no longer a Power of trading as a Company; their Fac-
tories in the *Indies* grew low, those who were employed
in their Service lost their Credit, and the *French* Flag in
the *Indies* was little regarded, and indeed scarce known.
The Farmers General of the King's Duties likewise at-
tacked the Company; and as their Employments gave
them the Ear of the Ministers, they were almost always
too hard for them; so that, by degrees, the Company lost
the Benefit of most of those great Privileges which had
been procured by Mr. *Colbert*, and yet without their
being taken away; for in *France*, and perhaps in some
other Countries, Methods are found out for eluding the
Laws by the Manner of executing them, and without
any formal Repeals. Some other Laws were likewise
made for laying Penalties upon such as dealt in wrought
up, or in any way exposed to Sale any Chints, or any
other painted Cottons; which being executed with great
Severity, put a full Stop to that Branch of Trade, as the
want of Money had done to most other Branches. So
that between those Oppressions peculiar to themselves,
and the Mischiefs they endured in common with the rest
of the Subjects of *France* by the long Continuance of the
War, they found themselves in so low a Condition as to be
scarce able to keep up the Appearance of the Company;
and those who had formerly yielded them Assistance at
Court began to be tired, and listened no longer to their
Solicitations.

There arose likewise a new Spirit in *France* of curbing
and distressing this almost broken Company, under Col-
our of augmenting the Revenues of the Crown, and
protecting the Manufactures which afforded Bread to the
People; under Pretence of which, they first restrained the
Company from selling Cloths and other Piece-goods to
Foreigners, which was not only a very great Loss to the
Company, but to the *French* Nation in general, among
whom the Money would have infallibly circulated for
which these Manufactures had been sold; whereas, by
this Prohibition, so much ready Money was kept out of
France, and not a Thread more of their own Manufac-
tures vended. Afterwards a Duty was laid upon the raw
Silk, which they imported: And notwithstanding this pro-
duced a great Sum of Money, yet it was not long before
a Prohibition was applied, under Pretence that the Com-
pany importing every Year seven thousand Pounds of raw
Silk, did thereby great Damage to one of the staple Com-
modities of the Kingdom; whereas, in Truth, the great-
est Part, if not all this Silk, was sold by Strangers:
But it was the Misfortune of the Company, that while
they were distressed and ill treated abroad, on purpose to
drive them totally out of the *Indies*, they were envied
and persecuted at home, on account even of that small
Trade which they drove thither; and all this under the

plausible Appearance of publick Spirit, and Concern for the Poor; but, in reality, from private Views and selfish Principles, as will be shewn hereafter.

The Ministers that then governed *France* were very different from *M. Colbert*; they were unacquainted with the extensive Nature of Commerce, took every Thing that was alleged by the Farmers of the Revenue on one Side, and by the Agents for Manufactures on the other, for granted, and made whatever Orders were desired on either Side; but, as for the Company, their Applications were continually slighted; and the Decay of their Commerce, though produced by these very Measures, was pleaded as a sufficient Excuse for this Treatment, and made a Reason for continuing it. In the mean time all their Settlements abroad were sinking as fast as they could; and the few Servants they had were not so much bound by a Sense of Duty, as fixed to the Places where they resided by the great Debts they had contracted, and which neither they nor their Masters knew how to discharge. But as the Scene soon after changed surprisingly, and as this Company has since made some kind of Figure, it will be necessary to enter more particularly into the History of their Settlements in the *Indies*.

6. We have already observed, that when the Company was erected, they placed the Seat of their Government, and proposed to fix their capital Settlement in the Island of *Madagascar*, which, in a warm Part of Loyalty, they called the Island of the *Dolphin*, and which they represented to the World in the fairest Light possible. They suggested, that the Climate was extremely agreeable, not warmer for two Thirds of the Year than it is in *France*, during the Springs, and not hotter for the remaining four Months than it is in that Kingdom, during the Summer.

The Country abounding with fine Fruits, wholesome Herbs, and pleasant Roots, producing three Crops of Rice in a Year, and all Sorts of *European* Grain, better in Kind, and more in Quantity, than in any Part of *France*. They added to all this, that there grew Vines there naturally, which bore admirable Grapes, and from which it was very practicable to make excellent Wine. As to Animals, besides black Cattle in Abundance, it afforded Goats, Swine of several sorts, and many other useful Creatures. In Point of Riches, they affirmed, that there were Mines of Gold, which, by the way, could never be found, besides Iron, Lead, and other Metals: They, with more Truth, asserted, that Cotton, Wax, Sugar, black and white Pepper, and Indigo, might be raised there to Advantage; that the Country afforded both Mulberry-trees and Silkworms, and that there was great Store of Ebony, and other rich Woods. The Colony they settled there cost them immense Sums, and remained for some Years in a very flourishing Condition, sending home yearly several Ships richly laden, and would very probably have answered their Expectations, if they could have had Patience.

But after they had once settled Factories in the *Indies*, those who were in the Company's Service, found it so much easier to raise Fortunes for themselves in these Settlements, that by their Representations they procured the Removal of the Council of the *Indies* to *Surat*, where they built a most noble and convenient Houle, and added to it Warehouses, Magazines, and other Offices, much superior to the Trade which they had established to support it, and from these excessive and extravagant Expences their first Misfortunes arose.

7. But after the first *Dutch* War, in which they made themselves Masters of *St. Thomas*, which they lost again to the *Dutch*, the *Sieur Martin* retired to a Place called *Pondichery*, where, by the Leave of the Viceroy of the King of *Vijapour*, he settled himself. This was in the Beginning of the Year 1674, and as the Company had at that Time a great Demand for Piece goods, it was thought they could not establish themselves in a better Place. It was for this Reason, that the *French* Company committed *M. Martin* to procure that Place for them, on the best Terms he could; with which Order he complied exactly. This Gentleman appears to be one of the honestest and most capable Persons they ever had in their Service; and he procured from the Governor, who first gave him

Leave to settle there, a Licence to fortify, and to secure his People and Effects in the best Manner he could, which he accordingly did, and settled under the Protection of his Factory a little *Indian* Village, of about forty Houses, in which those who wrought for the Company lived quietly and happily.

Things had not remained long in this Condition, before he was threatened with total Ruin; for the famous *Setsa-Gi* falling with a vast Force into that Part of the Country, endeavoured to overwhelm him as a Dependent upon his Enemies. However, *M. Martin* supplied by Prudence what he wanted in Force; and, by a timely Application, brought about a Treaty, which was managed on his Side by an *Indian* Priest, which ended in a Licence to trade in his Dominions, for which he paid one thousand six hundred *Ruppes*. This was in the Year 1680, and he had the Year before purchased the Territory of the King of *Vijapour*, whose Inheritance it was; so that now he was tolerably secure, only he was apprehensive, that the Son of *Setsa-Gi*, who was Sovereign of the Place, might take it amiss, if he presumed to raise a regular Fortification without his Consent, which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a Posture of Defence. This was a very timely Provision; for the *Dutch* began to be extremely disturbed at the flourishing Estate of this little Colony, and offered very large Presents to the *Rajah*, in whose Dominions it lay, in case he would dispossess the *French* of *Pondichery*; but the *Indian* Prince, who was also Son to *Setsa-Gi*, rejected these Offers with Contempt. He said, the *French* had fairly purchased that Settlement; that they had applied to his Brother for a Protection, for which they paid him a valuable Consideration; and that, therefore, all the Money in the World should never tempt him to dislodge them: A glorious Instance of the natural Probity of the unconquered *Indians*, and which deserves more Praise from Mankind than the most extensive Conquests.

The *Dutch*, however, resolved to carry their Point, and the War having broke out between them and *France*, they made Dispositions for attacking it by Force, which, however, they did not do till the Year 1693, when they came before the Place with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, landed an Army of between two and three thousand Men, with a fine Train of Artillery, and six Mortars. To make their Conquests the surer, they applied to the new *Rajah*, who was not of the same Temper with the old one, and for the Sum of about twenty thousand Pounds of our Money, purchased the whole District in Property. They then invested and attacked the Place, which, after a good Defence, *M. Martin*, who was then Director-General for the *French East-India* Company, surrendered upon very honourable Conditions, on the 6th of September, 1693. This Stroke, which seemed to put an End to the Company's Authority in those Parts, proved, in its Consequences, the happiest Thing that ever befel them. For the *Dutch* were no longer in Possession of the Place, than they raised new Walls, seven regular Bastions, and what else was necessary to render it one of the completest Fortresses in the *Indies*.

In the Year 1699, upon the Conclusion of a general Peace, the Place was restored to the *French*, who then acquired the Property of *Pondichery*, and all their new Fortifications, and this for so trifling a Sum as five thousand Pounds, which they paid to the *Dutch* Governor, upon his delivering up all that he was possessed of, which probably he would never have done, if he had not been compelled thereto by the Orders of the *States-General*, who, as they were great Gainers by that Peace in 1697, would not perplex themselves with the Disputes between the two Companies.

8. As soon as the News of this was brought into *France*, the *East-India* Company received Orders from the Government to put that Place into such a Condition, as that in case of a second War, they might not lose it so easily as they had done before; and, to enable them to do this, a Squadron was sent from *France*, with two hundred regular Troops, for the Augmentation of the Garrison; several able Engineers, a vast Quantity of military Stores, and what ever else was requisite to secure *Pondichery* from any future Attempts of the *Dutch*. The *Sieur Martin* was again

intended

fortify, and to secure in the best Manner he could, which was the Protection of his about forty Houses, in which the Company lived quietly

In this Condition, before the famous Settlement at Part of the Country, which was dependent upon his Prudence, by a timely Application, he managed on his Side a Licence to trade in one thousand six hundred and 1680, and he had the Territory of the King of ... to that now he was offensive, that the Sen of the Place, might take a regular Fortification in 1689, and then this was a very time to be extremely disturbed the Colony, and offered in whose Dominions the *French of Pondichery*, also Son to *Sena Gi*, ... He said, the *French*; that they had applied for which they paid him, therefore, all the M... tempt him to dilodge the natural Probity of the ... deserves more Praise than Conquells.

to carry their Peace, and in them and *France*, they by Force, which, however, in 1693, when they came of nineteen Sail, landed five thousand Men, with a Fort. To make them to the new Rajah, who the old one, and he Pounds of our Money Property. They then, which, after a good ... Director-General, surrendered upon the 17th of September, 1701, at an End to the ... proved, in its ... ever befel them. For the of the Place, than they Ballions, and what ... of the complicated ...

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was brought into *France*, Orders from the Govern... a Condition, as that ... not lose it to easily ... able them to do this, ... with two hundred regular Garrison; several able Military Stores, and what *Pondichery* from any future *Sieur Martin* was again intrusted

intrusted with the Command of the Place, which in the Space of four or five Years he so changed, as that it was scarce to be known. He not only completed the Fortifications according to his Instructions, and assembled a good Garrison of seven or eight hundred Men, but likewise built one hundred new Houses, and laid out a regular Plan for a large Town, into which, by his own Prudence and good Management, he drew, within the Space of five Years more, fifty or sixty thousand Inhabitants; so that in the Year 1710, it was become one of the most considerable Places in the *Indies*, in the Hands of the *Europeans*; and if the Affairs of the Company in *Europe* had kept Pace at all with the Improvements made by this Gentleman in the *Indies*, the *French Company* might very soon have been upon a Level with their Neighbours the *English* and the *Dutch*.

This, however, was so far from being the Case, that both this Gentleman and succeeding Governors were obliged to find Ways and Means to support themselves; the Factory and the Town, by the Trade carried on in it, and by the Industry of the *Indians* settled there, in which they were so fortunate, that while the Company was daily declining at home, every Thing carried the Face of Plenty and Prosperity there; and none knew or felt Difficulty or Pain, but the Governor and their Council, who yet were never tempted to oppress the People with Taxes, or to endeavour to make their own Circumstances easier, by laying any Part of the Load upon others. It is true, that when the Town grew too large for the old Fortification, it was found necessary to surround it with a new Wall; but how clear soever that Necessity might appear, and however advantageous for the People, yet the Governor found it absolutely impracticable to defray the Expence without the Assistance of the Inhabitants. In order to procure this, he acted with equal Integrity and Caution; for, having first ordered the Wall to be marked out, and Part of it to be erected at each End, he thereby shewed his People at once the Advantages which would be derived from such a Fortification, and the Expences that would attend it; so that when, in order to compleat his Design, he imposed upon the Inhabitants a Tax of Two-pence a Month for every Head, they were equally satisfied, as to the End for which it was imposed, and the Sum that would be raised by this Imposition, and therefore, instead of murmuring or complaining, they paid it with the greatest Cheerfulness, and gave the Governor hearty Thanks for the Care taken of their Interest.

I have dwelt the longer on this Incident, for a very particular Reason, with which, when communicated, I am thoroughly satisfied, the Reader will be very well pleased. The *French*, who in *Europe* pride themselves so much in the Grandeur and absolute Power of their King, and talk in so high a Strain of his Conquests, affect quite another Language in the *Indies*; for they value themselves there upon their Justice and Moderation; their having purchased the small Territory, which they possess; their having lived always upon good Terms with their Neighbours, and their establishing to large a Town, and acquiring to many thousands of Subjects, purely by the Equity and Mildness of their Administration: The Fact is equally true and strange, at the same Time that it demonstrates that common Sense directs all Nations to think the same Way, and that the great Difference of Opinions, and what we call the Temper and Disposition of Nations, arises purely from Accidents in Education and Government. Independent of these, Reason is every where the same, and Men think exactly alike, which shews the Reality and Certainty of the Laws of Nature, to which all Men return of themselves, when the Influence of Power, and other accidental Restraints are removed.

9. As we have shewn by what Course of Events this Fortress of *Pondichery* is become the chief Seat and capital Residence of the *French East-India Company*, it will be necessary to give the Reader a more particular Description of it, and of the Government established therein. The Town then of *Pondichery* is situated in the Province of *Gingy*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, in the Latitude of twelve Degrees North, and in the Longitude of one hundred and fourteen from the Meridian of *Paris*. It stands

at the Distance of one hundred Yards from the Sea shore, and has nothing more than a Road before it; so that they are obliged to carry all their Goods in Boats for a full League. The Magazines of the Company, and of private Persons, are both numerous and magnificent, as far as any Thing of this Nature can be so; they have a large and very beautiful Market-place, six fine Gates, eleven Bastions for the Defence of their Walls, a regular Citadel well fortified, upwards of four hundred Cannon upon their Works, besides a good Train of Field-pieces, Bombs, Mortars, and other military Stores in their Arsenal.

The Governor has a very fine House, with convenient Offices, and whatever else is requisite for the Service, or Credit of the Company. On the West-side of the Town the Company have a very fine Garden, beautifully laid out into publick Walks, whatever else may contribute to the Satisfaction and Pleasure of the wellheier and better Sort of People, who resort to which Garden, there is a very fine Piazza, neatly finished, made use of for the Reception of foreign Princes and Ambassadors, who, wherever they resort thither, are treated with infinite Respect, and all their Expences defrayed by the Company, which has been found a very wise and useful Contrivance, of much more Consequence to the Interest of their Commerce, than the Expence it occasions. The other publick Buildings consist of a large Convent of the *Jesuits*, where they have usually twelve or fifteen Priests, who, besides officiating in that Character, likewise teach School, and instruct the Children of the Inhabitants in Reading, Writing, and the Mathematicks, and whatever else may be of Use in civil Life; for, as to the learned Languages, they trouble not themselves about them, and indeed, the Knowledge of them would be of little Service in this Part of the World: There are, besides that of the *Jesuits*, two other Convents, but not so considerable by any means as the former. The Houses of the Town are as regularly laid out, as if it had been all built at once, tho' it is now near four Leagues in Extent. The *Europeans* build with Brick, but the *Indians*, and other Nations, use only Wood, building in that Manner which we call here in *England* Lath and Plaster. For the latter, they have the best in the World, which is computed of all Sorts of Shells ground to Powder, and wrought up into a kind of Paste, which when exposed for some Time to the Air, becomes altogether as white, and almost as hard as Stones.

These Houses are one Story only, and are usually eight Yards in Front, and six in Depth, and yet there are fifteen or twenty People live in them. They are but very indifferently lighted, so that it is not easy to conceive how they are able to dispatch their Business in them. Their Roofs are all flat, for the Convenience of lying upon them, which they do almost naked, agreeable to the Custom of the Country; for *Pondichery*, lying in the Torrid zone, is extremely hot, tho' otherwise the Climate is found by Experience very wholesome. One Thing there is in it very singular, and which therefore deserves Notice, and this is, that it never rains there, except seven or eight Days at the most, towards the End of *October*, which falls out regularly, and is therefore the more singular and extraordinary. The native *Indians*, or as they are called here *Gentiles*, are most of them Weavers, or Painters; and tho' the very best Workman cannot earn above Two-pence a Day, yet upon this he is able to subsist himself, his Wife, and his Children; their principal Food being Rice boiled in Water, or wrought upon into a Paste, and baked upon the Coals. The Country round about is extremely well cultivated, and produces Rice in Abundance, so that there is hardly a Place in the *Indies* of greater Plenty, or where they have Fish, Fowl, and Fowl, on more reasonable Terms; and this, notwithstanding they have no other Water than what is derived to them from the overflowing of the *Cobram*, and other great Rivers, which they prelerve in Lakes, or Ponds, and draw it for Use, through their Country, in artificial Canals, after the same Manner as in *Egypt*.

The Governor General for the Company, as he is lodged in a fine Palace, so he makes a Figure equal thereto in every Respect. He has twelve Horse Guards clothed in Scarlet, lac'd with Gold, and an Officer with the Title of Captain

Captain who commands them; he has also a Foot-Guard of three hundred Men, Natives of the Country, called *Poms*; and when he appears in publick, he is carried in a *Panankin* very richly adorned with gold Fringe. But all this Pomp and State is displayed only on proper and particular Occasions, upon the receiving of Princes, or Ambassadors; at other Times his Guards are employed in the necessary Service of the Company, and earn to the full the Wages they are paid; for, as we have already shewn, there are few Settlements better regulated, or more discreetly governed than this, which the Reader will more easily believe when he is told, that, according to the last Account taken of the Inhabitants of this Place, there appear to be in it no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Christians, Mohammedans and Gentiles; a thing altogether incredible, if the Fact was not supported by Testimonies, the Authority of which is not to be disputed.

There cannot be a Place better seated for Trade than this, being in the midst of the *European* Settlements on the Coast of *Ceromandel*, and having all the Bay of *Bengal* open before them; so that here the Company's Magazines are full of all the Commodities and Manufactures, not only of the Coast of *Ceromandel*, but of other Parts of the *Indies*; such as *Bengal*, *Surat*, and the Coast of *Malabar*, as also of such as are imported from *Persia* and the Coast of the *Red Sea*; and here likewise are their Warehouses for all sorts of *European* Commodities, which are conveniently transported from thence, as Occasions require, to all the Markets in the *Indies*. The staple Trade however of the Place is esteemed to be *Piece-goods*, of which the finest are made in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Golconda*, and the best painted here; they likewise have great Quantities of Silk raw and manufactured, Gold and Silver Brocades, Perfumes, Spices, and Diamonds; in which last Trade they are said to have made a great Progress of late, and for which it is certain they are very conveniently situated, as being at a very small Distance from the finest Mines in the *Indies*, and by having amongst them Persons as well skilled in Jewels as any in the World. The *French East-India* Company therefore can neither be blamed for their Choice of this Residence, which, all things considered, is the fittest for them of any in the *Indies*, or for the Pains and Expence they have bestowed about it, amounting, in the Whole, to about eight hundred thousand Livres, or forty thousand Pounds Sterling. Since thereby they have rendered it so strong and so commodious, that it might very easily drive ten times the Trade they have ever had in this Part of the World.

10. We are now to return into *France*, and to consider the Situation of Things, with respect to the Company, as low as the Demise of the late King *Louis XIV.* The War, as it brought numberless Mischiefs on all other Branches of the *French* Commerce, so it particularly affected the *East-India* Company, and this as much through the wrong Notions that were formed of that Trade at home, as from the Interruptions it met with abroad. The Farmers of the Royal Revenue not only continued their Persecutions, by attacking from time to time the Privileges of the Company, and almost always without Success; but new Enemies were daily arising, thus added to the Number of their Hardships and Misfortunes.

The Office of High Admiral, which had been for a long time suppressed in *France*, was given by the King to his natural Son, the Count de *Toulouse*, who took Exceptions against two Privileges of the Company. The first granted them the entire Property of all the Prizes taken by Ships in their Service; and the second exempted them from the Rights of the Admiralty, in regard to Wrecks. This occasioned a very long Dispute, which at last ended in a Decision contrary to the Interest of the Company. It appeared clearly from hence, that, on the one hand, the Company had entirely lost its Credit at Court; and on the other, that their Privileges were far enough from resting on a firm and settled Foundation, since they were liable, at every Turn, to be subverted and taken away by such kind of Judgments to the Company's Prejudice.

Such a continued Series of Mischiefs and Misfortunes not only crushed the Trade, but broke the Spirits of the Company, and that to such a degree as to oblige them to have recourse to Expedients for their own Support, which were not very advantageous, though at the same time they were highly dishonoured. We have before observed, that in the Year 1687, they had entered into a Scheme for permitting private Trade upon certain Conditions, which we have mentioned; but their Affairs were now fallen into such Disorder, that they were not only content to suffer private Persons to share in their Trade, but even to resign it to them, and that upon very moderate Conditions.

Accordingly, in 1708, they granted Leave to Mr. *Crozat* to fit out two Ships in the Name of the *East-India* Company, upon Condition that he paid them fifteen *per Cent.* upon all the Goods imported under this Privilege, and two *per Cent.* upon all the Prizes they should make beyond the Line; with a farther Reservation, that the Company might be at Liberty to bring home on board his Ships ten Ton of whatever Commodities they pleased, without paying any Freight. The Reason they assigned for this extraordinary Step was, that their Affairs were become so embarrassed, and the Persons employed in their Service so loaded with Debts, that without the Assistance of this Project they must have been obliged to relinquish their Settlements in the *Indies*. It is reasonable to believe, that they found from this Expedient some little Relief, which induced them to extend their Project, and for the Preservation of their Servants in the *Indies*, who by this time were above ten Millions in Debt, they fairly sacrificed themselves.

For in the Year 1712, they entered into a Treaty with some private Traders at *St. Malo's*, by which they yielded up to them all their Privilege as a Company, upon such Terms they could obtain; and this with a View to furnish such as were employed by them in the *Indies* with Sums sufficient to keep under the Interest of their Debts, and thereby prevent all things from falling into Confusion. A miserable Situation this, and yet the Company found themselves unable to undertake any thing upon their own Bottom; so that on the Expiration of their own Privileges, about the Time of this King's Death, they warmly solicited a Renewal of them, not from any Hopes of reviving their Trade, but solely with an Intention to renew their Agreement with the Merchants of *St. Malo's*, that they might gain enough thereby to preserve their Settlements, and not suffer such as they had employed to be utterly undone in their Service.

It is very clear from hence, that the Ruin of the *French East-India* Commerce has hitherto been the Nature of their Government, which is a Point I shall take the Liberty of laying open, for the Information and Satisfaction of the *English* Reader. In the first place, I must observe, that the Edicts for their Establishment, and the exclusive Privileges granted by them, though they are, in one Sense, necessary to the Being and Foundation of the Company, yet are hurtful and disadvantageous to it in another. Since though few dare express their Thoughts freely upon the Subject, yet all Men of good Sense cannot help observing, that in a Country where so much depends upon the Will and Pleasure of the Crown, no Commerce can ever be secure; for as the same Power that gives may take away, so it may likewise alter, abridge, and even destroy by new Edicts any of those Privileges, though granted and confirmed in the strongest Terms that Words can express.

In the next place, as the Company must be almost supported by Acts of royal Favours, so the obtaining them must always depend upon the Favour of the Administration; or, in other Words, and in plain Terms, upon the Will of the Prime Minister for the Time being; which is such a dangerous and precarious Tenure, that no Man, who thinks at all, can believe he has any Property while it depends thereupon. In the third place, the Maxims of the Government rendering it absolutely necessary to prefer the Interest of the Royal Revenues, upon which the Administration of the Government itself depends, to any other Interest whatever; this is such a Source of Dis-

chiefs and Misfortunes broke the Spirit of the People as to oblige them to their own Support, which at the same time they were before observed, they were reduced into a Scheme for certain Conditions, which were now taken into only content to latter Trade, but even to recovery moderate Condi-

tioned Leave to Mr. de la Haye, in the Name of the East-India Company, he paid them fifteen hundred thousand Livres Prizes they should have had for their Reservation, that they might bring home on board Commodities they pleased. The Reason they assigned for their Affairs were being employed in their Reservations without the Assistance of the Company, and being obliged to relinquish a reasonable Part of their Prizes, and for the sake of the Indies, who by their Debts, they fairly sacri-

ficed into a Treaty with the Company, by which they yielded up their Prizes, upon the Condition that the Company should have a View to furnish the Indies with Supplies of their Debts, and bring into Confusion. A Company found themselves upon their own Bottoms, and their own Privileges, and they warmly took any Hopes of reviving their Attention to renew their Trade with the Indies, that they might serve their Settlements, and be employed to be utterly un-

der the Ruin of the French, and the Nature of their Affairs, all take the Liberty of their own Satisfaction of the Company, and I must observe, that the extensive Privileges they are, in one Sentence, the Ruin of the Company, and to it in another. Some might freely upon the Company, and cannot help observing, that such depends upon the Company, and Commerce can be maintained, that gives may take the Company, and even daily the Company, though granted, that Words can ex-

pression must be almost upon the Company, and to the obtaining the Company, and the Administration of the Company, upon the Company, which is the Company, that no Man has any Property while in the Company, the Maxims of the Company, and solely necessary to the Company, upon which the Company depends, to any such a Source of Don-

ger and Disquiet, as must necessarily banish all Trust and Confidence in the Faith of such a Government. Hence it may be observed, in the fourth Place, that such as are engaged in the Management of a Company's Concerns, under such Circumstances, will look very little farther than the Time present; and, instead of placing their Hopes in the future Success and Prosperity of such a Company's Affairs, will confine their Views to the making the most they can of immediate Advantages, in order to secure (if possible) their private Fortunes, let what will become of the Publick.

Lastly, we may easily discover, from these Reflections, how it came to pass, that private Traders in France, such as the Merchants at *St. Malo's* were able to invade their Fortunes, and carry on a Trade to the *East-Indies* with Advantage, under the Authority of a Company that was, in a manner, become bankrupt; and this, notwithstanding they paid considerable Sums out of their Profits for participating in its Privileges; for, as private Men, they could drive a good Bargain with the Company, with some reasonable Assurance of having the Terms of their Contract comply'd with, because made only for a certain Time; enjoying also the full Benefit of those Settlements which the Company had made, without contributing any thing to the Expence which they originally roll, or even to that by which they were supported; so that, considered in this Light, the Company stood between them and the Government, and these private Traders might be said to enjoy in France itself, those Advantages that could be expected only in a Land of Freedom, and by the Enjoyment of which solely their Trade became advantageous.

The more we reflect upon these few Observations, the more must we be convinced, that it is not from any Defect in the Country, any Want of Skill or Industry in the People, but for the Want of a right Government in France, that her Trade has never been established on a secure and solid Basis. This likewise demonstrates, that however dangerous and destructive the Ambition of this Power may be to her Neighbours, from that arbitrary Force, with which, by the Policy of her Ministers, she has been long armed; yet this, at the same time, is an Evil that preys upon her inward Strength, and keeps her in a continual, though slow Consumption; so that if her Neighbours would but unite among themselves for their own Defence, the arbitrary Disposition of the Court of France must necessarily return upon itself, and sooner or later procure its own Dissolution.

There are, however, certain Seasons, when from a Variety of Accidents, there appears even in such a Government a strong Spirit of promoting the publick Welfare, not from any real Principle of that kind, but to cover some other Design, which could not otherwise be carried into Execution: As for Instance, upon Changes of Administrations, more especially in Monarchies, when such as are at the Head of the Government find the Measure of their Power must, in some measure, depend upon the Extent of their Reputation. At such Times as these, I say, there may be a temporary Cessation of those pernicious Notions which infect the Heads and Hearts of arbitrary Rulers, or, which is the same thing to the People, a Suspension of the Practices which flow from them; so that, for some little Time, the Government seems to act upon new Principles, and consequently Affairs change their Face in the same Proportion.

This happened to be the Case at the Period of Time, when the *French East-India Company* were struggling for a new Grant of the Privileges which they had enjoyed for fifty Years, though sometimes in a larger, sometimes in a less Degree. But the Renewal of these Privileges in that State in which they then stood, was all that they desired, to have them augmented was what they least hoped; but to have this done, and their Term rendered perpetual, exceeded the Limits of their Expectations, and was entirely owing to such a Revolution in their Government as has been before-mentioned, and which it is now necessary that we should describe as clearly, and at the same time as exactly as possible.

1. The Duke of Orleans, who defeated the old King's Will, and, in some measure, established a new Government

in France, contrary alike to the Wishes of the most potent of the Nobility, and of the most eminent Part of the People, found himself obliged therefore to sustain his Authority, by endeavouring to acquire to his Administration such a Reputation as had never attended all the Victories and Power of *Lewis the Great*. It was with this View, that from the Time he took the Reins of Government into his Hands, he affected to act on Maxims directly opposite to those of his Predecessors; he declared expressly, that the great End of Government was the Good of the People; that it was impossible this should be promoted by being engaged in perpetual Wars, or in continual Quarrels with their Neighbours; that Peace was an universal Blessing, and must therefore be the Interest of France, as well as of all other Nations; that Commerce was the natural Produce of settled and quiet Times; and that the Effects of an extensive Trade were more certain Resources of Power and Strength than Conquests, or arbitrary Dominion.

Whether the Duke-Regent was persuaded of the Truth of all this, or whether he pretended only to be so persuaded, is a Point not at all important for us to determine, since it is sufficient for our Purpose that he acted upon these Maxims, whatever he might believe about them; and that by acting upon them, he really carried his Point, and came to be considered as a Prince who had great Notions of Liberty and Commerce. The *East-India Company* therefore, or at least such as had the Management of the Affairs of the Company, entertained the warmest Hopes of Succour and Protection: For though, before the Death of the late King they had obtained a Prolongation of their Privileges for ten Years, to be accounted from the Fall of May, 1715; yet this, like most of the royal Favours they had received, was of very little Use, since they had no Funds left for the carrying on their Commerce; and, besides, the Term they now had was so short, that it added very little to their Credit at home or abroad. It was from the Duke-Regent that they expected more solid Assistance, and such Helps from the Treasury as might enable them to revive their Trade.

But the Regent and his Ministers were in Sentiments quite opposite to those the Company had flattered themselves with, and, instead of being at all inclined to part with Money out of the Royal Treasury, for other People to employ in Trade, they were contriving how to make Use of the Sound and Reputation of Commerce to fill the King's Coffers, to pay off the Debts of the Crown, and to discharge the Loads which lay heavy on the Government upon the Shoulders of the Nation, by that Series of Contrivances which are still known in France by the Name of *the System*. It was with this View that the Regent shewed so much Favour and Kindness to the *West-India Company*, and established its Capital at One hundred Millions, and thereby procured an Opportunity of lessening that immense Quantity of Paper-Money which the long War had made requisite. But when the *East-India Company* came to represent the Condition they were in, and to sue for Assistance and Protection, they soon found that they had to do with those who understood their Affairs to the full, as well as themselves; therefore, instead of governing them as they had done former Ministers, they were forced to put themselves entirely into their Hands, and trust absolutely to their Generosity and Discretion.

The Consequence of this was, very probably, what they had not foreseen, since it proved to be the Dissolution of the Company, or, which is the same thing in other Words, the Union of it to the *West-India Company*, which had already swallowed up some others. This Edict of Union or new Establishment extinguished the Title of both the Companies, as well as of the rest of the Societies comprised therein, and gave to the whole the comprehensive and significant Title of the *Company of the Indies*. In the Preamble of this Edict, we have an excellent History of the Transactions upon which this Union of the Company was built; for therein it is said, that the King having principally applied himself to the restoring the Commerce of the Kingdom, and thereby repairing the Losses and Decays occasioned by a very long and expensive War,

and having already had the Pleasure to see the Circulation of Money wonderfully quickened by the Establishment of the *West-India* Company, his Majesty had from thence been led to his Majesty's State of the old Companies erected before his Majesty's Accession to the Throne; and in particular into the State of the *East-India* Company, which he found to be in a great measure. In the Space of fifty Years they had, notwithstanding repeated Assurances from the Crown, managed their Affairs so indifferently, as to be oblig'd to abandon their Commerce entirely, and to take up with such trifling Advantages as could be obtained by letting out their Privileges to Hire.

The King declar'd, he was satisfy'd that this did not proceed at all from Disadvantages in the Nature of that Commerce, but from the Mistakes and ill Conduct of such as had been employ'd with the Management of the Company's Affairs, who, in the first Place, had made their Bottom too narrow, and had undertaken the Traffick of the *Indies* upon more a too small a Capital. That, in the second Place, to keep up the Credit of their own Administration, and to maintain their taking such considerable Summs to themselves, they had made large Dividends, where there were no Profits; and having, by this means, exhausted the Company's Stock, they carried on their Trade by borrowing as much Money as they could at very high Interest. This however, the King, his Great-grandfather, having always protect'd and encouraged this Company, and even granted them a new Term towards the End of his Life, they might have enjoy'd it, or, at least have drawn all the Profits from it they could, if their Conduct had not become so flagrantly bad, that neither the Glory of the King, nor the Interest of his People, would permit him to overlook it any longer. On the one Hand, there were continual Complaints from the *Indies*, that the Company had borrowed vast Summs of the *Crown*, without paying them either Capital or Interest, having in the Space of sixteen Years, not sent so much as one single Ship to *Surat*. On the other, the private Merchants carrying on this Commerce in the Name and under the Authority of the *East-India* Company, were so cramped and oppress'd by the Duty of Ten per Cent. and other Gratuities to the Company, that they are unable to pursue their Trade with the same Spirit and Advantages which are enjoy'd by the Subjects of other Nations; and, being afraid to go to *Surat*, on account of the Danger they were in of having their Ships seiz'd for the Company's Debts, they found themselves oblig'd to purchase most of the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures which they brought into *Europe* from Foreigners, at a very high Price, and this equally to their own and the Nation's Disadvantage.

For these Reasons, and others of the like Nature alledg'd against the *China* and *African* Companies, his Majesty declar'd, that the Privileges of all those Companies are, by his Majesty's Order, dated in the Month of *May* 1711, revok'd, extinguish'd, and suppress'd. He granted at the same Time, to the new Company of the *Indies*, an exclusive Privilege of trading from the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the utmost Extent of the *East-Indies*, as also to the Islands of *Madagascar*, of *Bourbon*, and of *France*, the Coast of *Affrican Africa*, the *Red-Sea*, *Perth*, the Dominions of the *Mogul*, of the King of *Siam*, and that of the Emperors of *China* and *Japan*, as also of the *Straits*, from the *Straits of Magellan*, or *la Maire*, to the *East-Indies* that Way, forbidding all the rest of his Majesty's several Trades, under Pain of the Confiscation of their Vessels and Effects.

His Majesty gave and grants to this Company, the Profit of the Duty and Effects of the other Companies, at the same Time charging them, however, with all the just Debts which those Companies had contracted, and were liable to. For better to enable them to discharge these Debts, and to carry on the vast Trade granted them by his Majesty's Order in their Favour, twenty-five Millions of new Actions, to be purchas'd for by ready Money, at the same Terms that the *East-India* Company paid for their hundred Millions of *Actions*, and with the like Privileges and Advantages in every Respect. He likewise granted full Licence and Authority to import all

Sorts of Manufactures of Silk, Silk and Cotton, gold and silver Stuffs, dyed Cottons, as also painted and striped, on Condition, however, that none of these shall be vendic'd in his Dominions, but be intirely sold and dispos'd of to Foreigners; for which Reason they were to be deposited in Magazines under double Locks, the Keys of one to be kept by the Farmers-general, and the other by the Directors of the Company, for the better preventing Frauds and Collusions. He likewise grants them leave to import all sorts of white Cotton, Raw-silks, Coffee, Drugs, Spices, Metals, and whatever else the *East-India* Company might have imported under their Privileges.

This *Edict* had all the Effects, and even more than was expected from it, and such an Eagerness there appear'd of subscribing to this Company, that instead of twenty-five, the Subscribers amounted to fifty Millions, which encouraged the *French* Ministry to venture upon some new Regulations, which were made public by an *Edict* of the Month of *June*, in the same Year. The Principal of which was, that they should take off four Times the Number of old *Actions*, in order to be entitl'd to the new; so that in order to purchase five thousand Livres of the new *Actions*, the Subscribers were oblig'd to take twenty thousand Livres of the old ones.

The great End the Government propos'd by all this, was, as we have hinted before, to find the means of calling in and suppressing that immense Quantity of Paper-money which was such a heavy Burthen on the State; and to this End Annuities to the Value of twenty-five Millions are created, which not answering that Intention, the new Company of the *Indies* offer'd their Assistance, and undertook to discharge them at the Rate of fifty Millions in one Month; so that the whole Load of this Paper credit, amounting in the whole to near sixty Millions of our Money, was to be taken away and extinguish'd, by the End of *July*, 1721. In Consideration of the Zeal and publick Spirit manifest'd by the Company in this Proposal, the King was pleas'd, by his *Arret* dated in the Month of *July*, 1720, to change the Terms on which the Company held their Privileges, and to declare them perpetual, restraining himself and his Successors, from ever treating them as other Companies had been treated, in order to their Establishment; and thus this Company acquired that Title by which they are now known in *France*, *The perpetual Company of the Indies*, with all the Privileges of the other four Companies confirm'd to them for ever. In two Years Time it was settl'd and declar'd, that in Consequence of the Annuities granted and assign'd to the Company from the *Crown*, they should be able to pay annually the Sum of Ten per Cent. which should be paid duly and exactly for ever; in Consequence of which, the Directors were to be at full Liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their Constituents, because the Dividend was to be regular and certain, and they were to manage Things so, as that the Deficiencies of one Year might be made up by the Profits of another.

This Course of Management, though it had certainly one great Convenience in fixing and ascertaining the Interest as the Proprietors were to receive it, yet the Circumstance of not accounting for the Profits, has prov'd of such ill Consequence, that notwithstanding these Dividends have been all along very duly and regularly paid till now, yet the Proprietors could never be cur'd of a Suspicion they entertain'd, that the *East-India* Commerce has not been carried on for their Profit, but in their Name, for the King's, and thus has contributed to keep their Actions low, though they had such extraordinary Interests in them, with such Regularity. The Grounds of this Suspicion lying in the Annuities paid by the *Crown* to the Company, which are sufficient for securing such a Dividend, without the least Assistance from the Profits of their Trade, made the Thing not altogether incredible, especially when it was perceiv'd, that for twenty Years together, the Dividends remain'd in the same Rate, though the Trade of the Company has for that Time been apparently increas'd.

But to understand this Point perfectly, as well as the true State of the Company's Affairs, and how they came to have

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have a Fund capable of discharging regularly so high an Interest for such a Number of Years, as well as to clear up some Things that may seem obscure in this History of the Establishment of the Company now subsisting, it will be requisite to give as clear and concise a Relation as is possible, of the Rise and Progress of the other Companies that have been noted to this by the Edict before-mentioned, and of the *West-India* Company in particular, in which Abundance of curious and instructive Passages will occur that never hitherto have appeared in the *English* Language.

12. The *China* Company in France was originally set on foot in the Year 1700, but was very soon after absorbed by that of the *East-India* Company, which, as we have shewn, had the sanction of royal Authority given it in 1664; but when that Company began first to decline in its Affairs, those who had the Management of its Concerns, were content, in some measure, to revive this old Company, by granting their Licence, which was likewise confirmed by the Crown to one Mr. *Jourdain*, a very rich Merchant, who fitted out a very large Ship, called *Amphitrite*, for that Voyage, which sailed in March 1698, and returned safely to France on the Third of August, 1700, very richly laden. The Success of this Voyage encouraged the Merchant before-mentioned, and those who were concerned with him, to fit out the same Ship again, and which they accordingly did in the following Spring, and she returned in the Month of September, 1703, with as great Profit as from her former Voyage, though she very narrowly missed being shipwrecked falling down the River of *Canton* at her Return. The Success of these Voyages, one would have thought, might have established this new Company; but the general War in which France was then engaged against most of the Powers of Europe, rendered it impracticable: And thus the Company lay dormant, though still possessed of its Rights, which extended to the Coasts of *China*, *Tanquin*, *Cochin-China*, and the Isles adjacent, till such Time as, for Reasons of State, it was united to the *Western* Company.

The Company of *Senegal*, though under another Name, was one of the earliest in France, being carried on by a Society of Merchants at *Dieppe*, though without the Sanction of any public Authority. They fixed a little Settlement in an Island at the Mouth of the great River *Nigeria*, called also the River of *Senegal*, and carried on a considerable Trade thither. This Commerce came afterwards into the Hands of the Merchants of *Rouen*, who, in the Month of November, 1663, yielded it up to the *West-India* Company. But when that Company was dissolved about ten Years afterwards, the old Company of *Senegal* was revived, and three rich Merchants undertook that Commerce, which they carried on with great Profit to themselves till the Year 1681, when Mr. *Colbert*, whose Character we have already given, conceiving this Traffick might be greatly enlarged, prevailed upon these Merchants to accept of a valuable Consideration for their Privileges, and to admit of its going into the Hands of a larger Number of Persons, with new Privileges which they enjoyed for many Years. But it being discovered, that the exclusive Rights they had were, by much, too extensive for their Capital, it was thought for the publick Benefit to divide this Company; and hence arose the *Guinea* Company, to whom the greatest Part of their Privileges were assigned, and the rest remained to the old Company of *Senegal*, which still continued in a thriving Condition.

Yet, in Process of Time, and from a Variety of Accidents, it fell out, that the Proprietors of this Company came to be reduced into such low Circumstances, that the Company must have failed, if it had not been for the Wealth and Spirit of a single Merchant, whose Name was Mr. *D'Angoy*, who, at length, for the Sum of three hundred thousand Livres, bought out his Associates, and in the Year 1701, by the Consent of the Crown, had the whole of their Privileges conveyed to himself, and he erected a new Company, which, however, was so unfortunate, that after struggling a long Time to no Purpose, at last, yielded up their Privileges to some rich Merchants of *Rouen*, who carried on this Trade with tolerable Suc-

cess, till the Year 1718, when it was united, as we have seen to the Company of the *Indies*.

As for the Company of *Guinea* before-mentioned, it had several Rises and Falls till the Accession of Philip V. to the Crown of Spain, who in the Year 1701, granted them the Liberty of transporting Negroes to the Spanish *West Indies*; and then it took from thence the Title of the *Affricco* Company, under which it continued to flourish, when almost all the Branches of French Commerce languished and decayed, by reason of the War; and as it was singular in this, so it was no less singular in its Conclusion; for it lost all its Privileges, and even its Being, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which revived the other Branches of French Trade, but conveyed this to the *English*, and gave rise to our *South Sea* Company.

We must now pass to the *West-Indies*, where the Course of a great River, navigable from within seven or eight Leagues of its Source for eight hundred Leagues, where it falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, was discovered by Robert Cavalier de la Salle, a Native of *Rouen*, who brought the News of it into France, 1680. This River, called by the Natives of the Country *Mississippi*, and by the French, *Mississippi*, and the Country about it being held of infinite Consequence, as affording the greatest Conveniencies for establishing a Settlement in one of the finest Climates, and most fruitful Countries in *America*, the Motion for attempting such a Colony was readily embraced in France, and all imaginable Encouragement given to Mr. de la Salle, who undertook the Performance. He, by Letters Patent dated in 1684, establish'd a Company for that Purpose, and embarked on board a Squadron of four Ships, filled with People, and with every Thing necessary for his Design; but was so unlucky as to miss by Sea the Mouth of that River which he had discovered by sailing down it, and fixed upon another, where his Colony began to decline in such a manner, that he had not above one hundred Persons left; yet in the Midst of these Misfortunes he kept up his Courage, and endeavoured to repair his past Mistake, by using all possible Means to discover the Place he sought, which it is very probable he would have done if his Company had not mutinied; in which unlucky Accident one of the Villains shot him with a Musket Ball, on the 20th of March, 1687.

Seven or eight Years after his Death, one Mr. *Hiberville*, a Gentleman of *Canada*, discovered the Mouth of this famous River, erected a Fort, and began to establish a Colony there, but died before it was thoroughly settled, and so the Design miscarried a second Time, and the Affair slept till the Year 1712, when Mr. *Anthony Crozat*, a Gentleman of large Fortune, undertook the fixing a French Colony on the River *Mississippi*, a third Time. He obtained the King's Letters Patent, dated 12 September, in the same Year, and succeeded so far as to discover the River and Country effectually, and to raise a Fort and some Settlements there. This Gentleman, according to the Custom of the French, changed the Names of all the Places he visited, or, to speak with greater Propriety, were visited by those he sent thither. The great River was no longer to be called *Mississippi*, but the River of *St. Lewis*, and the Country round about it was *Louisiana*, and an Island at the Mouth of it, which till then had been called the Island of *Madagascar*, was thenceforward to be known by the Title of the *Dauphin's* Island.

The Consequences of these Discoveries were great in themselves, and the Expectations raised from them much greater, of which Mr. *Crozat* made a very wise Use, by taking this Opportunity to surrender his Patent, which he did in 1717, that the Publick might have the Benefit of these important Settlements. The Regent was considering at that Time of the Project offered him by the famous Mr. *Lamoignon*, a Scotch Gentleman, whose Name is well known to the present Generation, and is not like to be forgot by Posterity. The End aimed at by his Project, was to reduce all the publick Debts in France into some Form; and for this Purpose it was necessary to erect, under plausible Appearances, a new Company in the like Manner, that by the Advice of Sir *John Blount*, the Lord Treasurer *Oxford* had done the same Thing in England,

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by establishing the *South-Sea* Company. But whereas that Nobleman had very wisely and honestly rejected the remaining Part of the Project, which was cheating credulous People of their Money, by running the Actions or Stock of the new Company to an excessive Rate; this was accepted by the Regent, and made that Part of the Design, which is filed in *France* the System, and which was at once the most iniquitous, and the most infamous Contrivance that ever entered into the Heart of Man.

But as it was necessary, in order to carry this Scheme into Execution, that a new Company should be set up with such Privileges as might create probable Hopes of vast Gain to the Proprietors, this new Settlement was thought of for that Purpose, from whence the Project itself is generally called the *Mississippi* Scheme, tho' that was not the Title of the Company. It cannot be expected, that we should enter here into a long Detail of the Conduct of the Regent's Scheme, because it is not the proper Business of this Section; all that is aimed at herein, is to shew the several Steps by which almost all the foreign Commerce of *France* was thrown into the Hands of the single Company of the *Indies*, which Title, as we have already shewn, the Company acquired by the Union of the old *East-India* Company with the *Western* Company, which had before swallowed up several others that have been already mentioned.

The Royal Bank also was united to the Company of the *Indies*, which was the Engine employed for bringing about the great Ends of the System, which being once effected, the Regent and his Ministers began to turn their Thoughts on the Means of recovering the Company from that dreadful Confusion into which it had been thrown by undertaking the Execution of a Design equally prejudicial to the general Commerce and private Property of the Inhabitants of *France*, which had very justly overturned and destroyed their Credit, and put it entirely out of their Power to carry on any Part of the Trade, to which they had an exclusive Right. It was therefore high Time certainly, for the Government to interpose, and endeavour to remedy some of the many Inconveniences they had introduced, since the Welfare of the Kingdom was now so closely connected with that of the Company of the *Indies*, as that it was neither in the Power of the Government to neglect the one without neglecting the other, or to separate, as perhaps they would have done those Interests, which by their own Management were so closely united.

To understand this Matter clearly, we must consider the Company of the *Indies* in two very different Lights; that is to say, as a trading Company, and as Creditors of the Government; neither of which Points, if we advert what is daily written about them, seem to be well understood here, and therefore we shall take some Pains in representing them both to the *English* Reader's View, in Terms that may remove all these Mistakes. In the first Place then, with regard to their Trade, the Company of the *Indies* in *France*, is generally called here the *French-East-India* Company; which Title does by no means express the Nature and Importance of their Trade; since they have not only the Commerce of the *Indies*, but likewise that of *Africa* and the *South-Sea* under their Direction, and though it be true, that they are not able at present to exert themselves in carrying on all these Trades; yet it is no less true, that they retain the Power of doing it whenever they are able, and that the *French* Government will most certainly put them upon it as soon as any favourable Opportunity offers.

The Inference I make from this is, that we ought to consider the Company of the *Indies*, as the Center of *French* Commerce, and to look upon the Rise and Fall of the Actions of the Company, as a political, or if you will, as a Commercial Barometer, which constantly points out the Condition of the Trade in *France*. I look upon this Observation to be a Matter of great Consequence to us, and it was for the sake of setting it in a clear Light that I have taken so much Pains to shew how the several Branches of foreign Trafficks came to be thrown into the Hands of a single Company, the chief Motive to which, was undoubtedly this, that the Cares of the Government, with respect to Trade, might be brought into a narrower

Compass, and consequently be attended to with more Ease by the Ministers.

For such is the Constitution of the *French* Government, that every Thing in that Kingdom must depend upon it; and we must allow, that Experience has shewn, that some of its Ministers have understood it as well, and profecuted it better than the ablest Merchants could have done. I do not say this as if what had happened in *France* ought to be a Rule to any other Country, blest with a better Constitution: God forbid it should! But what I say, is, that the Relation between the Government and Commerce of *France*, being rightly understood, it will appear, that the latter is entirely dependant upon the former, and must either prosper or sink, as it is supported by the Crown, and attended to by the Ministers, or as it is neglected by both.

This shews, that a general War, which demands all the Power, all the Revenues, and all the Attention of *France*, must sink and ruin its Commerce, and that to such a Degree, as cannot happen to any other Country, the Constitution of which is not the same with that of which we are speaking. This I am sensible has been often said, but I do not know, that it was ever demonstrated before, and I hope by that Time I have finished this Section, to make this Subject so clear, and so intelligible to every *English* Reader, as that he shall have no sort of Doubt as to the Interest and Policy of the *French* Court on this Head. Thus much as to the Company of the *Indies*, with respect to its Trade; let us next consider it as a Society of the Creditors of the *French* Government.

We have heard, that this Company has for many Years divided Ten per Cent. annually upon their Capital, which, till the present War, and indeed to the present Year, has been justly and regularly paid. But this Interest, or Dividend of Ten per Cent. never arose from the Profits made by the Company, nor in Truth any Part of it, but was paid to the Proprietors, as Creditors of the Publick, out of the stated and settled Funds assigned them for that Purpose, and therefore we can attribute the Lowness of the *French* Actions in Time of Peace, to nothing but their Diffidence of their own Government.

The Reason why the Ministers of *France* have made it their Choice to continue Things in this Situation, seems to have been this, that the regular Payments made by this Company to the Proprietors, might have a double Effect, and sustain at once the Publick Credit and that of the Company. The former was necessary to prevent those Confusions ever falling out again, which happened on the Ruin of the System, and which had like to have been attended with the most fatal Consequences to the Nation, from which nothing could have saved them, but the arbitrary Power of the Government, which forced them to bear their Misfortunes till Ways and Means could be found to relieve them. On the other hand, the regular Payment of these Dividends has been of prodigious Service to the Company in their trading Capacity, in which, to say the Truth, they could not have subsisted without them; because it kept the Proprietors from either requiring, or receiving any general Accounts of their Dealings, which enabled the Directors to do many Things which otherwise they could never have done; and has, in Fact, been the sole Support of their Commerce: For, we must observe, that on the founding of this new Company, they had Rights and Privileges given them, without either Powers or Funds to make use of them. They had the nominal Advantages of several Companies bestowed upon them, but upon Condition that they took likewise the real Load of Debts and Incumbrances for which those Companies had engaged. They received vast Sums of Money from the Proprietors, but not for their Use as a Company to Trade with, but as Agents for the Government, which, very probably, the far greater Part of their Proprietors did not understand; but which they might very easily have understood, if they had considered the Funds out of which their Dividends were paid; for they could never conceive that such a Government as theirs would grant them so high an Interest for Money, without making use of it.

On the whole therefore, this was one of the great Secrets of the *French* Councils, and the Design of restoring

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the Affairs of the Company, that which, of all others, they have managed with the greatest Address; for by this Means they have gained Time, which, in such Affairs, is all Things, and by affording the Company such Sums of Money as could be spared; and at the Seasons they could spare it, they have revived the East-India Trade, kept it constantly and regularly on Foot, put all the Company's Debts in a Train of Payment, relieved and replaced all her Factories; and if this War had not broke out as it did, would very soon have placed her, as a Trading-Company, in as fair and good a Condition as for many Years she has stood in, considered in her other Capacity as a Corporation of publick Creditors. This has been generally attributed to the wise and peaceable Administration of the late Cardinal Fleury, but was no otherwise due to him than as he continued the Direction of these Affairs in the Hands of Mr. Orry, who has had the entire Management of them for ten Years past; in which Time he has done more Service to this Nation, than all the Statesmen and Generals that have been employed in this Reign; and though it has so fallen out of late, that his Method has been interrupted and thrown into Disorder, yet we shall presently make it appear, from the Consideration of the present State of the Company, that he has overcome the greatest Difficulties, and put her Concerns into such a Channel, as must strike all who attentively weigh the Particulars, which we shall impartially relate, with Amazement and Surprise.

But, before I quit this Part of my Subject, I must again remind my Reader, that all this Success has been owing to the Firmness and Steadiness of the Administration, for to many Years, showing in some measure from the King's Temper, in some measure from the long Life of the late Cardinal, and from a Variety of other Circumstances, that demonstrate the commercial Interest of France to be continually liable to Accidents, and to be consequently always in a precarious Condition. I do not say this with any Intention of lessening our Jealousy of the French Traffick, which I acknowledge to be extremely reasonable and well founded; but, for the sake of Truth, and that Things may appear to be as they really are, which I think the most likely way to enable us to judge of what will be most for our Interest and Advantage.

I may likewise add, that by proving, as I have done, that this is truly the Case, it will afford great Encouragement both to the Government and People of Great Britain, to pursue whatever rational Schemes shall be offered for promoting and extending our Commerce, since our Situation is such, that we need only the Countenance of the Legislature, and the Repeal perhaps of a very few Laws, which restrain and cramp our Trade, to be able to undertake new Branches of Commerce, which must necessarily increase our Seamen, augment our Shipping, carry off our Manufactures, and, by reviving a Spirit of Industry, find Employment for all our People, which would effectually root out seditious and seditious Humours, and find something else for the meaner Sort of Folks to do, than to rail at or resist the Government. But if we neglect the Advantages we have, and the French should grow wise enough to resolve upon keeping upon fair Terms with their Neighbours twenty or thirty Years, they may go near to shew us, within that Time, that in spite of all the Difficulties they struggle with, their Company of the Indies may be put into such a Condition as will enable her to put in for a large Share of that Trade, which, by being hitherto engrossed by us and by the Dutch, has obtained and secured the honourable Title of a *Maronne Preter*, which, as it was acquired by, will certainly be lost with our Trade.

13. The Capital of the present Company of the Indies was, as we have before observed, composed of the original Capital of the *Western* Company, and of twenty five Millions added thereto, upon the Union of the *East India* Company therewith; but after the Ruin of the System, when all Things fell into Confusion, it was found requisite, in order to restore them, that the King should make a Revision of the Actions possessed by the Proprietors of this Company, in order to distinguish between such as had acquired their Property fairly, and by Purchase; and

such as had thrust themselves into the Company's Books only to serve their own Purposes by Stock-jobbing. It was in consequence of this Revision, that by an Edit, in the Year 1723, the King fixed the Actions of this Company to fifty-six thousand, and which formed a Capital of One hundred and twelve Millions; for their Dividend upon which, they had a yearly Revenue assigned them of Eight Millions four hundred thousand Livres. By another Arret in 1725, Five thousand of these Actions were cancelled and burnt; so that the Capital of the Company, by this means, was reduced to Fifty one thousand Actions, and their Dividends secured by the annual Payment of Eight Millions from the Farmers-general of the Farm of Tobacco; the exclusive, perpetual, and irrevocable Privilege of vending which, was granted to the Company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the Profits arising from the Furs imported from *Canada*; so that the Fund for the Payment of their annual Dividends was as effectually settled and secured, as it was possible a Thing of that Nature could be in *France*.

In the mean time the Commerce of the *Indies* was assigned to them as a collateral Security, not to be touched for the present, but to be employed in strengthening and enlarging the Funds for restoring and maintaining that important Trade, discharging all the Incumbrances thereon, and putting it thereby in a Condition to become a certain and indubitable Security for the Payment of still higher Interest to the Proprietors than they have hitherto received. The Condition of the Company, therefore, considered in this Light, appears to be such as ought to satisfy all who have rational and moderate Views for the Security and Increase of their Fortunes, since though no more than fifteen hundred Livres have been paid in upon each Action, yet the Proprietors have constantly and regularly received their Interest of Ten per Cent. which is more than they could have made of their Money in any Part of *Europe*, and have still a clear and undoubted Title to the Profits that have arisen, or shall arise from the Commerce of the Company in the *Indies*.

It is indeed true, that hitherto they have received nothing upon this Head; but to ballance this, it is to be considered, that, till within these few Years, this Trade has been carried on in a very languid and negligent Manner; that since it hath been put on a better Foot, they have been obliged to repair the Losses sustained by the Shipwreck of some of their largest Vessels, to pay off abundance of old Debts, to discharge several Annuities, which the Company were obliged to pay, and which have extinguished very slowly, to rebuild and restore several of their Factories, which were in a very bad Condition, to repair many, to build some new, and to equip all the Vessels in the Company's Service, to purchase new Houses for the Establishment of new Factories, and to add proper Warehouses and Magazines to these; to lay out upwards of Fifteen Millions for the Improvement and Security of *Louisiana*; to complete the necessary Works at the noble Haven of *Port d'Orion*, and all the lesser Creeks, Docks, and other Places that depend thereupon; and to be at other very considerable Charges and Expences for supporting its Commerce, maintaining its Marine, subsisting its Forces, and keeping every where in good Order its Fortifications.

Whenever these great Expences shall have so far answered their End as to be no longer necessary, and the Affairs of the Company, in point of Commerce, are in such a Situation as that there is no imminent Danger to be apprehended, but, on the contrary, certain annual Profits coming in, there will be instantly added to the present Income of the Company, who will likewise enjoy all that Stock which has been raising both in *Europe* and the *Indies* for their Benefit. The rising or falling therefore of the Company's Actions, cannot any way affect its real Security, which depends, in the first Place, on those settled Funds before mentioned; and upon this Trade, which, before the present War, was in a very thriving and flourishing Condition. The common Notion therefore, which has so long prevailed in *France*, and might be very easily imposed upon Strangers, is, that the King has

ried on this Trade for many Years, and after paying a Part of the Profits, suffered all the rest to pass immediately into his own Coffers, or into those of the Directors, is an absurd and ridiculous Calumny, equally repugnant to Reason and to Fact, as well as utterly inconsistent with the express Words and direct Intention of the eleventh Article of the Edict of 1723, in which, after declaring the Company of the *Indes* to be a Society for promoting the Trade of the *French Nation*, to that Part of the World, under the Protection of the King, and the Administration of their own Directors, his Majesty proceeds thus: "Our Will and Pleasure is, that it shall remain, conformable to its Institution, a Company purely for Commerce, applying itself solely to the Support of that which is confided to its Care, and endeavouring, by its Wisdom and Oeconomy, to contribute as much as is possible to the Welfare of our Subjects interested therein; so that the Funds of the said Company of the *Indes*, shall be and remain for ever employed in the Maintenance of the said Commerce, and to no other End or Purpose whatsoever."

Such is the Description of the Situation of the *East-India Company*, as laid down to us by one of the ablest Pens in *France*, who tells us besides, that both the Security and the Interest of Money placed in this Company, are much better than when employed in the Purchase of Lands in *France*; for, says he, with respect to Security, the Purchaser of Lands has nothing more than his own and his Lawyer's Knowledge to direct him in the Assurance of his Title, and he can very rarely purchase at such a Price as to make more than five *per Cent.* of his Money, after which he runs very great Hazards with respect to bad Tenants, being forced to lay out large Sums in Repairs, besides risking the Inclemency of Seasons, which may put it out of the Power of his Tenants, how honest soever, to pay him punctually his Rent, and to the toll; so that he may very often be at a Loss for a Subsistence, and not know where to borrow Money, tho' at the same time a landed Man of so much a Year; whereas he who lays out his Money in the Actions of this Company, has double their Interest, paid him regularly and constantly every half Year, without having any Reason to be apprehensive of his Capital, or ever being in Danger of wanting Money by an unlucky Turn of Affairs.

We may easily judge, from this Representation of the present State of the Company's Affairs, that they are in a far better Condition, or at least were so at the breaking-out of the present War, than ever, and more likely to produce considerable Profits to the Nation, and to the Company, than ever. But, on the one hand, the natural Impatience of the *French*, unable to bear being put off for above twenty Years together with fair Words and fine Promises, and, on the other, their Apprehensions that either the King would never suffer them to enjoy this Commerce at all, or else would deprive them of the Fund they already possessed, and leave them to the precarious Dividends arising from Trade, has constantly kept their Actions, I will not say below the real Value, but much below what they would have been esteemed worth in this, or in any other free Country, especially after remaining for so many Years in so strict and regular a Course of Payment. But their continual Jealousies, as to the true Intention of the Crown, and as to the future State of their Affairs, has constantly kept them in a precarious Situation, in spite of the wittil Measures the *French* Ministers were able to take, the large Sums purchased by Foreigners, the frequent Factions in their Favour, and, which is still more extraordinary than all the rest, the regular coming and going of their *East-India* Fleets, and the vast Sums of Money they brought by their publick Sales.

Yet so far was this from contributing to make the People rich, whose Fortunes were engaged in this Undertaking, that they provided it administered sufficient Cause for all their Jealousies and Complaints. If, said they, the Company of the *Indes* be ours, it all this Money that we receive by publick Sales, if all the Improvements that we have made for so many Years are legally and indifferently disposed, and that they who direct and manage

why should we be kept so much in the Dark, why not have it in our Powers to call these People to an Account, or why not receive, from time to time, some Part of the Profits by way of Addition to the Dividends already made us? It was in vain to tell them, that all these Precautions were taken for their Sake; that the Company owed its Restoration to this Method of managing their Affairs; that they had visibly overcome by these Means most of those Difficulties which had been found insuperable in former Companies; and that this happy Progress of their Trade ought to make them perfectly content with regard to the Manner in which it was carried on, and give them entire Satisfaction as to the Integrity of such as directed their Affairs.

It was in vain, I say, that these Arguments were used, or that Scheme of their Circumstances, which the Reader just now perused, submitted to their Consideration; the Proprietors remained firm to their old Opinion, and their Suspicions could never be got out of their Heads, till that very Mischief fell upon them which they had so long apprehended; I mean, the Suspension of their Dividends, which, however, produced that general Account for which they had so long clamoured. But before we come to speak of this, it will be requisite to resume the History of the Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, and to give a succinct View of the real Improvements of their Commerce, which will both support what has been already said, and render the Close of this Section more intelligible.

14. At the Time the Company of the *Indies* was formed in *France*, their Affairs in that Part of the World had taken a very bad Turn; for their sovereign Council, which had been established at *Surat*, was suppressed, most of those Colonies sunk to nothing, many of their Factories in the same State, and the rest declining in such a Manner, as that little better than an entire Extinction could be expected, and that too in a very short Space of Time. This was undoubtedly a very melancholy Situation for the Servants of the Company to be in, who, while they meditated nothing more than how to obtain a Passage home to *Europe*, and an Indemnification for the Debts contracted in the *Indies*, at least with respect to themselves, were surpris'd by the Arrival of three Ships, not only laden with the richest Merchandize of *Europe*, but also with very large Quantities of Silver; so that they were immediately in a Condition to discharge a great Part of their Debts, which it did not restore it, at least revived their Credit, and gave them some Degree of Reputation in the *Indies*. It is requisite that the Reader should know how this strange Alteration happened, and the Secret is no more than this. When the Regent executed his Scheme, the Company of the *Indies* being the principal Machine in the use of, there consequently came into the Hands of that Company a considerable Part of the Plunder of the Publick, which enabled the Directors to fit out these three Ships in the manner before-mentioned, not only with the Consent, but to the great Satisfaction of the Government, inasmuch as it made a Shew of Trade, and thereby kept up the Spirits of the People, and gave a Reputation to the Company at home. But this, however, did not last long, for Reasons we shall quickly shew.

This Treasure was not employed in Commerce, but in discharging the Debts contracted by the old Company at *Surat*, at *Cambaya*, at *Beugal*, and other Places; so that the Returns made to *France* were but very inconsiderable, in Proportion to the Cargo sent out. But this was not all; for, before these Returns arrived, the System, as it was called, was intirely overturned; so that, taking all Things together, the Company, in the two succeeding Years, 1721 and 1722, were not able to send to much as a single Ship to the *Indies*, which exposed them to the Contempt and Scorn of the trading Nations in *Europe*, and subjected such as were in their Service in the *Indies* to the Insults of the *English* and *Dutch*, who did not fail to present them to the *Indians* as down-right Bankrupts, without either Effects, Money, Credit, or Reliefs. We may therefore truly affirm, that in the Year 1722, the Affairs of this Company were in the lowest and most deplorable Condition.

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The Directors at Home, however, represented their
Difficulties to the Government in the strongest Terms
possible, and at the same Time shewed, how prejudi-
cial it was to the Glory of the French Kingdom, that
Things should remain in this Situation, and that after the
Government had taken the Company under its immediate
Protection, it should be suffered to fall at once into Ruin,
without the least Effort made to sustain it. One would
have imagined, that the more natural Method would have
been to have had recourse, in this Situation of Affairs, to
the Proprietors themselves; but both the Directors and the
Ministry were lessible enough, that this would have been
attended with still worse Consequences, since by laying
open the true State of their Affairs, they would intalibly
have driven their Proprietors to Despair. Instead of ob-
taining a Subscriptions for putting their Commerce on a
better Foot, the French Ministry, sensible of the Truths
contained in this Representation, resolved to take this Op-
portunity, as they were in full Peace, to try what might
be done to retrieve Things in the Indies, and prevent the
entire Ruin of the Company, which was then justly appre-
hended. It was from these Considerations, that two Ships
were sent that Year, with an Assurance to such as were in
the Company's Service, that they might rely upon an-
nual Supplies from France, and that therefore they should
order their Affairs accordingly, and put their Debts into
such a Method of Payment, as might discharge them all
by Degrees, and from the Prospect thereof restore their
Credit for the present.

Things went on in this Way for about fourteen Years,
during which Time, sometimes three, sometimes four
Ships were sent every Year, and thereby the Affairs of
the Company were recovered, and restored, though but
slowly. They had still great Difficulties to struggle with;
for, in proportion as their Commerce revived, their Exp-
ences were enlarged, by their being obliged to re-settle
their Factories, and to establish new ones; so that in
all this Space of Time, there was very little, if any Pro-
fit accrued from their Trade; on the contrary, they ran
some Years into Debt, but not, however, without some
Prospects of future Advantages. But as the other trading
Nations in the Indies were entirely unacquainted with the
Secrets of the French Commerce, to judging by Appear-
ances only, they were fully persuaded that the French
Trade was in a flourishing Condition, because they saw it
viciously extended, and the Returns made to Europe far
more regular, and, at the same Time, much more con-
siderable, than they had hitherto ever been. Yet notwith-
standing all this, if they had gone on in the same Manner,
it would have been many Years before they had been
brought into such Circumstances as to have been able to
support themselves, and carry on their Trade upon their
own Bottom.

But in the Year 1737, M. Ory de Lucy, being at the
Head of the Finances, or Revenues of France, which he
has managed with most surprising Success, the Company
fell naturally under his Care and Protection. He saw
plainly, that greater Supplies were necessary to extricate
them from the Difficulties under which they laboured, and
therefore, having first made a strict Enquiry into the situ-
ation of their Affairs, and put them into the best Order
possible, he next furnished them with such Sums as were
necessary for enlarging and augmenting their Commerce;
so that in the short Space of two Years, he doubled their
Returns, and in three Years more, brought them to three
as much as they had formerly been. By his Management,
their Sales at Port de l'Orient became regular, and consi-
derable, increasing in such a Manner, that the publick
Sale, in the Year 1742, produced twenty-four Millions of
French Livres, or about one Million of our Money; be-
sides which, they reserved in their Magazines, Goods to
the Value of four Millions of Livres more; and the first
Ships that arrived in 1743, brought Home still a richer
and more valuable Cargo. This sudden and extraor-
dinary Change in the Company's Affairs alarmed and
amazed all Europe, but more especially the Maritime Powers,
who from without Concern, a Company that but
a few Years before was looked upon as entirely sunk and
destroyed, now rising into so high Credit as to supply in Eu-

rope; and on the other hand, this encouraged the north-
ern Powers to prosecute their Schemes of falling into
the East-India Trade with greater Warmth and Dili-
gence.

But what was still more extraordinary than all the rest,
the War did not seem to affect the Company so much as
might have been expected; for their Dividends were still
regularly paid, and this kept up their Credit to such a
Degree, that so lately as Christmas 1744, their Actions
were at two thousand. But the War with Great Britain
increasing the Expences of France on the one hand, and
lessening her Income on the other, the Secret at last came
out, and Mr. Ory was forced to acquaint the Directors
of the East India Company, that the King's Affairs were
in such a Posture as would no longer permit him to sup-
ply the Company in the Manner he had hitherto done;
so that now they were to stand upon their own Bottom,
and to carry on their Trade for the future as well as
they could. This unexpected Stroke demolished the whole
Fabrick, which had been raising for so many Years, and
reduced the Actions of the Company to eight hundred;
neither has the Eloquence of Mr. de Ory, or the Arts
which the Court has made use of to recover the Proprietors
from their Fright, been able to carry their Actions
above one thousand, or at least very little above it, ever
since.

The main Cause of this was the Propositions made by
Mr. Ory to their Directors, that either the Proprietors
should subscribe such a Sum of Money upon their Actions,
or should suffer their Dividends to be postponed for a
certain Time, or that they should come to some Agree-
ment amongst themselves for compounding these two Meth-
ods, by advancing some Part in ready Money, and al-
lowing their Dividends to go in discharge of the rest. The
Motive that obliged the Ministry to this Discovery, was
the Necessity of having Money to carry on the East-India
Trade, which they knew must be ruined, even by a tem-
porary Stagnation; which Money, since the Crown could
no longer furnish, it was necessary that the Proprietors
should. But to this it was answered, that hitherto the
Proprietors had been no Gainers by that Trade, had no
general Accounts made up to them of it, nor, according
to the Condition of the Directors themselves, were to
have received any such Accounts, if this Accident had not
happened; by which they asserted, that their Properties had
already lost one half of their Value, and might very prob-
ably lose a Part of the other half; so that they were had
in a Condition to pay, when this Demand was made,
which would have been sufficiently grievous, even in the
most of Peace, and when their Actions were at the
highest.

To this it was replied, that they had no Reason to com-
plain of the King, or of his Ministers, who had hitherto
supported this Trade for their Advantage, without their
contributing to it at all. That if they had received as yet
no Profits from their Trade, it was because no Profits had
accrued from it; and that, not through any ill Manag-
ement in such as were intrusted with their Concerns, or be-
cause this Commerce had not been carried on to great Ad-
vantage, but by reason of that immense Load of Debts
which lay upon them, at their first Establishment, and
which the Profits of the Trade was obliged to pay off,
and the prodigious Expence the Company had been at,
both in Europe and in the Indies, for putting their Com-
merce on a solid and certain Footing. That to put all
Doubts upon this Subject entirely out of the Question,
and that they might be satisfied of the Truth of these Par-
ticulars, a general Account of their Trade should now be
laid before them, by which they would, in the first place,
see, that, tho' slowly, it had been continually improving,
and that of late Years especially, it had risen exceed-
ingly.

In the next place, they might be satisfied, that even at
present, it was so far from being in a desperate Condition,
that notwithstanding an enormous Sum was necessary for
carrying it on, yet there was no Danger of their being called
upon for another Supply, since what was now asked would
be sufficient to put the Company upon a Condition to main-
tain it, without any more upon their Dividends, which
they had,

All the good Effects however which it hath produced to this Company, are like to vanish into Smoke, by Means of the present War, which has been equally fatal to it at home and abroad: For at home it has occasioned the high Demand for Money, which has brought on the Suspension of their Dividends, and thereby the Ruin of their Credit; and the Blow struck by Commodore *Barnet* in the *Indies*, and the Loss of the Ships taken at *Cape-Breton* has gone so far towards the Ruin of their Commerce abroad, that another such Stroke will go very near putting an End to it: For the *French*, like other People of lively Tempers, are easily discouraged; and if once, after all the Care has been taken of it, their present Company of the *Indies* should fail, they would infallibly despair. This sufficiently shews the Consequence of making a proper Use of our Naval Force in a War with that Crown; since, if we destroy the Commerce of *France*, we must necessarily enlarge our own. There is so much the more Force in this Argument, because Trade in that Kingdom is a new Thing a Thing, which, as we have abundantly shewn, they have nursed with the greatest Care, and yet have raised with the utmost Difficulty; so that if it can be overthrown, they are set back for twenty or thirty Years at least, which is a Thing of far more Consequence to us than all the Conquests we can gain upon the Continent.

To say the Truth, our Title to *Martin's Power* is that which we ought chiefly to regard; and as it is impossible to succeed in all, if we engage in too many Designs at once; so, if we fix our Attention upon this, and pursue it with Vigour, we shall find that it will have a better Effect, both with Regard to ourselves and our Allies, than if we diverted our Views to other Objects, which, at first Sight, may appear of equal Importance. The Truth of this will be clearly discerned, if we consider that the increasing of our Naval Power will render us more formidable than any thing else, and the recovering and extending our Trade, prove the surest Means of bringing in Riches. The former will render us most dreadful to our Enemies, as the latter will make us most useful to our Friends. While we are able to carry Terror into the most distant Parts of the World, our Foes can never be out of our Reach; and

while we can, without empowering ourselves, grant timely and suitable Assistance to our Allies when attacked, there is no Danger either of the disturbing domestic Quiet, or losing the Balance of Power. For whatever speculative Politicians may pretend, we must derive our Title to both from the Superiority of our Fleets, and the Wealth of our Subjects. Arbitrary Governments may attain Strength and Influence from other Maxims; but a free People never.

It is our peculiar Happiness, that the Glory of the Crown, and the Interest of the People, depend upon the very same Thing; so that whatever advances one, must necessarily enlarge the other; and what diminishes this may, sooner or later, destroy that. In *France* the Government is obliged to take unwearied Pains for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce. In *Great-Britain*, again, this may be entirely spared; for, provided the Government does not oppress Trade, private Men will carry it on with all the Success that can be wished for; and the less the Hand of Power meddles therewith, so much the better. This shews, at once, the Difference between other Constitutions, and the Excellence of that under which we live. It is to this Constitution that we owe our Trade being natural to our Island. It is to their living under a different Constitution, that the *French* feel, by Experience, the Difficulty of carrying on Commerce to any Advantage. If ever our Trade fail, it must be owing to ourselves; it ever theirs flourish, it must be the Effect of Accidents, or rather of Miracles. In short, nothing but Tyranny, under the Mask of Corruption, can possibly hurt the Commerce of this Nation; whereas nothing but the wise and gentle Administration of despotick Power, can possibly raise the Trade of that. These Reflections shew sufficiently what we have to hope, and they have to fear. They arise naturally from the Subject; they are of the greatest Consequence to my Readers, and if by dint of these Reflections, founded upon Facts, I shall be able to impress them as strongly upon their Minds as they deserve, my End will be fully answered. In the mean time, having executed all that was proposed in this Section, I shall proceed with as much Brevity as is possible, to finish the few that remain, in order to make this Volume complete.

SECTION XXXVI.

A succinct, but complete History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Imperial Company of the Indies, established at Ostend, by the late Emperor Charles VI.

Collected from private Memoirs, as well as publick Histories and Acts of State.

1. *The first Grounds and Beginning of this Trade from the Austrian-Netherlands to the East-Indies, and the Difficulties with which it was attended from its Infancy.* 2. *The Plan of its first Charter, and the Motives which induced the Court of Vienna to consent to its Establishment, set in a true Light.* 3. *An Account of the Reasons alleged by the States-General for its Abolition, and an Extract of the Memorial presented by their Minister on that Subject to the Court of Vienna.* 4. *The Use made of that Memorial by the English East-India Company, to obtain an Act of Parliament to prevent the Subjects of Great-Britain from having any Concern in the Capital of that Company.* 5. *An Abridgement of the Imperial Letters Patent for the Establishing of the said Company, with a concise Account of the Privileges granted to the Proprietors.* 6. *The Approbation raised by this Establishment, in Great-Britain and Holland, and the Methods used to overturn it.* 7. *The Kings of France and Spain also take Umbrage at this Company, and publish their Disapprobation of it to all Europe.* 8. *The Emperor and the King of Spain being judiciously reconciled, conclude a Treaty of Commerce, by which the Ostend Company obtains the Protection of both Monarchs.* 9. *An excellent Memorial of the Dutch East-India Company, demonstrating the Incompatibility of this Treaty of Commerce with the Emperor's Title to the Netherlands.* 10. *The Grounds of the Treaty of Hanover concerted for the impeding the Execution, and defeating the Views of that of Vienna.* 11. *The Substance of M. Vander Meur's Memorial to the King of Spain, in Defence of the Rights of the Maritime Powers.* 12. *A succinct Detail of the remaining Part of this Dispute, and the Conduct of their High-Mightinesses.* 13. *The Letters Patents of the Ostend Company are suspended, by which the Commerce of the East-Indies is secured to the Maritime Powers.*

As soon as those Provinces which were formerly in the several Cities of *Holland* and *Brabant*, set their Heels at Work, to find out Ways and Means by which their Commerce might be extended through the Authority and Influence of the new Market. One of the first Things

Things that occurred to them, was the opening a Trade to the *East Indies*, for which they thought their Country, at least, as well situated, as either *Great-Britain* or *Holland*. In order to make Trial of this, they first of all formed a private Company, without Patent, Charter, or even Licence from the Imperial Court, which, notwithstanding, was thought to have advised them to this Method, and furnished them with Passports. They had, however, but very indifferent Success at the Beginning, one of their Ships being taken on the Coast of *Africa*, richly laden, on the 8th of *December*, 1718, by the *Dutch*.

This Accident had very probably dashed their Hopes in the very Beginning, if they had not been encouraged by *Vianna*, with a Promise of Letters Patent, and Leave immediately given them to take in Subscriptions. The Emperor went yet farther, and demanded Satisfaction of the *States-Generall* for this Infract offered to a Vessel provided with his Passports; but before that Complaint was well laid before them, a fresh Occasion afforded room for another, the *Dutch* having seized a second Ship, and showing very little Inclination to give Satisfaction for either. Upon this, the Merchants at *Ostend* applied for Commissions, that in case of any further Infracts, they might, at least, be in a Condition of defending themselves. This being looked upon as a very reasonable Request, was readily granted them, and in Consequence thereof, one of their Vessels, well armed, took a *Dutch* Ship, and brought her into *Ostend*. The *States* did not fail to make loud Complaints of this to the Governor-Generall of the *Spanish* Low Countries, who answered, that the Merchants of *Ostend* had done no more than they were entitled to do by Virtue of his Imperial Majesty's Commissions, in order to obtain Satisfaction for their Losses.

This gave to much Credit to the new Company, that in the Year 1721, they equipped five large Ships for the *Indies*, and the Year following, they had out six more, three for *Ceina*, one for *Malac*, another for *Surat*, and the Coast of *Malabar*, and the sixth for *Bengal*. This irritated the *Dutch* to such a Degree, that they immediately fitted a Vessel richly laden by the Merchants of *Bruges*, and ordered her Cargo to be sold, notwithstanding the Approaches of the Imperial Commissioners at the *Hague* to prevent it. This Misfortune was followed by another, an *English* Privateer taking very soon after on the Coast of *Madagascar*, an *Ostend* homeward-bound Ship, very richly laden from the *Indies*, which discouraged the new Company, that they ordered a new Ship, they were then building, to be laid up.

But in the Months of *May* and *June* 1722, they received two Ships from the *Indies*, and in the Month of *September*, two more, the Companies of which being excluded to pass, went off at a good Rate, that they found could give no reasonable Return for all their Losses, but were a common to carry on their Commerce with greater Spirit and Success than ever. The only Thing they wanted, was a legal Establishment, for, tho' the Imperial Court had for a long Time flattered them with the Hope of Letters Patent, yet they had heretofore declined to do so, to avoid a disagreement with the *Netherlands* Power.

At the Arrival, however, of these last mentioned Ships, the Company having Money then in Hand, and very powerful Friends at the Court of *Vienna*, resolved to apply to the Emperor, that might put their Affairs on the best Footing possible, and with this View, they left some of their Directors to Court, very well furnished with Instructions, as also with other Credentials, no less necessary to them, than most other Courts, viz. Money for consideration of the Emperor, and Money. These Gentlemen managed their Affairs with such Discretion and Prudence, that they obtained a Promise of a Charter as extensive as they could wish, or any Company in *Europe* had ever received, tho' the Emperor was immediately drawn, and gave them entire Satisfaction.

This Charter was to have consisted of several Articles, Importing first, that the Directors should be fixed to the Number of Eight, to be choic'd out of the wealthiest,

most reputable, and best experienced Merchants in the *Low Countries*; that they should be allowed four thousand Florins a Year Salary; that none of them should continue above six Years, or be capable of being re-elected, till they had been a full Year out of Office. Secondly, That a general Court of the Proprietors should be held every Year for the Choice of Directors, whom the Company should name twenty four, out of which List the Emperor should choose eight. Thirdly, That the Court of Directors, the Treasury, and Books of Account belonging to the Company, should remain the first three Years at *Antwerp*, and the next three Years either at *Ghent* or *Bruges*, but that their sales should be constantly made either at *Ostend* or *Bruges*. Fourthly, That the Company's Capital should consist of ten Millions of Florins, and should be divided into ten thousand Actions, of one thousand Florins each. Fifthly, the Prizes which the Vessels in the Service of the Company should take in Time of War, were to belong entirely to the Company, and were to be sold and disposed of for their Profit. Sixthly, All the Ammunition, Provisions, Artillery, and naval Stores, requisite for the Forts and Factories of the Company, were to be exempted from all kinds of Duties and Impositions in their Passage through the Custom's, either of his Imperial Majesty, or of any of the Emperors, or Ecclesiastical Communities in the *Low Countries*. Seventhly, That the Goods transported on Board the Ships of the Company, should pay for all Customs and Duties Inward and Outwards, four per Cent. and no more, till the Expire of the Month of *September* 1724, and from that Time six per Cent. for ever.

The Emperor likewise promised, in which he also kept his Word, to send a Person well skilled in a publick Character to the Great Mogul, in order to settle an Alliance with him, and to return him thanks for the Privileges he had granted the Company, not only to erect a Factory, but also a Fort, to protect their Commerce in his Dominions. The Prospect his Imperial Majesty had of enriching his Subjects in the *Low Countries*, and augmenting the Revenues he drew from thence, by fixing to extensive and profitable a Commerce there, engaged him to allow the Agents of that Company of all greater Favour. He even intimated, that he would remit all Customs and Duties for three whole Years, and would likewise allow the Proprietors a Present of three hundred thousand Florins in ready Money, to signify his satisfaction in a full and successful prosecution of the said Establishment of their Commerce.

When all this good News came to one, who in the *Netherlands*, it called such a Spirit, not only among the Merchants, Bankers, and other Persons concerned in Trade, and in Money; but also among the Nobility and Gentry who had Fortures and Estates in the *Netherlands*; that they showed an eager Inclination to exert themselves to the utmost in the Support of the new Company, of the Success of which, they found to be no longer any Doubt. It was not to be said, however, costerly, that it was not the Inclinations only of these Proprietors, and of other Subjects of his Imperial Majesty, that encouraged the Undertaking, but Strangers and particularly the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, who were concerned in the Support, also in the Management of the Company's Affairs, notwithstanding that they well knew they could never profit, but that the Expectation of their native Countries, and of the Establishment of the same Commerce long ago erected in them, which heretofore had been carried on with great Profit and Reputation.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the Emperor, tho' the new Company at *Ostend* should be so many as to reach Nine and a half Millions of Florins, should be so ready to render the Support of this Settlement as a necessary Part of the general Policy of his Empire, as to give out the Patent for it; but it may, however, be said, that what was at first Sight, that the warm'd Inclination of the Allies of his Imperial Majesty, should be so readily consented in this Opposite to One, who was so very much against the Emperor's, the same Reason, tho' the Company, tho' other Princes and States have not approved the same.

1. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that several Subjects of *Great Britain* have been concerned in promoting and carrying on a Trade from the *Austrian-Netherlands* to the *East-Indies*, and negotiating and establishing of a Company for that Purpose, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom.

2. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the House is desired for Leave to bring in a Bill, effectually to prevent his Majesty's Subjects from subscribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subscription for an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, or for the better securing the lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and from the *East-Indies*.

The fourth of the said Resolutions being read a second Time, was agreed unto by the House *Nominis contradicente*, and it was also unanimously ordered, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill effectually to prevent his Majesty's Subjects from subscribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subscription for an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, and for the better securing the lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and from the *East-Indies*.

This Bill afterwards passed into a Law, under the Title of "An Act for preventing his Majesty's Subjects from subscribing, or being concerned in, or encouraging or promoting any Subscription for an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, and for the better securing a lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and from the *East-Indies*." We have already, in the thirty-third Section of this Work, given the Reader an Account of the Scope and Contents of this Law, upon which, therefore, it is not necessary that we should dwell longer here; only we thus observe, that, henceforward, the Maritime Powers looked upon themselves as equally obliged to prosecute this Affair with Vigour, and to oblige his Imperial Majesty to assent to the new Company in the *Netherlands*, as a Sacrifice necessary to preserve the Friendship of his ancient Allies.

2. But, notwithstanding the joint Solicitations of the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, the Emperor seemed more and more determined to restrain his Ports; and therefore, in the Month of *August*, 1722, actually granted his Letters Patent to the *Ostend* Company, though with some Variations from the Plans fore-laid down. In the Preamble to these Letters, the Emperor not only took all the Titles of the Head of the House of *Austria*, but likewise that of the King of *Spain*; and, in particular, styled himself King of the *East* and *West-Indies*, of the *Golden-Trade*, &c. with a View, probably, to grant this new and ample Charter to the *Ostend* Company, which was established for forty Years, with Licence to trade to the *East-Indies*, *India*, and on all the Coasts of *Africa* on this Side, and on the other Side the *Cape of Good-Hope*, observe of the usual Customs.

The Capital however of the Company was, by these Letters, reduced to Six Millions of Florins, and the Number of their Attoms to Six Thousand; but, in other Respects, they had all the Powers and Privileges laid down in the Bill Propos'd, and many more: For they were permitted to build Forts and Castles in whatever Parts of the *East-Indies* they thought fit; they were also to furnish themselves with all kind of Arms, Artillery, and Ammunition, as they thought convenient. They were likewise to buy, sell, and equip Ships of what Size and Structure they thought proper, in any of the Ports of his Imperial Majesty's Dominions in the *Low-Countries*, *Flanders*, &c. where, as also to make Leagues, Treaties, and Alliances with the sovereign Princes and States of the *East-Indies* in the Name of his Imperial Majesty, with this Restriction only, that they should not make War on any Part of the world, without the Leave of his Imperial Majesty, or his Successors, first had and obtained.

The Confirmation of all these Privileges, Benefits, and Advantages, the said Company bound themselves to perform, as a Homage to his Imperial Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors, in every Generation, a Golden Lion of the weight of twenty Marks, being under the Crown of the Emperor, the Arms of the Company, which was to be worn on the right Arm, and with the territorial Globe

between his two Heads, surmounted by an Imperial Crown. Lastly, his Imperial Majesty undertook to protect and defend the said new Company against all who should unjustly attack them; and should, even in case of Necessity, employ the whole Force of his Dominions to support and maintain them in the full and free Possession of the Enjoyment of the Commerce and Navigation granted them by these Letters, and obtain for them full Damages and Satisfaction from any Nation, State, or Potentate, that should presume to trouble or disturb them; and should likewise, for the future, provide, in every respect, for their Safety and Welfare, by any Treaties, Alliances, or Leagues, into which his Imperial Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors should hereafter enter with any Powers whatever. Such was the Rule, and such the Establishment of this famous Company at *Ostend*, from which both the Company and his Imperial Majesty promised themselves to many and to great Advantages.

6. As soon as these Letters Patent were published and registered in the Sovereign Courts of the *Austrian-Low-Countries*, the Directors taking Possession of their Office, held soon after their first General Court, in which it was resolved, that the Books of the Company should be opened at *Antwerp* on the Eleventh of *August*, which was accordingly done, and that with such Success as surpris'd all *Europe*; for the next Day, by Noon, the Capital was entirely subscribed, and by the End of the Month of *August* the Stock of the *Ostend* Company was 15 per Cent. above Par. The Affairs of this new Society were no less flourishing in the *Indies*, where the Persons they employed, being most of them such as had served before, either the *English* or the *Dutch East-India* Companies, found Ways and Means to settle Factories with amazing Facility and Success, and to push their Trade in such a manner as very evidently shew'd, that if the Interests of such as oppos'd this Company did not get it suppressed in *Europe*, their Effects in the *Indies* would do little, unless they had Recourse to open Force.

The *Dutch East-India* Company was so far convinc'd of this, that, in less than a Fortnight, they presented to the States General, in which they kept any Measures, but plainly intimated, that as to the Establishment of this Company was in direct Violation of Treaties, to they ought to be left at Liberty to act, as if those Treaties no longer subsisted, and do themselves Justice by Arms, which it was every Day more and more apparent could not be obtained any other way. The States, however, were by no means inclin'd to break at once with his Imperial Majesty, it by any Method's possible they might avoid it, and therefore still continued their Applications at the Court of *Vienna*, in conjunction with *Great-Britain*, in order to obtain the Revocation of the Authority by which the new Company acted, or at least a Suspension of it; and in the mean time, they made such Laws at home, in Favour of their own *East-India* Company, as they thought requisite, to prevent any of the Subjects of their High Mightinesses from having any Concern, either in the Capital of the *East-India* Company in the *Netherlands*, or in the Management of their Affairs in the *Indies*.

As, on the other hand, the *Dutch* Company, tho' they did not proceed to direct Acts of Violence, took in a Manner that Part of the World, where their Power was so great, and so extensive, as gave this new Society great Trouble, by cramping their Trade, and rendering it a great measure precarious, in which they were to be excused by the *English*, that nothing but the Activity and Abilities of the Persons concerned in this new Trade, and their finding themselves in a manner deluded, if they did not succeed, could have kept it on for so long a Time, notwithstanding the Difficulties and Inconveniences which they every Day experienced.

7. But it was not only *Great-Britain* and *Holland* that exerted themselves with great Vigour against this new Establishment; for *France* likewise began to take Notice of a Scheme which threaten'd direct Destruction to that Establishment of the same kind, which was every Day seeming to erect, and therefore his most Christian Majesty's Council published a Declaration, dated the thirtieth

by an Imperial Crown, took to protect and all all who should un- in case of Necessity, mmons to support and possession of the Engraving granted them by full Damages and Sa- Potentate, that thou- by, and should likewise, respect, for their Safety ances, or Leagues, into rs, or Successors should whatever. Such was the of this famous Com- the Company and its velves to many and to

ent were published and of the *Austrian* I- of the Emperor, Court, in which it was any should be open- ight, which was acco- cepts as surpris'd all the Capital was entru- e Month of August the 15 per Cent. above Pri- no lets flourishing in employed, being num- re, either the *English* or ound Ways a d Mean acility and Success, and nner as very evidently ch as opposed the Com- urre, their Efforts in they had Recourse to

y was so far convinc'd ight, they preferred to l, in which they fear- ntimated, that as the as in direct Violation of at Liberty to act, as and do themselves that every Day more and in- other way. The States med to break through any Methods propos- ore Bill continued to ma, in conjunction with a Revocation of the any acted, or at least in time, they made in their own last *India* Com- to prevent any of the from having any Com- the *East-India* Company, ment of their Affairs of

atob Company, th' they Violence, too in a M- where their Power, so this new Society might be, and rendering it, wh which they were to w- ing but the Activity d in this new Treaty, and mer delly, not in cal- at it on to r- m- p- es which they every Day

Prussia and *Holland* t- Vigour against this rose began to take a more direct Destruction to it, which the was either his most Christian Ma- uration, dated the 16th of

August 1723, by which all the Subjects of the Crown of *France* were forbid to interest themselves in any manner whatever in the Capital of the *Ostend* Company, under pain of forfeiting three thousand Livres for every Act of Offence, besides incurring the Confiscation of whatever they should subscribe into the Capital of the said Company; and in case of a second Offence, the same Fine and Forfeiture, together with Banishment for three Years. By the second Article of this Declaration, his most Christian Majesty directed, that in case the Effects his Subjects might acquire by intersting themselves in the Stock of this new Company, could not be reached, so as to make them liable to the Confiscation before mentioned, then their Effects and Fortunes in *France*, should be liable to the like Seizures and Forfeitures, until the Sums in which they were so concerned in the *Austrian* Company should be raised and levied, and all this in the short, summary, and extraordinary Method described by the Royal Ordinance of 1670. By the third Article all Seamen, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and in general all the Subjects of his most Christian Majesty were strictly prohibited and forbid to enter, in any Manner or Quality, into the Service of the said *Ostend* Company, on pain of Imprisonment and Forfeiture of all their Effects. By the fourth Article, all Persons whatever were prohibited from inviting, inhaling, or otherwise entering into the Service of the said Company, any of the Subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, in Quality of Officers, Soldiers, Seamen, or in any other Quality or Manner; as also to sell, or buy, or lend, or equip any Vessel for the Service of the said Company, on pain of the Pillory for the first Offence, and of being sent to the Gallies for the second, besides the Confiscation of all that should be thus bought or sold, and a Fine of three thousand Livres each on both the Buyer and Seller.

This Catholic Majesty likewise joined heartily with the Maritime Powers in this Affair, as appears plainly from a Representation presented to his *Britannick* Majesty by the *Spanish* Minister on the 26th of April, 1724, conceived in the clearest and most express Terms, and demonstrating fully the Injustice and Illegality of this new Establishment, by proving it utterly inconsistent with the Treaty of *Munster*, by which the Crown of *Spain* engaged not to disturb the Navigation of the *Dutch* to their *East-Indies*, in Consideration of a reciprocal Engagement on their Side, nor to disturb the Commerce of the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in that Part of the World. It was by these reciprocal Stipulations, that the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, were restrained from trading to the *East-Indies*: And it was under these Restrictions, that the *Spanish* *Low-Countries* were yielded to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and by *France*, with his Consent, to the House of *Austria*, upon express Condition, that this House should hold them in the same Manner, and under the same Restrictions as they had been held by the Crown of *Spain*; for which their High Mightinesses likewise engaged: So that if the *Ostend* Company might be legally established, it would turn as much to the Detriment of *Spain* as to that of the States General, contrary to the plain Meaning and Intention of all these several Treaties and Alliances made, as is most apparent for establishing and securing the Tranquillity of *Europe*, but, by this Contraction, if it could be put upon them, rendered hurtful and ruinous to all Parties save the Emperor alone, and destructive of themselves.

Such was the Representation of the Marquis de *Pozzo* *Buono* at the Court of *London*; and to clearly was his Catholic Majesty convinced, that the Establishment of the *Ostend* Company was utterly inconsistent with his own particular Interest, and with the general System of the Affairs of *Europe*.

But, in such less than a Year, the whole Face of Affairs was changed; his Catholic Majesty saw, or was persuaded by his Ministers to think he saw, his Interests in another Light; and he no longer took this in his Head, than the general System of Affairs in *Europe* must change likewise, and every State and Power therein, alter not only their Notions and Maxims, but their Politics and Conduct. To explain this, we must observe, that for

twenty-five Years together *France* had been struggling to set *Joseph* V. on the Throne of *Spain* and the *Indies*, notwithstanding the Pretensions of the House of *Austria*; in maintaining which, almost all the rest of *Europe* was engaged, and even at this very Time a Congress was sitting in the *Low-Countries*, and endeavouring to adjust and settle amicably the Disputes between his late Imperial Majesty *Charles* VI. and this same Prince *Philip* V. in whose Quarrels so many Princes and States had almost bled and exhausted their Subjects.

Yet such was the Obstinacy of both these Princes, that all the Methods their best Friends could employ, proved ineffectual for procuring a Reconciliation; when, of a sudden, they took a surprizing Resolution, not only of reconciling themselves, but of doing it at the Expence of their Friends; and as such violent and unnatural Motions generally exert themselves with extraordinary, not to say extravagant Force, so they not only concluded a Peace, but likewise a Treaty of Commerce, dated at *Vienna* the 11th of May, 1725; by which his Catholic Majesty sacrificed the Interest of *France*, to whom he owed his Crown; and his Imperial Majesty those of his Allies, to whom he was under to many, and to great Obligations, that they were scarce to be enumerated or computed. It was one great Design of this new and amazing Treaty of Commerce, to fix and establish the *East-India* Company at *Ostend*; not only by his Imperial Majesty's Authority, whose Interest visibly led him thereto, but also by that of his Catholic Majesty, to whose Interest it was directly repugnant, and, that as appears by the foregoing Declaration in his own Sense and Judgment, expressed in the clearest and most direct Terms.

This shews how weak and ridiculous a Thing it is, at least for free Governments, where it is always understood, that Power is to be solely exerted for the common Benefit of their Subjects in general, to interest themselves in the Support of any particular System which must always depend on the Wills and Inclinations of many arbitrary Princes, who, without any Regard to the Principles upon which such Systems are founded, or to the Obligation they are under to such free States as risk the Wealth and Well-being of their Subjects for establishing a d maintaining such Systems, think themselves at Liberty, not only to alter and change, but to subvert and overturn them whenever they see, or imagine they see, that greater Advantages are to be obtained by such Actions, how unjust or unworthy soever, than by readily adhering to their Allies. Such ever has been, and such ever will be the Fate of these Kind of Engagements, fatal to those who, from Principles of Probity and good Faith, constantly and justly observe them, and profitable only to those who keep their Promises, and observe their Treaties no longer, than till they can have their own Price for breaking them.

A Lesson this, that Reason has always, and Experience often taught us, though we have most unaccountably neglected to learn, or, at least, to practice it; but a Lesson never dictated to us in stronger Terms than by this singular Treaty of *Vienna*, by which two Princes, who owed their Power and Territories to the Friendship and Faith of others, gave up their Benefactors to a Prospect, and, as it proved a false Prospect too, of particular Advantages to themselves. However, upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, the *Ostend* Company seemed to be fixed upon to firm and solid a Foundation, that both Enemies and Friends concluded, that they were not to be moved or shaken, much less ruined and dissolved by any thing less than a general War: A Thing hard and difficult of Execution to the Maritime Powers, who were very unwilling to pull down the Work of their own Hands, and to destroy that Bulwark which with so much Difficulty, and such vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, they had erected for their own Security.

As, on the other hand, they were no less unwilling to see the Commerce of their Subjects torn away by the Violence of a Prince who had never been prevailed with this Power of ruining them, but by the Pains they had taken for his Preservation. But, to return from these Reflections, which, however, are very well worthy the Notice and At-

tention of the *English* Reader, and to return to Matters of Fact, and the Methods employed by the Maritime Powers, in Conjunction with *France*, which now, out of regard to its own Interest, very heartily joined them, for the pulling down this Edifice, which while it stood, threatened its Neighbours with the Loss of those Advantages that had for so many Ages rendered them considerable, and by maintaining the Wealth of their Subjects, and the Naval Power of their respective Governments, had placed them in a Condition to hold the Balance of Power, and to prevent the Madnets of ambitious Princes from reducing the Inhabitants of *Europe* into that abject State of Slavery, which renders *Africa* the most despicable, tho' in itself the richest, most populous, and most delightful Quarter of the Earth.

9. The *East India* Company in *Holland*, were so much alarmed at this Accident, and to terrified with the Thoughts of seeing this new Company almost in its very Dawn, on a better Foot than themselves, that they could not forbear once more representing their Apprehensions to their High-Mightnesses, which they did in a Memorial so closely worded, and in which all the Facts concerning this important Affair, are so fully and clearly set forth, that for the sake of avoiding Variety of Abstracts, we will give the Substance of these various Treaties therein to the Reader.

The Directors of the *East India* Company in this Country, having observed their Commerce in the *East-Indies* decline from Time to Time, ever since it hath been attempted in the *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *and* *Dutch* Netherlands, to carry on a Trade in the *Indies*, have presented several Memorials to your High-Mightnesses, shewing, That the said *Netherlands* have no Right by Treaties to this Navigation and Commerce; that they never could claim it under the Kings of *Spain*, and that consequently they have it neither by virtue of the said Treaties, nor of these that have been made with his Imperial Majesty, and his Predecessor the Emperor *Leopold* of glorious Memory. The rather, since the chief Aim and Tendency of these Treaties and Negotiations was, that in the Countries and Dominions which his Imperial Majesty might acquire by virtue of the grand Alliance with *England* and this *State*, nothing should be attempted that might be more prejudicial to these two Nations, than if the said Countries had remained in the Hands of *Spain*. It was therefore very wisely stipulated by the Barrier Treaty, that his Imperial and Catholic Majesty should possess the *Spanish* Netherlands, in the same Manner as the Kings of *Spain* his Predecessors had done, and that their Commerce should be carried on in the Manner stipulated by the Treaty of *Munster*. But though the Directors could have heartily wished they had not been obliged by fresh Incidents to trouble your High-Mightnesses again by new Writings, seeing they flattered themselves, that his Imperial and Catholic Majesty would forbear carrying on that Commerce any farther to their Prejudice.

Yet they have seen with Grief, first, That the private Navigation begun some Years ago at *Ostend*, has been changed into a formal Company trading to the *East-Indies*, and authorized by an ample Patent; and secondly, That all sorts of Means are now used to improve and maintain this Company by Treaties with other Powers, to the great Prejudice of the Rights and Privileges the *East-India* Company in this Country has formerly obtained, as it evidently appears to the said Directors from the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded between his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, and the King of *Spain*, where it is said in the first and third Articles, "That the Men of War, and the Merchants Ships belonging to their said Majesties, or to their Subjects, shall be freely admitted to all the Ports, Coasts, Countries, and Provinces on either Side, without asking any previous Permission, which extends also in a special Manner to the *East-Indies*, where they may ask for every Thing necessary for Navigation, with this singular Restriction, with respect to the *East-Indies*, that it shall not be allowed to carry on any Commerce in each others Dominions, and that the Men of War, especially in those Countries, shall behave themselves so, as not to give to the *Spaniards* any Cause of Fear or Suspicion." 'Tis more-

over said, in the thirty-sixth Article of the said Treaty, "That his Imperial and Catholic Majesty's Ships and Subjects, shall be allowed to import into, and sell in all the King of *Spain's* Dominions, all sorts of Fruits, and Effects and Merchandizes, brought by them from the *East-Indies*, provided it appear by Affidavits of the Deputies of the *East-India* Company established in the *Asyrian* Netherlands, that the same came from the conquered Places, Colonies or Factories of the said Company; in which case they shall enjoy the same Privileges granted to the Subjects of the United Provinces by the Treaty of *Munster* in 1648, both with respect to the *Indies*, and any other Thing applicable to the said Treaty, and which shall not be contrary to it, any more than to the present Peace." Which by the forty-seventh, or last Article of the said Treaty, is moreover extended, "To all what the *British* Nation has stipulated in their Favour by the Treaties of 1667, 1672, 1713, and last of all, by a certain Treaty and Convention, the Day and Date whereof are not expressed, so far as it may be applicable to the Emperor's Subjects." Moreover, "To all what has been granted to the *States* of the United Provinces, not only by the Treaties of Peace of 1648, but also by the Treaty of *Marine* in 1650, and the Treaty of Peace 1714." With this Addition, "That all these Treaties shall serve as a Rule in doubtful Cases, or such as are omitted, or not plainly expressed in the present Treaty between their said Majesties."

Upon which doubtful Cases, and which are passed by in Silence, it may be pretended and established in the first place, that his Catholic Majesty has been willing to grant to the Imperial Subjects by the second Article, free Access to all the Countries, Sea-ports, and Places of his Dominions, seeing that neither in that Article, nor in the whole Treaty, any express Restriction, or Exclusion are found, which are inserted in all other Treaties of that Nature, to wit,

That this is only to be understood of those Countries and Places which the King possesses in *Europe*, or those where other Nations have always had a free Commerce, as it appears by the fourth Article of the Treaty of Trade concluded by the King of *Spain* and this *State* in 1667, where it is said, "Which the said Lord the King understands to be restrained and limited to the Kingdoms, Countries, Dominions and Lordships, which he holds and possesses in *Europe*, and other Places and Ports where the Subjects of the Kings and Princes his Allies trade." Moreover, by the Treaty of *Munster*, in the fifth Article it is said, "That the Directors and Commissioners of the *East* and *West-India* Companies shall have free Access and Commerce in all the Countries within the King's Dominions in *Europe*, but all the *States* Subjects are not to frequent the *Castilian* Places in the *East-Indies*." And lastly, by the thirty-fourth Article of the Treaty concluded at *Utrecht* in 1714, between his present Catholic Majesty and this *State*, wherein it is expressly said, "Tho' it be mentioned in several of the foregoing Articles, that the Subjects on either Side may freely come to, frequent, Ray, sail to, and trade in the Countries, Lands, Cities, Ports, Places and Rivers, belonging to the above said respective contracting Parties; yet it is to be understood, that the said Subjects are only allowed that Liberty in their reciprocal Dominions in *Europe*, since it is expressly agreed, that as to the *Spanish* *West-Indies*, it shall not be allowed to sail to, or trade there, but pursuant to the thirty-first Article of the said Treaty." On the other hand, the like unlimited Terms are again to be met with in the thirty-sixth Article of the above-mentioned Treaty, between their said Majesties, wherein it is stipulated, "That the Emperor's Subjects shall be allowed to import into all the Countries and Dominions belonging to the King of *Spain*, without any Distinction, all sorts of Effects, Fruits and Merchandizes, from their Colonies and conquered Places in the *East-Indies*, provided they have the necessary Affidavits required by the said Article; in which Case they shall enjoy all the Privileges granted to the Subjects of this *State* by the King of *Spain's* Letters Patent in 1663."

Althou

le of the said Treaty, Majesty's Ships and Port into, and sell in all all sorts of Fruits, and ight by them from the by Affidavits of the any established in the same came from the ories of the said Com- enjoy the same Privi- the United Provinces 48, both with respect ing applicable to the be contrary to it, any Which by the forty- Treaty, is moreover igh Nation has stipu- ations of 1667, 1670, n Treaty and Conven- are not expressed, for- to the Emperor's Sub- hat has been granted to nces, not only by the also by the Treaty of Peace 1714." With reates shall serve as a as are omitted, or not Treaty between their

d which are passed by established in the first has been willing to the second Article, free Ports, and Places of his that Article, nor in the tion, or Exclusion are Treaties of that Na-

ood of those Countries ses in Europe, or those had a free Commerce, of the Treaty of Trade and this State in 1609, Lord the King under- to the Kingdoms, Ships, which he holds Places and Ports where Princes his Allies trade." ter, in the fifth Article and Commissioners of shall have free Access and within the King's Dom- Subjects are not to treat- East-Indies." And lastly, the Treaty concluded at Catholic Majesty and I, "Tho' it be mention- Articles, that the Sub- come to, frequent, Ray, as, Lands, Cities, Ports, the above said respective be understood, that the Liberty in their re- it is expressly agreed, it shall not be allowe- rasant to the thirty-first On the other hand, th- to be met with in the mentioned Treaty, be- it is stipulated, "That allowed to import into all belonging to the King of y, all sorts of Effects, their Colonies and com- es, provided they have d by the said Article; in the Privileges granted to e King of Spain's Letters

Although the Directors of the *East-India* Company in this Country do not know of any other Privilege, but that which allows them to import the Products and Merchandizes from the *Indies*, into the Dominions the King of *Spain* possesses in *Europe*, or in such Places where all other Nations have a free Trade, and that indeed by certain Letters Patent issued by the King of *Spain* in 1663, it was enjoined, that at the entering of those Products and Merchandizes into such of his Majesty's Dominions where their Importation has always been allowed, Affidavits should be produced, to make it appear, that they are brought from the Countries, Colonies, and conquered Places our *East-India* Company is possessed of in the *East-Indies*, to the end they might be distinguished from the Merchandizes brought from the *Portuguese East-Indies*, *Spain* being then at War with that Nation. Yet your High Mightinesses Minister then residing at *Madrid*, strenuously opposed it, in the Name of the *State*, and having represented to his Catholic Majesty, the Impossibility of complying with this Demand, it was dropped in all Appearance, since they never heard, that the like Affidavits have been afterwards required in *Spain*, for the Produces and Merchandizes brought from the *East-Indies*.

But as these Things have in all likelihood been interpreted according to the ancient Practice, or that they might be susceptible of such a Construction from preceding Acts and Treaties, the Directors glance upon them occasionally, to shew only, that the implicit Meaning and Intent of these Articles is altogether unknown to them, or at least does not appear so clear as what is established in the abovesaid second Article, wherein, "The said free Access, and Resort to all his Catholic Majesty's Ports and Places is expressly extended to the *East-Indies*." Which the Directors do not remember to have been granted in such a Manner to any Nation whatsoever, and especially to the Subjects of this *State*, since by the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munster* so often quoted, it is expressly stipulated, "That the Subjects of this *State*, shall forbear frequenting the *Catholic* Places in the *East-Indies*." This has been strictly observed ever since by the *Spaniards*, as it appears by a particular Case, the Directors had the Honour to lay before your High Mightinesses, by their Memorial in the Year 1720, viz. "That in 1687, a Ship belonging to their Company, having on Board two Friars, who had been ship-wrecked on the Coast of *Cbina*, and having at their earnest Request carried them to the *Philippine* Islands, the Captain of that Ship only demanded, on this Occasion, a small Provision of Water, which he wanted, by reason he had gone so much out of his Way; but instead of granting him this, or any other Favour, they ordered him forthwith to retire."

Hence it is manifest, how far the King of *Spain* was from designing, that his Sea ports and Places in the *East-Indies*, which extended no farther than the *Philippine* Islands, oserwise called *Manilas*, should serve for Staples, or Places of Refreshments to the *East-India* Ships, of this *State*, as knowing very well what might be the Consequence of it, but the Directors think they have a more particular Reason to complain of the said thirty-sixth Article, because the King of *Spain* grants thereby to his Imperial and Catholic Majesty's Subjects, not only all that has been granted, but moreover yielded to the Inhabitants of this *State*, by the Treaty of *Munster*, both in regard to the *Indies*, and otherwise, which they take to be directly contrary to the fifth Article of the said Treaty of *Munster*, by which it is stipulated, "That the *Spaniards* shall continue their Navigation within the same Limits, as at the Time of that Treaty, without extending it any farther in the *East-Indies*." As on the other hand, it was stipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in 1714, between his *Spanish* Majesty and this *State*, "That the Navigation and the Trade in the *East* and *West-Indies*, belonging to the Lords the *States-General*, shall be carried on in the same Manner as it had been practiced hitherto." Which proves evidently, that no Change ought to be made on either Side, with respect to this Navigation, whether it be by their own Subjects, or those of another Power, not comprehended in the fifth Article of the

Treaty of *Munster*, seeing the tenth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* lays moreover, "That the Prerogatives relating to the Navigation and Commerce in the *East-Indies*, expressed in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, shall only concern the two high contracting Powers, and their Subjects, namely, *Spain* and this *State*, and no others."

So that the true Meaning and Intent of these Words appear plain and manifest by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress at *Utrecht*, inserted in the Verbal and the Notes, or Resolutions of your High Mightinesses of the Fourth of *January*, 1714, in the same Terms: "First, upon the fifth and sixth Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, which the said Plenipotentiaries looked upon as deserving some Remarks, as being applicable to others, saying, that the States and their Inhabitants ought indeed to enjoy all the Advantages stipulated by this Treaty, but that the other Nations, and particularly the *Hans Towns*, shall not partake of the same." A convincing Proof that the Exclusion, or Non-admittance of other Nations from enjoying what has been agreed upon by the fifth Article, about the Navigation and Commerce of the *East-Indies*, was the only true Aim of that Treaty; which having been thus inserted at the Request and Instances of the *Spanish* Plenipotentiaries, and agreed to by both Parties, it is not allowed to either of these two Powers to transfer this Right by Treaty, or make another Nation partake thereof without the Concurrence and Consent of the other Powers comprehended in the same Convention, and concerned therein. Besides that, after the King of *Spain* had once yielded in Favour of the Inhabitants of this *State* the Part of the *Indies*, which the privileged *East-India* Company possesses, with Promise that the *Spaniards* should not extend themselves on that Side, he has no Right to make over a second Time to other Nations, what his Majesty had formerly desired from by so solemn a Treaty, and which he has always left to the privileged *East-India* Company of this *State*, or to such who having been formerly his Majesty's Subjects, are also comprehended in the Article of Exclusion. Neither is he entitled to tolerate publicly, that the Districts yielded, and which have been peaceably enjoyed without any Lett from the *Spanish* Subjects, but frequented by Men of War and Merchants Ships, that Ports, Colonies, and Factories for Trade be set up there, and generally to do every thing that could be done had there been no Treaty, to the great Prejudice and impairing, if not entire Extinction of the Prerogatives of this *State* formerly stipulated and obtained.

And forasmuch, High and Mighty Lords, as the Directors of the *East-India* Company in this Country are more and more confirmed in what they did foresee long ago; that in case the *East* and *West-India* Company erected in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, will thus carry on their Navigation and Commerce, within the Limits of the Grant made to the *East-India* Company of this Country, and disturb the Commerce every where in the *Indies*, the Consequences of this Affair will every Day grow more important; and seeing, besides, that this Navigation and Commerce, with the Grant relating thereto, is now of late confirmed on the Part of the King of *Spain*, by an important Treaty, and highly prejudicial to the Commerce of the *East-India* Company of this Country; and that, in some Respects, the *Austrian* Company is favoured more than the Inhabitants of this *State*, they could not forbear representing at this Juncture their Grievances, most humbly beseeching your High Mightinesses to take them into your serious Consideration, and that you would be pleased, according to the Importance of this Affair, to use the most effectual Means, as well at the Court of *Vienna* as at that of *Madrid*, and elsewhere, where it might be of any Service, to have the said Grievances redressed, and that Navigation entirely put down, hoping withal, and expecting that it will not be taken amiss, that, seeing they cannot acquiesce to the new Grant and Treaty, they stick close to the ancient Treaty, and apply the same as a Rule, not only in Cases that are doubtful, or omitted, but in all other Cases.

10. In this Memorial we see, at one View, and in the most expressive Terms possible, the Nature of those Grievances under which the Maritime Powers laboured from this Treaty of Commerce, concluded at Vienna, and the Reasons which induced them to hope that they would be redressed. We see plainly that there could be nothing in Nature more plain & notorious to the Maritime Powers than the several Clauses in this Treaty, of which they complained, nor any thing more plain or self evident than the Rights upon which they insisted, of which the States-General were so sensible that they resolv'd to repeat their Applications at the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, in order to obtain Satisfaction and Redress. They were strongly seconded by the Courts of *London* and *Paris*, who, in the mean time however, considering how little Advantage had hitherto been obtained by the slow and pacifick Measures, resolv'd, if possible, to quicken them by some Step of another kind, which might convince both the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that they were not to be treated with high Words, or to be persuaded out of their Properties, by the Parliament Agreements of other Princes.

They took Advantage therefore of the Disposition the King of *Prussia* was in, who, low with some Implication to be exorbitant, and as he convers'd, Anticonstitutional Power of the Emperor in *Germany*, the Consequences of which he thought might be fatal to the Prerogatives of Great Britain, of some Princes; with which Nations striking in, they concluded a defensive Treaty at *Hanover*, dated the 15th of June, 1724, which Treaty was to subsist for fifteen Years, and to which the States-General were to be invited to accede. That there is not the least mention in this Treaty of the *Offend* Company, yet in the second Article it being expressed, that the contracting Powers guarantee not only each others Dominions, Countries and Cities, as well in Asia as in *Europe*, but also all their Rights, Privileges and Advantages, particularly those relating to Trade, it was well enough understood, that under this Treaty particularly the *Offend* Company was included, since it was impossible it should continue to subsist, and the contracting Parties in this Treaty reserve their Rights and Privileges relating to Trade. As soon as this Alliance was concluded, it was not only made known to the States-General at the *Hague*, but they were likewise invited and press'd to come in to it, as the most effectual, and indeed the only way of preventing what they, or all other Powers were most intirested to procure, viz. the Abolition of the *Offend* Company.

For when the Emperor and the King of *Spain* concerted to assist united, and the rest of the Princes of *Europe* connected by any counter Alliance, it was most evident, that they had it in their Power to give Law, and to do what they pleas'd, with that Power it was likewise very visible they intended to use for many Purposes, and lately irreconcilable to the Interest of other Princes and States, more especially in the Case of this Company, which stood now upon such a Foundation as might have enabled it, in the course of a few Years, to have intirested itself against any Prince that could have been thought to disturb it: of this we may be easily sensible, if we consider that never any Establishment of this kind was possess'd of equal Advantages, or supported by the Authority of two such Potentates. Neither for the Time it continued did ever any Company rise into such an extensive Trade, or make so rapid a Progress as this of the *Offend* Netherlands. So that it is possibly had it been left to itself, or been supported only by the ordinary Methods of Memorials and Applications, it would have risen to such a Height as it will have a double Reason, who from narrow and particular Views, might not see a possible Remedy.

But it is not to be thought, however, that they could not help acknowledging the general Equity, the Wisdom and Prudence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, yet they did not immediately acquiesce in it, but on the contrary, resolv'd to try to obtain the Repeal of it, by applying to the Court of *Madrid*. It was with this View that they directed Mr. *Vander Meer*, their Ambassador at that Court, to present a Memorial to the King of *Spain*, in the following Manner that was done then by him, viz. That by the Treaty which the Emperor, which Nations

was actually possess'd on the 4th of Nov. 1713, and as it is intirested out of the most injudicious, as well as one of the plainest Papers that apply'd in this whole important Controversy, in which the whole commercial Interest of *Europe* were at Stake, we shall, omitting those Parts of it which are purely Matters of Form, insert, as the best Account that can be given of this Matter, and therefore in the following Paper which we shall mention upon this Occasion. But it may be proper to put the Reader in mind, that Mr. *Vander Meer* presented this Memorial only in the Name of his Masters the States-General, yet it contains likewise the Grounds of Jealousy and Disaffection given to *Great Britain*, and therefore concerns us as much as it did them; and it is very possible there may come a Time when these very Points may again concern us again. The Arguments we used were these that follow.

11. Treaties being understood to be the Basis and Foundation of the Union of Nations and Potentates, it seems just, that each Party should make it an inviolable Law, not only to forbear all open Infraction of them, but likewise not to alter them in any manner, nor permit their Ministers to make use of Subterfuges for explaining the Intent and Articles of them in another Sense than what was intended at the Time of their mutual Conventions. It is with these Nations of good Faith that their High Mightinesses have always rigorously executed all they have stipulated, without changing or altering in the least Point any Article whatsoever; in doing of which Rule to themselves, to redress any Abuse, and give Satisfaction upon Complaint made, and causing Justice to their Subjects to be severly punished who pretend to deviate from the strict Observations of their Oaths, and as for entering into Engagements with other Powers, to the Prejudice of their Allies, whatever such Oaths have been made to them, they have given evident Marks to your Majesty of their perfect Attachments to your Interests, by retaining generally all the Advantages that were secured them if they would have gone into the *Quadruple Alliance*.

My Masters flattered themselves, that, that after such real and such particular Regards, they should find in your Majesty's Person, not only an Ally, but a line Protection against all those who should attempt any Infraction in the Treaties to their Prejudice. Nevertheless they are now the Grief to see Things bear quite another Face, and that far from being supported by your Majesty in their just and just Rights, in relation to their Commerce to the *Offend*, they had in your Royal Person the Protector of a Company, whose Commerce cannot subsist without running against their High Mightinesses Subjects and People, and whatever Favour your Majesty's Ministers may have in court, when they intirest that nothing has been granted to the Emperor which is not conformable to all the said Treaties, it is easy to demonstrate that it cannot be without a framed Contradiction, contrary to the Expressions of the Articles; for by taking them literally, and in the same they were pens'd, it is obvious to every Eye, how wide this new Treaty of Commerce is from the Aim of those who after such cruel Wars, and to much Blood shed, were retaining the Rights of the Republick, as well with respect to their Navigation to the *Indies*, as to their Commerce, and generally had at length conclude the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

I come, Sir, to these Demonstrations. By the second and third Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, in the said War, or Merchant Ships, belonging to his Majesty's Majesty, and his Subjects, are allowed to enter the Ports, and Ports of the Dominions of *Spain*, and of the *Indies* included therein to take in Refreshment, provisions, and generally whatever they may want for the service of their Voyage, with this sole Restriction, that they may not trade, or traffick therein. In the fifth Article of the same Treaty, it is said, that the Subjects of his Majesty may import and vend in the Territory, and Dominions of *Spain*, all the Goods, Merchandizes, and Products, which they shall bring from the *East Indies*, provided they shall produce a Certificate from the *India* Company of the *Offend* Netherlands, that those Merchandizes, or Products, are of the Growth of their Colonies and Conquests; giving besides, to the said

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of the Emperor, all that was yielded to the Dutch, by the Treaty of *Munster* in 1648, and afterwards by particular Grants in 1693, and by the Treaty of *Utrecht* in 1714.

The forty-seventh Article of the same Treaty of *Vienne*, grants likewise to the said Subjects of the Emperor, all that the *English* obtained in 1607, 1673, 1713, and lastly, by a certain Treaty, or Convention, the Date of which is not specified, with this Addition, that in Cases doubtful, or not sufficiently clear, those Treaties should serve for a Basis, and Foundation; nor is it explained, that the Entrance of the Emperor's Subjects into the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, ought to be understood to comprehend only the Ports, Towns and Harbours, of your Majesty in *Europe*, and not those of the *Indies*, which Restriction is most expressly specified in the Treaties made with their High-Mightinesses, my Masters.

So that, under this Pretext, the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty would enjoy much greater Advantages, than any other Nation; for never was any Part permitted to frequent, in any Manner, under any Pretence whatever, your Majesty's Ports and Towns in the *Indies*. And for a Proof that this is observed with extraordinary Rigour, on the Part of *Spain*, it may suffice to relate, that in 1670, a Ship belonging to the *Dutch East India Company*, having taken on Board two Monks, who had been wreck'd on the Coast of *China*, and having taken away some of their Goods, the *Govornor* of the said Company, on that Occasion, desired the *Govornor* of *Spain*, to allow him to take in a little Water, of which he was not sufficient, because he had given his promise to carry the two Monks whether they had denied, which he refused him; Voyage; but far from obtaining his Request, he received Orders to retire immediately, without being allowed the least Retribement, which setting aside the Ingratitude of the *Govornor*, is an evident Proof, that the Kings of *Spain* have never understood, that the relating to Ports of their Dominions, ought to comprehend their Towns and Harbours in the *Indies*; whereas the Article being granted to the Emperor's Ships, is manifestly opposite to the Treaty of *Munster*, as is also the fourth sixth Article of the said Treaty of *Vienne*, by which it binds what has been already alledged above; your Majesty gives to his Imperial Majesty's Subjects, not only all that is granted, but even yielded to the Inhabitants of the Republick, by the Treaty of *Munster*, as well with respect to the *Indies*, as otherwise, which is also directly contrary to the sixth Article of the said Treaty of *Munster*, where it is said, that the *Spaniards* should limit the Navigation within the Bounds it was at the Time of that Treaty, without extending it further in the *Indies*, and this was confirmed by that of *Utrecht*, in 1714.

These Articles prove evidently that, that no Change ought to be made in that Navigation, on the one side, or the other, whether by the said Crown Subjects, or by those of any other Power, who is not comprehended in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, concerning, further, that the tenth Article of that of *Utrecht* declares, that the Privilege, with respect to the Navigation and Commerce of the *East Indies*, comprized in the said sixth Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, shall have Effect only in what concerns the two aforesaid Powers, contrary, and their Subjects (that is to say, *Spain* and the Republick) not others. Accordingly, the same sense and Meaning of these Words appear clearly, by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the said Congress of *Utrecht*, inserted in the Journal, which is among the Acts of the Negotiations, where it is said, concerning the fifth and sixth Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*,

That the Intention of your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries was, that the *States-Generals*, of the United Provinces, and their Inhabitants, ought of Right to enjoy the Advantages stipulated by that Treaty, but that other Nations, and particularly the *Hanse Towns*, ought not to enjoy them, a certain Mark, that the Exclusion (or Non-Admission) of other Nations to the Enjoyment of what is settled by the fifth Article touching the Navigation and Commerce to the *East-Indies* was the only Aim of that Treaty. And seeing those Conventions were inserted at the

Request and Influence of your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, and were agreed to on both Sides, one of the two Powers ought not to transfer his Right by a particular Treaty, or let another Nation participate therein, without the Consent and Concurrence of the other Power, who is particularly interested in the said Convention. Besides, *Spain* having yielded to the Republick, that Part of the *Indies* which it now possesseth, with a Promise, that the *Spaniards* should not extend the Privileges on that Subject, that *Spain* has no Right to yield a second Time to other Nations, what it yielded from, and yielded by to, to another Treaty in Favour of the Republick.

How is it possible then, that your Majesty's Ministers should permit those Articles to be inserted, without an authentick Permission to the *Queen's* Company, and by bestowing on them Privileges, which there would have been no Right to grant, had that Part of the *Netherlands*, which they inhabit, remained under your Majesty's Dominion. And seeing that the Kings of *Spain* had anciently the Power, and were in the Possession of excluding all the Subjects of their Dominions (except those of *Spain*) from the Navigation to the *Indies*, the Inhabitants of the *West-India* Settlements, who at that Time were their Subjects, were excluded, and it was only by the Treaty of *Munster*, that the United-Provinces obtained the Privileges they enjoy, with the mutual Consent, that the Division of the *Indies* being made, the two Parties were only to abstain from the Navigation within each others Territories.

Whereas it follows, that the Republick having engaged, that her Subjects should not navigate in the *Spanish Indies*, she at the same Time acquired the Right of excluding all the Subjects of the Dominions of *Spain*, and consequently those of the *Netherlands*, from the Navigation within their Territories, and the Treaty of *Utrecht* which was made on the said Occasion, is manifestly being such, that his Imperial Majesty should not be allowed to alter the same Conditions, because of *Spain* being so clear, that the Convention, by changing that which could not acquire any legal Privilege to the Republick, and contrary to all the Treaties.

Besides the express Terms of the thirty-first Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* is, that your Majesty promises and engages, not to permit any foreign Nation whatsoever (and for any Reason, or under any Pretence whatsoever) to send Ships, or to trade in the *Spanish Indies*; but that on the contrary, your Majesty obliges herself to maintain the same Privileges, as they were granted by the King of *Charles* II. and conformable to the said mutual Law of *Spain*, which absolutely prohibits and interdicts all foreign Nations from entering into trading with those *Indies*, in which even the *States-Generals* had engaged to support and maintain your Majesty against all those who should have attempted to contravene. Whether therefore the Subjects of the *Netherlands* be considered as having been formerly Subjects of the King of *Spain*, or whether they be considered as Foreigners, the Articles authorize the granting them Privileges, opposite to the Terms of the mutual Treaties and Conventions between your Majesty and the Republick.

All these Considerations, Shew, as is also declared above following, that by the Treaty of Commerce between your Majesty and his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor's Subjects are permitted to trade in the *Indies*, which is entirely contrary to the Aim and Intention of the Articles of *Munster* and *Utrecht*. II. That by the said Treaty of Commerce, the Emperor's Subjects have obtained Permission to enter and trade in your Majesty's Ports and Towns in the *Indies*, under Pretence of the said Treaties therein, &c. a Thing which has always been referred to the Ships of their High-Mightinesses, respectively, by virtue of the Treaty of Commerce, and of other Treaties to their Prejudice. III. And your Majesty supports and authorizes the Establishment of a Company formed by the Inhabitants of a Country which was heretofore been under your Dominion, in specifically all the Prohibitions which were stipulated with regard to all the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* (the *Spaniards* excepted) which is very different from the Terms of the Treaties, wherein it is declared, that your Majesty will not only

hinder all foreign Nations from trading in the *Indies*, but likewise that you will support their High-Mightinesses in all their Rights and Prerogatives in that respect; and Lastly, That your Majesty and their High-Mightinesses standing engaged to assist each other mutually for hindering any other Nation from going to trade in the *Indies*, it is evident, that neither of the two contracting Parties could have a Right to alter, or desist from those Articles, without the Participation and Consent of the other Party interested.

Sire, all the Considerations above mentioned, do, at this Time, form just Ground for the Complaints of their High-Mightinesses, my Masters, who cannot sufficiently wonder how your Majesty's Ministers (without making due Reflections on the manifest Contradiction between the Treaty of *Vienna* and those of *Munster* and *Utrecht*) could venture to grant so considerable Advantages to the Subjects of the *Austrian* Netherlands, to the great Prejudice of their High-Mightinesses, and if one may be allowed to say it, even to the great Prejudice of your Majesty, and of your People, who, if that continue, will in Time see themselves frustrated of the Advantages of their own Commerce, by that very Company which is now so signally protected. Their High-Mightinesses most earnestly entreat your Majesty, therefore, by my Mouth, to be pleased to order, that the most serious Regards, and the most suitable to the Importance of the Case, may be had to the present Remonstrances, well weighing how far these Contradictions to the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*, may in Time lead to all Consequences, and create Troubles in *Europe*.

Their High-Mightinesses are thoroughly persuaded from your Majesty's Zeal and Piety, that it was not your Intention to overturn the Rights and Prerogatives of the Republick, founded on such authentick Treaties, so that they can impute only to your Majesty's Ministers, the Attempts made against them by that of *Vienna*. But if your Majesty has not the Goodness to apply in Time the necessary Remedy, this Republick will find themselves frustrated of all the Advantages they had acquired at the Expence of so much Bloodshed, for the Support of its Navigation; whence it is easy to conclude, Sire, that Commerce being in general Part of the Basis and Foundation of the State, their High-Mightinesses can never desist in the least from the mutual Conventions of the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*.

They therefore flatter themselves, that your Majesty will be pleased to cause the Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, which are contradictory thereto, to be reformed, and will provide, that the *Ostend* Company may not in any Manner, nor under any Pretext, go, and navigate in the *Indies*, to the End, their High-Mightinesses, my Masters, may satisfy and calm the alarmed Minds of their People, who look upon this Treaty of *Vienna*, as the entire Subversion of the Rights and Prerogatives of their Commerce, and claim the Performance of the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*.

12. The Representation, however, though extremely clear and plain, had none of the Effects that were expected from it. Their Catholick Majesties had formed to themselves very extensive, but at the same Time very groundless Expectations from the Treaty of *Vienna*, and were therefore obstinate in their Resolutions of supporting it at all Events. The *Ostend* Company was visibly of no Advantage, but in its Consequences very likely to prove a great Prejudice to the *Spanish* Trade; but the Reason which induced the Court of *Madrid*, notwithstanding, to consent to the Support of it, was, the Assistance she expected from the Emperor, in the Execution of a favourite Design of her own, which was the recovering the Forts of *Gibraltar* from the Crown of *Great Britain*.

But the great and all-powerful Motive which induced *Spain* to act as she did, was, the vain Hopes of obtaining the Hearts of the House of *Austria*, the present Empress and Queen of *Hungary*, for Don *Carlos*, the eldest Son of the Queen of *Spain*, and at present King of the *Sicilies*. This Notion, tho' very indifferently founded, made such an Impression on the Minds of their Catholick Majesties, that nothing appeared to them in the Light of an Inconvenience, which they apprehended might contribute there-

to, and this it was that engaged them to comply so readily with whatever his Imperial Majesty demanded, and even induce them to make such Dispositions as looked like engaging in a War with the *Hanover* Allies. The Emperor, also, on his Side, shewed as great Obstinacy, and indeed, with more Reason; for all the Articles of the *Vienna* Alliance, were entirely in his Favour, and the establishing the *Ostend* Company, in the Manner he designed, was a Point of such infinite Consequence, both with respect to Honour and Interest, that we need not at all wonder he pushed it in the Manner he did, or that he laboured, by several Negotiations in the North, to engage most of the Crowns there in the Support of his Schemes, in which at first he had extraordinary Success, but by Degrees, the Aspect of Affairs was changed, by Measures which we shall next explain.

13. The *States-General*, seeing how little they were able to effect by Memorials and Representations, and beginning to feel daily more and more the bad Consequences of the Establishment of the *Ostend* Company, with regard to their Commerce in the *Indies*, took at last a Resolution of acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*, notwithstanding all that their Imperial and Catholick Majesties could do to hinder it. They did accede accordingly, which very clearly demonstrated to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that it was impossible to prosecute their Designs farther, without running the immediate Hazard of a War. *Spain* seemed resolved to run this Risk, and actually committed Hostilities against *Great-Britain*, by besieging *Gibraltar*, with very little Effect however, and without any Assistance from the Emperor, who, on his Side, was unable to make the necessary Provisions for a Rupture, without the Assistance of such Supplies in Money from *Spain*, as at that Time she could not afford. The Court of *France* remained also steady to her Engagements, and appeared so willing to enter into a War against *Spain*, in Conjunction with the Maritime Powers, that this Court began to dislike exceedingly the Situation she was in, and to wish for a Peace upon reasonable Terms.

The Court of *Vienna* too perceiving that *Spain* began to open her Eyes to her own Interest, and having never had really any Inclination to comply with that Marriage, which their Catholick Majesties had so fondly set their Hearts upon, thought likewise of a timely Return to her old Friends, and those Engagements which had been formerly productive of so many Advantages. Things being in this Situation, it was not long before Preliminaries were settled, in which there was an Article that took away for the present those Apprehensions that the Settlement of this Company had raised.

It was some Time before it could be so worded, as to satisfy all Parties; but at length, the Preliminaries being absolutely settled and signed at *Paris*, on the 20th of *May*, 1727, the first Article of them ran thus, "His Imperial and Catholick Majesty having no other View than to contribute to the publick Tranquillity of *Europe*, and observing that the Commerce of *Ostend* has given Birth to Jealousy and Uneasiness, consents that there shall be a Suspension of the Charter of the *Ostend* Company, and of all Traffick between the *Austrian* Netherlands and the *Indies*, during the Term of seven Years." By the fifth Article of the same Preliminaries it was agreed, that the Ships which sail'd from *Ostend* before this Convention, the Names whereof were to be given in a List on the Part of his Imperial Majesty, were to be permitted safely to return home, and in case any of them should be taken, it was agreed, that they should be, *bona fide*, restored with their Cargoes.

It is unnecessary to pursue the political History of this Point any farther, since by this Suspension the *Ostend* Company was in fact destroyed, and tho' some Sales were afterwards made with considerable Advantage to the Proprietors, yet they lost the Power of continuing their Commerce, and the Maritime Powers carried their Point. Thus ended this troublesome and perplexed Affair, which had very near given Birth to a general War, and by which, as it has been very plainly and fully proved, that if his Lands had not been tied by Treaties, his Imperial Majesty might in a few Years have restored the Commerce of the *Austrian* Netherlands,

SECTION XXXVII.

The History of the Danish Commerce to the East-Indies, their Establishments there, the Decay of their Old Company, and the Motives which induced them to set up a New One.

Interpersed with Original Papers and Memoirs.

1. *The Danes anciently very powerful by Sea, famous for maritime Expeditions, and always remarkable for keeping up a considerable naval Force in the North.*
2. *Their first Voyages to the Indies, their Establishment on the Coast of Coromandel, their Forts and Town of Tranquebar, or Tincombar, and the Fate of their Colony there.*
3. *An Account of their long War with the Rajah of Tanjour, the Siege of Tranquebar, the Intrigues of the Dutch to the Prejudice of the Danes, and the Relief of that Town by the English, thro' the Generosity of Mr. Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George.*
4. *The History of the Danish Colony, continued down to the Time of the New East-India Subscription at Hambourgh on the Fall of the Ostend Company.*
5. *An Impartial View of the new Establishment, or the Incorporation of the new Company at Altona, with the Old East-India Company at Copenhagen.*
6. *Objections raised against that Establishment, and the Probability of its succeeding in its Commerce.*
7. *Answers to these Objections, and a farther Account of the Privileges and Immunities granted to the incorporated Company by his Danish Majesty.*
8. *The Opposition made to the New Company (as it was called) at Altona by the Maritime Powers, Memorials presented on this Subject to the Court of Denmark, and Issue of that Dispute.*
9. *The thorough Completion of this Scheme under the Auspice of the present King (then Prince) of Denmark, and Progress of this incorporated Company, from its Foundation to the present Time.*

THE *Danes* were anciently as remarkable for a Naval Force as any Country in the North, which manifestly appears, not only from their Chronicles, but ours. It was by this Means that they became Lords of almost all the Countries round about them, and were so formidable by their Fleets as to undertake various Expeditions into remote Countries. Thus, under the Name of *Norman*, they conquered a Part of *France*, and even settled themselves in the Kingdom of *Naples*. It is true, that the naval Concerns of *Europe* were then in a Condition very different from what they are now; yet this, instead of lessening, will, to a Man of good Sense and Consideration, rather increase the Difficulty; for if we find it so hard with all the Advantages we enjoy to transport a small Body of Troops to the opposite Part of the Continent, what must we think of the *Danes* landing such numerous Armies in this Island, in *France*, and in other Countries.

These Facts are not to be disputed, and, at present, it is not my Business to account for them; all I aim at is, to shew that the *Danes* had many Ages ago a great Maritime Power, and I believe Experience will shew, that where once a Nation has been possess'd of such a Power, and escapes being conquered by her Neighbours, she generally preserves some what of her ancient Spirit, which exerts itself more or less, as Occasions offer, and is never totally overwhelmed. If the *Danes* had applied themselves more to Trade, and less to foreign Conquests, they would have made a much more considerable Figure in *Europe* than at this Time they do, since it is certain that their being driven out of *Sweden* and Part of *Norway*, exhausted them extremely, and the Civil Wars in their own Country proved another great Cause of weakening their Force.

Yet they have never been totally deprived of Maritime Power, or of a Maritime Spirit, but have frequently shewn an Inclination to attempt considerable Discoveries in the Northern Parts of the World, to establish Colonies and Fisheries in those Parts, and have even made very long Voyages, with a View of extending their Commerce, it not with all the Success they could wish, yet with more than some of their Neighbours, and have been all more tenacious of what they acquired, as if they meant to retain these distant Conquests, till such a Government arose at home, as by paying due Attention to Trade, and just Encouragement to those who endeavoured to promote it, might be able them to turn such an Establishment to greater Advantage. By this Means they have been, and still are, in a Condition to embrace any Opportunity that offers, and will, in all Probability, sooner or later, distinguish

themselves as much by Commerce as ever their Forefathers did by Courage and Force, as from the Contents of the present Section, we shall evidently make appear.

It was very early in the last Century that the *Danes* thought of attempting a Trade to the *East Indies*, and about the Year 1612, King *Christian IV.* granted his Protection to a Company established at *Copenhagen*, for carrying on a Commerce from thence to the *Indies*. The Capital of this new Company consisted of two hundred and fifty Shares, of the Value of One thousand Rix dollars each, and about four Years afterwards they fitted out some Vessels for the *Indies*, with such Success that they established themselves on the Coast of *Coromandel*, at no great Distance from the *French* Settlement at *Pondicherry*. The Name of this Place is very differently written; the *Portuguese* and *Indians* call it *Tranquebar*, the *English* say it is *Tincombar*; but I take the true Name of it to be *Tranquebar*.

It is situated fifteen Miles to the Northward of *Angapatzen*, and enjoys a considerable Trade. The *Danes* have built here a regular Fort, faced with Stone, and surrounded with a deep Mote, which makes it esteemed one of the strongest Fortresses in the *Indies*. The Town also, which is about two Miles in Circumference, is surrounded with a noble Wall, faced with Stone, having large Batteries at proper Distances, mounted with Cannon. The Houses which the *Danes* and other *Europeans* inhabit, are of Brick or Stone, built all upon a Floor, but come short enough, the Streets are wide and bright, and paved on the Side with Brick; but the Houses of the *Indians* are very mean, having Clay-Walls, and thatched Roofs, as in most other Towns of *India*. The Garrison is not answerable to so large an Extent of Ground, consisting only of one hundred and fifty *Europeans*, or thereabouts, and some *Indians*, who are only fit to oppose Soldiers like themselves. In the long Space of Time however, that the *Danes* remained here, they collected together a great Number of *Indian* Subjects, who live very happily, and even grow rich under their Protection. They have likewise taken Care to make Proselytes to the *Christian* Religion of a great Part of those who live among them, and they have thereby bound them more effectually to their Service, so that their Colony is very considerable, and grows more to every Day, and this chiefly for the following Reason, that it supports itself, and pays the *Danish* Company Ten thousand Rixdollars a Year, by Way of Tribute.

Their Trade in this Part of the World has suffered various Alterations, being sometimes better and sometimes worse, according to the Revolutions that have happened in that Part of the World, and the Accidents which befall the Company in Europe. However, as far as I am able to judge, it was most considerable about twenty-four Years after it was first settled; for then, I find, a very eminent Dutch Writer comparing the Danish Trade to that of the English, and affirming that the former, with a little Application, might be made as considerable as the latter. The Reader will observe, that this was false in the Time of our Civil Wars, when, as we have shewn in our History of the English Company, their Trade declined exceedingly; so that it is not at all improbable, that this Observation might be then true. It is, notwithstanding, certain, that the Trade of the Danes was rather profitable to private Persons, such as the Governor of Tranquebar, and the principal Merchants employed there, than to the Publick; and the Reason was plainly this, that they seldom received any considerable Supplies from Denmark, and as seldom sent home Ships laden with the Commodities and Manufactures of the Indies; so that they subsisted chiefly by the Trade they carried on with their Neighbours, and into different Parts of Asia, since they sometimes lent Ships as far as China, from whence they obtained considerable Returns.

But they had from their first Establishment very great Difficulties to struggle with, being very often engaged in Wars with their Indian Neighbours, and very seldom upon good Terms with the rest of the European Nations settled in India, who, though they affected to despise and contemn the Danes, and to treat their Trade as very despicable and inconsiderable, yet they could not help envying them even the little Trade they had, to which, perhaps, the convenient Situation of their Fortrets might in some measure contribute, from a Persuasion that, in other Hands, it might become of much greater Consequence, more especially with regard to the Diamond Trade, for which, without doubt, it stands as well, or better, than any of the European Factories in that Part of the World.

But the most considerable War in which they were ever engaged, was towards the latter End of the last Century, when this Fortret very narrowly escaped being taken, of which, as it is the most remarkable Transaction of which I can obtain any Account, I think it will not be amiss to insist upon it a little more largely, the rather, because it was the principal Occasion of the old Danish Company running into Debt, and bringing their Affairs into a worse Condition than they ever were before.

3. The Ground of the War was this; the Danish Colony living on the Frontiers of the Indian Rajah of Tanjour, the Dutch stirred him up to attack and destroy it, promising him considerable Assistance under hand, and to give him a Lun of Gold, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, amounts to above Ten thousand Pounds of our Money, for the Place when taken. That this was a very base and barbarous Design, an English Reader will very readily allow; but it was, nevertheless, very well contrived, and had very near taken Effect; for the Indian Prince was very brave in his Person, esteemed by his Countrymen a good Officer, and had, without doubt, Troops enough to have done his Business, if he had not been prevented by the Interposition of Mr. Pitt, who was at that Time Governor of Fort St. George, who very generously assisted the Danes, from a Principle of Humanity, which ought to be applauded.

We have, by this Means, a tolerable Account of the whole Transaction, which I shall give in a few Words as possible. When the Prince of Tanjour had resolved upon this Enterprize, he assembled the whole Force of his Dominions, and marched directly towards Tranquebar, in order to attack it. The Indians were to extremely cautious, that they began to open their Trenches above a Mile from the Town, and carried on two Attacks; the Earth being a dry Sand, they drove down the Bodies of Cocoa-nut Trees, instead of Stakes, both on the Inside and on the out, and filled up the Space between them with Sand, so that their Trenches were almost as thick as a Town-wall,

and very high, so that they were perfectly covered from our Fire. They had about twenty or thirty thousand Men employed in this Siege; and with incredible Labour and Patience, in about five Months Time, they brought down their Trenches within Pistol-shot of the Walls, and with their Batteries had almost ruined one of the Ballions, when the English Reinforcements arrived. The Danes expected every Day an Assault, and were preparing to move their Effects into the Fort, and quit the Town; and indeed they gave the Enemy very little Disturbance, as far as I can learn, in carrying on their Works; for the Garrison did not consist of more than two hundred Europeans, as many Indian Portuguese, and about a thousand Blacks; and, besides the Fort they had to defend, the Circumference of the Town-wall was not less than a Mile and an half. It was faced with Stone indeed, but had no Ditch; and therefore the Danes, to prevent the Enemy's scaling it, had set high Pallisades upon the Top of the Ramparts.

A Day or two after the English arrived, a Sally was resolved upon; and about Sun-rise in the Morning, a Detachment of the Blacks marched out of a Ballion, and were followed by the English; but the Blacks were no sooner out of the Gates, than they opened to the Right and Left, and made room for the English to advance, never intending to engage themselves. A Body of the Enemy moved out of their Trenches to oppose our Troops, and came on in tolerable Order with their Broad-swords and Shields, without shooting an Arrow, or firing a Piece. They were all decently clothed in white Vells and Turbans, and seemed determined to engage our People hand to hand, in the Plain between the Town and the Trenches. The English Officers were in some Pain, seeing this Body of Indians advance with that Resolution, knowing their Men were several of them new raised, and mixed with Portuguese, on whom there is very little Dependence; But our great Guns from the Walls, beginning to play upon the Enemy, put them into Confusion, and they retired to their Trenches with much greater Haste than they came out. And our Men advancing, while they were in that Consternation, drove them still farther. But there being no Preparations made for levelling the Trenches, and the Day growing hot, the English retired into the Town, and the Enemy returned into their Works, without any great Loss on either Side.

A few Days after, it was resolved to make another Sally, with the greatest Part of the Garrison; and accordingly they marched out at the great Gate, which faced their principal Attack; the Black Soldiers, according to Custom, retired under the Walls almost as soon as they were out, to make room for the Europeans. The Enemy kept close in their Trenches firing at us; but between the two Attacks upon the Plain, there stood a considerable Body of Musketeers and Pike-men, against whom the English Commander thought fit to advance; but he had not marched many Paces before an unlucky Ball wounded him in the Middle of his Foot, which compelled him to quit the Field.

The next Officer thereupon took upon him the Command of the English, and led them towards the Enemy, who were drawn up in the Plain; that Body retreating, drew the English so far from the Town, that they were intercepted by the Moorish Horse; and the Danes, whom the English expected to have supported them, never advanced a Step. In this Exigency, the English Officer resolved to throw himself into the Enemy's Trenches, finding it impossible to retreat into the Town over the Plain; and having thrown some Granades into the Trenches, the Indians were so complaisant as to quit them, and make room for the English, who marched quite along them towards the Town, till they came to the Fall of the Works; but here they were met by the Moorish Horse; yet upon making one general Fire, in which great Execution was done, the Horse routed off, and left the English at Liberty to march on to the Walls, where they found the Danes drawn up in perfect Security.

In this Action, the English were one half of them killed or wounded. Among others, one of the Grenadiers, a drunken Shoemaker, received twelve or fourteen Wounds,

and yet was brought alive into the Town, and recovered. It was by this reasonable Assistance afforded them by the *English*, that the *Danes* preserved this Town and Fortrefs; for soon after, the Rajah of *Tanjour*, growing weary of a War that harrassed his Subjects, and brought himself no Advantage, retired into his own Territories, and left the *Danes* at Liberty to pursue their Trade as before.

4. They have since that Time remained in quiet Possession of this Place, and carried on the little Trade they have in Quiet. Besides the Town of *Tranquebar*, and the Fortrefs of *Danebourg*, which is a regular Citadel, with four strong Bastions, they have a small District of Country dependent upon them, the Inhabitants of which, partly *Moors*, and partly *Indians*, are their Subjects; and for the Education of their Children they have built and endowed a publick School, where they are taught all Kinds of useful Knowledge; and the *Danish* Missionaries being compleat Masters of the *Malabar* Tongue, preach in all the neighbouring Countries, and make many Converts. They have formerly built very good Ships here, which they not only employed in their own Commerce, but also let them out to their Neighbours upon Freight, which if it did not turn to a very great Account, it at least enabled them to subsist, and not only to keep what they had got, but also to enlarge and improve their Colony. I must not, however, forbear mentioning another Method by which as some of their *European* Neighbours suggest, the *Danes* made use of to better their Fortunes; and that is, their allowing their Ships to croize not only on the Infidels, but also on the Shipping of some Christian Nations, which, if true, it must certainly have been a most illegal and unwarrantable Practice.

But we must not yield too easy a Belief of such kind of Accusations, since it is very certain, that those who framed them were strongly prejudiced against the *Danes*, and from thence inclined to speak ill of them, whether with or without Foundation; and not only to speak ill, but also to use them ill, when it lay in their Power, as is evident from the Behaviour of the *Dutch*, not only in raising the War before mentioned, but in their Behaviour towards the People of *Tranquebar*, when in that distressed Situation; for the Enemy being possessed of the Springs by which the Town was furnished with Water, they sent Deputies to desire the Assistance of their Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, instead of complying with so necessary and reasonable a Demand, first whipped their Messengers, and then sent them back without Water. We may therefore justly suspect the Testimony of such People as were capable of an Action of this Nature towards their Fellow Creatures, when in such Distress. On the Whole therefore, I think, instead of wondering, that after above one hundred Years Possession of this Place, and of some other little Factories about it, they should be considerably in Debt, which is no more than what has happened also to their Neighbours, we ought rather to wonder, that the *Danish* Company were able to go on at all, especially since they received so little Assistance from home, and had nothing to depend on but their own Industry in the *Indies*, and the small Revenue arising from their Territories there.

5. We are now to open a new Scene, by relating what chiefly gave Occasion to this Section, I mean the establishing what its Enemies thought fit to call a new *East-India* Company in *Denmark*, the Occasion of which was this: Upon the Ruin of the *Ostend* Company, a *Dutchman*, whose Name was *Jesusa Van Afferen*, who had been concerned in that Affair, went to *Copenhagen*, where he applied himself to King *Frederick* the IVth, a Prince of great Goodness and Virtue, and who had nothing more at Heart than promoting the Welfare of his Subjects by all the Means that lay in his Power. The Scheme proposed by *M. Afferen* to his *Danish* Majesty, had a very fair Appearance, and great Probability of Success; he observed, that there was a great Spirit raised of opening a new Trade to the *Indies*; that many People, who were very well versed in that Trade, had engaged in the Service of the *Ostend* Company, the Success of which would unquestionably have answered their Expectations, if they could have carried it on; that the Causes of its Ruin were such as could

not attend that Project in any other Country, but least of all in *Denmark*, which had enjoyed an uninterrupted Commerce to the *Indies* for above a Century; that therefore there was nothing farther necessary to render the *Danish* Company as flourishing as those of *England* and *Holland*, than to increase its Capital, by opening a new Subscription upon advantageous Terms.

By the Force of these Arguments, the King was prevailed upon to suffer his Scheme to be put in Execution, and that it might be done more conveniently, the *Danish East-India* Company was transferred from the City of *Copenhagen* to the Borough of *Altona*, a Place belonging to the Crown of *Denmark*, but situated close to the rich and free City of *Hamburg*, and therefore made Choice of, upon this Occasion: In order to induce Foreigners to engage in this Undertaking, his *Danish* Majesty thought fit to grant a new Charter, dated in *April* 1723, for promoting the Commerce of the said Company to the *Indies*, *China*, and *Bengal*, the chief Articles of which were these, viz. The new Subscribers shall have an equal Share and Right with the old Members, in all the Concessions, Océroys and Privileges granted to the said Company by his present Majesty and his august Predecessors. And likewise in all the Ports, Settlements, Revenues, Houses, Magazines, Ships, Efforts, and, in short, whatever the Company is possessed of at this Day, or may acquire in Time to come. The old Shares, or Actions, which are in Number two hundred and fifty, of one thousand Rixdollars each, shall subsist and remain as they are, and will have the same Rights as the new Shares. The Directors shall declare, and affirm upon their Honour, that all the Debts of the Company do not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand Rixdollars in Specie. The united Company are obliged to discharge and pay the said Sum of one hundred and sixty thousand Rixdollars, upon Condition that the old Shares shall have no Dividends till the Year 1733.

Though there is no Question, that the Accounts of the Company are just, and that their Debts do not exceed the said Sum of one hundred and sixty thousand Rixdollars, it is nevertheless stipulated, That if the said Debts should appear to exceed the said Sum, the old Shares shall be answerable for the Overplus, and that the new Subscribers shall not be obliged to contribute thereunto. Each new Share shall be one thousand Rixdollars in Bank, or Specie, without twenty *per Cent.* shall be paid upon the Account of *M. Alexander Bruggner*, Banker at *Hamburg*, or in the Manner prescribed in the Project published by the Company at *Copenhagen*, *December* 16, 1727. If there was any absolute Necessity to make a further Call the present Year 1727, the same shall not exceed five or ten *per Cent.* at the farthest. The Call for the next Year shall not exceed twenty, or twenty-five *per Cent.* The Remainder of the Subscription shall not be called in without the Resolution and Determination of a general Court of the Company. If the entire Sum of the said one thousand Rixdollars, for the new Actions, is not paid in the Year 1738, the Proprietors of the old Shares shall have an Interest at the Rate of five *per Cent.* allowed them, for the Sum they have paid more and above the new Subscribers. There will be no other Actions than Shares of one thousand Rixdollars, and half Shares of five hundred Rixdollars each. Every Subscriber shall be allowed to take Shares for the Bearer, signed by the Company; and such as please, may have them inscribed in the Company's Books. There shall be paid for each Transfer two Rixdollars to the Company, and half a Rixdollar to the Post. The Creditors of the Company are allowed to take new Actions for the Sums due to them, provided they do not count on the said Debts thirty *per Cent.* for the present Year, for each Share, and twenty-five *per Cent.* for the next. The Shares they shall purchase on this Condition, shall have the same Dividends as the other new Actions. The said Shares shall not be liable to any Seizure, or Stop, upon any Account whatsoever, as it is declared in his Majesty's Océroy.

The Directors shall yearly communicate to the Subscribers an exact and particular Account of the Affairs of the Company. The Dividend shall be regulated upon the said Account, in a general Court of the Company, by the Majority

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Majority of Voices. The Directors are not allowed to un-
dertake any Trade but the Commerce in the *East-Indies*,
upon the Company's Account, without the Consent of
the Members thereof. And lets still shall they dispose of,
or lend the Company's Money to any Person whatsoever,
for which they are to be answerable in *Solids*, in their own
Name and Estate. They shall take an Oath of exact Ob-
servation of this Article, and for a faithful Administration
of the Affairs of the Company, for the common Benefit
and Advantage of the Members thereof. All the Mer-
chandizes which shall be sold in any other Place than *Co-
penhagen*, shall be paid in the Bank at *Hamburg*, to one
or more Merchants, and most substantial Traders, for the
Company's Account. These Merchants shall be chosen,
and appointed in a general Court, by a Majority of Voices,
and in no other Way, upon any Pretence whatsoever.
The said Merchants, or Cashiers, shall pay no Money,
but upon Orders, signed by three or four of the Direc-
tors at least. The Money to be paid this Year, shall be
at the Disposal of the present Directors, till the new ones
to be added to them are chosen. The Money arising by
the new Subscriptions shall be laid out, in sending Ships
to *Tranquebar*, *Bengal*, and *China*, and for no other Use
whatsoever. No more Money shall be kept in Cash, than
what will be necessary for the fitting out and sending of
Ships, as in the preceding Article. A general Court of
the Company shall be called as soon as possible, in order to
choose four new Directors, out of the new Subscribers, who
may be all Foreigners, &c.

6. Upon the Publication of these prodigious Advan-
tages, granted to the new Company for carrying on a
Trade to the *East-Indies* from *Denmark*, there followed a
great Contentment in *Holland*, where they began to sus-
pect, that all the Pains they had taken in destroying the
Ostend Company was merely thrown away, and that this
new Establishment in *Denmark* would prove as prejudi-
cial to their Interest as the former, which they had so
much dreaded. They began therefore at *Amsterdam*, *Rot-
terdam*, and all the great Cities in the United-Provinces,
to decry the new Company, and, at the same Time, they
formed a Process against *M. Van Asperen*, whom they
condemned and executed in Effigy. But they soon found
that this did not answer their Purpose, and therefore they
had recourse to other Methods.

They discovered that this Gentleman had written in very
strong Terms to his Friends, both in *Holland* and in *Great-
Britain*, to solicit them to subscribe into the Capital of the
Company at *Amsterdam*; upon which they had recourse to the
Answers of these Letters, which they framed in the best
Manner they could, for the answering their own Ends, and
then caused them to be published in all the *English* and
Dutch News-Papers, that they might the more effectually
spread their Objections to this new Company, and thereby
disappoint the Labours of *M. Van Asperen*, and the Di-
rectors, to procure Subscriptions. In these Writings they
insinuated, that the old *East-India* Company in *Denmark*
was actually become Bankrupt, and that there was but
very little Reason to confide in the Privileges granted to
the new. But it will be best to give these Objections in
their own Words, that the Reader may judge of them
with a greater Certainty; and therefore we will make as
succinct an Extract of them as possible, reducing their Ob-
jections under four Heads, concerning which they express
themselves in the following Manner. The Reader is to
observe, that these Objections are delivered as from a Cor-
respondent of the Projectors, in answer to what he had
written in the Favour of the Company at *Amsterdam*.

First, That these Articles, tho' to Appearance suffici-
ently inviting, are not to be depended upon under arbi-
trary Governments, especially as long as the Words *Visa*
and *Liquidation* are in Memory; and all agree, that the
Reason why other Nations lodge large Sums, and contin-
ue them in the Funds of free Governments, is, that they
are secure by the established Laws of those Countries. Sec-
ondly, That they think the Word and Honour of two
Directors, as expressed in the last of the thirty-eight Ar-
ticles, is but a slender Security, or Guaranty for the old
Company's Debts, being no more than one hundred and
sixty thousand Rixdollars in Specie, more especially, when

they reflect, that one of the two Directors, tho' now a
Count, and honoured with a white Ribband, is the same
individual Person, who, during the late War with *France*,
became a Bankrupt, for upwards (as was then said) of six
Millions of Florins, and fled by way of this Country in-
to *England* for Protection; but so soon as the Queen was
apprized of his Situation, that he was not persecuted by
the Court of *France*, as he pretended, but prosecuted by
his fair Creditors, for large Sums he had defrauded them
of, and brought away with him; the good Queen, tho'
at War with *France*, and altho' he had been naturalized
in *Scotland*, before the Union, withdrew her Protection
from him; whereupon he came over here again, and set-
tled at *Vianen*, where it cost him, as you may remember, a
great Sum of Money for a Protection; but he was to closely
followed by his numerous Creditors, with the Assistance of
the *States-General*, that not finding himself safe any longer,
he fled into *Denmark*, where he found both Protection
and Honour. Now, say the People here, and in *Eng-
land*, this same Man being the Author, Prompter, and
principal Manager of this new Scheme, we will never ven-
ture our Money in such Hands, to make a Jobb for him.
Thirdly, I find it objected here, by all who know the
East-Indies, that there is a great Demand upon the old
Company in *India*, and particularly in the Bay of *Bengal*,
for a large Ship which they formerly seized, with a full
Lading, bound to *Surat*, carried her off, and sold both
Ship and Cargo at *Tranquebar*; for which the *Merc* drove
them off, and they have not appeared there since. This
Debt alone has been computed at three hundred Rixdol-
lars in Specie, seven Years ago, and will be demanded by
the Government, and must be paid with full Interest up-
on Interest, at the Rate of twelve *per Cent. per Annum*,
according to the Custom of the Country, before they will
be permitted to trade again in that Port; and this Account
is confirmed to be true by several Persons here and in
England, that have resided in *Bengal*, some of them at
the very Time when the said Ship was taken and carried
off.

Fourthly, 'tis objected, That there can be no Profit
made equal to the Hazards a Man must run of various
Kinds, besides these before-mentioned. And thus having
freely given you the unanimous Opinion of all that I have
talked with, or wrote to on this Subject, which is exactly
agreeable to my own Way of thinking, I hope you will
not give yourself, nor me, any farther Trouble on this
Subject; and, before I conclude, as you have been my
old Friend and Acquaintance, I cannot help saying, I wish
you would retreat in time, and endeavour to obtain For-
giveness for the Injuries you have endeavoured to do your
own native Country, in Defiance of the Laws in being;
for nothing can be plainer, than that this new Scheme is
principally intending for Stock-jobbing, and to draw the
ready Money of other Nations into *Denmark*, at all Events;
but when it comes to be understood that all, or most of
the Profits, that can be made on this Scheme, belongs to
Foreigners, whenever they want to call the Profits and
principal Money Home, I leave you to judge of the
Likelihood there is, that publick Faith will be maintained:
You cannot forget what was done in *Mississippi*, when they
found the Money was going out of the Kingdom.

It was hoped, that by the publishing these Objections,
Subscriptions would have been stopped, and that the new
Company of *Amsterdam* would have sunk of itself, or, to speak
with greater Propriety, would never have made any con-
siderable Figure, or have been capable of carrying its Plan
into Execution, or of sending to much as a single Ship
to the *Indies*; but it fell out quite otherwise, notwithstanding
what was published on this Subject in *England*, *France*,
and *Holland*.

7. As soon as this was perceived, and it was certainly
known that the *Danish East-India* Company was actually
preparing to send Ships to the *East-Indies*, agreeable to
their Plan, and to the Power given them by their Charter,
a Resolution was taken by the Maritime Powers, to act in
concert in this Affair, and to endeavour to deprive the
new Company of their sole Support, which was his *Dan-
ish* Majesty's Charter of Incorporation. It was with this
View that Orders were sent to the Ministers of *Great-
Britain*

Britain and Holland at the Court of Denmark, to act jointly in this Affair, and to use their utmost Industry to procure the Repeal of the Powers granted to this Society; and, in consequence of these Instructions, those Ministers soon after drew up, and presented the following Paper to the Court of Denmark.

" His Majesty, the King of Great-Britain, and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, foreseeing the Injury the transferring the East-India Company from Copenhagen to Altona, will do to the Commerce of their Subjects; and perceiving, with Concern, that almost at the same Instant they are making in great Pillors to stop the Progress of the United Company, the King of Denmark, their good old Friend and Ally, is setting up another equally prejudicial to their Subjects, have ordered the subscribing Ministers to make most humble Representations to his Danish Majesty, hoping, from his Majesty's Friendship, that, as soon as he shall be informed of the Unjustness this Novelty gives them, he will withdraw the Privilege lately granted to that Company, and leave it on the ancient Foot as it has always subsisted at Copenhagen; accordingly the subscribing Ministers desire your Excellency to make a Report thereof to the King, and to procure them a favourable Answer." *Book at Copenhagen, July 31, 1728. Signed,*

*Glennorby,
Apostelski.*

5. The King of Denmark and his Council did not at all reject this Memorial; to which however an Answer was given, wherein his Danish Majesty insisted that the Maritime Powers had totally mistaken the Point; because it never was the King's Intention to erect a new Company, or to transfer that which had now subsisted above an hundred and ten Years, from Copenhagen to Altona. That this appeared clearly from the very Project of Incorporation, which granted no new Power to the Company, but barely confirmed the old ones. That the Voyages proposed directly for China could not be esteemed an Intrusion of Treaties, any more than the Voyages formerly made by the Company's Ships from Tranquebar. That farther still, his Danish Majesty was not restrained by any Treaty whatever, from maintaining and supporting the Commerce of his Subjects to the Indies, either from their Establishments in that Part of the World, or directly from Copenhagen. That the Law of Nature and Nations not only gave him a Right, but made it his Duty, to promote the Welfare of his Subjects, and to extend their Trade as far as it was in his Power. And

that, finally, as he did not endeavour to encourage this Commerce with any View of injuring the East-India Companies in England or Holland; but purely with a Design to benefit and enrich his own Subjects, he could not discern how this should expose him to the Dislike or Resentment of any other Power whatever.

How clear and full toover this Answer might seem to the Court of Denmark, it was far enough from giving any Satisfaction to Great Britain and Holland; and therefore a fresh Memorial was drawn up, to shew the Insufficiency of this Answer, and the Right which the Maritime Powers had to expect, that his Danish Majesty should comply with their Demands, and withdraw his Protection from this Company. This Memorial was delivered by the Earl of Coblenfeld, and the Deputies from their High Mightinesses the States-General, to Mr. Grey, his Danish Majesty's Minister at the Hague, in the Summer of the Year 1728; from which Time to the present, I do not find that any farther Applications have been made on this Subject, or that the Rights of the Danish East-India Company have been farther contravened.

It is, however, certain, that the Opposition made by the Maritime Powers to the Establishment of this Company, and their absolutely forbidding their Subjects to have any Share or Concern therein, affected the new Subscriptions to such a Degree, that they did not, by any means, answer the Expectations that were formed of them, when Mr. Van Spieren's Scheme was first published; but they to far answered, as to enable the Company to enlarge her Commerce, and even to enter into a direct Trade from Copenhagen to the Indies and China, in which they were chiefly encouraged and supported by the Prince Royal of Denmark, now King Christian VI. under whose Auspice they have flourished ever since.

By the Advantages derived from his Favour, their Affairs are now in so good a Posture, that there seems to be no Doubt of their being able to pursue their Trade constantly, and with considerable Advantage both to the Proprietors of the Company's Stock, and the Danish Nation in general; for their Fund is considerable, their Credit good, their Warehouses, Magazines, Yards, and Docks at Copenhagen, in perfect Order, and their Sales are very large and regular, inasmuch as they generally send two or three Ships annually to the East-Indies, and receive as many, with rich Cargoes from thence: So that, on the whole, we may venture to assert, that this Company is effectually established, and that, in a very few Years, they will have a considerable Share in the Trade to the East-Indies.

SECTION XXXVIII.

A succinct History of the Swedish East-India Company.

Including an Extract of the Royal Charter.

1. The Crown of Sweden far less considerable at Sea than the Danes, yet in some measure a Maritime Power, and always ambitious of a direct Trade to the East or West-Indies.
2. The Rise of the present Company, properly that of Henry Koning, but commonly styled, The Gottenburgh-Company, and an Account of its Charter.
3. The Progress and present State of this Company, with some Remarks.

THE Swedish Nation, though not formerly distinguished by any great Share of Maritime Power, have nevertheless always preserved the Character of bold and intrepid Seamen, as appears both from their own and foreign Histories, more especially those of the Danes and the Hanse Towns in Germany, with whom they were engaged in frequent Disputes, that were, generally speaking, determined by naval Engagements. It is not, however, appear, that the Swedes had ever any Thoughts of carrying on a Trade to the East Indies, till the Time of the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, the Glory

of their Country, and the most finished Hero of his Age. This great Prince, whose rising Passion was the Welfare and Reputation of his Subjects, formed the Project of establishing a Trade to the East Indies from Sweden directly, to which he invited his Subjects, by Letters Patents, under his Broad-Seaal, dated at Stockholm the 14th of June, 1626. But the War in Germany prevented the Prosecution of that Design, which seems to have had with that glorious Monarch who formed it.

His Daughter, the celebrated Queen *Christina*, equally remarkable for her Love of Learning, and Contempt of

Grandeur, which she manifested by resigning her Crown to her Cousin *Charles Gustavus*: Tho' she did not protect her Father's Project, yet she shew'd the same Willingness he had done to encourage and extend the Trade of her Subjects: and therefore formed, and carried into Execution, a Scheme for establishing a Colony in the *West-India*, which, in some measure, was brought to bear. The Place they fixed on was that Part of *North-America*, now in our Possession, and filed the Province of *New-Jersey*, where they established three Towns, *Christina*, *Essexburgh*, and *Gottenburgh*; out of which however they were soon worked by the *Dutch*, who bestowed upon this, and the adjacent Country, the Name of *New-Nelgia*; so that the Design of fixing a Trade in this Part of the World from *Sweden*, was overturned almost as soon as it was formed.

We hear very little from this Time of any Attempts made by the *Swedes* in regard to Commerce, which might, very probably, be owing to the Wars, in which the Monarchs of that Country were engaged for many Years after, and which in a manner disabled both them and their Subjects, from thinking of, or, at least, undertaking any thing of this Kind; so that all *Europe* was surpris'd at the News of an *East-India Company* being set up in *Sweden*, about fourteen Years ago.

2. It was the Ruin of the *Ostend* Company that produced this Establishment, of which one *Henry Koning* was the chief Author, a rich Merchant, and one who had a true Notion of the *East-India* Commerce. He represented to the Ministry, that this was a very favourable Time to undertake a Thing of this Sort; that there were a Multitude of Places in *Africa* and the *Indies* neglected by the *Europeans*, who had constantly followed one the other, and had scarce ever undertaken to strike out of the common Road, that, besides all this, there were Numbers of Persons, that, by the Dissolution of the Imperial Company of the *Netherlands*, were thrown out of Business and Bread, and, which was worse, deprived of the Means of returning into their own Country, by the Steps taken to hinder the *Ostend* Society from carrying on their Trade; that, consequently, there could be nothing easier than to procure proper People for carrying this Commerce on, and fixing it in such a Manner as not to be liable to any Hazard, either of Loss by Trade, or Opposition from other Powers.

This Proposition being maturely considered, it was resolv'd to authorize this *Henry Koning*, to associate such Persons as should be willing to contribute to his Designs, and to grant them the following Privileges, by virtue of a Charter, dated *June 14, 1711*. The King then by concedes to *Henry Koning* and his Associates, the Liberty of navigating and trading to the *East-Indies* for fifteen Years, from beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope* to the Islands of *Japan*, where ever they shall think proper or convenient, with this Restriction only, that they shall not trade in any Port belonging to any Prince or State in *Europe*, without their free Leave and Consent first had and obtained. The Ships employed in this Commerce shall constantly take in their Lading at *Gottenburgh*, to which Port they shall return with all the Merchandize they bring home from the *East-Indies*, and that there shall be liberty to be publickly sold, as soon as conveniently they can. The said *Henry Koning* and Company, shall pay to the Crown of *Sweden*, during the said fifteen Years, One hundred Dalers per *Loft*, for every Ship they employ or freight, such Ships being measured before their Departure from *Gottenburgh*; which Money is to be paid within six Months after the full Return of the said Ship from the *Indies*; and they shall likewise pay two Dalers per *Loft*, in full Satisfaction for the Town Duties.

The said *Henry Koning* and Company may employ, equip, and arm as many Vessels as they shall think proper, provided that those Vessels are built or bought in *Sweden*, and whatever else is necessary for equipping an *East-India* Ship them be had in the *Swedish* Dominions. But in case they should be found at any Time impracticable, then the Company may provide themselves with Ships, or whatever else shall be found requisite for their Commerce, wherever they shall think fit, provided always that they give

the Preference to, and promote, as far as in them lies, the Building, Manufacture, and Produce of *Sweden*. The said Ships shall carry the *Swedish* Flag, and shall be furnished with Passports under the King's Hand, as also from the Republick of *Algiers*. The said Company shall be at Liberty to raise what Sum they think fit for the carrying on their Commerce, by a voluntary Subscription, or otherwise, as they think proper; and such as shall become Subscribers shall be obliged to pay in their Money at the Times prescribed, on pain of forfeiting their Interest in the said Commerce.

The Company may transport what Ordnance or small Arms they think proper, as also Silver coined, or uncoined, *Swedish* Money only excepted; and may likewise bring from the *Indies* what kind of Goods or Manufactures they think fit, without any Restriction whatever; the Vessels of the Company, when freighted, ready to sail, shall not be stopp'd or hinder'd on any Pretence whatever, nor shall they, at their Return, be impeded from entering into the Port to which they are consign'd. The Goods of the said Company may be transported at their Pleasure, from Place to Place, within his *Swedish* Majesty's Dominions, being first furnished with proper Passports, without paying any other Duties than those before stipulated. The Captains of the Company's Ships shall have the same Power for maintaining Discipline amongst their Crews, as the Captains of the King's Ships; and with respect to Trade, they shall conform to the Instructions given by *Henry Koning* and Company, provided always those Instructions are not repugnant to the Privileges granted by this Charter.

The Seamen and Soldiers entered on Board the Company's Ships, shall not be liable to be press'd into the King's, or any other Service, and on the other hand, it shall not be lawful for the Company to take into their Service, any who shall have desert'd that of the Crown. The Seamen and Soldiers belonging to the Ships in the Company's Service, and deserting from it, may be apprehended and detain'd; but according to the usual Forms of Law, and by the Hands of the proper Officers. The Ships belonging to the Company being return'd, and having landed the Merchandize on Board them, the said Goods shall be Duty free, excepting only a very small Acknowledgment to be paid upon removing them.

The Persons acting under this Charter shall constantly chuse out of their own Number at least three Directors, who shall be all Men of distinguished Probity and known Abilities, of which the said *Henry Koning* shall be one; and in case of his Demise, the Members of the Company are directed and empowered to make Choice of another Person in his Stead, provided always, that the three Directors shall be Natives of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, at least naturalized *Swedes*, Protestants, and resident in the King's Dominions, unless necessarily absent in foreign Parts, for the Service of the Company; in which case the Proprietors may substitute another Director at Home. The said *Henry Koning*, and his Associates, may make such Regulations for the Management of their Commerce, as they shall think proper, provided they be agreeable to this Charter.

They shall render a faithful Account to all the Persons interested, as well of the Profit and Loss, as of the Capital of the said Company; but they shall not be obliged to discover the Names of their Subscribers, or the Sums they have subscribed; nor shall they be obliged to produce, or suffer their Books to be inspected on any Pretence whatsoever. In case any of the Directors shall find, that the rest betray their Secrets, or are guilty of any other Fraud or Misdemeanour, they may apply to the Board of Trade for Justice and Reparation, and upon due Proof, such Offender shall be suspend'd or degraded from his Office of Director, and the Company shall be at Liberty to chuse another in his room.

In like manner, if any of the Proprietors shall find, that the said *Henry Koning*, and the rest of the Directors may bear False, or are guilty of any Frauds, they make the true Application, and obtain the same Redress. The said *Henry Koning* and Company may employ such Number of Supercargoes, Officers, Mariners, or they shall think fit, either *Swedish* or Foreign, on their Ships, to be employed, that they shall

leges, as if they were born Swedes; and the Money employed, either by Natives or Foreigners, in the Capital of this Company, shall not be liable to any Stoppage or Seizure.

Such Persons as are interested in, or employed by the Company, shall be naturalized according to their respective Qualities, upon their applying themselves to the King for that Purpose. The said *Henry Koning* and Company, and such as are authorized, or employed by them, in case they are molested, or disturbed in their Commerce, by any Person, or in any Part of the World whatever, shall have full Power from his Majesty, to obtain ample Justice and Satisfaction, by all convenient Methods, and shall be at Liberty to oppose Force by Force, and to consider such Disturbers as Pirates and Enemies to the publick Peace.

His Majesty will grant them these Powers, especially in such Commissions as their Captains shall receive; and in case, notwithstanding they should be attacked, and suffer any Injury, or Injustice from any Nation whatever, in the carrying on of this Commerce, his Majesty, upon due Information thereof, will grant them his high Protection, and endeavour to procure for them speedy and ample Satisfaction, either by way of Reprizal, or otherwise. The rest of the Subjects of the Crown of Sweden are expressly prohibited, and forbid to engage in, or interere with the Trade of the said Company, under pain of his Majesty's high Displeasure, and the Confiscation of their Vessels and Effects. The King promises to alter, or augment these Privileges, upon Application from the Company, as often, and in such Manner, as shall be found necessary for promoting the Trade to the *East-Indies*, and the Interest of the Persons concerned therein. This Charter is said to be granted by the King in the Senate, which Phrase I take to be pretty much the same with ours, of the King, by and with the Advice of his Privy-Council.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Charter of the *Swedish East-India Company*, because I have heard it admired as one of the best drawn, and best contrived Pieces of its kind, more especially, because all the Powers therein are such as, strictly speaking, concern Commerce Abroad, and are not calculated to give the Company, or its Directors, too much Power at Home; because it subjects them to the Board of Trade, or, as it is called in Sweden, the College of Commerce, which consists of the President of the Treasury, and four Counsellors, who hear and determine whatever comes before them in a summary Way, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and the general Maxims of Equity. There were great Expectations formed of this Company, for various Reasons; First, Because they had all the Powers granted them that they could reasonably expect, or desire. Secondly, Because they were not limited in their Capital, but allowed to raise such Sums, and in such a Manner, as they shall esteem most for their Benefit. Thirdly, From their being prohibited from interfering with the Commerce of other Nations, and thereby running themselves and their Country into Difficulties and Disputes. Fourthly, From their having the King's Protection secured to them, in such a Manner, and for such Purposes, as might serve to answer all good Ends, without involving the Crown of Sweden in any Controversies with the Maritime Powers, or any other of her Allies. And, Lastly, Because from the Nature of the present Constitution in Sweden, there seemed to be as high Security for the Properties of such as interested themselves in this Affair, as in any other Country whatever.

These Expectations were likewise heightened by the Company's meeting with no Disturbance, or Opposition from foreign Powers, who neither knowing who the Subscribers were, or to what their Subscriptions amounted, were the less alarmed by this new Company; and besides, seeing themselves secure from any Apprehensions of their interfering with the Trade already established in the *East-Indies*, found it more difficult to assign any rational Cause of Complaint, to which we may add, that the Company went on very slowly at the Beginning, and being a long while before they completed their Subscriptions, or put out Ships for the *Indies*, it was generally both in *England* and *Holland*, that the Design

would come to nothing, and the Company would vanish of itself.

3. But though the Author of this Design, *M. Henry Koning*, and his Associates, were not hilly in equipping Ships for the *Indies*, yet they took care to provide themselves in every Respect with what might be found necessary for carrying on their Scheme with Success. They built, for this Purpose, two very large and strong Ships, one called after the King, *the Frederick*, the other by the Name of the Queen, *the Ulrica*. These they furnished in such a Manner, as to be equally fit for Trade, or for Defence. They made Choice of such Supercargoes as had not only established Characters both for Honesty and Abilities, but were likewise well versed in the particular Business in which they were to be employed, and Men of Experience in the Trade to *China*; they proceeded with no less Caution in the Choice of their Officers and Mariners; and tho' they spent full two Years in making Preparations, yet that Loss of Time was very well compensated by the Exactness with which those Preparations were made; so that at the Time their Ships left the Harbour of *Gettenbourg*, they were as well equipped, and in all Respects as completely furnished for an *East-India Voyage*, as any that were employed in that Trade by the Maritime Powers, and the same Care and Diligence they had used ever since; so that it may with great Truth be said, that as scarce any Company was better established at first, so the Affairs of none have been hitherto better conducted.

Their first Voyages, though not attended with so much Profit as might have been expected, were however tolerably successful, and the Company established their Factory on the River of *Canton* in *China*, with the Consent of the *Chinese*, who seem to be very well pleased with these new Comers, and every way disposed to favour and promote their Trade; so that they were very soon in the same Footing there with other *European* Nations. At Home, indeed, they met with some Difficulties, for the Company being obliged to make use of a great many Foreigners in all Capacities, for the better carrying on of their Trade, and there being no Nation in *Europe* naturally more jealous of Foreigners than the *Swedes*, this occasioned a great Clamour, especially among the common People, which, however, was in some measure quieted, by publishing an Order, that at least Two-thirds of the Mariners should be for the future Natives of the Kingdom; and as the Execution of this Order was apparently attended with Difficulties and Inconveniences, it convinced even the Vulgar of their first Mistake, and that the Company had done no more than what they were warranted to do by their Charter, and what the Circumstances of their Affairs, more especially at the Beginning, rendered not only expedient, but necessary.

Since that Time, the *Swedish* Company have been very regular, both in fitting out their Ships, and in their Returns, which, by being sold to Foreigners, have brought in great Sums of Money to the Kingdom; yet, notwithstanding as a great Part of this Money has been exported again, for the carrying on this Trade, a new Complaint has been created thereby, in respect to the Silver carried to the *East-Indies*. We need the less wonder at this in Sweden, because, tho' the Trade of the Kingdom is not large, yet it produces annually a considerable Balance in ready Money, as is known experimentally here, since it is known, that Two-thirds of the Trade we carry on thither is managed with ready Money only, and it also pretty much the same Thing with other Nations who trade thence, the *French* only excepted, who have a Balance in their Favour from the *Swedes*, which, however, has gradually grown less and less, in proportion as they have taken more vast Stores of late Years than they did formerly, and as their Subsidy treaties bring in considerable Sums to *France*, or at least keep the Money there, that would otherwise be employed in discharging the Balance of Trade; so that the *Swedes* being used to see great Sums of Money brought in by every other Branch of Commerce, and being so immediately acquainted with the Profits arising from it, are the less disposed to consider it as advantageous.

Upon these Grounds, a Report has been lately raised, as if the Privileges of this *East-India* Company would be suffered to expire next Year, when their Charter determines, which, no doubt, would be agreeable not only to the *French* and *Danes*, but to the Maritime Powers, who find this Company detrimental to them, by the Sale of its Commodities from the *Indies* over all the *Norrb*, tho' they do not interfere with them much, by their Manner of carrying on their Trade in the *East*. The Company, however, are said to have prepared a very long and curious Representation to the Senate, in order to ward off this Blow, and to procure the Renewal of their Privileges for fifteen Years more; in which they insist, that this very Application is a sufficient Motive for obtaining their Request, and satisfying all who are to be satisfied, by reason of the Advantages resulting from their Commerce.

For, as they observe, very little, and indeed scarce any of the Returns made by the Company have been disposed

of in *Sweden*; so that if the Proprietors of the Company are Gainers thereby, as they must be, or they would not be desirous of having their Charter renewed, this Gain, whatever it is, must be drawn out of other Countries, and, as the Proprietors reside in *Sweden*, must consequently be so much clear Gain to the Nation. What the Issue may be of this Representation, and how far the Senate may be prevailed upon thereby, Time will show; but we may venture to affirm, that if popular Notions should get the better upon this Occasion, and the *Swedish* Company shall be suffered to expire with their Charter next Year, it is highly improbable, that any Attempt of this sort should be again made in that Country, where, at the Beginning, it can only be undertaken by Foreigners; and there, after such an Example as this would be, no foreign Merchants would be so interested as to undertake it, for fear of being treated a second Time in this Manner.

C O N C L U S I O N.

AFTER having thus deduced the History of the *East-India* Commerce from the earliest Accounts that are preserved of it, down to the present Times, and pursued it through all the several Nations among whom it has flourished, there is nothing now left for me to do, but to perform the Promise I made of shewing, that the common and received Notion, that, taking all Things together, this Commerce is highly prejudicial to the *Europeans* in general, is very ill grounded, and no better than an erroneous Opinion, taken up for want of thoroughly examining, or, at least, of perfectly understanding the Subject. But to place this Matter in a clear Light, it will be first of all necessary to state the Objection fully and fairly, that it may appear we know what we are about, and do not pretend to judge of what we have not thoroughly considered.

The Objection then, when set in the strongest Light, will stand thus. It is an incontestable Maxim, with respect to Commerce, that Silver is the only true and certain Measure of Wealth; and as we export yearly vast Quantities of Silver from *Europe* for *Indian* Goods and Manufactures of little intrinsic Value in themselves, and which are all in a short Time consumed here, it follows that the Trade from *Europe* to the *Indies* must be a losing Trade to the former, since we export Bullion and import Bubbles; wherefore, if the *European* Princes and States would seriously and impartially consider this, instead of encouraging the setting up new *East-India* Companies, they would abolish the old, and secure the Wealth of their Subjects, by banishing a Commerce so destructive as this is, out of their Dominions. This then is the Objection that I am to overturn, and, I must confess, that, so far as I am acquainted with the Matter, I am the first who have thought it possible to overturn it; but, however, no Truth is less a Truth for being new, and the Argument from Authority against Reason and Experience is of little avail to the Genius of the present Times, that, if I have the Honour in my Favour, I have no great Reason to be in Pain about the former. But, however, to make the Road the easier, it may not be amiss to premise somewhat as to the Origin of this Notion.

When some ingenious Persons undertook the Defence of the *East-India* Commerce in particular Countries, and found themselves pressed with the first Part of the Objection, that the Nation was impoverished by the Exportation of Silver, they, to shorten the Debate, agreed that this might be true, as to the Commerce to the *Indies* in general, and yet was no sufficient Argument to prove this Trade prejudicial to any Nation in particular, because, if that Nation, by exporting to others a certain Proportion of their Returns from the *Indies*, brought in more in the Balance of Trade, than a much greater Quantity of Silver than they carried out, it was plain, that the *Europeans*

in general might lose by this Trade, yet it might, and indeed must be, highly beneficial to the particular Nation by which it was carried on; because it proved the Means of producing a Balance in her Favour, which otherwise she could never have obtained. I do allow, that in arguing thus, they argued very right; but, I presume to say, that, in giving up this Point, they did what was frequently done, that is, they argued right from wrong Principles; and, as I do not blame them for taking this Method, because, with respect to their Subject, it was the shortest and most expeditious Method they could take; so, I hope no body will blame me, if, after taking so much Pains, and entering so deeply into the general History of this Commerce, I declare absolutely, that this Point ought not to have been given up, and that there is no better Foundation for asserting, that the Trade to the *Indies* in general is prejudicial to *Europe*, than for maintaining that it is disadvantageous to those particular Nations, such, for Example, as *England* and *Holland*, and who manfully owe their Wealth and Maritime Power to their Success in this Trade.

In the first place then, I say, that it is the same thing with regard to *Europe*, as with regard to any particular Nation in *Europe*, as to the total Balance of Commerce; and if a losing Commerce be absolutely equal to one Side to produce a lucrative Commerce on the other, then the Loss sustained by that Commerce is no good Argument against it. But most evident it is, that since the *Europeans* have carried on an extensive Trade to the *East-Indies*, their Manufactures, Shipping, and Commerce in general, have been very much extended; so that from the time the *Portuguese* discovered the Passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, the Face of *Europe* has been entirely changed, and we have grown infinitely more considerable, in comparison of other Parts of the World, than we were before. But, to come closer to the Objection as to the Point of exporting Silver. If the Commerce to the *East-Indies* has drained us of many Millions of intrinsic Wealth, as I readily admit it has, I desire to know how we came by them? The Answer will be at every Reader's Tongue's End, from *America* and the *West-Indies*. But then, give me Leave to ask again, How came we to find out that? The Answer to this will unmask the whole Mystery, since every Body knows it was by searching out a new Passage to the *East-Indies*. It therefore, by cutting off the Commerce of the *East-Indies*, we have fallen upon another Commerce, which not only supplies Silver sufficient for the *East-India* Trade, but likewise brings in annually an immense Treatise besides, what Pretence there is for saying that *Europe* in general has been, or ever can be, a Loser by carrying on this Trade? It appears from hence, that Providence excites the narrow Notions, and levelled the Resources of this World in such a Manner, as to

make Commerce the Interest of all Nations, has provided effectually against this supposed Evil of trading till we have nothing left to trade with.

But, besides this, we owe many other great Advantages to this Commerce in the East. For, in the first Place, it is the great Support of the Maritime Power of *Europe*; it makes us Masters of all other Parts of the Globe, who, if it had not been for this Maritime Power, might, long ago, have been Masters of us. Let any Man consider the wide Difference, in Point of Dominion, Number of Subjects, and whatever else contributes to Grandeur, between the little Republick of *Holland* and the great Empires of *Turky*, *Persia*, and *India*; and remember that this Commerce has rendered a Company in that little Republick formidable to all those great and mighty Empires, and capable of maintaining herself, and protecting her Concerns against them all. And then let me ask him, does not this plainly shew the Importance of this Commerce, and that it was a very wise and right Thing to promote and encourage it: Can there be a clearer and stronger Demonstration than this, from Reason or from Experience? Or might we not safely rest the Point here, without running into any farther Considerations? I dare say, every rational and intelligent Reader will confess we might; and yet, for the better explaining the Matter, I am content to go still a little farther.

The only Answer that can be given to this, or, in other Words, the only Means left for supporting this Objection, is, to suppose, that, instead of two or three, all, or the greatest Part of the Nations in *Europe*, should fall into this Commerce, by which Means the Exportation of Silver would be extravagantly increased, and, consequently, the *Indies* be vastly enriched at the Expence of *Europe*. At first Sight this seems to be very clear and plain; but closely considered, the Supposition is very fallacious; for, if the Powers at present interested in this Commerce, bring home as much of the *Indian* Goods and Manufactures as serve all *Europe*, then there is already as great an Exportation of Silver as could happen, if this Supposition took place, and the only real Consequence that could happen from the Extension of this Commerce would be this, that the present Possessors of the *India* Trade would be deprived of

their Profits, and every Nation would import as much as sufficed itself, and no more. This, I say, will be the only Consequence, with respect to the Evil apprehended; but other Consequences there might, and would be many, but particularly these. The rising of such a Spirit of Trade would necessarily produce new Discoveries, inasmuch as it would beget new Maritime Powers. The *Southern Indies* would be then explored, as well as the *East*, and those Countries that are now hid from us, would become as well known as the Coasts of *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. Various Nations would, in this Case, either find or force a Trade to *Japan*, and the Countries beyond it. The *Dutch East-India* Company would be obliged to open her secret Resources, and indemnify herself by a Trade to *New Guinea*, for the Losses sustained by other Nations interfering in her Trade to the *Indies*. And thus, instead of weakening or impoverishing *Europe*, this very Thing will prove the Means of making her infinitely richer, greater, and more powerful than she now is, and might take away the Temptations which mislead her Monarchy into quarrelling and destroying each others Subjects about Provinces, scarce worthy of being compared to the mighty Empires that, by the Help of Commerce and Maritime Power, they might share among themselves.

It is one Thing to consider the Trade of a particular Nation, to argue in Favour of it, and to point out the Means of protecting or improving it, and quite another to launch out into such wide Enquiries as these. The former may, indeed must, be conducted by the narrow and confined Notions of human Policy; for the Advantages of particular Societies must result from the Contrivances of particular Men. But when we quit these, and consider Things only in general, the Scene changes, the Prospect enlarges, and we find ourselves lost in the View of these prodigious Benefits, which the Wisdom and Goodness of an infinite Being has placed within the Reach and Capacity of human Kind. These, though we discern, it is impossible we should comprehend, and therefore we ought always to suspect such mean and narrow Principles as would persuade us, that right Measures may be pursued too far, or that the earnest Prosecution of Good should run us upon Evil.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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